



IMPLICATING THE UMAYYADS-ABBASID
PHENOMENOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION IN
ADDRESSING THE CONTEMPORARY WOES OF
THE MUSLIM *UMMAH*

BY

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Human
Sciences (History and Civilization)

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human
Sciences International Islamic University
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MARCH 2010

ABSTRACT

This study explores the instrumentality of the Qur'ānic philosophy of history, *al-'itbār*, in thinking how the quandary trailing the Muslim *ummah* may be addressed. In this sense, history is conceived as a tool through which one can seek the understanding of the present through the past, in order to create a better future. This theoretical foundation was then used in hypothesizing that, in studying the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasids, insight might be gained into how the prevailing *ummah's* problems can be possibly addressed. This was done with a taken for granted supposition that there are similarities yet differences in the nature of the problems which led to the crumbling of the Umayyads and those which have now rendered Muslims befuddled. Suggesting a way out of these predicaments thus necessitated deciphering the lessons of history out of the early Abbasid caliph's response to the Umayyad's challenges. Thus, achieving this objective obliged the use of explorative, contracting, analytical and synthetic methodology in digesting existing sources and the nature of the problems to be addressed. With the veracity of the study's hypothetical foundation established, ameliorative way forward which is based on the concept of changing the hands that rules Muslim *ummah* is therefore suggested.

ملخص البحث

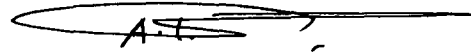
تتبنى هذه الدراسة الفلسفة القرآنية لتفسير التاريخ، والتي تعتمد في جوهرها على منهج الاعتبار القائل بأن دراسة ماضي التراث البشري بصفه عامة ضرورية لفهم أحداث الحاضر ومكوناته والتخطيط لمستقبل أفضل. وانطلاقاً من هذا المنهج، تتقصى الدراسة اسباب اضمحلال الدولة الأموية، والتي أدت في نهاية الأمر إلى العصف بها. ومن ثم تتبع السياسات والسبل التي انتهجها خلفاء بني العباس على وجه العموم، لتفادي عثرات بل وخطايا عدد من الخلفاء الأمويين، والتي مكنتهم من إقامة دولة قوية عملاقة اصبح عهدها بحق وحقيقة العصر الذهبي للإسلام. وبما أن الدراسة تفترض بأن عوامل تدهور الخلافة الأموية تشبه إلى حد كبير تلك التي واجهت وتواجه الأمة الإسلامية في عصرنا هذا، فإنها تزعم بأن اتباع سياسات وتوجهات العباسيين الرشيدة ربما تمكن الأمة الإسلامية من تخطي الأزمة المستعصية التي نعيشها حالياً، والمتمثلة اساساً في ضعف وفساد ولامبالاة الحكام الذين تجاهلوا أمور دينهم وتطلعات رعيّتهم تماماً كما فعل معظم الخلفاء الأمويين.

APPROVAL PAGE

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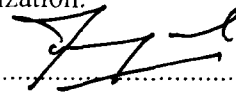


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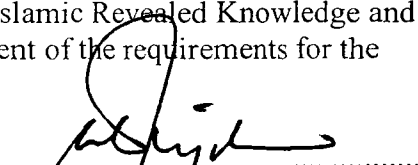
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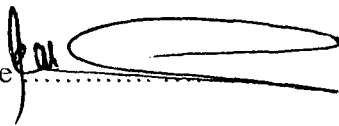


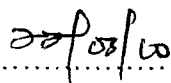
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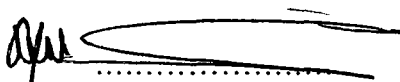
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**IMPLICATING THE Umayyads-Abbasid Phenomenological
Transformation in Addressing the Contemporary Woes of
The Muslim *Ummah***

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This study is dedicated to Ibn Abayomi, the man who nurtured me with the truism of the message that makes man to discover his purpose in time and how this can be fulfilled so that man's journey in time will come to a fruitful end on the Day of Judgment. Dedicated also, to the memory of all great Sheikhs, whose pens have produced works that are keeping the hope of *islah/tajdid* alive, and whose deaths as *shaheeds* have been the nutrient on which the hope of success of the struggle, to which they zealously lived and died for, feeds on.

To those upholders and defenders of Islam, old and the young who have been damning the consequences and paying the price to make Islam reign supreme; the slain and the maimed, children and orphans of the struggle of resistance against infidelity; the martyred; widows, widowers and the bereaved of the struggle between truth and falsehood; to all the depressed, discontented, dispossessed, displaced and decimated, who still cling to the hard way and bear with fortitude the choice of defending the course of Islam and to all the minds which truly wish to see God and Islam direct the public and private affairs of man in time. To the born and unborn children of the struggle for the triumph of Islam, the emotionally traumatized children of Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Pakistan, Chechnya and Kashmir who are living in perpetual fate of the uncertain, and yet, determined to weather the storm that time has imposed on them. To all still born, whose deaths were as a result of the trauma in the lands of Islam, particularly where truth and falsehood are slugging it out and to those born with one form of body deformity or the other as a result of such struggles. To my parents who wished to be in the four walls of the garden of learning but were constrained by the vicissitudes of time; and above and beyond, to the initiators of the ideas of the International Islamic University.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The incomprehensible and comprehensive munificence of Allah is acknowledged for making a dream and vision come true. He selects those He so desires to walk His path; He lightens the path of truth with His light by committing their hearts, minds, time, energy and intellectual strength towards making the truth triumph over falsehood. Since this is with His approval, then, it is part of His ways to ease the way for those He has approved of this mission. It is this magnificence of His, which made me to be fortunate to study under the tutelage of those tender-hearted teachers and quality minded scholars.

It is with the above feelings and burden of appreciation that I mention and express my earnest feelings to Dr. Wan Suhana Wan Sulong, my Head of Department and self-appointed mentor. The forces of Heaven bear witness to the protective care which you offered me and how you graciously spread your wings to protect me against the seen and the unseen adversaries. May you be rewarded abundantly, here and in the hereafter.

To Prof. Dr. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, who literally and partly sponsored my education in the university and made me discover the contours of the why's and how's of the Middle East and Islamic Historiography. It was under your headship as graduate assistance that I acquired additional administrative training which sharpened my research skills. It will be unreservedly repulsive if my vote of thanks is not extended to all the staff under your office as the Postgraduate Deputy Dean of Research and Academics, IRKHS. They treated me with the honour of a full-fledged member of your unit's family.

Prof. Dr. Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, the aged man of knowledge and intellectual ability deserves a special commendation for not only painstakingly supervising this work with Abushouk, but for expressing his undying love for my intellectual development. Prof. insisted that the best be done; as a result he compelled me to do this. Your commitment to your responsibilities in the classroom as well your flare for intellectual engagements solely takes and drives this study to completion. Above and beyond, you brought experience and wisdom to my broad view, and this remains the most valuable asset I have acquired in this university.

This study began under the mentorship of Dr. Arshad Islam when the paper work which was latter developed to the present form, was submitted as a term paper for the course, 'Islam in Central Asia.' Not only do I salute Dr. Arshad's open-mindedness in allowing me to continue the transformation of the ideas articulated therein in the term paper to a thesis under different persons, but most observably, for still finding time to discuss and recommend books that uniquely benefitted this study. For personal and other reasons, I remain indebted to you and will forever remain appreciative of your large heartedness.

To Prof. Dr. Abdullah al-Ahsan, for being a meticulous and a down to earth teacher. Of course, the warmth, albeit strictness of Dr. Hafiz Zakariya, who on two occasions taught me Research Methodology and with whom the proposal that laid down the foundation of this study was at first developed is ardently prized. Like Dr. Wan Suhana Wan Sulong, Dr. Hafiz is always showing me the love of a teacher for a least deserving student. You made feel that I am part of the large community and amongst those you truly care for.

Also, is Sister Azura Abdul Jalil, the Secretary, Department of History and Civilization, who in one form or the other, never made me have a feel of being far from home. For making me experience the bitterness and the spasm of not being fairly assessed, Prof. Dr. Ataullah Kopanski is also thanked. This ordeal rekindled my altruistic gut in getting my feelings known.

To the soft-minded but resilient Hakeem Onapajo, who tasted the bitterness of walking the unpopular path with me and got his baptism in full measure, particularly during the struggle against plagiarizing, anti-social behaviour and for staying put with me in the memorable battle aimed at bringing to book, the killers of late Abdul Aziz. Aziz, a Chadian student was gruesomely killed based on what a local Malaysian Newspaper called, 'Hate Did This.' In like manner, the supporting hand of Mr. Aminu Sikiru and his family is valued and for this, I say thank you.

To my parents and siblings for allowing me the peace of mind which made me stay focused throughout the duration of my study. Special mention is made of Kudirat for her timely interventions, especially in the dying minutes of my sojourn to Malaysia, when a memorable development nearly scuttled my dream. To my in-laws for their supports and understanding that education is a life-time investment which may affect the discharge of other responsibilities.

And to my wife, the treasure of my eyes and spiritual fortress of the house, do I say a million salute and greetings of peace for squarely performing your roles in the home front, without any form of neglect. I wish you the fruits of life and eternity. Thanks for your love, and understanding, especially in trying times.

Also, to my landlord whose companionship I enjoyed throughout the period of this study. She bore the hardness of time with me and was just too compassionate that not mentioning her sacrifices will be an inattentive neglect.

And finally, unto Allah, the Beginning with which the first beginning begets its beginning and the Last, with which all beginning ends with.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

What constitutes the fall of the Umayyads and, perhaps, the rise of the Abbasids gravitate the imports of values and sacred principles as a basis of '*ummatic*' revivification. As much, it also accentuates the consequences of deviating from established norms. This will be appreciated when one contrasts the factors which precipitated the decline of the Umayyads against those which evoked the consequential rise of the Abbasids. This is because this paradigm '*ummatic*' historiological transformation brought about resurgence and verve which snowballed into the era considered as the Golden Age of Islamic civilization. The regime of what amounts to the dysfunction and, hence the fall of the Umayyads, thereby heralding the rise of the Abbasid is considered worthwhile in providing insightful leverage for rethinking the contemporary travails of the *ummah* and hence, the deciphering of some lessons that can help its revivification. This background emphasizes the locus of this study. Thus, this study educes, absolves, regurgitates, synchronizes and articulates the factors that saw the Abbasid change the course of Islamic history from the web of decline to the zenith of civilizational attainment. While this is done within the conceptual and perceptive diagnosis of the prevailing '*ummatic*' predicament, the ultimate aim is examine how this can be explored in salvaging the Muslim *ummah* from its contemporaneous enigmatic state of inactivity and docility.

Building on the above perceptual framework, this study proceeds to explore the factors which culminated into the dusk of the Umayyads as a springboard for the evaluative survey of the underlying factors which precipitated the golden age of Islamic civilization. Then, the parallelism needed for understanding and addressing

the remote causes of the contemporary 'ummatic' dereliction was stimulated from the Umayyads-Abbasid phenomenological transformation. On the other, this was simulated, re-absorbed and synthesized as a modulator for seeking 'ummatic' revivification, spiritually, educationally, politically, economically, scientifically and technologically.

It is on this premise that this study undertakes the contractual analytical exploration and holistic appraisal of the factors which led to the dysfunction and hence, the fall of the Umayyads, thereby heralding the rise of the Abbasids. This is with a view to re-assimilate, synthesize and simulate the resultant underlying factors as modulatory parameters which could be used in revitalizing the debilitated contemporary state of the Muslims. However, the scope of this study is limited to the twilight of the Umayyads, and the reign of the early Abbasid caliphs relative the travails of the Muslims in our contemporary times. This notwithstanding, a passing mention of the contributions of the Umayyads in expanding the global coverage and geographical spread of Islam at the end of 1st century and the beginning of the second century A.H¹ was also looked into.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since the 18th century, the Muslim world has been entwined in a palpable state of despondency. During this epoch, Muslim lands worldwide underwent terrific reverses politically, intellectually, economically and culturally to the extent that this period has been described by some Orientalist scholars as the 'Dark Age' of the *ummah*. This is so, because aside the disintegration of the last symbol of Muslim sovereignty, the Ottoman Empire, there was also, to various extent and alarming proportion, the

¹ Ahmed E. Hussein, *History of the ummah: Rise and expansion of Islam until 132 A.H* (Kuala Lumpur: Dar Atajdid, 2002), 7.

ominous cloud of disillusion and bewildering storm of decline which swept across and took its toll on the Muslim territories.² While recounting the devastating catastrophe that befell Muslims, Marshall Hodgson alludes:

Though the eighteenth century was not without its interesting and creative figures, it was probably the least notable in the achievement of high cultural excellence; the relative barrenness was practically universal in all Muslim lands. The strongest Muslim subjects all found themselves subject to the internal political disintegration. More ominously, even the age long expansion of Dar al-Islam though not halted, suffered unusual setbacks; the greatest Muslim powers were often on the defensive and losing ground to non-Muslim powers.³

The 18th century peril which jolted and bolted the *ummah* assumed castrating dimension in the 19th century as the Muslim lands became completely subsumed in the overbearing influence of European cultural and physical expansionism and its consequential torrent of de-Islamizing ideals. In effect, this corrupted and bifurcated the entire fabrics of the Muslim's religio-cultural identity, shattered the *ummah's* economic proclivity and destroyed its educational cum institutional structures. The situation became annihilating in the 20th century, particularly in its first quarter when the whole of the Muslim world was completely subjugated and dismembered by the imperial West. The Muslim world was so incapacitated as they watched the colonial impostors boost their hegemonic dominance by cruelly and crookedly exploiting Muslim resources. Muslims then became overwhelmed as their last surviving caliphate became the undisputed 'Sick Man.' Also, they were so constrained such that, the only option left for their survival politically, culturally and as fragmented geographical entities was to swallow the modernism pills of secularism, short-change the religio-cultural identity inspired by Islam for the ones foisted by nationalism, and

² John, O. Voll, *Islam: Continuity and change in the modern world* (New York : Syracuse University Press, 1982), 24,

³ Marshal, G.S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam: Conscience and history in a world civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 3:134.

substitute the centrality of the shari‘āh in the administration of the state for the man-made rules.

This generated series of responses which culminated into the struggle for the liberation of the Muslim lands from the yoke of colonialism. Although this resulted into the regaining of the lost political liberty and independence, the *ummah* has, in reality, merely transited to powerless nation-states existing as appendages to the western powers. It is however astounding and pathetic that, Muslims are hitherto not salvaged from these enfeebling reverses which made them lose their religio-cultural dynamism and politico-economic vivacity. The *ummah* which had once controlled humanity for more than 1000 years, is now in a despicable and castrated state as it exerts no influence either in the regional or in international affairs, whether intellectually, culturally, politically or economically.

The need to address this quandary has given birth to a series of *islah/tajdid* movements. Yet, the problems which they seek to address sadly remain recurring part of the *ummah*, such that they have become ostensibly incurable. So, addressing the way out of these ‘*ummatic*’ perils remains a worthwhile adventure. In the attempt to re-construct the future of any nation, contrasts and parallels may be drawn from the reminiscences which stem from the peaks and downs of the past. By situating the Muslim *ummah* in this context, a conceptual framework was generated by studying the effort exerted by the Abbasid’s early caliphs in carrying out the across-the-board change, ramifying growth and development which transisted the *ummah* from the state of near collapse to the acme of civilizational heights. Thus, this research offers the need to rethink the predicament of Muslims in the light of the problems which befell the Umayyads. This is with a view to stimulating the parallelism needed to re-assimilate, within the contemporary socio-historic challenges of the *ummah*, how the

Abbasids rose to the challenges which eclipsed the reign of the Umayyads. It is on this premise that this study undertakes the contractual analytical exploration and holistic appraisal of the factors which led to the enfeeblement and eventually the fall of the Umayyads, thereby heralding the rise of the Abbasids. This is with a view to re-assimilating, synthesizing and simulating these underlying factors as modulatory parameters that can be used in revitalizing the debilitated contemporary state of the Muslim *ummah*. Doing this underlies the need to raise the following questions:

- a) What are the factors which precipitated the fall of the Umayyads?
- b) How did the Abbasid caliphs respond to the challenges which crippled the Umayyads, thus, eliciting the vitality which projected Islamic civilization to its peak?
- c) In what sense does the Abbasid's rise to power constitute a pivotal moment in Islamic history, and how did this translate into the decisive changes which changed the destiny of *ummah*?
- d) Are there contrasts, in the specific and in the general overview, between these problems and those responsible for the present doom of the *ummah*?
- e) How relevantly can the responses of the Abbasids be applied in solving the present dolorous state of the *ummah*, when bespoke/adopted within the prevailing vicissitudes and historio-political specificities of the *ummah*?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As observes Dr. Ahmad Ali:

About 50 percent of the population of IDB member countries live on less than \$2 a day, an amount barely sufficient for sustenance living. The biggest threat to Muslim societies is poverty and illiteracy.

Moreover, in most IDB member countries, the incidence of poverty is actually higher in rural than in urban areas.⁴

Also while commenting on the gravely divested and improsperous state of the Muslims, Ahsan Iqbal, a former Pakistan Minister of Economic Planning, reiterates:

The picture today both at global and regional level looks very challenging. Muslims are a population of 1.3 billion people, which is 22 percent of world population and greater than the combined population of the United States, Europe and Japan, with 900 million living in 56 independent countries and about 400 million spread in other countries. The Muslim countries are endowed with important economic resources like oil (50 percent of world's oil export), agriculture, coal, iron, uranium, tin, rubber, copper etc. Unfortunately, the region with world's 22 percent population has two percent of world's GDP, 1.5 percent of world's FDI, and 1.3 percent of world's trade. No Muslim country figures in the top bracket of Human Development Index. Muslims' share of world income is less than six percent. Growth rate of Muslim countries has been 4.7 percent in 2003 compared with 5.2 percent of all developing countries. Likewise, they lag in all other economic indicators like savings rate, capital formation etc.⁵

All this pictorially and candidly establishes the dilemma of Muslims and how annihilated they are. This raises the question of leadership undesirability, mismanagement, lasciviousness, and perhaps lost of political-will power. The severity of these reverses is appalling when search light is beamed on the spiritual, intellectual, political, and industrial state of the Muslim world. To this extent one will be mouth-agape that the Muslim *ummah* is spiritually ruptured, politically sterilized, economically pauperized, and intellectually castrated. The situation is so disheartening that one finds it inconceivable that the integrity and the social worthiness of the Muslims have eroded to the extent that as individual nation-states, Muslim countries cannot guarantee their territorial security, let alone ward off external aggression. This

⁴ Ahmad Ali, "Challenges of Social Development to Islamic World"
<<http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/divisions/economicaffairs-division/media/idb-speech.pdf>> (accessed 19 January, 2009). Dr. Ali delivered this speech in his capacity as the president of the Islamic Development Bank Group.

⁵ Ahsan Iqbal, "The Challenge for Muslim Ummah"
<<http://www.arabnews.com/?artib=62156>> (retrieved 1 February, 2009). However, as at 2009, the population of Muslims is reported to be 1.82 billion. See, <www.islamicpopulation.com> (accessed 11 January, 2010).

raises the concern for a genuine intervention to rescue the Muslim world from its frailness, hence, the foremost significance of this research. Besides contributing to the diverse body of existing literatures on this subject, the approach adopted in this study is an innovative one that seems to open new vista on how it may be contextualized and addressed, the miserable state of the Muslim *ummah*.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

One of the thematic elements that occupy the centre spread of the Qur'ānic message is history. It is through this instrumentality that the Qur'ān acquaints man with the activities of the previous generations by unequivocally stating the factors which provoked their rise and fall. The philosophical colouration underlying this, is on the one hand instructive and definitive of man's finitude with respect to the unchanging spiritual space as much as it concretizes his situatedness in time. On the other, it is integrative of the transcendental and the worldly, and also, universalizing, synchronizing and assimilative of the various historical continuities and discontinuities that embodies the totality of worldly history. The former philosophical construct which is explored for the purpose of this research, finds a place in the verse of the Qur'ān which states that:

لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ مَا كَانَ حَدِيثًا يُفْتَرَى وَلَكِن تَصْدِيقَ الَّذِي بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ
وَتَفْصِيلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ

There is, in their stories, instruction (*ibra*) for men endowed with understanding. It is not a tale invented, but a confirmation of what wen before it,- a detailed exposition of all things, and a guide and a mercy to any such as believe.⁶

⁶ Qur'ān, *Yusuf*: 111.

Given the Qur'ānic interpretation of history as *ibra* - instructive value, which confirms what went before, history is in this sense, inextricably imbued with ethical and moral values. The Qur'ān thus tasks man to intelligibly learn of the factors which conditioned the rise and fall of these generations. Peradventure, this sets the stage for mirroring and shaping the present through the past and the future through the past and the present. More explicitly, deciphering the moral lessons of history becomes definitive of man's situatedness in time as much as it establishes his finitude as a temporal being that is not only accountable to the Almighty creator, Allah, but also, liable to relapse into error which may affect his obligated responsibilities and civilizational pursuit. This also affirms the organic nature of history. It is also noted that, this concept fuses the transcendental and the worldly, hence giving history its nature as being in time and of the transcendental. Accordingly, Hassan Ibrahim, laconically and luminously discerns, 'the study of history is not an end in itself, but a means to derive *al-Ibar* and to stress the primacy of religion in life'.⁷

Thus, history being inherently organic in nature makes it determinate in the hunt for the present through the past. This enhances the reconstruction and the re-engagement of the emergent future, through the past and the present and also explains continuity as a constitutive element of the Qur'ānic interpretation of history. Consequentially, this renders empirical, why the present is neither an isolated whole nor a whole, rather, a compounded part of the past and, on the other hand, a product of the causal transmutation of the past within the present. In this sense, since the present derives from the past, the future expectedly becomes a function of the past and the present. It is this situatedness of the past as a connector between the past and the

⁷ Hassan, A.I. *A study of history: Introductory remarks*. Prof Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim delivered this paper in a One-Day Symposium on Islamization of Knowledge in Studying History. The Symposium which held on March 7, 1996, was organized by the Department of History and Civilization, Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, International Islamic University, Malaysia.

future that gives the past the elasticity of relevance and instrumentality of using it to seek where, why and how we are where we are at the moment. While intellectualizing this, Yedullahi Kazmi, a renowned philosopher cum educationist avows:

every historical accounts is located in some present, it speaks of the past to the present and past to a future.⁸[...] The present can be viewed as the part and the past as the whole. An attempt therefore, to understand the present implicates our understanding of the past, while every understanding of the past necessarily implicates our understanding of the present.⁹

Hasan Masudul, a Professor of Islamic History, also echoes this by alluding that history is the instrument through which one looks at the past, illuminates the present with the light of the past, and develops a vision of the future.¹⁰ ‘Imād al-Din Khalil expresses similar view when he demystifies based on the *Qur’ānic* view, history, as ‘a unified time...the walls that separate the past, the present, and the future collapse and the three times commingle in a common destiny’.¹¹

This underlines this study’s theoretical cord, which in its succinctness, makes use of the Qur’ānic philosophical underpinning of history as *ibra* and of the past as a constitutive element of understanding the present and shaping the future through the past and the present. This is used to study, re-contextualize and deconstruct the prevailing malaise of the Muslim *ummah*, with a view to seeking the understanding of how this milieu can be addressed through the prism of the historical contrasts and parallels of the historic past of Muslims. History as an organic entity whose

⁸ Yedullahi, Kazmi. “The notion of history in the Qur’ān and human destiny,” *Islamic Studies*, 37:2 (Summer 1998): 183-200.

⁹ Yedullahi, Kazmi, “Reclaiming the tradition: An essay on the condition of the possibility of Islamic knowledge,” *Islamic Studies*, (The America Journal of Islamic Social Sciences), (Summer 1998) 15:2: 97-108

¹⁰ Masudul Hasan, *History of Islam (Classical period 571-1258 C.E.)* (Pakistan: Islamic Publications (Pvt. Ltd.) 1987), 1: 3.

¹¹ ‘Imād al-Din Khalil, “The Qur’anic Interpretation of History” in *Contemporary Islam and the challenge of history*, edit., Yvonne Yazbeck H (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1982), 189.

possessiveness of preserving the past makes it involves a past, lived and still alive,¹² embodies a part of the researcher's taken-for-granted theoretical assumptions. Tapping into the pools of the objects of the lessons of Islamic history that are yet to be explored unearths the holism of this work's theoretical thrust Seyyidina Ali, the fourth of the Rightly Guided caliphs, sagely maintains:

ما أكثر العبر و ما أقل الاعتبار¹³

'How many are the objects of lessons, but, how few the takings of lessons'¹⁴

The aforesaid provides the theoretical pedestal used in re-thinking the factors and the nature of the problems which rumbled and crumbled the Ummayyads, thus leading to the consequential rise of the Abbasids and of Islamic civilization to its Golden Age. This is to enable the researcher to generate contrasts and parallels needed to theorize, conceptualize and concretize the diagnosis of, and, the resuscitation the *ummah* from its present difficulty. This will be subject to the particularism of the lived-reality, that is, the socio-historic idiosyncrasies of the past history of the *ummah*, from which abstraction will be drawn, relative to the peculiarity of the present state of the *ummah*.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The idea that impregnates this study protrudes from the striking parallels, yet divergent socio-historic particularism, between the problems which led to the crumple of the Umayyads and the ones which are bedeviling the Muslim world at the moment. Through explorative investigation of these two historic paradigms of Islamic history,

¹² Braudel Fernard, *A history of civilizations* (New York Penguin, 1995), 24-25

¹³ See < jamahir.alwehda.gov.sy/_print_view.asp?FileName > (accessed 29 May, 2009)

¹⁴ "Sayings Of Imam Ali" <<http://www.ummah.com/forum/showthread.php?t=72463>> (accessed 29 May, 2009)

the parallelisms between these two historical nodes were synthesized. In the consequence, it is conceived that the explicative study of the Abbasid's response to the crises that crippled the Umayyads is necessary. This is aimed at discovering the factors that made the early Abbasid caliphs succeed in catapulting the *ummah* from the strains of low civilization fluorescence to the summit of civilization realization. Ultimately, an attempt was made on how these contributory factors could be re-adapted and re-processed within the contemporaneous lived reality of the *ummah*. It is noteworthy that the Abbasid rule lasted more than five hundred years, (132A.H/750C.E - 656A.H /1258C.E). However, their formative and developmental period, which spans between 132A.H/750 C.E and 333A.H/945 C.E,¹⁵ is the period against which this study is delimited.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Guided by the aforementioned, this research is methodologically explorative, contractual, analytical and synthesizing. This flourishes from the conceptual framework which underlies this work. Through the explorative study and holistic appraisal of the causal factors which led to the fall and peradventure of the ascension of the Abbasids, a deeper understanding of the contributory factors and the socio-historic context within which this development evolved was facilitated. The causal factors were in the corollary broken into their specifics, thus preparing the locus for the investigative critique, contractual appropriation, analytical deconstruction, and synthetic re-absorption of the dynamics of the content and context of the problems which rocked the Umayyads and the momentous response of the Abbasids, within the spectrum of the prevailing reality of the *ummah*. Thus, an attempt is, on the one hand

¹⁵Masudul Hasan, 264-265.

made, within the specificity of their prevailing socio-historic particularism to question and probe the approach and the strategy used by the Abbasid early caliphs in solving the problems which threatened the soul and existential primacy of the *ummah* and Islamic civilization. On the other, these understudied approaches and strategies are subsequently, re-processed and applied within the contemporaneous dilemma of the *ummah*, in order to see how these can be adapted in addressing the enigmatic predicaments which are besieging Muslims.

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is barely startling that the Abbasid era (132A.H/750C.E - 656A.H./1256C.E), has been given ample scholarly contemplation. This is because, without any dissenting voice, this epoch has been looked upon as the watershed, or, better still, the Golden Era (145-193A.H/809-833C.E) of Islamic civilization. This accounts for the existence of multitude of erudite studies on this aspect of Islamic history. In their varying themes, conceptual and contextual approaches, each of these scholarly works attempts to demystify and navigate the socio-cultural, intellectual, political and spiritual contour of what made this period experience the dramatic zest which propelled it to civilizational acme. Some of these researches have focused on the factors which precipitated the rise of the Abbasids. Others have sought both the understanding of their rise and fall. Of interest and significance in these studies, are their commonalities and paradigmatic differences in the interpretation of the events of this period. Also, emblematic of these literatures is that their attempts at understanding this period often necessitate the need to study the factors which facilitated the fall of the Umayyads. Accordingly, Humphreys suggests that, the study of the Abbasids' ascension as the leadership of the Muslim *ummah* is on a level, and in a large measure, a study of what

heralded the fall of the Umayyads.¹⁶ This accentuates why the first part of this review centres on the factors that provoked the fall of the Umayyads and, then, those which facilitated the ascension of the Abbasids as the caliphs of the Muslim *ummah*. The second part focuses on the factors which instigated the materialization of the Golden Age of Islamic civilization. The fourth, through the third part, address the factors which led to the fall of Islamic civilization in the 19th century and the bane of the crises affecting the Muslim world at the present time.

Hitti, a Professor emeritus of Semitic Literature suggests that the decline and fall of the Umayyads began with the ascension of immoral and unrestrained self-indulgent leaders as the caliphs.¹⁷ This act of dissoluteness, he reasons, led to the re-assertion of tribal spirit and individualism. Consequently, this polarized the Muslim *ummah* along tribal and racial lines, brought about the evolution of the *harem* system, corruption of the ruling house and the imposition of capitation tax¹⁸ on non-Arab Muslims.¹⁹ He submits that this culminated into general moral depravity. Hitti's diagnosis is laconic and free of shortcomings such as over essentializing and relativizing kinship and tribal factor as the prime causes of the Umayyad's fall.

Hitti demonstrates a more comprehensive grasp and fluidity of thought in his exposition on the Abbasid caliphate. How he craftily structured his perception of the inner workings of the cultural and social history of this period will move a reluctant reader to devouring the chapters dedicated to this issue. Based on the primary collections of early Muslim historians and the works of Oriental scholars, he presents the synthesis of the *sine qua non* which enabled the Abbasid era to witness the Golden

¹⁶ R Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic history: A framework of inquiry* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, Revised edn., 1991), 107.

¹⁷ Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arab* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 10th edn., 1970), 279-287.

¹⁸ Capitation tax or *jiḏyah* is a tax which is paid by the non-Muslims to the Islamic state, in lieu of the services that it offers them.

¹⁹ Hitti, 279-287.