Developing a History Curriculum: An Islamic Perspective

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Abstract: Developing a history curriculum from an Islamic perspective, though crucial for Muslim universities, is not an easy task. The curricula in the Muslim world suffers either from traditional methods which lack dynamism and can not meet the spirit and challenge of contemporary life, or blind imitation of foreign styles which are alien to the Muslim character and identity. However, a clear vision of Islamic interpretation of history, laws of Allah in the universe, writing history in a scientific manner and helping students to develop their critical thinking skills, are necessary for achieving this vital mission. This article examines the curriculum of the department of history and civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia. This curriculum focuses on Islamic history, and indicates the efforts made by the faculty in bringing out some changes. The paper also suggests an applied example in teaching one of the courses in Islamic history.

The task of developing history curricula requires facing several uneasy challenges and problems for Muslim historians. Contemporary Muslim historians have lacked comprehensive theories and major frames of understanding for interpreting history from an Islamic perspective. Many of them are dependent on Western theories and ideas in this field. This is not surprising as many of our scholars are the products of the Western secular schools and universities, and have a rather shallow understanding of Islam. It is not a matter of questioning their sincerity or intentions. However the problem will continue as long as they do not have suitable tools to examine and to judge the Western theories in the light of Islamic understanding.

When we raise the issue of writing history from an Islamic perspective, this does not mean that we are dealing with history as an ideology. On the other hand, writing history is not a mechanical...
process. Our perception of history is a relative matter. It could be determined by the information available, our ways of understanding and our ways in defining what are the landmarks, what is more or less important, and what is insignificant. This does not mean that we shall not seek the truth, or distort incidents or undermine our academic standards. On the contrary, the real Islamic spirit encourages searching, examining and scrutinizing incidents for the sake of the truth, regardless of the issue involved.\(^1\)

On the other hand, it is broadly known that writing curricula is a very sensitive issue, because it is related to the preparation of the new generations to serve their countries and the Muslim Ummah. In this case, shaping the mentality of the students and developing their confidence in their religion, culture and identity, is a part of the mission. Otherwise, the next generation will grow up disturbed, suffering from inferiority complex, lacking identity and self-confidence; and the vacuum will be filled by alien ideas and thoughts.

While it is difficult to separate the curricula and those who write them, or the curricula and those who teach them; it is the spirit in which the curricula is written or taught that matters rather than its details. Apart from our need to have well-qualified scientific scholars, we also need those who have absorbed our culture and have deep feelings of belongingness to our civilization and the Ummah. Combining these two could be difficult, but it does not seem to be impossible for the experienced scholars. Students in the Western countries study hundreds of wars, conspiracies, treacheries and massacres in the history of their countries, but still grow up self-confident, loyal to their countries and appreciative of their culture and heritage, because the spirit in which the curricula were written is a spirit of love and loyalty to their culture and history.

The curricula in the Muslim world suffered, either because of exclusive reliance on traditional methods, which lack dynamism and can not meet the spirit and the challenges of contemporary life, or from a blind imitation of foreign ideals which have proved fruitless for the Muslims and alien to their character and identity. There also exists a wide gap between the imported secular knowledge which dominates almost every aspect of life, and the religious knowledge which is confined to the corners of the mosque.\(^2\)

This paper is an attempt to present a framework for writing and teaching history. We will examine the history curriculum in the Department of History and Civilization in the International Islamic
University Malaysia as a case study to understand the process of developing curricula and suggest an applied example in teaching one of the courses of Islamic History.

**Interpretation of History**

When G.W. Hegel (1770-1831) wrote his famous book, *Reason in History and the Philosophy of History*, it seemed that he was introducing to us a human being who is walking on his head as he was talking about the profound ability of the human brain and how the ideas create civilizational action.³ On the other hand Karl Marx (1818-1883) in his materialistic theory introduced us to a human being that walks on his stomach.⁴ What we need is a historical vision of man walking on his legs (gravitated to the earth), but looking forward to the horizon and up to heaven—man with his inner desires and aspirations, who has the tools of thinking (mind), the free will to decide and to work, and has the guidance (*wahy*) for his mission on the earth.

Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), one of the most famous historians of the 20th century, talks about the theory of challenge and response. He concentrated on the effect of environment and geography as challenges to human development. He also admits the effect of religious factors in the movement of history.⁵ According to the Islamic perspective, we may go further ahead, looking in a much more harmonious way to the nature and the universe, and put the human being in the middle of a vertical chain from Allah to Man to Universe.

In this view, Man is the creation of Allah, His slave and under His guidance, but has a position of supremacy over the universe, which was created to be used by him. It is *al-Istikhlaṣ wa al-taskhir*, about which the Qur'ān says:

> And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels: “Verily, I am going to place (mankind) as my vicegerent on earth.” (2: 30)

And further:

> And He has subjected to you, as from Him, all that is in the heavens and on earth. ⁶

The holy Qur'ān, though not a history book, is very rich in historical material. Accounts of ancient civilizations cover about two-thirds of the Qur'ān. It also contains abundant material for us to understand human history and the powers affecting it. Some effort has already been made to extract an interpretation of history from the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet (SAS), but this is still in its
initial stage and would take long to reach a mature comprehensive vision, though some guidelines are available.7

We may find the cornerstone of the Qur'anic discourse on human creation, mission, and civilizational role in the well known ten verses of surah al-Baqarah: 30-39. From these verses we understand that:

That man is an honoured creature as he was created by Allah and the angels were ordered to prostrate before him;

That the human beings were blessed with divine guidance and knowledge from the very beginning; including the knowledge of oneness of God.

That man has a specific mission on the earth, and he was given the ability to learn, and to take decisions;

That he was fully informed about his potential enemies (whether human beings or Iblīs).

Thus, the main focus of the Islamic understanding of history is the struggle between truth and falsehood, and tawḥīd against kufr as well as the concentration on the mission that was upheld by the prophets. Beside this major issue other insights can be easily gained from the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān mentions clearly the nature of the human being and his desires, for example, halū (dismayed), yaʿūs (desperate), qatūr (stingy), nasiyyan (forgetful), mujādil (argumentative) etc. It also talks about the political aspects, e.g., al-malaʾ (higher stratum, elite), al-mustaṣfan (weak, oppressed); and the economic aspects, al-mutrafīn (luxurious); and the social factors, like taqlīd (imitation), ʿaṣṣabiyyah (parity spirit, tribalism) etc. However, when imān (faith) sinks deep in the heart, it will gain centrality, and all the other factors will be of secondary importance.

**Laws of Allah in the Universe**

This is one of the most important issues in understanding history. According to Islamic point of view, the universe was not created haphazardly. There are laws (sunan), as mentioned in the Qur'ān, that give us a comprehensive vision of the forces controlling our life.

These “laws” are eternal; they cannot be changed or replaced. The accurate understanding of these laws would be a great help to the historians and reformers to put their hands on the best ways for the awakening the civilizational progress. These “laws” could give clear indications to the causes of decay and decline of civilizations:
Many similar ways were faced by nations that have passed away before you, so travel through the earth, and see what was the end of those who disbelieved. (3: 137)

Some examples of these “laws” could be deduced from the Qur’ān and the authentic tradition of the Prophet, such as:

1. The initiative for changes and reform must come from the people for any positive development to occur:

   Verily! Allah will not change the condition of a people as long as they do not change their state themselves. (13: 11)

2. Both the spiritual and the material needs of the human beings are important:

   But seek, with that (wealth) which Allah has bestowed on you, the home of the hereafter, and forget not your portion of the lawful enjoyment in this world. (28: 77)

3. Faith and piety (imān and tawqīf) are sources of welfare and blessing:

   And if the people of the towns had believed and had tawqīf (piety), We should have certainly opened for them blessings from the heaven and the earth. (7: 96)

4. The main causes of civilization's decline are: Injustice, oppression, corruption, deprivation, self-indulgence, lavishness and ingratitude.

   These guidelines can be clearly seen in several verses in the holy Qur’ān.

The Concept of Muslim Ummah

The emergence of the Muslim Ummah and its existence till nowadays needs to be studied carefully to enhance the feeling of belongingness to the Muslim Ummah, and the sense of dignity of being associated with this Ummah. Islam was the leading civilization for ten centuries, and there is a possibility that it may reoccupy its exalted position. Mohammad Qtb saw this as “the mission of the committed Muslim historian.” Living under the shadow of Islam, with the actual feeling of belonging was a historical reality which lasted for centuries. Adam Mez, the outstanding orientalist, describes this as follows:

The Islamic empire extends from the extreme east at Kashghar to remote Sūs on the Atlantic, and requires ten months to traverse...Within the borders, the Muslim traveled under the shadow of his faith, and where so ever he went, found the very same God, the very same prayer, and the very same laws and customs. There was,
so to speak, a practical code of citizenship of this Muslim empire, for the faithful in all these countries was sure of his personal freedom, and could in no account be made a slave.\textsuperscript{10}

Though presently lacking political unity, this Ummah has the same vision and aspirations, and all Muslims are united in one religion through which they can expect to overcome the limitations of boundaries, race and colour. Writing history curriculum with this positive spirit, showing the great contribution of the Ummah to mankind is important to develop self-confidence and loyalty among the students.

**Periodisation**

Periodisation is not only important to systematise historical studies, but it also reflects our understanding of history, culture and thought. Europeans have put their own landmarks for periodisation, based on the idea of the centrality of Europe in the world affairs.\textsuperscript{11} In Muslim countries, should we accept such periodisation without examining its validity for our own vision and culture? For example, many writers confine Islamic history to medieval ages, as if Muslims ceased to have a history after the 15th century. Could this be applied to the history of the Osmanlis which continued till 1924? Will Muslim countries accept that their history in the last 400 years was not a part of Islamic history!

On the other hand, the traditional periodisation of Islamic history may have to be revised, in order to prepare for a better curriculum for teaching history. One of the major issues is that it was developed on the basis of the periods of the ruling families (Umayyad, Abbasids, Ayyubids, Mamluks etc.). Regardless of the good intentions of the writers, this may lead to a concentration on the political history, while undermining other aspects of history. If misrepresented, political history may give a generally negative feeling when talking only about history of ruling families and their quarrels and struggle for power. This kind of periodisation has cut off the natural historical continuation of the Muslim Ummah, and does not reflect the realities on the ground. What we need is the history of the Muslim Ummah, not that of its ruling families. This history should reflect the civilizational aspects, values and achievements.

This may lead us to another aspect of teaching history, i.e., presenting history from different perspectives. Political and military history could lead to certain misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Therefore, other fields in which Muslims have glorious achievements, including social, religious, economic, educational, legal and scientific
should be examined in detail.

The renowned Muslim historian `Imād al-Dīn Khalil has criticized the traditional way of periodisation, and has suggested a new plan for studying and teaching Islamic history. He suggested that the Islamic history curriculum be classified into five categories:

1. The State and the Political Leadership
2. Da'wah and the Spread of Islam
3. External Challenges and Attacks
4. The Society
5. The Civilization.\textsuperscript{12}

It seems that studying Islamic history in this way will reduce the present emphasis on political history, and will give further consideration to other important areas and fields to which Muslims have made major contributions. Above all, this will help overcome the negative effects of the traditional way of periodisation. However, this is a work to be undertaken by academic institutions rather than by individuals.

**Primary Sources**

In preparing original works for teaching of history we should be dealing with primary sources. We should not be confined to traditional history books only, as the area of primary sources could be widened. Books of Hadīth (the traditions of the Prophet), books of \textit{al-tabaqāt} (literally "the classes," i.e. biography of the well-known people who are related to different periods and different fields of specialization), books of geography, books of language and books of \textit{fiqh}, may give us invaluable accounts of many obscure areas of history. Students should be encouraged to study Muslim archeology, visit old mosques and castles, and go to museums to see Islamic coins, dresses and manuscripts etc. This would help the researchers and the students of history to move out of the confines of military and political history, and may help them to study other important aspects of the past.

**Critical Study**

Encouraging critical readings, comparisons, analyses, and helping the students to develop their scientific spirit should be regarded as one of the most important objectives by the lecturers. The inclination to idealism, romanticism, and overlooking the unacceptable deeds should not be encouraged. At the same time, students should not fall prey to the mud-slinging of the orientalists. One important criterion which
may help in examining and understanding our history is the differentiation between Islam as a religion, and the actions of Muslims, which may be subject to mistakes and shortcomings.

The Muslim thinker, Mohammad Qutb has called upon Muslim historians to seek the truth, as fairness and justice (‘Adl) are the most important Islamic values. Dealing with events in a positive and realistic way is a very clear theme in the Qur’ān. Without an analysis of the shortcomings and mistakes of Muslims societies we shall not be able to extract lessons from history.

Western Orientalist Writings

The “Western” writings should not be undermined because formidable work has been done by the orientalists in exploring many areas of Islamic history: examining, scrutinizing, editing and writing on subjects that have not been taken up by Muslims. Irrespective of their intentions, many of them were good scholars and have produced valuable works. However, their efforts should be put in the right perspective by subjecting them to scientific criticism and analysis. Some of the orientalists have been accused of distorting facts, and being ruled by a hostile background rather than a scientific spirit. Needless to say, it is the duty of a lecturer when he provides his students with the list of references, to give his advice on such writings.

History Curriculum: International Islamic University Malaysia

In order to give a general picture of the curriculum presently being followed by the Department of History and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia, we shall adapt the following simple dating system as a matter of convenience:

1. Ancient History till 610 C.E (Pre-Islamic History)
2. Middle Ages 610-1500 C.E (Including Early and Middle Islamic History)
3. Modern History 1500-present (Including Modern and Contemporary Islamic History)

Required Courses in Major: The department offers History as an undergraduate major, as well as minor. For major in History the department requires nine courses, seven of them being in the area of Islamic History (covering periods from early to contemporary Islamic history) as shown in the following:

1. Early and Middle Islamic History: 5 courses
2. Modern and Contemporary Islamic History: 2 courses
3. European History: one course
4. Others: one course

The Early and Middle Islamic History courses are as follows:
   Rise and Expansion of Islam;
   Islam in the Malay World;
   The Abbasid Caliphate;
   Muslim Historiography; and
   Islamic Civilization.

Two major courses could be regarded as Modern Islamic History. They are: Osmanli History, and Colonialism in the Muslim World

The eighth course is related to European History (Modern History of Europe); and the ninth course deals with theory and research methodology: Historical Theory and Research Methodology.

It seems obvious that there is a special concentration on Islamic history and the Muslim world.

**Minor in History and Civilization**: Students who have their minor in History may select 9 courses required for history minor from courses, such as:

- History of Malaysia I
- History of the Ayyubids and Mamluks
- Indonesian History since 1500 C.E.
- *Iṣlāh* and *Tajdid* Movements in the Muslim World
- Relations between the Muslim World and Medieval World
- Issues in Islamic History

All these courses are related to Islamic history and would provide the student, who is minoring in history, with a wide survey of Islamic history.

**An Overall View**: If we take a general view of all history courses—the department offers 41 courses in all—we see that they may be categorized as follows:

- Ancient History: 3 courses
- Early and Middle Islamic History: 13 courses
- Modern and Contemporary Islamic History: 13 courses
- Early and Contemporary History: 2 courses
- Medieval and Modern Europe and Africa: 3 courses
East Asia: 3 courses
Others: 4 courses

It should be noted that in the above classification we have included under Islamic history, all courses which discuss one or more Muslim country in any period of the Islamic history and all courses regarding the Muslim world and issues pertaining to it.

There are some optional courses dealing with early and middle Islamic history. They are like: History of the Maghrib and Andalusia, Survey of the Malay History and Civilization before 1400 C.E., India Under the Sultans and Mughals, History of Islamic Civilization in Sub-Saharan Africa. The optional modern and contemporary Islamic history courses are: Osmanli Institutions; History of Malaysia II; International Politics and the Muslim World; Modern History of the Arab World; Selected Topics in History of Arabian Peninsula; Muslim Communities in non-Muslim States; Selected Topics in Modern Southeast Asia History; and Nationalism in the Muslim World.

Another course discusses topics in both Islamic periods: Muslim Communities and Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia

General Observations

From this general survey we may deduce that the Islamic history takes the major share in the history courses—about two thirds of the history curriculum. This should not be surprising, because the curriculum is essentially for Muslim students, in a Muslim university and a Muslim country.

This high percentage does not necessarily reflect the real offering of courses in the History department each semester. For example, only about 10 courses on Islamic History are offered each semester, while the other 19 courses are offered occasionally. At the same time at least one course on Ancient History is offered each semester, while two other courses on the History of Europe and America are offered regularly (i.e. Modern History of Europe and History of the United States). Also, the course on Historical Theory and Research Methodology is being offered frequently (classified under "others" in the list).

The traditional way in periodisation of Islamic history is still used by International Islamic University Malaysia to some extent (e.g. Abbasid, Ayyubids, Osmanli History). However, there are several other courses that are thematic (e.g., Islam in the Malay World, Colonialism in the Muslim World, Islāh and Tajdid Movements in the
Muslim World). It seems that bringing out drastic changes in the traditions is not easy.

Some areas of Muslim history are not covered in any specific course, such as Central Asia and Contemporary Iran and Turkey; while some areas regarding the history of non-Muslim societies are also not covered in any of the courses, such as Australia, South America, and to some extent Russia and East Europe.

In the curricula of some other universities we may find courses discussing particular fields of social, economic and religious history, like History of Religions, History of Women, etc. We may need to review these courses and find out whether we can select some of them for International Islamic University Malaysia.

Ten courses on Southeast Asia, two courses on Southern Asia, and one course on Far East Asia are included in the present curriculum. One of these courses is compulsory, while two others can be selected from the group assigned for minor in History. Generally, it seems that the number of courses regarding this area is quite adequate.

Almost all these courses are taught in English, which is the medium of instruction in history department. Recently a new course has been introduced that is being offered only in Arabic. This course (Survey of Islamic History and Civilization) seems to have gained popularity among students. Also the department is offering a section of the course, Rise and Expansion of Islam in Arabic as well as English. In my opinion, this policy needs to be reviewed. Several courses, especially in Islamic history, should be offered in Arabic. Needless to say, the primary sources in Islamic history and many good Islamic historical studies, are in Arabic.

The early period of Islamic history is very important and needs to be studied thoroughly. Unfortunately, the period of the Prophet (SAS), al-Rāshidūn and Banū Umayyah are all crammed in one course (i.e., Rise and Expansion of Islam till 132 A.H.). It is unfair for this glorious period, which is the major focus of the Muslims, to be taught in a desultory manner. It would be better to divide this course into two or three courses.

**Applied Example in Teaching Islamic History**

One of the important courses in the history curriculum in IIUM is HIST 1010 Rise and Expansion of Islam till 132 A.H. We would like to discuss it in somewhat greater detail to bring out the problems and prospects of teaching this course. Apart from our reservation (as
mentioned above that this course should be divided into two or three courses), we shall concentrate on some other themes and ideas which may be applied when teaching this course.

One of the problems which we may face in teaching this course is the passive traditional narration of events of this period and the concentration on political and military history. This approach fails to bring this course to life and emphasize its spirit to fulfill our Islamic educational mission.

One of the themes that may be introduced is the drastic change or revolution that took place as a result the emergence of Islam. Islam's role as a liberator of humanity from injustice and oppression, and its civilizational mission, ought to be brought into focus. Here, we may also clarify how Muslims look at their religion. In other civilizations, religion is considered a part of the culture, while the culture is a part of the civilization. In the Islamic thinking, civilization derives its base from Islam. This is contrary to the weak role of religion among other civilizations. Since this is a university level course, the biography of the Prophet should not be studied only as a part of a chronological narration. We must emphasize the character of the Prophet as the best example and model for mankind, as an educator, administrator and a political leader, a mercy for mankind, Ṛahmah lil-‘Alamīn. Students of university age will be deciding about the ideals for their life and will be looking for models to follow. It seems evident that it is the right time to introduce to them our best examples, i.e., the Prophet and his companions. Therefore, accompanying the Prophet’s model, the generation of his companions, their sincerity and outstanding ability may be presented.

The emergence of the Muslim Ummah and its special characteristics is also another vital issue. The concept of Tawḥīd established a unique Ummah which was united on the basis of ‘Aqīdah (faith), not on colour, race, language or land. The establishment of this religion and shaping of this Ummah was an actual reality not a utopia. The Muslim society of Madinah could be taken as an example when discussing this point.

Discussing the Islamic Futūḥ and spread of Islam, we may focus on the real motives of the conquerors, their mission and achievements. The universality of Islam and its efforts to liberate human beings from the shackles of slavery and degradation of worshipping many gods, to worshipping only Allah, was a major cause of their success. The wars against the tyrannical rulers and armies which blocked the light of
Islam, were the most merciful in history towards human beings, animals and even plants and the environment.

Treatment of the subjects of al-Fitnah (martyrdom of Uthmān, ‘Ālī and Mu‘āwiyah, al-Ḥusain’s revolt, ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair’s revolt etc.) in a well-balanced, scientific manner is another important and sensitive issue. Although we should not neglect the possibility of mistakes by any human being, care must be taken not to breach the virtue of politeness in dealing with the companions of the Prophet. We should not become hasty in accusing certain Companions or faulting their intentions. Many narrations regarding al-fitnah need to be scrutinized and examined before arriving at a final judgment. In such a sensitive matter we may refer to some good writings, such as: al-‘Awāsim Min al-Qawiisim written by Ibn al-cArabI, and the writings of some able contemporary scholars. Islam did not lose its vitality, nor the Muslim society its distinctive features, because of al-fitnah. The revolts and uprisings in that period—even in the whole Islamic history—were under the claim of returning to the Islamic model and not against it. In their revolts or political movements—whether among Persians, Turks, Berber, Indians, or Mamluks—they were declaring Islam as their programme, and claiming Islam as their agenda.

The Umayyad period, 41-132 A.H., should be treated carefully because the history of this period was written during the rule of their enemies (the Abbasid). The Umayyads had their achievements and shortcomings. The period of stability (60 years) was twice that period of conflicts (about 30 years). During their reign, they achieved great Islamic Futūḥ, spreading of Islam and the Arabic language widely while paving the way for the flourishing of Islamic civilization. The Umayyad khilāfah was the strongest and the largest power on earth. A traveler could enjoy a six month journey from the South of France, safely crossing North Africa, Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Central Asia reaching Kashager in China, and still be under the Umayyad authority. On the other hand, the Umayyad period was the starting point of monarchy in the Islamic state and the decline of the institution of shūrā. The gap between ‘Ulamā’ and the political leadership widened during this period and serious conflicts erupted several times between those who advocated reforms and the Umayyads. The distasteful policy towards newly converted Muslims Mawālī and non-Arabs was a tragedy for the spread of Islam, irrespective of the efforts of ‘Umar bin ʿAbdul ʿAzīz. The Umayyads should also share responsibility for the emergence of political and religious sects, and the disunity among
Muslims.

Conclusions

It is clear that preparing and developing the history curriculum from an Islamic perspective is not an easy task, and Muslim historians are faced with a real challenge in this field. However, some efforts are being made and need to be encouraged.

The history curriculum in the IIUM focuses on the Islamic history. The work on curriculum development and teaching are in the initial stages. Preparation of textbooks from an Islamic perspective in English is one these major challenges. The most urgent is a need for textbooks in subjects like Rise and Expansion of Islam to 132 A.H., The Abbasid Caliphate, Colonialism in the Muslim World, Islāḥ and Tajdīd Movements in the Muslim World, and Muslim Historiography.

One of the problems is the lack of cooperation among History departments in the Muslim world, especially among Islamic universities that share the vision of IIUM. Mutual assistance by exchange of ideas, textbooks and experiences regarding the curriculum can solve many problems. The lack of communication and coordination among Muslim historians is another major problem.

The idea of writing history from an Islamic perspective needs further exploration and analysis, which could lead to a better absorption and assimilation of this mission. Many of us are the products of Western system of education, and hence need to be re-oriented before orienting our students.

Last but not least, the Arabic language should be given further emphasis in teaching history courses, particularly Islamic history, whether by offering courses in Arabic or by using primary sources that are mostly available in Arabic only.

Notes

2. See more about this in, ʿAbdul Ḥamīd A. AbuSulaymān, Islamization: Reforming Contemporary Knowledge (Herndon, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1994).


15. The source of this survey is the booklet of Department of History and Civilization, IIUM 1996/1997 (Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: IIUM, 1996).


18. It is worthy to mention the important study of the famous orientalist Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of Muslim Faith (London: Constable, 1974). After a long and thorough study, examining Islamic history he reached the conclusion that the tolerance of Islam was not only theoretical, but an actual reality, he confirmed that the tolerance enjoyed by unbelievers under the Muslim rule was “not to be found in Europe until quite modern times.” See: p.420.

19. See for example the recommendation of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq to Yazīd bin Abī Sufyān, one of the leaders of the conquests of Syria in: al-Azdī, Tūrīkh Futūḥ al-Shām (Cairo: Sijil al-‘Arab, 1970), 11-12.
