

The Decline of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus Based on Ibn Khaldun's Theory

Suhaila Abdullah* & Nurliyana Mohd Talib**

Abstract

This inquiry examines the downfall of the Umayyad Caliphate in Cordoba, Andalus (Spain), in 1031 CE, which signaled the end of almost three centuries of Umayyad dominance in the region under Islamic governance. The primary objective of this study is to scrutinize the factors contributing to the demise of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus, drawing upon the insights presented by Ibn Khaldun. Employing a qualitative research approach, the study utilized content analysis methodology to examine pertinent documents and additional written sources. The findings of this research, as per Ibn Khaldun's theories, identified critical elements that precipitated the collapse of the Umayyad government. These included a failed state, political disintegration, severe financial crises stemming from the erosion of social solidarity, a decline in the sense of belonging (*'asabiyyah*), instances of injustice and tyranny, a culture of opulence, and weakened religious adherence. Ultimately, the populace of Andalus withdrew their support for the Umayyad Caliphate, leading to a diminishing sense of social solidarity. Consequently, the Islamic civilization in Andalus underwent a gradual decline, culminating in its destruction by external forces.

Keywords: Ibn Khaldun, Andalus, Umayyad, Islamic Civilization, Spain

Introduction

Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) was a 14th-century Muslim scholar born in Tunisia. He gained acclaim for his work, the *Muqaddimah*,¹ in which he introduced a systematic approach to studying the science of civilization and society, which he termed *ilm al-umran*. In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun demonstrated remarkable objectivity, scholarly integrity, ethical discernment, rigorous logical analysis, innovative thinking, and creative insight. These qualities collectively establish him as a distinguished scholarly author, especially in the realms of human civilization and social sciences,² including sociology.³ Furthermore, *Muqaddimah* offers substantial insights into various civilizations worldwide, including North Africa, Andalusian Spain, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Anatolia, and Turkestan.

The inclusion of Ibn Khaldun's civilization theory in this article stems from his pioneering role as the first scholar to comprehensively examine the development and decline of human civilizations in the Middle East, Africa, and Muslim Spain (Andalus). His keen observations of dynastic rise and fall in the regions where he resided enabled him to investigate the factors driving the growth and regression of Muslim states. Additionally, he sought to uncover the underlying causes behind the fleeting existence of some states and the transfer of governmental power from one entity to another. Ibn Khaldun postulated that the decline of a civilization is a protracted phenomenon, often spanning multiple centuries.⁴ Unfortunately, the adherents of a declining civilization frequently struggle to acknowledge its decadence in a timely manner. When recognition finally dawns, it is often too late for meaningful rejuvenation.

Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Civilization

When examining the evolution of civilizations, Ibn Khaldun, as elucidated in his seminal work, *al-Muqaddimah*, postulated a theory delineating the cyclical nature inherent in the progression of human

* Suhaila Abdullah (PhD), Associate Professor, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Email: aila@usm.my.

** Nurliyana Mohd Talib, Postgraduate researcher, Philosophy and Civilization Section, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Email: liyanatalib@gmail.com

¹ Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (2000), *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun – al-Juz al-Awwal min Kitab al-Ibar wa al-Diwan al-Mubatada' wa al-Khabar fi Ayyam al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar wa min 'Asirihim min zawi al-Sultan al-Akbar*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

² Saleh Ben Tahar Machouche and Benaouda Bensaid (2022), "Ethics in Muslim Writing and Research Methodology: The Case Ibn Khaldun's Scholarly Writing," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 39-52.

³ Syed Farid Alatas (2006), "A Khaldunian Exemplar for a Historical Sociology for the South," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 3, p. 397.

⁴ Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, Franz Rosenthal (trans.), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

societies. This theory encompasses distinct stages, specifically the inception, advancement, and eventual downfall of civilizations. This exposition seeks to clarify fundamental tenets derived from Ibn Khaldun's theory of civilization, presenting them as follows:

The Concept of 'Asabiyyah

Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*asabiyyah* has been interpreted by scholars as "social solidarity" or *esprit de corps*.⁵ This notion underscores the significance of a shared sense of belonging within a community, which is essential for realizing power and dominance in constructing a civilization. In Ibn Khaldun's view, '*asabiyyah* is crucial for shaping the success or decline of a group. It is a strong bond rooted in family ties and common interests that brings people together to face external challenges. The addition of a religious element strengthens this unity by reducing jealousy among group members, making the group more resilient. Hence, '*asabiyyah* is not just about group solidarity; it combines group unity with a focused political quest for power and organized leadership.⁶

Nonetheless, as the group attains its zenith and its members enjoy comfort and luxury, '*asabiyyah* tends to wane and diminish, hastening the group's decline. Excessive opulence often precipitates their downfall, paving the way for a new, more cohesive governing entity or group.⁷

The Concept of Hadharah and 'Umran

In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun introduced pivotal concepts such as *hadharah* and '*umran*, which profoundly influenced the study of history, particularly in relation to civilization. *Hadharah* denotes a settled way of life, tied to urban living, signifying the early stages of civilization involving the establishment of settlements and activities fostering social and economic development. Ibn Khaldun emphasizes that a thriving civilization begins with a robust sense of '*asabiyyah* (social cohesion) during the *hadharah* phase.

Meanwhile, '*umran* is a stage of advanced civilization that comes after an earlier stage called *hadharah*. Ibn Khaldun, talked about two types of societies: '*umran badawi* for nomadic communities and '*umran hadhari* for urban societies. He explained how nomadic communities develop into urban ones, which is crucial for understanding societal development today.⁸ During this phase, societies experience advancements in culture, technology, and governance, reaching the peak of prosperity and achievements. According to Ibn Khaldun, a thriving '*umran* necessitates effective governance, economic growth, social justice, and prudent conservation of natural resources to prevent wastage and misuse.

The Role of Religion

Ibn Khaldun approached the relationship between religion and social-political events with a reciprocal perspective, emphasizing the religious dimensions of politics and state structures, specifically referring to them as the caliphate and *imamate*. In his exploration of civilization, he asserted that these religious aspects played a crucial role in determining the lifespan of a society.⁹

Ibn Khaldun firmly embraced a tawhidic worldview, focusing on the divine, life's purpose, humanity, society, existence, and their interconnected order. This perspective permeated his theses, covering human nature, societal structures, scientific and philosophical ideas, interpretations, critical analysis, knowledge theory, '*umran* theory, cyclical dynamics of civilizations, learning philosophy, governance, and political ideology. Moreover, his choice of the term '*umran* is particularly noteworthy, as it appears that this term seamlessly aligns with the formation of human communities guided by divine revelation.¹⁰

⁵ Fuad Baali (1988), *Society, State and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*, Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 43.

⁶ Asmat Wazir, Shakirullah Dawar, Hamayun Khan and Khalid, Abda (2022), "Ibn Khaldun Theory of Asabiyyah and the Rise and Fall of the Mughals in South Asia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 159; Muji Mulia (2019), "Teori 'Asabiyyah Ibn Khaldun dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Theory of Asabiyyah Ibn Khaldun in Islamic Law Perspective)," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 400-416.

⁷ Asyiqin Ab. Halim (2014), "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of 'Asabiyyah and the Concept of Muslim Ummah," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 36.

⁸ Laroussi Amri (2008), "The Concept of 'Umran: The Heuristic Knot in Ibn Khaldun," *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 356.

⁹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 154 -157.

¹⁰ Machouche and Bensaid, "Ethics in Muslim Writing and Research Methodology," p. 42.

The Concept of Justice and Beneficence

In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun explored the concepts of justice and beneficence, providing valuable insights into their roles in the functioning of society. He considered justice as a foundational principle for the well-being of a society, arguing that a just system is vital for maintaining order and fostering prosperity. In his view, justice is not only a legal or political concept but a moral and ethical one that permeates all aspects of societal life.¹¹

Ibn Khaldun examined how rulers exploiting power for personal gain harmed societies by causing economic inequality and instability. He stressed the importance of economic justice to prevent the decline of civilizations. Additionally, he promoted beneficence (*ihsan*) for social solidarity through kindness, charity, and support. In governance, he advised rulers to prioritize both justice and the well-being of subjects for overall state stability and prosperity. While justice is crucial, he argued that combining it with beneficence is essential for societal prosperity.¹²

Luxurious Lifestyle

A luxurious lifestyle reflects an excellent achievement of civilization. Ibn Khaldun asserted that a thriving civilization (*hadarah*) cannot exist without established, stable, and populated urban centers (*'umran*).¹³ Nevertheless, he observed that during a specific phase of societal development, elites' lavish lifestyles had harmed morality, social cohesion, and led to decadence, impacting the civilization's lifespan.

Ibn Khaldun warned against excessive focus on luxury, asserting that it undermines the original spirit of *'asabiyyah*, which could lead to a decline in societal well-being. Pursuing pleasure weakens the social fabric, diverting attention from collective welfare to personal interests. Luxurious living, according to Ibn Khaldun, negatively impacts both government and society. The rulers and elite individuals, deeply engaged in opulence, run the risk of becoming disconnected from the general population, which undermines effective governance and perpetuates the recurring pattern of the rise and decline of civilizations.¹⁴

Objective of Study

This study aims to examine the period of decline of the Umayyad Caliphate by employing the theory of Ibn Khaldun as a framework. Ibn Khaldun's theory is universally applicable and can be employed to study both historical and contemporary societies.

Though Ibn Khaldun's theory has been applied to the studies of various Muslim empires, especially of Middle East origins such as Abassid, Saffavid, Seljuk, and those of Central and Southeast Asia,¹⁵ it has yet to be applied to the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus, Spain.

Methodology

This study was based on a qualitative research method, through which the content analysis methodology was carried out to investigate related documents and other written sources. This study used Ibn Khaldun's book entitled *Muqaddimah* as the main reference in examining the decline of Islamic civilization in Andalus.

Ibn Khaldun's theory of civilizational studies is considered significant and applicable in the discussion of various factors that contributed to the fall of the Islamic civilization in Andalus after its glorious

¹¹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 157.

¹² Abdulkader Tayob (2022), "Beyond Modernity: The Moral Economy of Ibn Khaldun," *Journal for the Study of Religion*, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 9.

¹³ Ahmed E. Souaiaia (2023), "Reading and Interpreting Ibn Khaldun's Economic Philosophy," *Journal of Philosophical Economics*, Vol. XVI, p. 113.

¹⁴ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 176.

¹⁵ Philip K. Hitti (1970), *History of the Arabs*, London: Macmillan Press; Norman Itzkowit (1972), *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, Chicago: Chicago University Press; Ira M. Lipidus (1991), *A History of Islamic Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman (2000), *The Malays in the Middle East*, Kuala Lumpur: UM Press; Charles Lindholm (2002), *The Islamic Middle East Tradition and Change*, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.; B. Olufunmilayo Oloruntimehin (1972), *The Segun Tukolor Empire*, New York: Humanities Press; Akbar S. Ahmed (2002), *Discovering Islam Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, London: Routledge and Regan Paul Ltd.

reign, in which Muslims triumphed in every field of life and this period was called the golden era of Muslim history in Spain.

The Glorious Islamic Civilization in Andalus

Andalus, on the Iberian Peninsula, encompassed cities like Almeria, Malaga, Cadiz, Huelva, Seville, Cordoba, Jaen, and Granada. The term was bestowed by Muslims who occupied Southern Spain from the 8th to the 15th century.

As opposed to aggression, Jews in Spain perceived Muslims as liberators, and they benefitted during Muslim governance. During Islamic rule, Andalusia demonstrated religious tolerance by granting Jews and Christians the freedom to practice their beliefs as long as they showed respect towards Muslim rulers.

This era, illuminating the Iberian Peninsula during Europe's Dark Ages, made Andalus a center for learning and prosperity, drawing seekers of knowledge from far and wide. As a result, Muslim Spain had produced great philosophers, physicians, scientists, judges and artists, such as Ibn Firnas (810-887),¹⁶ Maslamah al-Majriti (950-1007),¹⁷ Ibn Juljul (943-994), Ibn Hazm (994-1064),¹⁸ Ibn Zuhri (1093-1162),¹⁹ al-Zarqali (1029-1087),²⁰ Ibn Rushd (1126-1198),²¹ Ibn Baytar (1197-1248)²² to name a few. They were all Muslims educated in Andalus. Motivated by a passion for knowledge and wisdom, Andalusian Muslim scholars excelled in diverse fields such as sciences, high-standard trade, architecture, agriculture, gardening industries, and specialized skills.²³

The Islamic civilization in Andalus, rooted in the Holy Quran and the Prophet's teachings, epitomized a significant chapter in Islamic history and a guiding light for humanity. Initiated by 'Abd al-Rahman I, the Umayyad dynasty's autonomous emirate in Cordoba, led by subsequent rulers like 'Abd Rahman II, 'Abd Rahman III, and al-Hakam II, witnessed a remarkable transformation in all facets of life and remarkable strides in knowledge and science.²⁴

Spanning three centuries, the Umayyad era in Spain marked a pinnacle in Muslim history, particularly in the tenth century under 'Abd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam II, emphasizing scientific pursuits.²⁵ Educational institutions and structures were also established to support scholarly and cultural advancement.²⁶

The Decline of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus during the 11th Century: Unraveling the Downfall Episodes

During the Islamic rule in Spain, a succession of dynasties rose and fell. The waning supremacy of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus began in the 11th century. The decline of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus accelerated after the death of Caliph al-Hakam II, exacerbated by the rule of the young Caliph

¹⁶ Glaire D. Anderson (2020), "Mind and Hand: Early Scientific Instruments from al-Andalus and 'Abbas ibn Firnas in the Cordoban Umayyad Court," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 1-28.

¹⁷ Josep Casulleras (2007), "Majriti: Abu al-Qasim Maslama ibn Ahmad al-Hasib al-Faradi al-Majriti," in Thomas Hockey et al. (eds.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, New York: Springer, pp. 727-728; Suhaila Abdullah (2018), "Pembudayaan Ilmu di Andalusia dan Iktibarnya untuk Pembangunan Tamadun di Malaysia," *Jurnal Peradaban*, Vol. 11, p. 9.

¹⁸ Mateusz Wilk (2010), "In Praise of al-Andalus. Andalusian Identity in Ibn Hazm's and al-Sa'quni's Treatises," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, Vol. IV, pp. 141-173.

¹⁹ Rabie E Abdel-Halim (2005), "Contributions of Ibn Zuhri (Avenzoar) to the Progress of Surgery: A Study and Translations from His Book *Al-Taisir*," *Saudi Medical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 9, pp. 1333-1339.

²⁰ Atilla Bir, Saliha Butun, Mustafa Kacar and Adem Akin (2020), "The Production Guide for the Zarqaliyya (Universal Astrolabe) in the Work of Abu al-Hasan al-Marrakushi," *Nazariyat*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 40-88.

²¹ Abdelghani Tbakhi and Samir S. Amr (2008), "Ibn Rushd (Averroes): Prince of Science," *Annals of Saudi Medicine*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 145-147.

²² Asmae El-Gharbaoui et al. (2017), "Comparison of Lamiaceae Medicinal Uses in Eastern Morocco and Eastern Andalusia and in Ibn al-Baytar's Compendium of Simple Medicaments (13th century CE)," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, Vol. 202, pp. 208-224.

²³ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 70 & 112-115; Mohd Nizam Sahad, Suhaila Abdullah and Che Zarrina Sa'ari (2015), "Kemahiran Modal Insan: Analisis Terhadap Pemikiran Ibn Khaldun di dalam *al-Muqaddimah*," *UMRAN: The Journal of Muslim Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 72-73.

²⁴ Alwi Alatas (2021), "Education and Socio-Political Change in the 11th and 12th Centuries Abbasid Realm," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 80; Suhaila (2018), "Pembudayaan Ilmu di Andalusia," p. 5.

²⁵ Jessica A. Coope (2020), *The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

²⁶ Suhaila (2018), "Pembudayaan Ilmu di Andalusia," p. 4.

Hisham II, who was between the ages of 9 and 12. Al-Hakam II's demise marked the end of stability and the onset of challenges in Islamic Spain.²⁷ This investigation explores the key episodes leading to its decline and explores the reigns of numerous caliphs in Andalus during this pivotal period:

Hisham II Ibn al-Hakam II (976-1009, 1010-1013)

Hisham II assumed the caliphate in 976 at a young age (around 9 to 12 years old), and during his early reign, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mansur, his *hajib* (chamberlain or vizier), played a significant role in governing the state. However, in 1009, he was deposed and replaced by Muhammad II al-Mahdi.

According to Scale (1994), with Hisham II's youth, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mansur, his *hajib*, assumed control over government institutions. As a result, Al-Mansur's influential role diminished Hisham II's direct involvement in official affairs.²⁸

According to Al-Sirjani (2010), Hisham II prioritized religious worship, scholarship, and charity.²⁹ Ibn Khallikan³⁰ also praised Hisham II's intelligence and wisdom but noted his struggle to manage the administration, mainly under al-Mansur's control.

Al-Mansur strategically strengthened his rule by recruiting diverse soldiers from Africa (Berbers) and northern Spain (Slavs), replacing forces loyal to previous rulers. This aimed to reduce the influence of Arab and indigenous soldiers, but the influx of foreign troops led to complications. The power struggle between the Berber and Saqalibah factions escalated, particularly in their pursuit of administrative prominence.³¹

The power struggle between the factions, particularly the Berbers and Saqalibah, intensified, leading to internal conflicts. The threat issued by 'Abd al-Rahman Sanchol ibn al-Mansur and subsequent military campaigns resulted in the deposition of Hisham II in 1009.³² Consequently, as 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Mansur and his forces embarked on military campaigns, Umayyad loyalists ousted Hisham II from the caliphate, substituting him with another Umayyad heir, Muhammad II ibn Hisham.³³ After Muhammad II's death in 1010, Hisham II was released from prison, and he regained the caliphate, ruling from 1010 to 1013.³⁴

Muhammad II al-Mahdi (1008-1009)

Muhammad II ibn Hisham ibn Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, known as al-Mahdi, executed a successful coup with broad public support in Cordoba, deposing Caliph Hisham II.³⁵ During this period, al-Mahdi expelled the Amirid family, seized their assets, and destroyed Madinat al-Zahirah. To cripple financial resources, he disbanded 7,000 troops and targeted the Berbers, imposing strict restrictions such as prohibiting horse riding and weapon carrying.³⁶ Scales (1994) documented further mistreatment of the Berber army, including humiliation tactics. Alarming reports suggest al-Mahdi's supporters brutally set fire to Berber homes, indiscriminately killing both men and women.³⁷

Al-Mahdi's actions led to his downfall. A pivotal battle on 3rd November, 1009, in Qantish resulted in his defeat by Berber leader Sulayman II Ibn al-Hakam. Al-Mahdi fled to Toledo, allowing Sulayman II, supported by Berber and Sancho's forces, to take control of Cordoba. On 8th November 1009, Sulayman II declared himself Caliph, marking a power shift.³⁸

²⁷ Elsa Fernandes Cardoso (2021), "Doctoral thesis in History presented at the University of Lisbon in 15th July, 2020, Supervised by Professor Hermenegildo Fernandes and Professor Hugh Kennedy," *Medievalista*, Vol. 30, pp. 365-385.

²⁸ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 30-41.

²⁹ Raghīb al-Sirjani (2010), *Qissat al-Andalus min al-Fath ila al-Suqut*, al-Qahirah: Mu'assasah Iqra', p. 266.

³⁰ Abu 'Abbas Sham sal-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ibn Khallikan (1971), *Wafayat al-'Ayyan wa Anba' Abna' al-Zaman*, Vol. 4, Beirut: Dar Sadir, pp. 372-373.

³¹ David Wasserstein (1985), *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 55-58; S. M. Imamuddin (1981), *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A. D.: A Sociology Study*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, p. 65.

³² Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, pp. 38-39.

³³ Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, pp. 39-42; al-Sirjani (2010), *Qissat al-Andalus*, p. 291.

³⁴ Govert Westerveld (2016), *Muslim History of the Region of Murcia (715-1080)*, Vol. I, North Carolina: Lulu Press, p. 179.

³⁵ al-Maqqari (1988), *Nafh al-Tib*, Vol. 1, p. 426.

³⁶ Reinhardt Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam: A History of the Muslims Spain*, F. G. Stokes (trans.), New Delhi: Goodword Books, p. 547; Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, pp. 63-64.

³⁷ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 68 & 70; Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 81.

³⁸ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 72-74; Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, pp. 549-552; Nuriyana Mohd Talib (2015), "Eurocentrisme dalam Spanish Islam: A History of the Muslims Spain Karya Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883M)," Master's Dissertation, Fakultas Pengajian Islam, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, p. 95.

In a subsequent conflict on 22nd May 1010, at 'Aqabat al-Baqar, al-Mahdi's forces triumphed, ousting Sulayman II from Cordoba. Upon regaining authority, al-Mahdi imposed an extra tax to fund his military and Catalan mercenaries.³⁹ Despite al-Wadhiih becoming al-Mahdi's hajib, he conspired with Anbar, Khayran, and Saragossa's governor to overthrow al-Mahdi.⁴⁰ Hisham II became caliph, with al-Wadhiih as *hajib*, but he was later arrested and executed for embezzlement.

Meanwhile, Cordoba faced a devastating natural disaster when a massive flood ravaged numerous suburbs and claimed the lives of 5,000 people. Seizing this moment of vulnerability, the Berbers launched an attack on Cordoba, compelling Hisham II to relinquish the throne to Sulayman II.⁴¹

Sulayman II (1009-1010, 1013-1016)

Sulayman II first became a caliph in 1009, but his rule was short-lived, and he was ousted in 1010 amidst power struggles in the caliphate. Initially, he reached a peace agreement with the Cordoban people after Hisham II voluntarily gave up the throne. However, Sulayman II later violated the agreement by forcefully entering Cordoba with Berber forces, causing chaos and destruction.⁴² According to Scales, Ibn al-'Idhari recounted that Hisham II sought support from Ceuta ruler 'Ali ibn Hammud to overthrow Sulayman II.⁴³

After the death of Muhammad II al-Mahdi in 1010, Sulayman II reclaimed the caliphate in 1013, maintaining his rule until 1016.⁴⁴ This era in Andalus was characterized by frequent shifts in leadership caused by internal conflicts, factional struggles, and external pressures. On 17th June 1016, the forces led by 'Ali ibn Hammud breached Cordoba, defeating Sulayman II's army. Following Hisham II's death, Khayran consented to appoint 'Ali ibn Hammud as the new caliph.⁴⁵

'Abd al-Rahman IV al-Murtada (1018-1023)

While Hammud initially held sway over the Cordoba empire, persistent efforts by Umayyad loyalists aimed to reinstate the Umayyad government in Cordoba. They designated 'Abd al-Rahman IV ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, known as al-Murtada, as the heir to the Umayyad Caliph. This Umayyad resurgence unsettled 'Ali ibn Hammud, who, apprehensive about Cordoba's residents aligning with the Umayyad heirs, resorted to coercive measures. He employed forceful tactics such as seizing homes and imposing additional taxes on the populace.⁴⁶

Moreover, Ibn Bassam (1997) reported that, in a bid to secure his rule, 'Ali ibn Hammud engaged in widespread surveillance of Cordoba's residents, arbitrarily confiscating land.⁴⁷ This oppressive environment forced villagers into hiding during the day, venturing out only under the cover of night, leading to deserted markets. On 21st August, 1018, 'Ali ibn Hammud met his demise at the hands of his slaves in the palace's bath before he could launch an offensive against the Umayyad revolution in Jaen.⁴⁸

Following 'Ali ibn Hammud's demise, the Berbers Zanatah in Cordoba declared his brother, al-Qasim ibn Hammud, the new caliph. Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Rahman IV fled to Guadix but met an unfortunate end at the hands of Khayran's messenger.⁴⁹ The defeat of 'Abd al-Rahman IV and his forces in Granada further weakened central authority, paving the way for the rise of autonomous rulers in Almeria, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Granada, and Zaragoza.⁵⁰

³⁹ Ibn al-Khatib, Abu 'Abd Allah Lisan al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah (2003), *'Amal al-'Alam fi man Buyi'a Qabla al-Ihtilam min Muluk al-Islam wa ma Yata'allaq bi Zhalika min al-Kalam*, Vol. 2, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, p. 555; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 78; Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 100.

⁴¹ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 78-85.

⁴² Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, pp. 557-558; al-Maqqari (1988), *Naft al-Tib*, Vol. 1, pp. 428-429.

⁴³ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 91; Abi 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Futuh al-Humaydi (2008), *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fi Tarikh 'Ulama' al-Andalus*, Tunis: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁴ Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, p. 552.

⁴⁵ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁶ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 96-98; Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 121.

⁴⁷ Abi al-Hassan 'Ali Ibn Bassam al-Shantarini (1997), *Al-Dhakhirah fi Mahasin Ahl al-Jazirah*, Vol. 1, Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafah, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁸ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 98.

⁴⁹ 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Athir (2012), *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 7, Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, p. 617; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 99.

⁵⁰ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 101.

'Abd al-Rahman V (1022-1023)

Efforts to revive the Umayyad Caliphate persisted among its proponents, though waning due to diminished support. On 2nd December, 1023, a pivotal election unfolded at the Great Mosque of Cordoba to designate the successors to the Umayyad legacy. 'Abd al-Rahman V, backed by his forces, entered the mosque, compelling the Cordobans to declare him the new caliph. Swiftly anointed as the 9th Umayyad caliph, he assumed the title al-Mustazhir bi-Allah.⁵¹

'Abd al-Rahman V's rule endured a mere 47 days, unveiling a depleted national treasury inherited from his predecessor. Confronted with a financial crisis, he opted for a high tax on the people of Cordoba and sought backing from the Berbers. This decision triggered a rebellion among the Cordobans, culminating in an assault on the Caliph's castle on 17th January, 1024, resulting in the demise of 'Abd al-Rahman V and the defeat of his Berber troops.⁵²

Muhammad III (1023-1025)

Following 'Abd Rahman V's demise, the citizens of Cordoba elected Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ubayd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, a cousin of 'Abd al-Rahman V, as a caliph under the title al-Mustakfi. Regrettably, his tenure was marred by allegations of indolence, ignorance, and inefficiency. After merely twenty-seven days in office, he succumbed to poisoning and was discovered lifeless in Medinaceli on 1st June, 1025.⁵³

Hisham III al-Mu'tadd (1028-1031)

After Muhammad III's death, the lack of an Umayyad heir competing for the caliphate throne resulted in a six-month caliphate vacancy in al-Andalus. In June 1028, Hisham III Ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-Rahman III was nominated and assumed the title of al-Mu'tadd bi-Allah as the new leader.⁵⁴ However, Hisham III's rule lasted only two years and was marked by controversy. His minister, Hakam ibn Sa'id al-Qazaaz or Sa'id ibn al-Hakam, faced allegations of misappropriating traders' funds for the Berbers while managing state affairs. The people of Cordoba and the council widely disapproved this action.⁵⁵

Consequently, the Cordoban people and council decided to end the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus because they believed no capable Umayyad heir could lead effectively. This resolution formally marked the culmination of the Umayyad Caliphate era in al-Andalus.⁵⁶ These events align with Ibn Khaldun's theory, which emphasizes a decline in social cohesion and religious devotion as critical factors in the downfall of the Umayyads in Andalus. This implies that a decrease in social unity and religious commitment played crucial roles in the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 136; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 105.

⁵² Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 138; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 105.

⁵³ Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 106.

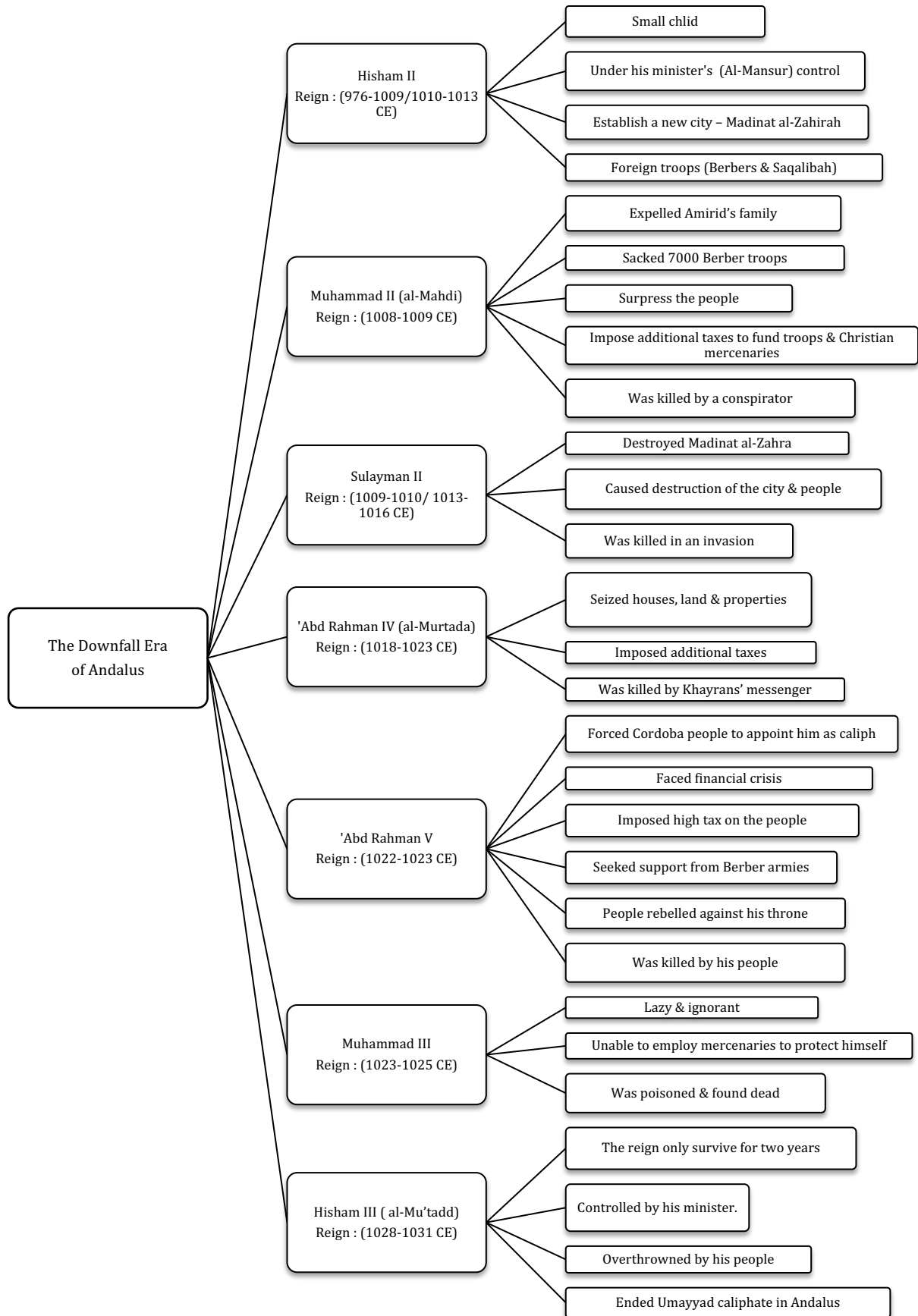
⁵⁴ Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, pp. 584-585.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 146; Ibn al-Khatib, *'Amal al-'Alam*, Vol. 2, p. 133; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, p. 108.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-'Idhari (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, Vol. 3, p. 146; Scales (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, pp. 108-109; Dozy (2001), *Spanish Islam*, p. 586.

⁵⁷ Yousef Bennaji (2015), "Echoes of the Fall of the Umayyads in Traditional and Modern Sources: A Case Study of the Final Eight Years of the Umayyad Empire with Some Reference to Gramsci's Theory of Cultural Hegemony," Doctoral Thesis, Philosophy in Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, p. 224.

Figure 1: The Downfall Episodes of Islamic Civilization in al-Andalus, Spain



Result and Discussion

Ibn Khaldun's theory suggests that people are naturally social and cooperative⁵⁸ but can be swayed by personal desires. In Andalusian history since the 11th century, this conflict is evident.

According to Ibn Khaldun, a society with strong solidarity can withstand challenges,⁵⁹ but when leaders focus on luxury, it weakens the nation.⁶⁰ This predicament afflicted Andalus from the 11th century onward, hindering the establishment of stable governance. The loss of solidarity in the Umayyad dynasty led to power struggles among minor princes.⁶¹

Ibn Khaldun emphasized religion's role in uniting society and saw religious figures in politics as influential.⁶² Oppressive actions by Andalusian caliphs, alienating the population, contributed to the state's downfall. Ibn Khaldun argued that religion, beyond rituals, shapes life comprehensively.⁶³ He stressed that religion comprehensively shapes a civilization and influences its rise and fall.⁶⁴ Neglecting religious adherence in Andalus in the 11th century led to issues contributing to the civilization's downfall.

Ibn Khaldun asserted that effective governance of large territories requires aligning hearts and minds toward a common goal. Without this unity, societal conflicts driven by worldly desires can arise. He emphasized the importance of religious teachings in addressing such challenges.⁶⁵ According to him, the downfall of the Umayyad Caliphate dynasties was due to injustice and tyranny, leading to the collapse of the civilization.⁶⁶ He underlined that justice is a crucial element across social, economic, and political realms in Islamic life.⁶⁷ Hence, the oppressive conditions in the final phases of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalus diminished social solidarity and weakened the ruling authority's hold on power.⁶⁸

Ibn Khaldun perceptively noted the adverse effects of lavish lifestyles and a fondness for luxury goods among certain 11th-century Andalusian caliphs. These excesses not only corroded the ruling authority's moral foundation but also threatened the longevity of Islamic civilization in Andalus. The spread of immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery had the potential to significantly impact the continuity of a civilization.⁶⁹

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun emphasized the crucial role of justice in maintaining societal balance, advocating for the protection of rights and elimination of excesses.⁷⁰ He highlighted injustices such as the wrongful appropriation of property in 11th-century Muslim Spain, attributing it to the civilization's decline.⁷¹ He also condemned excessive taxes imposed by rulers, citing their tyrannical impact in 11th-century Andalus, where such levies funded elite luxuries, worsening societal inequities and contributing to the decline of Islamic civilization.⁷²

Ibn Khaldun contended that increasing opulence precipitates societal decline. This is exemplified in Andalus, where extravagant lifestyles fracture unity, breed unwarranted superiority, and expose the

⁵⁸ Suhaila Abdullah (2018), "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Good Governance in Achieving Civilization Excellence," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, No. 9, p. 1325.

⁵⁹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 108 & 281.

⁶⁰ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 108; Suhaila (2018), "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Good Governance," p. 1330.

⁶¹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 123-124.

⁶² Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 170; Mehdi Soltanzadeh and Aliakbar Soroush (2009), "Factors Affecting a Society's Life Span According to Ibn Khaldun," in Osman Bakar and Baharudin Ahmad (eds.), *Proceedings of International Conference- Ibn Khaldun's Legacy and Its Significance*, Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) and International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), p. 122.

⁶³ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 171.

⁶⁴ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 170; Fadi Zatari (2021), "Religion as a Pillar for Establishing a Civilization: Al-Mawardi's Perspective," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 243.

⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 112.

⁶⁶ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 103.

⁶⁷ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 157.

⁶⁸ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 211.

⁶⁹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 293.

⁷⁰ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 157. See also Shehab, E. M., & Smati, A. (2021), "The Psycho-Sociological Perspective on Civilization: Insights from Malik Bennabi Theory," *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 21-32.

⁷¹ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 241-242.

⁷² Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, pp. 230-232.

state to external threats.⁷³ He asserted that luxury-induced corruption impacts leaders' characters, evident in the reigns of Muhammad II al-Mahdi (1008-1009), Sulayman II (1009-1010 / 1013-1016), Abd al-Rahman IV al-Murtada (1018-1023), Abd al-Rahman V (1022-1023), Muhammad III (1023-1025), and Hisham III al-Mu'tadd (1028-1031). This moral decay has triggered a decline in Andalusian Islamic civilization from the 1030s, with the dynasty displaying signs of dissolution, succumbing to disorientation, and ultimately leading to its demise.⁷⁴

Conclusion

In summary, a civilization's longevity is intricately tied to the stability of the nation, especially in terms of social cohesion and just leadership. According to Ibn Khaldun, social cohesion grounded in religious principles has a significant influence. Civilizational decline occurs in tandem with political disintegration, economic downturn, and societal unrest, often linked to excessive luxury, self-serving pursuits, and the erosion of a sense of belonging. This leads to complacency, lethargy, and a lack of direction, resulting in weakened societies, as observed by Ibn Khaldun in the decline of Islamic societies in Spain and North Africa.

The Umayyad decline in Spain was shaped by frequent battles with Christians, exacerbated by subsequent rulers neglecting Islamic teachings. This deviation weakened morals, fostering indulgence and materialism. Internal conflicts among corrupt Muslim leaders hastened the end of Islamic rule, succumbing to Christian adversaries.

In summary, a civilization's vitality and a nation's prosperity depend on religious adherence, effective governance, economic productivity, and collective efforts. When religious principles are abandoned, individuals lose motivation, leaders prioritize personal gain, and the fabric of civilization deteriorates. Ibn Khaldun's 14th-century theories remain relevant, highlighting human behavior as the root cause of administrative challenges throughout history. Neglecting religious principles, especially by rulers, leads to issues like tyranny, injustice, immorality, and duplicity, resulting in the downfall of civilizations. Lessons from the past should guide us to avoid repeating mistakes in our present era.

Acknowledgement

This study is funded by a grant provided by the Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia (Reference Code: FRGS/1/2022/SS10/USM/02/5).

References

Abdel-Halim, Rabie E. (2005), "Contributions of Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) to the Progress of Surgery: A Study and Translations from His Book *Al-Taisir*," *Saudi Medical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 9, 1333-1339.

Abdullah, Suhaila (2018), "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Good Governance in Achieving Civilization Excellence," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, No. 9, 1321-1333.

Abdullah, Suhaila (2018), "Pembudayaan Ilmu di Andalusia dan Iktibarnya untuk Pembangunan Tamadun di Malaysia," *Jurnal Peradaban*, Vol. 11, 1-23.

Abdullah, Suhaila (2014), "Ibn Khaldun's Discourse on the Importance of Knowledge and Ethics in Youth Human Capital Development," *Journal of Human Development and Communication*, Vol. 3, 59-77.

Ahmed, Akbar S. (2002), *Discovering Islam Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, London: Routledge and Regan Paul Ltd.

Alatas, Alwi (2021), "Education and Socio-Political Change in the 11th and 12th Centuries Abbasid Realm," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 79-98.

⁷³ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 109.

⁷⁴ Ibn Khaldun (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, p. 135.

- Alatas, Syed Farid (2006), "A Khaldunian Exemplar for a Historical Sociology for the South," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 397-411.
- al-Humaydi, Abi 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Futuh (2008), *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fi Tarikh 'Ulama' al-Andalus*, Tunis: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- al-Maqqari, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (1988), *Nafh al-Tib min Ghushn al-Andalus al-Ratib*, Vol. 1, Beirut: Dar Sadir.
- al-Sirjani, Raghib (2010), *Qissat al-Andalus min al-Fath ila al-Suqut*, al-Qahirah: Mu'assasah Iqra'.
- Amri, Laroussi (2008), "The Concept of 'Umran: The Heuristic Knot in Ibn Khaldun," *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 351-361.
- Anderson, D. Glaire (2020), "Mind and Hand: Early Scientific Instruments from al-Andalus and 'Abbas ibn Firnas in the Cordoban Umayyad Court," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1-28.
- Baali, Fuad (1988), *Society, State and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Baharuddin, Madiha and Abdullah, Wan Suhaimi Wan (2014), "The Book *al-Jabr wa al-Muqabalah*: A Research on Its Content, Writing Methodology and Elementary Algebra by al-Khwarizmi," *Afkar*, Vol. 15, 135-162.
- Barry, Michael B. (2008), *Homage to al-Andalus- The Rise and Fall of Islamic Spain*, Ireland: Andalus Press.
- Bennaji, Yousef (2015), "Echoes of the Fall of the Umayyads in Traditional and Modern Sources: A Case Study of the Final Eight Years of the Umayyad Empire with Some Reference to Gramsci's Theory of Cultural Hegemony," Doctoral Thesis, Philosophy in Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter.
- Bir, Atilla, Butun, Saliha, Kacar, Mustafa and Akin, Adem (2020), "The Production Guide for the Zarqaliyya (Universal Astrolabe) in the Work of Abu al-Hasan al-Marrakushi," *Nazariyat*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 40-88.
- Braudel, F. (1995), *A History of Civilizations*, USA: Penguin Books.
- Cardoso, Elsa Fernandes (2021), "Doctoral thesis in History presented at the University of Lisbon in 15th July, 2020. Supervised by Professor Hermenegildo Fernandes and Professor Hugh Kennedy," *Medievalista*, Vol. 30, 365-385.
- Coope, Jessica A. (2020), *The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dozy, Reinhart (2001), *Spanish Islam: A History of the Muslims Spain*, F. G. Stokes (trans.), New Delhi: Goodword Books.
- El-Gharbaouia, Asmae, Beniteza, Guillermo, Gonzalez-Tejeroa, M. Reyes, Molero-Mesaa, Joaquin and Merzoukib, Abderrahmane (2017), "Comparison of Lamiaceae Medicinal Uses in Eastern Morocco and Eastern Andalusia and in Ibn al-Baytar's Compendium of Simple Medicaments (13th Century CE)," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, Vol. 202, 208-224.
- El-Kholei, Ahmed O. (2019), "Ibn Khaldun's 'Ilm al 'Umran: A Model for Planning the Sustainable City in the Arab Region," *International Journal of Architectural Research*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 276-293.
- Halim, Asyiqin Ab. (2014), "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of 'Aṣabiyyah and the Concept of Muslim Ummah," *Jurnal al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 33-44.

Haque, Munawar, Sulaiman, Kabuye Uthman, Soualhi, Bachi and Arif, Syamsuddin (2010), *Islam, Knowledge and Civilization*, International Islamic University Malaysia: IIUM Press.

Hitti, Philip K. (1970), *History of the Arabs*, London: Macmillan Press.

Hopfe, Lewis (1998), *Religions of the World*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Ibn al-Athir, 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad (2012), *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Vol. 7, Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi.

Ibn al-'Idhari, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad (1980), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib fi Akhbar al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, Vol. 2, Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafah.

Ibn al-'Idhari, Abū al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad (1983), *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib fi Akhbar al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, Vol. 3. Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafah.

Ibn al-Khatib, Abu 'Abd Allah Lisan al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah (2003), *A'mal al-'Alam fi man Buyi'a Qabla Al-Ihtilam min Muluk al-Islam wa ma Yata'allaq bi Dhalika min al-Kalam*, Vol. 2, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

Ibn Bassam, Abi al-Hassan 'Ali ibn Bassam al-Shantarini (1997), *Al-Dhakhirah fi Mahasin Ahl al-Jazirah*, Vol. 1, Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafah.

Ibn Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman (1967), *The Muqaddimah*, Franz Rosenthal (trans.), London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ibn Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman (2000), *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun – al-Juz al-Awwal min Kitab al-Ibar wa al-Diwan al-Mubatada' wa al-Khabar fi Ayyam al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar wa min 'Asirihim min zawi al-Sultan al-Akbar*, Beirut: Muassasat al-'Alami lil al-Matbu'ah.

Ibn Khallikan, Abu 'Abbas Sham sal-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad (1971), *Wafayat al-'Ayyan wa Anba' Abna' al-Zaman*, Vol. 4. Beirut: Dar Sadir.

Imamuddin, S. M. (1981), *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: A Sociology Study*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Ishak, Md. Sidin Ahmad and Othman, Mohammad Redzuan (2000), *The Malays in the Middle East*, Kuala Lumpur: UM Press.

Itzkowit, Norman (1972), *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lindholm, Charles (2002), *The Islamic Middle East Tradition and Change*, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Lipidus, Ira. M. (1991), *A History of Islamic Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Long, Ahmad Sunawari (ed.) (2015), *Falsafah Ibnu Khaldun*, Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan & Buku Malaysia.

Machouche, Saleh Ben Tahar and Bensaid, Benaouda (2022), "Ethics in Muslim Writing and Research Methodology: The Case Ibn Khaldun's Scholarly Writing," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 39-52.

Mulia, M. (2019), "Teori 'Asabiyyah Ibn Khaldun dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Theory of 'Asabiyyah Ibn Khaldun in Islamic Law Perspective)," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 400-416.

Oloruntimehin, B. Olufunmilayo (1972), *The Segu Tukolor Empire*, New York: Humanities Press.

Sahad, Mohd Nizam, Abdullah, Suhaila, and Sa'ari, Che Zarrina (2015), "Kemahiran Modal Insan: Analisis Terhadap Pemikiran Ibn Khaldun di dalam *al-Muqaddimah*," *UMRAN: The Journal of Muslim Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 49-96.

Scales, P. C. (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Shehab, E. M., & Smati, A, (2021), "The Psycho-Sociological Perspective on Civilization: Insights from Malik Bennabi Theory," *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 21-32.

Soltanzadeh, Mehdi and Soroush, Aliakbar (2009), "Factors Affecting a Society's Life Span According to Ibn Khaldun," in Osman Bakar and Baharudin Ahmad (eds.), *Proceedings of International Conference- Ibn Khaldun's Legacy and Its Significance*, Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) and International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM).

Souaiaia, Ahmed E. (2023), "Reading and Interpreting Ibn Khaldun's Economic Philosophy," *Journal of Philosophical Economics: Reflections on Economic and Social Issues*, Volume XVI, 100-129.

Talib, Nurliyana Mohd (2015), "Eurosentrisme dalam Spanish Islam: A History of the Muslims Spain Karya Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883M)," Master's Dissertation, Fakulti Pengajian Islam, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Tbakhi, Abdelghani and Amr, Samir S. (2008), "Ibn Rushd (Averroes): Prince of Science," *Annals of Saudi Medicine*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 145 - 147.

Tayob, Abdulkader (2022), "Beyond Modernity: The Moral Economy of Ibn Khaldun," *Journal for the Study of Religion*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 1-17.

Vaghebin, Reza, Khalili, Mohsen, Amiresmaili, Sedigheh, Namdar, Hasan and Mousavi, Mohammad Javad (2022), "Treatment of Traumatic Brain Injury from the Viewpoint of Avicenna (Ibn Sina): A Historical Review," *Interdisciplinary Neurosurgery: Advanced Techniques and Case Management*, Vol. 28, 1-7.

Wasserstein, D. (1985), *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wazir, Asmat, Dawar, Shakirullah, Khan, Hamayun and Khalid, Abda (2022), "Ibn Khaldun Theory of Asabiyyah and the Rise and Fall of the Mughals in South Asia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 159-169.

Westerveld, Govert (2016), *Muslim History of the Region of Murcia (715-1080)*, Vol. I, North Carolina: Lulu Press, Inc.

Wilk, Mateusz (2010), "In Praise of al-Andalus. Andalus Identity in Ibn Ḥazm's and al-Saḡundi's Treatises," *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, Vol. IV, 141-173.

Zarrintan, Sina, Aslanabadi, Saeid and Rikhtegar, Reza (2013), "Early Contributions of Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya Razi (865–925) to Evidence-Based Medicine," *International Journal of Cardiology*, Vol. 168, No 1, 604-605.

Zatari, Fadi (2021), "Religion as a Pillar for Establishing a Civilization: Al-Mawardi's Perspective," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 240-257.

