

# Intellectual Discourse

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# *Intellectual Discourse*

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Sherman A. Jackson (2024). *The Islamic Secular*. 621  
Oxford: Oxford University Press. 527 pp.  
Hardback. ISBN: 9780197661789. £32.99.  
Reviewer: *Hamza Dudgeon*

## Transliteration Table: Consonants

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
ب	b		ط	ṭ
ت	t		ظ	ẓ
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	j		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	q
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ء	’
ض	ḍ		ي	y

## Transliteration Table: Vowels and Diphthongs

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
اَ، اِ، اُ	a		آ، عَ، يَ	an
وْ	u		وُ	un
يَ	i		يِ	in
آ، اَ، اِ، عَ، يَ	ā		وِ	aw
وْ	ū		يِ	ay
يِ	ī		وُ	uww, ū (in final position)
			يِ	iyy, ī (in final position)

Source: ROTAS Transliteration Kit: <http://rotas.iium.edu.my>



## *Research Note*

# **Reframing the Narrative: Challenging Eurocentrism in Modern World Economic Historiography**

**Tahsina Nasir\***

**Abstract:** This historiographic analysis challenges the Eurocentric narrative that has traditionally dominated the historiography of the modern world economy, which typically emphasises Europe's central role while marginalising the contributions of other regions. Drawing on the seminal works of scholars such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Janet L. Abu-Lughod, the analysis explores the complex, interconnected dynamics of the global economic system. It argues for a broader, more inclusive approach to economic history that acknowledges the diverse influences and interactions that have shaped the modern world. By conducting a detailed comparative analysis of key scholarly contributions, this paper promotes a multi-perspective understanding of global economic developments, moving beyond simplistic, Eurocentric interpretations. The core argument positions the modern economic world as an interwoven fabric of regional interactions and contributions, debunking the myth of European exceptionalism and highlighting the significant yet often overlooked economic innovations from across the globe. This approach not only reevaluates the narrative of economic history but also enriches our understanding of the multifaceted processes that drive the global economy.

**Keywords:** Historiography, Global Economic History, Eurocentrism, Interconnectedness, Multifaceted Economic Processes

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**Abstrak:** Analisis historiografi ini mencabar naratif Eurocentrik yang mendominasi historiografi ekonomi dunia moden, di mana Eropah sering dianggap sebagai mempunyai peranan utama, manakala sumbangan wilayah lain sering diabaikan. Berdasarkan karya-karya penting seperti *World-Systems Analysis* oleh Immanuel Wallerstein dan *Before European Hegemony* oleh Janet L. Abu-Lughod, kajian ini merungkai dinamika saling berkait dalam sistem ekonomi global. Ia menekankan pentingnya pendekatan yang lebih inklusif terhadap sejarah ekonomi, dengan mengiktiraf pengaruh dan interaksi dari pelbagai wilayah yang membentuk dunia moden. Melalui analisis perbandingan, kajian ini menggalakkan pemahaman pelbagai perspektif yang lebih holistik, mengatasi tafsiran Eurosentrik yang sempit. Hujah utama makalah ini adalah bahawa dunia ekonomi moden mempunyai rangkaian interaksi yang saling bergantung, menentang mitos keistimewaan Eropah, sambil menyerlahkan inovasi ekonomi yang sering diabaikan dari pelbagai rantau dunia. Pendekatan ini memperkaya pemahaman kita mengenai proses-proses multifaset yang mendorong ekonomi global.

**Kata Kunci:** Historiografi, Sejarah Ekonomi Global, Eurosentrisme, Saling Berkait, Proses Ekonomi Multifaset

## Introduction

The historiography of the modern world economy has traditionally emphasised Europe's pivotal role, often overshadowing the contributions of other regions. However, a growing body of scholarship challenges this Eurocentric narrative, advocating for a more interconnected global economic history. This historiographic essay examines seminal contributions from scholars like Immanuel Wallerstein, Janet L. Abu-Lughod, and others, who highlight the complexities of the global economic system and contest European exceptionalism. Through a detailed comparison of their works, this essay seeks to promote a nuanced, multi-perspective approach to understanding global economic developments. The core argument of this paper advocates for a historiographical approach that transcends simplistic, Eurocentric interpretations, emphasising the complex dynamics of the modern world economic system. This emerging perspective recognises the modern economic world as a complex, interwoven arrays of interactions, where multiple regions and people have played crucial roles in its evolution. Such a viewpoint not only challenges the myopic focus on Europe's purportedly unique path to economic dominance but also brings to light



the often-overlooked economic contributions and innovations from across the world.

The Eurocentric narrative has long been reinforced by scholarship, with Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems analysis offering a groundbreaking framework for understanding the historical and contemporary complexities of the global economy. Wallerstein's model, which divides the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery zones, challenges traditional nation-centred histories by emphasising the global nature of economic development and regional interdependencies. However, his theory has been critiqued for its Eurocentric focus. In contrast, Janet L. Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* highlights a complex, interconnected economic system predating European dominance, underscoring the sophistication of pre-modern economies and the economic agency of non-European regions.

Prasannan Parthasarathi's examination of the "Great Divergence" debate further challenges Eurocentric narratives by attributing Britain's industrial ascendancy to active government intervention rather than laissez-faire market dynamics. Parthasarathi emphasises the role of state policies, ecological constraints, and global trade dynamics in shaping economic development. Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* expands on this by showing how the global cotton industry was integral to the development of global capitalism, driven by European exploitation of non-European labour and resources. The analysis of Latin American commodity chains in *Silver to Cocaine* broadens the scope, highlighting the agency and adaptability of Latin American producers within global trade networks. This perspective challenges dependency theory and underscores the complexity of global trade dynamics. Giorgio Riello's study of the global cotton trade in *Cotton* reveals the ancient and sophisticated nature of the industry in regions like India, emphasising the importance of non-European knowledge and practices in shaping the global economy and critiquing the overemphasis on European technological innovations.

### **Wallerstein's Core-Periphery Model**

Central to Wallerstein's theory is the division of the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery zones, each playing distinct roles within a capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein, 2004). This model challenges

traditional nation-centred histories by emphasising the global nature of economic development and the interdependence among nations and regions. At the heart of Wallerstein's analysis is the core-periphery model, which posits that the world economy is characterised by structural inequality between industrialised, technologically advanced 'core' countries and less developed 'peripheral' countries. Core countries benefit from high levels of capital and control over sophisticated production processes, while peripheral countries are relegated to providing raw materials and cheap labour. This structure perpetuates a pattern of economic dependency and exploitation.

The semi-periphery acts as a buffer zone that mitigates the binary opposition between the core and periphery. Countries in the semi-periphery exhibit characteristics of both core and periphery and serve to stabilise the world-system by preventing polarisation. Wallerstein's inclusion of the semi-periphery highlights the fluidity and dynamism within the global economy, allowing for upward or downward mobility within the system. Thus, Wallerstein traces the origins of the modern world-system to the long 16th century, a period marked by the expansion of European exploration, trade, and colonisation (Wallerstein, 2004). He argues that the capitalist world-economy emerged from this era, fundamentally reshaping global economic and social relations. This perspective underscores the historical contingency of economic development and maintains narratives that naturalise European dominance.

### **Abu-Lughod's Interconnected World System**

While Wallerstein's theory has been revolutionary in highlighting the structural dynamics of the global economy, it has not been without its detractors, especially due to its Eurocentric focus. Transitioning from this critique, it is important to consider the work of Janet L. Abu-Lughod, whose seminal book *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* provides a compelling counterpoint. Abu-Lughod's critical reassessment of global economic history challenges the Eurocentric narrative that frames European dominance as inevitable and natural. Through her examination of the thriving global economy of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Abu-Lughod reveals a complex, interconnected economic system that existed well before the ascent of European hegemony, thereby offering a broader perspective on global economic system (Abu-Lughod, 1989).

Abu-Lughod identifies a vibrant 13th-century “world system” characterised by extensive trade networks linking Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. This system facilitated the exchange of goods, ideas, and technologies, with key urban centres like Cairo, Quanzhou, and Venice acting as crucial nodes. Her analysis highlights the sophistication of pre-modern economies and counters the notion of a static and insular pre-European world, emphasising the interconnectedness of global history (Abu-Lughod, 1989). Further, Abu-Lughod underscores the economic agency and prowess of non-European regions such as China and the Islamic World. These regions demonstrated high levels of urbanisation, technological advancement, and commercial sophistication, often matching or exceeding Europe. This challenges the conventional view of non-Western societies as peripheral, significantly enhancing our understanding of their roles in global economic history.

Within the broader narrative, Abu-Lughod also delves into the cataclysmic impact of the Black Death on the 13th-century world system. She argues that the pandemic, along with other geopolitical factors, contributed to significant shifts in the balance of economic power (Abu-Lughod, 1989). While Abu-Lughod’s work has been celebrated for its revisionist perspective against Wallerstein’s, it also invites critical engagement, particularly regarding the applicability of the “world-system” concept to the pre-modern era and how European dominance remained unquestioned throughout the book. Many scholars have contributed to the argument of the non-European contribution to the world economy. Within this context, scholars like Prasannan Parthasarathi stand out for their rigorous challenge to traditional narratives.

### **Rethinking the Great Divergence**

Prasannan Parthasarathi presents a compelling re-evaluation of the “Great Divergence” debate in his book *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850*, the term historians use to describe how Western Europe, particularly Britain, economically outpaced Asia from the 18th century onwards (Parthasarathi, 2011). Central to Parthasarathi’s argument is the assertion that active government intervention, rather than *laissez-faire* market dynamics, played a pivotal role in fostering Britain’s industrial ascendancy. Parthasarathi also emphasises the critical role of state policies in

Britain's industrial growth, particularly in the textile industry. He cites the *Calico Acts* as a pivotal example, showcasing how protectionist measures barred Indian textiles, thereby sheltering and nurturing the nascent British textile industry (Parthasarathi, 2011).

Further challenging Eurocentric narratives, Parthasarathi points to ecological constraints, such as deforestation, which forced Britain to innovate in areas like coal usage, thereby propelling technological advancements essential for industrialisation. Conversely, India's ecological conditions did not necessitate such shifts, illustrating how geographical and environmental factors influenced technological development paths. The argument further delves into the impact of global trade dynamics, highlighting how British colonial policies systematically dismantled India's vibrant textile industry by imposing tariffs and restrictions. Parthasarathi's inquiry into the Great Divergence fundamentally destabilises the accepted narrative of European economic ascendancy by highlighting the influence of external factors such as state policies, environmental conditions, and global economic dynamics (Parthasarathi, 2011). This approach not only redefines our understanding of the Great Divergence but also highlights the complex interdependencies and mutual influences between Europe and Asia prior to the industrial era. In this vein, the significance of global commodities, and specifically cotton, emerges as a crucial element in understanding the development and expansion of global capitalism. This is where Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* intricately connects with and expands upon Parthasarathi's arguments.

### **War Capitalism and Global Industrialisation**

Beckert's seminal work disrupts traditional narratives of European industrial supremacy by casting the global cotton industry as a pivotal element in the development of global capitalism, a system fuelled by "War Capitalism" and defined by aggressive exploitation and control. He meticulously illustrates how cotton linked continents, driving industrialisation in Europe while expanding slavery in the Americas, and forging supply chains that stretched from the cotton fields of the United States and India to the textile mills of Britain (Beckert, 2014). This complex network underscores the global nature of the cotton industry, challenging the idea that European ingenuity alone spurred industrial growth.

Beckert highlights how European powers, particularly Britain, used state power and colonial policies to control global cotton markets, illustrating the imperialist roots of global capitalism. He challenges the notion of autonomous European industrialisation by showing how it relied on exploiting non-European labour and resources (Beckert, 2014). Further, his analysis shifts rural areas outside Europe from peripheral to central roles in modern capitalism's development, contesting traditional views of European uniqueness and advocating for a re-evaluation of global history that acknowledges the interconnectedness and exploitation at its core.

### **Agency in Global Trade: Latin America's Role**

Analysis of the cotton industry's role in global capitalism opens a critical dialogue on the underpinnings of European imperial dominance, urging a deeper investigation into the genesis of global trade networks. It is precisely this call for a nuanced understanding of early imperial economic strategies that leads us seamlessly into the exploration provided by the authors of *Silver to Cocaine* (Topik & Zephyr, 2006). This work delves into the multifaceted dynamics of Latin American commodity chains, effectively broadening the scope of inquiry beyond the cotton fields and textile mills of Europe and its colonies. By shifting the focus to Latin America's pivotal contributions to global trade, it highlights the diverse economic practices and strategies that preceded and coexisted with the rise of European industrial capitalism, thereby challenging the monolithic narrative of European economic ascendancy (Topik & Zephyr, 2006). Central to the book's thesis is the argument that Latin American producers were not merely passive victims of a global economy dominated by European imperial powers. Instead, they are depicted as dynamic agents, capable of significantly influencing the commodity chains within which they operate. Such a portrayal shifts the focus from a narrative of dependency and exploitation to one recognising the ingenuity, agency, and adaptability of Latin American producers (Topik & Zephyr, 2006).

A significant aspect of the book's analysis is its critique of the dependency theory of Wallerstein framework, suggesting that Latin American countries had considerable agency in negotiating their positions within global commodity chains. The authors argue that profits and power within these chains were not exclusively concentrated

at the top, nor were they solely in the hands of North American and European entities (Topik & Zephyr, 2006). This perspective not only questions the narratives that underscore European dominance but also highlights the complexity of global trade dynamics, where Latin American actors played pivotal roles in shaping supply, demand, and distribution patterns. By extending the focus beyond the well-known commodities like silver, this narrative also offers a comprehensive exploration of Latin America's contribution to global economic history through its involvement in the trade of indigo, cochineal, and henequen, among others.

### **Cotton as a Living Thread: Shaping the Industrial Revolution**

In the discourse on commodity chains and the global economic history, cotton emerges as a pivotal element, not merely for its role in the textiles and fashion sectors, but as a cornerstone that engineered the path to the Industrial Revolution. Giorgio Riello's exhaustive study in his book *Cotton* unravels the intricate web of this commodity's journey, laying bare the profound impact cotton has had on shaping economic paradigms and societal transformations across the globe (Riello, 2013). By delving into the multifaceted layers of cotton's global journey, the book highlights how this commodity served as a bridge, connecting diverse cultures, economies, and technologies long before the advent of European industrial dominance.

Riello's research underscores the ancient and global nature of the cotton trade, challenging the traditional narrative of Western dominance with insights into the "first cotton revolution" that centred in South Asia well before European intervention (Riello, 2013). This approach emphasises the sophistication and scale of the cotton industry in regions like India, showcasing the advanced state of non-Western economies and their integral roles in the global economy. Rather than pioneering the cotton trade, European traders integrated into this pre-existing network during the "second cotton revolution," shifting the focus toward Europe by leveraging Asian expertise and networks. This narrative reveals how Europe's rise in the cotton industry depended heavily on non-Western knowledge and practices, thereby challenging Eurocentric views and highlighting the interconnectedness of global economic developments.

Riello's analysis further counters the Eurocentric narrative through his critique of the overemphasis on European technological innovations

in spinning and weaving (Riello, 2013). He argues for equal recognition of the importance of raw materials, textile finishing, and printing, areas where knowledge and techniques were heavily derived from non-European sources. Additionally, Riello's analysis reveals the grim legacy of the global cotton trade, shaped by colonialism and slavery, challenging the traditional glorification of the Industrial Revolution as a Western triumph. His work underscores the global interconnectedness and diverse contributions that have shaped the modern world economy (Riello, 2013).

### **Merchants and Commercial Capitalism: A Reassessment of Economic Contributions**

When discussing the Eurocentric view of economic history, the role of merchants and their contributions to the system often remain overshadowed, with undue focus placed solely on European innovation and intellect. This narrative, however, has been dismantled by numerous scholars, including Jairus Banaji in his seminal work, *A Brief History of Commercial Capitalism*. While Banaji's focus is rooted in Marxist history and the often-overlooked role of merchants in shaping economic systems, his work also delves into the history of the Global South (Banaji, 2020). He highlights the detailed and interconnected networks of merchants and the complex, sophisticated economic systems they led, systems that were pivotal in shaping the rise of capitalism. Banaji's monograph challenges the prevailing notion that the emergence of modern capitalism was purely a European achievement. Instead, his exploration reveals how the contributions of interconnected civilisations and their vibrant economic practices laid the groundwork for this transformation (Banaji, 2020).

Banaji's work specifically sheds light on the intricate networks of commercial activity that spanned the world long before the advent of colonial system or industrial capitalism. In particular, he examines the competition among major trading powers from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, and the Dutch Republic, alongside significant contributions from the Byzantine Empire, India, and China. These regions were not passive backdrops to European expansion but active participants in a sophisticated web of commerce. For instance, the Byzantine economy served as a crucial bridge between East and West, with Constantinople as a hub of cultural and economic exchange



(Banaji, 2020). Similarly, Indian and Chinese merchants commanded trade routes and innovations that made them indispensable players in the global economy. This interconnected system of trade, spanning continents and centuries, complicates the narrative of Western dominance by showing how diverse regions laid the foundations for what we now recognise as global capitalism.

Banaji's analysis of the putting-out system also underscores how merchant capital did not merely facilitate trade but actively shaped production itself (Banaji, 2020). This system, evident in the Florentine wool industry, Lyon's silk production, and Oriental carpet manufacturing, demonstrates the direct control merchants exercised over decentralised networks of producers. By managing raw materials, advancing credit, and orchestrating production, merchants acted as proto-industrial capitalists, subordinating small-scale artisans to their economic strategies. The putting-out system also highlights the global nature of premodern capitalism, as the practices observed in Florence and Lyon paralleled similar systems in Persia and South Asia. This points to an economic order already integrated across regions, driven by the ingenuity of local economies long before the rise of Western industrial power (Banaji, 2020). Banaji's framing of merchant manufacturing reveals the sophistication and adaptability of these systems, laying bare the false dichotomy between premodern and modern economic practices. British mercantile capitalism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as detailed in the monograph, serves as a continuation of this interconnected history, demonstrating how managing agencies such as Andrew Yule and Jardine Matheson capitalised on global networks to dominate industries like tea, jute, and opium. These agencies embodied innovative financial techniques characteristic of modern capitalism, leveraging limited capital to control vast resources (Banaji, 2020). However, the narrative of British dominance obscures the critical roles played by non-European economies that sustained and competed within these global systems. For example, the opium trade depended on Indian agricultural labour and Chinese markets, while global commodity chains included rubber from Malaya and textiles from India.

This symbiotic relationship challenges the notion of unilateral European superiority, reframing British capitalism as a system deeply dependent on and shaped by transregional exchanges. By analysing these dynamics, Banaji compels us to recognise that the modern



economy did not emerge in isolation but was a product of centuries of collaboration and competition across the Global South and beyond (Banaji, 2020). These insights dismantle the simplistic narrative of Europe as the inevitable centre of global capitalism. Instead, they offer a fresh and necessary reimagining of economic history as a shared enterprise shaped by the diverse contributions of civilisations across the globe. The putting-out system and merchant manufacturing highlight the ingenuity of early economic systems in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, while the competitive struggles among trading powers demonstrate that global interconnectedness existed long before Western dominance emerged. This perspective not only disrupts the notion of European exceptionalism but also elevates the agency of regions like Byzantium, India, and China in shaping the trajectory of global capitalism.

### **Changing Pedagogy: The Practical Implications of Reframing Economic History**

Reframing this world history narrative and challenging the Eurocentric one is also very crucial on a practical level. On a practical setup, reframing economic historiography in the classroom offers a unique opportunity to reshape students' understanding of world history. Traditionally, history curricula have emphasised Eurocentric narratives, focusing predominantly on European and American contributions to global economic development. This approach often leaves students with a skewed perception, overlooking the significant roles played by other regions. By integrating the latest scholarship that challenges these Eurocentric perspectives, educators can provide a more inclusive and interconnected view of global economic history. This shift not only enriches students' knowledge but also fosters a deeper appreciation for the diverse and complex interactions that have shaped our world.

In the classroom, this reframing can illuminate the economic contributions of regions like Latin America, South Asia, and the Middle East, which have historically been overshadowed by narratives of European dominance. For example, Janet L. Abu-Lughod's work on pre-modern global trade networks reveals the sophistication of non-European economies long before European hegemony (Abu-Lughod, 1989). Similarly, Prasannan Parthasarathi's analysis of the "Great Divergence" highlights the role of state policies and global trade dynamics in Britain's industrial rise, challenging the myth of European

exceptionalism (Parthasarathi, 2011). By discussing these perspectives, teachers can help students understand the agency and resilience of these regions, emphasising their vital contributions to the modern world economy.

Highlighting these diverse contributions also addresses significant gaps in the current curriculum, which often emphasises political and military histories at the expense of economic and cultural achievements. One of the key contributions of this revised curriculum is its inclusion of works such as *Silver to Cocaine*, which examines the economic agency of Latin American producers, and Giorgio Riello's study of India's sophisticated cotton industry. These narratives emphasise the central role that regions outside Europe played in the formation and evolution of global trade systems. Far from being mere appendages to European colonial ambitions, Latin American economies, particularly in the context of silver production, actively participated in the shaping of global capitalism. The silver trade was not solely a product of European demand, but rather a dynamic force that impacted on the economic trajectories of both Europe and the Americas (Topik & Zephyr, 2006). It fuelled not only European industrial growth but also played a critical role in the development of global markets and finance, particularly through its connection to the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. Similarly, the revised narrative highlights India's significant role in the global textile industry. The sophisticated cotton industry in India, as explored by Riello, underscores the country's pivotal contribution to the global economy. Indian cotton was a key raw material for the European textile boom, positioning India as a central player in the transnational economy (Riello, 2013). Through an academic alternative narrative and the inclusion of this perspective, it will also help educators change their pedagogy. This revision not only fills significant gaps in the current educational framework by addressing the overlooked economic and cultural achievements of non-European regions, but also provides students with a more inclusive and balanced historical narrative, highlighting history as a shared human experience shaped by diverse actors, thereby fostering a deeper understanding of world history. This approach fosters a more balanced and inclusive understanding of history, acknowledging the multifaceted contributions that have driven global economic development.

## Conclusion

Revising the historiographical approach to include diverse perspectives promotes a more comprehensive and equitable view of world history, which is more necessary than ever given current incidents in different parts of the world and these incidents' significant historical roots. Consequently, it encourages students to appreciate the interconnectedness of historical developments and challenges the notion of European economic superiority. The historiographic journey through modern world history reveals a narrative far more interconnected and complex than traditional Eurocentric accounts suggest. Scholars have challenged the notion of European exceptionalism by highlighting the diverse contributions of multiple regions and cultures to the global economic system. This inclusive perspective illustrates the mutual interdependence of world economies, debunking the simplistic view of a Europe-centred modern economy. By integrating these insights into the curriculum, educators can ensure that students gain a richer, more accurate understanding of the past, one that celebrates the diverse legacies and contributions of all regions to the modern world economy. It also fosters a historical understanding that acknowledges the multifaceted contributions of various regions, demonstrating that the development of the global economy was not a linear or one-sided process, but rather a complex interplay of political, economic, and cultural forces. Ultimately, revising Eurocentric narratives in world history is crucial for fostering a more inclusive, equitable, and accurate understanding of global history, enriching our comprehension of the past and shaping our approach to contemporary global challenges.

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### **Book**

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Al-Faruqi & al-Faruqi (1986)

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Al-Faruqi, I. R., & al-Faruqi, L. L. (1986). *The cultural atlas of Islam*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

## **Chapter in a Book**

In-text:

Alias (2009)

Reference:

Alias, A. (2009). Human nature. In N. M. Noor (Ed.), *Human nature from an Islamic perspective: A guide to teaching and learning* (pp.79-117). Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press.

## **Journal Article**

In-text:

Chapra (2002)

Reference:

Chapra, M. U. (2002). Islam and the international debt problem. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10, 214-232.

## **The Qur'ān**

In-text:

(i) direct quotation, write as 30:36

(ii) indirect quotation, write as Qur'ān, 30:36

Reference:

*The glorious Qur'ān*. Translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (1977). US: American Trust Publications.

## **Ḥadīth**

In-text:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, 88:204 (where 88 is the book number, 204 is the ḥadīth number)

(ii) Ibn Hanbal, vol. 1, p. 1

Reference:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, M. (1981). *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

(ii) Ibn Ḥanbal, A. (1982). *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. Istanbul: Cagri Yayinlari.

## **The Bible**

In-text:

Matthew 12:31-32

Reference:

*The new Oxford annotated Bible*. (2007). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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