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DISCOVERING NALANDA AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BEFORE SOLERNO

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ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	The purpose of this manuscript is to bring communities of learners before Solerno, Bologna, and Paris from the margin to the center of history of higher education discourse.
Background	Most history of higher education coursework in the global west begins with institutions of higher learning in western Europe – Solerno, Bologna, and Paris. However, this tradition discounts the histories of higher education particularly of institutions in the global east, which predate European models
Methodology	The author brings these communities of learners from the margins to the center of higher education histories by way of historical overview.
Contribution	In so doing, the author informs scholar instructors of ancient higher education from a more globalized perspective.
Findings	The major finding of this work is that there is a history of higher education prior to the rise of institutions in the global west.
Recommendations for Scholar Instructors	From this work, history of higher education coursework in the global west should be adjusted to include acknowledgement as well as greater exploration of ancient higher education institutions as part of our collective global understanding of the history of higher education.
Future Research	This work more broadly identifies for open exploration of ancient higher education institutions.
Keywords	history of higher education, ancient history, global history

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INTRODUCTION

Believe nothing, O monks, merely because you have been told it ... or because it is traditional, or because you yourselves have imagined it. Do not believe what your teacher tells you merely out of respect for the teacher. But whatsoever, after due examination and analysis, you find to be conducive to the good, the benefit, the welfare of all beings – that doctrine believe and cling to, and take it as your guide. – Gautama Buddha

Like many of you, I took a course in the history of higher education during my graduate studies. I was schooled in Rudolph's, the *American College and University: A History*. And back then we used the second edition of *The History of Higher Education* from the ASHE Reader Series, an informative collection of primary source materials curated by the late Lester F. Goodchild and Harold S. Wechsler, editors. Many of these works now are readily accessible digitally; however, *The History of Higher Education* ASHE Reader project was radical as it expressly "deemphasized an elitist history of higher education" as for its time it was broadly inclusive of higher education institutional types (including community colleges, normal schools, historically Black colleges and universities [HBCUs] and the like along with research institutions) as well as of regional developments, insights of on the higher education histories of women, Catholics, African, Latinx, and Native Americans (Goodchild, 1997, p. xxvi). Future editions were inclusive, even more so (Wechsler, Goodchild, & Eisenmann, 2007). The reader's inclusivity notwithstanding, the readers to date were not inclusive in a global sense. They are American (U.S.) centered and deliberately begin a recitation of higher education's history with 12th Century Europe. In Perkin's discourse on the history of universities, he begins

All advanced civilizations have needed higher education to train their priestly, military, and other service elites, but only in medieval Europe did an institution recognizable as a university arise: a school of higher learning combining teaching and scholarship and characterized by its corporate autonomy and academic freedom. (Perkin, 1991, p. 169)

The purpose of this essay is to trouble Perkin's assertion a bit. As a graduate student I found the assertion perplexing in light of a field trip to Washington, DC entitled Egypt on the Potomac, hosted by Anthony T. Browder and the IKG Resource Center. During this experience, participants were challenged to consider the contributions of African Egyptians, ideas and symbols, to the establishment of that city and indeed the U.S. government as a whole. As a student of higher education, given the contributions of the nation's founders to higher education in the U.S., I saw these Egyptian contributions extending to the establishment of some of the nation's earliest institutions, particularly public ones. However, as a good graduate student I accepted Perkin's assertion as true, although it was a truth held in cognitive dissonance alongside readings, studies, and experiential learning experiences related to African education. It was not until I became an instructor of higher education that I began to learn more about pre-historical contributions to higher education, many of which are found in the global east, and began to present to my students the way in which our narratives about the history of higher education bias understandings of the creation and dissemination of knowledge.

I begin this discourse with a contemporary primary source, an email correspondence with my revered history of higher education instructor, the late Jennings L. Wagoner, and turn to an analysis of the ASHE Reader's discussion on pre-historical higher education contributions. I then follow with a discussion of what defines a university, query whether any pre-historical institutions fit that definition, and, if so, what does that mean about our western understanding of higher education's origins. Throughout, I use the term higher education with the realization that outside of the United States, tertiary education is the term of art. That too is evidence of regional bias, more impetus to rethink how we think about higher education's history, contemporary, and future.

AN EMAIL TO MY TEACHER – AND REPLY

At 09:33 AM 8/27/2004-0400, you wrote:

Dr. Wagoner,

You know, a little bit of knowledge is a dangerous thing. Perkin suggests Salerno is perhaps the first university. Why doesn't Nalanda (est. 5th century) of India fit? And if the point is that these institutions endured, and Salerno did not, but al Azhar (~998 AD) of Egypt did, why is as Ahzar not worthy of mention (even in passing)?

Best,
Crystal

From: Jennings Wagoner
To: Author
Date: 8/27/2004 4:25:15 PM
Subject: Re: Substantive question – Medieval Institutions

Crystal,

You raise a good question and underscore again the need for all of use to be cautious in awarding the label “the first” to anything. Over the years I have found that many “firsts” are either based on a “stretch” of definitions or get replaced by “new” discoveries that bring to light information not previously known. The “oldest university” issue seems to a classic case in point.

While Perkin suggest that Salerno may be the oldest university, Haskins discounts that claim by asserting that Salerno lacked multiple advanced faculties and an early charter which he (Haskins, along with Rashdall) claim are necessary ingredients of “legitimate” medieval universities. What these and most other western scholars focus on, however, are European institutions that tended to be the most proximate ancestors for European and western universities (in terms of structure, functions, nomenclature, traditions, etc.) Basically, they define what a university is (or was) by characteristics found in these early western institutions, most of which continued to function down through the centuries. Also, western history has been heavily influenced by Jewish and Christian scholars who have downplayed (or been unaware of) Islamic and other traditions.

Claims have been made for other “oldest” institutions such as Timbuktu in Africa (11th or 12th century) and Hunan University in China that dates to 976. Al-Azhar's founding (variously dated but with the first lecture given around 975) would certainly make it a logical contender and ought to receive mention. The Buddhist monastery that became known as Nalanda University in India has an even earlier claim, as you noted. Just this year, however, a team of Polish archaeologists unearthed some lecture halls in Alexandria that allowed them to claim that the Egyptian city merits the title of having the world's oldest university (even though it dates from the 5th century and didn't last beyond the 7th century). Even others make claims that various Greek cities had “universities” dating centuries before the birth of Christ – or even that the old (pre-Christian) Museum at Alexandria should be considered a forerunner of the modern university. All these claims bring into question the definition of “university.”

Thus, definition, direct influence on later institutions, and (sometimes) continuity have a lot to do with how “the oldest” or “the first” title gets bestowed. I think you are right to “give mention” to some of the others, al Azhar in particular, in commenting about higher education in “medieval” times – itself a western concept of time and events. Histories of higher education in the Middle East or Orient might offer a different rendering.

Best,
Jennings

WHAT IS A UNIVERSITY?

This exchange with Dr. Wagoner brings to the forefront the principle question of what is a university? In particular, what are the defining characteristics of a university?

While poet John Masfield describes a university as “splendid, beautiful, and enduring” (1946), Merriam-Webster defines the term university as “an institution of higher learning providing facilities for teaching and authorized to grant academic degrees” (University, n.d.), a definition which itself contrasts with Perkin’s, as within the dictionary definition there is no mention of scholarship. In addition, there is emphasis on degree granting which Perkin does not include. As alluded above, Haskins (1957) includes degree granting to characteristics to the definition of university. Thus, for Haskins

universities, like cathedrals and parliaments, are a product of the Middle Ages. The Greeks and the Romans, strange as it may seem, had no universities in the sense in which the work has been used for the past seven or eight centuries... A great teacher like Socrates gave no diplomas; if a modern student sat at his feet for three months, he would demand a certificate ... (Haskins, 1965, p.1).

Where there is agreement among these definitions it is around the notion of space – facilities for Merriam-Webster, “an autonomous, permanent corporate institution,” for Perkin (1991, p. 169), and for Haskins, an emphasis on place – namely that of Paris and Bologna (Solerno does not meet Haskin’s definition and these three will be discussed further below). But as pointed out by Haskins, these medieval universities

...had no libraries, laboratories, or museums, no endowment or buildings of its own; it could not possibly have met the requirements of the Carnegie Foundation! ... The mediaeval university was, in the fine old phrase of Pasquier, “built of men” – *bâtie en hommes*.

What Haskins thus points to is the proper etymology of the term “university.”

Tracing to 14th century Middle English usage, the term university comes from the Latin *universitas* meaning the whole or corporate body (University, n.d). As noted by Perkin (1991), Haskins(1957) and Rashdall (1895), the University of Paris began as a collective of faculty, a guild of masters, individuals who commanded the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy) and, as a result, were qualified to teach others. In the Paris Model, the guild of faculty approach, students would travel to urban centers to learn in schools called *studia* for the purpose of learning from particular faculty masters. *Studia* including advanced learning in theology, law, or medicine were known as arts *studium* and stadium with more than one of these higher faculties having a larger geographical influence were known as *studium generale*. The University of Bologna model, by contrast, was student centered wherein students organized as a means to protect themselves as many of them were international students, without citizenship rights within the Bolognese state. Here the student rector became most powerful institutional actor. Thus, while faculty controlled curriculum, the students through the rector and proctors regulated faculty administratively through the imposition of fines for mal-service. These models converged, handing down a tradition of power sharing between faculty and students through the ages. What these models held in common, however, is the notion of collective action undergirding the *universita*.

As such the most significant element in what made the university significant in the history of human learning may have not been the building or the degrees granted, but the collective of people coming together as a whole for the purpose of advanced learning. Towards this end, the medieval university may be non-unique. In fact as suggested by Jennings above, the term university was introduced as a decidedly European concept at the outset, as the designing characteristics of a university distinguishing it from other higher learning endeavors was precisely its European design.

There is evidence of higher education learning organizations predating Solerno, Bologna, and Paris, having, in some ways, more administrative and physical structures than these historical antecedents.

These learning communities and their contributions to global higher education are overviewed below. The overall concern, however, is that defining university in a manner that centers the history of higher education within a western European context distances us all from the histories of eastern higher education antecedents and influences. As higher education programs grow across the globe, now is a good a time as any to further explore and deepen our collective human knowledge of the history of higher education. In so doing, we have the opportunity to co-create a richer, circumspect understanding of the past with an eye towards cooperative collaborative building of a global future to come.

DISCOVERING NALANDA AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BEFORE SOLERNO: A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

“The quest to achieve higher learning originated in the early fabric of human culture” (Goodchild, 1997, p. xxvi). Table 1 provides a listing of higher learning organizations from pre-history, history before the common era (CE), and ancient history, from the beginning of the common era (CE) to 1150 (CE) which is marked by the founding of the University of Paris. These include the Sumerian Tablet Houses (Mesopotamia), House of Books (Kemet/ Egypt), Mayan Higher Education, Hundred Schools of Thought and Confucian Schools (China), Plato’s Academy (Greece), and the higher education institutions of Solerno, Nalanda, Al Azahar, Bologna, and Paris.

Goodchild (1997) notes organized higher learning in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt for the purposes of religious study and practice as well as the development of an educated bureaucracy within theocratic states. Of particular note are the Tablet House of Summer in prehistorical Mesopotamia (around 3000 BCE) and the House of Books in prehistoric Kemet (Egypt – around 2000 BCE). The purpose of higher learning in these organizations was to organize a bureaucracy of scribes to help transform agricultural systems from subsistence farming to a larger scale cereal farming. This transformation was important as weather pattern changes including cyclical patterns of famine were devastating to prehistoric populations. Famines were often attributed to religious wrong doing and as such the work of scribes was closely aligned with religious orders, which were closely intertwined with the government (e.g., some Pharaohs of Egypt and other rulers who declared themselves as gods). Formal education took place near the temple and included scribal arts such as accounting, geometry, musical notation, law, grammar, poetry, courtly and priestly etiquette, and history (Lucas, 1994). Advanced learning in literature, mathematics, medicine, law, and theology was also available to a select few.

Much of Mayan higher education history remains mystery as Spanish priests burned much of the ancient Mayan’s artifacts of learning. It seems to be the case, however, that higher learning in the Mayan culture (around 1000 BCE) was similar to traditions in Mesopotamia and Kemet. Scribal arts were of import and closely aligned with religious and governance orders. The concept of zero, the Mayan calendar, and mastery of astronomy as evinced through temples at Chichén Itzá, Telum, Tikal, and Palenque are all part of that legacy (Coe, 1987, 2012). The Aztecs and Inca also had temple schools, of which astronomy was of significant import.

Back in the global east, learning communities emerged under the Zhou Dynasties (China), loosely coupled together under the Hundred Schools of Thought. The most famous of these schools, the School of Literati, was the academic birth place of Confucianism. Confucianism is a philosophical approach that directs governance at levels of both the individual and the state. Also in the east Perkin (1991) makes note of Hindu gurukalas, Buddhist vihares, Islamic madrasahs, Tokagawa han schools: “all taught the high culture, received doctrine, literary and/ or mathematical skills of their political or religious masters, with little room for questioning or analysis” (p.3). This he asserts is true of not only eastern and pre-colonial native higher education in the Americas, but also of the monastic schools during the Dark Ages of Western Europe. As such these institutions, while significant in the inculcation of knowledge, were limited in their exchanges between teachers and students, and from Perkin’s vantage this lack of free inquiry could be detrimental to teachers and students alike. Teachers of un-

popular notions could be run out of town, and dissident students could be subject to discipline. As such, the lack of a corporate form left all vulnerable and subject to transience for safety.

Table 1: Ancient and Pre-Historical Higher Learning Organizations - Is it a University?

	Historical Period	Notoriety	Is it a University?			
			Haskins	Perkin	Merriam-Webster	Goodchild
Sumerian Tablet Houses (Mesopotamia)	~3000 BCE	Theology Bureaucracy				
House of Books (Kemet/ Egypt)	~2000 BCE	Theology Bureaucracy				
Mayan Scribal Traditions (now Mexico)	~1000 BCE	Theology Bureaucracy				
Confucian Schools / Hundred Schools of Thought (China)	1046-221 BCE	Bureaucracy				
Plato's Academy (Greece)	385 BCE	Philosophical Inquiry				
Solerno	1177-13 th Century CE	Medical School		Disputed	Unclear	Silent
Nalanda University (India)	4 th – 12 th Century CE	Schools of Study Schools of Debate				YES
The University of Al Karaouine (Morocco)	859 CE	Religion Law			YES	Silent
Al Azahar (Egypt)	~970 CE – present	Religion Philosophy			YES	YES
Bologna (Italy)	~1088 CE-present	Guild of Students	YES	YES	YES	YES
Paris (France)	~ 1150 CE - present	Guild of Masters	YES	YES	YES	YES

Plato's Academy, founded about 385 BCE, followed the Socratic method of philosophical inquiry, introducing a less hierarchically driven relationship between student and teacher. From Greek and then Roman traditions, there are opportunities for speculation, free thought and expression for students and teachers alike. However, there was still transience, a lack of corporatization of school structure, administratively and physically.

As asserted by Goodchild (1997) “the first formal institutions found similar to our own are found in India” (p. xxvi), not Europe. He describes Nalanda University, which was established by Buddhist Monks in about 400 CE (Common Era, aka AD) (Avari, 2016; Goodchild, 1992). Unlike Solerno, Paris, and Bologna, Nalanda had a campus facility with residence halls, enough to accommodate 10,000 students, as well as libraries, halls for meditation and lectures, and parks. Admissions processes were rigorous. It was an honor to study with the 2,000 faculty at Nalanda and students came from across the east – China, Malaysia, India and beyond. It was an international university (Pinkney, 2015). The course offerings provided were extensive, including several fields of science, literature, fine arts, medicine, and astrology (Garten, 2006; Goodchild, 1997; Gul & Khan, 2008). In this vein, Nalanda University may have been even more of a university than Solerno, Bologna, and Paris than Perkin gives credit. While Nalanda did not have the degree granting capacity of Bologna and Paris as noted by Haskins, it had coursework and scholars as well as the campus and library facilities Bologna and Paris lacked. In this vein, the establishment of Nalanda alone contests the concept of the university as distinctly western and European. Nalanda did not, however, grant degrees or offer specific programs of study. Students were taught by monks who measured time with a water clock. For an individual student, education was divided among study, religious rites, and practice. In schools of study, students learned through discourse with faculty. There were also schools of debate where students were able to pit their knowledge and linguistic skills one against another. To have attended Nalanda was a great honor. Higher education at Nalanda survived into the 12th century. By then, a fire ravaged much of the library’s collection. Surviving traditions were ferreted to Tibet by monks during Muslim invasions of that period.

In this vein, Nalanda was both a contemporary and predecessor of Solerno, although offering a more circumspect curriculum (the fame of Solerno was medicine). Neither Solerno nor Nalanda survived. Thus, if survival is a key characteristic of university status, then Solerno was not a university and Nalanda deserves the same honorable mention status in history of higher education cannon as Solerno. Indeed contemporary scholars are looking to Nalanda as an inspirational source of pan-Asian intellectual revival as Nalanda stood at the crossroads of China, India, Malaysia, Thailand attracting scholars and students from across the continent (Altbach, 2013; Garten, 2006; Pinkney, 2015; Yeo, 2011).

Following Dr. Wagoner’s guidance I searched further into first universities and discovered a surviving university in the global east which predates Bologna. However, it was not Al Azhar (although we will get to Al Azhar momentarily). The University of Al Karaouine (a.k.a. Al Qayrawaniyan or Al Quaraouiyyine) was founded in Fes, Morocco 859 CE and is recognized by UNESCO and *The Guinness Book of World Records* as the world’s oldest continuously operating university (Lulat, 2005). It began as a madrasa and was founded by Fatima al-Fihri, a wealthy educated daughter of a merchant who dedicated her inheritance to construct the mosque, associated libraries, and the university. The gender dynamics of the institution’s founding are of independent interest, as is the education of al-Fihri herself, but beyond the scope of this essay. Like other madrasas, the Al Karaouine curriculum centered on religion: the study of Islam and Islamic law. Additional subjects included law, grammar rhetoric, logic, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. However, a secular curriculum did not develop until the 1960s (Makdisi, 1981). Najjar (1958) describes the 12th through 15th centuries as the golden age of Karaouine as its benefactors supported expansion and beautification of the physical plant, as the original was considered modest. In addition, during that period students from throughout Africa, the Muslim world, even Europe, Muslim Spain, came to study with scholars there (Lulat, 2005).

There is debate among scholars whether Al Karaouine’s developed form was a result of interactions with Europeans. According to Makdisi (1970):

... the university, as a form of social organization, was peculiar to medieval Europe. Later, it was exported to all parts of the world, including the Muslim East; and it has remained with us down to the present day. But back in the middle ages, outside of Europe, there was nothing anything quite like it anywhere. (p. 264)

Makdisi finds the madrasa format distinct from and independent of the university concept. However, according to Aslan (2009):

It is not a coincidence that around the 9th century the first university in the world, the Qarawiyyin University in Fez, was established in the Muslim world followed by az-Zaytuna in Tunis and Al-Azhar in Cairo. The university model, that in the West was widespread starting only from the 12th century, had an extraordinary fortune and was spread throughout the Muslim world at least until the colonial period. (pp. 220-221)

This position by Aslan suggests more symbiosis between European and Islamic higher education forms, a cultural exchange facilitated by the close proximity of Morocco to Europe and historical patterns of trade. However, the point that is most troubling for me is that Al Karouine's establishment clearly predates Bologna, and, the strength of the European university model notwithstanding, it seems doubtful that the exchange of knowledge was one sided. As asserted by Lulat (2005):

Historically, long before the arrival of European colonialism, those parts of Africa that possessed institutions of higher learning could boast of a tradition of higher education that included the belief that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was a worthy endeavor that any society would want to encourage. (p. 3)

In this vein, Lulat (2005) pushes against the notion that European incursion marks the beginning of higher education globally, African higher education specifically, "that is, such a vast continent as Africa has had a sufficient level of cultural diversity for parts of it to boast the existence of institutionalized forms of higher education long before its Westernized form was introduced to it ..." (p. 2). In fact the marginalization of African and other higher education institutions of the global east were part of a greater cultural imperialist effort. Considering that Western Europe was still emerging from the Dark Ages when Al Karouine was founded, further investigation into the evolution of both European and Islamic universities is warranted: What was the nature of exchanges based on exchanges between European and Islamic scholars at Al Karouine?

Al Azhar is the last institution of exploration in this essay as its fame historically and internationally exceeds that of Al Karouine. It is considered the second oldest continually existing university, second only to Al Karouine (Gesnik, 2009). It was founded in Cairo, Egypt in 969 CE under the Fatimid al-Mu'izz caliphate. The first lecture was given in 975 during the holy month of Ramadan. Coursework included Islamic law, jurisprudence, grammar, astronomy, philosophy, and logic (Alatas, 2006; Goddard, 2000). In fact, the emphasis on philosophy rendered Al Azhar an intellectual mecca and anathema during an age when the pursuits of inquiry outside of religious guidelines was considered heretical. Al Azhar became known as the Jāmi'ah at Al Azhar, here the term *jāmi'ah* means "universal" the same concept of *universitas* from which the term university derives. In both cases, what is universal is the comprehensiveness of the knowledge exchanged at the institution (Alatas, 2006).

Part of the comprehensiveness regards the challenges of leadership, organization, and administration. Gesnik (2009) contends that this early era of Al Azhar's history was an "administrative mess" (p. 2). Hardships include ones with which we struggle contemporarily: sufficient quantity and quality of student housing, dilapidated infrastructure, the relevance of academic instruction to student professional pursuits, and student protests. During the 12th century, the university evolved in a decidedly Sunni Islamic direction and Al Azhar is still respected as the most influential Islamic university.

Al Azhar also granted degrees. According to Alatas (2006), Islamic universities granted degrees (*ijāzah*), which were conveyed in order to confer upon the recipient a right to teach (*bi haqq al-rivāyah*). As seen by some (e.g., Alatas, 2006; Makdisi, 1970) this tradition mirrored that of the granting of the *licentia docendi*, a doctoral level degree first conferred by the Pope as a license to teach in medieval Europe. As perceived by others (e.g., Huff, 2007), Islamic and European higher education systems were so distinct that there is no equivalence between the *ijāzah* and *licentia docendi*. Key distinctions between the two include that *licentia docendi* were granted upon examination and a payment

of fees to the Catholic Church. By contrast, *ijāzah* were conveyed from instructor to student. They were not granted by an institution or state. In addition, *licentia docendi* were granted for expertise within a given subject matter. By contrast *ijāzah* were granted for content mastery displayed by a particular work or set of works (Alatas, 2006). Given the availability of contemporary archival records it would be worthwhile to more discretely assess similarities and differences in these degree types. Further inquiry should also be made comparing and contrasting curriculum, facilities, student characteristics, faculty, organization, administration, and leadership. Towards this end revisiting Makdisi's (1970) findings are warranted.

CONCLUSION

Regarding the present essay, however, characteristics of institutions of higher learning, especially those of Nalanda in India, Al Karouine in Morocco, and Al Azhar do render further inquiry worthy as we consider the history of higher education on a global scale. In particular, the presence of degrees, or degree like instruments, at Islamic higher education institutions like Al Azhar, seems to warrant their inclusion among the first universities. Instead, as asserted by Perkin (1991), there was not an institution of enduring character like the university of Western Europe:

[Not] the Confucian schools for the Mandarin bureaucracy of imperial China, the Hindu *gurukulas*, and Buddhist *vihares* for the priests and monks of medieval India, the *madrassahs* for the mullahs and Koranic judges of Islam, the Aztec and Inca temple schools for the priestly astronomers of pre-Columbian America, the Tokugawa *han* schools for Japanese samurai ... the monastic schools of early medieval Europe... [or] the athenaeums and lyceums of ancient Greece. (p. 169)

This manner of exclusion enshrines a culturally imperialistic past and reproduces inequity of respect of knowledge production, teaching, and learning in higher education in cultures marginalized as other. We reproduce a historical narrative that inculcates the marginalization of the global East. Let's take for example the perspective of historian Hugh Trevor-Roper on African history (1965),

there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness, like the history of pre-European, pre-Columbian America. And darkness is not a subject for history... [other than a means to] amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe..." (p. 169).

Through his recitation minimizing the higher education institutional types, does Perkin illustrate from a viewpoint similar to Trevor-Roper's? It is picturesque and as Perkin paints a picture of words reifying the university in its European expression, giving it central lighting, he similarly darkens ancient eastern expressions of higher learning. Only through revisiting our global past can we get past this cultural imperialistic approach to our history of higher education scholarship and cannon which we in turn teach our students. Here the challenge of diversity requires a revisit to the past to build a future cannon that is globally inclusive.

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