

**RELIGION AND CIVILISATION
AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF
THE MUQADDIMAH OF IBN KHALDUN**

*Thesis submitted for
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History*

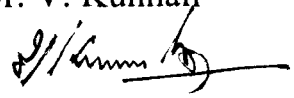
SULAIMAN. V

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
JANUARY – 2001**

CERTIFICATE

I, Dr. V. Kunhali, do hereby certify that this thesis "RELIGION AND CIVILISATION - AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE MUQADDIMAH OF IBN KHALDUN" is a record of bonafide research carried out by Mr. Sulaiman, V, under my supervision. No part of this has been submitted for the award of any degree before.

University of Calicut,
First January 2001

Dr. V. Kunhali

(Supervising Teacher)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah caught hold of my attention while I was a graduate at Farook College for Arabic and Islamic History. The work seemed to me a fascination because it immensely helped me to grasp the inherent causes of a number of questions that faces any casual reader on the rise and development of the early Muslim politics and religion. I remember that it is this work that inspired me to do masters degree in Islamic History and Culture. Here let me recall that good old days at the campus of Farook College and sincere thanks are due to my teachers, especially Prof. A.P. Abdul Rahman and Prof. Muhammad Hassan and others. It is this fascination that prompted me, when I passed UGC Junior Research Fellowship to decide to devote my study on Muqaddimah.

Still I was not in a position to start with because of two reasons; firstly the magnitude of the work that never yields to the scope and limits of a research thesis and secondly the immense amounts of works that have been already done. So I consulted with Dr. V. Kunhali who suggested me to devote on this particular aspect that has been given no attention to. Let me thank him for the same and for acting as my supervising guide. In fact his supervision of my research work is beyond the scope of any formal thanks giving because but for his help, directions and inspiration I could not have been able to solve a number of dilemmas that I had to face in course of my work. I reserve myself the indebtedness that I owe him, who for the last seven years has been a constant fountain head of inspiration to continue the laborious task and finally in bringing the work into completion.

Thanks are due to all the professors of the Department of History, University of Calicut; especially the former head and professor and present Vice-chancellor, Prof. K.K.N. Kurup who kept me always under the charm of the work, and Prof. S.M. Mohammed Koya, present Professor and Head of the Department of History who always inspired me with valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks are due to M. Ayyoob, Librarian of Farook College for his paternal inspiration and for the magnanimity to let me use valuable books and rare collections in the library as free as I can.

A number of my friends and students at Aligrah University have kept me free from the toils of a number of long journeys and stay there by way of collecting for me whatever things related with Ibn Khaldun and Muqaddimah. Let me express my heart felt thanks for them and for the librarians of the Department of History, Arabic, West Asian Studies etc there.

Mr. Muttanisseril Koyakkutty deserves my sincere thanks with whom I had a number of live discussions on Ibn Khaldun and Muqaddimah at his residence in Kayamkulam and I owe him much for his sincerity to let me use the rare collections with him. My sincere thanks are due to the Principal, colleagues and friends at Mannaniya College of Arts and Science, Pangode. My friends at Anjala Computers, Kallara and Micro Tech Computers, Calicut University deserves a great deal of indebtedness on account of their sincerity that helped me to bring this work into black and white.

The library staffs of C.H. Muhammed Koya Library, the Department Librarians of History and Arabic, University of Calicut also deserve my thanks for their help in collecting materials there.

Let me remember here my own parents, wife, children, friends and others as the time devoted to the work was indeed taken from theirs.

And I thank God Almighty for making this stony and thorny path as smooth and soft as rosy.

SULAIMAN.V.

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PREFACE

Ibn Khaldun's Muquddimah fascinates the students of history on account of the scientific and philosophic treatment of the subject matter of history. The work helps immensely those who are seriously involved in the task comprehending the cumulative human experience in the past because Ibn Khaldun saw the past, the present, and the future of human individual and collective life as similar as that of a drop of water with that of another.

A single example is enough to convince us the modernity as well as profound applicability of the theories that Ibn Khaldun envisaged in this masterpiece. He regarded that the situation in which the ruler, in his quest for acquiring more and more money, to satisfy his 'extravagant expenditures' entering into commercial activities, extremely harmful to the commerce people particularly and the national life generally that ultimately leads to the ruin of human civilisation. This is because of the fact that the ruler or the state has more resources and competency than that of common people, who are either brushed aside or destroyed with the power that the ruler has which will sure too kill the interest of the people for any kind of enterprises.

The significance of this observation becomes manifest to a country like India which has been harassed for the last four centuries and finally put to colonial enslavement for about two centuries under the west whose sole aim was nothing but commerce. All of the evils and crises that we face today on this subcontinent is in fact the 'fall outs' of that catastrophe for the solutions of which the visions of Muqaddimah has to contribute galore, because the subject matter of the work is the enactment of man, his individual and collective life under various circumstances.

Hence the work is encyclopedic in nature and content that included discussions on politics, economics, sociology, psychology, culture, science, technology, religion, public administration, business, trade, commerce etc. even though our time is far removed and advanced from that of Ibn Khaldun. Thus questions like what enables United States with 27 billion population, to master the rest of the world with 600 billion populations and direct its politics, trade, natural resources and everything? As in the case of Great Britain in her imperial days, this 27 billion population is only near 5% of the world population. Still the 95% of the population is not in a position to challenge effectively the one-sided policy of the U.S.

To cite another example of contemporary relevance, a princess who originally belonged to Germany and was married to the Tzarist court of Russia later on became the master of the country and came to be known to the posterity Catherine, the Great (1729-96). The Russians of 18th century had no objection over the dual nationality of their great ruler while we Indians today are not so wholesomely prepared to accept such a person on account of the same 'dual nationality' whose major criteria is also nothing short of the identity that derives out from the affiliation through marriage with the 'Nehru family'. Muqaddimah provides visions to these like question of contemporary relevance.

It is in this sense of unending scope and modernity of application Muqaddimah attracted my keen interest. The work considers man as an individual and a social being and then elaborates on various faces of the 'socialization' of the individual. Muqaddimah has given a comprehensive attention to each and every aspects of human life on its individual and collective life. The treatment of Ibn Khaldun of these aspects is in the

same level with that of any natural and empirical sciences. It included wide variety of subjects such as *asbiya* (group feeling), the influences of abundance of material property and of its scarcity, climate and soil, society, royal power and its transitions, state, and politics, individual rights, rules and regulations in a civil society, its implementations and consequences, various kinds of occupations, wealth, arts and crafts, sciences, language and linguistics, teaching and its method, religion, spirituality, etc.

The western scholars, who were the first, following the Turks, to notice the merits of the work in the modern times, were fascinated due to this encyclopedic compass of *Muqaddimah* and has given homage to the genius of its author.

Robert Flint in his *History of the Philosophy of History* has made the following statement. 'As regards the science of philosophy of history, Arabic literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the medieval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness. Ibn Khaldun (A.D. 1332-1406), considered simply as an historian, had superiors even among Arabic authors, but as a theorist on history he had no equal in any age of country until Vico appeared, more than three hundred years later. Plato, Aristotle and Augustine were not his peers, and all others were unworthy of being even mentioned along with him. He was admirable alike by his originality and sagacity, his profundity and his comprehensiveness. He was, however, a man apart, as solitary and unique among his co-religionists and contemporaries in the department of historical philosophy as was Dante in poetry or Roger Bacon in science among theirs. Arabic historians had, indeed, collected the materials which he could use, but he alone used them'.

George Sarton in his 'Introduction to the History of Science' has paid homage to Ibn Khaldun thus, "Ibn Khaldun was a historian, politician, sociologists, economist, a deep student of human affairs, anxious to analyse the past of mankind in order to understand its present and its future. Not only is he the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, towering like a giant over a tribe of pygmies, but one of the first philosophers of history, a forerunner of Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Comte and Curnot. Among Christian historians of the Middle Ages there are but one or two who can perhaps compare with him, to wit, Otto von Freising and John of Salisbury, and the distance between them and him is great indeed, far greater than the distance between him and Vico. What is equally remarkable, Ibn Khaldun ventured to speculate on what we should call to-day the methods of historical research".

Arnold Toynbec in his 'A Study of History' stated, "Ibn Khaldun's star shines the more brightly by contrast with the foil of darkness against which it flashes out; for while Thucydides and Machiavelli and Clarendon are all brilliant representatives of brilliant times and places, Ibn Khaldun is the sole point of light in his quarter of the firmament. He is indeed the one outstanding personality in the history of civilization whose social life on the whole was 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'. In his chosen field of intellectual activity he appears to have been inspired by no predecessors, and to have found no kindred souls among his contemporaries, and to have kindled no answering spark of inspiration in any successors; and yet, in the Prolegomena (Muqaddamat) to his *Universal History* he has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place. It was his single brief

‘acquiescence’ from a life of practical activity that gave Ibn Khaldun his opportunity to cast his creative thought into literary shape.”

A. Schimmel considered Ibn Khaldun as the forerunner of almost all of the western social scientists such as Machivell, Bodin, Vico, Gibbon, Montesque, Abbe de Mably, Fergson, Herder, Condorcet, Comte, Gabineau, Tarde, Breysig and W. James. Frans Rosenthal, the complete English translator of Muqaddimah added thus, “He has been compared with Hegal, and there is hardly any thinker with whom he might not be compared. Such comparisons may help to evaluate the intellectual stature of the person with whom Ibn Khaldun is compared, certainly they suggest a lesson in scholarly humility. But they do not contribute much to our understanding of Ibn Khaldun”.

Such is the depth and vastness of the scope of Muqaddimah. This work therefore is confined to three technical terms that served as the foundations of the whole theories of Muqaddimah. They are ‘Umran’ (civilization), ‘Asabiya’ (group feeling), and ‘Deen’ (religion). The determinations of the interrelationship among these three technical concepts within the comprehensive canvas of Muqaddimah is challenging and, at the same time, both interesting and rewarding.

Works on Muqaddimah:- The select Bibliography by Walter J. Fischel , prepared in mid fifties and is given at the end of Rosenthal’s translation, and from more than one thousand web sites in Yahoo.com alone attests to the fact that Ibn Khaldun and Muqaddimah continue to catch immensely the attention of modern scholars for fresh studies. Eminent scholars have done various aspects of the work from time to time, still the work remains a rich mine of unearthed treasures of precious enlightenment.

As Lacoste, a French Marxist commentator on Muqaddimah has pointed out most of the western studies on Muqaddimah were in fact projecting ideas and concepts which were alien to the thoughts of the 14th century genius. The western authors failed not to impose their own meanings to the concepts of Muqaddimah. The best example is Charles Issawi, whose work, 'An Arab philosophy of History' (1950) is rather a sociological interpretation of Muqaddimah. This approach in no way do justice to the comprehensive nature of the work because sociology is only one of the many aspects of Muqaddimah.

Henrich Simon, a French authority on Ibn Khaldun also failed to do justice to the Muqaddimah. Though he has tried to present the concepts of Muqaddimah in comparison with the historical situation in which the author had lived, there is no attempt to go into the depth of the work through critical analysis. The work written by him in French and translated into English by Fuad Baali, just enumerates some of the concepts of Muqaddimah such as Asbiya. The work does not try to evaluate the reality of the oft-repeated cyclical interpretations imposed upon Muqaddimah. One merit of the work is that it tried to locate the position and role of religion in Muqaddimah and the influences that determined in Khaldun's thought with the help of H. A. R. Gibb's article 'The Islamic background of Ibn Khaldun's political theory'. (1933). Still the work is a mere beginning towards this direction as it makes only certain superfluous comments on its theological implications.

Another recent work on Muqaddimah is done by Shaukat Ali in his 'Intellectual Foundation of Muslim Civilization' (1993). When we read in this work, 'the closing of the doors of Ijtihad (independent thinking) was the single most important factor which killed the sprit of inquiry', we are

immediately prompted to arrive at a conclusion with regard to the nature of this work. The work is more of theological in nature rather than scientific. With the help of the theories of Muqaddimah we can boldly say that the 'calamity' of closing Ijtihad' was not the real disease, but it was only one of many symptoms of a grievous disease that naturally affects any living society. This work attempts to pin point one fact that Ibn Khaldun was attempting to make his own observations or 'Ijtihad'. To that extend it is true.

Another two important works on Muqaddimah are that of Taha Husayn and Satih Husri. The former's work ,originally done in French and translated into Arabic, in fact is sociological in characteristics. The later work is exhaustive in nature and makes bold comparisons of the theories of Muqaddimah with that of Montesque Vico, Machiavellie et al.

The work of Lacoste is very much significant to note here because it is an excellent Marxian interpretation of Ibn Khaldun. The dialectical interpretation of history always laid their stress on the materialistic factors. As such there is no wonder that a Marxian outlook is possible with Muqaddimah as it contained, for example, statements such as 'the wealth is profit of labour'. Muqaddimah is not a theological interpretation of man and his history. The work laid ample stress on the material side of human life and so the work attracted even the attention of an atheist.

But a materialistic interpretation of Muqaddimah always necessarily betrayed the work because it does not do justice to the comprehensive nature of the work. Lacoste, therefore failed, just like all other western authorities, to comprehend the significance of the 'spiritual' in the work. "[Ibn Khaldun] is able to make objective generalisations because he has no interest in normative judgements and

no ideological prejudices. He resolutely privileges rational observation over abstract reasoning. The origin of these dialectical conceptions and arguments, which foreshadow, historical materialism, is not to be found in any philosophical theory, but in observations and in a truly scientific study of history. As Ibn Khaldun intuitively realised, the reality of history is a dialectical process of evolution”.(p. 60). This statement is shockingly curious because of its one-sidedness. Lacoste had devoted on whole chapter to point out the contradictions in the theories of Ibn Khaldun regarding religion and civilization. But the fact is that the contradictions were imposed by materialistic interpretation done by Lacoste rather than that of Ibn Khaldun himself.

As stated above this study aims at determining the relation between *umran* and religion giving due consideration to both materialistic and spiritual domain of human life as it is done in *Muqaddimah*. The structure of the present study is such that it includes a chapter on the evolution of the Muslim civilization in the Africa continent and the Iberian Peninsula, which includes nineteen sub sections, numbered I/1,I/2 etc. The significance of this first chapter lies in the fact that it is during the fall of Muslim civilisation in these lands Ibn Khaldun lived and pondered over the questions that he put to discussion in his master piece.

The second chapter is on Ibn Khaldun himself that tries to analyse the person and personality of the author that includes eleven sub sections numbered II/1,II/2 etc. In this chapter attempt is made to determine all those factors that contributed to the evolution of the genius of Ibn Khaldun as the author of *Muqaddimah* in which his family, education he received, the politics of the day and his involvement in it are discussed. The chapter is an attempt to determine those factors that contributed to

evolve the thoughts of Ibn Khaldun. The Third Chapter, which includes ten sub sections numbered III/1, III/2 etc., deals with Muqaddimah and Umran in general.

The fourth chapter is on the Bedouin civilization, which includes twenty-two sub sections numbered IV/1, IV/2 etc. The chapter elaborates on the nature of the term as a key and technical concept *visa vis* Muqaddimah. The merits as well as demerits that Ibn Khaldun elucidated with regard to the Bedouins is put to discussion on an elaborate scale.

The fifth chapter is on sedentary civilisation that includes forty-one sub sections numbered V/1, V/2 etc. This chapter is on the various aspects of the sedentary civilization, how it is evolved out of the nomadic stage, what factors contributed to this transition and what are the peculiarities of this stage of human social life. In this chapter is included all those aspects of sedentary life that have relevance to the present study. These two chapters is in fact an attempt to demarcate what is included in the technical term 'Umran' or civilisation and its two stages.

The 6th chapter is on 'Asabiya' or 'Social solidarity' or 'group-feeling'. It included thirty-four subsections numbered VI/1, VI/2 etc. This is the second technical term that is put to study here. As opposed to the attempts of others, who tried to determine the meaning of the term in their own way and 'imposed' meaning alien to the concepts the term included, this attempt is to determine how *Asbiya* reveals itself in various contexts of Umran. So this study of the term is basically to determine how Ibn Khaldun tried to relate *Umran* and *Asbiya* throughout Muqaddimah which is the best way not to impose any meaning of our own.

The seventh chapter is on Religious and Umran. The chapter is also divided into twenty-one subsections numbered VII/1, VII/2 etc. This chapter concentrates on how Ibn Khaldun in *Muqaddimah* tried to determine the possibility of religious experiences, which is super-natural in nature, in relation with other intellectual or scientific experiences that are empirical in nature and content. Ibn Khaldun has discussed in his work a number of experiences some of which some are purely scientific while others cannot come under the range of sciences. In order to determine the feasibility of spiritual experiences, as it is done in *Muqaddimah* we have to consider all the other experiences in comparison and then make statements. Here attempt is made to enumerate all these categories of human experiences, both scientific and super scientific, and then make observations in comparison. It is only thus we can fully grasp the statements of the author with regard to the spiritual experiences that the prophets of religion received represented '*ultimate Truth*'. After determining this aspect of the religious experiences, the chapter elaborates on what are the roles religion has to play in relation between *Umran* and *Asbiya*. The chapter ends with a note of conclusion.

The key terms such as *Muqaddimah*, *Umran*, *Asabiya*, *Hadhari*, *Badawi*, etc are retained as such. Most of the works on *Muqaddimah* including the translation of Franz Rosenthal follow American English. More over the work is done in 'MS Office 97', which also follow American spelling. So attempt is not made to standardise spellings for fear of change even in quotations.

The present work has only helped to prove that Ibn Khaldun and *Muqaddimah* reserve further attention of more gifted scholars.

Chapter I

THE EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM POLITY AND SOCIETY IN EGYPT, NORTH WESTERN AFRICA AND SPAIN

I/1. Muslim Entry into Egypt

Muslims entered into Africa towards the end of 639 AD during the period caliph Umer.¹ Amr Ibn al Alas, the commander of the Muslim army in Syria, obtained the halfhearted consent of the Caliph to enter into Egypt, which was then under the Byzantine rule. This Muslim force included 4000 men. They took Farama first, a fortified settlement regarded as the key to Eastern Egypt. Then Bilbais and Babylon were taken. At Babylon, when the Muslim siege dragged for some time, Umer sent reinforcement. The town fell and became tributary to Muslims.² “Alexandria boasted a garrison some 50,000 strong. Behind it lay the whole strength of the Byzantine navy, of which the city was the base. The invaders, far inferior in number and in equipment, had not a single ship, no siege machines no immediate source of supply for their man power”³.

They next took Naqyus after some resistance. Then they laid siege to Alexandria, and as it was fortified the siege lasted for months. At last in September 642 Byzantine forces in Alexandria withdraw to Constantinople leaving their city to its fate under the native Copts. The

¹ Ibn Abdul Hakam ‘Futhuh Misr’ Darul Marif, Egypt (1970) pp-56-7; Tabari, “Tarikh al Tabari” Darul Marif, Egypt, (1970) vol. IV, p. 104 – 13.

² Hitti.PK.. ‘History of the Arabs’.p.163.

³ Ibid. p 164.

Copts made peace with the invaders agreeing to pay tribute. Amr ibn al Aas on conquest of Egypt sent the following message to Umar, the caliph at Madeenah. "I have captured a city from the description of which I shall refrain. Suffice to say that I have seized therein 4000 villas with 4000 baths, 40,000 poll-tax paying Jews and four hundred places of entertainment for the royalty"⁴. Then the Muslims took Memphis, the then capital of Egypt. Amr, who was appointed as the governor of Egypt, completed the conquest of Egypt and founded the city of Fustat, the Muslim capital near Memphis

Causes of the fall of Egypt: -Certain general conditions, which facilitated the sweeping conquests of the Arabs over the whole Middle East, could also be discerned in the Arab conquest of Egypt; but the later presented its own peculiarities. A salient characteristic, which we meet in the first Arab conquests, was the assistance of the nomad Arabs of the conquered lands to the Muslim invaders. This factor had acquired particular importance after recent studies which have convincingly shown that the Byzantines had not establish in Egypt as in other areas of the Eastern frontier a rigid chain of fortifications, but rather, fortified positions in which the nomads held a key position and freedom of movement.⁵

The Byzantine hagiographic sources mention repeated raids by Arab nomads against the monasteries of Sinai, but they also report that there were certain Arab tribes allied with the monks. These Bedouin

⁴ Ibn Abdul Hakam 'Futuh Misr wa Akhbaruha'. Darul Marif. Egypt .1970. p.82; Hitti.P.K., p.165.

⁵ M. Sharon, 'The Military Reforms of Abu Muslim, their Background and Consequence', in studies in Islamic History and Civilization, ed. Sharon, Leiden 1986,p. 108; Quated in Encyclopaedia of Islam, "Egypt (Misr)" vol. VII.

Arabs had settled in various places of Sinai, probably already from the first century AD, for the Arab tribes which protected the Byzantines in Sinai at time of Justinian, there was new information derived from the Arabic manuscripts of st. Catherine.⁶

In general, although our information is fragmentary, the overall impression is that the nomad Arabs had not played a prominent role in the Arab conquest of Egypt as they did in Syria. Al-Tabari confirmed the information of the Byzantine hagiographic works that the Bedouin tribes of Sinai assisted the Byzantines against the invading Arab army, but on the other hand, al-Kalkashandi reports the speedy alliance of other Arab tribes with 'Amr⁷. Of course, we must also take into consideration that the inefficient payment of the allied Arab tribes of Egypt, as in other areas of the eastern frontier, by the Byzantines on the eve of the Arab conquest may have been a detrimental factor in the Byzantine defense of Egypt.

The Byzantines' exhaustion because of their continuous struggle with Persia in the Near East was particularly apparent in Egypt, which was occupied by the Persian just a few years before the Arab conquest. It was true that the Egyptians dissatisfaction with oppressive Byzantine religion policies against the Monophysites cannot be denied, but many scholars have grossly exaggerated this factor.⁸

⁶ al-Tabari, 'Tarikh al Tabari' DarulMarif ,Egypt. vol. III., p.107; Quated Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. VII .. "Egypt (Misr)"

⁷ Nihayat al-'Arab, Cairo. 1958,193; Quated Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. VII .

⁸ Heavy taxation and corrupt administration were worse in Egypt than in any other of the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire; but above all, it was the disunity which prevailed in the Egyptian administration after Justinian's reforms and the rivalry between the multitude of authorities that created a chaotic situation there.

Under the leadership of Amr ibn al Aas, the invading Arab forces demonstrated coordination and unity. Amr often consulted with the caliph and kept his army informed before any important decisions were made, as he did before the capitulation of Alexandria. He cautiously counterbalanced the superiority in numbers and equipment of the Byzantine army by applying skilful military tactics.⁹

Most of his army was composed of cavalry, which moved at ease across the terrain of the Egyptian soil. There were definite, prepared long-term plans. But the Arab armies moved with great flexibility as the occasion arose. The existence of nomads and sedentary people among the ranks of Amr's army, the former's expert in hit and run attacks and the latter's more skilful and patient siege of towns offered the Arabs a great advantage. From the period of this conquest Egypt remained under the Muslim hands. During the initial period of caliph Uthman, a Byzantine fleet attacked and occupied Alexandria.

Amr ibn al Aas, who had been deposed from the governorship, was once again entrusted with the charge of driving out the Byzantines from the city¹⁰. Amr retrieved the city from the Byzantine hold. Caliph Uthman, when the Byzantine attack was repulsed, asked Amr to remain in command of the army while Abdullah ibn Saïd ibn Abi Sarah was continue as the financial administrator. Amr declined it and replied¹¹

⁹ The Byzantine had constructed many well-fortified fortresses in Egypt. Amr, who did not possess any siege equipment, besieged Babylon for a long time, cutting its supply lines and engaging the Byzantines in continuous war of attrition.

¹⁰ Ibn Athir, 'Al Kamil fi Tarikh', vol. IV., Daru Bayrut, Bayrut (1966) p. 148 – 51, 297 – 304.

¹¹ Ibn Abdul Hakam op.cit. p.178; Baladhuri, 'Futuh Buldan', p.223.

“My position will then be that of one who holds the cow by its two horns while another milk it”.¹²

I/2. North Africa (646 AD)

It was during the caliphate of Uthman, Muslims marched beyond Egypt into North West Africa. “The fall of Egypt left the Byzantine provinces bordering on its west defenseless; at the same time the continued occupation of Alexandria necessitated the conquest of those provinces”.¹³ Both Amr and his successor Abdullah continued to send expeditions into Maghrib. Uthman directed Abdullah ibn Sad, the governor of Egypt to undertake campaigns there with the offer of giving one fifth of booty to him in case of victory.

Abdullah sent an army to Ifriqiya and took Tripoli from the Byzantine hands. Thereafter they advanced further west. There took place a decisive battle on the plain of Sbeitla with Gregory, the Byzantine vassal. The Muslims won the battle with immense booty. “The spearhead of the Byzantine army in Africa was destroyed at the battle of Sbeitla and was never formed again”.¹⁴ After this battle Muslim advance into further west was delayed for many years. The civil war that let loose following the murder of Uthman virtually checked all military advance and never regained until the Umayyad dynasty was established.

¹² S. Athar Husain Glorious Caliphate p-103. In 651 AD, there was another fierce naval attack led by Emperor Constantine himself. The battle that followed is known as the battle of Masts. The Muslim navy under Governor Abdullah ibn Sarah defeated the invaders.

¹³ Hitti.P.K., p.168.

¹⁴ P.M. Holt et al, ‘The Cambridge History of Islam’, Cambridge University Press London (1977) vol. 1 p.212.

Muawiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty decided to establish Muslim authority in North Africa. He sent Uqba ibn Nafi al Fihri, to conquer Africa.¹⁵ Uqba was the first conqueror of North Africa.¹⁶ In 663-64 he founded Kairawan (Qairuwan) the first permanent Muslim settlement and military encampment in Maghrib. Later on Kairawan became the Muslim capital of North Africa for several centuries. This Muslim general made the first Muslim impression on the Maghrib'.¹⁷

Uqba had to deal with considerable opposition as several powerful Berber groups resisted the Muslim advance. The Byzantines assisted the Berbers in Carthage. The most important Berber opposition was at the hands of Kusayla who made a pitiless struggle against the Muslim advance in Maghrib.¹⁸ He defeated Uqba near Biskara to the South West of the Aures Mountains in 682AD. Uqba died fighting and Muslim were driven out of North Africa for several years.¹⁹

Zuhair ibn Qais:- In 688 the Muslims launched an attack against the Berbers under the command of Zuhair ibn Qais. On the advance of this army, Kusayla withdrew from Kairowan. There took place a battle with the Berbers near the town of Memis in the Auras region. The Berbers were defeated and Kusayla was killed. Meanwhile the Byzantines attacked Barqa in the rear. The Muslims, however, drove out them also, but their commander Zuhair ibn Qais died fighting.

¹⁵ P. K.Hitti... p.213.

¹⁶ Cambridge History of Islam. p. 231.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.213.

¹⁸ Talbi. M, 'Kusayla'; Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. V, p. 517.

¹⁹ The place of Uqba's martyrdom near Biskara in Algeria has become a national shrine. The Berbers under Kusayla occupied Kairowan and the Muslims had to withdraw further east.

Hasan ibn Numan: - After the death of Zuhair, Hasan ibn Numan was appointed as the commander of Muslim force.²⁰ He recaptured Kairowan and occupied Carthage, the Byzantine City. Then they advanced into further west. There they had to meet another Berber chief in person of a lady known to history as Kahina (the soothsayer).²¹

The Muslims suffered defeat in the battle with Kahina on the bank of river Nini on the slopes of the Auras Mountains.²² They once again retreated to Barqa. Hasan lead another expedition in 701 against Berbers and defeated there on the foot of the Atlas Mountain. Kahina was killed in the battle. This victory of Muslims broke the Berber resistance forever and they submitted to the Muslims. Most of them accepted Islam. Hasan followed a liberal policy towards the Berbers. As a result they where soon reconciled to the Muslim rule.

Musa bin Nusayr:-²³ Hasan ibn Numan was followed by Musa ibn Nusayr, the real hero of Islam in Maghrib. He suppressed the Berber revolt that followed the withdrawal of Hasan.²⁴ He over-ran Maghrib and occupied Tangier. At the time of the Muslim conquest most of the Berbers on the coastal strip had become Christians due to the missionary works of st. Augustine *et al.* But the population in general had not been influenced by the Christian faith “for the Romans and Byzantines lived

²⁰ ‘Not until the governorship of Hasan ibn al Numan Al Ghasani was an end put to Byzantine authority and Berber resistance in” P.K.Hitti.. p. 213.

²¹ Ibn Athir, “al Bidaya wal Nihaya”, vol. IV., p 380 – 81; Ibn Khaldun, ‘Kitab al Ebar’”, Vol., VII .p-8-9; also Baladhuri. P. 229; Ibn Idhari. “al Bayan al Mughrib fi Akabar Maghrib” . p. 20-24.

²² Talbi. M, ‘al Kahina’, Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. IV., p. 422-23.

²³ Levi Provençal.E, ‘Musa ibn Nusayr’, Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. VII ., p. 643

²⁴ ‘Musa’s father Nusayr was taken captive by Kahalid ibn Walid, along with other forty youths who were learning the Gospel at Ain Tamar, who later embraced Islam. Their

mainly in towns on the coast and represented a culture that was quiet alien to the mentality of these nomadic and semi nomadic North Africans".²⁵ The spread of Islam among the Berbers was greatly indebted to the works of Musa ibn Nusayr. It was at this point that there took place the great mystery of the Muslim conquests in Maghrib. Suddenly the Berber resistance crumbled and Muslim political domination and propagation of Islam spread with extraordinary rapidity.²⁶

I/3. Berber Revolts

In 720 Yazid ibn Abu Muslim was appointed as the Governor of Maghrib. He levied poltax (Jizya) on the Berbers. His administration was oppressive and so the Berbers rose in revolt against the governor and murdered him. The Berber revolts were triggered as a consequence of the administrative policy of the governor who did not show the moderation Arabs had shown elsewhere. The next governor tried to conciliate them and things remained quiet for some time. In 734 Ubaidulla ibn Habbab was appointed as the governor. He appointed Umar al Muradi as his deputy in Tangier. In 740 there was another Berber revolt.

This revolt of Mysara²⁷ spread through out Maghrib and the Umayyad reinforcements sent there were submerged in it. "With in a few years, Muslim power was swept from almost the whole of North

son's later became prominent figures, like Muhammad ibn Ishaq the earliest biographer of Prophet' c.f. Jurj' Zaydan "History of Islamic Civilisation"—clients p. 52.

²⁵ Hitti.PK... P.214.

²⁶ 'Cambridge History of Islam', p- 214, also P.K.Hitti... p.214-15.

²⁷ Levi Provencal. E, 'Maysara', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. VI, p. 923.

Africa. It was able to hold on ... only the region of Kairowan which often gave the impression of a ship surrounded by waves when powerful tribes attacked its walls".²⁸ The Umayyad force was defeated in the battle that followed which is known as 'The Battle of Nobles' (*Ghazwat al Ashraf*) as many nobles in the Umayyad camp perished in it. The Umayyad army in the next year also was defeated on bank of the Seibu River.

The terrible Berber reactions that took place from 740 A.D onwards were greatly inspired by strong Kharji²⁹ principles. The revolts led by Mysara and started in Tangier, later on spread through North Africa 'like a train of gun powder'. These revolts were motivated by the harsh policies of the Arab administration. The Arab "did not behave in the Maghrib with the moderation which they had shown else where".³⁰

The reason was that the Arabs considered Berbers 'uncivilized' and moreover in Maghrib they 'were not surrounded by coherent and organized societies'. Within a few years Umayyad power was swept from almost the whole of Maghrib. The Kharijite revolts helped greatly to root Islam firmly in Maghrib. The Berbers, under Kusayla and Kahina had earlier posed great resistance to the spread of Muslim power in Maghrib.

But now the pendulum swung to the other extreme. The same Berbers were inspired by the kharijite doctrines, an anti-Umayyad

²⁸ Cambridge History of Islam, vol. I.p. 215.

²⁹ Following the struggle between Ali, the caliph and Muawiyah, the Syrian Governor, both parties agreed upon arbitration. But a section of Ali's -camp did not accept the terms of the arbitration and seceded. They later on can be called kharijites (seceders).S,Amir Ali A Short History of Saracens .p.51.

³⁰ Cambridge History of Islam, vol.I. p. 215.

movement and rose in revolt against their masters. They were able to throw back the Umayyad suzerainty.³¹

Hanzala ibn Sufwan:- During the last decade of Umayyad dynasty (740 –50) Maghrib was practically lost to them. They were forced to retreat to Kairowan. In 742 Hanzala ibn Safwan was appointed as the governor. He was able to defeat two Berber attacks on Kairowan³².

Following Hanzala, Abdul Rahman ibn Habib became the governor of Kairowan and remained in the office from 745 to 755. During this period the Umayyad dynasty was over thrown in 750 and the Abbasids took the office of the caliphate. This dynastic change however created no particular consequences in North Africa. The governor Abdul Rahman transferred his allegiance to the Abbasids. The governor was assassinated in 755.

Towards the close of the 8th century Maghrib became fully independent of the eastern rule. In Algeria a Kharijite state came into existence in 761³³. It was founded by Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam, a Kharijite leader and the governor of Kairowan during 758–761. The Abbasid rule remained in Tunisia only. Meanwhile the Idrisid dynasty was established in Morocco in 785 AD. The Idrisid dynasty established

³¹ “Kharijism resulted in Islam being much more firmly rooted in Maghrib and carrying into areas where Islam had not been introduced. A vast number of Berber theologians particularly on the Jabal Nufusa and Tahart areas began to develop. As kharijism did not defer from orthodox Islam, it spread the growth of Orthodox theology also and probably contributed indirectly to the formation of the famous school of Kairowan of the 9th century. Thus, the Kharijite revolts produced positive results as far as Islam was concerned”.

³² S. Amir Ali, ‘A Short History of the Saracens’. P. 141 –44.

³³ Meanwhile the Umayyad dynasty was over thrown by another Quraish branch, the Abbasids who established their rule in 750 AD as Bagdad their centre. C.f.Hitti.PK... P. 288, S. Amir Ali .p. 208.

in 788 by Idris ibn Abdullah, a great grand son of al Hasan.³⁴ Fez was their capital.³⁵ By 800 AD the Aghlabid State was also set up in Tunisia³⁶. While the Idrisids were rival to the Abbasids the Aghlabids were tributary Baghdad.³⁷

These facts show that the Arab rule under the Umayyads and latter on the Abbasids was exercised in the Maghrib for about one century only. The Berbers though opposed to Muslim invasion in the initial stage, were soon converted to Islam and became champions of the faith. They took to kharijism in their quest for equality and independence. Kharijism in turn helped Islam to take deep root in Maghrib. From 9th century onwards the Berbers were ruled by various dynasties. Some of the dynasties had of Arab and others of pure Berber origin. The Berbers, regardless of the origin of these dynasties, rallied behind Islam and became the champions of their faith and independence.

The following dynasties ruled the Maghrib from second half of 8th century to the end of 14th century.

³⁴ During the reign of al Mansur he participated in the revolt of Madina when the revolt was suppressed Idris fled for his life to Maghrib. There he founded a dynasty with the support of the natives mostly Berbers. The dynasty lasted up to 974 almost a span of two centuries. This was the first shite dynasty in the Muslim annals, though the supporting Berber population remained to be Sunnis

³⁵ Yaqubi, 'Tarikh Yaqubi', vol. II, 487; Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' vol. IV, p. 11-147; Ibn Idharai 'Bayan' vol. I, p.72.

³⁶ Ibn Athir, vol. VI, p.235ff; Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. IV, pp 197-205; Hitti.PK..., p. 451-52; Amir Ali, p. 583-9.

³⁷ The dynasty came into being during the reign of Harun al Rashid who entrusted the region to Ibrahim ibn Aghlab and his descendents on condition of annual tribute to Baghdad. They dominated the middle of Ifrikiya from the borders Egypt. They used the title Amir and had their own coins. Their capital was Kairowan where they conducted a number of raids into the Mediterranean Islands. They captured Sicily. Even though owed allegiance to the Abbasids was independent to all practical purposes.

1. The Kharijite Rustamids in Algeria (761-909)
2. The Shia Idnsids in Morocco (785-015)
3. The Sunni Aghlabids in Tunisia (800-908)
4. The Shia Fatimids (909-972)
5. The Zirids and Hammadids (972-1152)
6. The Al-Moravids (1040-1147)
7. The Al-Muwahids (1120-1268)
8. The Marinids in Morocco
9. The Hafsids in Tunis
10. The Banu Abdul Wad of Tlemcen

The history of these dynasties is the history of Maghrib and therefore each of them deserves special attention.

I/4. The Rustamids (761-909)

Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam founded this dynasty in Algeria³⁸. He was a Persian by origin and was appointed by the Abbasids as the governor of Kairowan during 758-61. He was a supporter of Kharijites and founded the First Khariji State. He got the support of the Zanata Berbers and occupied the Tairet, the Roman establishment and built, Tahirt, his new capital near Tairet.³⁹

Following the death of Abdul Rahman, Wahab succeeded his father in 785. The Rustamid State prospered and extended under Wahab. They were able to defeat the Aghlabids and capture Tripolitania, spreading the state the whole central Maghrib. Wahab died in 824 after a

³⁸ 'Rustamids', Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. VIII . p. 638 – 40.

³⁹ The Berbers were attracted to the Rustamids because of their Khariji character. Abdul Rahman declared himself as the Imam. The Khariji State was theocratic in nature as religion heads called Mashayikh controlled all the affairs of the state.

reign of thirty-nine years. Wahab's son Abu Said Aflah became the next ruler. Their capitals Tahirt prospered under him and became an active centre of trans-Saharan commerce. He died in 873. The reign of the three rulers extended more than once century of the dynasty and this period was the zenith of the dynasty.⁴⁰

I/5. The Idrisids

The founder of this dynasty was Idris, son of Abdulla, grand son of Hazrat Hasan son of the caliph Ali.⁴¹ With the help of the Berber support Idris founded the first Shia State (785). Soon the whole of Morocco and some parts of Algeria came under his control. The establishment of this Shia dynasty resulted in the loss of the region to the Abbasid hold. Harun al Rashid was greatly concerned with the growing influence of Idris. Still he was not able to take Idrisids by means of a military action; so he resorted to treachery. He sent Shamak to the Idrisid's court to take Idris in confidence and poison him to death. Idris

⁴⁰ After the death of Abu Saed, there was no such great rulers. More over the Rustamid State was threatened by two rival states the Shia Idrisids from the west and the Sunni Aghlabids in the east. By the year 880 the state had been shrunk to the capital itself. In their attempt to meet both of their enemies they made alliances with the Umayyid in Spain, accepting vassal statehood. By the beginning of 10th century the Fatimids had entered into history and they defeated Yaqzan the last Rustamid ruler in 909. Thus ended the dynasty after a reign of 148 years.

⁴¹ Yaqubi vol. II – p. 488ff; Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. IV, p. 12ff. Ibn Idhari- 'Bayan', vol. I, p.72ff. 915. His two brothers Muhammad and Ibrahim conducted rebellion in Madina and Kufa respectively during the reign of the Abbasid caliph Al Mansur. The rebellions were suppressed and both of them perished in it. Idris, accompanied by Rashid, a companion escaped to Maghrib via Egypt and Tangier. He reached a place called Walila in foothills of the Atlas. The chief of Walla Ishaq ibn Muhammad gave Idris a warm welcome as a member of the family of the prophet. The efforts of Ishaq helped Idris to get the support of Berbers, who swore as their Imam

was thus killed in 788 and Shamakh escaped successfully to Baghdad and was awarded a high office in Egypt.⁴²

Idris II:- Idris was succeeded by his posthumous son Idris II. Rashid, the faithful companion of Idris I, who managed the affairs of the state skillfully, assisted him. It was not soon when differences arose between Rashid and Ishaq, the Berber chief who had welcomed Idris I. Rashid was soon killed and Ishaq became the regent. In 804 Idris II took power for himself and killed Ishaq accusing of entering in conspiracy with the Aghlabids to overthrow the Idrisids. He was also taken for the murder of Rashid. Meanwhile, the Aghlabids occupied Tlemcen. Idris shifted soon his capital to Fez.⁴³ Idris II was a good ruler. He died in 825 at the young age of 37. His eldest son Muhammad succeeded him. The other Idrisid rulers were Ali Yahya II, Yahya II, Ali II and Yahya III. In 905 the Fatimids took Fez and put an end to the dynasty. In 905 an Idrisid prince named Hasan drove out the Fatimid governor from Fez and re-established the dynasty but with short life. By 915 the western part of the empire passed into the control of Umayyads of Spain and the eastern part to the Fatimids. That marked the final end of the dynasty after a reign of 130 years.

⁴² Eustache. D, 'Idris', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III., p. 1035 – 37.

⁴³ He was doubtful of the Berber support and so tried to build an Arab force with the help of Arab refugees from Spain and Tunisia. He set an Arab bodyguard and appointed an Arab minister – Umair ibn Musa. and recaptured Tlemcen. The Berbers, who became apprehensive of the Arabisation of Idris II, revolted in Fez. Idris, however, with the help of Aghlabids suppressed it. He defeated the Aghlabids also, which resulted in a favorable treaty to the Idrisids. Aghlabids were forced to recognize the Idrisid political entity.

I/6. The Aghilabids (800-909)

The founder of the dynasty was Ibrahim ibn Aghilab⁴⁴. This dynasty came into being during the reign of Harun al Rashid as a tributary.⁴⁵ There were strong Berber revolts against Ibrahim in the beginning, but all of them were suppressed with iron hands. He assumed the title of Amir, but did not fault in remitting annual tribute to the central government. The Abbasids, therefore, had never interfered in the administration of the province. The Abbasids control over Tunisia has actually nominal and the Aghilabids were independent rulers in Tunisia for more than one century. The establishment of the independent Aghilabid State itself indicated the fact that an all-powerful emperor like Harun al Rashid had no choice but to come in terms with the reality of Berber independence.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibn Athir, 'Al Kamil' vol. VI, p. 106; Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', Vol. IV. p. 197 – 205; also Ibn Idhari. Vol. I p. 83.

⁴⁵ Al Maghrib was a turbulent province in the Abbasid Empire and the central government at Bagdad failed to incorporate the region to the main body. More over the revenues from Maghrib was not enough to meet the expences of the provinces.;it laid a burden of one lakh dinar per year up on the revenue of the neighboring provinces of Egypt. It was in this situation Ibrahim ibn Aghlab put an offer before Harun al Rashid that should he be appointed to the permanent governorship of Maghrib with independent authority, he would look after the affairs of the province for the central government. He moreover agreed to remit an amount of 40 thousand dinars every year to the Abbasid treasury. Haruan was pleased to accept this offer and thus Ibrahim was appointed as the independent ruler of Tunisia in 800 AD.

⁴⁶ Ibrahim built a new fortified town near Kairowan called Abbasia after his suzerainty. Following the death of Ibrahim in 812, his son Abdullah succeeded to the thrown. His brother Ziyadathulla succeeded him in 817. He was the most brilliant member of the dynasty. There were severe revol.ts during the initial period of his region, but all of them were crushed. Thus he embarked on a career of conquest. His navy conquered Palermo in Sicily in 831. The Aghilabid dominion extended under him from the boarders of Egypt to Morocco and a part of Sicily. The conquest of Sicily was completed during Abdul Abbas Muhammad. The dynasty ended when the Fatimids appeared in Maghrib. The Fatimids defeated Abu Mansur, the last of the line in 909 putting an end to the dynasty. Around these three relatively important political centers the Aghilabids, the Rustamids and the Idrisids - there revol.ved a number of principalities and Berber tribes who kept their independence against all domination and continued to live as freely as they did in

Another factor related to the rise and spread of Islam in all Maghrib was the development of Kairowan into a center of Islamic civilisation in the whole region. Established by Uqba ibn Nafi in 663- 64 Kairowan later on developed into a city worthy of its name, “where Maghrib architecture with its pre dominating eastern influence, was born. The city was the model for Islamic culture. It was the Aghlabids who made their capital a centre for cultured life where developed Mghribi theology, jurisprudence and poetry.⁴⁷ The Maghrib theology was based upon Maliki Madhab, the most formalistic one. Again, out of the four schools of theology Malikism, which stood for strict interpretation, found in harmony, as in the case of Kharijism during the days of Umayynds, with the Berber austerity and punctiliousness.⁴⁸

The Arabic language also took deep root in the Berber soil, as it was the official language as well as the medium for cultured expression, especially intowns. Arabic spread among the Berbers through the interaction with the Arabs who had settled there in large number. “Thus it was during the third/ 9th century that the Arabo -Islamic Maghrib took shape and gave birth to an original type of civilization which still remains alive. This was the period in which the new civilization took root”.⁴⁹

the past. Yet they acknowledged the overwhelming domination of the new faith that came into their land through the Arab domination. The Berbers tribes of North Africa had became Muslims, at the same time they maintained their freedom. Cambridge History of Islam .p 216;Hitti.P.K..p 451-52.

⁴⁷ Hitti.P.K.,p 452;Amir Ali, p.583-89.

⁴⁸ Cambridge Hisyory of Islam,p. 218

⁴⁹ Cambridge History of Islam p. 217.

I/7. The Fatimids (909 – 1171)

Saed ibn Husayn in Tunisia found the Fatimid dynasty, the major Shi'ite State in 909.⁵⁰ The establishment of the state was the culmination of deep-laid and skillfully organized Ismaelite propaganda among the Berbers of Maghrib. The major propagandist was Abdullah al Husayn al Shei⁵¹ who proclaimed himself precursor of the Mahdi and sowed seeds of sedition in the Aghlabid Maghrib.⁵² From his headquarters of Salamiyah in Syria Saeid, disguised as a merchant went to Maghrib. His identity was discovered and was arrested in Sijilmassa by the order of the Aghlabid Ziyadatullah. Al Shei rushed to save Saeid and defeated Ziyadatullah in 909 putting an end to their rule. Saeid was proclaimed ruler under the title, Imam Ubaidullah al Mahdi.⁵³ He entered Kairowan on 29 Rabi II 295 / 15th January 910.

Ubaidullah (909)⁵⁴ established himself first in the Aghlabid capital Raqada near Kairowan. Capable a ruler,⁵⁵ he extended rule over the whole western Africa upto Morocco and to the borders of Egypt. He

⁵⁰ Hitti.P.K.,p. 618;Amir Ali,p. 589;Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar',vol.V, p 28 ff. M. Canard, Fatimid History; G. Marcais, Art, Architecture, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Halm. H, Fatimids, Encyclopaedia of Islam.

⁵¹ Nurul Hassan, 'Abu Abdullah al Shei', Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol. I, p. 103 – 104; also, Egypt Vol. II, p. 850 – 60; Administration, p. 860 –62; Art, Architecture, p. 862-64.

⁵² Unlike the other members of the family of the Prophet, to whom both the Umayyads and Abbasids denied their 'legitimate' political rights, who came into Maghrib as rather political refugees, Fatimids appeared with plans and projects. "The Fatimids on the other hand had long been preparing for their arrival". After though ground preparation was made, al Shei, the chief propagandist, invited Saeid to Maghrib

⁵³ Ibn Idhari vol. VIII pp 17-20; Dachraoui. F, 'Ubaidullah al Mahdi', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. V, p. 1242-44.

⁵⁴ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' vol. V p 34 ff; Ibn Athir, vol. VIII, p 32 – 41, 47 – 53, 89 – 92.

⁵⁵ His chief propagandist al Shei was killed within two years. Differences emerged between al Shei and Ubaidullah when the former wanted to exercise all political power while the latter would continue to be the spiritual head. Ubaidullah was too ambitious to be a mere shadow.

sent governors to Sicily and established friendship with the rebel leader Ibn Hafsun of Spain. Around 920 he established a new capital al Mahdiya on the Tunisian coast.⁵⁶

Ubaidullah's successors pursued his policy of aggression and expansion. His son Al Qaim (934–46) raided the coasts of France.⁵⁷ The most important rulers of the dynasty were al Muizz (952- 75) and al Aziz (975 –96). It was during the period of al Muizz the Fatimid commander Jawhar al Siqqili took Egypt from the hands of the Ikshidids (969). Western Arabia, which was also under the Ikshidids, passed into their hands. The zenith of the Fatimid State was during the 5th ruler al –Aziz. He shifted his capital to Cairo and left North Africa under Zirid governors. Therefore, the Fatimid authority in al Maghirib virtually came to an end.⁵⁸

I/8. The Zirids and The Hammadids

Bulaggin ibn Ziri founded the Zirid dynasty. They were the inhabitants of Algeria and were professing Shia faith. So it was easy for them to become the Fatimid vassals. When the dynasty shifted the capital to Cairo during al Aziz, Bulaggin ibn Ziri was appointed as the governor of al Maghrib comprising Topolitania, Tunisia and eastern

⁵⁶ His failure in two attempts to capture Egypt showed him that the state needed meticulous preparation, money and army. At Mahdiya he instituted anew system of taxation which helped him to rise money needed towards the expense of the army he wanted to set up.Hitti.P.K.,p. 618-19.

⁵⁷ The doctrinal differences between the Shia Fatimids and Sunni Berbers, soon developed into a wide spread discontent when the dynasty resorted to intolerance towards the subjects. All the discontent was gathered around a khariji revol.t lead by Berber, leader called Abu Yazid nick named as, the man on the donkey. In this revol.t all but the Fatimid capital Mahdiya passed into the rebel's hand. Anyhow al Qaim could clear his threat successfully though with great difficulty. The Fatimid victory sealed the fate of violent kharijism in Maghrib.Amir Ali,p. 595-96.

⁵⁸ Hitti.P.K.,p. 619.

Algeria. He built a capital for himself at Ashir, the valley of the Tittari Mountains. His son Mansur succeeded him.⁵⁹

In 1047, Zirid ruler Nasir repudiated his allegiance to the Fatimids and offered it to the Abbasids. The motivation was not strictly political, as the allegiance the dynasty owed to the Fatimids was as light as virtual independence. Yet the decision was greatly aimed at satisfying the public, adhering to the strict Maliki sunnism that could not tolerate a doctrine, which was prepared to belittle and even ridicule the Companions and the legitimate caliphs of the Prophet with the exception of Ali and his descendents.⁶⁰ The Fatimids, unable to meet this secession, resorted to other strategy. They instigated the troublesome Arab nomads of Banu Hilal and Banu Sulym,⁶¹ in Upper Egypt to migrate and raid Maghrib. It was the Fatimid vezier al- Yazuri who proposed this plan by which the Fatimids won two aims. Firstly they were able to punish their 'arrogant vassal' and secondly they themselves were cleared off the troublesome nomadic tribes. The Zirids were not able to check this 'march of locusts'.

This incident later on came to be called 'the Hilali invasion' upon which there has emerged much controversy. What was the effect of this nomadic invasion? Some historians considered the invasion as a havoc to Maghrib from which the country never regained even upto this day

⁵⁹ During the period of Mansur their allegiance to Fatimids had become nominal. Therefore, the Fatimids incited the Khutama tribes to rebel against Zirids and violent revol.ts took place in 985 and 989. Mansur suppressed them all. His son Nasir Dawla Budis succeeded him. During his period his paternal uncle Hammad ibn Buluggin revol.ted. The revol.t resulted in the split of the state. Hammad created a state of his own with Qalat Bani Hammad in Algeria as its capital. The Zirid rule continued in Ashir as capital.

⁶⁰ Cambridge History of Islam, vol.I. p.220.

⁶¹ Schleifer. J, 'Banu Hilal', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III., p. 385 – 87.

while others rejected this argument altogether. For the first instance it fulfilled its aim of punishing the Zirids. But what about the “decline of culture and civilization resulted from the nomadic invasion”? Considering all the aspects of the Hilali invasion, we have enough reason to say that it was not so. “In about 462/1070 the geographer al Bakri describes a North Africa which except for the region of Kairwan was still prosperous.⁶² By the middle of the next century al-Idirisi described Maghriib but no longer such a cheerful picture as that of al-Bakri.”⁶³ That is the effect of the invasion felt gradually as the Bedouins encroached the cultivated land in pursuit of fresh pastures, disrupted the flow of trade, and strangled the town of the interiors. The invasion produced serious consequences of long run in political, economic and social life.

Yves Locoste called the theory of Arab invasion a ‘myth’ originally propounded to justify the French occupation of Algeria.⁶⁴ The myth “was deliberately forged and inculcated into the framework of colonial ideology”.⁶⁵ Turning the Arabs into destructive invaders was one of the colonial strategies of legitimizing the ‘French presence’. In the work of Louis Bertrand (Academician and official bard of the government General del’ Algorie) the Christian Berbery states are symbolized by Saint Augustine and are represented as having fallen into invaders from the east and then being restored to the bosom of Christian

⁶² Cambridge History of islam, vol.I, p. 221.

⁶³ Ibid. p-221.

⁶⁴ Yves Lacoste, “Ibn Khaldun, ‘Kitab al Ebar’: The birth of History and the past of Third World”. The Thetford Press, Morfolk, (1984), pp. 65 ff.

⁶⁵ Ibid p 75.

west by France.⁶⁶ But, the fact regarding Maghrib was far away from what was exposed during the colonial days; “It is not true that North Africa was always been part of a foreign empire: between the eight and sixteen centuries, the countries now known as Algeria and Tunisia were ruled by native dynasty. Morocco was independent from ancient times until the twentieth century. Roman domination was no more than a brief localized episode and the sovereignty of the caliphs of Damascus never existed except in theory”.⁶⁷

In 1060 the Zirids were pressed to abandon their capital Ashir and build new capital at Bougie. The Zirid rule lasted up to 1148 in which year they were defeated and over-thrown by the Murabitun. The Hammadids continued their allegiance to the Fatimids and when the nomadic Arabs invaded Maghrib, they made common cause with them against Zirids. This dynasty continued up to 1152 until the Murabitun over powered them.⁶⁸

I/9 . The Murabitun [Almoravides]

The withdrawal of Fatimid from Maghrib to Egypt and the fall of Umayyad power in Spain created political instability in the region⁶⁹. The

⁶⁶ Saint Augustine' Paris 1913', quoted by Yves Lacoste .pp. 75-76.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p.76.

⁶⁸ The Arab invasion had greatly contributed to the Spread of Arabic language in Maghrib. This language, eventhough the official and means of cultured expression had, confined itself to the towns, But the new invaders spread it throughout al-Maghrib. There took place more over a social mingling among the native Berbers and immigrant Arabs. They intermarried and lived together with least difficulty, as the Arabs were as simple as that of the Berbers. Islam, their common faith, further cemented and expanded their relations on an extensive basis. “In this way there was gradually formed the Arab-Berber population which today inhabits the greatest part of North Africa” Cambridge Hisyory of Islam, p. 221.

⁶⁹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI, p. 198; Ibn Athir, vol. IX. p. 291 ff, vol. X , p. 583 - 585, vol. XI, p. 519 -522.

Murabites rose to fill this political vacuum.⁷⁰ The term 'murabite'⁷¹ was derived from 'rabat', which means citadel or fortified monastery.⁷² They wore veils covering their face below eyes. So they were known as 'Mulathamun'⁷³ [the veiled ones]. When acquired enough strength and number, they embarked on the career of conquest. They defeated the Zirids in 1148 and the Hammadids in 1152. They occupied Sijilmasa in 1053. Yusuf Ibn Tashfin⁷⁴ (1061-1106) was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He extended conquest in Morocco and founded the city of Marrekesh as capital. In 1062 Fez and by 1082 a greater part of Algeria was conquered⁷⁵.

His son and successor Ali was also a great member of the Murabites⁷⁶. It was during his period the Muzarabs assumed large support and therefore became the special object of restriction⁷⁷.

The fall of the Murabit power was rapid. 'A generation of efficient militarism followed by sloth and corruption leading to

⁷⁰ Ibn Abu Zar-vol.I. pp. 75-87; Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI. pp.181-2; Ibn al Athir, vol. ix pp. 425-27.

⁷¹ Hitti.P.K., p. 541.

⁷² They "were originally a religious military brother hood established in the middle of eleventh century" by one Abdulla ibn Yasin al Juzuli. His head quarter was in an Island in the lower Senegal river where he built [citadel] which became a centre for preaching religious ideals .The followers of al Juzuli came to be known as al-Murabitun [Almoravides]. They attracted at first the Lumthunah tribe, a branch of Sanhaja tribe.

⁷³ Norris. H.T, 'Almoravids', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. VII ., p. 583 – 91.

⁷⁴ Ibn Abi Zar, vol. I. p. 88-9, Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI. p. 184.

⁷⁵ With the fall of Umayyds in Spain political anarchy prevailed there also. Yusuf went to the Iberian Peninsula at the request of the Muslim princes for help against the northern Christians. He met the Christians in the battle of Zallaqa in 1087 and inflicted a crushing defeat.and became the master of Spain also and Seville 'functioned as the subsidiary capital'.

⁷⁶ Ibn Khaldun, vol. VI, p.188.

⁷⁷The Muzarabs are the Spanish population who had assimilated the language and styles of the Muslims even while retaining their Christian faith.

disintegration and fall.⁷⁸ In the beginning they were accustomed to hardship of desert, which made them invincible. But when they took towns like Morocco and Seville in Spain, they soon given to the luxuries and the vices of urban life. It sapped their vitality and soon “ fell an easy pray to their more vigorous kinsmen, the Muwahids”.⁷⁹

I/10. The Muwahidun [Almohads]

The Muwahid dynasty⁸⁰ (1120-1268) came into existense as a result of religious and political movement, in the same fashion of the Murabites. The leader and founder of the movement was Abu Abdulla Muhammed ibn Abdulla ibn Tumary commonly known as Ibn Tumart⁸¹ (1078-1030) of the Masmuda tribe. He was a religious scholar studied under Imam Gazali who launched a religious revivalist movement stressing the ‘Thowhid’ or unity of God against the excessive anthropomorphism prevalent in the then Maghrib. Therefore, his followers came to be known as Muwahidun (Almohads or Unitarians). Ibn Tumart, moreover, declared himself to be the Imam Mahdi ‘to restore Islam to its pure and original orthodoxy’.His headquarter was in the valley of Hafu in the High Atlas. He banned music and liquor and insisted rigid veil on women. He worked as religious head while the

⁷⁸ Hitti.PK... p. 345.

⁷⁹ Cambridge Hisyory of Islam, p. 222-24.

⁸⁰ Ibn Khaldun, ‘Kitab al Ebar’, vol. VI, p.225 ff; Ibn al Athir vol.X, p.400, Ibn Khallikan vol.II, p.426; Ibn Abi Zar, vol. I, p. 110; c.f. P.K.Hitti..., p.546-49; Cambridge History of Islam, p. 224-28; Shatzmiller.M, ‘Mowahids’, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. VII. p. 801-7.

⁸¹ Hopins. J.F.P, ‘Ibn Tumart’, Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. III., p. 985-60.

military command of his follower was entrusted to his faithful disciple, Abdul Mumin.⁸²

Upon the death Ibn Tumat in 1130 Abdul Mumin succeeded to the leadership of the Muwahidun. It was Abdul Mumin⁸³ who laid foundation to the political structure of Muwahidun. He defeated Morabites and occupied Marrakesh in 1144-46 A.D and was made their capitals. Meanwhile, the Christians in Spain made attacks on Cordova and Seville. Abdul Mumin sent an army to Spain and defeated the Christians. Thus, Spain was also incorporated to the Muwahid State.⁸⁴ He took Algeria in 1152, Tunisia in 1158 and Tripoli in 1160, and, 'thus for the first time in Muslim history the coast from the Atlantic to the frontiers of Egypt became united with Andalusia as an independent empire.'⁸⁵ Abdul Mumin died in 1162 after a glorious reign of 33 years.

Among the greatest and best-known members of this dynasty was his grand son Abu Yusuf Yaqub al Mansur (1184-99). He was a contemporary of Salahudeen Ayyubi who applied for help against the crusaders. Abu Yusuf sent 180 vassals to assist the Muslims against the crusaders.⁸⁶ Abu Yusuf died in 1199. He was one of the great rulers of his time under whom the Muwahid power reached its zenith. He was a

⁸² Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' vol. VI, p-229; Ibn Khallikan, vol. III., p. 237 – 241, 408; Levi Provencal. E, 'Abdul Mumin' Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.I. p.78-79.

⁸³ Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.I, p. 78 – 79.

⁸⁴ Ibn Khaldun vol. VI, p. 233 – 37; also Maqarri vol. II. p.693.

⁸⁵ Hitti.PK., p.548.

⁸⁶ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI, p. 246.

patron of knowledge and scholarship. He established a hospital in Marrakesh, which was a wonder of the age.⁸⁷

Al Nasir had nine successors and, all of them were weak and incapable. The dynasty lasted till 1269 when the Banu Marine took Marrakesh itself and founded the Marinid dynasty. The fall of the Muwahids was due to a number of reasons. The Masmuda tribe of High Atlas, who had been the founders of the empire, kept every thing in their own hands leaving to the Berbers and Spaniards tittle. There were disparity between the ruling class and the ruled mass. The former enjoyed prosperity and culture while the common people could not enjoy the same. When power passed into the hands of the clan of Abdul Mumin, they never thought of sharing it with other members of their own community.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ His successor Muhammad al Nasir was weak and there gathered a strong army in Spain under Alfonso VIII of Castile who invaded Southern Spain. Al Nasir crossed over to Spain and met Alfonso in 1212 at the Battle of Navas de Tolosa (called al Uqab by Arabs) al Nasir was defeated and the annihilation was so thorough that out of six lakh of Muslim army only one thousand were able to save their life. This, defeat contributed much to the fall of Muwahids as well as the decline of Muslim power in Spain. The Muwahids withdrew from Spain and in Maghrib also their power declined. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p.249-50; Hitti.P.K., p. 549.

⁸⁸ Still more serious was that the vigor of the movement had gone in course of time when they met with prosperity and the resultant luxury [Where faith had been replaced by the vital]. The rise of Christian powers in Spain and inner weakness of the dynasty gave the final blow. The rise and spread of the two above dynasties and the subsequent development had tremendous influence upon the thoughts of Ibn Khaldun to which he has given repeated references in Muqaddimah.

The fall of Muwahid dynasty resulted in turn in the emergence of three independent Berber states; the Marinidids in Morocco, the Hafsidids in Tunisia and the Banu Abdul Wad and later the Zayyanids in Tlemcen. All the three dynasties claimed to possess the true hegemony of the fallen Muwahid dynasty. The history of Maghrib in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the story of these three dynasties. Their fight for supremacy in Maghrib assisted by the nomadic Arab and the Berbers chiefs led to political anarchy in the North Africa in which Ibn Khaldun was an active participant during the second half of 14th century. This political instability together with the steady decline of Muslim power in the Iberian Peninsula formed a major crisis for the Muslim civilization in Maghrib in the middle ages. Both Maghrib and Spain, formerly great centres of Muslim civilization

Ibn Khaldun himself was an active participant in the chaotic politics of Maghrib which was the result of the fall of this dynasty and the subsequent rise of three dynasties. It was his active participation in the confusion of the age that finally led to his retirement from active politics. The result of this withdrawal resulted in great benefit to the intellectual world to come. But for the political crisis of Maghrib and Spain in which the author had personally taken part, the text of *Muqaddimah* would not have ever been written down.⁸⁹

I/11. The Marinids of Morocco (1213-1465)

The Marinides or the Banu Marin belonged to the Zanata Berber tribe of Maghrib.⁹⁰ They were nomadic in nature till the beginning of the thirteenth century. They did not involve in the fight between the Moralities and Muwahhids. When the Muwahid power was established, they allied with them and participated in their battles in Spain. They remained silent during the heyday of the Muwahid rulers.

The Marinid chief Abul Haq was to start with their political career in 1214. When Muwahid ruler al Nasir died in 1214, Abdul Haq occupied the north eastern area of Morocco between the rivers Za and Mulawiyya. It was the beginning of the political history of the tribe.⁹¹ During the period of Uthman, the son and successor of Abul Haq, the Marinids

now passed into the stage of decline that served as a background for the emergence of the genius of Ibn Khaldun. c.f. Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. xli.

⁸⁹ Talbi, M. "Ibn Khaldun" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III., p. 828.

⁹⁰ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII., p. 166 ff; Maya Shatzmiller, 'Marinids', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. VI, p. 571 - 74.

⁹¹ Two years later in 1216, Abdul Haq defeated the Muwahid army sent with the object of expelling the Marinids from Morocco. Following this victory, Abdul Haq took Taza also in 1217. There took place another battle between the Marinids and Muwahids in the bank

raided eastern Morocco and occupied Fez and Qasr al Kabir. The Muwahid attempt to drive out them ended in failure. Uthman died in 1239 and was succeeded by his brother Muhammed I. During his period the Marinids were defeated in 1244 near Fez by the army of the Muwahids. Muhammad I was killed and Marinids once again withdrew from Morocco.

Abu Yahya, the brother of Muhammad succeeded to the Marinid leadership. He conquered Maknes from Muwahids in 1245, but in 1248 Saed, the Muwahid ruler, marched to recover the lost territory. The Marinids upon the approach of Muwahids army, submitted Maknes. Then the victorious Saed marched to Tlemcen. Then he defeated Zayyanid leader Yaghmursan.⁹²

In the very beginning Yaqub⁹³ had to face invasion from Zayyanids as well as Spain. While Yaqub was at Taza preparing to meet the Zayyanids, Spaniards occupied Sala in the north of Morocco. Yaqub expelled them and restored Sala first and then defeated Zayyanids.⁹⁴

of Sibou River. The Marinids were defeated and Abdul Haq died in the battle. Therefore the Marinids were forced to withdraw from Morocco for some time.

⁹² Soon Saed was killed while visiting countryside. Abu Yahya attacked and annihilated the Muwahid army that was returning to Morocco following the death of Saed. Then he occupied Fez and Fez one again. The new Muwahid ruler Murtada and the Zayyanid ruler Yaghmursan allied together and made common cause against Abu Yahya. He was besieging Fazaz when Yaghmursan invaded the Marinids. The siege in Fazaz was lifted and Abu Yahya met the Zayyanid army near Wajda in 1250. The Zayyanids army was defeated and was driven back to Tlemcen. Then Abu Yahya took Fazzaz and Rabat. He died in 1259 and was followed by his brother Abu Yasuf Yaqub.

⁹³ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p. 180 ff.

⁹⁴ In 1267 the Muwahid ruler al Murtada was killed and his cousin Abu Dubbas captured the throne. Yaqub defeated him and captured Morocco in 1269. This defeat ended the Muwahid rule. The Marinids now became the masters of Morocco and the legitimate heirs of the Muwahids hegemony.

The fight with the Zayyanids continued for many decades more. In 1272 they were defeated easily. The Merinid march was on who conquered Tangir and Ceuta. Yaqub in 1282 crossed over to Spain to help Alfonso of Castile against his own son Don Sancho. In 1285 Don Sancho himself became the ruler of Castile following the death of his father, who prepared to make peace treaty with Yaqub⁹⁵.

His son, Abu Yaqub Yusuf, succeeded Yaqub.⁹⁶ His main task was to crush the power of Tlemcen. The army he led personally in 1290 to take the capital met with failure. Before the close of the century many towns like Tawirt, Wajda, Nadruma and Tawint belonging to the Zayyanids were subjugated.⁹⁷

Following the assassination of Yusuf, the Marinid state plunged into political anarchy.⁹⁸ The period of successive rulers of Morocco – Abu Thabit, Amir Abu Rabah Sulaiman and Abu Said Uthman, was marked with instability and mal-administration. The state regained its power and stability only after the ascendance of Abul Hasan⁹⁹ who became the ruler of the dynasty in 1331. Abul Hasan was the contemporary of the Ibn Khaldun.

⁹⁵ Accordingly the Muslim population in Castile was exempted from all taxes. Yaqub collected all the Arabic manuscripts in the Castile library and deported them into Fez where it adorned his magnificent library. He died in Spain in 1286.

⁹⁶ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p. 233.

⁹⁷ Many other towns also were captured and Tlemcen was besieged for a long period of eight years. The siege spread havoc and destruction in the Zayyanid capital where, over a hundred thousand inhabitants perished in the operation. Anyhow, the Zayyanids heroically resisted the Merinid attack and the siege until it was lifted on the assassination of Yusuf in 1307. Thereupon the Marinids lifted their siege and returned for Morocco.

⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p. 231 – 41.

⁹⁹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p. 252 ff.

Ambitious and determined, he embarked up on building a Marinid state in Maghrib. He married the daughter of Hafsid ruler Abu baker and further strengthened his position. He invaded Spain in 1333 and conquered Gibraltar from Castile, but soon met reversal there. His ambition of building a Marinid state in the whole Maghrib was fulfilled by the conquest of Tlemcen in 1337 and Tunisia in 1347. Abul Hassan availed for himself the opportunity of the death of Hafsid ruler Abubaker, his own father-in-law to attack and assimilate Tunisia to his dominion. Thus Maghrib after the Muwahids was once again united under one rule. But the victory of Abul Hasan was of short duration.¹⁰⁰

In the confrontation that followed, Abul Hassan was defeated who fled for Sijilmassa. Then there followed fight between Abul Hassan and his son Abu Enan, in which the former was defeated. When he fled to the protection of Hintata Berbers in the Atlas Mountain, Abu Enan perused him. At last he was forced to abdicate the throne infavour of his son. Abu Hasan died soon in 1351. His reign of forty years was a period of great trials and tribulations.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Troubles brewed following his occupation in Tunisia. Abul Hassan followed a system of direct Government, which deprived the tribal chiefs of their many privilages. The tribal chiefs, devoid of their former rights and positions soon planned to rise in revol.t against the Marinid overlordship. But the plan of this revol.t was leaked out and Abul Hassan imprisoned many of them (1348). This itself led to revol.t. They deposed Abul Hassan and instead choose one Muwahid princes named Abu Dhabbus Ahmad as their leader. Abul Hassan met the rebels near Kairowan,¹⁰⁰ but he was defeated and had to shut himself in the city. There followed a general revol.t in Bona, Bougie and Algeria. In Bona his brother in law (son of Abu Baker Hafsi) and the governor Fazala repudiated allegiance to Abdul Hassan, and declared his independence. His own son Abu Enan, governor of Tlamcen revol.ted against his father, captured Morocco and declared Sultan. Abul Hassan was cut off from all powers. In 1349 he left Kairowan and moved to Morocco. Another son Nazir governor of Biskara also joined him. They marched to recapture Tlamcen from the Zayyanids.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' ,vol.VII, p. 277-87.

Abu Enan (1351- 58): - Abu Enan upon assuming power invaded the Zayyanids¹⁰². He defeated them in Wangad plain, captured the sultan and executed him. Tlemcen and Bougie were once again passed into the Marinid hands in 1353 and Constantine in 1356. Then in 1357 Abu Enan invaded Hafsid capital Tunisia. The sultan Abu Ishaq fled to Mahdiya. But the unity did not last long as the army forced the Sultan to return to Morocco.¹⁰³

Following the death of Abu Enan, Morocco fell into a state of political anarchy. The ministers assumed all power and became king-makers. They put in power one or the other member of the ruling Marinid family on the throne and deposed when their nominees outgrew their ministers. During the eight years between 1358-66 there ascended four sultans- Abu Bakr Said (1358-59), Abu Salim Ibrahim (1359-61), Abu Umer (1361) and Abu Zayan (1361-66). This last sultan was killed by his own minister

Abul Faris Abdul Aziz (1366-72)¹⁰⁴:-He came to power in 1366 with the help of his minister, Umer ibn Abdulla who had killed preceding Sultan, Abu Zayan. Abdul Faris, after consolidating his position killed this minister and assumed real power. He re-conquered Marakish in 1368, which had for a while become independent under one Marinid

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 286 ff.

¹⁰³ Morocco soon witnessed a revolt incited by the Nasirid Sultan of Spain. The Nasirid Sultan feared an attack on Spain from Abu Enan, which prompted him to instigate the revolt. The revolt was led by Abul Fazl, one brother of Abu Enan. The revolt, anyhow, was suppressed and Abul Fazal was killed. The next Nasirid Sultan Muhammad V made terms of peace with Morocco. Al Fudadi, one of his Ministers, strangled Abu Enan to death in 1358. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII, p. 293.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 362.

prince.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile Abul Faris died in 1372 and was succeeded by Abu Muhammed. The death of Abul Faris once again led to political instability in Morocco, which was further worsened by the activities of Nasirid Sulthan Muhammad V. Apart from conquering Gibraltar from the Marinid sulthan, he demanded to cede Ceuta and to expel Ibn al Khatib. Once again his demands were rejected. Thereupon Muhammad V released two Marinid princes, (Abul Abbas and Abdul Rahman who were fugitives in his court) and were given assistance to incite revolt in Morocco. Abul Abbas captured Fez and Abdul Rahman captured Marrakash.¹⁰⁶ Abul Abbas ruled from 1374 to 1384. He was over thrown by Mustansir who ruled for two years. He was followed by Muhammed. After one year Abul Abbas recaptured power once again in 1387 and ruled till his death in 1393. Abu Faris who was the Marinid Sultan from 1393 to 98 succeeded him.

I/12. The Hafsids of Tunisia

The Hafsid dynasty was the second important state, established upon the ruin of the Muwahid dynasty.¹⁰⁷ The dynasty was founded by Muhammad ibn Abu Hafs, a governor of Muwahids in Tunisia from

¹⁰⁵ It was during this time the Nasirid minister Ibn al Khatib lost the favours of his patron, Muhammad V and sought assylum in the Marinid court.¹⁰⁵ This man of letters and learning, a contemporary of Ibn Khaldun, became scape-goat of political rivalry between the Marinids and the Nasirids. When Sultan Muhammad V heard that Ibn al Khatib had been given asylum in Morocco, he demanded Abul Faris to expel him. The Sultan of Morocco turned down this demand and thus Ibn al Khatib became an object of bitter rivalry between the two. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol.VII,p 323-36.

¹⁰⁶ Abul Abbas executed both of the demand of Muhammed V. He surrendered Ceuta and Ibn al Khatib was executed in accordance with the request. Thus the most brilliant scholar of Maghrib met with his end in cold blood. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar''', vol.VII, p. 336.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI, p 275 ff; Idris. H.R, 'Hafsids', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III., p. 66 – 69.

1207 to 1221. Even while acknowledging the suzerainty of Muwahid rule, Muhammad was independent in all respects. Tunisia witnessed full autonomy and effective administration under Muhammad who gave particular attention towards building a well-organized army also.

Abu Zakariy Yahya was the real founder of an independent Hafsid rule in Tunisia in 1222. Following the death of Muhammad Ibn Abu Hafs in 1221 there was tussle for power between the sons of the late sultan. Abu Zaid, a son of the late governor captured power in 1221. He became unpopular and was replaced by his brother Abu Muhammad Abdullah in 1226. Another brother, Abu Zakaria Yahya was appointed as governor of Gabia.

Meanwhile, there were political overtones at Muwahid capital. The Muwahid ruler al Adid was overthrown in 1227 and was followed by al Mamun. The governor of Tunisia, Abu Muhammad Abdullah did not approve the new ruler while his brother readily accepted him. So Abu Zakaria was appointed as governor of Tunisia in place of his brother.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The Muwahid dynasty was founded upon the concept that Tumart was the expected Mahdi. All the preceding rulers of the dynasty had agreed this doctrine. Now Mamun rejected this doctrine in 1232. This gave Abu Zakaria an opportunity to throw back Muwahid overlordship over Tunisia. He declared his independence and claimed himself true successor of Muwahid dynasty by upholding the doctrine al Mahdi ibn Tumart. He read Khutuba in Tunisia in the name of Ibn Tumart.

His independence was further threatened when Tripolitania also repudiated its allegiance to Morocco and supported Tunisia. In 1242 Abu Zakariya defeated Yaghmurasan and captured Tlemcen, the capital of Algeria. Anyhow Yaghmurasan was reinstated in Algeria as the governor. Sijilmasa and Ceuta also supported Hafsids. Abu Zakariya died in 1249 after a glorious reign of twenty years (1228 to 48)

During his reign Tunisia became a powerful state. The state enjoyed political stability under the farsighted and able administration of Abu Zakariya. The state witnessed prosperity as it engaged in commercial activities with the European states like Pissa, Venice and Aragon'. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol.VII, p. 280-88'

Abu Abdullah al Mustansir (1249-77) was the son and successor of Abu Zakariya. He assumed the title al Mustansir. He was the great successor of the great ruler. The Hafsid State became more powerful. He strengthened the army and extended the territory to Tripoli in the east and to a greater part of Maghrib in the west. He was liberal in religious matters. He allowed Christian missionaries in Tunisia.¹⁰⁹ But this led the Christians to fall in a false impression that al Mustansir was likely to profess Christianity.¹¹⁰

Soon al Mustansir became more powerful champion of the faith. Halagu had crushed the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in 1258. Now al Mustansir declared himself as the caliph. This was acknowledged by the other states in Maghrib who owed their allegiance to him. Al Mustarsir was one of the greatest rulers of Maghrib. He built so many public buildings, palaces, parks, canals etc. He died in 1277 after a brilliant reign of 28 years.¹¹¹

Following the death of al Mustansir, the Hafsid State plunged into political instability. This was largely due to the interference of external powers especially Aragon. Yahya al Watiq succeeded his father who lacked the good qualities of a brilliant ruler. So his minister Ghafiqi

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 290.

¹¹⁰ Meanwhile Louis IX, the king of France directed one crusade to Tunisia under the assumption that once Tunisia was invaded, al Mustansir would promptly convert into Christianity. When the crusaders landed in Tunisia, the Hafsid army surrounded them. Therefore the crusaders were forced to shut in a fort. The Tunisian army besieged the fort. Meanwhile Louis IX died and the crusaders returned suffering heavy losses.

¹¹¹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' ,vol.VI,p. 292.

became the *de facto* ruler. But he soon became unpopular and was assassinated in 1278.¹¹²

Abu Ishaq: - Though he owed Peter III much to become the master of Tunisia, Abu Ishaq was not ready to give Aragon any tribute. There upon Peter III invited the governor of Constantine, Abu Baker to conduct revolt against Tunisia. But Abu Ishaq suppressed this revolt and killed Abu Baker. Another revolt was sponsored by Peter-III in Trpolitania that was headed by Fazl, son of Watiq. Abu Ishaq was defeated in 1283 and lost power within four years of his ascendancy. Fazl was not popular as he followed oppressive policies. So Abu Hafs, a brother of Abu Ishaq conducted a revolt and Fazl was defeated in 1284.¹¹³

Abu Hafs: -He assumed the titles of all Mustansir II and the caliph. Yet the instability to which the state had been subjected did not end.¹¹⁴ When Abu Hafs of Tunis died in 1295 Abu Asida succeeded him. In Bougie Abul Baqa became the ruler following the death of Abu Zakaryas. In 1306 both of the states decided to unite under an agreement. The term of the agreement was that out of the two Hafsid

¹¹² The prestige of the Hafsid State fell down considerably. Peter III of Aragon demanded tribute from Hafsids, but Yahya turned down this demand. So Peter III released Abu Ishaq, a brother of al Mustansir to conduct revolt in Tunisia. Assisted by the army supplied by Peter III Abu Ishaq landed in Tunisia and laid claim over the Hafsid State. He made alliances with Yaghmurasan of Algira. He advanced Tunis and Yahya al Watiq was compelled to abdicate the throne in favor of Abu Ishaq. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI, p. 292-98.

¹¹³ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI, p. 297-98.

¹¹⁴ Abu Zakarya, a son of Abu Ishq was in the court of Tlemcen as a refugee. Abu Zakarya was given help by Algeria to conquer Constantine. He captured Bougie also and established an independent state. Bougie became its capital. Thus the Hafsid State split into two. Out of the two Tunisia was weaker and it soon became a tributary of Aragon. Towards the close of 13th century the prestige of the Hafsid State had been running very low.

rulers anyone who survived the other would become the ruler of the united Hafsid State.¹¹⁵

Abu Baker - Even though Abu Baker could unite the state, unity did not last long. The Hafsid Governor of Tripoli, Ibn Abu Umran rebelled and declared his independence. Abu Umran with the assistance of Algeria marched to Tunis and defeated Abu Bakar who fled from the capital (1329).¹¹⁶ A year later Abu Baker returned to Tunis with the help of Merinids and overthrew Abu Umran. Thus stability was restored in the Hafsid State under Abu Baker who ruled for sixteen years till his death in 1346.

Fazl:- He was the son and successor of Abu Bakr. He was weak and it gave opportunity to the nomadic tribes assert their autonomy in the countryside. In 1350 the state witnessed a revolt staged by the nomadic Tribal chief, Umar Ibn Hamsa. Al Fazl was deposed and was replaced by his brother Abu Ishaq. Thus ended the four years reign of Fazl.¹¹⁷ He assumed the title Ibrahim. As he was junior, two Tribal leaders, Umar ibn Hamsa and Abdulla Ibn Thafraqin exercised real

¹¹⁵ Abu Asida of Tunis died earlier in 1309 and thus Abul Baqa of Bougie became the ruler of both states. Thus the divided Hafsid states were united again, but the unity did not last long. Abu Baker one brother of Abul Baqa conducted a rebellion in Bougie and subsequently established an independent state. Soon Abul Baqa was over thrown by Al Lihiyani, a minister of the Abu Asida and became ruler in Tunis in 1311. The Hafsid state once again was split into two – one under Lihiyani al the other under Abu Baker Al Lihiyani was assisted by Sicily who had been entertaining the idea of converting into Christianity. Then the Christians conducted a navel demonstration in Tunis with the idea of creating an opportunity for al Lihiyani to declare his conversion. But things turned down when Abu Baker of Bougie took it an opportunity to invade Tunis. Al Lihiyani was defeated and killed. Abu Baker took Tunis and thus the Hafsid State was again united. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' , vol.VI,p. 315-29.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' ,vol.VII,p.334.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 339.

power.¹¹⁸ He was succeeded by his son Abu Baqa Kalid in 1370. Abul Abass took Tunis after defeating Abu Baqa. Thus Hafsid State was united once again under Abul Abass.

Abul Abbas:-¹¹⁹ He assumed title Abul Abbas Ahmed. He was one of the greatest rulers the dynasty ever produced. He controlled the tribal chiefs by regulating their privileges that secured him firm hold on power especially in the outlying parts of his dominion. He made Tunisia a centre of Muslim piracy aimed to counter the European piracy in the Mediterranean. The Muslims pirates were given state protection. Bougie and Mahadiya were the main centers of piracy. This brought Tunisia into conflict with the European states of Genoa, Sicily, France and Aragon. They besieged Mahdiya for six months, but they could not capture the city. This was a great victory for the Hafsid State.¹²⁰

I/13. The Banu Abdul Wad of Algeria

Banu Abd al Wad¹²¹ came to the limelight of history during the 12th century when they made common cause with the Muwahids against the Murabites. Once the Muwahids settled firmly in power, the Abdul Wad tribe took their seat in Algeria. The chief of the family, Jabir Ibn Usuf was appointed Governor of Algeria in 1230 AD. Following Jabir's

¹¹⁸ The mutual conflicts that developed between the two soon weakened the state administration. It was followed by rebellions by the nomadic tribes. The country was passing to crisis and confusion that was utilized by Abul Abbas a nephew Abu Ishaq to conduct revolt and establish an independent state in Bougie (1359). Again the state split into two. Abu Ishaq could not take any action against this development. He died in 1369 after a reign of 19 years. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol.VII,p. 388-89.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 344, 375.

¹²⁰ By the end of the fourteenth century Tunisia had regained some of its former prestige. Abul Abbas died in 1394. His reign of 24 years was one of the glorious periods in the history of Maghrib. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol.VI,p. 399-404.

death in 1232 his son and then his brother succeeded to the governorship. In 1234 the leadership of this tribe passed into the Zayyanid branch. In 1236 Yaghmurasan became their leader.

Yaghmurasan was the real founder of the Zayyanid dynasty that held sway over Algeria for more than three centuries¹²². He was a great warrior and administrative genius. He was the fine example of a good tribal chief and organiser. He had his capital in Tlemcen. He was the head of a precarious state that was wedged between two rival states –the Hafsids in the east and Marinids in the west; still he managed with great difficulty to maintain relations with the two states.¹²³

The capture of Sijilmassa,¹²⁴ the gateway to Sahara, in 1264 was a great achievement to the Zayyanid State. There followed a continuous fight between the Zayyanids and the Marinids in which the former was finally defeated and retreated to Tlemcen. In 1269 the Marinids over

¹²¹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VII., p. 72 ff.; Marcais. G, 'Banu Abdul Wad', Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. i, p. 92 – 94.

¹²² Ibid, p. 78 ff.

¹²³ In 1242 the Hafsids attacked and occupied Algeria along with its capital Tlemcen. But they could not find a suitable governor to held Algeria under their control. Then Yaghmurasan offered him submission on condition that he should be made the governor of Algeria. The offer was accepted and thus he was restored to power as the vassal of Hafsids of Tunisia.

The Muwahhids in Morocco had been waging a desperate battle with the rising Marinids. In 1248 the Muwahid caliph Abu Saeed led his army against the Marinids and Yaghmurasan offered him submission. Some times later Abu Saeed was ambushed and killed while he was visiting some interior part of Algeria. Meanwhile, Yaghmurasan plundered the Muwahid camp. Then he re-conquered Tlemcen. He joined with the new Muwahid caliph Murtada against the Marinids. The Marinid sultan was Abu Yahiya. When he was besieging Fazzan, Yaghmurasan invaded Marinid tribesmen. Abu Yahiya lifted the siege and met the Zayyanid threat. He defeated the Zayyanid army in 1250 that were forced to retreat to Tlemcen. Yaghmurasan reorganized his army by recruiting mercenaries belonging to Castile. When the Castilians ventured on an uprising, the mercenaries from Aragan replaced them. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' vol. VII, p.171-77.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 85.

threw the Muwahids and became the masters of Morocco. Yaghmurasan invaded Morocco in 1272 but was defeated. Then the Marinids marched to Tlemcen but failed to capture it, still they were able to take Sijilmassa in 1274.

Meanwhile the Nasirid sultan of Granada sought help of Marinids against the attack of the Spanish Christians. The Marinids sent help and Granada was saved from the Christian attack. This gave Marinids a foothold in Spain also.¹²⁵ The Nasirid now began to fear that the Marinids should take Granada also. So they made alliances with the Zayyanids against Marinids in Maghrib. In 1279 the Zayyanids attacked Morocco at the instigation of the Nasirids when the Marinids led their army to Spain. Yaghmurasan could not win decisive victory. The Marinids led a counter attack on Tlemcen in 1282 but failed to capture it. Yaghmurasan died in 1283 after a long reign of 67 years: The Zayyanid State owed greatly to the administrative skill of Yaghmurasan when the state was beset with trials and tribulation from both east and west.

Uthman:-¹²⁶ He was the son and successor of Yaghmurasan. He was as powerful ruler as his father. He conquered the whole of central Maghrib by 1290 after defeating tribes like Maghrava and Banu Tajin. The Marinids decided to control such an expansion on the part of Algeria.¹²⁷ The Zayyanids meanwhile made good relation with the

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 89.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 92.

¹²⁷ Abu Yaqub, the Marinid sultan attacked Tlemcen, but the expedition failed miserably, the Marinids however conquer a number of Zayyanid towns like Tavirt Wajda, Nadruma and Twint between 1295-99. In 1299 the Marinids besieged Tlemcen itself, which lasted for eight years. This siege brought Tlemcen great hardship. Over one lakh of the people

Christian State of Aregon. The Zayyanids were prompted to make friendly relation with the west in view of their enmity with the Marinids. The treaty that was signed in 1286 was the continuation of the commercial agreement signed during the period Yaghmursan. According to the treaty an ambassador of Aregon at Tlemcen was given authority over all the Europeans in the Zayyanid State. The Zayyanid could engage in trade in Europe with Aregon only. Aregon was allowed to have one by two share of the custom duty on European goods. The Zayyanid agreed to give Aregon military help also.

Abu Zauyan Muhammed:- The death of Uthuman took place in 1304 when the Marinids had been laying siege to the capital¹²⁸. Hussain Abu Zayan became the next ruler and continued to resist the siege. In the beginning, when the siege was laid the Zayyanids owed their allegiance to Tunisia and Khuthuba was read in the name of Hafsids sultanas. But during the course the historic siege the Marinids secured the Hafsids alliance. The Zayyanids lost no time to reject their allegiance to Tunisia. The siege was lifted in 1307 when Marinid sultan was assassinated. Abu Zayan also died in the next year.

Abu Hamuw Musa: -He was the brother of Abu Zayan who made Telemcen independent of both Morocco and Tunisia.¹²⁹ He introduced ceremonials and protocols of royalty and organized a 'court fit for a monarch'. Both the Marinids and Hafsids were engaged in internal problems. That gave Abu Hamuw respite to establish himself

perished during the siege. The siege was finally lifted when Aba Yaqub was assassinated in 1307. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar' . vol. VII. p. 94-95.

¹²⁸ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar'. Vol. VII .p. 97.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 98.

and turn attention to re-conquer the territories, which had been once under their control. He also wanted to punish the Hafdids for their betrayal during the Marinid siege. Although he was able to re-conquer some territories, all his attempts to take Bougie, the Hafsid capital failed miserably.¹³⁰

Abu Hamuw II: Following the death of Abu Enan in 1358, the Zayyanids once again rose to power under Abu Hamaw II. He recaptured Tlemcen in 1359 and ruled Algeria for the next three decades. His reign was full of the tribal conflicts and attacks on the part of the Marinids as well as the Hafsids. Abu Hamuw had to flee from his capital on several occasions. He attacked the Hafsid capital Bougie in 1366 but was defeated. The Hafsids released Abu Zayan, a cousin of Abu Hamuw who had been under their custody, put him as a rival candidate to the throne of Tlemcen; He conquered Algeria with the assistance rendered by the Hafsids.¹³¹

Abu Tashfin:- He had captured the Zayyanid power with the help of Marinids in 1389. So all the rulers that followed, including Abu

¹³⁰ The Zayyanid cause suffered a severe set back when the Marinids under Abu Hasan occupied Algeria and captured Tlemcen itself in 1337. The power of Marinids spread all over Maghrib by the middle of 14th century. Abul Hasan appointed his son Abu Enan governor in Tlemcen. His governorship lasted for 11 years. In 1348 Abu Enan revolted against his father and left for Fez. This gave Zayyanids an opportunity to unite under Abu Said Uthman and reconquer Tlemcen. Abul Hasan himself attacked Tlemcen but was severely defeated. Abu Evan having established firmly in the throne of Morocco now marched to Tlemcen. He defeated the alliance of the Zayyanids and the nomadic Arabs. Abu Saed Uthman was taken captive and killed. Tlemcen once again come into the hands of Marinides

¹³¹ Meanwhile the Marinids also attacked the Zayyanid State; Abu Hamuw recaptured Algeria in 1378. But the Marinids again occupied Tlemcen in 1384. Abu Hamuw was forced to shift his capital to Algeria where al Mustansir, his younger son, was the governor. Abu Hamuw recovered Tlemcen in 1388 with the help of Hafsids. Meanwhile Abu Tashfin another son of Abu Humuw revolted and deposed him. He sought the help

Tashfin were mere vassals of the Marinid Sultans. They assured their hold on Zayyanids by keeping one prince or another as hostage in Morocco. If any of the rulers in Tlemcen showed a sign of independence, they deposed him and the prince under their custody were set on the throne. That was the virtual end of the independent Zayyanid State. The Marinids changed the Zayyanid princes at their will and wishes making the history of Algeria obscure.

I/14. The Tulunids (869-905)

The founder of this dynasty was Ahmed ibn Tulun who ruled Egypt and Syria. His father was a Turk from Farghana who was presented to caliph al Mamun in 817 by the Samanid ruler of Bukhara. Mamun sent Ahmed to Egypt as lieutenant to the governor there. Ahmed soon established himself as an independent figure.¹³² During the time of al Mutamid (870-92) he demanded financial help from Ahmed in order to suppress the Zanj (slave) rebellion. But Ahmed was so bold that he did not sent any help. This was a turning point in the history of Egypt. "It marked the emergence in the Nile valley of an independent state which maintained its sovereignty throughout the middle Ages."¹³³ Until the days of Ahmed ibn Tulun a part of the revenues of Egypt went to Baghdad treasury as well as into the pockets of the governors. Thus the policy of Ahmed directly helped Egypt to enter an era of independence and prosperity.

of Marinids in 1389 and occupied Tlemcen. Abu Hamuw lost his life in this battle. Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar'. Vol. VII. p. 120-21.

¹³² Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. IV., p. 293 ff; Yaqubi, vol.II, p. 615, Tabari, vol. III., p. 1697

¹³³Hitti.PK . p.453.

Ahmed ibn Tulun (868-84) ruled Egypt independently. Realizing the importance of military strength, he gave the state a rigid military set up. He established an army consisting of one lakh.¹³⁴ The core of this army was the bodyguard comprised of Turkish and Negro slaves. The relation between Ahmed and the member of the bodyguards was near to be personal and intimate. He even secured from all of them personal allegiance.¹³⁵

His son Khumrawayh [884-95] followed Ahmed. He was extravagant and the orthodox consider him impious. He built a splendid palace. It had a 'golden hall' whose walls were gilded and decorated with bas-reliefs of him self and wives. The figure of the ruler and wives were carved in wood with a life size, the first instance of sculpture of living person in the Islamic annals.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Yaqubi, vol. II, p. 624.

¹³⁵ Ibn Khaldun, vol. IV., pp. 300-301, Kindi, p-219. In 877 Ahmed got an opportunity to occupy and annex Syria. The Abbasid governor of Syria died in that year and Ahmed could avail this opportunity to conquer province without much opposition. Thus, for the first time since Ptolemaic days Egypt had become a Sovereign state, and for the first time since Pharaonic days it ruled Syria. Ahmed truly understood the significance of holding Syria. So he built a naval base at Akka [Acre] Syria remained under the sway of Egypt for many centuries to come.

The Tulunid period was noted for its developments in the economic development of the country. They paid attention for the irrigation of the country. Ahmed improved and established the Nile meter on the isle of al Rawda, near Cairo. Moreover Tulunids made Egypt a great centre of art and a seat of a splendid court. Ahmed adorned the capital, Fustat with magnificent buildings which included a hospital, and the Ibn Tulun's Mosque. This last one was one of the principal religious monuments of Islam with its oldest minarets. It had the architectural influence of Samarra where Ahmed had spent his youth. The structure cost 120,000 dinar and remarkable for the use of brick piers and for the early use of the pointed arch. About one seventeenth of the Koran is inscribed in beautiful Kufic characters on the wooden frieze round the inside the building just below the flat timber roof. Hitti.P.K., p-454; Ibn Khallikan, vol. I p 97; Ibn Taghri-Birdi vol.II, p.8.

¹³⁶ Ibn Taghri- Birdi, vol.II, p.57-8, Maqrizi vol. I. p. 316- 17.

The palace stood amidst a garden rich in sweet-smelling flowers planted in beds which were shaped to spell Arabic words, and in exotic trees growing and gilded water tanks. Other outstanding features were an aviary and a zoological garden, but the chief wonder of the palace was a pool of quick silver in its courtyard. Leather cushions inflated with air were moored on the surface of this pool by silken cords fastened to silver columns; on these the dynast used to lie rocking agreeable to alleviate insomnia and induce slumber.¹³⁷

He gave his daughter Qatar al Nada in marriage to the Abbasid caliph at Mutadid. Her dowry consisted of a million dirhams, one thousand mortars of gold and other objects 'the like of which had never been given before'.¹³⁸ Tulunid independence soon ended when they acknowledged the Abbasid supremacy under Shayban.

¹³⁷ Hitti.P.K.. p.454.

¹³⁸ Ibn Khallikhan, vol. V., p. 307-8; Tabari, vol. III. p. 2145-6, ibn Taghri – Birdi, vol.II, p.55.

"The Tulunid dynasty was the earliest manifestation of a political crystallization in the unruly and heretofore inarticulate Turkish element in the heart of the caliphate". The Tulunid dynasty was one of the so many petty dynasties established upon the weakening of the central power of Baghdad. These states stood entirely free from the direct control of the central governments nominally acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the caliph. "Ahmad served as an example of what could be done in the matter of achieving military and political power by the experience of a bulky and unwieldy caliphate through the strong handed and confident ambition of a subject soldier and his slave satellites". One of the most astonishing peculiarities of all these petty dynasties was that none of them had any national basis in the country where they happened to be masters. This peculiar nature of the petty dynasties explains largely the root causes for their short terms of rule. They had neither racial unity nor national identity. They rather filled up a vacuum that existed within the Abbasid main body. The rulers as well as their military recruits were outsiders in the respective regions they ruled. The military recruits, moreover, included members from a variety of sources. Therefore it is not worthy that these petty dynasties flourished under the towering command of an outstanding ruler who wielded considerable power and influence. So "no sooner does the mighty arm of the founder relax or pass away than disintegration sets in". Hitti.P.K. p-455.

I/15. The Ikshidids

Following the acceptance of the Abbasid suzerainty by the last Tulunid Sultan Shayban in 905, Egypt once again came under the control of Abbasids who continued to appoint governors from Baghdad. This practice continued up to the establishment of another independent Turkish dynasty, The Ikshidids¹³⁹. The dynasty was founded by Muhammed bin Tughj (935-46). He originally belonged to Farghana. His capital was also at Fustaf. He put order in the troubled affairs of the Nile valley and as a reward received from the Caliph al- Radi the title 'Ikshid' in 939. He put Syria, Palestine, Mecca and Madeena under the control of Egypt who ruled from 935 to 969 and produced five rulers.¹⁴⁰

The Ikshidids did not produce any contribution. They were especially noted only for their extravagance.¹⁴¹ There were no architectural monuments left by them. The last member of this dynasty, Ahmad was an eleven- years- old child, whom the Fatimid general Jawhar defeated in 969 and paved the way for an illustration era in the history of Egypt.

¹³⁹ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. IV., p. 313 ff.

¹⁴⁰ The two sons who followed Muhammed were incapable rulers. The Abyssinian eunuch named Kafur who was bought by Muhammad controlled their affairs effectively. Moreover, Kafur became the independent ruler from 966-68. He built Egypt a strong power and successfully defended the Hamdanid domination of Syria. The famous Arab poet, Mutanabbi having incurred the displeasure of Sayfu Dawla, sought asylum in the court of Kafur. In the poems Mutanabbi wrote, both in praise and when they departed company, in ridicule, Kafur had been immortalized. The episode of Kafur, the rising of a black slave to the status of wielding absolute power was a spectacular instance peculiar to the Muslim civilization alone. R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of Arabs.p.306-13.

¹⁴¹ Hitti.P.K., . p.456.

I/16. Fatimids in Egypt

The Fatimid conquest of Egypt took place in 969 under the commander Jawhar al- Siqilli, (The Sicilian). He defeated the last Ikhsidid ruler and conquered the whole of the country.¹⁴² This commander founded the new capital near Fustat which was named al Qahira, the modern Cairo. The commander further built a mosque named 'al Azhar,' in memory the daughter the Prophet. Later on an academy was added to this mosque by caliph al Aziz. Thus began the story of the great Azhar University that threw its light in the middle ages. With the conquest of Egypt the Fatimids entered upon a new phase. Western Arabia including al Hijaz, formerly under the control of Ikhsidids, now passed into the Fatimid control from the hands of Sunni Abbasids. Thus the Holy cities of Mecca and Madeenah came into the hands of Shia caliphs. Syria was also occupied soon.¹⁴³

Caliph al Aziz was considered to be the greater, most beneficent and wisest. He construed in Cairo as well as other parts of the century number of new mosques, palaces, bridges canals etc. He lived in luxury

¹⁴² Ibn Khallikan, vol. I, p. 209-13; Maqrizi vol. I, p. 352, 377.

¹⁴³ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. IV., p.48; Maqrizi, vol. I, p.378. Al- Muiz was followed by his son Abu Mansur Nizar al Aziz (975-96) who started to rule the empire from Cairo. During his reign the Fatimid Empire reached the zenith which included the whole of Maghrib, to the shores of the Atlantic, Egypt, Syria, Hijaz and Yemen. "Under his the Egyptian caliphate not only became the most formidable rival of that of Baghdad but even eclipsed it and appropriated for itself the position of the only great Muslim sate in the eastern Mediterranean." al Aziz even wanted to conquer Spain. He wrote a letter the cordovan Caliph al Hakim to that effect. But the Umayyad severing of Spain, on receiving the letter replied thus "You ridicule as because you have heard of us, If we had ever heard of you, we would replay". Hitti.P.K. p.620.

and extended considerable measure of toleration towards the Christen subjects, which they had not got hitherto¹⁴⁴

The policies of al Hakim (Abu Ali al Mansur al Hakim) (996–1021) contributed much to the fall of the dynasty. Having come into power at the age of eleven, his reign marked with atrocities never perpetrated by any ruler of any dynasty. He killed many of his ministers, reverting from the policy of tolerance of his father towards the Christians and Jews. Al Hakim demolished a number of churches including the church of Holy Sepulcher (1009) and forced the Christians and Jews to wear black robes and ride only donkeys.¹⁴⁵ But for al Hakim, the non-Muslims were at home throughout the whole days of the dynasty.

Al Hakim was murdered on February 13, 1021 and was followed by his son al-Zahir (1021-35). He was sixteen years old when ascended the throne. He was a contemporary of Constantine VIII with whom al Zahir maintained cordial relation. It was this caliph who received the emperor's permission to have his name mentioned in the mosques in the Byzantine domain and to have a mosque at Constantinople itself. In return caliph agreed to have the Holy Sepulcher rebuilt.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ The decline of the dynasty started by the time of al Aziz, son and successor of al Hakim. Some of the policies of al Aziz like that of the import of Turkish and Negro mercenaries lead to the decline of the dynasty. This policy of importing mercenaries produced in the political body the same results, which manifested in the Abbasid Empire due to the installation Turkish troops during al Muatasim. The newly introduced mercenaries soon became the virtual masters of the affairs. "The insubordination and constant quarreling of these troops among themselves and with the Berber bodyguards became one of the chief causes of the final collapse of the Kingdom." Hitti.P.K., p.620

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Khallikan, vol. III., p. 5; ibn Hammed, p. 54; Yahya ibn Said, p.187

¹⁴⁶ Maqrizi, vol. ,p 355; Yahya ibn Said, p. 270-71

Al Zahir was followed by his son al Mustansir who ruled from 1035 to 94 for almost sixty years, which is the longest in Muslims annals. By this time the Fatimid power had shrunk to Egypt alone-Syria and Palestine had virtually become independent. The Saljuk Turks were advancing in western Asia. Maghrib had been connected with the centre through the vassal Zirid dynasty.¹⁴⁷

In Egypt the internal situation was put to confusion and chaos due to the in fight between the Berber, Sudanese and the Turkish mercenaries. The authority of the caliph was paralyzed when nature also contributed its share in the form of famine for about seven years, which broke the economic base of the country. At this juncture, caliph al-Mustansir sought the help of Badr al Jamali. Badr was an Armenian slave and the military governor of Akka. He was appointed as the Amir and the commander in chief¹⁴⁸ and was called Amir al Juyush (military commander). He restored the country of its order 'and gave the Fatimid regime a new lease of life'.¹⁴⁹ But this revival also collapsed even though his son with supreme authority followed Badr. They could not 'check the tide of decline'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ But the centre had become weak, so these regions were severing their tributary connection and passing into open independence or reverting to their old allegiance to the Abbasids. The Fatimids were not in a position to deal with this situation. So their minister resorted to instigate the nomads of Upper Egypt the Banu Halal and Sulaym to march westward into Maghrib. Sicily had been almost conquered by the Norman kings. Meanwhile, the name of the Shiite caliph was continually mentioned in the Friday Khutuba in Baghdad itself for consecutive forty weeks. This was due to the military exploit of al Basasiri, the Buwayhid general who came to power in Baghdad following the confusion created during the initial days of the rise of Saljuk power. But when Saljuks defeated and killed him, the episode also collapsed. Hitti.P.K..p. 473-75.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Khallikhan, vol.II, p.64. Ibn al Athir, vol. X, p. 60, 160

¹⁴⁹ Hitti.P.K., p. 623

¹⁵⁰ Al Mustansir died in 1094 and there followed six more caliphs up to the final overthrow in 1171 by Salahuddin Ayyubi. These years "were marked by continuous struggle

Egypt under the Fatimids:- “Egypt was the only land of the once far-flung Fatimid domain where the successors of Ubaydullah al-Mahdi impressed the stamp of their cultural characteristics”.¹⁵¹ Neither Maghrib nor western Asia had kept such a deep impression of the period as Egypt. The period prior to Tulunids belonged purely to the Arabic culture. The succeeding days under Tulunids and Ikshidids was marked with the mixture of Arab and Persian cultural influences. The Fatimid period, however expressed clear influence of the Persian culture. This was due to the Shia characteristic of the dynasty as opposed to the Sunni caliphate of Baghdad, which was also a mixture of Arab and Persian cultures. But one significant factor to be considered in this connection was that, even if the dynasty belonged to the category of Arab-Persian influence, the Fatimid State was largely composed of the Copts who had been firstly Islamised and then Arabised in course of their inter-action with the various proceeding dynasties.¹⁵²

between Viziers backed by factions in the army” a situation parallel to that of any medieval dynasties. Out of the last six rulers, al Amir was five years old, al Zafir was a gay youth, al-Faiz was four years old, and al Adid was nine years old when they were put on the throne. So the situation was virtually controlled by the military commanders. It was these power mongers, who enthroned these children as caliphs so as to take all power in their own hands. Assassination of the rivals was rampant in Egypt. The Kurdish vizier ibn al Sallar, was murdered by conspirators in 1152. His successor al Abbas and caliph al Zafir also were assassinated. These murders formed the darkest chapters in the history of Egypt. Famine and other natural calamities had rendered the life more miserable to the common people who were imposed more and more taxes to meet the luxurious expenses of the court. The confusion was farther worsened at the advent of the crusaders even upto the gates of Cairo. It was in this situation Salahuddin dethroned the last caliphs in 1171 by simply replacing his name from the Friday khutuaba with that of the Abbasids, a revolutionary move though without any protest. Hitti.P.K..p.622-24; Amir Ali .p.605-11.

¹⁵¹Hitti., p. 625.

¹⁵² This fact largely explain why the population at large remained Sunnite even while their ruling regimes opposed to their views. The Copts had been converted into Sunni faith years before the Fatimids took their sovereignty and they continued to be so during the heyday of the dynasty. Moreover, the Fatimid caliphs, at large, were tolerant towards the Sunnis and their devotion to Sheism remained in the academic levels only. They could

The establishment of 'the hall of science' (Dar al Hikmah) by caliph al-Hakim in 1005 was a landmark in the devotion of the dynasty to spread the Shia doctrines. Still the people remained Sunnis at core who found nothing contradictory to remain under a regime that guaranteed their political requirements. In course time Fatimids also became weak and was exposed to court intrigues and signs of decadence. The people had not been getting their political requirements fulfilled when Salahuddin appeared in Egypt. So he could remove the dynasty as easily as possible by simply replacing the name of the ruler with that of the Abbasids in Friday Khutuba. "The momentous change was affected with so little disturbance that not even 'two goats locked horns.'"¹⁵³

This statement clearly showed the shallowness of the cultural influence the dynasty exercised over their subjects. The Fatimids had their golden prime during the later half of 10th century. It continued upto the end of the next century as we can notice from the accounts of Nasir Khasraw, the Persian missionary who visited the century during the middle of 11th century.¹⁵⁴ According to his description Egypt was a rich and prosperous century.¹⁵⁵ He summed up the property of Egypt thus: I could neither limit nor estimate its wealth and nowhere have I seen such prosperity as I saw there.¹⁵⁶

not have resorted to methods of spreading Shia doctrines among the Sunni population without estranging their relation, a step that would surely have brought their immediate fall.

¹⁵³ Abul Fida, vol. III., p. 53, Hitti.P.K.,p. 646.

¹⁵⁴ Safar Nameh, Schefer p.36-56, tr. p. 110-82.

¹⁵⁵ Hitti..p.626; Maqrizi, vol.II, p.264; Yaquth, vol. III., p. 901

¹⁵⁶ Safar Namah; p.53, tr. p.155

I/17. The Ayyubid Period (1171-1250)

Under the reign of Salah al-Din (Saladin)¹⁵⁷, Damascus was the first capital of the Ayyubid Empire. The Fatimid capital, Cairo was abandoned, and when the sultan visited Cairo, he resided in the citadel constructed after 579/1183-4. After the death of Salah al-Din (589/1193), a branch of Ayyubid family governed Egypt. The different Ayyubid principalities in Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt remained only by virtue of family ties, and the Ayyubid empire constituted a kind of 'dynastic confederation'.¹⁵⁸

The Ayyubids retained the division of the province of Egypt established by the Fatimids; the manual of administration of Ibn Mammati provides a complete list of the provinces and villages of the country. In 1189 al- Kadi al-Fadil drew up a list of the respective fiscal yield of the provinces of Egypt, the total amounting to 4,653,019,dinars.¹⁵⁹ Since the revenues of Kharaj were now removed from the direct control of the treasury, the central power was obliged to reserve a proportion of the territories of *ikta* which was regarded as crown property [*al-khass al-maliki*]. Al-Kadi al Fadil listed the revenues

¹⁵⁷ Halm. H, 'Ayyubid Egypt', Encyclopaedia of Islam,

¹⁵⁸ The most radical innovation effected by Salah al Din was the introduction of the system of the *ikta* or military fief employed in Syria since the Saljuk period. In 572/1176, the sultan ordered a new *rok*, a term probably of demotic origin, *ruk*, of which the object was to measure the surface area of all the lands in Egypt, to assess their value in terms of *kharaj* and to distribute them to officers and soldiers as *iktas*, as a substitute for salaries. The system of *kanala* of the Fatimid period was totally abolished. The civilian tax farmer (*mukabbil*), paying to the treasury a proportion of the *kharaj* levied on his possession, was replaced by the military *mukta*, who retained the entire *kharaj* of his *ikta*, as compensation for his military service and for the equipment that he provided. The *rok* of Salah al- Din was put into effect in 577/1181. According to the accounts of his vizier, al-Kadi al-Fadil the value in *kharaj* of land ceded as *ikta* in that year amounted to 3,670,500 dinars. al-Makrizi, *Khitat*, ed. Wiet, 11,17ed. Bulak 1,82.

¹⁵⁹ al- Makrizi, *Khitat*, Ed. Wiet,II, 17-19,ed. Bulak, vol. I, 87.

of these lands in the two last years of the reign of Salah al –din [587-9/1191-3]; they amounted to 354,450 and 354,444 dinars respectively.¹⁶⁰ “Turkish slaves were quartered in barracks on the island of Rawda to undergo military training and to serve as elite troops. These were the military slaves [mamalik, sing mamluk, “property”] who, in 1252, put an end to the dynasty of the Ayyubid sultans.¹⁶¹

Commercial relations between Egypt and the west increased still further in the Ayyubid period. Salah al Din conceded to the Venetian Doge Sebastiano Zani (1172 - 8) the right to open a factory in Alexandria in 1177; concluded a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa which was hence forward represented in Alexandria by a consulate and in 1207. Al Malik Al Adil negotiated a treaty with the city of Pisa. But in 1218-21 the three Italian republics supported the Crusade of Damietta which had the object of conquering Egypt and imposing direct control on trade between the Red sea and the Mediterranean sea; the failure of the enterprise put an end to these projects.

I/18. The Bahri Mamluks

The Bahri Mamluk¹⁶² derived their name from an Island in the Nile, which served as their headquarters. They mostly belonged to the

¹⁶⁰ al-Makrisi, *Khitat*, ed. Wiet, ii, 19.

¹⁶¹ Like the Fatimids, the Ayyubids controlled commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The presence of the crusaders in Palestine and Trans Jordan threatened the navel routes of the Red sea which was linked to Egypt by a track crossing the desert and ending in the Nile valley; first at Aswan and later at Kus. In 578/1183, the Andalusian pilgrim Ibn Jubayr used this much-frequented route and left a detailed description. *Rihla*, ed Wright, 66-9, tr. Gauthier-Demombynes, p. 75-8

¹⁶² The Mamluks, as the term itself indicated, were slaves obtained either as war captives or purchase from the slave market. These slaves were converted to the faith of their masters. Those slaves who came under the hands of rulers and the officials were trained, disciplined and recruited into the army as well as the civil services. In most cases these

slaves with Mangol and Turkish origin. A lady called Shajar al Dur, the widow of Malik Salih, established the dynasty. The Mamluks chose her as the ruler of Egypt at the death of Truan, the son and successor of Malik Salih. She was originally a slave brought from Armenia firstly to Baghdad as the slave of Caliph al-Mustansir. The Caliph presented her to Malik Salih, Sultan of Egypt. She bore the Sultan a son named Khalid. Upon the birth of this son she gained here freedom as per the Islamic law. Even though her son died in infancy, she came to be called 'Ummu Khalid' (mother of Khalid). Intelligent and beautiful, she wielded considerable influence in political matters even during the time of Malik Salih.

When Shajar became the queen, she ruled Egypt on her own, minted coins and red the Friday Khuthaba in her name. But the installation of a 'lady' in power was against the theological concepts of the day. So she did not get approval of the Muslim mass. Moreover the Caliph of Baghdad himself was not in a position to accept her

slaves were completely cut off from their past heritages. Hence they served their new masters like the ruler and the ministers it complete devotion and obedience. In the medieval days the meritorious services were adequately rewarded by promotions to further high offices and the slaves were not deprived of this opportunities. Those slaves with extra ordinary talents in administrative matters came to hold key posts in the army and civil services. At times the slaves became the centre of all powers. The most exemplary instances of the rise of slaves into throne were the Mamluk dynasty of Egypt and the slave dynasty of India. (In India the slave dynasty established in 1206 by Qutubudin Aybak lasted up to 1290). The Mamluk dynasty that was established by the middle of 13th century had a much more prolonged span of life till the first quarter of 16th century. Egypt was virtually under the independent control of the Mamluks from 1250 to 1517. During this period two successive Mamluk dynasties ruled Egypt. The first one was the Bahari Mamluks who ruled Egypt from 1250 to 1390. The second one was the Burji Mamluks who succeed the former in 1390 and continued to rule the country until they were over thrown by the Ottoman army of Salim I, in 1517. Harvmann. V, 'Mamluks', Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.VI.p.314-30; also Aylon. D, "Mamluks"; Hoalt. P.M, "Political History, Origin etc". Encyclopaedia of Islam.

ascendance to throne. So the commander-in-chief of the Bahri Mamluks, Izzudin- Aybek was made the Sultan to whom Shajar was married.

Aybak had to face a number of threats from all sides. First of all the Ayubid dynasty had not been completely destroyed. Syria was under the control of an Ayubid prince named al- Nasir. He could not accept the ascendance of the Mamluks. So he planned to march on Cairo. Upon hearing this Aybak put to political maneuver by making al- Ashraf, another prince of six years old from the Ayubid branch as the joint king. Thus Aybak could divide the claim of Ayubids. When al Nasir marched to Cairo; Aybek defeated him and drove him out of Egypt.¹⁶³

The marriage union between Aybak and Shajar was also proved to be a failure. Both of them were ambitions and united in marriage only for the sake of political conveniences rather than true faith in each other. Moreover, Aybak planned to marry the daughter of the Sultan of Mousul which so infuriated Shajar that she invited him to her palace and had him murdered.

¹⁶³ Hitti.P.K.. p.672;Holt.P.M, 'Mamluks'.p.321.Another Ayubid prince named Mughis Umer, a nephew of Malik Salih laid siege to Gaza after some victories in Palestine. Aybak, having defeated al Nasir's invasion sent army to save Gaza. At this stage the Abbasid Caliph intervened the struggles vaging between the Mamluks, and the Ayubids. According to the pace treaty concluded at the initiation of the Caliphs, Palestine west of Jordan passed into the control of Mamluks and the rest of Syria continued to be under the sway of Ayubids. This agreement saved the Mamluks of their threat from the Ayubids claim over Egypt. The Ayubid dynasty established in Egyptian soil had to content with Syria east of Jordan. When the dispute between the Mamluks and Ayubids was over, Aybak deposed his joint- king, al- Ashraf and sent him to Constantinople

The Arabs, who could not tolerate the domination of the Mamluks resorted to a revol.t, but it was suppressed with the help of Aktai; the Mamluk general. Soon deference emerged between Aybek and Aktai. The former began suspect the later as his power and influence increased considerably following the victories he won against Ayubids and the Arab people. So Aybak had him assassinated on his visit to the palace. .Hassan, Masud al, 'History of Islam', vol.II. p. 39-40.

His fifteen years old son Mansour with the title al Malik al Mansur followed Aybck. Being a minor, he was assisted by the Mamluk commander-in chief, Kutuz. Shajar couldn't get any support. Al Mansur, having given to pleasure and amusement, was an unpopular ruler. It was during his reign the Magnolias under Helagu sacked Baghdad in 1258: Al Mansur was deposed in 1259 by another Mamluk leader called Kutuz who assumed power with a new title, al Malik al Muzafar

Al Malik Muzafar:- The Mangole devastation had tremendous effect up on the Islamic world. They had taken possession of the entire Syria and were marching to Gaza devastating everything on their way. Helagu sent al Muzafar a letter demanding an unconditional surrender. The latter, on receiving this demand became so infuriated that he had the envoy been killed and hung the dead body on the city gate. Thereafter, the Mamluks mobilised their army to Syria under their general Baybras. They drove out the Magoles from Gaza. The Mamluks and Mangoles had a historic battle at Ayn Jalut in Palestine. The Magnolias were given a crushing defeat. ¹⁶⁴

Baybras:- After assassinating al Muzulfor, the Mauluk general Baybras took up the rein of power. He assumed the title Al-Zahir

¹⁶⁴ The defeat was significant because firstly it saved Syria and Egypt from the Mangole domination. Secondly, the defeat crushed the myth of the invincibility of the Mongolians that had spread after the destruction of Baghdad caliphate. So many Mangole generals including Ketgugha fell in the battle along with a major part of their soldiers. The victory of al Muzaffar over Mangoles won for him great fame and popularity. He could restore peace and order through out Syria from Aleppo to the whole of Egypt. The victory of Ayn Jalut was largely due to the effective generalship of Baybars. So he demanded al Muzaffar the government of Alleppo as a reward, but the demand was rejected. So Baybars conspired against al Muzaffar and had him assassinated on his way back to Egypt. Though his reign lasted for a short period of two years, it was conspicuous for the history of Syria and Egypt. Following the sack of Baghdad, intellectual and political life

Raknudin Baybras. His native place was near the Caspian Sea. 'Baybras proved to be the first great Mamluk Sultan who laid the foundation of Mamluk empire. He re-organized the administrative setup, and built it on sound basis. He modernised the army and equipped it with the sophisticated weapons. He re-built the navy. In order to win the loyalty of the nobles he allotted them fields. He strengthened the garrisons and the fortresses throughout the country. He introduced a fast postal service connecting the various parts of the dominion. He built roads and bridges and dug canals in various parts of Egypt. He built mosques and colleges. He founded endowments for the welfare of the poor'.¹⁶⁵

At the initiation of the Baybras, the Abbasid caliphate was re-established in Egypt. The exiled Abbasid family was invited to Cairo where a member of them was proclaimed as the caliph who assumed the title al-Mustansir. But the newly installed Caliph was under the control of Baybras, who had to content to be the religious head of the Muslims while Baybras assumed all secular authority. With the establishment of Abbasid caliphate in Egypt, the country began to exert the influence that once Damascene and Baghdad had wielded over the Muslim mass. The Mamluks also became pre-eminent dynasty of those days. Through a number of annual raids, Baybras conquered a number of towns under the control of crusaders and others were made tributary to Mamluks.¹⁶⁶

of the Islamic world was shifted to Egypt under the Mamluks. For this, the victory of Ayn Jalut was decisive factor.

¹⁶⁵ Hassan, M, vol.I, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶ Baybars made alliance with the Mangole ruler of Golden Horde, Berek Khan. This alliance was aimed at consolidating his power against the Persian Mangoles. Baybras even married the daughter of Berek Khan, which further brought the two states closer. Moreover he maintained friendly relation with the Byzantine emperor as well as the rules of Sicily, Aragon, Sevilla and Anjoun. This policy of Baybras had two fold aims. Firstly

It was during the time of Baybras, Sudan became a vassal state under Mamluks. Shekenda, a nephew of David, the Christian king of Sudan, sought refuge in Mamluk Egypt. Baybras helped this rival to capture Sudan. Thus Shekenda defeated David, captured power and acted as a vassal of Baybras. In 1277 Baybras died after an eventful and glorious reign of seventeen years. He was a great general, enlightened ruler and champion of Islam at a time when Muslim civilization was passing through one of its worst crises. His heroic qualities passed into legends.¹⁶⁷ The Bahri Mamluks continued to rule the country upto the year of 1390. In that year AL- Zahir Barquq overthrew the last Bahri Mamluk ruler al Salih and established the dynasty of Burji Mamluks. It was at the court of this Zahir that Ibn Klaldun sought asylum after his journey from the west.¹⁶⁸

I/19. Muslim Spain

The conquest:- The Muslim conquest of Spain took place in the early decades of 8th century AD¹⁶⁹. "Of all the conquests undertaken by

he wanted to limit the power of the Mongoles of Persia beyond the Euphrates and secondly to drive away the crusaders from Syria.

Baybras next undertook campaigns against the Assassins. Though Helagu razed their headquarters to ground, the Assassins still continued to sway considerable influence that had again developed into a formidable group. They let loose a reign of terror in the country and supported the conquerors against Muslims. Through a number of campaigns Baybras defeated and captured all of their fortifications. He brought the assassins to Egypt where they lost their fanatic character

¹⁶⁷ Hassan, M, vol.I, p. 42-43.

¹⁶⁸ The Bahri Mamluks produced 25 rulers. They ruled the country from 1250 to 1390. Most of them like Aybck, Baybras and Al Nasir were highly talented states man and great generals. Egypt could maintain, during the period of Mamluk, the cultural heritage of Islam. While the great cultural centers of Islam were being destroyed in Persia and Iraq at the hands of the Mongoles, Egypt under Mamluk became a centre of cultural and scholarly pursuits. The country, by the end of 14th century, had become capital of the whole world to which Ibn Kaldun transferred his activities.

¹⁶⁹ Levi Provençal. E. "Spain, Political History", Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.I.p.486-503; Tores Balbas. L, "Art, Architecture etc." Ibid vol.I. p.486-503.

the Arabs in the first century of Islam, the conquest of Al-Andalus is most remarkable for the speed and dispatch with which it was accomplished".¹⁷⁰ Spain at that time was under the Visigothic kingdom of Seville. The internal problems and the dissident factors helped Muslims greatly. "The Spanish people were also inclined to throw off the yoke of unbearable regime. While Spain presented a picture of political disunity, and social disintegration; Morocco on the southern part was completely consolidated under the Muslims. The opportunity was tempting, at a moment when Arab power had just established itself firmly in North Morocco and when the post of Governor of Ifrikiya and the Maghrib was in the hands of Musab. Nusayr"¹⁷¹

The idea of Muslim entry into the European soil was really put before the consideration of Caliph al- Walid of Damascus by Musa himself. The condition of Spain was very much favorable to an occupation.¹⁷² The idea of an invasion made easy when count Julian, the Spanish governor of Ceuta, having suffered a humiliating conduct on his daughter, Florinda, helped and made facilities for the Muslim entry into the Iberian peninsula.¹⁷³

Musa sent his lieutenant Tariq ibn Zeyad with an army of 7000 to Spain. He landed near a rock which later on came to be called *jabel tariq* (Rock of Tariq, and Gibraltar). This was in 92 AH/ 711AD. The first battle between the Visigothic army and the invaders took place in July 711 at Wadi Lago. The regular troops of the Visigothic king

¹⁷⁰ Levi Provençal, 'Al-Andalus', history of, Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. I, 492.

¹⁷¹ Levi Provençal, E, 'Musa ibn Nusayr', Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. VII ., p.643

¹⁷² Ameer Ali, A short History of the Saracens, p.106 – 108.

¹⁷³ Ameer Ali, p.10.

Roderic was easily defeated who took to flight. Following their initial easy and surprise victory, Tariq lost no time to capture the Andalusian cities one after the other. Cordoba was taken in October 711. Roderic was again defeated in the Battle of Medina Sidonia, on the bank of the Guadalet. The King was drowned in the river on his flight. "The moral result of this magnificent victory was immense".¹⁷⁴ Cities fell one by one into the Muslim hands.

While Tariq was thus advancing rapidly towards north without much opposition, Musa himself appeared in the scene 'anxious not to leave Tariq alone the prestige of the conquest'. He brought along with him an army of 18000. The conquest was further pushed forward by taking Seville and Merida. The two armies of Tariq and Musa joined together at Toledo and marched to Saragossa. At that moment they both received the order of the Caliph to return to Damascus. Spain was completely subjugated to the Muslim control. The conquest of Spain by the Arabs opened a new era producing an important social and economic revolution similar to that of the French revolution in the modern age.¹⁷⁵ Musa left only after making all the necessary arrangements to weld the newly acquired country with that of the Umayyad main body. He appointed his son Abdul Aziz the viceroy of the new province with Seville as the seat of the Government.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Ameer Ali, p. 109.

¹⁷⁵ Ameer-Ali, p.112-1157.

¹⁷⁶ Ameer Ali, p.112. Following this first appointment, Governors were appointed in Spain successively up to the end of the Umayyad dynasty in 750 AD. These governors technically called wali, were either appointed with power delegated from Damascus or delegated by the governor of Kairowan. The history of Spain was greatly important. Though the period witnessed the rivalry between the Yemenite Arab and Northern Arabs 'resulting in great political confusion, Islam found very deep root in the peninsula during

Umayyad Amirate of Spain:- Abdul Rahman, son of Muawiya, son of Hisham, after escaping the onslaught of the Abbasids following the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty in 750, found his way through Egypt and reached Maghrib. There he lived among the hospitable Berbers. It was here he made acquaintance with his later Berber friend named Badr. While he was living in Maghreb, Spain on the northern shore was passing through turmoil of various kinds. Abdul Rahman, having, assured support for his dreams, crossed over to Spain. He met Yusuf ibn Abdul Rahiman al Fihri, the independent governor of Spain from 746 in the battle of Masarah in 756. Yusuf was easily defeated and was later killed in an unsuccessful uprising. "The proscribed fugitive, the homeless wanderer had now attained the summit of his ambition".¹⁷⁷ This dynasty of Spain ruled the country for more than two and a half century against all odds producing a brilliant period of political unity, economic growth and cultural-artistic advancement unprecedented in the past history of the land.¹⁷⁸

this period. The new faith became so greatly acceptable to the Spanish population as in the case of the Babers that Abdul Rahman, a refuge from the ruling Umayyad family from the east could establish an independent dynasty on the soil without much effort. In another words, in a period of four decades Spain became a fertile soil for an adventurous prince from the royal blood of a vanquished dynasty to establish a state of his on rivaling and even threatening the victorious dynasty. During the days of governors attempts were made to expand Muslim power over Northern Spain and after crossing the Pyrennies, to suburbs of France. The victorious Muslim advance was checked in the Battle of Poitiers in 732, the centenary years of the demise of the prophet. This historic defeat was at the hands of Charles Martel, the Franckish Duke.

¹⁷⁷ AmeerAli, p. 475.

¹⁷⁸ Even though Abdul Rahman belonged to the Umayyad dynasty, which had used the title of 'Caliph' and 'Ameerul Mumineen' did not use the title as long as the Abbasids possessed the control of the two holy cities of Mecca and Madeenah. Instead, all the members of the dynasty confined to the use the title 'Ameer' alone. This situation continued up to the time of the third Abdul Rahman who assumed the title of Caliph in 926.

The Amirate had its capital in Cordoba. The reign of the Amirate lasted for more than one and a half-century. They were able to maintain their authority intact even at the threat of the more powerful Abbasids. All the internal problems were handed and solved to the best interest of the dynasty.

It was during this period Maliki School of theology found its way into Spain. This was with the political support of Hisham .The Amirs throughout the entire period made efforts to deal with the revolts instigated by the Berbers, the Arabs, the nationalized Arabs [Muvallads] and the Northern Kingdom. The emperors like Charlemagne had to receive a crushing defeat at the hands of Abdul Rahman itself.¹⁷⁹

The Spanish Caliphate:- It was under this situation Abdul Rahman III assumed power in 912 at the age of twenty. “Disdaining any middle course, he announced to the insurgents, Spanish, Berber and Arab, that he did not wish for their tribute but for their castles and their cities”.¹⁸⁰ In the very next year he suppressed all the internal problems and then extended his hands outside the country by conquering a number of cities in the north. In 929 Abdul Rahman assumed in the midst of a vast conclave of his subjects representing all classes, the caliphate under the title of *Al Nazir li Dinillah*.¹⁸¹ His reign lasted for

¹⁷⁹ During the reign of Abdul Rahman II peace and tranquility of the state was acquired through a number of battles that he had to wage simultaneously against the Franks, the Gascons, the Muzarnbs of Cordoba etc. It was the credit of this dynast to shed the ‘Syrian tradition’ off his predecessors and to re-organize it in the more flexible Abbasid model. During the reign of his son and successor Muhammad I, the southern Spain rose in revolt under the rebel leader Umar bin Hafsun. Later on the country again witnessed the fight between Arabs and Muwallads.

¹⁸⁰ Amir Ali, p. 497.

¹⁸¹ Amir Ali, p. 503.

about 50 years. This period was the zenith of the dynasty as well as the country. Neither before nor after had Muslim Spain reached such a splendid stage of unity, peace and progress. He was followed by his fifty years old Hakkam II. This period was also the continuation of his father that made Spain 'the ornament of the world'¹⁸²

Collapse of the caliphate:- Al Mansur was responsible for introducing in Spain Berber mercenaries in large numbers from Maghrib in order to buttress his military projects. Later on these Berber groups became the masters of the situation. They 'formed a centre of agitation against the Andalusian themselves and against the powerful Slave bloc'. The train was fired by the insane desire of Abdul Rahman *Sanchudo* to have himself designated heir-presumptive to the throne by the Caliph Hisham II (Nov.1008). This designation was extremely badly –revived at Cordova and following a plot against him, the Amirid hajib was executed by the supporters of the Marwanid pretender Muhammed Hisham (In 1009). From then on, the Kingdom of Cordoba went through a period, which was fatal to its destinies: pretenders and counter

¹⁸² Al Hakam's successor Hisham II was an incapable ruler. As a result, palace intrigues brewed up in which Muhammed ibn Abi Amir came victorious. He became the sole master. He was highly talented politician, general and strategist. He led a number of successful attacks against the northern Christian Kingdoms. He even assumed the title "Al-Mansur". At the time his death in 1002, the Umayyad Spain was politically united and economically prosperous. He had even been able to extend Andalusian political influence over the whole of western Berberia. Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. I.'Andalus', p.494.

Out of all the achievements of al –Mansur, one thing became more important, ie, throughout his life he gave the caliphate of Cordoba due respect and kept it intact even while he assumed full power in the name of the nominal Ummayed master. His son Abdul malik followed to the post of all-powerful 'Hajib' [chamberlain] who assumed the honorific title al-Muzaffar. He died in 1008 and the country soon plunged into anarchy and disorder.

pretenders supported by the Berbers or by the enemies of the Berbers hastened the ultimate downfall of the Caliphate.¹⁸³

It was under this circumstance that the Morabite invasions of Spain took place.¹⁸⁴ The petty dynasties realized the increasing threat of the northern advancement and sought the help of Morabite leader Yusuf ibn Thashfin against Adfonso VI. Thus the Murabite army landed in Spainto met the Christen army. The battle that followed in 1086 was known as the battle of Zallaqa. Yusuf inflicted a crashing defeat upon Alfonso. He then annexed the petty states to that of the Morabite State putting a greater part of Spain under political unity. Thus the centre of gravity in Spain was shifted for the first time to Maghrib.

The Al morabite occupation of Spain produced a number of good results. The recapture of Valencia in 1102 and other towns, the economic prosperity brought about by political unity etc. were the most important ones.¹⁸⁵ Following the weakening of Morabites, the Muwahids came into power. They extended their domination over

¹⁸³ Amir Ali, p. 494. Spain soon was split into a number of small territories. The basis of these small political units was factions of Spanish Slav or Berbers origin. All of them had of ephemeral existence only. Out of a multitude of small political units the Abbadids of Seville, the Aftasids of Badajoz, the Zirids of Granada, the Dhu Nunids of Toledo and Hadids of Sargasso deserved any notice at all. This phenomenon, following the weakening of the central power, is known in the history of Spain 'Muluk al Tawaif' (factional regimes). Ibn Kheldun, vol. V, p. 156.

The political history of Spain in eleventh century was filled with the weakness of central power, the regime of the 'faction' and the increased offensive attack on the part of the Northern Christian powers. It presented a picture of constant turmoil, opposing interests, rivalries and unending dispute without any decisive results of any kind. It was a situation in which "Andalusian fought against Berbers and Slaves fought against both". The Christens, especially Alfonsa VI made full use of such mutual rivalry not only to capture more and more territories but also to impose heavy tributes upon them.

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Khaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', Vol. VI, p. 188.

¹⁸⁵ The Morabit occupation also could not hold on for a long time when the successors of the dynasty itself showed symptoms of decay and decline. The pressure on the part Christens

Spain¹⁸⁶ also. They maintained for nearly a century an increasingly precarious grasp on those parts of the peninsula, which still belonged to the Muslim control. Meanwhile a number of northern cities were lost to the Christians. Eventhough Muwahids won a decisive battle in 1195 at Alarces, they were utterly defeated by a coalition of Castile, Leon, Navarre and Aragon in 1212 at Las Navas. The fall of Cordoba, Valencia and Seville took place by the middle of 13th century.

Granada, the last hold of Muslims¹⁸⁷:- The Nasird kingdom of Granada was the last hold of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. The dynasty was established by Muhammed I al-Ghalib billah in 1237 by taking possession of Granada, which later on served as their capital. For a further two and a half centuries the 'kingdom of Granada' despite successive amputations, continued to be the only territory on the Iberian Peninsula still under the authority of Muslim rule. By the second half of the 15th century the *Reconquista* took a decisive turn when the catholic king Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabelle of Castile united in marriage. The counter offensive against Muslims was co-ordinated and was conducted on a wider scale. Muslim power was finally over thrown in 1492.

It was to these legacies of Maghrib, Spain and Egypt that Ibn Kaldun was born. The fate of Spanish Muslims had a tremendou influence in shaping the mind of Ibn Kaldun. He had put Spain for a through study and evaluation, the traces of, which are visible very

of north also became more intensive. Finally the Morabite were over thrown by the more energetic Muwahids, which had its consequences in Spain also.

¹⁸⁶ Ibn Kaldun, 'Kitab al Ebar', vol. VI ., p. 233-37.

¹⁸⁷ Terrasse. H., 'Granada' Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.II.p.1012-20.

clearly in Muqaddimah. The two visits Ibn Khaldu made to Spain had given him a direct contact with the developments there. Moreover, the affiliation his family had with Seville, the friendship he had kept with the Nasirid kingdom and the great scholar of the dynasty, Lisanudin ibn al Khathib, all gave a sequence of data to drive his conclusions in Muqaddimah.

Chapter II

IBN KHALDUN - LIFE AND CAREER

II/1. Introduction

This chapter is a critical study of the biography of Ibn Khaldun. He himself has given us a detailed account of his biography at the end of the seventh volume of his historical work. This supplementary chapter is entitled as *al Tarif bi Ibn Khaldun, Muallafu Hada al Kitab* (Acquainting Ibn Khaldun, the Author of the Book). In this autobiography, he has given us the details of the family as well as his life upto his migration to Egypt and settlement there.

There is another autobiography *Tarif Ibn Khaldun wa Rihlathuhu Sharqan wa Gharban* (Acquainting Ibn Khaldun and his Journey in East and West). This work is more significant than the former for two reasons as it is more comprehensive and covers his almost entire life. The work deals with the events in the life of the author till the year 1405 i.e., to say a few months before his death on March 16, 1406 (Ramadan, 26, 808 AH).¹

The second reason is that, though this work has retained the information made in the former one upto his migration to Egypt, he has made, 'many additions, which prove that Ibn Khaldun revised his autobiography during the sojourn in Egypt. Ibn Khaldun was the first

¹ Ibn Khaldun, "Tarif bi Ibn Khaldun Rihlathuhu Sharqan wa Gharban", p.354, (here -after mentioned as Tarif); M. A. Enan, Ibn Khaldun, His Life and Works, p-89 (Here after mentioned as M.A Enan); F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p- lxx

Muslim thinker who consecrated for himself a long biography which filled a whole book and who tell us frankly many of his act and affaires that he should not have revealed.’² In fact Ibn Khaldun’s description of his own life is the most detailed biography in the medieval Muslim literature³.

There are other sources of information regarding the life of Ibn Khaldun. The most outstanding source of information is Ibn al Khatib, a friend of Ibn Khaldun and the great literary figure of Spain. His work called ‘History of Granada’ incorporated statements that can be supplemented to the biography of Ibn Khaldun.

Another contemporary source of information on the life of Ibn Khaldun is Ismail ibn Yusuf ibn al Ahmer. He was a member of the ruling family of Granada who had written an anthology of contemporary poets called ‘Nathir al Juman’ where he had inserted an account of Ibn Khaldun, which threw light on his life in the west. Regarding the later years of Ibn Khaldun in Egypt, source are more varied. His pupils, admairers as well as enemies served as source of information regarding his life in Egypt. “This abundance of biographical source materials has enabled modern scholars at various times to write Ibn Khaldun’s life and presented the data in a factually correct form to which little can be added⁴.

² M. A. Enan, p-143.

³ . F.Rosenthal-"Translators Introduction", p-xxix He must have considered himself worthy of being recorded, as he was one of the outstanding personalities in Maghrib and Egypt for half a century. His decisions, desertion and opinions influenced the fate and evolutions of the affaires of these states. “His life is in fact a part of the history of these states. M. A. Enan, p-143

⁴ F. Rosenthal- "Translators Introduction", p-xxx. Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun was born on first Ramadan 732A.H corresponding to 27th May 1332.⁴ His full name was Abu Zayd

II/2. Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun

He was born on first Ramadan 732A.H corresponding to 27th May 1332.⁵ His full name was *Abu Zayd Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun Wali al Din al-Tunisi al Hadrami al Ishabili al Maliki*.⁶ His ethnic denomination al-Hadrami is derived from Hadarmouth in South Arabia, which denoted the ancestral home of his family. According to Ibn Khaldun's own argument, his ancestors belonged to and ancient Arab tribe called Khaldun in South Arabia. This family migrated to Spain on the eve of Muslim conquest in the early decades of 8th century.⁷ Ibn Khaldun related the origin of his family to south Arabia upon the basis of the report given by Muhammad ibn Hazm, the Spanish genealogist of 11th century.⁸ Accordingly, there were 10 fore fathers between himself and the first migrant to Spain.⁹

Ibn Khaldun admitted that he did not know any more than that of these ten fore fathers of his family at the same time he genuinely doubted this account. "It is possible that they were more than this (ten).

Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun Wali al Din al-Tunisi al Hadrami al Ishabili al Maliki.⁴ His ethnic denomination al-Hadrami is derived from Hadarmouth in South Arabia, which denoted the ancestral home of his family. According to Ibn Khaldun's own argument his ancestors belonged to and ancient Arab tribe called Khaldun in South Arabia. This family migrated to Spain on the eve of Muslim conquest in the early decades of 8th century. Ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al Ebar*, vol. vii, p-379, (Here after mentioned as *Ebar* vol. vii) ; *Tarif*, p.1. Ibn Khaldun related the origin of his family to south Arabia upon the basis of the report given by Muhammad ibn Hazm, the Spanish genealogist of 11th century. *Tarif*- P-1, note no-4; *Ebar*, vol. vii, p.380

⁵ *Tarif*, p. 15; *Ebar*, vol. vii, p-384; F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p.xxxviii; M.A Enan, p.2

⁶ Henrich Simon, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*, p.26-27

⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al Ebar*, vol. vii, p-379, (Here after mentioned as *Ebar* vol. vii) ; *Tarif*, p.1

⁸ *Tarif*- P-1, note no-4; *Ebar*, vol. vii, p.380

⁹ They were Abdul Rahuman son of (1) Muhammad s/o (2) Muhammad s/o (3) Muhammad s/o (4) al Hasan s/o (5) Muhammad s/o (6) Jabir s/o (7) Muhammad s/o (8) Ibrahim s/o (9) Abdul Rahman s/o (10) Khaldun.

Several of them was possible to have left out because if the last mentioned Ibn Khaldun, who was the migrant to Spain in eight century the period elapsed between the to was around seven hundred years. Such a long period could not be filled by ten generations. Ibn Khaldun argued that it required at least ten more for fathers according to his own calculations. He argued that it required three generations to fill a span of a hundred years".¹⁰

Ibn Hazm further extended this genealogical line to connect it with the famous Arab tribe, Qahtan. One ancestor of this family called Wail ibn Hujr was a companion of the Prophet who went to Madeenah as a delegate. The Prophet received him, presented him his a blanket and prayed for him. Moreover the Prophet sent Muawiyah, son of Abu Sufyan along with Wail to teach his people Quran and Islam.¹¹

Thus it is undoubtedly an established fact that Ibn Khaldun was the scion of a famous Arab family. At the same time there are opinions to effect that he was not of an Arab origin. According to Muhammad Enan, Ibn Khaldun was eager to count himself as a descendent of an Arab tribe for, "to be of an Arab origin was considered in Andalusia, a coveted honour on account of their dominance and influence".¹²

This argument can not be substantiated on many grounds. If we consider this statement of M.A. Enan as such, we could not justify another statement of him in the same paragraph. "There is, however, reason to wonder at the attachment of Ibn Khaldun to his Arab origin,

¹⁰ Tarif- P 1; Ebar, vol. VII P- 379; Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddimah, Bulaq,P-84

¹¹ Tarif- P-2; Ebar, vol. VII P-380; Taha Husayn, 'Falfasat Ibn Khaldun al Ijtimaia'.p.9 – 10.

¹² M.A Enan, p.4.

for, in his Prolegomena, he shows strong antagonism and prejudice to the Arabs, while in another part of his history he praises the Berbers and extols their character and qualities".¹³

The two statements in the same paragraph are in fact contradictory to themselves. They explain much the standpoint of M.A. Enan rather than that of Ibn Khaldun. Enan's 'antagonism and prejudice' to Ibn Khaldun prompted him to make the former statement. Moreover the first statement itself is contradictory to the facts Enan has given in his book some where else.

The Arabs had enjoyed predominance and power during the early century of the conquest. It lasted only for a century in Maghrib and upto the end of Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba in 11th century in Spain. Thereafter, there emerged a number of petty dynasties having their origin in Berber or Spanish nationalities. By the time of Ibn Khaldun, the Muslim Spain and North Africa were passing through its worst political crises. The Arab predominance was a thing of past. So it was curious and even ridiculous to attach oneself to a nationality that no more had exercised any noteworthy influences in the political field.¹⁴

¹³ M.A. Enan. p.4.

¹⁴ Ibn Khaldun was neither prejudiced nor antagonised towards Arabs. Nothing short of partiality could be alleged against him. The views that he expressed in Muqaddimah were based upon the knowledge and the political experiences he had directly from his period. It is, therefore important to note that the most attractive merit of Ibn Khaldun's work is the unbiased judgement of facts and phenomenon based upon sound reasoning. He was never reluctant to state the merits as well as demerits of any people whether it is Arabs or non-Arabs. M.Koyakutty, Muqaddimah(Malayalam translation), Introduction. p.xviii

“While Ibn Khaldun’s Arab descent occasionally been questioned it has also been considered a major influence in forming his outlook on life and on history... Ibn Khaldun’s claim to Arab descent through the male line cannot be reasonably doubted, though he may have had Berber and Spanish blood in his veins as well”.¹⁵ Even if Ibn Khaldun was proud of his ancient Arab lineage there is no indication that it coloured his historical views or influenced his reaction to his environment differently than his peers and contemporaries.¹⁶

The migrated family at first settled in the town of Cremona and latter moved to Seville before the end of that century.¹⁷ The family enjoyed political authority in Seville during Umayyad period. Out of his ancestors, certain Kurayb was of a significant person. Somewhere near the end of ninth century, this Kurayb conducted a revolt in Seville against the Umayyad Ameer. He was able to establish a semi-independent authority in Seville that lasted for about one decade. This adventurous revolt of Kurayb met with tragedy as it was suppressed. Kurayb was killed in 899AH.¹⁸ The disaster that Kurayb met with must have affected the Khaldun family as well. The family was re-established soon in Seville. By the middle of 11th century they became leaders of the city, both political and intellectually.

Following the decline of Umayyad power of Cordova by the 11th century there emerged a number of petty dynasties that exercised independence and freedom. During this period Seville also became

¹⁵ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p.xxxiv.

¹⁶ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p.xxxiv.

¹⁷ Ebar vol. vi P-380Tarif- p.4.

¹⁸ Tarif- p.6-7.

independent province. The Banu Khaldun thus became the virtual master of the city controlling its affairs along with other nobles. And by the middle of 11th century, we come to know of Abu Muslim Amr Ibn Ahmed who died in 1057.¹⁹

They attained vizarates (minister) and other high posts under Banu Abbad.²⁰ The family participated along with Abbadids and their ally Yusuf ibn Tashfin in the Battle of Zallaqa and defeated Alfonso VI, the king of Castile (1086 AD). Some member of the family died in the battle. Then there followed the reign Almoravids and Almohads. During Almohads reign, they appointed Abu Hafs, the leader of Hintata tribe as governor of Seville.²¹

Even while Spain was passing through political anarchy due to the weakening of the central government of Granada, Banu Khalduns continued to exercise their influence over Seville. The nobles of the city exercised the actual control of the city's affairs of which Banu Khaldun was the most important ones. During the days of the Nasirid advancement, Seville was virtually under their rule. It must be for the

¹⁹ He was a student of the great scientist Maslama al Majriti and himself was a famous scientist. Ibn Khaldun had mentioned him in his *Muqaddimah*.¹⁹ Even though no other member of the family is known for their knowledge and merits, all of them must have been highly educated as the family belonged to an aristocratic tradition. The city of Seville was virtually under the control of the family which as a matter of necessity, must have required them excel in education and knowledge especially in religious and legal matters.

²⁰ M.A. Enan p.6

²¹ Ebar vol. vii p-382, Tarif- p .8-9. This Abu Hafs belonged to the Hafsid tribe who rallied behind the Almohads. They later on established, upon the decline of the dynasty of Almohads, a dynasty of their own-the Hafsids of Tunisia. It was to this dynasty that Banu Khalduns had attached themselves in Maghrib²¹ Banu Khaldun came in touch with the new governors of Seville and regained some of their old authority. M.A. Enan.p-6

same reasons they failed to give attention to the call for help to build up defense against the Christian onslaught.²²

Leaving Seville, Banu Khalduns went to Maghrib, the refuge for the Spanish migrants. They at first settled in Ceuta.²³ In Maghrib also they were not without a basis. As we have noted above, the informal relation between the Banu Khaldun and Hafsids had started even before the dynasty had been established. Moreover they had marriage relations with the Tunisian court. "A certain Ibn al Muhtasib, related, by marriage to the Khaldun family, had given to the founder of the Hafsid dynasty, Abu Zakariya Yahya (1228-49), a slave girl who in time became the honored mother of some of Abu Zakariya's sons. Now this Ibn Al Muhtasib was the maternal grand father of Ibn Khaldun's great-great grand father."²⁴

It was Ibn Khaldun's grand father's grand father who was included among the migrant from Seville to Maghrib. His name was Hasan ibn Muhammad. The Banu Khaldun at first landed in Ceuta, the first landing point for the migrants from Spain. He went soon on a

²² Tarif- p.10; Ebar vol. vii p- 382 It is important to note that this call was made no less a person than Yusuf ibn Ahmer, the founder of the Nasirid kingdom of Granada. In course of time Almohad Empire also declined. Spain once again witnessed political anarchy and confusion, which was further, embittered by the speedy process of Reconquista on the part of Northern Christian kingdoms. Muslim territories fell one after the other into their hands. Banu Khaldun apprehended 'the evil consequences' awaiting their city. They decided to leave for Maghrib before the city fell in to the Christian hands. Seville was conquered by the Christians in 1248; Ebar vol.vi p. 382.

²³ Tarif- p.10, 11;Ebar vol. vii p- 382.

²⁴ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p.xxxv; Tarif- p 11;Ebar vol. vii p- 382-3. Thus it is clear that the family left for Maghrib not only because of the imminent threat from Castile but also to assume high officers in the emerging court of Tunisia. They must have other associations in Maghrib that had enabled them to gain influential position. 'Marriages and personal cleverness added other important friends'.

pilgrimage to Mecca. After his returns, Hasan joined the service of Hafsid Sultan Abu Zakariya in Bone.²⁵

Al Hasan died during the reign of Abu Zakariya and his son Abu Bakr Muhammad attained a high post in the Hafsid court. He was made the manager of financial affairs to the court of Tunisia (Sahib al Ashghal).²⁶

His son, also named Muhammad, was employed to the Hafsids. He was satisfied with a minor position of deputy door-keeper. Still he personally exercised high influence in the affairs of the state whom they held with great esteem. He satisfied himself to the minor office and declined later on still higher offices offered to him.²⁷

His son Muhammad was the father of Ibn Khaldun. His father Muhammad had a tremendous influence upon his son as the qualities of whom i.e. the devotion to scholarly pursuit and aversion to all public offices found full expression in his son. He received a high level of education available in the contemporary Maghrib and suitable to the aristocratic tradition of the family. Ibn Khaldun's father never entered into any official responsibility, which had come to his hands as a result

²⁵ Ebar, vol. vii p- 382-3; Tarif- p.11 Al Hasan was able to get easy access to the ruler in account of the above-mentioned Ibn al Muhtasib who granted Abu Zakariy pension as well as fiefs. It was the formal beginning of the ties of the relation ship between the Hafsids and the Banu Khaldun. The relationship was mutually beneficial for them as the dynasty received highly talented services of the aristocratic family while the economic benefits the family received was also great.

²⁶ Ebar, vol. vii p-383; Tarif- p.12 This post equaled the office of state minister for finance. Around 1283 there was a revolt against Hafsids. A rebel called Ibn Abi Umara led this revolt in which Abu Bakr Muhammad was captured and killed. Tarif .p.12; Ebar, vol. vii p. 383.

²⁷ . Towards the last years of his age he completely abstained from all public affairs. Ebar, vol. vii p- 383; Tarif- p. 13 He performed Hajj twice and devoted himself to pious studies. His death took place in 1336 i.e., four years after the birth of Ibn Khaldun.

of his ability and talents. He devoted fully to scholarly life. It was Ibn Khaldun who greatly benefited from this because the first teacher out historian was his father himself.²⁸

This family account of Ibn Khaldun attested by himself very clearly established the fact that he belonged to a greatly influential aristocratic family who were held in high esteem both in Spain and Maghrib. This family factor helped him to avail for himself the best of education and scholarships available at that age.

This same family factor related with him helped to get access into high officers in the various courts of Maghrib and Spain. In Spain also he was considered and honored as the member of Banu Khaldun by the rulers of Granada and Castile. The direct experiences he received from the public offices he held in these various courts had a tremendous influence in formulating the intellect, outlook and ultimately the genius of Ibn Khaldun.

II/3. Education

The second important factor that determined the formulation of Ibn Khaldun's make up was the high level of education he was able to receive from his early childhood itself. There were so many factors that

²⁸ But it was not to be continued for a long time because his father as well as mother died in the Black Death of 1348-49. His father had managed to get all of his children the best education while he himself gave them instruction until his death. Ibn Khaldun was only 17 years old when his parents died. It is certain that his education had been founded upon a firm basis even before the death his parents. Later on Ibn Khaldun proved to be exemplary combination of the two quality which Banu Khaldun's on the one side represented and the qualities of his father and grand father stood for on the other. "The love of scholarship and contemplation evident in Ibn Khaldun's father and grand father combined in their famous offspring with a reawakening of high political ambitions that had gripped many generations of the first Khaldun's descendents. Thus was produced the

helped him to get the best of education available in those days. The first factor was the aristocratic tradition of the family to which he belonged. As a noble family associated with the ruling class formerly of Seville and latter in Maghrib, Banu Khalduns kept a tradition of high standard of education that alone enabled them to occupy high officers as judges, ministers and other executive officials. As such a high level of education was a family necessity on the part of this particular family and some of his for fathers even excelled as scientist as we have seen above.

The second factor was that, being the member of a noble family related with various courts of Spain and Maghrib, Ibn Khaldun's family received great economic opportunities to spend on education of their sons.²⁹ The third factor was the influence exercised by his father and grand father. Ibn Khaldun was a boy of 5 years when his grand father died who, after giving up all the public offices, led a life of retirement in pursuits of scholarship and pious studies. His father, at the same time, never entered it any political responsibilities and fully devoted to the path of his father.³⁰

admirable combination of scholar and statesman that we find in Ibn Khaldun. F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p. xxxviii

²⁹ During the medieval days, even though general education in the primary level was available to all, higher education was both expensive and limited to the few. The economic resources the family was able to mobilise, as well as the noble nature was sure to have helped Banu Khalduns to get their children that level of higher education which accessible to others. Moreover education as well as scholarship during those days was very much dependent upon the patronage of the rulers. Therefore Banu Khalduns had received double advantage of being the members of family associated with the various courts Ibn Khaldun. 'Ta'rif'. p. 8-13; 'Ebar'. vol. VII. p. 379 ff.

³⁰ Ibn Khaldun first teacher was his own father – a fact much important for our evaluation. Education started at home and later on moved to the Mosque. the content of the deduction included Quran, Tafsir, Hadith, Arabic language, grammar, rhetoric, prosody jurisprudence. Etc. In his Tarif he has given us a very detailed account of his education and the teachers under whom he studied. 'Ebar'. vol. VII .p. 383.

The fourth factor was Maghrib at that time, even though passing through violent political upheavals and confusions, was a great centre of intellectual pursuits and scholarly activities. This was made possible due to the presence of a large number of scholars coming from Spain as refugees. These migrants in Maghrib constituted an elite class who represented a much more advanced culture than that was available in Maghrib. Ibn Khaldun himself has praised in *Muqaddimah* the contribution of these Spanish migrants in the cultural and intellectual life of Maghrib. Most of the great thinkers under whom Ibn Khaldun studied originally belonged to these Spanish refugees.³¹

Ibn Khaldun had to undergo violent havoc between his age of fifteen and twenty-five that were both natural and man made. The middle of fourteenth century was a period noted for unusual political instability and natural calamity in the forms of the notorious Black Death. "The position of the Hafsid dynasty in Tunis, never stable had become increasingly insecure before Ibn Khaldun's birth and during his childhood".³² By the middle of that century the Hafsid dynasty was subjected to its worst fate and continued to do so up to the period 1370. Hafsids were overpowered by their rival Marinid sultan Abul Hasan in

³¹ His early education was in the traditional lines. Taha Husayn p.12; Ebar, vol. vii p.384; Tarif- p.15 He studied Quran and related sciences under the instruction of Muhammad bin Saad Ibn Bural. He studied Arabic language under his father as well as a number of others like Muhammad ibn Al Arabi Al Hasairi, Muhammad ibn Al Shawwash Al Zarzali, Ahmed ibn al Qassar and Muhammad ibn Bahr.³¹ Ibn Bhar was responsible for planting in the minds of Ibn Khaldun the seeds of poetry and poetic appreciation. Prophetic tradition and jurisprudence were taught as advanced subject. His teachers in these fields included Shamsuddin al Wadiyashi, Muhammad ibn Abdullah al Jayyani, Muhammad Al Kazir and Abdul Salam al Hawwali. Tarif- p. 18,19;Ebar, vol. vii p-385.

³² F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p.xxxix

1347 and again by his son Abu Enan in 1357; the capital Tunis itself was passed to the Marinid power.³³

As was noted above the royal houses of those days were the patrons of the scholarship and learning. "The Marinid conquest of 1347 brought to Tunis a great number of famous scholars in the retinue of Abul Hasan. The adolescent Ibn Khaldun found among them men who inspired him with their scholarship and who became his shaykhs, the masters and teachers who exercised decisive influence upon his intellectual development.³⁴ The most important scholars among them were Muhammad Sulayman al Satti,³⁵ Muhammad al Hadrami,³⁶ and Muhammad Ibrahim al Abili.³⁷

By the age of 20 Ibn Khaldun started his political careers under the Hafsids in Tunis but he did not cherish the idea to continue there, largely on account of academic thirst and to an extent the grim future of the Hafsids. Neither the high post nor his elder brothers disagreement seemed him significant when he personally decided to the court of Marinids in Fez.³⁸

³³ The natural calamity in the form of plague had already dismantled the life in Maghrib. Ibn Khaldun lost not only of his parents but most of his teachers as well. In his own words the Black Death "folded the carpet with all there was on it", (Ebar, vol. vii P- Tarif-P.27) in which a number of the nobility, teachers and learned perished. The Black Death and the following Marinid occupation of Tunisia influenced Ibn Khaldun's education to a great extent.

³⁴ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p. xi

³⁵ Ebar, vol. vii p- 389; Tarif- p.32

³⁶ Tarif- p.20; Ebar, vol. vii p- 385.

³⁷ Ebar, vol. vii p- 386-89; Tarif- p.21, 33. Ibn Khaldun considered the last of the three as his principal master. It was the departure of al Abili from Tunis that prompted Ibn Khaldun decide to leave his birth place and move on to Fez. Ebar, vol. vii p- 389-90; Tarif- p .34

³⁸ Tarif- p 55-61; Ebar, vol. vii p- 398-402

In Fez Ibn Khaldun was able to complete his education in association with the scholars there or those who passed through the city. Here he came into contact with the scholars like Muhammad ibn Suffar, Muhammad al Maqari. Muhammad ibn Ahamed al Alavi. Muhammad ibn Abdul Razaq. Muhammad ibn Yahiya Al Barji. Ibrahim ibn Zarzar (physician and astrologer) Muhammad ibn Ahamed al Sabti, and the most important scholar Muhammad al Ballafiqi.

“In medieval Muslim civilization the development of a scholars was a long drawn out process and, in a sense, his education continued throughout his life. Accomplished scholars would attend to classes and lectures of their colleagues whenever they wished to profit from them”³⁹ Ibn Khaldun made full use of every opportunity he received to attend such classes and lectures. During the period he stayed in Fez his formal education can be considered to have completed. His education was neither continuous nor formal to the strict sense. Rather it was a haphazard one to suit that particular intellectual endowment Ibn Khaldun had. It was for the same reason “he did not become an outstanding specialist in any one field”.⁴⁰

II/4. Political Condition of Maghrib & Spain and Ibn Khaldun’s Involvement

These are the third and fourth factors that influenced Ibn Khaldun’s intellectual formation. As closely inter-related, these two

³⁹ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p-xliii

⁴⁰ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", P.xliii . At the same time he had the fundamental awareness of every branch of knowledge of his period as can be seen in Muqaddimah. Moreover he was endowed with that much of scholarship which “enabled him with that rare gift a deep insight into the essentials of the accumulated knowledge of

factors are discussed here together.⁴¹ Abul Hasan, the Marinid sultan was an ambitious ruler invaded and occupied Gibraltar in 1332. Then he marched against the emirate of Abul Wad. He occupied Algeria and then conquered their capital, Tlemcen itself in 1336. Following this victory Abul Hasan planned to march to Tunis, the capital of Hafsids. He appointed his son Amer Abu Enan as ruler of Algeria and marched to Tunis in 1347.⁴²

As soon as Abul Hasan left for Morocco, Hafsids re conquered Tunis under Maulai Al Fadl, son of the late sultan. But political stability did not last long in the Hafsids court. Their vizier Ibn Tafrakin conducted a revolt and usurped the power. He appointed Abu Ishaq, the younger brother of Maulai al Fadl as the ruler. He was a puppet in the hands of the all-powerful vizier. The complete control over the affairs of the state was passed in to the hands of the vizier (751 AH). "Revolutions and political upheavals were continues, and kingdoms succeeded on another, through different usurpers and dynasties". Their courts were the seats of ambition and rivalry, centres

his time and he possessed the ability to express this gift clearly and forcefully". This gift helped him to place his "New Science upon firm foundation" *ibid* .p.P.xliii

⁴¹ We have noted in the first chapter that North Africa and Spain were passing through the worst political crisis and confusion. By the beginning of the fourteenth century Almohad Empire, which had put North Africa under one supreme power, had disappeared. There had emerged, upon its ruins a number of small states, out of which the Hafsids of Tunisia, the Marinids of Morocco and the emirate of Banu Abdul Wad in Fez were the most important. Out of the three states the Marinids were the most powerful dynasty who had inherited the grater part of the ruined Almohad Empire. It comprised of Morocco, Ceuta, a portion of Algeria and some times even Gibraltar. The founder of the dynasty was sultan Abu Yaqub who was succeeded by a number of powerful rules. The Marinids sultan Abu Saed died in 1330 and was followed by his son sultan Abul Hasan.

⁴² He defeated Hafsid sultan Umer ibn Abi Yahya and conquered Tunis. He stayed there, following the victory, for the next 2 years. During his absence from Morocco, the capital, insurrection broke out in the country. His son Amer Abu Enan, the ruler of Algeria, conducted a revolt to usurp the throne. So Abul Hasan was forced to leave Tunis after

of intrigues and plots and the goal of the chiefs and rivals seeking supremacy and power.⁴³

Political instability ravaged in Maghrib; civil war between dynasties or factions of the same dynasty was the order of the day. Those dynasties that could survive under such a precarious condition of civil disturbance plunged themselves in splendour and luxury. At the same time, these very dynasties gave great contribution towards the encouragement to intellectual and literary pursuits. Both the Hafsids and Marinids attracted great scholars of the day and gave them encouragement. They were appointed to high posts of the state.⁴⁴

As far as intellectual life of the period was concerned, two things deserved special attention. Firstly, it moved to and fro according to the rise and fall of a dynasty and even of the sultan. This was because of the fact that the intellectual life and scholarly pursuits depended upon the magnanimous protection and encouragement of the ruling dynasty. In another words, the intellectual life flourished only under the state patronage. Scholars shifted their abode when the dynasty or the sultan was thrown out of power. The scholars therefore moved from one place to another.⁴⁵

appointing his another son al Fadl as the ruler of the Hafsids capital. 'Ebar.vol.VII .p. 252 ff;283-85.

⁴³ M. A. Enan p,13.

⁴⁴ As for Spain, the condition was not better. Though there had emerged a dynasty in Granada under the Nasirids, the condition of the Muslim civilization had reached a nadir of division and mutual opposition. As we have noted earlier, even the Banu Khaldun, who were the masters of Seville, failed to give attention to the request of the Nasirids to build up defense against the encroachment of the Christians from the north. It was a condition in which every one sought his own selfish interest even at the risk of the broader public interest. This is a point put to discussion elaborately in Muqaddimah. Hitti .p.548-49; Amir Ali .p.537-37

⁴⁵ Muqaddimah, relation between culture, scholarship and, political stability

The second thing was that Spain during that period was a major centre of Islamic civilization and culture where had developed great amount of intellectual activities. It was crowded with a number of great scholars and intellectuals. But in course of time Spain witnessed the retreat of Muslims power. Because of this political decline, a great number of scholars and men of letters migrated from the country in to Maghrib. This migration of the scholars into North Africa proved very much fruitful to the inhabitants of Maghrib. There in Maghrib had never existed such vast amount of scholars and intellectuals. These migrants from Spain contributed greatly to the rich intellectual life in Maghrib.⁴⁶

It was under such a condition that Ibn Khaldun, having completed his basic education in the formal sense, started his career in the Hafsid court. The dynasty, having lost its former influence and prosperity was passing through a stage of decline. Hafsids had been defeated by the rival Marinid sultan Abul Hasan and their capital Tunis was occupied for two years. Ibn Khaldun realized the weakness of the Hafsid court in Tunis when he made comparison with the advancing Marinid power under Abul Hasan. When the Marinid sultan left Tunis for Morocco, most of the scholars had followed him. Ibn Khaldun also aspired to leave for Morocco, but was dissuaded by his elder brother⁴⁷.

Following the death of his parents, his elder brother Muhammad had become the head of the family. Ibn Khaldun, at that time was staying with the family in Tunis. He “could hardly have foreseen that a bright future was in store for the Hafsids in Tunis: had he done so, he

⁴⁶ Nicholson R.A.”A Literary History of the Arabs”Delhi ,(1996),pp405-41;Amir Ali .p.565-80.

⁴⁷ Tarif- p .56; Ebar vol. p- 299.

might have stayed on there and weathered the storm. He could have passed his life in Tunis as member of the patrician Khaldun family- and perhaps, in that case, he would never have written the Muqaddimah.”⁴⁸

In 753 Abu Zaid, the grand son of the Hafsid sultan Yahya and now the Amir of Constantine marched to Tunis to defeat Ibn Tafrakin and to regain his family legacy. Ibn Khaldun accompanied Ibn Tafrakin in this expedition against Yahya. In this battle Yahya became victorious where upon Ibn Khaldun, “secretly withdrew from the vanquished camp”⁴⁹. Thereafter Yahya re-conquered Tunis Ibn Khaldun then lived for a while in Abba along with some Almoravid chiefs. Then he went to Ceuta and from there to Kafsa. There some scholars of Tunis joined in his camp. He moved further to Biskara and stayed till the end of that winter.

“Thus the second period of his life, which was both scholarly and adventurous, began with one of those changes of direction which were to recur on later occasions and which have been severely criticized by the majority of those who have made a study of his life and work. But it was in fact probably not a bad thing: intuitively, Ibn Khaldun was refusing to be engulfed in an Ifrikiya which was then in the process of disintegration and whose court further more, was far from providing an example of loyalty and good behaviour”.⁵⁰ It was at that time that Ibn

⁴⁸ F. Rosenthal- "Translator's Introduction", p-xli This statement is very much important to the evaluation of the relation between Ibn Khaldun's life and his public career. But for the combination of the four factors that we are discussing here, and are related with the personality of Ibn Khaldun, the succeeding generation would never have heard of the name Ibn Khaldun.

⁴⁹ M. A. Enan p.16.

⁵⁰ Talbi.M. 'Ibn Khaldun.' Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 826. Mean while Marinid sultan Abul Hasan also had died in 752AH/1351. His son Abu Enan, the former ruler of Algeria, succeeded him. In course of the political instability that sprang up during the time of

Khaldun went to meet Abu Enan in Tlemcen.⁵¹ The sultan received and honored Ibn Khaldun beyond his calculations. The sultans send him along with Ibn Abi Amr, the chamberlain to Bougie. The city was put to submission and they returned to the presence of the sultan. Enan took its ruler Abu Abdullah Muhammad as captive. The sultan continued to honor Ibn Khaldun. As the sultan retried to Fez, Ibn Khaldun, along with the chamberlain went to Bougie and stayed there for a while.⁵²

The shifting of his carrier to the Marinids court was a turning point in his public life. "From that time on Ibn Khaldun becomes an outstanding personality in the history of the states of North Africa, actively participating in the evolutions of these states and their vicissitudes, at one time taking part in producing the causes of their rise or downfall, at others kindling between them the fire of rivalry, intrigue and war"⁵³. Two years had scarcely passed when troubles started to

Abul Hasan, Algeria had also been re-conquered by the Banu Abdul Wad. But sultan Abu Enan, having consolidated his throne, made preparation to take Algeria and Tlemcen. He conquered Algeria and killed sultan Abu Saeid. Then the ruler of Bougie also submitted to Abu Enan.

⁵¹ Ebar vol. vii p.400; Tarif. P. 58.

⁵² "Ibn Khaldun was soon joined in the suit of the sultan. As soon as he arrived in Fez, the Marinids capital in 1354, he was appointed a member to the sultan's council of ulema. The sultan was very much pleased with the young scholar who promoted his post until he was made one of his secretaries and seal bearers Ibn Khaldun assumed this post very reluctantly as he considered it inferior to his family dignity. "Never before had any of my ancestor done such a thing". Ebar vol. vii P- 400-401: Tarif- P 59. At any rate the shift of his career to Fez, as far as his academic pursuits were concerned, he was able to get into contact with some of the grate scholars of the period. Most of them were migrants from Spain. The entourage around the sultan, moreover, had also enabled him to follow his academic interest. c.f for details" Tarif. P. 59-66; Ebar vol. vii p. 400-403; Taha Husayn p-13 .

⁵³ He was a young man with that force of character, determination, ambition and the consciousness of being the member of a great aristocratic family and was after authority, influence and the riches. The confused political condition in Maghrib gave him all opportunity to pursue his ambitions. The appointment at the court of Fez, even though below the family status of the author, was the beginning of his public in its true sense. This public career lasted for over 30 years. It was a career filled with trials and tribulations. It carried him from one court to another. On certain occasion, the high posts

appear in his public life. Sultan Abu Enan had taken Amir Abu Abdullah of the Hafsid dynasty as captive when he annexed Bougie. Abu Abdullah was living in the Marinid capital under the control of Abu Enan⁵⁴. Ibn Khaldun established friendship with him on the ground that his family and the Hafsids were closely related. Abu Enan came to know of this friendship who smelt in it conspiracy to the effect that Ibn Khaldun was trying to help Abu Abdullah to escape and regain his lost throne and then to get appoint as chamberlain". Abu Enan lost no time to put Ibn Khaldun in prison. Thus Ibn Khaldun for the first time met with downfall in his public life (758 AH/1357).⁵⁵

At the time of the death of Sultan Abu Enan, Abu Zayyan was the crown prince. Bu the vizier Al Hasan Ibn Umar opposed the accession of the crown prince. He wanted to put Al Saed, the infant son of the late sultan on the throne and to assume absolute power. He annihilated all the rival ministers. Troubles were further created by external interference.⁵⁶ During this political instability, Ibn Khaldun shifted his support from al Hasan to the side of Mansor. Soon Abu Salim had also

of the state were in his hands and at other occasions he was thrown to the abyss of downfall. M. A. Enan, p -18.

⁵⁴ Tarif.p. 66-67; Ebar vol. P. 403-4.

⁵⁵ Tarif.p . 66-67; M. A. Enan p- 19;Ebar vol. vi .p. 403-4. Sultan Abu Enan kept Ibn Khaldun behind the bar for about two years. While he was in the prison, he made a number of requests to release him. But, all his attempts were in vein. At last Ibn Khaldun composed and submitted the sultan a long poem of two hundred lines. In this poem he sought the pardon of the sultan and his mercy. Abu Enan took this poem favorably and promised his release. But the sultan died soon before fulfilling his promise (759/1358). It was the vizier, Al Hasan ibn Umar who released Ibn Khaldun and restored to his former post.

⁵⁶ The accession of Abu Enan itself was not smoothly done. He had wrenched the throne from his father and upon assuming power, had deported all of his brothers to Spain. When Abu Enan died, Abu Salim, one of the deported brothers appeared in North Africa and declared as the true heir to the Marinid legacy. The situation further worsened by the revolts conducted against the vizier al Hasan. In Fez itself, a revolt was conducted by

arrived in the scene and proclaimed sultan of the Marinids. Abu Salim secretly got in touch with Ibn Khaldun and asked him to make propaganda for his cause. Ibn Khaldun was promised with high rewards in return for his secret endeavor.⁵⁷

Troubles were not going to end in Fez. Al Faqih ibn Marzuq, was the friend of the sultan and the champion in exile, enjoyed his favor and exercised absolute influence and control over all the affairs of the state, according to his own wishes.⁵⁸ The conduct of Ibn Marzuq annoyed the officials and it strained their relation with the sultan. Ibn Khaldun was one of the objects of ibn Marzuq. He engaged in intrigues against Ibn Khaldun to weaken the influence the latter had upon the sultan. The officials and chiefs in the capital became so much annoyed of Ibn Marzuq that they conducted a revolt. The leader of revolt was the vizier Omar Ibn Abdullah, the sultan's brother in law.⁵⁹

Umar ibn Abdulalah, upon assuming power confirmed Ibn Khaldun in his posts and increased his pay. But he was not satisfied with what he was given. Ibn Khaldun had been in friendly with Umar since

Mansor ibn Sulayman. The vizier Al Hasan and the sultan Al Saed were forced to go under ground because of these troubles.

⁵⁷ Ebar vol. VII.p. 403-5; Tarif. p. 68-69. He accomplished this secret mission very successfully. Even the rival vizier Al Hasan, at the instigation of Ibn Khaldun agreed to support Abu Salim. Having assured himself of the support, Abu Salim marched to Fez, the capital. Mansor ibn Sulayman upon the arrival of the Abu Salim took to flight. Abu Salim ascended the throne without any opposition. Ibn Khaldun got appointment as one of the secretaries of the sultan and the confidential advisor to him. Two years later he was promoted to the post of chief justice. Tarif. p.69-70, Ebar vol. VII. P. 404-5.

⁵⁸ M. A. Enan, p.24.

⁵⁹ Tarif- p. 77; Ebar vol. VII. p. 408. He attacked the royal palace while the sultan was out. After dethroning Abu Salim, Umar appointed the former's brother, Tashfin to the throne. Abu Salim tried, anyhow to recapture the lost power. But he realised that Ibn Marzuq had abandoned his cause so as to join the victorious. There upon Abu Salim took to flight. He was chased, arrested and executed (1361).

the days of sultan Abu Enan.⁶⁰ The resignation of Ibn Khaldun from the post he was given annoyed Umar who, therefore, showed no more favor upon him.⁶¹ Finally he decided to go to Spain. In his autobiography, he mentioned his family and children for the first time at this stage only. In the beginning he did not propose to take them along with him to Spain because of the uncertainty he had to face there. Therefore he sent them to their uncles in Constantine “ I departed my children and their mother to their uncles”.⁶² We are not informed of the exact period of his marriage and how many wives and children he had.

II/5. Ibn Khaldun in Spain

Muslim Spain by that time had been confined to city of Granada. The last Muslim hold was under the Nasirids. Sultan Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Al Ahmer (Muhammad V) was the ruler at that time. He was young and was not proficient with the affairs of administration. Therefore, the chamberlain Abul Nain Radwan assumed complete power. Sultan Muhammad V had several ministers out of whom Lisanudin

⁶⁰ He was inspired by the fervor of youth to aspire to a higher situation. Ebar vol. vii. p- 408; Tarif. p. 77; M. A. Enan. P.26. He thought that there had emerged a favorable opportunity to aspire for a post like that of a grand Vizier or the chamberlain. But Vizier Umar disappointed Ibn Khaldun by not promoting him to the high posts. Ibn Khaldun felt offended and resigned the post to which he was already been appointed.

⁶¹ Ebar vol. vii. p. 408; Tarif. p. 77. It was then Ibn Khaldun fully realized that the unfavorable political atmosphere in Fez to which he had exposed himself. He began to fear the consequences of his resignation from the posts. So he sought permission to leave the place for Tunis, his own birthplace. But Vizier Umar turned down this request on the ground that Ibn Khaldun, on his way home, may make political intrigue with Abu Hamuw, the ruler of Tlemcen. ⁶¹Ibn Khaldun managed to get permission to leave Fez, even though with some difficulties, through Masud ibn Massi, the brother in law of Vizier Umar. At last Ibn Khaldun was given permission to leave Fez but with one condition that he should not go to Tlemcen.

⁶² Tarif p.79.

Muhammad ibn al Khatib was the most important one. He was a great writer and poet of Spain.⁶³

Ibn Khaldun now having lost the favors of his vizier decided to go to Granada. He selected Granada due to the great services that he had done to the sultan of the Granada when they lost their power. After crossing Gibraltar, he went to the Ceuta and informed the sultan and Ibn al Khatib of his arrival. He was staying some 50 miles away from Granada where he received a long letter from Ibn al Khatib welcoming his arrival⁶⁴. He reached Granada on Rabi I, 764 AH / 1363 and was warmly welcomed by the court of Granada. The sultan invited him even

⁶³ The relation between the Nasirids and Marinids had been very friendly. On the accession of sultan Abu Enan, he arrested his brothers including Abu Salim (who later on became sultan of Fez) and deported them to Spain. Nasirid sultan Muhammad V welcomed Abu Salim and others and kept them under his protection. There started ties of friendship between the two dynasties. Upon the death of Abu Enan, Abu Salim returned to North Africa and recaptured the throne of Fez. M. A. Enan p-29; Taha Husayn p-14. By this time Granada also witnessed political changes Muhammad V was deposed by his brother, Ismail who, supported by large number of chiefs and leaders, became the ruler of Granada. In this revolt he chamberlain Abul Nain Radwan was murdered and Ibn al Khatib was imprisoned. Marinid sultan Abu Salim heard the adversity that had befallen to his friends in Spain. He sent an envoy to Granada to persuade the new government to allow the two to come to Morocco. This envoy proved successful and both the sultan and minister escaped to Fez. Both of them were given a ceremonious welcome in Fez. Ibn Khaldun was among the grandees who attended the ceremony. It was here in Fez the two greatest intellectuals of the western Muslim world met for the first time. They established strong ties of friendship. They had mutual appreciation of their talents, which lasted for many years to come. They had great respect to each other. 'Ebar.vol.VII .p. 306-9.

Sultan Muhammad V and Ibn al Khatib remained in Fez for some time and the sultan Abu Salim tried his best to look after the affairs of the two. During his stay in Fez, Muhammad V tried recapture his lost throne with the help of Pedro, the Cruel, the king of Castile. Mean while Abu Salim had been murdered and vizier Umar had assumed absolute power in Fez. Muhammad V sought the help of Ibn Khaldun to approach Umar to get the favors of the vizier in order to recapture Granada. He wanted to get a foot hold in this Spanish soil belonging to the Marinids the sultan granted him Ronda and the surrounding area. Muhammad V, using this as his base for operation, recaptured Granada he returned to Granada and brought back his family as well as his grand vizier Ibn al Khatib.

⁶⁴ Tarif. p. 82-84 ; Ebar vol.vii. p. 411-12.

to his private council and preferred his company much. He was greatly honored by the minister Ibn al Khatib also.⁶⁵

The king of Castile requested the service of Ibn Khaldun at his court and promised, in return, to restore his family legacy.⁶⁶ But Ibn Khaldun did not consider this promise at all. Anyhow he was successful in the mission to which he was appointed. Pedro, when he was returning, presented him a mule with a saddle and bridal adorned with gold. Sultan Muhammad V was very much pleased with the successful conclusion of peace between Castile and Granada and he gave Ibn Khaldun, as a token of recognition, the village of Elvira in Vega of Granada. Ibn Khaldun settled in his newly acquired village. He brought, with the permission of the sultan, his family to Spain.⁶⁷ But the days of prosperity and peace for Ibn Khaldun in Spain did not remain long. The sultan began to treat him 'coldly'. 'He smelt the odor of oppression'⁶⁸. It was not long when he realized that Granada was not a suitable place for his activities. The estrangement was 'evidently due to the intrigues on the part of his friend Ibn al Khatib who feared the rivalry of Ibn Khaldun. 'The atmosphere between us darkened'⁶⁹

⁶⁵ In the following year (765/1363) the sultan appointed Ibn Khaldun an ambassador to the king of Castile, Pedro the cruel. He was commissioned with the duty of concluding peace between the two courts. The court of Castile ruler, at that time, was at Seville. Pedro received Ibn Khaldun very warmly. Thus Ibn Khaldun, for the first time got an opportunity to visit his ancestral home. Ebar vol.vii P- 411-12; Tarif- P 84. The ruler of Castile had been informed of the back history of the family of Ibn Khaldun. The Jewish doctor named Ibrahim ibn Zarzar, moreover, introduced Ibn Khaldun. This Jewish doctor had acquaintance with Ibn Khaldun at the court of sultan Abu Enan when he made his visit there to treat the sultan. Tarif- P 55.

⁶⁶ Ebar vol.vii .p. 412; Tarif. p. 85.

⁶⁷ Tarif. p. 90.Ebar vol. vii .p. - 415.

⁶⁸ Tarif. p. 91 ; Ebar vol.vii p. 415.

⁶⁹ Tarif. p. 91; Ebar vol. vii.p. 418; M. A. Enan p.35. At that time Ibn Khaldun received a letter from Abu Abdullah, the ruler of Bougie. It was on account of this Abu Abdullah he

II/6. Again in Maghrib

After the death of Abu Enan, Abu Abdullah re-conquered Bougie in 765 A.H /1364. Abu Abdullah, in fulfillment of the promise he had given formerly to Ibn Khaldun, summoned him from Spain to take up the people gave him a grand reception. Ibn Khaldun himself considered that, 'it was a grand day'.⁷⁰

Hardly two years had passed when troubles began to appear in Bougie also. Abul Abbas, a cousin of Abu Abdullah was the Amer of Constantine, the neighboring province who aspired to conquer Bougie also. Therefore, he started to rouse the neighbouring tribes against Abu Abdullah who had become unpopular due to his repressive rule. He even ill-treated the inhabitants of Bougie. The people, therefore, were not satisfied with him and were ready to renounce him. The incitement of Abul Abbas also worked against Abu Abdullah. So in the year 767 A.H. /1366 Abul Abbas marched against Bougie, defeated and killed Abu Abdullah and conquered the country.⁷¹

In course of these development some of the chiefs of Bougie approached Ibn Khaldun, the Hajib, with the proposal that he should

had to remain under arrest at the Marinid court. The letter informed Ibn Khaldun that Abu Abdullah had recaptured his throne in Bougie and that he was glad to receive him and appoint to the service of the sultan. Ibn Khaldun decided to utilize this opportunity who sought persimmon of the sultan to grand him leave to move on to Maghrib. The sultan, pleased to grand him permission allowed him to depart with so many valuable gifts and a touching farewell. Thus Ibn Khaldun again returned to Maghrib by 766A.H /1365. Tarif. p. 97; Ebar vol.vii. p. 418 ; M. A. Enan. p.35; Taha Husayn p-15.

⁷⁰ Tarif. p.98; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 418-19; M. A. Enan. p.38. The office of Hajib in Maghrib, during those days, included 'the management of all the affaires of the state, and the exclusive organization of the relation between the sultan and his subjects'. It included the exercise of absolute power in the management of the affaires like keeping peace and order in the country and collecting taxes from the people. M. A. Enan. p. 38.

⁷¹ Tarif. p. 98-99 ;Ebar. vol.vii. p. 418-19.

assume all the power and declare one of the sons of the murdered Sultan as the next ruler. Ibn Khaldun turned down this proposal. Instead, he handed over the city to the victories Abul Abbas. Ibn Khaldun was able to retain his former post of Hajib for some time more.⁷² Evaluating the role of Ibn Khaldun in these developments, M. A. Enan made statements that can never be justified. ‘Thus ended this ambitious adventure of Ibn Khaldun. Like his previous adventures it proved his exaggerated egoism, his ingratitude and his disposition to avail himself of favorable opportunities however much they contrary to loyalty and gratitude’.

This statement can not be justified. What was rule of Ibn Khaldun in the defeat of his master Abu Abdullah? How far he was responsible for the murder of him? To what extend Ibn Khaldun was responsible in the insurrections that broke out in the country, which lead to the overthrow of Abu Abdullah? These questions cannot be answered positively so that the loyalty and the gratitude of Ibn Khaldun be doubted. The insurrections, that lead to the fall of Abu Abdullah, as M. A. Enan himself stated upon the authority of Ibn Khaldun, were the result of the oppressive rule of Abu Abdullah and, to a large extend due to the instigation of the sultan’s cousin, Abul Abbas who defeated and killed him.⁷³ Thus it is clear that Ibn Khaldun was not responsible either to the insurrection or to the defeat and murder of his master. He was neither

⁷² Ebar. vol. vii. p. 419; Tarif.p. 99.

⁷³ M. A. Enan p. 38.

present at the time and the place when his master was defeat and killed.⁷⁴

It is true that he was ambitious and, being young, adventurous to get high offices. Even while a mere youth of 20, he was reluctant to accept a court office below to his family's dignity which shows that he was ambitious and had that mental temperament of being a member of an aristocratic family. But the accusation leveled against Ibn Khaldun of being ingratitude and opportunist could not be sufficiently substantiated in the light of the relation between himself and Abu Abdullah as well as Abul Abbas. He came to Bougie from Spain when Abu Abdullah requested the service of him to take up the office of the Hajib. There is enough reason to assume that he has exercised this duty to the best of the interest of his master.⁷⁵ Abul Abbas, a member of Hafsid family to

⁷⁴ Secondly when his master Abu Abdullah was killed, Ibn Khaldun as the chamberlain could have put on the throne a nominal figurehead under his control and exercise full authority. Suggestions were all ready given to him to that effect. 'Some chiefs proposed to Ibn Khaldun to assume authority and proclaim one of the sultan's sons as Emir'. Ibn Khaldun, instead of accepting this request and to become the real ruler, opened the gates of the city in front of the victorious ruler, who was also a relative of the late sultan. This was not merely to retain his lost post of Hajib. It was aimed at something superior, even though he could continue as chamberlain under the new dynast. There were no elements of 'exaggerated egoism, in gratitude, and craze for power at the expense of loyalty and gratitude, and despise of sentiment and moral principles', as M. A. Enan put it. It is a fact that the political experiments that Ibn Khaldun made with Abul Abbas failed miserable and the evil consequences throw him into deeper difficulties. Therefore the following statement reveals the mind of the author rather than that of Ibn Khaldun: 'He was moved by that strong sprit which Machiavelli later admired and imagined in his ideal prince—that audacious, stubborn sprit which over comes every human weakness and leads directly to the coveted end by all means'. Enan .p.39.

⁷⁵ His loyalty and disposition could have been put to suspicion had he conducted any type of intrigues so as to help in some way to the victory of the enemy of his master. Moreover when the ruler of Bougie was defeated and killed he could have put some miner member of the royal house on the throne and thus could have retained successfully the post of chamberlain with farther autonomy, freedom and independence. He rejected the request to that effect and 'welcomed the victorious Abul Abbas and handed over city to the victorious. Thus, even while retaining the former post of chamberlain, Ibn Khaldun could achieve further better result of diverting war and bloodshed for the time being which

which the family of Banu Khalduns were attached, returned this gratitude by allowing to continue Ibn Khaldun in his former office.⁷⁶

Abul Abbas began to suspect Ibn Khaldun that he should turn against him and harbour revolt. As soon as Ibn Khaldun realised that he did not enjoy the favors of the sultan any more, he fled to Biskara. There upon Abul Abbas arrested his brother Yahya and confiscated their property. Yahya was released soon. The ill treatment of Abul Abbas irritated the feeling of dignity of Ibn Khaldun. The moment he realized that he had lost the favors of the new sultan, he did not harbour any foul intrigues as any other diplomat could have done.⁷⁷

Ibn Khaldun was really regretful at the course of development at the Hafsid court of Abu Abdullah. He had 'hastened' to obey Abu Abdullah when the latter summoned him to Bougie. He tells that had he been aware of the future he 'would have tried to arrive at much better results'.⁷⁸ This statement proves only the great ambitions that Ibn

could have been the consequence if he had chosen the other course of action in front of a victorious leader.

⁷⁶ At the same time he could easily be put to suspicion and lose the favours of the new ruler just because of the fact that he was very closely attached to the dethroned ruler. Abul Abbas must have feared, for the time being the evil consequence of removing Ibn Khaldun altogether from the posts even before consolidating his newly conquered country and putting in order the administrative affairs. Abul Abbas could not have reasonably trusted, on diplomatic grounds, the chamberlain of the former ruler whom he had just defeated and killed. So Abul Abbas had his own political justifications to side line Ibn Khaldun.

⁷⁷ This point is very important in the light of the influences that he exercised in Bougie and neighboring tribes. Instead of utilizing his diplomatic abilities to create problems to the sultan, he left the scene peacefully. In fact this act of Ibn Khaldun is the best evidence to the high morale and political commitment that he had exercised through out his life which most of his contemporaries failed to maintain. Had his aim being to get and maintain 'coveted end' by all means, he could have remained, for example, in Seville, his ancestral home that had been offered to him.

⁷⁸ M. A. Enan. p. 40.

Khaldun had, but in no other way indicates any foul intention on his part as M. A. Enan has tried to establish.⁷⁹

It should be remembered that Ibn Khaldun's moral uprightness could not be doubted upon the basis of misfortune he had suffered in his public affairs. The rise and fall of princes and even dynasties had become a course of the day and Ibn Khaldun was not an exemption to the general rule. The political instability in Maghrib was due to so many historical and sociological factors.

At the same time, what makes Ibn Khaldun unique is the fact that, even while he was deeply involved in the confused and unstable developments of the states and dynasties in Maghrib and Spain, he was closely watching with that keen curiosity of a social scientist the course of the events around him and trying to drive at the fundamental reasons for the misfortunes to which he himself had been subjected. Therefore the involvement of Ibn Khaldun in the confused politics of the day was very much different from that of his contemporaries. It was for this same reason that he was able to produce a thought-provoking work like *Muqaddimah*.

Ibn Khaldun, after leaving Bougie selected Biskara for an asylum on the ground that he had friendship with its ruler Abu Hamuw Ahmed Ibn Yusuf, who was the sultan of Tlemcen. He was the brother in law of the late Abu Abdullah of Bougie. When Abu Hamuw heard the conquest

⁷⁹ M. A. Enan. p. 39-40. Nor we can reasonably doubt whether the death of Abu Abdullah did harm or grieve him. There is no basis to state that 'he had hoped to stand by the victorious, had the latter not dispensed with his services.'⁷⁹This statement could only be substantiated with clear evidence of intrigue on the part of Ibn Khaldun to help Abul Abbas.

of Bougie at the hand of Abu Abdullah, he sent an army to capture the region, but Abul Abbas easily defeated this army.⁸⁰

When Abu Hamuw failed to capture Bougie, he wrote Ibn Khaldun who was staying at Biskara, requesting to take up the office of Hajib. Moreover, the sultan wanted him to use his influence in Bougie and the surrounding tribes to incite them against Abul Abbas. But Ibn Khaldun did not accept the post of Hajib, instead he sent his brother Yahya to take up the post. He accepted the sultan's other request to create support for the cause of Abu Hamuw in Bougie and among the tribes surrounding it.⁸¹

At Biskara, Ibn Khaldun performed two important diplomatic duties simultaneously. On the one side he tried to get support from the part of the tribes surrounding Bougie for the cause Abu Hamuw of Tlemcen against Abul Abbas. On the other hand, he sought means to strengthen the ties of friendship between Abu Hamuw and Abu Ishaq of Tunis. The later was a brother of Abu Hamuw but their relation had been strained. The condition of Abu Hamuw again put to troubles when his cousin Abu Zayyan conducted a revolt.⁸²

All the while Ibn Khaldun was working hard to get support of tribes for Abu Hamuw. He was able to muster considerable support for

⁸⁰ Tarif.p. 100-102; Ebar. vol. vii.p. 419-21.

⁸¹ Tarif.p. 103; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 421. Instead of devoting his time for political purposes, Ibn Khaldun wanted to use his time for the pursuit of scholarly activities. He himself stated, 'I had abandoned my studies for many years'. He had become thoroughly tired of the confused and unstable politics of the day. He had even become fearful of the deadly dangers of high-level state offices in an atmosphere of rampant palace intrigues. At the same time he was not in a position to eschew political offices altogether, as he had desired.

⁸² Ebar. vol. vii.p. 431; Tarif.p. 132.

him and having assured of victory, the sultan led an expedition against his enemies, but was defeated again.⁸³ Ibn Khaldun once again had to retire to Biskara. In the mean time, he along with other chiefs met Abu Hamuw directly and put before him his plans to be adopted against his enemies. He remained with him for some time more.⁸⁴

Soon news reached Ibn Khaldun that the route to Biskara had been closed and insurrections were brewing very where. He became anxious of the consequences of the occupation of Tlemcen at the hands of the Marinids with whom he had a strained relation. So he requested the permission of Abu Hamuw to go to Spain where from he had just received a friendly letter from Ibn al Khatib. Thus he decided to leave for Spain once again.

Ibn Khaldun was preparing to sail for Spain at the port of Hunayn.⁸⁵ Mean while rumors spread that he was carrying the treasure of Abu Hamuw to Spain so as to escape the Marinid plunder. Abdul Aziz, having heard this news, sent a detachment to arrest and search Ibn Khaldun. Thus he was brought to the presence of the sultan⁸⁶.

Abdul Aziz rebuked him for having deserted the Marinids and sided with their enemies. But Ibn Khaldun presented his justification

⁸³ Tarif. p. 132; Ebar vol. vii .p.432.

⁸⁴ In course of these developments in Bougie and Tlemcen, political instability was continuing in the Marinid court of Morocco. Abdul Aziz Ibn Hasan had become the sultan of Morocco who, having gathered considerable power and support, marched towards Tlemcen ⁸⁴Abdul Aziz, having consolidated his position embarked on a course of attack and annexation. Thus he marched against the country of Banu Abdul Wad in order to capture Tlemcen. During these developments Ibn Khaldun was at the court of Abu Hamuw.

⁸⁵ Tarif.p. 134.

⁸⁶ Ebar. vol. vii.p. 432;Tarifp. 134.

and explained his stand. He described the incidents that led to misunderstanding and the subsequent estrangement with late Vizier Umar on account of his selfishness. Moreover, some of the chiefs of the Morocco accompanying the sultan reminded him of Ibn Khaldun's previous services to the Marinid State. The sultan, having cleared of his doubts, was very much pleased with and released him. Then Ibn Khaldun promised him to help conquer Bougie. There ended the captivity of one night and he retired into the desert- Rebat Abu Madyan for solitary worship and devoted to his studies.⁸⁷

Soon Abdul Aziz captured Tlemcen in 772 A.H /1370 and summoned Ibn Khaldun to work for him against Abu Hamuw. He was entrusted the duty of attracting Bedouin tribes against his former master. He worked hard to get their support which proved fruitful and was able to get their support for Abdul Aziz to fight against Abu Hamuw. Finally the camp of Abu Hamuw was attacked and destroyed while he took to flight along with his family under the cover of the night.⁸⁸

Abdul Aziz was very much pleased with Ibn Khaldun and received him warmly. Then he was appointed to the duty of pacifying the revolt of Bedouins in the Middle Barbary and to restore their allegiance to the Marinid. But his attempts proved to be futile and he retired to Biskara. The Bedouins, instead of supporting the Marinid, resorted to revolts, which spread throughout Algeria. Then the sultan sent an army headed by Vizier Abu Bakr ibn Ghazi to suppress the insurrection of the Bedouins. Ibn Khaldun was given the task of

⁸⁷ Tarif, p. 134; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 432.

⁸⁸ Tarif, p. 137; Ebar vol. vii p. 433.

pacifying the tribes. Meanwhile the chiefs of Biskara also embarked upon revolt against the Marinid overlordship. So Ibn Khaldun was forced to leave his residence from there.

He left for Tlemcen along with his family to join the sultan.⁸⁹ On his way he heard the news the death of the sultan and the succession of his son al Saed under the regency of the Vizier al Ghazi. When the new sultan left for the capital in Fez Abu Hamuw re-conquered Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldun desired to join the Marinid sultan in Fez. On his way to Fez the caravan was met with the band of brigands incited by Abu Hamuw. They were able to escape plunder and reached Fez. The Vizier ibn Ghazi cordially received him and gave him patronage.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, Sultan Muhammad V sent some of the Marinid chiefs to Fez with the help to create problems there. Abdul Rahman ibn Yaflus, a former Marinid Amir and Masud ibn Massi, a Vizier were thus sent to Maghrib with the assistance of a fleet. This fleet besieged Gibraltar, which was under the Marinid control.⁹¹ Upon the arrival of the army ibn Ghazi, the Marinid Vizier sent army under the command of his cousin Muhammad ibn Usman to meet them. But Muhammad V was successful

⁸⁹ Tarif. p. 216; Ebar. vol. vii.p. 440.

⁹⁰ By this time the relation between the Marinid and the court of Granada had developed into a critical condition. Ibn al Khatib, having lost the favours of his master Muhammad V, fled to North Africa and sought refuge in the Marinid court. Ebar. vol. vii. p. 441; Tarif.p. -219. Sultan Ibn al Ahmar requested the Marinid to expel Ibn al Khatib, but Ibn Ghazi rejected it. Moreover he sent some of the refugees belonging to the Nasirid family in the court of Fez to Spain in order to create revolts there. Tarif.p. 139; Ebar vol. vii p.434.

⁹¹ These developments around the figure of Ibn al Khatib is very much help full to understand the course of politics of those days. It is also very much help full to understand how much dangers and personal risks the politics of those days included. Ibn Khaldun was also passing though such a situation with active participation which is sure to have played a prominent role in crystallizing his out looks and evaluating the course of

in inducing ibn Oman to secede and to revolt against the Marinid. Thereafter a severe battle followed in which Ibn Ghazi was defeated. Thus sultan Abul Abbas Ahmed became the ruler of Fez in 776 A.H /1375. And ibn Usman was appointed as the Hajib. North Morocco came under Amir Abdul Rahman ⁹²

During this period of change in the balance power at the Marinid court, Ibn Khaldun was living in Fez. He was arrested once again as a result of intrigue against him, but was soon released upon the timely intervention of his friends Abdul Rahman, the sultan of northern Morocco.⁹³

Ibn Khaldun then decided to migrate to Spain and settle down there. His aim was to abstain from all politics and to devote himself to study and literary works. His experience with politics has made him hopeless of any improvement in the political condition of the courts of Maghrib. In 776 A.H /1375 he sailed for Spain leaving his family behind.⁹⁴ On his way he met Abu Abdullah ibn Zamruk, a minister of ibn Al Ahmar, who was going to the Marinid court in Fez. Ibn Khaldun requested his help to get his family released from Fez so that they can join him in Spain, but the court of Fez detained them there as they feared possible threat in his settlement in Spain.⁹⁵

the events around him and finally to arrive at conclusion and generalizations that he had made in his master piece.

⁹² Tarif. p.224; Ebar. vol. vii p. 443.

⁹³ M. A. Enan, p. 46.

⁹⁴ Tarif. p. 226; Ebar. vol. vii. p.443- 44.

⁹⁵ In the following days, Ibn al Khatib as well as Ibn Khaldun, the two personalities of Muslim world were unknowingly put to the vengeance of the two rival courts. When the new sultan of Morocco captured Fez with the help of the Nasirids of Spain, Ibn al Khatib was imprisoned at the request of Granada. Upon the arrival of Ibn Zamruk, he induced the sultan to put him to death. "Thus the greatest thinker, writer and the politician was

Ibn Khaldun could not foresee that he was stepping towards further dangers by preferring Granada as an asylum. As soon as he reached Granada, the government of Fez took it an opportunity to revenge him. As in the case of Ibn al Khatib, the Marinids requested Granada to hand over him to Maghrib. He could escape this danger by the mercy of ibn Al Ahmar who rejected the request of Fez⁹⁶. Instead of sending to the court of Fez, he was sent to Tunis and thus ended his second trip to Spain.

When he reached on the African soil there was none to receive him. Meanwhile his brother Yahya had been admitted to the service of Abu Hamuw, the Amir of Tlemcen. The government of Tlemcen did not give any attention to Ibn Khaldun, as the relation with the ruler was not friendly due to the activities of Ibn Khaldun himself. Muhammad ibn Arif, the chief of Banu Arif tribe who was a friend of Ibn Khaldun was able to rebuild the friendship between Abu Hamuw and Ibn Khaldun, who pardoned him duly and permitted him come to Tlemcen. (776 A.H./1375.)⁹⁷

II/7. Writing of Muqaddimah

Really, Ibn Khaldun, by this time had become completely tired of the politics of day. He wished to escape from all political careers and to devote fully for academic and literary activities. While Ibn Khaldun was least willing to take up any political offices Abu Hamuw wished him to employ and to use his potential as diplomat for the benefit of Tlemcen.

the victim of disgraceful bargaining and of fanaticism and ignorance". M. A. Enan. p.48; Tarif. p. 227; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 444.

⁹⁶Tarif. p. 227; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 444.

⁹⁷ Tarif.p. 227;Ebar. vol. vii.p. 444.

Abu Hamuw thus entrusted him the task of winning the support of the tribes. Ibn Khaldun could not but accept this duty even though reluctantly. As soon as he left Tlemcen he went to the district of Banu Arif where his family also joined him. This tribe welcomed him and gave protection as well as abode.⁹⁸

Here among the tribes of Banu Arif, Ibn Khaldun was fully relieved of all the offices and diplomatic missions. He was searching for such an abode for many years. He spent there four years of long life enjoying peace and tranquility relieved of all political intrigues, rise and falls of official duties and dynasties. Having achieved an abode of peace, he started to write his masterpiece⁹⁹.

By that time he had reached forty-five years of his age. His education had been sharpened and crystallised into a complete shape with the experiences he had received directly from the political career that he had through the last twenty-five years.¹⁰⁰ His fertile mind, not to speak of these practical studies, overflowed with the fruit of wide knowledge which he did his best to obtain whenever opportunity allowed in the libraries of North Africa and Andalusia¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Ebar. vol. vii.p. 444 ; Taha Husayn. p.16; Tarif.p. 228.

⁹⁹ Tarif. p.229; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 444-45 ; Taha Husayn. p.16.

¹⁰⁰ For Ibn Khaldun the period that had passed through was very much critical and at the same times deeply informative. He had been to the high offices of several North African and Spanish courts. This political career helped him to get direct acquaintance with the affairs of high level politics and diplomacies that had made him thoroughly experienced with the various institutions related with administration of the state and dynasties. He had widely travelled through North Africa and was well informed of its nomadic and settled peoples. He had been employed to work among the nomadic people either to incite them or to get their support for some or the other rival dynasties. Therefore, he had a very clear picture of the settled people as well as the nomadic people and their ways and manners which he put to thorough discussion in his masterpiece.

¹⁰¹ M. A. Enan. p. 51-52 ; Taha Husayn. p. 16.

Living among the Banu Arif tribe, devoid of all public duties, Ibn Khaldun started to work on his masterpiece in history and the famous **INTRODUCTION** or **MUQADDIMAH**. The Muqaddimah took five months to be completed by the middle of 779 A.H.-1378. 'I completed the composition and draft of this first part [Muqaddimah], before revision and correction in a period of five months ending in the middle of the year 779 (November 1327). There after I revised and corrected the book, and I added to it the history of various nations'.¹⁰²

Regarding the completion of the work in its wonderfully logical and coherent manner he says, 'I achieved the Prolegomena in this wonderful manner, inspired to me in my solitude, ideas and expressions flowing on my mind till they formed a mature and systematic matter'.¹⁰³ After completing the introduction he wrote his historical work and added to it. In the beginning his aim was to write the history of North Africa and the Berber State only, to which he was very much familiar and was the most important influence in crystallising his ideas realised in Muqaddimah. But he latter on decided to elaborate it into a general history of the whole mankind.

It was this decision that compelled him to leave his solitary abode and to move on Tunis, where he could get the source materials for valuable references. By this time he had already completed the introduction and history of the Arabs and the Berbers.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibn Khaldun; F. Rosenthal vol. lii. p. 481.

¹⁰³ M. A. Enan p-52.

¹⁰⁴ Tarif. p. 230; Ebar. vol. vii p. 445. Tunis was at that time in the hands of sultan Abul Abbas with whom Ibn Khaldun had a strained relation disturbed ten years ago when the former was the Amir of Constantine. At that time the condition of the Hafsid kingdom was bleak, but now the dynasty had firmly established under the strong rule of Abul

No sooner he started to live in peace and tranquility in Tunis than had to face intrigues again. This time it was not from the political side, but from the academic circle¹⁰⁵. The leader of this intrigue was the grand mufti called al Faqih ibn Arafa who was a senior to Ibn Khaldun and was motivated by the academic jealousy on account of the superiority of Ibn Khaldun in his literary and scholarly gifts. When the students and public audience began to prefer Ibn Khaldun's lectures to that of ibn Arafa, the latter's position in academic circles began to undermine greatly. The intrigues, anyhow, did not reduce any favors and the high esteem that he had enjoyed in the court.¹⁰⁶

By this time Ibn Khaldun had completed his work on history. He submitted the first copy of the work to the sultan in the year 784 A.H./1382. This copy included the Muqaddimah and the history of Arabs before and after Islam, the history of various Muslim dynasties and that of the Berber's and the Zanata tribes. Later he put the work to revision and enlargement. On the day of its submission, he had composed and recited along poem of two hundred lines¹⁰⁷.

Abbas. When Ibn Khaldun desired to leave for Tunis he wrote the sultan of his desire to return to his birthplace and to devote his time for the scholarly activities. He sought pardon and permission of the sultan to settle down in Tunis. The sultan showed enough generosity to pardon him and allowed coming and settling in his capital.

Thus he was able to return to his birthplace once again with the protection and favors of Abul Abbas. He had left it when he was a youth of twenty years. His family also arrived from Banu Arif and joined him. The sultan made all facilities to continue his academic works and urged him to complete it.

¹⁰⁵ Ebar. vol. vii p. 445-46; Tarif. p. 232-33.

¹⁰⁶ But the sultan wanted Ibn Khaldun to accompany him when he left the capital to fight the insurrections in Tawzir district. At the same time, he was not willing to follow the sultan as he was fully engaged in the peaceful pursuit of a scholarly life as opposed to the dangerous political tasks. It was for the same reason Ibn Khaldun, when the expedition was completed, returned to the capital before the sultan did. Ebar vol. P- 451 ; Taha Husayn. p.17; Tarif. p. 244.

¹⁰⁷ Tarif. p. 233-41; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 446-51.

Soon the sultan again began to prepare for another campaign. Ibn Khaldun feared that he should be asked to accompany him this time also as in the former instance. He gradually came to the conclusion that a peaceful academic life would be impossible in the North African courts. Therefore, he wanted to leave the country for which he used pretext of a holly pilgrimage to Macca.

At the same time it is doubtful whether he had desired completely to leave Fez forever and settle somewhere else. At that time a ship was preparing near Fez to leave for Alexandria. The sultan granted him permission as well as assistance to perform the Hajj pilgrimage. Ibn Khaldun left Tunis in 782 A.H./1382 never to return. He was given a warm and touching farewell by his relatives, friends, nobles and students.¹⁰⁸

II/8. Ibn Khaldun in Egypt

Ibn Khaldun landed in the port of Alexandria on the day of Eidul-Fithr after a voyage of 40 days and later moved to Cairo, the capital. 'No doubt he hoped to spend his life in Egypt in tranquility and ease, and to enjoy that settled life which his struggle and adventure in North Africa did not afford him'.¹⁰⁹ Once he arrived in Cairo he was invited to

¹⁰⁸ Tarif. p. 245 ; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 451.

¹⁰⁹ M. A. Enan p-63. 'He was amazed with the grandeur, beauty and extent of the city. He had not been accustomed to such a big populous and thriving city either in North Africa or in Spain. His admiration and wonder of Cairo reflected in his own words, 'I have seen the capital of the world, the garden of the universe, the theatre of nations, the meeting place of myriad of mankind, the seat of Islam, the capital of the kingdom; places and castles loom in the horizon, institutes and schools shine in its sky, its scholars shining like moon and stars...the streets of the city are too crowded with people and its markets overflow with riches'. Ebar. vol. vii. p. 451-52; M. A. Enan. p.64; Tarif.p.246. His ear-say information regarding Cairo was also significant as he had heard, 'if you do not see it, you do not know the magnificence of Islam'.

lecture in Al Azhar. His lecture was mostly related with Maliki jurisprudence and the Muqaddimah.¹¹⁰

He proved to be an eloquent lecturer. Prominent scholars of Egypt like Abul Muhsin Al Shakawi, and al Hafiz Ibn Hajar attended it. 'He was very eloquent, an excellent essayist and exhibited deep knowledge of the subjects particularly those relating to the state'.¹¹¹ Soon after his arrival in Cairo, he got in touch with Alauddin al Tinbugha al Jawani, an Amir of the court who introduced him to the Mamluk sultan al Sahib Barquq. The sultan took very much interest in Ibn Khaldun and extended him patronage. 'He looked after my comfort, made me feel not as a stranger and granted me a liberal salary as he usually did fore the ulema',¹¹².

He was very much pleased to get the honour and protection of the sultan so easily and therefore he finally decided to settle down in Egypt. He was appointed professor in the Kamhiya School.¹¹³ His initial lecture in this Maliki School was a ceremonious one and was attended by a number of distinguished persons. This speech was so impressive that, 'the gathering broke up and I was bidden goodbye with honours and

¹¹⁰ Tarif. p.247; Ebar. vol. vii. p. 452. Though city of Cairo was strange and unfamiliar to Ibn Khaldun, he himself was not so much strange in the Egyptian academic circles. His name and fame had spread even before his arrival there – as a political diplomat, an accomplished writer and the author of Muqaddimah. The Merit of his masterpiece was put to discussion in the intellectual and literary circles even before his arrival there. They had grate admiration for the originality, the style of presentation and content of the work. Therefore no wonder that, student and scholars swarmed to see him on his arrival in Egypt. 'Students hurried to me seeking knowledge not withstanding of my little requirements and would accept no excuse. M. A. Enan. p.65; Tarif. p. 248 ; Taha Husayn. p.17.

¹¹¹ Al Hafiz Ibn Hajar-Kitab 'Al Anba Al Ghumr' vol. I. p. 711, quoted by M. A. Enan p. 66.

¹¹² M. A. Enan. p. 66-67; Tarif. p.249.

¹¹³ Tarif.p.253.

respect' Hardly two years had passed when he was appointed to the government post in 786 A.H./1384.

He was appointed the chief justice of the Maliki School, which was one of the highest posts in the state. His immediate predecessor was Jamaluddin ibn Abdul Rahman who earned the displeasure of the sultan and was dismissed. The appoint of Ibn Khaldun to this post, considering the fact that he had only two years of acquaintance in the Egyptian court, amply testifies to the respect and prestige he had enjoyed there. It also points to the intellectual and academic merits he had possessed.¹¹⁴

He was not prepared to assume duty in the beginning, but the sultan insisted him to accept the post.¹¹⁵ Regarding his exercise of justice he says, 'I assumed the charge of the honorable post and spared no effort to apply impartially the laws of God, undeterred either by influence or menace, treating both parties equally, setting up the rights of the weak, ignoring intercession from both sides, taking care to verify evidence and to be sure of the honours of the witness for the good among them was mixed with the bad, while the authorities abstained

¹¹⁴ Taha Husayn .p.17. Hardly two years had passed when he was appointed to the government post in 786 A.H./1384. He was appointed the chief justice of the Maliki School, which was one of the highest posts in the state. His immediate predecessor was Jamaluddin ibn Abdul Rahman who earned the displeasure of the sultan and was dismissed. The appoint of Ibn Khaldun to this post, considering the fact that he had only two years of acquaintance in the Egyptian court, amply testifies to the respect and prestige he had enjoyed there. It also points to the intellectual and academic merits he had possessed. Taha Husayn .p.17.

¹¹⁵ Tarif. p.254; Enan p.68. Perhaps his personal experience in Al Maghrib must have prompted him not to accept a post coveted greatly by the native scholars and grandees. Therefore, the assumption of the post was, 'in an atmosphere of rivalry and envy'. As soon as he entered duty in the court of Salihyah School of Bayn al Qasrein district, he began to notice the hands of intrigues everywhere around him. His impartiality in the matters of justice further worsened the situation that had been marked with corruption and partialities of judges, clerks and witness. He began to administer his duties putting an end to these corrupt practices.

form criticising them and were indulgent towards their abuses, for they falsely pretended to be the proteges of the powerful, most of them mixing with princes, and were professors and imams feigning to be just and, therefore, the princes considered them honest and helped and intervened for them before the judges¹¹⁶. He exercised justice impartially and an inflicted on the culprits with severe punishment.¹¹⁷

He punished many of those clerks and witnesses for their misconduct. All this was enough to raise the storm of intrigue against him. The cordial relation between himself and nobles and high officials became worsened. They began to look him as their enemy and soon lost their favours and high esteem he had enjoyed.¹¹⁸

The lose of his family grieved and affected him much. He felt inclined to abandon the world and the resign his post¹¹⁹. The sultan was kind enough to cover him with sympathy and relieved him of the charge that he could not bear¹²⁰.

¹¹⁶ M. A. Enan. p70. ; Tarif.p. 254-55.

¹¹⁷ These states of affairs show how much troublesome the post was and explain why he had become soon unpopular. He did not give any attention to the intercession of any kind even if it was from the nobles or the princes. Thus he broke the tradition in the exercised of justice. Tarif.p. 255-59; M. A. Enan. p.7.His contemporaries like al Shakawi and Ibn Hajar attested the fact that he was impartial in the exercise of justice Al Shakawi- al Manhal al Shafi-vol. vii.p. 301, quoted by M.A. Enan.

¹¹⁸ It was during this period, he lost his wife and children along with all his property in a shipwreck near Alexandria. He was trying to get his family released ever since he had arrived in Egypt. But, the sultan Abul Abbas detained them in order to compel his return to Al Maghrib. Tarif- P 249.At last he sought the help of the sultan al Zahir Barquq to intercede for their safe transfer. The sultan, therefore, wrote a long letter to Abul Abbas to that effect, who could not reject it and they sailed for Egypt. When the ship was nearing the port of Alexandria, a storm broke out and the ship wrecked in it. Tariakh ibn Qadi vol. I quoted by Zanji p-259

¹¹⁹ Ebar vol. vii P- 259;Tarif- P 259.

¹²⁰ Tarif- P -285.

The dismissal was not solely aimed at relieving the grief-stricken Ibn Khaldun. The sultan, 'restored to the post its former incumbent and liberated him from its fetters'. His departure created a feeling of regret among the people who benefited much from his impartial judgements. 'I departed leaving the best memory, the public expressing their regret, good wishes and thanks, as well as their sympathy and the hope of seeing me return'.¹²¹ But M. A. Enan says, 'We shall, however, see that he was accused of ignorance of the law and its procedure, that he was not fit to fill the post of judge and that he passionately coveted the post.'¹²²

It was after five years since his arrival in Egypt that he could perform the proposed Hajj pilgrimage in 789A.H. /1387. Sultan al Zahir granted permission as well as help for this voyage. On his return from the Hajj, he was appointed as a lecturer on Prophetic Traditions at the Sarghatmash school after relieving him from the Sultainya school. The school situated to the north of Ibn Tulun's Mosque.¹²³ Here also the first speech was a ceremonious one attended by a large gathering. He was able to impress the gathering with his eloquence and scholarship. The speech was on Imam Malik, his origin, life and principles on Prophetic Tradition. They looked upon him with reverence, his fitness to the post and impressed by the high and low.¹²⁴ He was then appointed as the

¹²¹ Taha Husayn P-18; Tarif- P -260; M. A. Enan p-72.

¹²² M. A. Enan p-72. He continued, after his dismissal from the post of justice, to be the professor of at Kamhiya School. The sultan further made him professor in the newly founded al Zahiriya Barquqiya School of Maliki jurisprudence at Bayn al Qasrein Tarif- P 256.. Here also his first speech was a ceremonious one attended by a number of scholars and nobles.

¹²³ Tarif- P -293.

¹²⁴ Tarif- P 310.

manager (*Shaikh*) of the Khanqah of Bayberes, the greatest Sufi institute of the period and his salary was also increased.¹²⁵

During this period, the sultan al Zahir lost his throne as a result of revolt by Amir al Yalbugha al Nasiri of Aleppo. Al Zahir was arrested and was sent to Damascus where he was imprisoned. Ibn Khaldun along with the other courtiers recognised the new ruler, Al Salih Haji, the former sultan who was reinstated on the throne following the revolt.¹²⁶

After 14 years Ibn Khaldun was again appointed to the post of Maliki justice in 801 A.H. /1399. All this while, he was devoted to his studies and teaching. He had been deprived of the posts of the justice because of the intrigues of the enemies who now lost their influence in the court.¹²⁷ The sultan Barquq died soon and was succeeded by his son al Nasir Faraj. When he established in power firmly, Ibn Khaldun, sought the permission of the sultan and went to visit the holy places of the Jerusalem. He visited al Masjid al Aqsa, the tomb of the al Kahlid and the monuments of Bethlehem. But the holy church of Sepulchre did not appeal to him. 'The building raised by the Christian nations on the spot where Christ was supposed to be crucified did not appeal to me and

¹²⁵ Khanqah, home for Sufis devoted to worship. This Khanqah was the house of professor of Fatimid period, Salahuddin Ayubi specialised it in 569 A.H. for the poor Sufis and set apart waqf. There fore it came to be known as Salihya Khanqah. It is the first Khanqah instituted in Egypt. Tarif- P –note 121.

¹²⁶ Tarif- P 328. Soon after this revolt of Al Nasir, Egypt again witnessed another rebellion. This rebellion was lead by Amir Mintash in which al Nasir was defeated and arrested. Meanwhile Al Zahir also had escaped from his imprisonment. Al Mintash marched against al Zahir into Damascus. In the following battle, al Zahir was able to defeat Mintash and entered Egypt once again victoriously. Upon reaching his capital, al Zahir came to know that Ibn Khaldun had supported his enemy. It led to bad consequences of bitter relation between them. Apologised duly, the sultan pardoned him and restored to his former post Tarif- P 331.

¹²⁷ Tarif- P 347.

I refused to enter.¹²⁸ Two years later Ibn Khaldun was removed again from the post of justice. This time also it was due to the intrigues of his adversaries.

II/9. Meeting with Timur

It was during this period news reached Egypt that Timur had appeared in Syria and after conquering Aleppo was moving with his mighty army to Damascus.¹²⁹ The sultan al Nasir set out at once to meet Timur accompanied by the four judges and other grenadiers.¹³⁰ Ibn Khaldun tried to evade this expedition, but was compelled to follow the sultan. Thus the Mamluk army reached Damascus in 803 A.H. /1400.

Meanwhile news reached in the camp of the sultan that there was intrigues going on in Egypt during his absence in order to dethrone him and to put another Amir on the throne. So the sultan Al Nasir left for Egypt leaving his army behind in Damascus.¹³¹

Upon coming out of the city, Ibn Khaldun was lead to the presence of Timur by Shah Malik.¹³² He entered the tent where Timur was sitting.... , Bowing and making sign of submission. Timur raised

¹²⁸ M. A. Enan p 79; Tarif- P 350.

¹²⁹ Tarif- P366.

¹³⁰ Tarif- P 336.

¹³¹ Tarif- P 367 The Mamluk army was shut in the city of the Damascus. Soon there emerged a dispute between the military command and the civil leaders as to the strategy to be adopted against the invader. While the military command stood for capitulation, the civil leaders stood for surrender. Ibn Khaldun, who was apprehensive of the consequences of capitulation, also held this latter opinion. He therefore met the 'judges at the door' of the citygates and asked them either to let him out or to be let him down from the walls of city so as to enable him to meet Timur personally. 'He was afraid that the city would fall in to the hands of the invader when he would be killed or tortured' He resorted to audacity and decided to abandon the hesitant commanders and go to the invader's camp to ask him to spare his life and ensure his fortune'. M. A. Enan p-51. but the fact was that Timur himself wanted to see Ibn Khaldun and sought after him

¹³² Tarif- P 367.

his head and extended his hand, which Ibn Khaldun kissed' .The conversation between them was interpreted by Abul Jabbar ibn Al Numan, a Hanafite scholar from Khawarizm.¹³³

Ibn Khaldun had long talk with Timur who took a very keen interest in the author of Muqaddimah. Timur enquired his affaires, the reasons for coming form Egypt etc. He asked him regarding the affaires of the cites of North Africa and requested to write for him an account of the region¹³⁴ Ibn Khaldun explained Timur some of his theories in Muqaddimah. At any rate, their meeting proved successful and the gates of the city was opened before invader.

The judges and the chiefs went to meet Timur, headed by Ibn Khaldun and submitted before him. Timur dismissed them all, but kept Ibn Khaldun for sometime more. He completed the account of North Africa in form of twelve booklets and submitted to him.¹³⁵ Moreover, he presented him a beautiful copy of Quran, a splendid rug, a copy of

¹³³ Taha Husayn P-20; Tarif- P 369. But al Maqrizi, a contemporary historian of Ibn Khaldun gives another account of these incidents. Accordingly, the judge Taqiudin ibn Muflih negotiated the capitulation of the city. When Timur failed to storm the city, he requested the leaders for negotiation. Ibn Muflih tired to convince the chiefs the need for the surrender. Thus he let down form the city wall along with a number of notables and leaders. They went to the camp of the Timur and concluded peace negotiation. But Timur's army even after the negotiation stormed and looted the city and put it on flames¹³³. Ibn Ilyas, another historian in Egypt also confirmed this report.¹³³ But at another part of this work, Maqrizi himself had confirmed the report of Ibn Khaldun. 'When Ibn Khaldun knew that sultan had departed, he let himself down from the wall of the city and went to Timur'. al Suluk op.cite p.28. The two reports of Maqrizi can not be contradictory to each other as Ibn Khaldun must have went Timur personally in the first instance and then, accompanied by others for the second time in order to make the terms of negotiation. The report of Ibn Khaldun is further attested by ibn Arabsha, the court histories of Timur. ibn Arabsha, 'Ajaib al makdur' Cairo, p.123; quoted by M. A. Enan p85.

¹³⁴ Tarif- P 370.

¹³⁵ Tarif- P 370-71.

Burda and four boxes of delicious Egyptian sweets¹³⁶ Thus he was the main instrument in diverting the evil consequences of an attack and occupation at the hands of Timur.¹³⁷

At last, Ibn Khaldun sought the persimmon of Timur to leave for Egypt, which was granted.¹³⁸ Thus, he left Damascus. On his way Egypt, he was plundered. When he reached Egypt he wrote, the sultan of Tunis a long letter concerning his meeting with Timur in Syria. Perhaps he must have insinuated the sultan of his account on North Africa submitted to Timur. He gave the sultan a true account of power and strength of the Mongolian army as well as his vast empire. This letter must have been aimed at informing the sultan of the strength of Timur in advance so as to help him should Timur ventured on North Africa.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Tarif- P 377.

¹³⁷ Ibn Khaldun says that he was introduced to Timur through the mediation of Timur's son Shah Malik, which also testifies the fact that he was alone, when he went to meet Timur in the beginning. As M. A. Enan says, that the report of the Ibn Khaldun need not be doubted and, 'ibn Muflih may have taken part in the negotiations and undertaken the execution of the conditions the capitulation M. A. Enan p.85. At any rate, there is no ground to doubt, as M. A. Enan did, the integrity of Ibn Khaldun by taking part a leading role to make negotiations with Timur. The statement that Ibn Khaldun resorted to audacity and decided to abandon the command and to go to the invaders camp to ask him to spare his life and ensure his fortune. It is another example of the prejudice that M. A. Enan could not conceal throughout his account of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun was definitely aware the consequences of a defeat at the hands of Timur. The storming of Edessa must have given him a clue to that effect. The sultan's departure also has given him a thought to surrender. It was for these reasons that he personally took the risk of going to the camp of Timur to request negotiations. He was able to win Timur and to agree upon the terms of negotiations. Timur was very much pleased with Ibn Khaldun who remained in his camp for forty days. (Taha Husayn, 35days, p.21). They maintained cordial relations and gifts were exchanged between them. It is not the fault of Ibn Khaldun that the Mongolian army stormed the city even after negotiations. At least the Mamluk army and their leaders were spared.

¹³⁸ Tarif- P 378-79.

¹³⁹ Taha Husayn P-22.

II/10. Death

Upon reaching Egypt Ibn Khaldun continued to occupy his teaching post. After retiring from in 803 A.H /1400 he was appointed to the post of justice in the Maliki School four times more making a total of six times before his death in 807 A.H./1405. At every occasion of appointment to this post, the factor of intrigue as in the first occasion worked against him. His appointment to the post was a cause of struggle. 'Ibn Khaldun was raised to the post whenever he was able to retrieve his influence in the court and to overcome the intrigues of his enemies, and he lost it when his adversaries succeeded in their intrigues against him'.¹⁴⁰ He 'was restored to post for the sixth time but occupied it for only few weeks''¹⁴¹ On Ramadan 26, 808 A.H. the great historian and thinker died (March 16, 1406) at the age of 78 after an eventful life and with a legacy of splendid and most original thought. He was buried in the Sufi cemetery outside Bab Nasir.

II/11. Character of Ibn Khaldun

The character of Ibn Khaldun has been put to severe criticism in relation with his political career and the theories he formulated in Muqaddimah. Cromer valued his character in comparison with the great Arab poet Abul Ala al Maari and stated that the former was the amalgamation of political ill omen while that of the later was that of a poet. The source of such a severe evaluation of the character of the two great personalities was that of the decline which had befallen to the Arab nations.

¹⁴⁰ M. A. Enan p-87.

¹⁴¹ M. A. Enan p89.

Taha Husayn rejected this view of Cromer and critically stated that Ibn Khaldun was a brilliant and skillful political diplomat. He did not use these political abilities to the services of any state or dynasty as much as he did use it for his personal gains. This nature is well evident in all his writings especially the autobiography which he produced only for publicity and popularity.¹⁴²

Taha Husayn criticised that he had named the autobiography, following the manner of the two great travelers of the west, Ibn Batuta and Ibn Jubayr. While the works of these two travelers gave less importance to themselves, Ibn Khaldun stressed to narrate almost all of the incidents he had to face that filled the 'free time of the author'. Even the scanty geographical and historical references he made in the work were, 'to show us the role he had to play there'.

Taha Husayn criticised the view of Prof. Flint that Ibn Khaldun was true to his beliefs and 'piety' on the ground that the religion in the eyes of Ibn Khaldun was very much formal, which in no way regulated his life and political activities. Taha Husayn accused him of treachery more than once, which Quran prohibited strictly.

Nevertheless, these severe criticisms are nullified by the succeeding commentary from the same author. If Ibn Khaldun had of such deep self-esteem consideration, the truth is that he did not know any country or 'family' in those days. The country to him was anywhere he could get splendid life. He went to Granada and Seville in Spain, returned to Tunis to read books and left for Egypt without much grief at all. Taha Husayn further accused him that even his family was given

¹⁴² Thaha Husayn p. 23.

less importance in his autobiography. Moreover, when he narrated the incident of their loss near Alexandrine port, he gave the precedence to the narration of the loss of his wealth than to his wife and children.¹⁴³

The following statement is more near to truth in assessing the character of the historian. "Ibn Khaldun's life has been judged variously, and in general rather severely. There is certainly no doubt that he behaved in a detached, self interested, haughty, ambitious and equivocal manner. He himself does not attempt to hide this, and openly describes in his *Tarif* his successive changes of allegiance. He has been accused of fickleness and lack of patriotism. But for such judgements to be strictly applicable presupposes the existence of the idea of 'allegiance' to a country, which was not the case. The very concept scarcely existed and was not to appear in Muslim thinking until it was affected by contact with Europe. The only treason was apostasy, nor was loyalty understood except in the context of relations between one man and another, and examples of felony were provided daily by those of the highest rank..."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ At the same time Taha Husayn admitted a significant merit of him, that is, he did not try to conceal any of his faults and mistakes that he had committed in course of his eventful life. Therefore, the autobiography is nearest to the true character and the events in the life of the author for two reasons - self-satisfaction in self-portrait and straightforwardness in relating it. Ibn Khaldun lived in a period, in which strong narrow individuality persisted in all domains of life that wiped out all moral values and national feeling whether in the palace of the monarch or among clans and tribes of western Africa. The generations in total were in pursuit of personal gains in the least consideration to the good of the general. That is why Ibn Khaldun did not hesitate to deceive his masters more than once. *Ibid*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Talbi. M, *Ibn Khaldun*, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol iii P. 828. Ibn Khaldun was, moreover, readily pardoned by those who wished to use his services - he was in turn the enemy and the servant, now of one and now of another, in the same way that men were treacherously killed, with or without good reason, simply as a precaution. The struggles which rent the Muslim West in Ibn Khaldun's time were merely a series of minor and

“Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun, as he proves in his *Mukaddima*, was an astonishingly clear thinker. It is true that his behaviour was dictated by ambition, the desire of power, a taste for adventure and even a complete ruthlessness in political matters; but it is unlikely that this was all. It would be strange if the theoretician of ‘*asabiyya* did not envisage a plan, perhaps rather vague for the restoration of Arabo-Muslim civilization which he was-and he states this clearly-to be in its death-throes. His adventures could thus be seen as only the unfruitful and calculated search for an ‘*asabiyya* powerful enough to save Islam from ruin. Certain facts support this hypothesis, but Ibn Khaldun states nothing explicitly and his *Tarif* (on which moreover opinions vary) provides no assistance. As has already been mentioned, it gives us no insight into the inner thought of the author himself and presents only his external character. There is thus no way of knowing what his real intentions were.”¹⁴⁵

abortive coups. He should therefore be judged according to the standards of his own time and not according to ours.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 828

Chapter III

THE MUQADDIMAH

III/1. The Etymological Meaning

The term Muqaddimah is derived from the root 'Qadama' which means to 'precede'. Both the uses of 'Muqaddimah' and 'Muqaddamah' are grammatically admissible. They have the meanings of "forward, preface, introduction, prologue, prelude, preamble etc"¹. Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah is the introduction to his work on history generally called 'Kitab al-Ibar'; (Book of Lessons, warning, example, advice, rule, precept etc. which also carry the meaning of 'consideration befitting something that which has to be considered; be taken into consideration or account, something decisive or consequential.') Ibar is the plural of Ibrat.²

The use of the term 'Ibar' is very significant. The term appears in the Quran at the end of the chapter Yusuf putting a conclusion to the story and stated that there in it is a great lesson to all those who have eyes to see. The word again occurs in the 13th verse of third chapter, 'Sons of Imran'. It reads thus. "There has already been for you a sign in the two armies that met in combat: One was fighting in the cause of God, the other resisting God; these saw with their own eyes twice their

¹ J.M Cowan- the Hans Wehr Dictionary of modern Written Arabic (Edited) spoken language service, inc. (1976).p. 750

² JM Cowan .p. 587.

number. But God doth support with his aid whom He pleaseth; in this is a warning for such as have eyes to see”³

Various translations have been given to this title itself, but none of them carry the exact implication of the usage Ibn Khaldun implied in his title. One translation of the title is thus ‘Book of Lessons and Archive of Early and Subsequent History Dealing with the Political

³ This refers to the battle of Badr. The little exiled community of Meccan Muslims, with their friends in Madina had organized themselves into a community, but were constantly in danger of being attacked by their pagan enemies of Mecca.... The design of the Mecca was to gather all the resources they could, and with overwhelming force, to crush and annihilate Muhammad and his party. To this end Abu Sufyan was leading a richly laden caravan from Syria to Mecca. When Prophet went to block this, he called for armed aid from Mecca. It led to the historic battle fought in the plain of Badr, about 50 miles south west of Madina. The Muslim force consisted of only about 313 men, mostly unarmed, but was inspired by the religious zeal that Islam kindled in them. The Meccan army, well armed and well equipped, numbered over a thousand and had among its leaders some of the most experienced warriors of Arabia including Abu Jahl, the inveterate enemy of the prophet and his faith. Against all odds, the Muslims won a brilliant victory; seventy of the enemy leaders including Abu Jahl were killed and so much were taken captives. Quran refers to this incident as a battle in which two opposing values participated. The victory was to the righteous and it is a warning (ibrat) to all those who have eyes see and to learn. This refers to the battle of Badr. The little exiled community of Meccan Muslims, with their friends in Madina had organized themselves into a community, but was constantly in danger of being attacked by their pagan enemies of Mecca.... The design of the Mecca was to gather all the resources they could, and with overwhelming force, to crush and annihilate Muhammad and his party. To this end Abu Sufyan was leading a richly laden caravan from Syria to Mecca. When Prophet went to block this, he called for armed aid from Mecca. It led to the historic battle fought in the plain of Badr, about 50 miles south west of Madina. The Muslim force consisted of only about 313 men, mostly unarmed, but was inspired by the religious zeal that Islam kindled in them. The Meccan army, well armed and well equipped, numbered over a thousand and had among its leaders some of the most experienced warriors of Arabia including Abu Jahl, the inveterate enemy of the prophet and his faith. Against all odds, the Muslims won a brilliant victory; seventy of the enemy leaders including Abu Jahl were killed and so much were taken captives. Quran refers to this incident as a battle in which two opposing values participated. The victory was to the righteous and it is a warning (ibrat) to all those who have eyes see and to learn from the past experiences. (see A Yusuf Ali, The Holy Quran, Lahore, 1934 P-125, also M.H Haykal, The Life of Mohammed, P-216-42, New Crescent Pub.Co 1995 New Delhi). And a deep reading of Muqaddimah and the following pages on history should testify the death of the meaning of this usage of Ibn Khaldun in the heading itself.

Events Concerning the Arabs, Non-Arabs, Berbers and the Supreme Rulers, who were Contemporary with them.”⁴

But this does in no way convey the meaning Ibn Khaldun originally had implied because the use of *Mubtada wal Khabar* is of great significance to the content of the work. This usage is closely related with the Arabic grammar in which the first part of a nominal sentence is called the ‘Mubtada’ and the predicate part the ‘Khabar’ and it is the inherent syntax that gives meaning to the sentence. So what Ibn Khaldun very clearly implied cannot be translated into any other language that does not have the ‘desinential inflection (I’rab) of the Arabic. Both the nominal and the predicate part of a sentence follow peculiar patterns of ‘desinential inflection’.

In the same way, Ibn Khaldun wanted to convey the implication that historical incidents also follow a pattern in their course of developments. Therefore, we can see that both the usage of ‘Ibar’ and ‘Mubtada wal Khabar’ manifestly indicated what Khaldun wanted to convey in the subsequent pages of introduction and the content of the work. The analogue in the title itself is a beautiful and at the same thought provoking one.⁵

The work known by the name ‘Kitab al-Ibar’ consists of three parts. The first one is the Muqaddimah “In the second book of his work, besides the history of the Arabs since early times, Ibn Khaldun describes the history of the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Copts, and the Israelis, including a chapter about Jesus, the apostles, and the four gospels. He

⁴ Henrich Simon p. 40

⁵ Henrich Simon, p. 39-40

also discusses the history of the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Goths in Spain. Furthermore, he talks about the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Basques, and the French; he writes about the Turks, the Tartars, and the Mongols. In any case, there was the attempt to make a complete description of world history.

“From the historical point of view, the third book, the history of the Berbers, is the most valuable, for here Ibn Khaldun gives excellent information by describing things of which he mostly had immediate knowledge. It is altogether our best source for the study conditions in North Africa. The second book is much less critical and less reliable; it offers, apart from an excellent survey of the history of Spain”.⁶

The importance of Ibn Khaldun lies in the first part of this work called Muqaddimah. “Muqaddimah originally constituted first book of History and was designed to prove this thesis. It was intended to

⁶ H.Simon p.41-42 ,also Taha Husain. p.271,Staih Husri. p.110 .During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the Muqaddima was widely read and assessed among scholarly circles of the west, and practically all were impressed by the Arab philosophers vision, and originality, and many of them acclaimed him as the forerunner of Machiavelli, Vico, Montesquicu, Augustus, Comte and Adam smith.

In the Muslim world in general and particularly among the Arabs, the interest in Ibn Khaldun is very resent. Muslim scholars cherished deep-scated antipathy against him. Since the closing of the doors of Ijtihad, the Muslim theological circles had become fundamentalists. They deemed independent reasoning or fresh and rational interpretation of the principles of Islam as sacrilegious. For them Ibn Khaldun was too much of a rationalist. In their opinion he had been grossly disrespectful to the prophet by saying that even prophesy required asabiyya for the ultimate fulfillment of its mission, and even religion based on divine revelation required tribal cohesiveness and strength stemming out of group relationship. For strictly orthodox theologians, these were heretical ideas. Moreover, after the fifteenth century, the Muslim civilization, in every part of the word was declining very fast and in an intellectually non-productive environment there was very little chance for the appreciation of Ibn Khaldun’s original contributions. He was either ignored or criticized” Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 95.

elucidate the fundamental principles of all history which determine the true historian's reconstruction of the past.”⁷

At the beginning of this first part itself, there is a small preface, which explains the nature of the content of the work. As is customary in Muslim historical works, these introductory pages contain a eulogy of history. This is followed by a discussion illustrated with historical examples of errors historians have committed and the reasons for them.⁸

“However, during its author's lifetime the original introduction and the first book became an independent work known under the title of *Muqaddimah*. In the 1394 edition of his *Autobiography*, Ibn Khaldun speaks of the first book of *History* in this way. At the same time, the table of contents prefixed to our oldest manuscripts of the *Muqaddimah* states that ‘this first book went by the name of *Muqaddimah* until (that name) came to be a characteristics proper name for it’. Thus, it is not surprising that, in a late addition to the *Muqaddimah* it self, Ibn Khaldun refers to it as the *Muqaddimah* and that he gives lectures exclusively devoted to it. To all later ages, *Muqaddimah* was the title almost universally used.”⁹

III/2. The Content

Ibn Khaldun's point of view regarding history is very significant as it determined the nature of content of *Muqaddimah* itself. He considered history a widely accepted discipline both among the common people and the rulers.

⁷ Rosenthal,F;(1958).vol I,p lxviii

⁸ Rosenthal,F;(1958).vol I,p xviii.

⁹ Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol I,p xviii.

Both the learned and the ignorant are able to understand it. “For, in the surface history is no more than information about political events, dynasties, and occurrences of the remote past, elegantly presented and spiced with proverbs. It serves to entertain large, crowded gatherings and brings to us an understanding of human affairs. (It shows) how changing conditions affected (human affair), how certain dynasties came to occupy an ever wider space in the world, and how they settled the earth until they hears the call and their time was up.

“The inner meaning of history, on the other hand, involves speculation and an attempt to get the truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events.(History) therefore, is firmly rooted in philosophy. It deserves to be accounted a branch of (philosophy).”¹⁰

¹⁰ Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol I,p 6. Issawi, for instance, has edited a selection of extracts from The Muqaddimah and arranged them as follows: 1. Methodology , 2. Geography, 3. Economics, 4.public finance, 5. Population, 6. State and society, 7. Religion and politics, 8. Knowledge and society, 9. Theory of being and knowledge.

Ibn Khaldun never made any such methodical study of philosophical, social and economic questions. He wrote no such treatise. On the one hand, this classification derives from a very recent concept of sociology and political economy and, on the other hand, Ibn Khaldun’s main ambition was to explain historical events and not to produce a methodical study of society as a whole. His approach is logical and methodical, provided that it is seen in terms of his true concerns. Thus, Ibn Khaldun never studies public finance as such. Having briefly demonstrated its importance in the life of the state, he discusses the financial problems that the government has to resolve as the state develops and relates them to other evolutionary factors which determine the strength of weakness of a dynasty at different stages in its development.

Ibn Khaldun concentrates upon political factors and their underlying causes. He is trying to understand the destiny of states and not to produce a description of all the different elements of social life. This explains the gaps in his sociological analysis: for example, he makes only a very brief study of the egalitarian tribe in which there is no ‘asabiya because, although widespread, such tribes cannot found states. He makes practically no mention of the tribal council(jam’), which was both a symbol and an expression of tribal egalitarianism, simply because it is not a major political force. On the other hand, he does make a detailed study of ‘asabiya which ,as we have seen, is of considerable importance in the development of the state .

This statement needs no specification. Ibn Khaldun's consideration of history as a branch of empirical philosophy surpassed all generation ever made either before or after him.¹¹ As for Ibn Khaldun history is search for the truth; truth regarding the past events. Therefore, Muqaddimah is oriented towards the principles that are to be given consideration in any search for the reconstruction of the past. "The outstanding Muslim historians made exhaustive collections of historical events and wrote them down in book form. But, then, persons who had no right to occupy themselves with history introduced into those books untrue gossip, which they had thought up or freely invented, as well as false, discredited reports, which they had made up or embellished. Many of their successors followed in their steps and passed that information on to us as they had heard it. They did not look for, or pay any attention to, the causes of events and conditions, nor did they eliminate or reject nonsensical stories.

"Little effort is being made to get at the truth. The critical eye, as a rule, is not sharp. Errors and unfounded assumptions are closely allied and familiar elements in historical information. Blind trust in tradition is an inherited trait in human beings. Occupation with the (scholarly) disciplines on the part of those who have no right is widespread. But the

If we argue that the originality and importance of Ibn Khaldun's work are restricted to the overtly sociological passages found in it, we miss a vital feature of his thought: the attempt to locate the underlying causes of the historical events that occur as social structures evolve. The view that his writings can be divided into a philosophy and a history is a distortion of his thought and deprives it of most of its value. Conditions as a sort of backdrop against which events which events unfold. The importance points is that he tribes to explain events in terms of the evolution of their social and economic base. But, consciously or unconsciously, certain supporters of colonial ideology are reluctant to see a North African thinkers as the creator of the fundamental and 'dangerous' science of history." Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p 168.

¹¹ A. J Toynbee, "A study of history" quoted in Issawi, Charles(1950). p.x.

pasture of stupidity is unwholesome for mankind. No one can stand up against the authority of truth, and the evil of falsehood is to be fought with enlightening speculation. The reporter merely dictates and passes on (the material). It takes critical insight to sort out the hidden truth; it takes knowledge to lay truth bare and polish it so that critical insight may be applied to it.”¹²

Following this brief preface, *Muqaddimah* contains lengthy discussion on the methods of history, measures to value the facts in history, various kinds of errors committed by early historians, such as exaggeration in numbers, money, soldiers etc, baseless chronicles of story-tellers, common people’s unawareness regarding the historic incidence like fall of Bermacids during Harun al Rashid, pedigrees of the founders of various dynasties, etc.¹³

He stated thus, “A hidden pitfall in historiography is disregard for the fact that conditions within the nations and races change with the change of periods and the passing of days. This is a sore affliction and is

¹² Rosenthal,F;(1958).vol I,p 6-7. In his approach to history, however, Ibn Khaldun does think and argue like a modern scientist. The questions he asks are basically those that we are now asking and the causes he uncovers are very similar to those which interest us. It is this modern scientific attitude that makes Ibn Khaldun so very different from most medieval thinkers. But for all that he was still a man of the fourteenth century, and no less an important part of his intellectual activity was closely connected with his religion. Because of his religion, he raised problems which others before him had already formulated in much more secular and rational terms. Ibn Khaldun’s originality lies not only in the modernism of his historical thought, but also in the hiatus between his scientific approach to history and his religious convictions.

Given that four centuries little distinction was made between scientific activity and religious speculation, the same contradiction applies to all the scientists of the past. But in their work the contradiction is much less pronounced that it is in Ibn Khaldun. From a scientific point of view, these philosopher-scientists were far less modern than Ibn Khaldun; but they were also much less influenced by religion”.
Lacoste,Yves.(1984).p 188 – 89

¹³ Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol. I,p 15-68.

deeply hidden, becoming noticeable only after a long time so that rarely do more than a few individuals become aware of it”¹⁴

Ibn Khaldun considered history in terms of progress to a still higher than what had been prevalent in the previous generations. He believed that no nation is static in their customs, sects etc. Change is peculiar to individual, society, time, cities and to their manners. “The old Persian nations, the Syrians, the Nabataeans, the Tubba’s, the Israelites, and the Copts, all once existed. They all had their own particular institutions in respect of dynastic and territorial arrangements, their own politics, crafts, languages, technical terminologies, as well as their own ways of dealing with their fellow men and handling their cultural institutions. Their (historical) relics testify to that. They were succeeded by the later Persians, the Byzantines, and the Arabs. The old institutions changed and former customs were transformed, either into something very similar, or into something distinct and altogether different. Then, there came Islam with the Mudar dynasty. Again, all institutions underwent another change, and for the most part assumed the forms that are still familiar at the present time as the result of their transmission from one generation to the next.

“Then, the days of Arab rule were over. The early generations who had cemented Arab might and founded the realm of the Arabs, were gone. The power was seized by others, by non Arabs like the Turks in the east, the Berbers in the west, and the European Christians in the north. With their passing, entire nations ceased to exist, and

¹⁴ Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol I,p 56-7;Issawi,Charles(1950). p. 29-33.

institutions and customs changed. Their glory was forgotten, and their power no longer headed".¹⁵

Having established the fact that advancement from a lower stage to a higher one is naturally inherent in human individual and collective life, Ibn Khaldun argued that this progress is not without its logical patterns. He argued that the details of progress may vary with regard to time and place; still it followed a logical sequence that can be observed, evaluated and generalizations arrived at. And Muqaddimah is nothing short of this.¹⁶

Regarding the merit of this Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun stated, "It should be known that history, in matter of fact, is information about human social organization, which itself is identical with world civilization. It deals with such conditions affecting the nature of civilization as for instance, savagery and sociability, group feelings [asabiya], and the different ways by which one group of human beings achieves superiority over another."¹⁷

¹⁵ Rosenthal,F;(1958).vol. I, p .57.

¹⁶ "Where there is a general change of conditions, it is as if the entire creation had changed and the whole world been altered, as if it were a new and repeated creation, a world brought into existence anew. Therefore, there is need at this time that someone should systematically set down the situation of the world among all regions and races, as well as the customs and sectarian beliefs that have changed for their adherents, doing for this age what al-Masudi did for his. This be model for future historians to follow. In this book of mine, I shall discuss as much of that as will be possible for me here in the Maghrib. I shall do so either explicitly or implicitly in connection with the history of the Maghrib, in conformity with my intention to restrict myself in this work to the Maghrib, the circumstances of its races and nations, and its subjects and dynasties, to the exclusion of any other region."Rosenthal,F;(1958).vol I,p 65,also p. 71 – 7

¹⁷ "It deals with royal authority and the dynasties that result (in this manner) and with the various ranks that exist within them. (It further deals) with the different kinds of gainful occupations and crafts that human beings pursue as part of their activities and efforts, and with all the other institutions that originate in civilization through its very nature". Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol I,p 71

He further stated, "Such is the purpose of this first book of our work. (The subject) is in a way an independent science. (This science) has its own peculiar object, that is, human civilization and social organization. It also has its own peculiar problems, that is, explaining the conditions that attach themselves to the essence of civilization, one after the other. Thus, the situation is the same with this science as it is with any other science, whether it be a conventional or an intellectual one."¹⁸

"It should be known that the discussion of this topic is something new, extra-ordinary, and highly useful. Penetrating research has shown the way to it. It does not belong to rhetoric, one of the logical disciplines (represented in Aristotle's *Organon*), the subject of which is convincing words by means of which the mass is inclined to accept a particular opinion or not to accept it. It is also not politics, because politics is concerned with the administration of home or city in accordance with ethical and philosophical requirements, for the purpose of directing the mass towards a behavior that will result in the preservation and permanence of the (human) species. The subject here is different from

¹⁸ "Ibn Khaldun's concern for understanding is quite different from the usual preoccupations of a professional historian who is writing an account of events to which he himself is indifferent. Ibn Khaldun was politician, a soldier and a diplomat. He was a minister and a councilor, an eyewitness to historical events. He himself had instigated historical events and altered their course. He had been personally affected by the decline of the Maghreb. He realized that his personal setbacks were simply minor aspects of a general phenomenon and he wanted to understand that phenomenon. Ibn Khaldun was a diplomat, and his sense of history was sufficiently developed for him to look beyond current events and to go back in time to find precedents, to discover causes and events similar to those who had seen with his own eyes. He became a historian because he was a man of action who sought to understand his destiny. He thus introduced new elements into historical thought. Ibn Khaldun" . Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p . 187-88

that of these two disciplines which, however, are often similar to it. In a way, it is an entirely original science.”¹⁹

Muqaddimah in proper consists of six chapters. They are,

1. On human civilization in general, its various kinds, and the portion of the earth that is civilized.
2. On desert civilization, including a report on the tribes and savage nations.
3. On dynasties, the caliphate, and royal authority, including a discussion of government ranks.
4. On sedentary civilization, countries, and cities.
5. On crafts, ways of making a living, gainful occupation, and their various aspects. And
6. On the sciences, their acquisition and study.²⁰

Ibn Khaldun himself has given us the logic of this arrangement in the following words. “I have discussed desert civilization first, because

¹⁹ Rosenthal.F;(1958).vol I,p 77-78. “It certainly cannot be denied that Ibn Khaldun realized that his conception of history constituted a new branch of knowledge. His attitude is highly significant. In both the Muslim word and in the medieval Christian word, since was seen as a static whole which could neither be extended nor developed. It was thought impossible to use new discoveries to extend scientific knowledge. All that could be done was to learn, refine and adapt what was already known. The dogmatic belief that science was a finite body of knowledge was based upon an unbounded admiration for the Ancients, and reinforced by extremely powerful religious ideologies. In the Muslim word, for instance, innovation and research were considered synonymous with rashness and heterodoxy. The Koran was the perfect, intangible expression of knowledge. Ibn Khaldun’s criticisms of his predecessors, his awareness of having created a new science or a new branch of knowledge show exceptional intellectual courage, as they were formulated at a time when paralysis was beginning to affect every area of life.

“To sum up: history, in the sense that Ibn Khaldun uses the word, is indeed a science: it has all the characteristics that distinguish a science from an art or from any other intellectual discipline. The emergence of the science of history in the mind-fourteenth century, a period of intellectual stagnation and even decline, is a truly extraordinary event. We have to look, next, at what made it possible”. Lacoste,Yves.(1984).p 171.

²⁰ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.85;Issawi,Charles(1950). p.26.

it is prior to everything else, as will become clear later on. (The discussion of) royal authority was placed before that of countries and cities for the same reason. (The discussion of) ways of making a living was placed before that of the sciences, because making a living is necessary and natural, whereas the study of science is a luxury or convenience. Anything natural has precedence over luxury. I lumped the crafts together with gainful occupations, because they belong to the latter in some respects as far as civilization is concerned, as will become clear later.²¹

Regarding the logical harmony of Muqaddimah, Franz Rosenthal stated: "Nevertheless, as a glance at the Table of Contents shows, the Muqaddimah is logically organized and follows its subject rigorously through to the end. The work begins with man's physical environment

²¹ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p. 85. "Harry Elmer Barnes praises Ibn Khaldun for his firm grasp over the fundamental principles which have commonly determined the course of human history, and the rational way he has reflected on the extremely controversial areas of historiography. Barnes has summed up the Muslim historian's achievements in the following words:

"His importance lies in the unique feat, for the time, of having been able to rationalize the subject of the history, and to reflect upon its methods and purpose. He was the Roger Bacon of mediaeval historiography.

James Thompson calls him the 'star of all mediaeval Muslim Historians', and then makes the following comments on Ibn Khaldun's influence on various social sciences:

Sociologists have hailed him as the founder of social and economic interpretation of history. Political scientists have ranked his writings with Aristotle's 'politics'. Certain it is that Ibn Khaldun first enunciated the proposition that history has for its subject all the social phenomena of man's life.

Binder says, "the work of Ibn Khaldun is, perhaps the most ambitious and the most successful attempt at a grand reconciliation of all of the elements of a world civilization". Joel Carmichael thinks of the great Arab author as "a brilliantly original philosophic historian and sociologist", and Lewis Feuer thinks "Ibn Khaldun, the Tunisian was the most powerful sociological intelligence in fifteen hundred years". Duncan B Macdonald at the turn of this century wrote "in all this to which we have now come, you will now remember that Ibn Khaldun stands by himself. No other Muslim ever looked with such clear, untroubled vision at the facts of life, reckoned with them all, and tried to rationalize them all as he did". Shaukat Ali,(1993).p pp 101-103

and its influence upon him, and his nonphysical characteristics. This is followed by a discussion of primitive social organization, the character of leadership in it, and the relationship of primitive human societies with each other, as well as their relationship to the higher, urban form of society. Then the government of the state, the highest form of human social organization, is discussed in general and that of the caliphate, the special Muslim case, in particular; this part includes a discussion of how changes come about in the dynasties charged with the administration of a given state. Then the author turns to urban life as the most developed form of human association and civilization. Finally, much space is devoted to higher civilization, to commerce, to crafts, and the sciences, considered both as conditions and consequences of urban life and, as such, indispensable for the understanding of history. A better form of presentation for Ibn Khaldun's ideas and material could hardly be imagined".²²

²² Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. lxix-x- "But it has to be pointed out from the start that Ibn Khaldun's materialist and dialectical arguments do not derive directly from that tradition. If he had really wanted to write a philosophical study, Ibn Khaldun would have tried to base his historical arguments upon the philosophical theories of his so-called predecessors. He was familiar with their work; after all, he did write a treatise on logic and a commentary on the work of Razes and Averroes before writing *The Muqaddimah*. But when he states or demonstrates the principles of his historical method, he practically never appeals to the authority of these great thinkers. As he himself puts it, his arguments are drawn from the nature of things themselves. According to Mushin Mahdi, the explanation for this discretion is that Ibn Khaldun thought that the philosophical basis of his work was obvious, that it was pointless to specify it and hence any statement of principles was superfluous. There is nothing in Ibn Khaldun's writings to support this dubious hypothesis. There is no obvious link between his theses and those of philosophers who were solely concerned with normative arguments and who never tried to apply their theories to history. Besides, how are we to explain the fact that, once he has finished dealing with historical realities, Ibn Khaldun throws himself in to lengthy and explicit philosophical arguments in volume three of *The Muqaddimah*? Reading these passages, one gets the impression that Ibn Khaldun is less a supporter of the Islamic Platonist tradition than a strict supporter of orthodoxy. Again, we will have to return to this problem.

Out of the six chapters, the first one consists of six long prefaces. They comment on human civilization in general.²³ The second chapter is regarding “Bedouin civilization, savage nations, and tribes and their conditions of life, including several basic and explanatory statements”. This chapter contains twenty-eight subsections. They elaborate all the features related with the nomadic way of life.²⁴

The third chapter is “on dynasties, royal authority, the caliphate, government ranks, and all that goes with these things. The chapter contains basic and supplementary propositions”. This chapter also contains subsections – some 52 in number. It is in this third chapter Ibn Khaldun explained the nature and conditions of sedentary *Umran*²⁵

The fourth chapter is also related with the third one. The heading of the chapter is as follows: ‘Countries and cities, and all other forms of sedentary civilization. The conditions occurring there. Primary and

“Ibn Khaldun’s historical method is basically empirical. It relies upon observation of the nature of things, and does not derive directly from any philosophical theory. This is why his work seems so extraordinarily modern. Breaking with the methods of the schoolmen, he bases his arguments upon his own observations and upon carefully verified information. Ibn Khaldun is not trying to write a Philosophy of History. He is an extraordinary acute observer of reality and his conceptions derive from objective generalizations based upon his own observations and erudition.”
Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 159-60.

²³ Henrich Simon, p. 44, also Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. 89- 245; “This section consists of six prologues. The first deals with the necessity for men to unite; the second is entitled “on the populated portion of the earth. Information about oceans, rivers, and zones. “ Here Ibn Khaldun deals with geography and gives as a summary and a geographical knowledge of his style. This is followed by the third prologue that deals with the influence of the climatic zones upon the color and mode of life of man. The fourth prologue deals with the influence of the climatic zones of character. The diversity of cultural conditions as a consequence of abundance and scarcity of food and their effects on the human body and character is the subject of the fifth prologue. Finally, the sixth prologue Ibn Khaldun talks about inspiration and dreams and ability of man to grasp the occult through natural disposition or through religious practices” Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 44

²⁴ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. 247 – 308.

²⁵ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. 311- to vol. II, p. 200.

secondary considerations in this connection". This chapter contains twenty-two sections, all of which deals with the peculiarities of urban life.

In fact these three chapters are of having no separate entity. While the second one elaborated on Bedouins, the third and fourth elaborated on the sedentary life in town. As pointed above, the latter is derived from the former

It is in the fifth section, Ibn Khaldun discussed various kinds of crafts and methods of making a living. The chapter beings thus: - "On the various aspects of making a living, such as profit and the crafts. The conditions that occur in this connection. A number of problems are connected with this subject". This chapter is very much significant as it contains an elaborate discussion regarding various aspects of economic life of both nomadic and sedentary people. The discussion as such follow the general pattern from the Bedouins whose relation with crafts and sciences is but limited and 'primary' in nature, to the highly sophisticated sedentary life in the towns where all kinds of crafts and occupations thrive under the influence of wealth, prosperity and luxury.²⁶

²⁶ "Since the founding of a dynasty or state involves large members of people, it is, of necessity, linked to the most developed stage of 'Umran, that in which it becomes hadarah "sedentary culture." A dynasty requires large cities and towns and makes their existence possible; in turn, they permit the development of luxury. According to the philosophic ideas mentioned above as to the origins of man's social organization, all human activities are undertaken to enable the individual to preserve his life and to secure his livelihood. To that end, each man has to contribute his labor, which is his only basic capital, to satisfy the fundamental needs of his group. When there is a large number of human being, a large amount of labor, even an excess supply of it, becomes available. A certain amount of labor may then be channeled in to the production of things and the provision of services that are scarcely necessities but may be called "conveniences." Finally, the available pool of excess manpower is large enough to

This chapter included thirty-two sections in which Ibn Khaldun has explained various kinds of primary and secondary crafts prevalent during his time. Moreover, he has given due consideration to the factors that influence prosperity and poverty that effect any persons who follow a particular craft²⁷.

The sixth chapter is the longest and the most significant part of the work. The heading of this chapter is as follow:- 'The various kinds of sciences. The methods of instruction. The conditions that obtain in this connection. The chapter includes a prefatory discussion on man's ability to think'. This chapter contains fifty-nine sections.²⁸In this chapter Ibn Khaldun discussed religion, physical and metaphysical sciences. Physical science included Mathematics, Geometry, Astrology, Physics, Medicine, Agriculture, Alchemy etc. Religious sciences included studies on Quran, Hadith, Jurisprudence, Mysticism etc. Arabic language, prose and poetry is also put to discussion. The metaphysical subjects included philosophy, logic, astrology etc. It also contains methods of teaching crafts and sciences²⁹

permit the cultivation of crafts that serve no actual need but are concerned with mere luxuries. Once this stage in the development of civilization is reached, man is able to develop the science, which, although they do not produce any materiel object or immediate gain, nonetheless constitute fulfillment of mankind's higher, and truly human aspirations in the domains of the sprit and the intellect." Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.Ixxx-xi.

²⁷ Thus observations such as, "Persons who are in charge of offices dealing with religion matters, such as judge, mufti, teachers, prayer leader, preacher, muezzin and the like, are not as a rule very wealthy"; ranks, obsequious nature and flattery are useful in securing property; agriculture is a way of making a living for weak people; crafts are developed, firmly rooted and perfected in cites where there are prolonged sedentary culture etc, are truly unique to the acumen of Ibn Khaldun" Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.II,p.309-406.

²⁸ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.II,p.409-47,vol III 3-481.

²⁹ " From the short description of the contents and structure of the work we can see how difficult it is to classify his work, and how impossible it is to label it philosophy of

“Ibn Khaldun’s work in its totality is, as its author justly claims, something new in its kind because never before had history been interpreted in such a way. Neither the ancient societies nor the Middle Ages considered history as a science, but, as far as it went at all beyond the collection of facts, it was only to serve purpose of entertainment, instruction, and edification”³⁰

The book was written taking a period of five months. “The author of the book, God forgive him says: I completed the composition and draft of this first part, before revision and correction, in a period of five months ending in the middle of the year 779 [November 1377] Thereafter, I revised and corrected the book, and I added to it the history of the various nations, as I mentioned and proposed to do at the beginning of the work”³¹.

Regarding the high level of its literary importance, which all the authorities on *Muqaddimah* have admitted Rosenthal says:- “With respect to its literary form, the *Muqaddimah* would not seem to deserve unqualified praise. Like the last two volumes of the History, it is Ibn Khaldun’s original creation in the main; it is not influenced by the literary character of its sources, as is frequently the case in Muslim

history, or the like. It does represent the attempt toward a science of society, of human culture, a new conception that is the first of its kind.” Henrich Simon, p. 46.

³⁰ “For Ibn Khaldun history is completely of this world, and humanity is simultaneously its object and subject; only as a last resort is God the cause for the immutable regularity of the process. The laws of history do not stand beyond and outside of the event which they determine, but are immanent in history and belong to its nature. History is an evolution that unfolds logically and orderly. Here the historical process can be grasped rationally; it is comprehensible of its laws are understood. The formulation of social laws, similar to those of natural laws, determine the historical process and the respective situation, has been attempted for the first time by Ibn Khaldun, and from here history as a science begins”. Henrich Simon, p. 48- 50.

³¹ Rosenthal, F., (1958). vol. III, p. 481; Henrich Simon, p. 48.

historical writing and as is the case with the middle volumes of Ibn Khaldun's work. The *Muquaddimah* was written in the precise, cultured speech that was used in academic discussion by Ibn Khaldun, his friends, and his contemporaries in the Muslim West. This language is as much, or as little, down to earth as the formal speech of the educated anywhere in the world tends to be. Both the language and the style of the *Muquaddimah* clearly reflect the discursive manner of the academic lecturer, concerned primarily with an audience that is listening to him, and driving his points home viva voce. A large segment of Muslim literature was influenced in style and content by classroom needs; thus, it became customary and easy for an author to use the lecture style even when not writing for school use or for a listening audience. This was the case when Ibn Khaldun wrote the *Muquaddimah*, quite apart from the consideration that he used the work later as a textbook for lectures".³²

III/3. Unique Nature of the Work

With regards to the unique nature of his achievement he stated thus, "As a result, this book has become unique, as it contains unusual knowledge and familiar in hidden wisdom. Still, after all has been said, I am conscious of imperfection when (I look at) the scholars of (past and contemporary) times. I confess my inability to penetrate so difficult a subject. I wish that men of scholarly competence and wide knowledge would look at the book with a critical, rather than a complacent eye, and silently correct and overlook the mistakes they come upon. The capital of knowledge that an individual scholar has to offer is small. Admission

³² Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p. ixviii-ix The details on the development of manuscripts and modern edition introduction are given in Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.Ixxviii-xcix and c-cvii.

(of one's shortcomings) saves from censure. Kindness from colleagues is hoped for. It is God whom I ask to make our deeds acceptable in his sight. He suffices me. He is a good protector".³³

Claim and merits of a new science:- Ibn khaldun with high self esteem valued himself of having disclosed a new avenue of wisdom in the following terms thus, "We, on the other hand, were inspired by God. He led us to a science whose truth we ruthlessly set forth. If I have succeeded in presenting the problems of (this science) exhaustively and in showing how it differs in its various aspects and characteristics from all other crafts, this is due to divine guidance. If, on the other hand, I have omitted some point, or if the problems of (this science) have got confused with something else, the task of correcting remains for the discerning critic, but the merit is mine since I cleared and marked the way."³⁴ Ibar contains universal history of the known world during Ibn Khaldun.³⁵

III/4. Comprehensive Nature of the Work

He himself was aware of the fact that the work he had accomplished had of an encyclopedic scope in nature and content. "I omitted nothing concerning the origin of races and dynasties, concerning

³³ Rosenthal.F,(1958).volI,p.14

³⁴ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p. 83.

³⁵ "Thus, (this work) contain an exhaustive history of the world. It forces stubborn stray wisdom to return to the fold. It gives causes and reasons for happenings in the various dynasties. It turns out to be a vessel for philosophy, a receptacle for historical knowledge. The work contains the history of the Arabs and the Berbers, both the sedentary groups and the nomads. It also contains reference to the great dynasties what were cotemporary with them, and, moreover, clearly indicates memorable lessons to be learned from early conditions and from subsequent history. Therefore I called the work "Book of Lessons and Archive of Early and Subsequent history, Dealing with the Political Events Concerning the Arabs, Non Arabs, the Berbers, and the Supreme Rulers Who Were Contemporary with them." Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.12-13.

the synchronism of the earliest nations, concerning the reasons for change and variation in the past periods and within religious groups, concerning dynasties and religious groups, towns and hamlets, strength and humiliation, large numbers and small numbers, science and crafts, gains and losses, changing general conditions, nomadic and sedentary life, actual events and future events, all things expected to occur in civilization. I treated everything comprehensively and exhaustively and explained the arguments for causes of its (existence)''³⁶

III/5. Generations and Dynasties

Ibn Khaldun does not see history in terms of 'a cycle' in which monotonous repetition of the past is enacted without any change or progress at all. It is a fact that, having evaluated the life span of various dynasties³⁷ the prevalence of nobility in any group³⁸ and the five stages of dynasties.³⁹ He envisaged the inevitable decline and fall. What is significant with the vision of him is that he has given the underlying reasons for such a fall.

Most of the western authorities on Muqadhimah, having studied these statements have come to the conclusion that Ibn Khaldun's conception of history is cyclic in nature. "This development of human society is always the same; it recurs in an endless, eternal cycle. The decline of a dynasty and the rise of a new one do not bring any change other than purely personal ones; the new masters imitate in their ways of life the habits of the predecessors, and everything remains as it has

³⁶ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.13

³⁷ 'Muqaddimah', p.163-64,393-98 ; c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 1,29,3, below.

³⁸ 'Muqaddimah', p.168-70,136-38 ; c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 6 below.

³⁹ 'Muqaddimah', p.168-74;c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 34,27 below.

always been. Ibn Khaldun was not familiar with the idea revolutionary progress, of a structural change of the state. The causal continuity of this cycle is an inviolable law. The causes are always the same, and they always have the same effects. It is impossible to evade this necessity. Thus, for instance, if the ruler attempts to save the ruined state by organizing the state machinery to make it similar to what it was during the beginning of the dynasty, he is doomed to fail. Measures of the past cannot be repeated; the law of history irresistibly drives the state to its doom.⁴⁰

“Ferrero calls Ibn Khaldun’s ideas sceptical, for his history has no meaning; it is “absurdity in action”. Indeed, Ibn Khaldun’s history is purposeless, because his own historical location did not show any purpose. However, because of this Ibn Khaldun’s point of view cannot

⁴⁰ “Ibn Khaldun does not try to use historical arguments to justify a cyclical philosophy elaborated in abstract and absolute terms. He tries to explain a series of confused events, looks for causes, and arrives at a schema of cyclical phenomena. He makes objective and rational generalizations on the basis of events which really did occur over and over again. The cycle he describes does not, as we have seen, apply to North African civilization as a whole, but only to those tribal groups which established dynasties.

“The medieval Maghreb is a mosaic of interacting tribes, all of which are evolving. Their evolution is sometimes simultaneous, but usually the tribes evolve at different rates. Its history is the product of their mutual interaction. As Ibn Khaldun shows, new tribal states develop in opposition to extend their influence over conquered peoples. The victory of one tribe puts a more or less permanent end to the activities of its competitors. The establishment of a dynasty and the extension of its authority over a group of tribes prevents some of them from evolving and reduces others to servitude, but it also strengthens the dynasty’s tribal allies. When the dynasty falls into decline, they are thus able to make a bid for power

“Ibn Khaldun does of course concentrate upon the model evolution of tribes which exemplify the complete cycle. But he also stresses that the vast majority of tribes still have very rudimentary forms of organization. Their development is therefore blocked by the influence of more powerful tribes. Ibn Khaldun shows that the chieftain’s dominance over a group of tribes often blocks the development of forces which might otherwise have led them to a greater historical destiny: ‘Meakness and willingness to pay imposts and taxes are obstacles to achieving royal authority.’ ‘A tribes which, because it is closely allied to a dynasty, becomes submerged in luxury will never achieve royal authority.’ Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p.164.

be called sceptical, for scepticism is the doctrine of the inexplicability of the universe and of everything of that happens in it; such a doctrine is incompatible with Ibn Khaldun's philosophy. Ferrero did not use the term "scepticism" in the philosophical sense; he used it in its popular meaning, namely, that Ibn Khaldun questions the meaning of the universe. For Ibn Khaldun, his philosophy is causal, not teleological. His view of the universe completely lacks the telos which he could not find in society and could not find beyond his word. His view of the world is one of causal determinism, every phenomenon of social life is intelligible and understandable; it is determined by its causes.

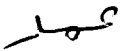
"Ibn Khaldun eliminates chance completely. What appears to us as chance is an effect whose cause is hidden. Thus, Ibn Khaldun seeks to explain the relation between chance and necessity by denying the existence of chance. Even if the problem is by no means solved, and Ibn Khaldun regards the influence of the extra-terrestrial sphere as one of the hidden causes, his deterministic attitude nevertheless gives a progressive impulse to his time, the search for the hidden causes through scientific investigation."⁴¹

Still this statement of Rosental is significant of note here. "Nations of earlier times were believed to have been better endowed physically for achieving a high and materially splendid civilization than contemporary nations. Ibn Khaldun felt compelled to refute this notion

⁴¹ "Doubtless, Ibn Khaldun was not a fatalist, but precisely the opposite. Fatalism is the belief that the course of the world is unaccountable and directed by supernatural forces in a way that cannot be understood a man, and everyone's fate is sent from heaven. There is no trace of this in Ibn Khaldun's writings. On the contrary, he is convinced that all social phenomena can be understood and explained." H.Simon P-103-104; also Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

as emphatically as possible. In his opinion it was merely the decay of political organization and the power of government that gave his contemporaries the impression that the civilization of their day was inferior to that of the past. In fact, in Ibn Khaldun's thinking, there could be no essential difference between the faculties and achievements of former and contemporary generation, for political and cultural life was moving in never ending, always repeated circles."⁴²

III/6. *Umran* – Civilization

Etymological meaning :-The term '*Umran*' is the keyword to the subject matter discussed in *Muqaddimah*. The term is derived from the root 'AMARA' () which means 'to be long lived, thrived, prospered, nourished, bloomed, became inhabited, populated, civilized, cultivated, filled up etc'. *Umran*, therefore, means inhabitedness, activity, bustling life, thriving, flourishing, prosperity (as opposed to *kharab*, ruin) culture, civilization building structure etc.⁴³

III/7. Technical Sense

In *Muqaddimah* the term *Umran* is used in a technical sense with further implication. The term appears in the very beginning of the work where Ibn Khaldun, in the general style of all Arabic work makes the invocation (the *Khuthuba*).⁴⁴ In *Muqaddimah* the term is defined thus: "Human social organization is something necessary. The philosophers

⁴² "Thus, we have an explanation for the survival of past civilizations, through it may manifest itself only in minor remnants and in certain customs and practices that can be recognized as cultural survivals only by the trained observer"- Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.lxxiv.

⁴³ J.M Cowan- the Hans Wehr Dictionary of modern Written Arabic (Edited) spoken language service, inc(1976).

⁴⁴ F. Rosenthal(1958) p-3; '*Muqaddimah*' p.3.

expressed this fact by saying: 'man is political by nature'. That is, he cannot do without the social organization for which the philosophers used the technical term town (polis). This is what is civilization".⁴⁵

Ibn Khaldun goes on further to explain this definition. All the requirements for the physical existence of man are fulfilled by means of mutual co-operation only. For example, the achievement of necessities like food, defence and shelter requires a number of long drawn processes and a large amount of labour for a long period. But no human being is⁴⁶ able to provide for this singularly. "Under such circumstances the human species would vanish. When, however, mutual co-operation exists, man obtains food for his nourishment, and weapon for defence. God's wise plan that man(kind) should subsist and the human societies be preserved will be fulfilled".⁴⁷

Consequently, social organization became something 'necessary' to the mankind. Which is 'the object of the science under discussion' Thus *Umran* is defined as 'civilization'. It made '*Umran*', the science of civilization as the subject matter of *Muqaddimah*. In its broader sense *Muqaddimah* deals with the various aspects as well as the factors contributory to the rise and fall of civilizations. It is the scientific discourse on human survival through the corridors of history through generation to generation and from civilizations to civilizations⁴⁸

⁴⁵Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.89.

⁴⁶ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p. 89-90.

⁴⁷ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p. 91.

⁴⁸ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol .I,p.91.

III/8. Variations in *Umrān*

The existence of *Umrān*, though necessary for human survival, is not in the same degree in all ages and places. *Umrān* is found in varying degree in each and every age and places. There are a number of factors contributing to these variations. One of the most important natures of *Umrān* is its progressive character. In Muqaddimah *Umrān* is divided into two stages, which are entirely different in nature. The first one is the *Umrān al Badawi or Bedouin civilizations* and the second one is *Umrān al Hadari or sedentary civilization*. While the former is the beginning stage of *Umrān* the later is the last stage of it. The characteristics of *Umrān* in both the stages are entirely different from each other.

III/9. Geographical Factors

Another important factor contributing to the variations in *Umrān* is the geographical location of the land where the *Umrān* is settled. In Muqaddimah the total inhabited land is divided into seven zones. The divisions and its borders are imaginary. It is based upon the information given by Ptolemy in his geography and al Idrisi in his *Nuzhat al Mushtaq or Book of Roger*⁴⁹ supplemented by the author's own findings . As the division is based upon the geographical concepts of Arab geographers in the 14th century it has nothing to contribute to our information. At the same time the author's calculations regarding the influence of geographical factors upon *Umrān* are valid even through derived from the same crude awareness of geographical concepts.

⁴⁹ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol .I,p.94.

The division of seven zones started from south through north. First zone in the south represented extreme heat whereas the seventh zone in the north represented extreme cold. The heat in the south gradually reduced towards north until it become extreme cold. Therefore, the zones in the centre representing the 4th as well as the adjacent 3rd towards south and 5th towards north became areas having moderate temperature.

In the south as well as the north, civilization is found very scarcely because of the negative influence of the climatic conditions there. Both the extremes of heat and cold are not favourable for the germination of plants and the growth of animals and human beings. Therefore, the first and second zones in the south charcterised by extreme heat and 6th and 7th zones in the north charecterised by extreme cold became 'unfit' for human habitation. This is the reason why *Umran* in these areas are very scanty as compared to the middle zones.

"The fourth zone is the most temperate cultivated region. The bordering 3rd and 5th zones are close to being temperate". Therefore the sciences, the crafts, the building, the clothing, the foodstuffs, the fruits, even the animals and everything that comes into being in the three middle zones are distinguished by their temperate (well proportioned character). The human inhabitance of these zones is more temperate in their body color, character qualities and (general) conditions. They are found to be extremely moderate in their dwellings, clothing, foodstuffs and crafts."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ "They use houses that are well constructed of stones and embellished by craftsmanship. They rival each other in production of the very best tools and implements. Among them

‘On the other hand, the inhabitants of the intemperate zone are further removed from being temperate in all their conditions. Their buildings are of clay and reeds. Their clothing is the leaves of trees, which they sew together to cover themselves, or animal’s skins. Most of them stay naked. The fruits and seasonings of their countries are strange and inclined to be intemperate. In their business dealing they do not use the two noble metals but copper, iron or skins, upon which they set a value for the purpose of business dealings.’⁵¹

Ibn Khaldun criticized in *Muqaddimah* the racial superiority of men upon the basis of his physical features. He rejected the belief of his contemporary scholars and genealogists regarding this. He said: ‘Genealogist who had no knowledge of the true nature of things imagined that Negroes are the children of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they were singled out to be black as the result of Noah’s curse which produced Ham’s color and slavery God inflicted upon his descendants. It is mentioned in the Torah (gen. 9:25) that Noah cursed his son Ham. No reference is made there to blackness. The curse included no more than that Hams descendents should be the slaves of his brothers descendents. To attribute the blackness of the Negroes to Ham, reveals the disregard of the true nature of heat and cold and of the

one finds the natural minerals such as gold, silver, iron, copper, led and tin. In their business dealings they use gold and silver. They avoid intemperance quit generally in all their conditions.”Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.167.

⁵¹ “Their qualities of character, moreover, are close to those of dump animals. It has even being reported that most of the Negroes of the first zone dwell in caves and thickets, eat herbs, live in savage isolation and do not congregate and eat each other”.Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.I,p.168.

influence exercise upon the air (climate) and upon the creatures that came into being in it.⁵²

III/10. Soil Factor

Another factor that contribute to the variations in *Umran* is the availability of natural resources like water and soil. In fact a better *Umran* is not guaranteed even if the land is located in the temperate zones with favourable climatic conditions. Availability of water and fertile soil is as much important as that of a temperate climate.

“It should be known that not all the temperate zones have an abundance food or do all their inhabitants lead a comfortable life. In some parts, the inhabitants enjoy an abundance of grain, seasoning, wheat and fruits because the soil is well balanced and good for plants and there is an abundant civilization. And then, in other parts, the land is strewn with rocks, and no seeds or herbs grow at all. There the inhabitants of the Hijaz and the Yemen or the Veiled Sinhajah who live in desert of the Maghrib on the fringes of the sandy deserts which lie between the Berbers and the Sudanese Negroes. All of them lack all grains and seasonings. Their nourishment and food is milk and meat. Another such people are the Arabs who roam the waste regions. They

⁵² The black color (of skin) common to the inhabitants of the first and second zones is the result of the composition of the air in which they live and which comes about under the influence of the greatly increased heat in the south. ... People there have (to under go) severe summer and their skins turn black because of the excessive heat.

Some thing similar happens in the two corresponding zones to the north, the seventh and sixth zones. There a white color of skin is common among the inhabitants, likewise the result of the composition of the air in which they live, and which comes about under the influence of the excessive cold in the north. The sun is always on the horizon within the usual field or close to it... The heat, therefore, is weak in this region and the cold severe in all seasons. In consequence the color of the inhabitants is white. Further consequence of the excessive cold are blue eyes, freckled and blond hair. Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol. I,p. 170.

may get grains and seasonings from the hills at certain time. Whatever they get is little, because they have little money. They obtain no more than the bare necessity, and sometimes less, and in no case enough for a comfortable or abundant life.⁵³

“This development of human society is always the same; it recurs in an endless, eternal cycle. The decline of a dynasty and the rise of new one do not bring any change other than purely personal ones; the new masters imitate in their way of life the habits of the predecessors. And everything remains as it has always been. Ibn Khaldun was not familiar with the idea of revolutionary progress, of a structural change of the State. The casual continuity of this cycle is an inviolable law. The causes are always the same, and they always have the same effect.”⁵⁴

Rosenthal emphasises that one should be careful not to see a ‘Marxist’ in Ibn Khaldun, “however close many ideas may be to Marxist views...since he does adhere to private ownership and to a private capitalistic economy.”⁵⁵ “Ibn Khaldun is not a predecessor’ and adherent of Marxism, “even though he shares important ideas with it. Thus, he

⁵³ These three factors contributes greatly to the variations in civilization from place to place and time to time. The findings of Ibn Khaldun in this regard is very important because he was trying to stress the external factors like climate and soil and influence in shaping the human history and culture. He painted that man could developed an extremely sophisticated civilization only where natural resources and climatic conditions favored him abundantly. On the other hand man in the religions with scanty natural resources and un-favourable climate could only make a very low standard in civilization.

⁵⁴ “It is impossible to evade this necessity. Thus, for instance, if the ruler attempts to save the ruined state by organizing the state machinery to make it similar to what it was during the beginning of the dynasty, he is doomed to fail. Measures of the past cannot be repeated; the law of history irresistibly drives the state to its doom”. Henrich Simon, p 103,

⁵⁵ E Rosenthal, “Ibn Khaldun ‘s ideas about the state- a condition to Medieval Political Science”, Berlin, 1932, quated in Henrich Simon, p 106.

recognized the economy as the absolutely necessary condition for everything statel and the latter in turn as the conditions for culture. But at the same time he grasped the reciprocity of this relation, thus avoiding to rate one higher than the other.”⁵⁶

It will be recalled that Ibn Khaldun justifies his desire to look in to the underlying causes of the history of his country and his times in terms of the importance of such major changes in historical conditions: ‘When there is a general change in conditions, it is as if the entire creation had changed and the whole world had been altered, as if it were a new and repeated creation, a world brought in to existence again. Therefore, there is need at this that someone should systematically set down the situation of the world among all regions and races, as well as the customs and sectarian beliefs that have changed for thier adherents’.

⁵⁶ *ibid*,p106.

Chapter IV

UMRAN AL BADAWI (BEDOUIN CIVILIZATION)

In Muqaddimah the discussion on various aspects of civilization is started from the second chapter onwards which reads as follows. "Both Bedouin and the sedentary people are natural groups" .Ibn Khaldun divided civilization into two - Nomadic and Sedentary. The basis for this division is occupation. People adopted different methods or modes of production, for making their living. It should be known that differences in civilization among people, "are the result of the different ways in which they make their living" Some people adopt animal husbandry as their way of living. They cannot avoid the call of the desert because it alone offered them wide fields and pastures which the settled areas cannot offer. Their profession of animal husbandry forced them to restrict their dwelling to the desert. Moreover they had to shift their dwelling continuously from one place another in search of fresh pastures to feed their animals. So wandering became their natural trait imposed by profession.¹

¹ Ibn Khaldun, however, uses 'Umran badawi to refer to complex realities that go far beyond the framework of nomadic life. In his description of those who live in conditions of 'Umran badawi, he writes that 'some people adopt agriculture, the cultivation of vegetables as their way of making a living. Others adopt animal husbandry, the use of sheep, cattle goats, bees and silkworms. He is referring to the life of the rural populations as a whole, and definitely not to nomadism alone. Some authors believe that Ibn Khaldun extends the concepts of badiya ('Bedouin ' in the strict sense) to include all geographical areas accessible to nomads: the countryside, the plains, the desert, in short everything outside the major towns. The opposition between 'Umran badawi and 'Umran Hadhari thus expresses the contrast between rural and urban life.

According to Muhsin Mahdi this is not a static distinction and should be understood in the sense of a general evolution. He translates 'Umran badawi as 'primitive culture' and

Of these herdsmen, those who make their living by raising camels move around more, “deeper into deserts. This is because of the fact that the shrubs and the plants in the hilly pastures do not provide them enough substance for the camels. Moreover, they must retreat into the warmth of the desert during the winter in order to provide the most suitable climate for the camels to give birth to their young ones”.²

Furthermore, the nomads living by camel breeding are driven out from the hills by the militia. As a result they were more exposed to the hardest life in the depth of desert. They are on a similar level with the wild untamable animals. The desert dwellers of the Arabia, Berbers and Zanata of Africa, the Kurds, Turkomans and the Turks belonged to this group.

On the contrary there are people who make their living from animals such as sheep and cattle. They do not make so deep excursions into the desert just like that of the camel breeders. They limit their wandering because desert will not provide them enough water and pastures. Still they also required wandering in search of fresh pastures and water for their cattle and sheep. People belonged to the Berbers, Turks, Turkomans and Slaves lived such a life. These people, are more delicate and nearer to the Sedentary people.

'Umran Hadhari as 'civilization', a suggestion which has caused a certain amount of controversy. According to Mahdi, badawi derives from the Arabic root b-d-a meaning 'start' or beginning'. (To support his argument Mahdi cites the Koran 9:11,24:31 and 85:13) He argues that the primary meaning of badawi is 'primitive' and, by derivation 'rural'. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p 93-94

² 'Of all animals, camels have the hardest delivery and the greatest need for warmth in connection with it'. Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. I, p. - 251

The condition of life in Badawi: - The Bedouin civilization in all ages and nations exhibited the same standard of life. The Bedouin, having adopted a profession that required wandering in the desert in search of fresh pasturage etc was forced to restrict their standard of life suitable to their profession. The desert never provided resources in surplus so as to give them time and energy to work for a higher standard of life. Moreover, their wandering habit never allowed them to long for a life style beyond fulfilling the bare necessities of life. "Their social organization and co-operation for the needs of life and civilization such as food, shelter and warmth do not take them beyond the bare subsistence level, because of their inability (to provide) for anything beyond those (things)". All the Bedouin only can provide for the fulfillment of the bare necessities of their life. Therefore, the civilization of the Bedouin exhibited a very low standard in all aspects of life. Their food habits, dwelling, cloths etc. were limited to fulfilling the bare necessities of life.³

³ "According to most authors who have studied the Al Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun makes a basic distinction between nomadic and sedentary groups and bases his whole conception of historical development upon that distinction. Thus, they claim that Ibn Khaldun argues that only nomadic tribes were sufficiently tightly bound together to found states, that the solidarity born of the rigour of nomadic life enabled their chieftains to conquer and found empires. The stability of the state was based upon the solidarity that united its founders. They were not slow to take advantage of the benefits of political power and in their search for comfort became rich and sedentary. They became weak and cowardly and were concerned only with their own comfort. As they developed a sedentary mentality and a taste for wealth, they gradually lost their former military prowess and sense of solidarity. Becoming weaker and less united, they became incapable of preserving the cohesion of the tribe, which broke up into fragments. Another nomadic tribe made up of men closer to the rigours and isolation of desert life would then defeat them, found a new state, and so on. Most modern commentators have thus reduced Ibn Khaldun's thought to a cyclical theory, with psychology as the main factor in historical developments'. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p. 92.

Umran al Hadari (Sedentary Civilization):- The Bedouin civilization undergoes tremendous change in course of time when they were favoured with natural resources like vegetation, climate and soil. Having favored by these geographical and physical factors, the Bedouins gradually could amass wealth and surplus resources, which they can utilise for the fulfillment of their needs, beyond the bare necessities of life. At this stage the character of the Bedouin civilization gradually gives way to that of sedentary life.

“Subsequent improvement of their condition and acquisition of more wealth and comfort than they need, cause them to rest and take it easy. Then, they co-operate for thing beyond the (bare) necessities. They use more food and cloths, and take pride in them. They build large houses and layout towns and cities for protection. This is followed by an increase in comfort of ease, which leads to formation of the most developed luxury customs. They take the greatest pride in the preparation of food and a fine cuisine, in the use of varied, splendid clothes of silk and brocade and other (materials), in the construction of ever higher buildings and towers, in elaborate furnishings for the buildings and the most intensive cultivation of crafts in actuality. They build castles, mansions, provide them with running water, build their towers higher and higher, and compete in furnishing them (most elaborately). They differ in the quality of the clothes, the beds, the vessels, and the utensils they employ for their purposes.⁴

⁴ “This is the meaning of the sedentary civilization which means the inhabitants of the cities and countries, some of whom adopt the crafts as their way of making a living, while others adopt commerce. They earn more and live more comfortably than Bedouins, because they live on a level beyond the level of bare necessity, and their way of making a living corresponds to their

IV/1. Bedouins – Prior to Sedentary

Ibn Khaldun was the first historian to note the social organization in terms of its birth, growth, decline and fall. Three important statements and the subsequent discussion on them substantiated the arguments of Ibn Khaldun in this regard.⁵ Firstly in chapter two, he stated: “Bedouin are prior to sedentary people. The desert is the basis of and reservoir of civilization and cities”.

Secondly in chapter three he stated: “Dynasties have a natural life span like individuals”. This statement is further substantiated in the same chapter, where he stated: “The stages of dynasty: How the desert attitude differs among the people in the different stages”. Thirdly in chapter four he stated; “Sedentary culture is the goal of civilization. It means the end of its life span and brings about its corruption”.

Ibn Khaldun argued that the Bedouins are prior to sedentary people because of the fact that they restrict themselves to the basic necessities of life. On the other hand, the sedentary people concern themselves with conveniences and luxuries of life. “The (bare) necessities are no doubt prior to the conveniences and luxuries’... Bedouin, thus, are the basis of and prior to, cities and sedentary people. Man seeks first the (bare) necessities. Only after he has obtained the (bare) necessities, does he get to comforts and luxuries. The toughness of desert life precedes the softness of sedentary life. Therefore, urbanization is found to be the goal of the Bedouin.... It has thus

wealth”. ‘Muqaddimah’ p.121-22; Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol.I.p. 249-50; cf. chapter ‘Hadari’.section 3,4,5.

⁵ cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 3; Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p 4

become clear that the existence of Bedouins is prior to and the basis of, the existence of towns and cities”.⁶

Ibn Khaldun argued that while the nomadic life was the beginning stage of human civilization, the sedentary culture was the end of civilization. He further stated that in between this beginning and end, civilization had a natural life span similar to that of a single individual. “As a rule, no dynasty lasts beyond the life (span) of three generations, a generation is identified with the average duration of the life of a single individual, namely, forty years (the time) required for growth to be completed and maturity reached”.⁷

Out of the three generations, the first one strives for the foundation of a new civilization or a new dynasty after destroying a previous one. The first generation is closer to desert habits and nomadic life. The second generation continued to be the master of the civilization but they have lost all the desert qualities in front of the accumulated wealth and abundance; luxury has seized them and they are succumbed to easiness and become senile. Yet they could maintain the civilization or royal power intact. The third generation is brought up in the cradle of luxury, splendor and wealth. They lacked all the virtuous qualities: they had taken to all vices and immoralities, which ultimately leads to their destruction.⁷

Regarding the aim towards which civilization moves, Ibn Khaldun stated, “ when luxury and prosperity come to civilized people,

⁶ Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol.I.p. 252-53.

⁷ cf. chapter 'Hadari'.section 34;'Muqaddimah'.p. 170-75,294-97.

it naturally causes them to follow the ways of sedentary culture and adopt its customs. As one knows, sedentary culture is the adoption of diversified luxuries, the cultivation of the things that go with them and addiction to crafts that give elegance to all the various kinds of (luxury) such as the crafts of cooking, dress-making, building and (making) carpets, vessels and all others parts of (domestic) economy...

“It shows that the goal of civilization is sedentary culture and luxury. When civilization reached that goal it turns toward corruption and starts being senile, as happens in the natural life of living beings”.⁸

IV/2. Occupation of Bedouins

Having stressed that Bedouin are far removed from the traditions of sedentary culture, Ibn Khaldun pointed out that they engaged in occupation suitable to their life style.⁹ They lived either by livestock breeding such as sheep, goats, cattle, bee etc. or agriculture .the basic peculiarity of these occupations is that it required no crafts and skilled workers. This is not the case with the sedentary culture, which thrived upon a number of crafts with specialised craftsmen.¹⁰ He says: “Agriculture is a way of making a living for weak people and Bedouin in search of subsistence. This is because agriculture is a natural and

⁸ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 291-97; cf. next chapter.

⁹ ‘Muqaddimah’, p 394, 149; Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 53-54; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 8,19

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldun believes that there is a close connection between the organization of production, social structures, forms of political life, juridical systems, social psychology and ideologies. Again, he anticipates important features of historical materialism. There is complex interaction among all these elements, but it is the development of the economy that determines the development of civilization, as a whole. Ibn Khaldun emphasizes the changes in political organization, the appearance of new forms of intellectual life and the psychological changes brought about by the transition from ‘*Umran badwai* to *Umran Hadhari*. Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 154

simple procedure. Therefore, as a rule, Sedentary people or people who live in luxury do not practice it. Those who practice it are characterized by humility¹¹.

Regarding this fundamental distinction of two entirely different types of civilisation Lacoste says, "The importance Ibn Khaldun gives to this passage has to be underlined, as it is not merely a passing comment. I stress it, not because of any modern philosophical prejudice, but because Ibn Khaldun himself gives it such importance. It is the first sentence of the second chapter of Volume II, the section in which Ibn Khaldun lays the basis for his fundamental distinction between 'umran badawi and 'umran hadari. The principle behind that distinction, which anticipates historical materialism, provides the basis of the comparative method, a tool which Ibn Khaldun often uses in his attempt to generalize and synthesize.

"By using the criterion of the organization of productive life, Ibn Khaldun is able to compare very different societies: in terms of race, religion, geography and epoch, these societies are not the same, although their mode of production is similar. In each of them mode of production determines broadly similar structures and developments. It is to a large extent Ibn Khaldun's use of the comparative method that allows him to generalize on the basis of a large number of facts and to arrive at his schema for the evolution of states".¹²

¹¹ Roenthal,F;(1958).vol. II, p. 335-3.

¹² Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 153

IV/3. Bedouins and Asabiya

Man by very nature is prone to natural aggression and injustice which is put in control in towns and cities by the government institutions like police and army. Defense tactics and the military can avert aggression against a city from out side. In another words the defense system as well as the maintenance of internal peace and order in Sedentary civilization has become institutionalized .Not all the members of the Sedentary civilization is directly or personally concerned with these institutions.¹³

This is not the case with the Bedouin who live in the desert without having any institution to defend themselves against any possible internal or external aggression. They rely upon their own Asabiya for defense.¹⁴ “The restraining influence among Bedouin tribes comes from their *shakih* and leaders. It results from the greatest respects and veneration they generally enjoy among the people”. The institution of *shaykh* is the direct result of Asabiya. As for the hamlets of the Bedouin, the tribal militia protects them from external aggression. As opposed to the police and army institutions of the sedentary people, this tribal militia had the direct participation of almost all members of the Asabiya. The Bedouin “defense and protection are successful only if they are closely–knit group of common descent. This strengthen their stamina and makes them feared, since every body’s affection for his family and his group is more important (than any thing else)”¹⁵.Therefore, the

¹³ ‘Muqaddimah’,161-62;Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 123/4 ; Issawi,C.(1950)p 105 f ; cf. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 2,3,17.

¹⁴ Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 123-4.

¹⁵ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 262-63.

Bedouin always kept strong ties of Asabiya as opposed to the Sedentary people who kept a very vague feeling of Asabiya.

IV/4. Bedouin and Purity of Lineage

The existence of the Bedouin in the desert is the direct result of Asabiya (group feeling) based upon common descent and close blood relationship. Their defense mechanism against any possible external or internal threat is also resulted from the close blood relationship.¹⁶ The only institution they had in the desert is the common descent. Their awareness of decent and blood relationship is of much importance for their existence itself. Therefore the Bedouins maintained pure lineage known to all members. All of them know the family relation of each and every member with the tribe or clan.¹⁷

They paid extreme attention to keep their lineage known to all and paid special attention to preserve it. This is on account of the poor life, hard condition and bad habitates that are peculiar to [Bedouins]. The nomads used to live in the desert for camel breeding and pasturage. The hardships and starvation in the desert became so familiar to them that ultimately assumed to be natural trait of the nomads. Generations of nomads lived in the adverse condition of the desert “Eventually, they become confirmed in their character and natural qualities. No member of any other nation was disposed to share their conditions. No member

¹⁶ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.164-66; cf. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 1;Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 265/73; Issawi,C.(1950)p 104 ff

¹⁷ cf. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 27;’Muqaddimah’,p.172-76;Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 347 ff;353ff; Issawi,C.(1950)p 118 f.

of any other race felt attracted to them.” Therefore their lineage was preserved uncorrupt and unbroken.¹⁸

IV/5. Nomads Can Gain Control only Over Flat Territories

Nomads are people given to savage nature. They plunder and cause damage to the settled people. They plunder whatever things they are able to lay their hands and retreat into the depth of desert. They do not aim their attack against the strongholds or difficult places. The same is the case with the mountain settlements, which are not easy to attack, and plunder.¹⁹ Inaccessible mountains are safe from their mischief and destructiveness

On the other hand flat territories easily become prey to the nomadic invasion and their destruction. They turn their attention to the settled areas whenever the militia or the dynasty is weak. They make continuous raids, plunder and attack upon such areas and destroy it. Eventually the natives succumb²⁰ and are come under the control of nomads.

IV/6. Places Dominated by Nomads Ruin Quickly

Ibn Khaldun argued that both the nomadic and sedentary stages are opposite extremes of civilization. Both of them have the elements of destruction imbibed by their very nature²¹. Nomads are the negation of

¹⁸ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 265/6; cf. chapter 'Asabiya', section 2; cf. chapter 'Hadhari', section 3,4,5.

¹⁹ 'Muqaddimah',p.149; cf. chapter 'Bedouin', section 17; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 302ff ;Issawi,C.(1950)p 55-8.

²⁰ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 302.

²¹ 'Muqaddimah',p.149-51,394; cf. chapter 'Hadhari', section 2,3,19;Issawi,C.(1950) p 55-8.

sedentary civilization. Therefore sedentary civilization suffered great setback under the onslaught of Nomadism.

Nomadism proved to be destructive to sedentary civilization in a number of ways. Firstly, Nomadism meant complete freedom from all kind of authority. Nomads are not subservient to leadership. They received such a disposition due to the free life in desert for generations. But this is opposed to sedentary civilization. Nomadism is opposed to stationary, which produces sedentary civilization. The very nature of their existence is the negation of buildings which is the basis of civilization.²²

Secondly Nomadism is a way of life with plundering as a natural disposition. "Their sustenance lies wherever the shadow of their lances falls". They plunder and take possession of the property furnishing, utensils etc. of the settled people. When they gain control of the settled people, they use complete power to plunder the people and the result is the ruin of civilization.

Thirdly, they do not find any usefulness in various crafts exercised by the settled population. So, even though they employ the craftsmen who are useful, they do not pay them sufficiently. Labour is forced upon the craftsmen and is not paid sufficiently. When labour is not appreciated and is done for nothing, the hope for profit vanishes, and no work is done. The Sedentary populations disperse and civilization decays.²³

²² Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 303.

²³ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 303.

Fourthly when the nomads dominate the sedentary people they give no attention to the peace and order among the people. They are not concerned with laws that prevent people from misdeeds. Their sole aim is the property of the people. "When they ~~hyve~~ obtained, [money] they have no interest in anything further such as taking care of (people), looking after their interests or forcing them not to commit misdeeds".²⁴ They themselves will be the perpetrators of injustice and oppression. So, under the reign of nomads the subjects live in a stage of anarchy. "Anarchy destroys mankind and ruin civilization sincethe existence of royal authority is a natural quality of man. It alone guarantees their existence and social organization".²⁵

Fifthly, each and every individual member of the nomads is eager to become leaders. Therefore, a nomad very rarely gives up his claim to be a leader. They never cede power to the other. Consequently, there will be a number of leaders and amirs always among them. This will lead to the condition in which the people will have to obey a number of leaders and that will spoil unity and civilization.²⁶

IV/7. Building Construction and Nomads

Another characteristics of the nomadic civilization is that, where the nomads dominates, there are a few cities and towns²⁷. Al Efreqiya and Maghrib are given as examples where the nomadic people

²⁴ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 303-4

²⁵ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 304.

²⁶ cf. chapter 'Bedouin', section 6,14 below;'Muqaddimah'p.151-52; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 305-8;Issawi,C.(1950)p 58-9

²⁷ 'Muqaddimah'p.357-58; cf. chapter 'Hadhari', section 20,21,23,25 Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 266-67.

dominated for a long period. “No Sedentary culture existed among (the Barbers) long enough to reach any degree of perfection”.²⁸

Furthermore nomads are not familiar with the basic crafts, because they are firmly rooted in the wandering habits. Establishment of towns and cities required development of crafts also. “One needs skill to learn them (and since the nomads) did not practice them, they had no interest in building, let alone towns”.²⁹

Moreover, Nomadism calls for more over as opposed to settlement in sedentary culture. So they are attracted more and more to desert than to the tranquility and ease of towns. ‘Therefore, desert people dislike settling in a town or staying there’. The cities built by nomads quickly fell into ruin as a result of the same reason. They lacked experience with town, and are not familiar with crafts. Their very attitude was against constructing a city or town.³⁰

Ibn Khaldun pointed out another reason for why the cities established by nomads ruined quickly. Nomads are not experienced in building a town. “They give no attention to planning the town with regard to the right choice of the site (of the town) the quality of the air, the water, the fields and the pasture (belonging it). Differences with respect to these things make the differences between good and bad cities as regards natural civilization”.³¹

²⁸ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.II,p. 266

²⁹ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.II,p. 267

³⁰ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.359-60; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 269-70

³¹ ‘Muqaddimah’p.401-404; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 349 ff; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 19,20,21.

Nomads while constructing a town give importance only to the availability of pastures for their animals. Even the availability of good water is not given due consideration. Air circulation is also neglected. Such cities ruined very quickly.

IV/8. Nomads are Unable to Settle in a City With Large Civilization

Another characteristic of the nomadic life is that they are unable to live in cities where a highly developed sedentary culture is in existence. The reason for this is imbedded in the peculiar nature of the nomadic and sedentary civilization³².

Sedentary civilization, by its very nature calls for luxury. The luxurious habit of the population increases to the higher extent in proportion to the availability of population, natural resources and other favorable conditions. Consequent to their luxury, life becomes very expensive in a most advanced sedentary culture. "Conveniences, food stuffs, and labors thus become very expensive. As a result, the expenditure of the habitant increases tremendously in proportions to the civilization of (the city)". This situation required a large amount of money to meet the individual and collective expenditure of the population.

While the Sedentary population could meet their high expenditure by making profit out of a number of crafts and skills available in the civilization, the nomadic population could not afford such a high

³² 'Muqaddimah', 362-65; cf. chapter 'Hadhari', section 19, 23 Rosenthal. F. (1958), vol. II, p. 279-80; 271-76; Issawi, C. (1950) p 73-4.

expensive life in cities. Nomads, who are lacking any skills of making profit out of crafts and skills, could not live in cities. Nomads are accustomed to desert where they 'can satisfy their needs with a minimum of labor, because they are little used to luxuries and other requirements.'³³ So the nomads, once attracted to cities, soon find difficult to live there.

IV/9. Urban Population Dominates Nomads

If we compare nomadic and sedentary Umrans in terms of their merits, we can easily state that the sedentary Umran is far superior to that of the nomadic Umran. There are a number of factors that make sedentary Umran superior to the other. It is the final goal of Nomadism; it has abundance of wealth and resources and it has refinement in all levels of life including sciences and crafts.³⁴

Desert civilization is inferior to urban civilization, because not all the necessities of civilization are to be found among the people of the desert. "They do possess some agriculture at home, (but) they do not possess all the materials that belong to it, most of which (depend on) crafts. They do not have any [crafts to] provide them with the necessities required for making a living in agriculture and other things...While (the Bedouins) need the cities for their necessities of life, the urban population needs the (Bedouins) for convenience and luxuries. Thus, (the Bedouins) need the cities for the necessities of life by very nature of

³³ cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section ,19,24;Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. ,280

³⁴ 'Muqaddimah',p.153; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 308-11;Issawi,C.(1950)p 82 f; Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p. 45'Muqaddimah',p.153; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 308-11;Issawi,C.(1950)p 82 f; Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p. 45

their (mode of) existence. As long as they live in the desert and have not obtained royal authority and control of the cities, they need the inhabitants (of the latter). They must be active on behalf of their interests and obey them whenever the (latter) ask and demand obedience from them....

“They have, therefore, no hope of survival except by being obedient to the city. Thus they are of necessity dominated by the urban population”.³⁵

IV/10. Bedouins are Closer to Being Good than the Sedentary People

“The reason for it is that the soul [mind] in its first natural state of creation is ready to accept whatever good or evil may arrive first and leave an imprint upon it.... To the degree the soul is first attained by one of the two qualities. It moves away from the other and find it difficult to acquire it. When custom proper to goodness have been first to enter the soul of a person and his soul has thus acquired the habit of (goodness, that person) moves away from evil and finds it difficult to do anything evil. The same applies to the evil person when customs (proper to evil) have been first to affect him.

“Sedentary people are much concerned with all kinds of pleasures. They are accustomed to luxury and success in worldly occupation and to indulgence in worldly desires. Therefore, their souls are colored with all kinds of blame worthy and evil qualities. The more of them they possess, the more remote do the ways and means of

³⁵ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 308-10 cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 9 .

goodness become to them. Eventually they lose all sense of restraint.”³⁶. They use improper languages and commit vices even in the presence of their elders and woman folk.³⁷ On the other hand Bedouins are closer to the first natural state and more remote from all luxury and vices. Therefore they are easily corrected of their vices than the sedentary people to whom vices had become a natural disposition.³⁸

IV/11. Bedouins Are More Courageous

In the sedentary culture every thing assumed the characteristics of institutions. Their defense is looked after by the military institution. The institutions of police and justice looked after their internal peace and order. Their economic activities had been taken up by various institutions.³⁹ As a result the “sedentary people has become used to laziness and ease. They are sunk in well-being and luxury. “They are carefree and trusting and have ceased to carry weapons. Successive generations have grown up in this way of life. They have become like women and children, who depend upon the masters of the house.

³⁶ ‘Muqaddimah’ 123-24, 151-52; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 253-54, 306-308; cf. chapter ‘Bedouin’, section 16; Bukhsh, S.K., (1927).p.592-3; Issawi, C. (1950) p 66 f.

³⁷ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. , 253-57; also cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 36, 38 below; cf. chapter ‘*Asabiya*’, section 18; ‘Muqaddimah’, 142-5; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 291 ff; Bukhsh, S.K., (1927).p 592-93.

³⁸ Mildness and moderation are the outstanding features of the newly arisen State. If religion is its genesis-to religion it owes these qualities. Otherwise they must be set down to the credit of lofty sentiments engendered by nomad life. Under a mild and just Government content and prosperity spread through the State. People work with enthusiasm and the population grows, but this increase in population does not generally shows itself till after the first or the second generation. With the beginning of the third the State reaches its zenith and the population its greatest numerical strength. Famine and epidemic then appear and become more and more frequent. In its last stage, indeed the State realizes that famine is but the necessary consequence of the abandonment of agricultural pursuits. Bukhsh, S.K., (1927). p 592/93)

³⁹ ‘Muqaddimah’ p.125; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 37; Bukhsh, S.K., (1927).p 601; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 257-8; Issawi, C. (1950) p 67 f

Eventually, this has come to be a quality of characters that replaces natural (disposition.) They become cowards who can not do anything for themselves”.⁴⁰

The case with the nomads is just the opposite. Since they are alone in the desert and have no institution to look after their defense and other affairs “they provide their own defense and do not entrust it to, or rely upon others for it. They always carry weapons.⁴¹ They are ever watchful and give attention to every movement around them. They rely upon their own fortitude and courage, which had become their natural disposition. They acquired courage as a natural disposition due to prolonged life in desert relying upon themselves.⁴²

IV/12. Nomads are Better Able to Achieve Superiority

As a result of the reasons mentioned above, it is the nomads and not the sedentary people who are better able to achieve superiority⁴³. The nomads are people possessed of the virtue of their very natural disposition- bravery; it helped them to fight against the settled people who had become cowards to fight for themselves.

⁴⁰ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 257

⁴¹ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 257-8.

⁴² Ibid. p. vol. I 257-58; cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 8,35,36,37,38; also '*Muqaddimah*', p 159 – 61, 140 – 42, 148. As this communal sense—the feeling cohesion and oneness – is particularly strong in the inhabitants of the desert –the nomads –Ibn Khaldun specially stresses it, and repeatedly exalts the moral and spiritual excellence of the nomads over the settled population, particularly the townsfolk.

Always warring with wants; ever ready to repel attack; accustomed to a simple, shepherd life, rich in renunciations; courage, perseverance, austerity of character-these are the most conspicuous virtues of the wandering tribes of the desert. These qualities enable them to rule the townsfolk, weakened by luxury, enfeebled by the sapping influences of despotism. The townsfolk, though originally of the same nomad origin, rapidly degenerate under a despotic form of government.; Bukhsh, S.K, (1927).p 601.

⁴³ '*Muqaddimah*',p.138-39; cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 36;Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 282-3

But once the nomads gain control over the sedentary people and are comfortably established in power they also began to lose their nomadic qualities of bravery and fortitude. “Whenever people settle in the fertile plains and amass luxuries and become accustomed to a life of abundance and luxury, their bravery decreases to the degree that their wild and desert habits decrease.”⁴⁴

IV/13. Royal Authority Farther While the People are Rooted in Nomadic State

This phenomenon is the continuation of the points discussed above. When nomadic people achieve enough *asabiya*, they naturally assume royal authority. Still they are rooted in certain good qualities of Nomadism like, simplicity, moderation, and non-affiliation to anything. “Such a nation is better able to achieve superiority and full control and to subdue other groups. The members of such nations have the strength to fight other nations.”⁴⁵

These savages’ peoples, further more, have no homelands that they might use as fertile (pastures) and no fixed place to which they might repair. All regions and places are the same to them. Therefore they do not restrict themselves to possession of their own and

⁴⁴ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 282-83; ‘Muqaddimah’, p 168 – 75; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, sections 4,5 ; cf. chapter ‘*Asabiya*’, section 34,27. Ibn Khaldun insists that the methods by which human beings earn their livelihood, determine to a vast extent, the character of civilization. They give Life-style it’ uniqueness, and would also play a decisive roll in the creation of social and economic institutions and in giving human behavior in a particular society its distinctive characteristics. In his opinion, primitive cultures show maximum uniformity in the mode of living. Conditions of life being hard, members out of sheer instinct for survival, struggle together to overpower the, inclemencies of nature. They must share each other’s burden, and create uniform means of livelihood which would make such a co-operation feasible Shaukat Ali, (1993).p 123-124.

⁴⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’ ,p.145; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 14; cf. chapter ‘*Bedouin*’, section 21;Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 295-6

neighboring regions. They do not stop at the borders of their horizon. They swarm across distant zones and achieve superiority over far away nations'.⁴⁶ Therefore, the dynasties established by the nomadic people extended wider area far away from their original homelands.⁴⁷

IV/14. Nomads are More Remote from Royal Authority

Nomads are people deeply rooted in desert life. As they make excursion deeper into desert, they can dispense contacts with the other people.⁴⁸ They do not require the products of the countries and villages. Therefore they have developed a quality of liberty and free movements. It has become their natural disposition. Therefore it is not easy for them to subordinate themselves with other member of the same group. They have never used to become under any kind of control. Even though they accept the leadership of a elder one, they do not fully succumb to him.

⁴⁶ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 295

⁴⁷ "Force and power are listed among the basis ingredients of human civilization. Power has always been used as an effective instrument to extract compliance from others and the way it is budgeted in society, and among whom it is budgeted determine the character of the institutional framework of communities. Ibn Khaldun also rated power very high among the characteristics of *asabiyya*. It's intensity and ability to hold people together in a group, he feels, is an important factor in the generation of group feeling. How long a culture is going to last, depends on how effective the use of power is. Primitive cultures, he says, are known for the ferocity of their power, and this is a major determinant of the strength of their *Asabiya*.... In his opinion, aggressive propensities are rooted deep in human nature, and man has a tendency to relish injustice more than justice. To fulfill his daily needs he requires social organization, but such an organization is disrupted by inherent aggression of men. To control or contain such an evil and destructive tendency, social organizations need the restraining influence of authority. [Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 124-125]

⁴⁸ 'Muqaddimah',p. 151-52; Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 124-5; cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 8; cf. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 22; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 306-8 ;Issawi,C.(1950)p 59 f

Therefore their leader is forced to control them very generously. He always tries not to antagonize them.⁴⁹

On the other hand royal “leadership and government require the leader to exercise a restraining influence by force”. It requires submission to his will and decisions on the part of the members of the *Asabiya*. Mutual adjustment of interest and subordination for the welfare of the whole people are required to establish a royal authority. That is why people deeply rooted in nomadic habits cannot establish royal authority.

There are other reasons also for this phenomenon. As we have noted before, the nomadic habit is just opposite to the settled life. Sedentary civilization stands for construction while Nomadism for destruction. Appropriating the possession of others and negligence to law and order are the two natural traits of nomadic people, which are detrimental to civilization itself. When they took possession of a settled area, their goal is to make profit by taking away the property of the people. They even impose fines to punish crimes, which never deters crimes. Rather it provides incentive to crimes, when the crimes are more profitable than the fines.⁵⁰ “Thus misdeeds increase and civilization ruined”. A nation dominated by the Arabs is in a state no different from anarchy where every body is set against the others. Such a civilization cannot last and goes quickly to ruin”.⁵¹

⁴⁹ cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 32; '*Muqaddimah*', p.302-11 Rosenthal, F.(1958).vol. . II. p. 137-56.

⁵⁰ cf. chapter '*Bedouin*', section 16; cf. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 19,18.

⁵¹ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. Vol. p 307.

IV/15. A Dynasty is Rarely Established Where Nomadic People Predominates

The reason for this is the same one discussed above. Nomads maintain differences in opinions and desires.⁵² “Behind each opinion and desire there is a group feeling defending it. At any time, therefore, there is much opposition to a dynasty and rebellion against it”.⁵³ Each group under the dynasty thinks that it has strength and power to become leaders. It will lead to differences of opinions and disunity that will ultimately lead to the decline of the dynasty and civilization.

“On the other hand, it is easy to establish a dynasty in lands that are free from (so many) group feelings. Government there would be a tranquil affair because sedition and rebellions are few and the dynasty there does not need much group feeling”.⁵⁴

IV/16. Nomads, Religion and Royal Power

Royal authority is the result of *Asabiya* or unity that a nation shows in all aspects of individual and collective life⁵⁵. But the Nomads lacked this basic quality by their very nature. As a people given to freedom and constant movement it is their natural disposition that they are never accustomed to subordinate themselves to each other. They are rude, proud, ambition to become leader rather than to be led, haughty, jealousy of power, etc.

⁵² ‘Muqaddimah’, p.164-66,151-52; cf. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 11; Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. I, p.332-6; 302-6; Issawi .C.(1950)p 111-3;58-9; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, 1819;chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 11.

⁵³ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. –332.

⁵⁴ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 334; cf. next section also.

⁵⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’, p.123-24,151-52; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol.I,p305-6; Lacoste,Yves. (1984) p 89; cf. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 19

Moreover, nomads are people accustomed to rudeness. They have not experienced any restraining influence. They are people accustomed to all vice habits that are destructive to civilizations and royal power. They do not possess any political precepts with them. A nation given to commit all sorts of crimes and vices never acquires unity and royal power. Nomadic people maintain strong individual consciousness, which is also a hindrance to create unity among them. As a result, the Nomads always remain far removed from acquiring royal power.⁵⁶

But Ibn Khaldun argued that the Nomads could be brought to unity if they are able to get beyond the interest of individuality. Then they can acquire royal authority and a high standard of civilization. "When there is religion among them, through prophecy of sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves"

All their destructive Nomadic qualities give way to assure unity for their common benefit with the help of religion. "It is easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite. This is achieved by the common religion they now have. It causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercise a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy."⁵⁷ Thus religion gives the Nomads a common platform of unity that is superior to their tribal consciousness. This unity will naturally lead them to royal authority

But unity based upon a religious consciousness alone is not sufficient to tame Nomadism. Nomadism is a stage of life devoid of all

⁵⁶ see above chapter 'Bedouin', section 16

⁵⁷ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. - 305.

social virtues and high morals.⁵⁸ Therefore the unity based on religion will not last enough to acquire royal power. Here again religion provides Nomad with all the virtuous values reacquired for a civilized nation. “When there is a prophet or saint among them who calls upon them to fulfill the commands God and rids them of blameworthy qualities and causes them to adopt praiseworthy ones, and who has them concentrate all their strength in order to make the truth prevail, they become truly united (as a social organization) and obtain superiority and royal authority”.⁵⁹

Another positive quality the Nomads have, as is discussed above, is that they are preserved from any distortions of cultural training. “Their nature have been preserved free from distorted habit and uncontaminated by base character qualities. The only (difficulty) lies in the quality of savagery, which however, is easily taken care of and which is ready to admit good (qualities) as it has required in its first natural state and remote from the ugly customs and bad habits that leave their impress upon the soul. ‘Every infant is born in the natural state’”.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ . cf. chapter 'Asabiya', section 18,19; 'Muqaddimah', chapter II, sections 19,26.

⁵⁹ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 305-6.

⁶⁰ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. - 306 ; cf. chapter 'Bedouin', section 10; “It can be demonstrated Ibn Khaldun was trying to draw general conclusions from his investigation into the causes of the constant crises in the Maghreb. In his desire to ignore the particular in favour of the general, he omitted to mention one other important transformation. Most of the dynasties that succeeded one another between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries were established by victorious tribes or groups of tribes, as were the Kingdom of Tlemcen, and the Idrissid, Fatimid, Almoravid and Almohad empires. But these had all been cemented together by a specific religious tendency which marked them out from both orthodoxy and the main heterodox tendencies. In a period when the influence of religion was all-important, this ideological particularism enabled the states to impose a common superstructure upon a heterogeneous group of tribes. The king had a advantage

IV/17. Nomads Least Familiar with Crafts

The development of various kinds of crafts is closely related with the sedentary culture.⁶¹ On the other hand, Nomadic ways of living does not require any kind of crafts. “The reason for this is that as long as Sedentary civilization is not complete and the city fully organized, people are concerned only with the necessities of life”. When the civilization is still in the nomadic stage, people do not require development of any crafts. Crafts are perfected only if there exists large and perfect sedentary civilization.⁶²

Therefore Nomads, who are more firmly rooted in desert habit, are more remote from any kind of crafts. Nomads live on very simple resource and they want only to fulfill the basic requirements of food, shelter, clothes and protection. Resources in large quantities are not available to them that prevents them from giving any attentions to the luxuries of life. The Nomads do not appreciate, and practice crafts but, having assumed power, destroy all crafts of the sedentary culture.

that often proved decisive when it came to retaining the loyalty of chieftains and groups who might otherwise have been tempted to transfer their allegiance to other monarchs, but did not do so because that would have meant renouncing their beliefs. Ibn Khaldun stress that ‘Religious propagananda gives a dynasty at its beginning another power in addition to that of the group feeling it processed as a result of the number of its supporters’ and that ‘Dynasties of wide power and large royal authority have their origin in religion based either on prophecy or on truthful propaganda.’ Lacoste, Yves. (1984) p 89

⁶¹ ‘Muqaddimah’, p.400-401, 404-405; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 16, 17, 20, 23, 25; cf. chapter ‘*Bedouin*’, section 10; Issawi, C. (1950) p 54 f; Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. II, p. 353-54; 347-49 .

⁶² Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. II, p. – 346.

IV/18. Transition from Nomadic of Sedentary

“It should be known that these stages are natural ones for dynasty⁶³. The superiority through which royal authority is achieved is the result of Asabiya and of the great energy and rapacious habits, which go with it. As a rule, these things are possible only connection with desert life. The first stage of dynasty, therefore, is that of desert life.

“When royal authority is obtained, it is accompanied by a life of ease and increased opportunities. Sedentary culture is merely a diversification of luxury and refined knowledge of the crafts employed for the divers aspects and ways o f (luxury)

“The Sedentary stage of royal authority follows the stage of desert life [again]. It does so of necessity, as a result of the fact that royal authority is of necessity accomplished by a life of ease. In the Sedentary stage and under (Sedentary) conditions, the people of a given dynasty always follow the tradition of the preceding dynasty. They observe with their own eyes the circumstances (under which the preceding dynasty lived) and as a rule learn from them.”⁶⁴

The Nomads are not possible to afford the burden of a luxury life since their resource is scanty. But when they become heirs to a sedentary civilization by merits “of the great energy and rapacious habits” which only the nomadic people possessed. They soon succumbed to the call of luxury, easiness and laziness. Thus during the

⁶³ ‘Muqaddimah’, p.172-74; cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, sections 4,5,7; Issawi, C.(1950)p 118 f ; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 347-51.

⁶⁴ Vanquished intimate victor. cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 28;

second generation of a dynasty Nomadism is fully transferred into Sedentary civilization.

“Sedentary culture was always transferred from the preceding dynasty to the later one. ... The larger a dynasty, the more important is its sedentary culture. For Sedentary culture is the consequence of luxury; luxury is the consequence of wealth and prosperity, and wealth and prosperity are the consequence of royal authority and related to the extent of territorial possession which the people of a particular dynasty have gained. All the (elements of sedentary culture) are, thus, proportionate to the (greater or smaller) extent of royal authority.⁶⁵

IV/19. Royal Authority Calls for Urban Settlement

“This is because when royal authority is obtained by tribes and groups, [they] are forced to take possession of cities for two reasons.⁶⁶ One of them is that royal authority causes (the people to seek tranquilly, restfulness, and realization and to try to provide the aspects of civilization that were taking in the [Nomadic civilization]).

“The second (reason) is that rivals and enemies can be expected to attack the realm, and one must defend oneself against them.

“A city situated in a district where (rivals of the dynasty) are found, many often become a place of refuge for a person who wants to attack (the tribes and groups in authority) and revolt against them and deprive them of the royal authority to which they have aspired. He

⁶⁵ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 347- 51.

⁶⁶ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.343; also IV /1,17 cf. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 16,17; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. 237-38, 235-7,286-91.

fortifies himself in the city and fights them (from there). Now it is very difficult and troublesome to over power a city... The existence of a city and of rivals who fortify themselves in it thus eats into the strength of nation desiring to gain control and breaks the impetus of its efforts in this respect. Therefore if, there are cities in tribal territory of (a dynasty, the dynasty) bring them under its control in order to be safe from any weakening (of its power, should the cities fall under control of its rivals). If there is no cities, the dynasty will have to build a new (city), firstly in order to complete the civilization of its realm and to be able to lessen its efforts, and Sedentary, in order to use (the city) as a threat against those parties and groups within dynasty that might desire power and might wish to resist .It is thus clear that royal authority calls for urban settlement and controls of cites.⁶⁷

IV/20. How Desert Attitude Changes through Stages

Civilizations pass on relentlessly from nomadic to sedentary stage and to the last stage of decline. One peculiarity of this change is that at each stage of transfer civilization assumes new condition pertaining to the newly assumed stage⁶⁸. When civilization transfers from nomadic stage to a settled stage it completely gets out of the traits of Nomadism and assumed that of settled life. But this change does not come to civilization all on a sudden. Rather civilization assumed changes in its conditions as it passed on from one generation other. Ibn Khaldun thus clarified five stages for a civilization to transfer completely from

⁶⁷ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 237-38.

⁶⁸ 'Muqaddimah',p.175-76; Bukhsh, S.K, (1927). p 586-7; cf. chapter 'Asabiya', section 34; cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 4,5.

Nomadism to that of a perfectly ripened sedentary civilization. In each of these stages civilization took up traits of character, that does not exist in any other stages. "These traits of character are the natural result of the peculiar situations in which they are found." [or the stages through which it was passing on].⁶⁹

"The first is the phase of victory – of the conquest of oppositions – of the complete possession of the sovereign power, won over from those that held it before. During this phase the prince shares the sovereign power with the members of his tribe. He shares the Government with them and relies upon them for the collection of taxes and for the defense of the State. He enjoys no special prerogative. He is merely *primus inter pares* sense; for the communal sense, which led to victory, is still fresh, powerful, untainted.

"The second phase is conspicuous for the exclusive possession of the rule by the prince. No longer do the tribesmen participate in the exercise of sovereignty – in fact, any attempt, on their part, in that direction is resented and resisted. So long as this phase continues the prince, by bestowal of favour, enlists the support of influential men, and gathers around him clients and partisans in such numbers as enable him to suppress any attempt on the part of his tribe or kinsmen to claim or compete for a share in the government with him. He gradually rids himself of all rivals, until the sovereign power becomes exclusively his and of the nearest members of his family. He thus becomes the founder of a dynasty. He then wears out his strength in defence, as much as,

⁶⁹ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. I, p. ,p 353.

perchance more than, his predecessors did in conquest. These only had a foreign people to fight against, and in their fight had the sure support of an entire tribe burning with the self-same fire of unity; while, in addition, the Sultan now has his own kinsmen to fight, with no other help than a number of foreign mercenaries.

“The third is the phase of restoration and consummation. The Sultan now enjoys the fruits of his efforts. As a ruler of an empire he can indulge in all that enables men to accumulate riches and to leave monuments behind, or otherwise to attain renown. In the levying of taxes; in the control of income and expenditure; in the granting of rations and pay, he shows insight and economy which make it possible for him to build magnificent palaces, powerful castles, large towns and wondrous temples. He makes presents, consistent with his royal position, to foreign peoples and chiefs of tribes. Generous he is to his kinsmen and to his supporters and servants lavish of gifts and honours. He personally inspects his mercenaries; assigns regular rations to them and, month by month pays them their salaries. Clear enough is the effect of all this on their uniforms and weapons on festive occasions. Thus he outshines the powers that are friendly and inspires terror in those that are hostile to him.

“The fourth is the phase of peace and plenty. The prince, contents with inherited glories, lives in peace with other princes and carefully follows in the footsteps of his forebears, convinced that departure from their ways would spell ruin to him.

“The fifth is the phase of extravagance and mal-administration. In pleasure and debauchery the prince spends the wealth hoarded by his predecessors; makes rich presents to his favourites and confers high offices on those that are the instruments of his lust and passion. Incompetent, these can but ill discharge the duties entrusted to them.”⁷⁰

“Thus he ruins the foundation his ancestors had laid and tears down what they had built up. In this stage, the dynasty is seized by senility and chronic disease from which it can hardly ever rid itself for which it can find no cure, and, eventually, it is destroyed”.⁷¹

IV/21. Origin of a New Dynasty

A dynasty decline as a consequence of luxury and senility that naturally affect it in course of time.⁷² Then another dynasty rises to authority to assume the dynasty and power. While one dynasty decline and disintegrate due to the adverse effect of luxury and laziness prevalent in sedentary civilization, another civilization rooted in nomadic habits of simplicity, courage and perseverance can fill the void. This process of the rise and fall of dynasty continues from one civilization to another.

A new dynasty comes into being when one or the other provincial governors liberate himself and assumes full power for himself who gradually extended his authority over others. Thus the original dynasty was overthrown by this subsidiary dynasty.⁷³

⁷⁰ Bukhsh, S.K,(1927).p 586-87.

⁷¹ Rosenthal, F ;(1958).vol. I, p. -353-55 .

⁷² cf. chapter 'Asabiya', section 31; cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 13,14.

⁷³ cf. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 11,12,13.

Another possibility for originating a new dynasty is that if a rebel leader who makes revolt after amassing enough support through effective propaganda possibly with a religion colouring and then overthrow the dynasty in an open attack.⁷⁴

IV/22. Establishment of a New Dynasty Require Perseverance

Ibn Khaldun argued that a dynasty when it originates, will be rooted in nomadic characteristics such as simplicity of life, feeling of belongingness between their leader and the lead, lack of luxury and laziness an ardent desire to work hard for the common benefit, perseverance courage etc. Still then, they cannot aspire for defeating and conquering the prevailing dynasty that has not affected by the vices of sedentary civilization⁷⁵.

“Accepted customs has made obedience to the ruling dynasty a necessity and an obligation. ...This put many hindrances in the way of the founder of a new dynasty. It discourages his followers and

⁷⁴ Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. .130-35; “He realized that the palingenetic cycle of the rise and fall of ‘*Umrān Hadhārī*’ was an abnormal as the short, cyclical existence of the empires, and that the two were closely linked. On several occasions he compared the life of the state to that of a man: birth; maturity, death. But he also realized that in other countries the cycles were not so short and that civilization there could develop over a longer period. His reference to biological fatality obviously does not satisfy him. If he saw the destiny of North Africa as something natural, why should he attack those he held responsible for it so savagely? It seems possible that he half realized that civilization is not necessarily doomed to repeat the same cycles and that its development can be interrupted and then reach higher levels. The violence of his subjective reaction expresses a rejection of fatalism and an intuitive belief that progress is not inconceivable, even though that belief is never clearly formulated. It could not be formulated in a society which looked turbulent but which was in fact stagnating. At a time when religious ideology was becoming a reactionary force, Ibn Khaldun tried to understand the society in which he lived and instinctively rebelled against the notion that progress would always be blocked by unavoidable failures. That rebellion gives us the true measure of the man”. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p . 130.

⁷⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.298-301 ; Rosenthal. F. (1958).vol. II, p. 130-35.

supporters. His closest intimates may be fully intent upon obeying him and helping him. Still, others are more numerous, who are affected by weakness and laziness under the influence of the belief that they owe submission to the ruling dynasty. Their zeal slackens. Therefore, the founder of a new dynasty is hardly able to make a stand against the ruler of the ruling dynasty. Consequently he falls back on patience and perseverance, until the senility of the ruling dynasty has become obvious. Then his people lose the belief that they owe submission to the ruling dynasty. They become sufficiently spirited to make an open attack upon the ruling dynasty in concert with (the founder of the new dynasty) victory and domination are the result.⁷⁶

The people of the new dynasty do not have (such things). They have the desert attitude and are poor and indignant. This leaves them unprepared for such (things). What they hear about the condition and excellent state of preparedness of the ruling dynasty makes them apprehensive. They are afraid to do battle against (the ruling dynasty) on account of it. Therefore, their leader is forced to wait until senility takes hold of the ruling dynasty and its Asabiya fiscal structure are disintegrating. Then, the founder of the new dynasty seizes the opportunity to gain the upper hand, quiet sometime after his attack (had began)...they long wait comes to an end, and sudden action finally brings domination.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ "Further more... (the ruling dynasty) had appropriated a good deal of the revenues from the taxes. Thus they have many horses in their stables and good weapons. There is much royal pomp among them (which give them additional strength). Gifts from their (sic) rulers, given either voluntarily or under constraint, have been showed upon them. With all this they frighten their enemies.

⁷⁷ Rosenthal.F,(1958).vol.II,p.130-35.

Chapter V

UMRAN AL HADHARI (SEDENTARY CIVILIZATION)

V/1. Sedentary Civilization is Natural

As in the case of the nomadic civilization Ibn Khaldun argued that sedentary civilization is also natural. It is the result of the improvements in the conditions and acquisition of more wealth and comfort than they needed, which cause them to rest and take it easy¹.

V/2. Sedentary Civilization is the Goal of *Umrān*

This is the basic concept that Ibn Khaldun put forward with regard to *Umrān* in general. He had explained in 'Muqaddimah' ²that royal authority which is the foundations of dynasties is the goal of *Asabiya*, that sedentary culture is the goal of Bedouin life³ and that civilization has a physical life span just like that of a single individual being.⁴

“Reason and tradition make it clear⁵ that (the age of) forty years means the end of the increase of an individual’s powers and growth. When a man has reached the age of forty nature stops growing for a while, then starts to decline. It should be known that the same is the case

¹ “Muqaddimah” .p. 120-21; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 1; c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 34.

² Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 284, 347, 343.

³ Rosenthal, F.; (1958).vol. I, p 284 ff

⁴ Rosenthal, F.; (1958).vol. I, p 342 ff.

⁵ Rosenthal, F.; (1958).vol. II , p 291 ,284,347,343; 'Muqaddimah' .p.371-74;c.f. c.f. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 7, 2.

with sedentary culture in civilization, because there is a limit that cannot be over stepped. When luxury and prosperity come to civilized people it naturally causes them to follow the way of sedentary culture and adopt its customs. As one knows, sedentary culture is the adoption of diversified luxuries, the cultivation of things that go with them, and addiction to the crafts that give elegance to all the various kinds of luxuries such as the crafts of cooking, dress making, building and (making) carpets, vessels and all other parts of (domestic) economy for the elegant execution of all these things, there exists many crafts not needed in desert life with its lack of elegance. When elegance in domestic economy has reached the limit, it is followed by subservience to desires. From all these customs, the human soul receives a multiple coloring that undermines its religion and worldly (well-being) it cannot preserve its religion, because it has now been firmly colored by customs (of luxury) and it is difficult to discard such colorings. (It cannot preserve) worldly (well being) because these customs (of luxury) demand a great many things and (entail) many requirements for which a (man's) income is not sufficient.

“This is explained by fact that the expenditures of the inhabitants of a city mount with the diversification of sedentary culture. Sedentary culture differs according to the differences in civilization. When a civilization grows, sedentary culture becomes more perfect. We have stated before⁶ that a city with a large civilization (population) is characterized by high prices in business and high prices for its needs.

⁶ ‘Muqaddimah’. p. 135-36; Rosenthal, F; (1958). vol. I, p 276.

(The prices) are then raised still higher through customs duties: for sedentary culture reaches perfection at the time when the dynasty has reached its greatest flourishing, and that the time when the dynasty levies customs duties because then it has large expenditure, as has been stated before ⁷ the customs duties raise the sales (prices), because small businessmen and merchants include all their expenses, even, their personal requirements, in the price of their stock and merchandise. Thus custom duties enter into the sales price. The expenditures of sedentary people, therefore, grow and are no longer reasonable but extravagant. The people cannot escape this (development) because they are dominated by and subservient to their customs. All their profits go into their expenditures. One person after another became reduced in circumstances and indignant. Poverty takes hold of them. Few people bid for the available goods. Business decreases and the situation of the town deteriorates”.

It shows that the goal of civilization is sedentary culture and luxury. Then civilization reaches that goal, it turns towards corruption and starts being senile as happens in the natural life of living beings. Indeed we may say that the qualities of character resulting from sedentary culture and luxury are identical in the corruption. Man is a man only in as much as he is able to procure himself useful things and to repel harmful things

⁷ Muqaddimah. p.280-81; Rosenthal, F; (1958). vol. II, p 91.

V/3. Sedentary the Last Stage of *Umran*

Nomadism is the beginning stage of *Umran* as this stage had all the required good qualities to build it such as perseverance, simplicity, steadfastness, courage, and devotion to praiseworthy habit and aversion to blameworthy habits⁸. Therefore Ibn Khaldun considered nomadism the beginning stage of *Umran*. Sedentary culture, on the other hand, represented just the opposite of the nomadic stage with so many vices like luxury and immorality, laziness that proved detrimental to *Umran*.⁹

V/4. Sedentary *Umran* is the Result of Transition

Umran comes into being taking advantage of the virtuous qualities of nomadic people. Once acquired power and established itself in royal authority, *Umran* proceeds to grow from one stage to the next following its natural course and reached sedentary stage¹⁰. In another words, sedentary culture is the result of the progress and development that took place in nomadic *Umran*. As the nomadic *Umran* has its own

⁸ 'Muqaddimah'. p.122; Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 123 ,c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 1,7;Issawi,C.(1950)p 81 f.Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 252-3.

⁹ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 253. 'They become ease-loving and comfort-seeking. Material affluence corrupts their mind and soul, and the traditional hardihood and dynamism of the asabiya are replaced with indolence, slowness of through and sluggishness in action. That ceaseless struggle against all kinds of odds, which sustained primitive culture, disappears, and men in advanced civilization fritter away their energies in needless and injurious pursuits of luxury. In the end, a stage is reached when injustice and corruption sap the foundations of solidarity, and Asabiya is deemed to have reached the nadir of effectiveness and the whole edifice of the, mutuality of interests between the rulers and the ruled collapses like a house of cards. Inter-group rivalries multiply and in the midst of endless squabbles, the society becomes ripe for dramatic changes. The, most dramatic of them could be the change in the ruling group. It is a time when dynasties change, revolutions occur, successful invasions take place, and sociological metamorphosis, which comes in the wake of these changes, open vista for readjustment of social and economic relationship among various groups'. Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 123

¹⁰ 'Muqaddimah' .p.172-74,371-74;Foruqi M. R. p 313, c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 18,c.f. chapter '-Asabiya', section 27;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 347-51;Issawi,C.(1950)p 118 f.

traits and peculiar qualities, sedentary *Umran* also has peculiarities of its own. But there are fundamental differences between the two. Rather, they are just opposite in nature and in every details

V/5. How Nomadism Change to Sedentary

The *Umran*, established in nomadic stage gradually changed its natural characteristics from generation to generation until it completely get rid of its former nature and fully absorbed the qualities of sedentary *Umran*¹¹. This change took place in gradual process through the passage of generations and reached the ultimate goal of sedentary *Umran* where it meets with the end

“The transition from ‘*umran badawi* to ‘*umran hadhari* affects only the privileged minority which holds political power. For Ibn Khaldun, the difference between the two stages relates more to social and political structures than to a way of life or a geographical context. All the states that where established in mediaeval North Africa. were founded by tribes with characteristics deriving from ‘*umran badawi*. Once ‘*umran hadhari* replaced ‘*umran badawi* within a tribe that ruled an empire, it rapidly fell into social and political decline. Its decline meant that it could be conquered by a new ‘*umran badawi* tribe from the bled. In its turn, that tribe would evolve towards ‘*umran hadhari* and then decline”.¹²

¹¹ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.175-76;Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 100;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 18,20;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 34 ;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 353-55.

¹² “Cyclical theories have a multi-faceted dimension; they may show a progressive aspect, a reactionary aspect, or both. Their progressive effect [however paradoxical it may be to call the purposeless, endless way a progress]lies in viewing history as a movement, as non-static, namely as inevitable, ordered movement that points forward and thwarts any attempt to re-establish the past. The reactionary effect is the lack of any hope, of any

V/6. Lineage Becomes Confused

Now let us turn our attention to some peculiar characteristics of sedentary *Umran* in comparison with that of the nomadic *Umran*. As we have noted above, *Umran* undergo basic changes in this stage. One of the most important change that took place is that the lineage of the individual members of the *Umran* becomes confused.¹³

It is the nomadic people who keep clear lineage of their individual members. This is because of the fact that only people with strong *Asabiya* can exist in the desert. The nomadic people for the purpose of keeping strong *Asabiya* always kept the lineage that knit every one of them into a group. In fact the family conciseness of the nomads guaranteed the existence of a clear-cut lineage. This is possible in the nomadic *Umran* only.¹⁴

When *Umran* transfers into sedentary culture, the nomadic people will be mixed up with the sedentary people. As a result of life among the sedentary *Umran* for generations, nomads loose their lineage and are mixed up with others. Moreover the existence of *Umran* in a town is not due to the prevalence of a strong *Asabiya* based upon clear lineage. They can dispense with such a strong *Asabiya* because of the fact that the sedentary civilization is a state of settled life while nomadism is in the stage of not being settled. Once established in power, they can

impulse to create something absolutely new; and reactionary is the retrospective view of history, as something that is already completed and that only repeats itself endlessly'. Lacoste, Yves. (1984) p 100; c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 5.

¹³ '*Muqaddimah*' p., 129-30; Siddiqi, S.K. (1984), p 43; c.f. c.f. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 22; c.f. chapter '*Bedouin*', section 4 ; Rosenthal, F. ; (1958). vol. . I , p 265-67.

¹⁴ c.f. chapter '*Bedouin*', section 4; c.f. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 27.

dispense with Asabiya to a great amount. So the nomads, when comes power neglected their lineage which had served them as the basis of their victory. Moreover they intermarry with the natives of the conquered people. All these steps spoil their purity of lineage. It becomes confused with others.¹⁵

V/7. Asabiya in Cities

As we have noted above, when *Umran* transfers from nomadism to sedentary, it undergo tremendous change¹⁶. The most important change is in Asabiya itself. The nomads maintained strong Asabiya as a result of the availability of a clear-cut lineage. But when the *Umran* is transformed into sedentary, lineage became intermixed and confused. Therefore we can notice that the sedentary population maintained comparatively weaker Asabiya than that of the nomadic *Umran*.

“It is clear that it is in the nature of human beings to enter into close contact and to associate (with each other), even though they may

¹⁵ C.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 6; “In an ecological sense, Ibn Khaldun postulated that an urban area provides the total environment of the city life-supporting system of man, the central problem being to understand how a population organizes itself in adapting to a constantly changing yet limiting environment. The concept reflects a population organization based on the social and economic relationship within the groups. Although his concept lacks definition of its components, he did not sufficiently address the role of values, sentiments, attitudes and choices for urban population. In his view city-dwellers inter-relate through marriage, thus forming groups of kinsmen, divide into parties and factions, between which there exist the same relations of friendship and enmity as those between tribes. Thus, his assumptive base fails to develop a cohesive urbanization theory, except that the city reflects a kind of social organism. Preceding McKenzie's views, his social organism accommodates itself to the spatial and substance relationship existing among the urban occupants in accordance with the different sizes of the cities' populations.” Siddiqi, S.K. (1984), p 43–45

¹⁶ '*Muqaddimah*' .p.377-78; section 21; c.f. chapter '*Bedouin*', section 18; Issawi, C. (1950) p 107 ff; Rosenthal, F. ; (1958). vol. . II , p 302-5.

not have common descent. However, as we have mentioned before¹⁷ such association is weaker than one based upon common descent and the resulting Asabiya is only part of what (Asabiya) resulting from common descent is. Many inhabitants of cities come into close contact through intermarriages. This draws them together and eventually, they constitute individual related groups. The same friendship or hostility that is found among tribes and families is formed among them and they split into parties and groups”.¹⁸

Thus Ibn Khaldun noticed that intermingling of people with those people outside their Asabiya ultimately lead to the loss of identity and the resultant weakening of Asabiya. This peculiar nature befalls *Umran* when it is transformed into sedentary *Umran* completely.

V/8. Sedentary *Umran* and Reliance Upon Laws

Another important peculiarity of the sedentary *Umran* is that, when its natural Asabiya is gone as a result of transition from nomadism, sedentary *Umran* developed various institutions to maintain its internal unity¹⁹. These institutions include laws and legal procedures formulated to guarantee civil life, judiciary, police, educational institution, etc. In fact, all these administrative mechanism that are formulated in the sedentary *Umran* is the result of the institutionalisation. But one fact is important i.e. all these institution, even through aimed at the maintenance of unity among the sedentary

¹⁷ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II, p. 119.

¹⁸ Rosenthal, F. (1958).vol. . II , p ,P-302-303

¹⁹ ‘Muqaddimah’. p.125-27;section 6; c.f. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 22;c.f. chapter ‘Bedouin’, section 14;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 258-61.

Umran, it is secondary or subsidiary in nature as compared to the primary *Asabiya* based on manifest lineage and blood relationship. The reason for this is that blood relation is a fact while all other relations are imaginary or fictitious.²⁰

But, we have to consider here another fact that the weakening of *Asabiya* in the context of implementing laws. Ibn Khaldun argued that the reliance of sedentary people upon laws destroys their fortitude and power of resistance which in turn become obstacles in ways of attaining royal power.²¹

“As a rule, man must by necessity be dominated by some one else. If the domination is kind and just and the people under it are not oppressed by its laws and restrictions, they are guided by the courage or cowardice that they possess in themselves. They are satisfied with the absence of restraining power; self-reliance eventually becomes a quality natural to them. They would not know anything else. If, however, the domination with its laws is one of brute force and intimidation, it breaks their fortitude and deprives them of their power of resistance as a result of the inertness that develops in the souls of the oppressed, as we shall explain...

“When laws are (enforced) by means of punishment, they completely destroy fortitude, because the use of punishment against

²⁰ The members of a social organization (inhabitants of the city) are led to adapt through laws for the common interest. Thus, a mixture of religious laws and ethical rules becomes a part of social organizations with a necessary concern for strength and group feeling. Siddiqi, S.K. (1984), p 43.

²¹ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 22,23,24; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 12; c.f. chapter 'Hadhari', section 35,36,37,38.

someone who cannot defend himself generates in that person a feeling of humiliation that, no doubt, must break his fortitude...²²

V/9. Urban Population Dominates Nomads

If we compare nomadic and sedentary *Umran* in terms of their merits, we can easily state that the sedentary *Umran* is far superior to that of the nomadic *Umran*. There are a number of factors that make sedentary *Umran* superior to the others i.e. it is the final goal of nomadism; it has abundance of wealth and resources and it has refinement in all levels of life including sciences and crafts.²³

“Desert civilization is inferior to urban civilization, because not all the necessities of civilization are to be found among the people of the desert. They do possess some agriculture at home, (but) they do not possess all the materials that belong to it, most of which (depend on) crafts. They do not have any (crafts to) provide them with the necessities required for making a living in agriculture and other things...While (the Bedouins) need the cities for their necessities of life, the urban population needs the (Bedouins) for convenience and luxuries. Thus, (the Bedouins) need the cities for the necessities of life by very nature of their (mode of) existence. As long as they live in the desert and have not obtained royal authority and control of the cities, they need the inhabitants (of the latter). They must be active on behalf of their

²² For this (reason) greater fortitude is found among the [nomads] than among people who are subject to laws. Further more, those who rely on laws and are dominated by them from the very beginning of their education and instruction in the crafts, sciences and religious matters are thereby deprived of much of their own fortitude. They can scarcely defend themselves at all against hostile acts Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p p 258-61

²³ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.,p.153 ;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 308-11;Issawi,C.(1950)p 82 f; Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 45

interests and obey them whenever the (latter) ask and demand obedience from them....²⁴

V/10. Luxury Will at First Give: Additional Strength to Dynasty

Umran always grows to the final stage of sedentary *Umran*, which is typical by abundance and luxury as its natural characteristic. During the very beginning of this transition, simplicity of the nomadic life gives way to abundance in wealth and property.²⁵ Ibn Khaldun argued that luxury in this initial stage gives the dynasty additional strength. This is not contrary to his statement that luxury leads to the ruin of *Umran*. It is not the refinement of tastes and habits of the sedentary *Umran* that leads to the ruin of *Umran*; rather the extravagance and negligence, immorality and vices that creep into the body of *Umran* that cause the ruin of *Umran*.²⁶

²⁴ They have, therefore, no hope of survival except by being obedient to the city. Thus they are of necessity dominated by the urban population. Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 308-10 ;C.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 9. "The socio-economic urban model of Ibn Khaldun aimed at creating an equilibrium in the urbanization process, developing unity between town and country and promoting the growth of balanced communities. In a sense, he envisioned the common object of urban development as the establishment of man's well being. He suggested that the total environment of a city serves as a life-supporting system for man. Adaptation was expected as collective phenomenon, with interdependence rather than competition the key to survival. He perceived the urban spatial structure as functionally interdependent on population size, social and economic relationships, and artifacts and labor used to sustain and organize the city. Such concepts may be considered close to the "urban ecology," and it was closely related to the increasing levels of economic growth and to the changing distribution of skills and division of labour. Thus, Ibn Khaldun identified components of urban growth, with the emergence of a rich class with wealth and development of luxury, industries distinguishing urbanism as an ideal way of life. He pointed out that this process required a long time. However, towns became more civilized, and habits of luxury created a demand for new industries, causing the emergence of new crafts". Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 45.

²⁵ 'Muqaddimah' .p.174-75; Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 351-53; Bukhsh,S.K,(1927).p 591;c.f. c.f. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 22;c.f. chapter '*Bedouin*', section 10,12;;c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 36,37;Issawi,C.(1950)p 119 f.

²⁶ C.f. chapter '*Asabiya*', section 33,21,22,19,6 etc.

Therefore, he argued that luxury gave additional strength to *Umran* and dynasty in its initial stage. "A tribe that has obtained royal authority and luxury is profile and produces many children, and the community grows. Thus, the group grows. Further more a greater number of clients and followers is required. The (new) generations grow up in a climate of prosperity and luxury. Through them (the dynasty) gains in numbers and in strength, because a great number of groups form at that time as the results of the numerical increase. When the first and second generations are gone and the dynasty starts to become senile, its followers and clients can not do anything on their own to put the dynasty and its royal authority on a firmer basis, because they never had authority of their own, but were dependant on the men of (the dynasty) and (merely) supported it. When the roots are gone, the branches cannot be strong on their own, but disappear completely and the dynasty no longer returns its former strength.²⁷

²⁷ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p. 351-53; So royal authority gets the supports of clients and supporters in the beginning; it adds to their original strength and prosperity and luxury adds to their power (defeated people support the victor and imitate them) c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 10 This is the case in the beginning only. Luxury ultimately ruins the state and the umran. "No Empire can have more than a limited number of provinces. To garrison them it must have a sufficient number of troops and this number will fix the limits of the empire. But this state of affairs only continues so long as the original force of nomadism remains unimpaired. Gradually, however, the height of splendour is reached; revenues flow in copious streams; luxury increases; the town civilization makes gigantic strides, but the military spirit suffers decline, and pleasure and enjoyment sap vitality and bring effeminacy and demoralization in their train. A yet further consequence is the awakening of ambition which spurs men on to contend for honour and influence. The Sultan, however, tries, by violent measures, to end this state of affairs. The Amirs and magnates perish; dependants and subordinates multiply; the state's power of resistance weakens. And, indeed, this weakness first evidences itself in the weakening of the military strength of the States. Moreover, the unrestrained expenses of the Sultan become far too great for the revenues, which the States yields. Thus, weakness on the financial side- the second affection of the State. Financial weakness, in conjunction with military weakness, leads, indeed, to decline and fall. (Bukhsh,S.K,(1927).p 591-92.

V/11. When a Dynasty Approaches Senility

When royal authority is firmly established and amassed all glory for itself and luxury and tranquility have been firmly established, the next stage of the dynasty is senility, disintegration, decline and fall²⁸. Ibn Khaldun viewed this process of disintegration of *Umran* through a number of angles.²⁹

Firstly, those who are in power claims all glory for themselves, even though it belonged equally to the all member of the *Asabiya*. They all had worked united to gain power and glory. “They all aimed at fame. Therefor they considered death encountered in pursuit of glory, sweet, and they preferred annihilation to the loss of (glory)”. But when one leader out of them assumes all the glory for himself and exclude all others from sharing it. Then “they become dispirited and come to love humbleness and servitude. People thus become too lazy to care for fame”. *Umran* passes in such condition on to the next generation whom the ruler pacified by granting allowances and other payments. It never occurs to this generation that they are the party of the fame and glory the ruler has. “This (situation) debilitates the dynasty and undermines its strength. Its *Asabiya* decays because the people who represent the *Asabiya* have lost their energy. As a result, the dynasty progresses towards the weakness and senility.”³⁰

²⁸ ‘Muqaddimah’ p.168-70; Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 339-43;Issawi,C.(1950)p 122-26;Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 138-40;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section ,21;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 28,34,5.

²⁹ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 35,28,30,5,6,13,etc.

³⁰ “The luxuries of city-life and attitudes that stem out of them damage the military and financial strength of social system. Men lose their fighting spirit because they are so engrossed in the pleasures of life, and that ability to stay away from their homes for a

The second reason why *Umran* decayed after acquiring royal power is that of the disintegrating effect of luxury that follows royal power. As a result of luxury, people become accustomed to be lazy and senile. Their energy is gone. Luxury undermines their economic well being also. They find difficulty to adjust their expenditure to the income they have. When they squander over luxuries their expenses increase and prices become uncontrollable. The rulers impose new taxes, customs and duties, which further enhances prices of commodities. The immorality crept into the body of *Umran* cannot be controlled by the fines imposed by the rulers. A state of imbalance comes into *Umran* as a consequence of luxurious spending which ultimately led to the disintegration of *Umran* itself.³¹

Thirdly, a wild chase of luxury and ease demoralize the people totally. "Luxury corrupts the character. Through luxury the soul acquires divers kinds of evil and sophisticated customs... people lose the good qualities that were a sign of and indication of (their qualification for)

long time is lost. In times when life is simple and existence is more or less of a nomadic character, they move with families, which enhances their ability to fight. The presence of wives and children and the rest of the loved ones gives them the desire to expend the last ounce of their energy in defending them." Shaukat Ali,(1993),p 140.

³¹ "Luxury and sedentary habits, which are cultivated by people in urban environment, lead them into indulgence. They become frivolous, lose all restraints, and society is infested with improper manners, vulgar language, moral crimes, and deceitful dealings. Apathetic life to which they become habituated makes them dependent upon others. While they are busy luxuriating, they ask others to defend their life and property. When too many depend upon too few for the defence and protection, the chances of oppression and tyranny increase manifold. They love paternalistic rule and don't mind if they are pampered or punished like children. As time passes this becomes their natural disposition. (The Muqaddimah, Vol. ..., p.254). Domination of man over man has existed in human history almost since the dawn of civilization, but domination under sedentary conditions of civilization kills self-reliance, breaks fortitude, and generated timidity among those who were formerly masters of their own destiny. Simplicity, integrity, and courage with which they conquered the world are lost for good". Shaukat Ali,(1993) pp.138-39

royal authority. They adopt the contrary bad qualities. This points toward retrogression and ruin.³²

Fourthly, royal authority always stood for settlement and tranquility as opposed to movements and change of the nomadic *Umran*. They become accustomed to inactivity and peace and it become a nature of the sedentary *Umran*. So, when generations pass on thorough this condition, the trait of savagery (which former generation had possessed) undergoes transformation. All the good qualities of nomadic days such as bravery, enthusiasm, perseverance and self-reliance are gone. They

³²Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p 341. "All this is caused by excessive sedentary culture and luxury. They corrupt the city generally in respect to business and civilization. Corruption of the individual inhabitants is the result of painful and trying efforts to satisfy the needs caused by their luxury customs; (the result) of the bad qualities they have acquired in the process of obtaining (those needs); and of the damage the soul shelters after it has obtained them, through acquiring (still) another (bad luxury) quality, Immorality, wrong doing insincerity, and trickery for the purpose of making a living in a proper and improper manner, increase among them. The soul comes to think about (making a living) to study it and to are all possible trickery for the purpose. People are now devoted to lying, jumbling cheating, fraud, theft, perjury and usury. Because of the many derives and pleasures resulting from luxury, they are fond to know everything about the ways and means of immorality, they talk openly about it and its causes and give up all restraints in discussing it even among relatives and close female relations, where the Bedouin attitude requires modesty and (avoidance of) obscenities. They also known every thing about fraud and deceit, which they employ to defend themselves against the possible use of force against them and against the punishment expected for their evil deeds. Eventually, this becomes a custom and trait of character with means of them.

"The city then teems with low people of blameworthy character. They encounter competition from among way members of the younger generation of the dynasty, whose education has been neglected] and when the dynasty neglected to accept. They, there for adopt the qualities of their environment and company, even though they may be people of noble descent and ancestry. Men are human beings and as such resemble one another. They differ in merit and are distinguished by their character, by their acquisition of virtues and avoidance of vices. A person who is strongly colored by any kind of vice and whose good character is corrupt, is not helped by his descent and fine origin. If this (situation) spreads in a town or nation God permits it to be ruined and destroyed".

become too weak to defend themselves. The evil effects of this situation on the dynasty show themselves in the form of senility.³³

V/12. Senility Cannot be Made to Disappear

Senility affects every *Umrān* as natural causes of the developments related to it. "It is natural for the causes of senility to affect the dynasty. All of them are natural in (a dynasty)... Senility is chronic disease that cannot be cured and made to disappear because it is something natural and natural things do not change".³⁴

Senility is not the result of some shortcomings or negligence on the part of some former generation of the *Umrān*. Rather these things are natural to *Umrān*. Therefore it disintegrates the very foundation of the *Umrān*, which disappear completely from the scene. It was followed by other successive dynasties that come into existence in sequence following the same patterns of development from the stages of nomadism to sedentary.

"At the end of a dynasty, there often also appears some (show of) power that gives the impression that the senility of the dynasty has been made to disappear, it lights up brilliantly just before it is extinguished".³⁵

³³ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . I , p. I 342

³⁴ 'Muqaddimah' .p.293-94 ;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p pp117-18; 118-27;Henrich Simon,p 149-50;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 21;c.f.chapter 'Asabiya', section 30.

³⁵ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p 118; c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', sections 29,6,31,34.

V/13. Disintegration of Dynasties

Ibn Khaldun argued that every *Umran* and dynasty has a natural course of rise and fall. As far decline and fall, there are so many reasons. These reasons are just the opposite to that of the causes for building a dynasty and *Umran*. Accordingly there are two foundations upon which it is built. "The first is might and Asabiya. The second is money, which supports the soldiers and provides for the whole structure needed by royal authority. Disintegration befalls the dynasty at these two foundations".³⁶

Ibn Khaldun has given an elaborate discussion on both of the reasons. Regarding the first one he stated that the establishment of a dynasty or *Umran* is closely related with the phenomena of Asabiya. If there existed more than one Asabiya; one of them must rise to power by defeating and subordinating all others. This singled-out Asabiya assumes power for itself. Thereupon, the dynasty moves on the other stages of tranquility and luxury. The ruler assumes all power for himself, which originally is to be shared with all the members of his family and the Asabiya.

The Ruler, on the other hand, amassed all glory for himself and humiliated all others. He played others against each other so as to assure his position or pacified them by giving pensions and allowances. Still some others were destroyed or killed. "Thus two agencies of destruction surround them, luxury and force."³⁷ The ruler used his power to

³⁶ 'Muqaddimah' .p.297-98; Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p 118-24;Lacoste,Yves:(1984) p 121;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 21,14;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 8,34.

³⁷ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p 119;c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 34.

annihilate all the possible claimants to share the power with him, even though they belonged to his blood relation. This attitude of the royal power either destroys the fortitude of its supporting members or annihilates them physically. 'The Asabiya that the ruler had through them is destroyed' in a wild pursuit and craze for power and glory.³⁸

When the original Asabiya is then spoiled or destroyed, the ruler relies upon clients to get support for his dynasty. But this people do not share that depth of Asabiya that he enjoyed with his close blood relatives. The ruler then becomes isolated from his people and supporters. When his enemies know this, it encourages them to act openly against the ruler³⁹. But the ruler still is preserved authority and power. He ventures on to suppress their rebellions and kills the men of his inner circles in large numbers. This tradition is passed over to the next generations that is addition and corrupted by luxury. "Thus, destruction comes upon them through luxury and through being killed". They become lost people of their original quality of Asabiya, which brought them into power and they approach destruction soon.

³⁸ According to Ibn Khaldun, there is no doubt as to the guilt of the towns people: they are indirectly responsible for the failure of the various attempts to create a centralized monarchy. The obviously exaggerated and emotional nature of his condemnation of urban life is an expression of his political pessimism rather than of an aversion towards the progress of civilization as such, or the refinements of *umran hadhari* which he personally appreciated. Ibn Khaldun reached the conclusion that the fall of empire is inevitable and not accidental. The factors that led to the collapse of the empires of the past have not disappeared. They are still present and will lead to similar disaster in the future. here are a number of reasons for thinking that Ibn Khaldun came to this pessimistic conclusion late in life. For a long time he appears to have held very different views. The violence of his denunciations of those who are responsible for so many past, present and future disasters is a reflection of his lost hopes and his personal feeling of helplessness. His personal ambitions had been ruined. More importantly, there was no longer any hope that North Africa as a whole might at last enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity. Political stability alone could have produced peace and prosperity and for a long time Ibn Khaldun had obviously hoped that a powerful monarchy would make it possible. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p. 121.

³⁹ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 14.

Money and Destruction:- The second way the dynasty approaches disintegration is in matters related with wealth and money. Dynasty and *Umrān*, in the beginning naturally emerges from nomadic simplicity and moderation. The dynasty does not require much money then, as it is far away from the luxurious extravagance.⁴⁰

When royal authority is established and dominion expanded large amount of wealth and property come to the hands of the dynasty. The members of the *Asabiya* are still retaining the quality of hard work even while they were accustomed simplicity. So their income surpasses their expenditure. It would result in accumulating large wealth. This surplus wealth will later on turn over to the luxurious expenditure. The ruler himself will be the first person to turn to luxury, who is greatly rich during the middle of the dynasty. Later on others related with the dynasty and lastly the public will follow these footsteps in matters of luxury. Then luxury catches hold of the *Umrān*.⁴¹ It affects them adversely in two ways. Firstly they spend all their income on luxury, which make their income short of their expenses. Secondly luxury breeds laziness and apathy. As a consequence, they work little even while their expenses are in mounting. This phenomenon firstly catches hold of the ruler and later passes on to the public.

The ruler finds ways to accumulate wealth by increasing taxes and imposing new ones.⁴² The prices mount and life become totally

⁴⁰ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 22; Issawi, C. (1950) p 60 f; 'Muqaddimah' .p., section 17, 18.

⁴¹ Rosenthal, F. ; (1958). vol. . I , p 347-51; 339-43; Issawi, C. (1950) p 122-26; 119 f

⁴² c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 28, 29, 31 below.

unbearable to all. The people who had been caught hold of luxury become demoralized and develops tricks and means to find fresh sources of income to meet their luxurious expenses. Thus the whole of the generation becomes demoralized and disintegrated. Their *Asabiya* is gone and succumb to the onslaught of fresh *Umran* from the desert.⁴³

V/14 Rise and Fall of Dynasty

The authority of the dynasty at first expands to its limit and then is narrowed down on successive stages, until the dynasty dissolves and disappears.⁴⁴ This is because of the fact that each dynasty and *umran* has a specific share of province equal to its original strength of *Asabiya*.⁴⁵ The *umran* expands gradually by subjecting and conquering neighboring *umran* until all of its basic energy is spend-out. The members of the dynasty 'must of necessity be distributed over the provinces and border regions which they reach and take into possessions'. Thus the members of the *Asabiya* become exhausted. 'This then, is the time when the territory of the dynasty has reached its farthest extension. Thereafter the *Umran* shrink gradually as the *Asabiya* becomes weaker and weaker until the whole state is destroyed and routed out.'⁴⁶

V/15. How a New Dynasty Originates

A dynasty decline as a consequence of luxury and senility, which naturally affect it in course of life. While one dynasty decline and

⁴³ Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p 118-24.

⁴⁴ 'Muqaddimah' .p.298-301 ;Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 99;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 21,12;Rosenthal, F. ;(1958).vol. . II , p 124-35;c.f.chapter 'Asabiya', section .8,34.

⁴⁵ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 10.

⁴⁶ Rosenthal, F. .(1958).vol. . . I. p. 327-28.

disintegrate due to the adverse effect of luxury and laziness prevalent in sedentary civilization, another civilization rooted in nomadic habits of simplicity, courage and perseverance can fill the void.⁴⁷ This process of the rise and fall of dynasty continues from one civilization to another.

A new dynasty come into being when one of the provincial governors liberate himself and assumes full power for himself who gradually expended his authority over others. Thus the original dynasty is overthrown by this subsidiary dynasty. Another possibility for originating a new dynasty is that of a rebel leader who makes revolt after amassing enough support through effective propaganda, possibly with a religious coloring, then overthrow the dynasty in an open attack.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ 'Muqaddimah' .p.298-301; Henrich Simon, p 89-90; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 21,12; c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 32.

⁴⁸ In the former instance the prevailing dynasty meet with 'a natural death' while in the second instance dynasty is 'assassinated'. At any rate rise and decline of dynasty such as simplicity of life. Feeling of belonging between their leader and the lead, lack of luxury and laziness, an ardent desire to work hard for the common benefit, perseverance courage etc. still then, they cannot aspire for defeating and conquering the prevailing dynasty which has not affected by the vices of sedentary civilization

Accepted customs have made obedience to the ruling dynasty a necessity and an obligation. This put many hindrances in the way of the founder of a new dynasty. It discourages his follows and supporters. His closest intimates many be filly intent upon obeying him and helping him. Still, others are more numerous, who are attracted by weakness and laziness under the influence of the belief that they one submission to the ruling dynasty. Their zeal slackens. Therefore the founder of a new dynasty is hardly able to make a stand against the ruler of the ruling dynasty. Consequently he falls back on patience and perseverance, until the senility of the ruling dynasty has because obvious. Then his people lose the belief that that they owe submission to the ruling dynasty. They become sufficiently spirited to make an open attack upon the ruling dynasty is concert with (the founder of the new dynasty) victory and subordination are the result.

Further more (the ruling dynasty) had appropriated a good deal of the revenues from the taxes. Thus they name many horses in their stables and good weapons. There is much royal pomp among them [which give them additional strength]. Gifts from there [sic] rules given either vol. untarily or under constraint, have been showered upon them. With all this they frighten their enemies. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p,156-57.

“Conceptionally, historical cycles are a late cultural product. Whoever remarks the beginning and the rise of his society, and personality affected by its decline which he sees with his own eyes, and has no hope for the future, will look backwards for a new beginning.[Even culture that feels itself reborn like Renaissance convinces the idea of return; but in this case the return does have to last internally.] This is true Stoa, Polybius, Ibn Khaldun, and Vico. It is also true of the later bourgeois society, and of the theories of a Spengler and a Toynbe”.⁴⁹

V/16. Dynasties Prior to Towns and Cities and are Products of the Former

The reason for this is that building and planning of cities belonged to the characteristic of sedentary *umran*.⁵⁰ nomadic *umran* never requires cities and town and they are people given to wandering. But when Bedouins become a predominant power, after assuming royal power, they are forced to settle in a most suitable land that provides for all of their requirements. They there onwards start constructions in various levels. They defend themselves by building fortresses and city walls, makes permanent dwellings in places of tents. Public and private buildings are gathered within their dominion. As a result cities and towns began to emerge. “Then when the town has been built and is all finished, as the builder saw fit and on the climatic and geographical condition required, the life of the dynasty is the life of the town”.

⁴⁹ Henrich Simon, 89-90

⁵⁰ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.342-43; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 20,18;Rosenthal, F; (1958).vol. II, p 233-35.

When one dynasty ends in the town, another will take up the leadership as long as they kept their *Asabiya* intact. If, on the other hand, no *Asabiya* succeeds, the city ruined and vanquished. In the former case life and culture continued to prosper from generation to generation through dynasties to dynasties. As a result the town proceeds to expand to its outskirts. “Eventually the layout of the town will cover a wide area and the town will extend so far and so wide as to be (almost) beyond measurement”.⁵¹ It becomes clear that towns and sedentary *umran* itself are the products of royal power. It comes into being when Bedouin *Umran* abandon nomadism and assumes settled life.

V/17. Royal Power Calls For Urban Settlement

When nomadism establishes in royal power, it cannot continue its natural trait of wandering. Royal power is related with taking possession of people and land. Therefore, those who assume power cannot lead nomadic life.⁵² At the same time, the goal of nomadism itself is to acquire royal power. So when nomadic people come to the stage of royal power, they cannot neglect the call for settlement for two reasons. “One of them is that royal authority causes (the people) to seek tranquility restfulness and relaxation [as opposed to the state of hard work and movements] and to try to provide aspects of civilization that were lacking in the desert. The second (reason) is that rivals and

⁵¹ c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 8,18,19; 'Muqaddimah' .p.343,368-71.

⁵² 'Muqaddimah'. p, section 12; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 19,17; Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p 237-41; c.f.chapter '*Hadhari*', section 32.

enemies can be expected to attack the realm, and one must defend one self against them.”⁵³

Therefore it becomes clear that royal authority required settled sedentary life as opposed to nomadic wandering. So nomadic *umran* transfers itself into sedentary when they get into royal power which consequently leads to luxury and easiness.

V/18. Strong Royal Authority Builds Large Cities

Cities are the monuments of royal powers. There exists a wide disparity in vastness and strength of cities and town.⁵⁴ Some cities are very small while others are wide; still some are long lasting and others ruined quickly. All these aspects are related with the original strength of the dynasty, which constructed the city. All the moments including the cities of a given dynasty are proportionate to its original power. “The reason for this is that monuments owe their origin to the power that brought the dynasty into being. The impression the dynasty leaves is proportionate to (that power). When a dynasty is large and far-flung, with many provinces and subjects, workers are very plentiful and can be brought together from all sides and regions.” Thus, the Dynasty gets large amount of resources to build high monuments and cities.⁵⁵ Thus it become clear that founding high with required large amount of surplus

⁵³ Rosenthal, F, (1958).vol. II, p. 237.

⁵⁴ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.343-45; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 2; Rosenthal, F; (1958). vol. II, p238-41; vol. I, p 356-72.

⁵⁵ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p 356.

resources and labor forces. No small dynasty can provide this so as to construct a big city larger than their original power.⁵⁶

Moreover, big towns are not founded by one single dynasty alone. The founding process of the city must have taken a very long period during which more than one dynasty came to power and ruled over the city. Various dynasties worked to construct and reconstruct the buildings and other monuments until it was completed.

V/19. Sedentary Culture in Towns Comes From Dynasties

This is one of the most important judgments made by Ibn Khaldun. He had pointed out that dynasty moved from nomadism towards its goal of sedentary culture.⁵⁷ But now he says that sedentary culture is the result of dynasties. These remarks are not contradictory. They are complementary and points to the fact that both dynasties and sedentary *Umran* are inseparably inter-related. sedentary culture comes into being when the people of Asabiya are established in power and wealth is accumulated for which dynasty is necessary. When their wealth grows and riches increases, the customs and ways of luxury multiply and all the various kinds of crafts come into being. "This is sedentary culture. (Sedentary culture) occurs in the (nations) when much diversity develops among its various subdivisions...This happens mostly in cities, because cities have a highly developed civilizations and their inhabitants are very prosperous and the dynasty is at the roof of it, because the dynasty collects the property of the subjects and spends it on

⁵⁶ Rosenthal, F; (1958). vol. I, p 238-41; "Rome was not built in a day"; c.f. chapter 'Hadhari', section 19.

⁵⁷ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 368-74;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin', section 2,6,8.

its inner circle and on men connected with it who are more influential by reasons of their positions they by reasons of their property”. They spent their money on luxuries requirement and refined products. Thus the dynasty serves as the basis of sedentary culture in cities. When the dynasty decline the sedentary culture also come to ruin.⁵⁸

V/20. Crafts Are Perfected in Sedentary

One of the peculiar characteristics of sedentary *umran* is crafts. Crafts develop and come to perfection only in sedentary *umran*. It has nothing to do with nomadic *umran*. Ibn Khaldun gives the following reasons for this peculiarity.⁵⁹ “The crafts and sciences are the result of mans ability to think, through which he is distinguished from the animals. (His desire for) food, on the other hands is result of his animal and nutritive power.” Therefore he placed crafts and science sedentary to his basic requirements of food. For the same reason he argued that, “the (susceptibility) of the crafts to refinement, and the quality of (the purpose) they are to serve in view of the demands made by luxury and wealth, then correspond, to the civilizations of a given country”.⁶⁰ In

⁵⁸ Rosenthal, F. (1958).vol. II. p. 286-91;f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 27. The violence with which the Ibn Khaldun denounces the urban population expresses more than disappointment at seeing his hopes for a stable and lasting state destroyed. According to Ibn Khaldun, the townspeople are 'responsible' for much more than that: their lack of creativity in the field of economics blocks the development of civilization. The 'umran *hadhari* to which their taste for luxury and comfort leads is characterized only by the growth of consumption. The rise in consumption is both artificial and fragile. It is artificial and fragile. It is artificial in that it does not result from increased production and represents only the squandering of wealth extorted from the population as a whole. It is fragile in that it depends upon the vicissitudes of the political and economic powers which extort that wealth. Ibn Khaldun therefore blames the townspeople for the absence of social and economic development. Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p 129 .

⁵⁹ 'Muqaddimah' .p.400-401; Lacoste, Yves.(1984) p 129; Siddiqi, S.K.(1984),p 43-45; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 17,7; Rosenthal, F.,(1958).vol. II, p 347-49.

⁶⁰ Ibn Khaldun's observations on settled life as compared to a nomadic way of life were based on sociological and economic insights. He viewed the development of sedentary

small *umran* crafts are available in very low level. Even that crafts will be of in its rudimentary forms. “A small or Bedouin civilization needs only the simple crafts especially those used for the necessities, such as [the craft of] the carpenter, the smith, the tailor, the butcher, or the weaver...They are neither Perfect nor well developed. They exist only in as much as they are needed since all of them are means to an end and are not intended for their own sake.⁶¹

On the other hand when *umran* is firmly established in luxurious habits, naturally these rudimentary crafts began to refine themselves and reached perfection Moreover a number of new crafts emerges out in order to satisfy the requirements of the luxury of the people. Thus it become clear that crafts flourished And completed only in sedentary *umran*.⁶²

“When civilization flourishes and the luxuries are in demand it includes the refinement and development of the crafts. Consequently

culture as a way of organizing space to improve living conditions, diversify luxury and refine knowledge of the crafts employed for ways living. To him such organizations were based on a framework in which man and space are two interacting parts of the environment; in his opinion the two can achieve cohesion in an atmosphere of harmony through city (*madinah*) life. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p. 43

⁶¹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 348

⁶² Ibn Khaldun believed that the toughness of desert life preceded the softness of sedentary life. Therefore, urbanization (the characteristic mode of life in cities) was found to be the goal of the bedouin. Most city inhabitants originated among bedouin dwelling in the country and villages of the vicinity. Such bedouins become wealthy, settled in the city, and adopted a life of ease and luxury. With the rise in their standard of living, city people began to enjoy more than the bare necessities desired repose and tranquility. Subsequent improvement of their conditions and acquisition of more wealth led them to cooperate in the formation of the most developed luxury customs, securing superfluities. An example of the process could be seen in the growth of population and the commercial activities within the city because of superior purchasing power (wealth). Consequently, the income of such communities rose and prosperity led to luxury and refinement in matters of housing, equipment, dress, servants, etc. The demand for such amenities attracted men skilled in their production, lead to prosperity in such crafts and service and a rise in the income and expenditure of the whole community. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p. 45

(these crafts) are perfected with every finesse and a number of other crafts, in addition to them is added, as luxury customs and conditions demand.⁶³ Then every crafts that come into being as a result sedentary culture are closely connected with luxurious demands of the people. Such crafts included gold smith, perfumer, coppersmith, bath attendant, the cook, the bakers, teachers of singing and dancing.⁶⁴

V/21. Certain Cities Have Crafts That Others Lack

It is important to note that not all the sedentary *umran* developed the same kind of crafts in the same standard⁶⁵. The availability of crafts differed from *umran* to *umran*. Moreover their standard also differed according to the standard of luxury the *umran* reached. It should be remembered that *Umran* gives attention and precedence to the primary requirement of the people. Luxury comes only after the requirements of the necessities are fulfilled. As a consequence; crafts reached different stands in various *Umran*. As *Umran* differed in standards of luxury and wealth, development of crafts and their perfection also comes under various standards. Therefore, crafts that are found in one *umran* cannot be seen in others. Certain primary crafts are available in all *umran*. They induced those related with the necessary requirements of the *umran* such as tailor, smiths, carpenters, agricultural etc. "But activities required for

⁶³ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 347-49

⁶⁴ c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 7,17;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 269-70;vol. I,302-5.

⁶⁵ 'Muqaddimah' .p.,376-77; Shaukat Ali,(1993).p. 152; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 7; Rosenthal, F.:(1958). vol. II, p 301-2.

luxury customs and condition exist only in cities of a highly developed culture that have taken to luxury costumes and sedentary culture”.⁶⁶

V/22. Crafts Require Teachers

All crafts are something concerned with thought and action.⁶⁷ Therefore, the acquisition of crafts by a person unaware of it requires teaching by well-versed master in the particular crafts. Crafts that are related with physical matters are easily transmitted while those are based upon brain works required much time. Further more some crafts are very simple while others are more complicated. By their very nature, all crafts related with the necessities are simple. On the other hand, crafts related with luxuries are complex.

Crafts are formulated in their rudimentary forms; they are further put to improvement in sedentary *Umran*. “The mind does not cease transforming all kinds of (crafts), including the composite ones, from potentiality into actuality through the gradual discovery of one thing after the other, until they are perfect”.⁶⁸

The process of this refinement is not achieved all on a sudden. Sometimes it takes generation to bring improvements to one particular

⁶⁶ In other words, political and social decadence of the Muslim Spain was a major cause for the disappearance of that tremendous urge for scientific inquiry, which had highlighted the history of that country for a long time. Ibn Khaldun then compares this sorry state of affairs in the Maghrib with the conditions of learning in the Eastern part of the world. In the East, he found that civilization was still flourishing, and as such, arts and sciences still attracted lots of talent. This comparison he made to substantiate his contention that knowledge is a fruit of advanced and stable civilization. When civilization deteriorates, arts and sciences also decline, and as civilization dies, they must disappear too. Shaikat Ali,(1993).p. 152

⁶⁷ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p. 399-400; Rosenthal, F.; (1958).vol. II, p, 346-47; Issawi, C. (1950) p 140 f.

⁶⁸ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 346.

craft. "Therefore, the crafts are found to be inferior in small cities and only simple crafts are found there. When sedentary civilization in (those cities) increase and luxury condition there cause the use of crafts, they are transformed from potentiality into actuality".⁶⁹

V/23. Crafts Are Rooted Firmly in Cities

This point is the continuation of the arguments, which Ibn Khaldun was making regarding crafts and sedentary *Umrān*.⁷⁰ He related crafts and sedentary *Umrān* very closely and pointed out that they were supplementary to each other. Crafts especially those, which are related with the luxuries, are available and flourished only in sedentary *Umrān*. In connection with this point he pointed out that, when the sedentary *Umrān* becomes prolonged one, their culture naturally becomes deeply rooted in the city.⁷¹

"All crafts are customs and colors of civilization. Customs become firmly rooted only through much repetition and long duration. Then their coloring becomes firmly established and rooted in

⁶⁹ Ibid p 347.

⁷⁰ 'Muqaddimah' .p.401-403;Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 47; Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 151;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 17,7,8;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 349-51.

⁷¹ Ibn Khaldun argued that the urban areas located in close proximity to the metropolis and the capital towns (seats of government) are much more affluent than those further away in the country. The towns near the seat of the government showed the growth of luxury crafts and higher standard of living largely promoted by the government as a market for goods and services. In other words, he identified the importance of the court as a market. These remarks are comparable with those of Lewis Mumford in the "Culture of Cities and Technics and Civilization" (Issawi footnote p.90.) Thus, spatial urban variations were based on the amount of money people could afford for comforts and luxuries. Craftsmen and labor were concentrated in large, populous cities where people were able to afford to spend more for comforts and luxury goods. In Ibn Khaldun's time, the cities had a bazaar economy; commercial exchanges were undertaken by means of unrelated, direct person-to-person transactions centered upon a market place. Such a process of exchange reflected the lack of intermediate agencies of exchange. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984), p 47

(Successive) generations. Once such coloring is firmly established, It is difficult to remove it.”⁷²

When we make a comparison of the status of crafts in deeply rooted cities and newly established towns, the former can be seen retaining crafts which do not exist in the latter one; even if it attained greater degree in *Umran* than their former. “This is only because conditions in those (cities) with the old civilization had become well established and firmly routed through their long duration and constant repetitious, whereas, the (other recently civilized cities) have not yet reached the limit”.⁷³

V/24. Crafts Can Improve and Increase Only When Many People Demand Them

Every craft assumes the position of a labour.⁷⁴ Crafts are learned and practiced by the people of the cities and towns as a source of income

⁷² . Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 349.

⁷³ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 349)In his opinion, the tempo of learning is closely linked with the stage of civilization at which the society is at a particular moment in history. Sedentary culture, centred in big urban centres, he points out, is most conducive to the growth of knowledge. Material prosperity, peace and comfort entailed by it create the proper atmosphere wherein intellectual pursuits can thrive without those hindrances which crowded the primitive stage of human civilization. Moreover, in a sedentary culture, there is more refinement and articulation which are so essential for clarifying issues and opening new vistas for the synthesis of the diverse elements in human thought. Since most of the national talent is concentrated in urban centres, the opportunity for the cross-fertilizations of ideas and opinions is very wide. Continuous debates and discussions strengthen the sprit of inquiry and make human understanding spacious. If in culture, these conditions are not available, the harvest of knowledge would be very poor. The moment sedentary culture starts declining there is a corresponding deterioration in arts and sciences. It is for this reason that very often the fall of a dynasty and the destruction of its urban centres has meant the disappearance of literary and scientific talent. In this respect he drew his illustration from Maghreb, the territory of which he had very profound and first-hand knowledge Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 151

⁷⁴ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.,403; Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 46,49;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 17,8;Issawi,C.(1950)p 72 f;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 351-52.

and livelihood. Therefore, all crafts develop in cities where there are great demands for it on. "If a particular craft is in demand and there are buyers for it (that) craft, then corresponds to a type of goods that is in great demand and imported for sale. People in the towns, therefore, are eager to learn (that particular) craft, in order to make a living through it". Just the opposite is the case of the crafts, which are not in demand. Those crafts perish soon.⁷⁵

Another fact related with the development of crafts is that those crafts in demand with the ruling dynasty developed greatly while that is demanded by the common people do not flourish so much.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ A locational factor in the production of comforts and luxury goods was the existence of a large rich class demanding such goods, since crafts improve and increase when the demand for these products increases. Consequently, labor would direct its efforts toward those products that have a high return in order to make a profit. Consequently, more workers in the city could expect to make their livelihoods from it by learning necessary skills. Should the craft, however, not be in demand, its sales would be expected to fall off and there would be no attempt to learn it. It would then be neglected and forgotten. Thus, the notion of comparative advantage was basic to Ibn Khaldun's understanding of urban specialization, improved methods of production, and the process whereby the surplus was generated and distributed. Siddiqi, S.K. (1984), p. 49.

⁷⁶ "The dynasty is the biggest market. There, every thing can be marketed. It does not make any differences whether it is little or much." Ibn Khaldun's city was an urban settlement containing certain functions. He did not use any strict definition, except that based on the size of population and economic functions, which were based on social groups and their respective wealth. He considered that the cities were not only the optimum places to live a comfortable life and luxurious life and centers for retailing goods and services but that a large city (in terms of population) also produces more benefits. Such benefits were generally associated with concentration of population into large cities. He also argued that craftsmen and labor seek to locate as close to large populations as possible and that specialization and division of labor introduce maximum efficiency in the production of and spending for comforts and luxury goods. Based on population size, large towns and cities concentrate more commercial and industrial activities, producing multi-functional cities. He was fully aware of the relationship between the number of functions and population size. He indicated that as population increases the number of functions increases. He also suggested the notion that in large centers some economic activities of size become feasible and that more people learn in the traders. Probably he was assuming that several small organizations begin operation to take advantage of increased demand. Siddiqi, S.K. (1984), p. 46

V/25. Crafts Recede From Cities Close to Ruin

When the cities pass on to the stage of decline and fall, it affects crafts also. The reason is that crafts thrived only when the city itself was on the path of progress.⁷⁷ So when the *Umran* there entered on the road to ruin and decline, crafts also declined. “When the conditions of a city weakens and senility sets in as a result of a decrease of its civilization and the small number of its inhabitants, luxury in the city decreases and its (inhabitants) revert to restricting themselves to the necessities”.⁷⁸

When the master of a particular craft thus become unemployed or profitless, that craft ruins quickly when he abandons it or dies without leaving a successor. Ibn Khaldun argued that at the declining stage of *Umran*, the first things to disappear would be that crafts which are related with the luxuries. He pointed music the first thing to disappear when *Umran* enters on ruin. All other luxurious crafts also recede gradually until only the basic crafts related with the necessities of life remain unmolested; that also devoid of its luxurious perfection.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.,403-404; Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 38; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 17,7;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 352-54;Issawi,C.(1950)p 54 f.

⁷⁸ The case of the traditional potters of Kerala,who lost their livelihood as a result of the popularity of metallic and fiber wares, is the best example

⁷⁹ c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section , 17; Ibn Khaldun argued that the state of a society and the prosperity of business depended on the intensity of human efforts and the search for gain; a loss of incentive would lead to a slackening in enterprise, covering all forms of economic activity, owing to the feeling that no activity no longer offers any hope of gain. Thus, business slumps and commercial profits decline because of the shortage of capital. Revenues from the land tax decrease, because of the shortage of capital, and because taxation depends on cultural activity, commerce, business prosperity and people's demand for gain and profit. This would result in a general depopulation of cities. The important element of economic change in the city was considered its different sensitivities (such as curtailment of revenues or injustices through confiscations)to population Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 49

V/26. Deference with Regard to Prosperity and Power are the Same in Countries & Cités

Some *Umran* has abundant wealth and posterity while some others lacked it. All *Umran* showed difference in their standards of wealth and prosperity. When an *Umran* is situated in a condition fully favorable it can possess abundant wealth.⁸⁰ On the contrary, if one *Umran* is situated in quiet unfavourable condition; it naturally lacked prosperity and wealth. These favourable conditions include geographical and soil condition, availability of resource, climate, unity of the people and lack of any dissidents and uprisings, lack of famine and pestilence etc.⁸¹

When an *Umran* is thus favourably established, they produced wealth that none could amass. Prosperity, thus, increased, and conditions become favourable. There is luxury and wealth. The tax revenues of the ruling dynasty increase on account of business prosperity. Its prosperity increases, and its authority grows. It comes to use fortresses and castles, to found towns and to construct cities.

This is the basic characteristic of *Umran* in general. The above-mentioned material factors determined the propriety, as well as poverty of any *Umran*.⁸²

⁸⁰ 'Muqaddimah', 365-67; Rosenthal, F.; (1958). vol. II, p 280-83; Issawi, C. (1950) p 78.

⁸¹ 'Muqaddimah' .p., Prefaces III, IV & V; Rosenthal, F.; (1958). vol. I, p 167-73; 174-76; 177-83; Issawi, C. (1950) p 42-49.

⁸² Ibn Khaldun theorized that cities and towns of different population sizes perform different roles and offer different mixes of goods and services. He based his hierarchical concept on the prosperity of the population and functions performed in a town in terms of production. His premise was that urban areas of different sizes work efficiently for certain economic functions from the points of view of craftsmen (producers) and

V/27. Ruler and Commercial Activities

Commerce, of all other livelihoods is the most profitable method of making a living. But when ruler undertaking commercial activities for himself will be detrimental to the whole of *Umran*.⁸³ During the days of high expense brought about of by luxurious Squandering of incomes, the ruler may find it hard to get wealth and profit to meet all needs. At the same time he will see the high profit made by great merchants. So he will be attracted to conduct commerce for himself and even agriculture that seemed to him highly profitable. This is the result of luxurious living for which the ruler cannot find any resources.

It is the general custom of all rulers to impose various taxes upon the wares in market. These taxes are the income of the ruler, which he can utilize for his private use, as well as the welfare of the people. The stage of a ruler entering into commerce and agriculture comes when he wants to get more money, but this produce very deep adverse effect in the whole body of economy.

population (consumers). Whether hierachical ordering of urban areas is warranted in his urban system is a difficult question to answer, as he did not systematically explore this problem. But he did point out that the urban system included large and small towns and villages, which perform different functions, or offer varied goods and services commensurating with the size of their populations. However, he did not numerically classify the towns either by population size or number of functions.

Ibn Khaldun pointed out that the inhabitants of a populous city were more prosperous than their counterparts in less populous ones. He saw that the people of Morocco and Fez were better off than those living in Tilmisan. Similary Tilmisan was better of than Oran and Algiers, which were in turn better off than small towns, until we get to hamlets were all activity was concentrated on necessities only, leaving no surplus. Thus, the degree of prosperity and business activities in cities and towns differ in accordance with the different sizes of their populations. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 47

⁸³ 'Muqaddimah' .p.281-83;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 20 to25;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 93-7,89-103.

‘First, farmers and merchants will find it difficult to buy livestock and merchandise and procure cheaply the things that belong to (farming and commerce). The subjects have (all) the same or approximately the same amount of the wealth ...Now, when the ruler, who has so much more money than they competes with them, scarcely a single one of them will any longer be able to obtain the things he wants’.⁸⁴

Secondly the ruler has the power either to appropriate the goods of the people or to force the people to sell him very cheaply.

Thirdly, people generally fear to compete with the ruler. “He will be able to force the seller to lower his prices”. The commerce people will find it hard to compete with their ruler who can use his power to make things more profitable to him. All these things are in fact equal to appropriate the properties of the people without duly rewarding or giving compensation. When their government directly interferes in the economic matters, the market will lose its freedom and mobility, which in turn adversely affects, the economy altogether. The income further reduces and come to ruin unless redressed soon.⁸⁵

V/28. Taxation in Sedentary Culture

All kinds of taxes imposed by the dynasty upon the people are the real income of the dynasty. One peculiar character of tax revenue is that during the initial stage of *Umran*, tax income will be a very big even

⁸⁴ Rosenthal, F. (1958).vol. . II. p. 94.c.f.chapter 'Asabiya', section 22.

⁸⁵ “This becomes an often-repeated process. The trouble and financial difficulties and the loss of profit, which it causes the subjects, take away from them all incentive to effort, thus ruining the fiscal structure. Thus when the farmer gives up agriculture and the merchants goes out of business, the revenue from taxes vanished all together or become dangerously low”. Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 93-96).

though a very low amount of taxes are imposed.⁸⁶ On the other hand, during the last stages of *Umran*, tax revenues are reduced to a very minimum level even if the people are imposed with high taxes.

This phenomenon is closely related to two factors. The first factor is the nature of *Umran* in nomadic and sedentary stages. The second factor is the people's mentality to weigh their real income in comparison with their real profit. Taxes will be very low as long as the nomadic characteristics of *Umran* are not vanished. This is because of the fact that they are accustomed to simplicity and hard life. So they required a little income to satisfy a few of their necessities. When the taxes are at an insignificantly low level, farmers and business people give it no attention. This is because they get for themselves most of the income from their efforts. "When tax assessment and imposts upon the subjects are low, the latter have the energy and desire to do things".⁸⁷ Economic activities of various kinds thrived and the income of the ruler and the people further multiplied. Thus *Umran* experiences high income and wealth.

This surplus wealth will soon be directed to satisfy their luxurious requirements. This adversely affects the *Umran*. Firstly it will extinguish their spirit of hard-work and simple life. They become lazy and inactive. As a result of luxurious spending, their income becomes insufficient to meet their requirements. The first category of people to affect luxurious habit is the dynasty itself. Their revenue becomes

⁸⁶ 'Muqaddimah' .p.,279-80; Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 89-91;Issawi,C.(1950)p 87 f;Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 141-42 .

⁸⁷ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 89

insufficient for their expenses. But they can easily redress it by raising Taxes.

All imposts of taxes mounts gradually and un-noticed. “Thus, gradual increase in the amount of the assessment succeed each other regularly, in correspondence with the gradual increase in the luxury”.⁸⁸ This creates the condition of high tax, which now becomes very visible to all – the ruler and the subjects. But none knows who brought taxes to that much height. Thus the people lost their incentive to enterprises. They calculate the comparatively small income and high taxes. This further reduces the revenue of the ruler who resorts to find new methods of rising taxes further. The economy thus is given one more deathblow and people further gives up enterprises. The economy thus reaches the brink of ruin. “The strongest incentive for cultural (economic) activity is to lower as much as possible the amount of individual imposts”.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 90.

⁸⁹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 89-91; also vol. I, p 287-91. Another adverse affect of luxury is that when it becomes a general way of life in a society, rulers tend to subject the people to excessive taxation, which Ibn Khaldun counts among the primary causes of the ruination of societies. Over –taxation is a major source of corruption in government, and a primary cause of popular dissatisfaction. There is however, a tendency among civilized societies to keep on increasing taxes to meet the growing expenditures needed to fulfil the requirements of elaborate and luxuriant civilization. In every Muslim kingdom, Ibn Khaldun saw that rulers in order to maintain royal entourage, huge places, and expensive retinue, used to burden the subjects with all kinds of taxes. Such a ghastly spectacle must have depressed him, and he included burdensome taxation among the factors which weaken group feeling. Rulers resort to over-taxation to buy support for their absolute power. In order to preserve themselves on the seat of authority, they lavish favours, and distribute wealth to hoodwink the masses, and salience those who pose a threat to a regime. Huge sums are spent in the name of external security, which on closer examination turns out to be a mechanism to curb and intimidate internal opposition. Pursuit of absolute power, and extravagant expenditure on defence of the state or social organization is detrimental to economic prosperity. Shaukat Ali,(1993). pp. 141--142

V/29. Luxury and Customs Duties

The ruler levies all customs duties, just like the mounting of taxes, in order to meet the high expenses of luxurious living of the ruler and his people around him.⁹⁰ As noted above people are imposed a very low tax during the initial stage of *Umran*. This is because of the fact that they are people accustomed to simple living. So, for example, when a new dynasty is established in an advanced city with various crafts, the economy thrived as result of low tax.⁹¹

V/30. Ruler Wealthy in the Middle of the Dynasty

This is also the result of the changes brought about in the condition of different stages Of *Umran*.⁹² During the nomadic stage of *Umran* the ruler does not get much income for himself, for he has to spend for his people and supporters. He has to satisfy his supporters who have a big share in the establishment of the dynasty. So most of the income of the ruler is spent for them. The ruler as well as his entourage

⁹⁰ 'Muqaddimah' .p.280-81;Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 86 Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 91-93c.f.chapter '*Hadhari*', section 4,11,12,13.

⁹¹ But the generations that followed are brought up in luxury and they wanted more resources for their luxuries. So the ruler tries to increase his income by imposing various taxes like customs duties.Ibn Khaldun regards the financial difficulties of the state as resulting from increased expenditures rather than from a decrease in revenue. The increase is he believes, due to the increasingly luxurious tastes of the king, his court and its dignitaries. In addition, increasingly large sums have to be paid to mercenaries, tribes and their chieftains to suppress the frequent rebellions.Yet Ibn Khaldun himself states that the expenditure was higher when the kingdoms were in their heyday then when they were in decline.Expenditure could then be covered without the state having to oppress and ransom the population.' the ruler and his entourage are wealthy only in the middle period of the dynasty.' Life at court was more luxurious when the kingdom was at the height of its power.The sultan could build much more imposing palaces, fortresses and mosque.His military expeditions were on a larger scale, even though the level of taxation was much lower. Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 86

⁹² 'Muqaddimah' .p.283-86;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 97-102.

and company, wazirs, secretaries and clients do not have much money in this stage.⁹³

During the next generation, the ruler establishes himself in the full control of the all affairs of the *Umrān*. The first thing the ruler establishes his authority on is the revenue of the state. He monopolies it for himself and no undue share was given to others. So he becomes extremely rich. This happens in the middle of the dynasty. As the ruler has yet to spend on luxuries, his expenses are very low as compared to his big income. So the ruler as well as his entourage, wazirs, secretaries clients etc. become very rich.

During the succeeding generating the ruler once again becomes exhausted of income and wealth. This was the result of luxury that crept into the body of *Umrān*. Now his blood relations are gone and clients and outside supporters are taken charge of his affairs. They are having the connection with the ruler with economic motives. So the outsiders including the mercenaries take away all of his wealth. Luxury also eats into his income. Thus the ruler becomes exhausted of income and revenues. He seeks other methods to get high income, but it also worsens the situation as stated above.⁹⁴

V/31. Curtailment of the Allowance Implies Reduction of Revenues

This happens when the revenues of the state reduce below the level of expense.⁹⁵ As is pointed out above, the expense of the ruler

⁹³ c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 34.

⁹⁴ '*Muqaddimah*' .p.286; Rosenthal, F.;(1958).vol. I, p 343-47,353-56;Issawi,C.(1950)p 117 ff.

⁹⁵ Rosenthal, F.;(1958).vol. II, p 102-3; Issawi,C.(1950)p p 91; '*Muqaddimah*' .p.I, section 40; Bukhsh, S.K,(1927).p 590-91;c.f.chapter '*Asabiya*', section 25.

mounts high when luxurious spending is made. All luxuries, as a rule, are unproductive. Therefore they make a burden upon the ruler and his economy. "It is the dynasty, that suffers from the situation and that has a deficit, because under these circumstances the property of the ruler decreases in consequence of decrease in revenues....If government business slumps, and the volume of trade is small, the dependent markets will naturally show the same symptoms".⁹⁶

V/32. Civilization Requires Political Leadership

Ibn Khaldun has stressed in several places in *Muqaddimah* the necessity for having social organization and political leadership. He argued that both social organization and political leadership are necessary for peaceful existence of the mankind. By social organization, he meant the unity that man showed in all matters of public interest. He

⁹⁶ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p p 103;Bukhsh,S.K,(1927).p 590-91..

c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 31."To increase the revenue the sultan must introduce taxes on wares for sale in the bazar. In doing this he takes account, on the one hand, of the growing prosperity, as evidenced by the augmenting luxury of the populace, and, on the other, of the necessity for increasing the expenditure of civil and military administration. But luxury knows no limit or moderation. It proceeds apace. The old market-taxes no longer suffice; rigorous measures are, therefore, enforced against the subject population in the shape of either an increase in the market-taxes or the introduction of monopoly.

The mercenaries get out of hand, for they see the Government bereft of strength and national pride. They inspire fear. To forestall danger from them the Government enhances their pay and otherwise increases military expenditure.

Nor are the other departments of less fraught with danger. In consequence of increased taxation larger and yet larger sums of money pass through the hands of tax collectors. They indulge in display and ostentation, and lay themselves open to a suspicion that they are embezzling public funds. Nor does the voice of hatred and jealousy shrink from mutual attacks and accusations, with the result that, one after another, they are punished and their properties confiscated.

When this source of revenue is, however, exhausted the Government directs its attention to another quarter. It exploits the well-to-do private citizen. But, despite all this, palpably glaring is the effect of decay on the materiel power of Government. No longer has it the strength or confidence to introduce or to enforce a drastic measure. Bukhsh,S.K,(1927). p 590-91.

upheld the view that human affairs cannot be fulfilled unless the work united.⁹⁷

He furthermore argued that if social organization is something inevitable, it “must have some one who exercise a restraining influence and rules them and to whom recourse may be had.”⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldun articulated two types of political system. The first one is that form of political institution, which is inspired by the divinely revealed religious laws. The other one is based upon rational politics. He considered the first one the most suitable for human welfare. It “is useful for this world and for the other world, because the Lawgiver knows the ultimate interest of the people and is concerned with the salvation of man in the other world. The second type of rule is useful only for this world.”⁹⁹

Ibn Khaldun considered the ‘political utopianism’ of the philosophers something rare and romantic as opposed to what is possible and real. It is mere ‘hypothesis’. The rational politics of the second type may concern itself in the interest of the ruler only. Or it may consider the welfare of the people also. He agreed the fact that this type of political systems prevailed throughout the history of mankind. He further explained that even the type of political system the Muslim rulers and Caliphs followed included the rational politics combined with the religious rules as far as they are able to do.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p., p.302-11;c.f. chapter ‘*Hadhari*’, section 17; Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 137-56;c.f.chapter ‘*Asabiya*’, section 24.

⁹⁸ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 137.

⁹⁹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 138

¹⁰⁰ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p. 137-39.

V/33. Restriction Imposed on Ruler

The dynasty is established as a result of Asabiya, perseverance, courage, high standard of moral values etc.¹⁰¹ During the initial period of its establishment, the ruler as well as his people tied close to the peculiar nature of nomadic people. “The ruler possesses austerity and the desert attitude. He is close to the people and easily accessible to them”.¹⁰²

During this period the ruler shares all the glory that he has within his position. He cannot avoid this because it is the people around him who helped him to overcome a number of dangers in establishing the dynasty. So he cannot estrange them by preventing their due shares of benefits the ruler has-including their accessibility to him.

But, condition changes soon.¹⁰³ The ruler amassed all glory and profit of the dynasty for himself, the toils of founding dynasty has gone and the period of prosperity and tranquility has come over them. The ruler becomes the centre of all attraction. At the same time, he himself wants to avoid the company of his man. He is not willing to share with them anything in his hands. “He needs to keep away from the people and to remain aloof from his friends. Therefore, he seeks to keep away from the common people as much as possible. He employs some one at

¹⁰¹ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.290-92;Shaukat Ali,(1993).p 143 ‘Its importance during the last stage of Dynasty. Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 111-14;c.f.chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 15,33.

¹⁰² Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 111.

¹⁰³ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.I, section 17,18;Rosenthal, F; (1958).vol. I, p 372-77;Issawi,C.(1950) p 121ff; c.f. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 27,14.

his door to admit (only) those of his friends and of the people of the dynasty whom he cannot avoid".¹⁰⁴

As the *Umran* progressed further, more and more restrictions came that kept away the ruler from the common people. Restriction of proper behaviour in front of the ruler is such one. People are not in a position to mingle with the rulers as freely as they do among themselves. Rules regarding etiquette is another instance of restriction. Therefore, when we watch the position of the ruler and the ruled during the later days of the dynasty we can see that there exist wide disparities between them. The ruled are far removed from the ruler. This situation came into being step by step and therefore could be visible only through generations.¹⁰⁵

V/34. Beginning of the Ruin of Cities

When the cities are founded for the first times, it closely resembled the nomadic nature of its builders.¹⁰⁶ Then, the city served

¹⁰⁴ Another baneful effect of luxury on the character of the rulers is that it leads them into seclusion. They isolate themselves from the people and tend to conduct the affairs of the society. One of the supreme characteristics of a primitive culture is that it is open, the interaction among its members is free and the ordinary people have access to the highest decision-makers. Ibn Khaldun points out that Islam proposed such an ideal but that it could not operate in an advanced sedentary civilization. The degree of seclusion and the intensity of secrecy among the rulers determine how far a particular society is from its final dissolution. He noticed that when dynasties decline, kings more often than not, lock themselves behind closed doors, wasting their time in the company of bibblers and sycophants and are scarcely seen in public.

It is a matter of common knowledge that this kind of seclusion among those who preside over positions of authority, is always a source of annoyance and irritation among the masses, and in the end becomes one of the major causes of political chaos and administrative disorder. Inaccessibility of the rulers is a sign of the political senility of a social system. This is the time when *asabiya* is weakest in a group. 19 *Hadhari* 33 Shaukat Ali,(1993). p 143

¹⁰⁵ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 111-13.

¹⁰⁶ Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 48; 49; c.f. chapter '*Hadhari*', section 1;'Muqaddimah' .p.371-74; Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 270-71.;c.f.chapter '*Asabiya*', section 9,19.

them for their basic requirements only. No luxurious things and constructions of refinement can be seen there.¹⁰⁷

At last, the *Umran* enters upon the stage of decline and fall. During this stage the city also succumb to ruin. The constructive works with their ornamentation and decoration are practiced no more. Since the population is declining *Umran* is reducing in number, a large amount of buildings became unused or neglected. There would not be ample resources to maintain them. As a result, a number of constructions, castles, and mansions are ruined. Their materials are used for the construction of the necessary buildings.¹⁰⁸

People then return to the Bedouin way of building. They used adobe instead of stones and omit all ornamentation. The architecture of the city reverts to that of the village and hamlets. The mark of the desert

¹⁰⁷ "When cities are first founded they have few dwellings and few building materials, such as stones and quicklime, or the things that serve as ornamental coverings for walls, such as tiles, marbles, mosaic, jet, shells, and glass. Thus at that time, the buildings are built in Bedouin (style) and the materials used for them are perishable. ¹⁰⁷Gradually *Umran* gets into luxury, enjoyment and refinement of its tastes. Thereupon comes the period of constructions with the things mentioned above. They utilize the availability of various crafts and sciences for the purposes. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 48.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Khaldun attributed much importance to crafts in the development and growth of urban areas. He emphasized that the crafts found in small towns were not only simple but inferior. The crafts were perfected only if a large population existed with a large demand for luxuries, leading to the refinement and development of the crafts.

He argued that the disappearance of crafts from a city was the ruin of the city. When the economic condition of a city weakened, as a result of a decrease in population, luxuries in the city decreased in its inhabitants reverted to restricting themselves to the necessities. If a particular craft was not in demand and there were no buyers for its producers, no one would be interested in learning it. The crafts would continue to decrease a long as the city weakened until crafts no longer existed. Siddiqi,S.K.(1984), p 48

shows in it. (The city) then gradually decays and falls into complete ruin.¹⁰⁹

V/35. Injustice Ruin the Civilization

We have to look into this matter through the very basic principles that Ibn Khaldun discussed in *Muqaddimah*¹¹⁰. He stressed that man has only social existence and that this required leadership. Ibn Khaldun viewed justice as the fundamental principle upon which the relationship between the individual members of *Asabiya* and its rulers could be maintained. Justice, become the basic character of the *Umran* which coordinates and co-relates the individual members of the *Umran*. Therefore, justice is considered to be constructive factor of civilization while injustice became destructive factor that ruin the *Umran*¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 270-71;c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 1,2;also c.f. 'Muqaddimah' .p., section8, II,23,24 etc;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 335-36; vol. I,300-02.

Ibn Khaldun, as a social economist, presented the idea that the export activities (basic) of urban areas enhance the economy, generating a flow of income into the city and hence are basic to the economic well being of the city. By contrast, many other activities performed in a city exist particularly to serve the local population. Such ideas are a reflection of the economic base theory found in his assumptions and explain urban growth in terms of division of employment in the form of "export" and "necessities" sectors. In his urban development concept the export (basic) industries met the outside demand (external) and the location and growth of the basic sector became a function of increased wealth. He considered the manufacture of necessities as locally oriented employment. Thus, he saw the growth of size of population closely related to economic functions. The difficulties involved in assessing such assumptions are considerable. Some of his theories have major deficiencies that arise from the attempt to generalize complex phenomena. But still they serve as a useful general framework within which one can discern Ibn Khaldun's views about the economic function of the city.

¹¹⁰ 'Muqaddimah' .p.286-90; Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 126-27; c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 24.

¹¹¹ 'Muqaddimah', section 6; c.f. chapter 'Hadhari', section 8.

Another point that Ibn Khaldun stressed is that by referring injustice it cannot be limited to its popular concepts alone. The realm of injustice pervaded into all the aspects of individual and collective life.

“Injustice should not be understood to imply only the confiscation of money or other property from the owners, without compensation and without cause. It is commonly understood in that way, but it is something more general than that. Whoever takes to forced labor, or presses an unjustified claim against him does an injustice to that particular person”¹¹² Thus justice assumed a wide range of meaning as far as *Umran* is concerned.¹¹³

V/36. Luxury and Submergence Obstacles of Royal power

One of the most important peculiarities of the sedentary *Umran* is that of luxury.¹¹⁴ Luxurious living, enjoyment and peacefulness creep into the sedentary *umran* in various forms. The people in their condition develop the nature of submissions because their natural toughness of the desert is gone. Therefore both luxury and the consequent submissiveness

¹¹² Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 106-7.c.f.chapter 'Asabiya', section 29.

¹¹³ The subjectivism of Ibn Khaldun's criticisms of the urban population derives from his inability to find a rational explanation for their weakness. Unable to grasp the objective cause, he falls back upon dubious psychological explanations which contradict the rest of analysis: given that the townspeople cannot constitute a political force, they must be deprived cowards.

Ibn Khaldun half realized that this impotence lay at the heart of the basic historical problem of North Africa: the violence of his sweeping criticisms of the townspeople proves that the extent of the problem did not escape him. He clearly understood that if the rulers were to be successful in their struggle against the tribal structures, they would have to gain the support of the townspeople. He realized that tribal organization in the towns was very weak and he is not criticizing the townspeople for their lack of asabiya. On the contrary: he justifies the king's moves to destroy 'asabiya'. Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 126- 27

¹¹⁴ 'Muqaddimah' .p.140-41; c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 21,22,33,19,26; c.f. chapter 'Hadhari', section 10; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 12.

undermines civilizations. “When a tribe has achieved a certain measure of superiority with the help of its Asabiya, it gains control over a corresponding amount of wealth and long to share prosperity and abundance.”¹¹⁵ At this time the members of other tribes would submit to the stronger Asabiya and would satisfy themselves with sharing the property of the ruling dynasty. “(They are satisfied) to lead an easy, restful life in the shadow of the ruling dynasty and to adopt royal habits in buildings and dress”¹¹⁶. As a result the toughness of desert life is lost. Asabiya and courage weaken. They become too weak to look after their affairs. When this situation passed to the next generation, it further weakens their strength. “They thus invite (their) own destruction. The greater their luxury and the easier the life they enjoy, the closer they are to extinction.... The things that go with luxury and submergence in a life of ease break the vigor of Asabiya, which alone produces superiority. When Asabiya is destroyed, the tribe is no longer able to defend or protect itself. Let alone press any claims. It will be swallowed up by other nations”.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. I, p 286

¹¹⁶ ibid p 286

¹¹⁷ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. I, p 287. When decay sets in, its effect is first felt in these two directions. We shall begin with material power and communal sense and then pass on to finances and collection of taxes. Know that the foundation and consolidation of the Empire, as already stated, depend up on communal sense; nay on the essential, unconditional, higher type of communal sense which unites and vivifies individual efforts into one indivisible unity. It is naught but a complete identification of the interests of the people with those of the sovereign. When unlimited power, effeminacy and suppression of individual parties show themselves in a state, the first to suffer by these changed conditions are the supporters and kinsmen of the ruler. They are more easily suppressed than outsiders, for, by reason of intimate touch with the throne, their exalted station in life, their pride, they become surer victims of effeminacy than those less fortunate or more distant from the regal atmosphere. Thus they stand under the bane of

V/37. Meekness and Docility Obstacles of Royal Power

The reason for this is that meekness and docility breaks the vigor and strength of Asabiya. People become submissive, meek and docile only when their potential Asabiya is gone¹¹⁸. The power behind any kind of activities related with *Umran* like pressing a claim and defending against an aggression, is Asabiya when Asabiya is gone from the people their strength has gone. The Asabiya produces the required strength to defend oneself, to give resistance, to protect oneself and to press ones claim. Therefore Asabiya and docility and meekness does not combine in a people. During the last generation people loose Asabiya. They become unable to defend against any aggression.

Ibn Khaldun rightly considered the psychological effects the subject of imposts and taxes produced on the people which resulted in the same effects of meekness and submissiveness in a tribe. No tribe will succumb to the imposts and taxes levied upon them unless their Asabiya is weakened. They are sure to offer resistance should they

two destructive forces; power and effeminacy. And, as in the exercise of the power the sovereign not infrequently resort to capital punishments bitter and bitterer become their feelings towards him. And this tension grows with the growth of sovereign power. On the other hand the anxiety of the ruler for his throne gradually transforms itself into fear for its stability, with the result that he proceeds yet more vigorously against them-executing them, humiliating them, dispossessing them of their property and depriving them of those luxuries which have become second nature to them. Thus they are killed or ruined and the sense of loyalty is dimmed or lost among them. That which held the scattered fragments in one solid block was this very loyalty or, in other words, the communal sense. Now that has loosened and collapsed and with it for ever has perished its unifying power. Instead of upon these kinsmen the ruler now falls back upon creatures of his own making. Out of these he forms a new party. Only it is not so compact or strong as the earlier one; for it lacks the tie of kinship and the divine strength residing therein. Thus the ruler loses his allies and kinsmen and with them their self-sacrificing love and devotion. Bukhsh,S.K,(1927).p 588-589.

¹¹⁸ 'Muqaddimah' .p.,p.141-42; c.f. chapter 'Bedouin', section 11 Rosenthal, F; (1958) vol. I, p 287-91;Issawi,C.(1950)p 60f;131-40;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 20.

possessed Asabiya. But the imports and taxes that are imposed upon them further weaken their strength and they further are exposed to destruction.¹¹⁹

V/38. Defeated Nations Perish Quickly

“The reason for this may possibly lie in the apathy that comes over people when they lose control of their own affairs and, through enslavement, become the instrument of others and dependent upon them.¹²⁰ Hope diminishes and weakness... when hope and the things it situation are gone through apathy, and when Asabiya has disappeared under the impact of defeat, civilization decrease and business and other activities stop”.¹²¹

Here the aspect of submissiveness is very important. By the middle of the dynasty ruler appropriates all the glory and wealth of the

¹¹⁹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. I, p 287-90.

¹²⁰ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.148,189-91,286-90;Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 122;c.f. chapter ‘Asabiya’, section 22,23,24,25,etc.Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. I, p 300-02;vol. II, p 103-11, 382-85.

¹²¹ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. I, p 300-302)Ibn Khaldun did have a real ideal: the founding of stable, well-organized states in which the sovereign could keep a tight rein on disruptive elements. Similar ideas can of course also be found in the work of many other Arab writers. But it should be remembered that Ibn Khaldun belonged to a family of officials who had long been attached to the Hafsid dynasty and who owned both their fortune and their rank to the dynasty. Politically, such officials were bitter enemies of the great tribal chieftains who tried to limit their power and undermine the authority of the sovereign. The Khalduns remained loyal to the dynasty regardless of anger and defeat: the historian’s great-grandfather paid with his life for his loyalty to the legitimate rulers of Tunis. His grandfather, along with two servants who had remained loyal to the Hafsid family, saved the sultan’s life by carrying him in their arms to a relatively safe refuge after he had been defeated and left for dead on the battlefield. The family traditions that bound Ibn Khaldun . to the dynasty are,then, quite understandable. It should also be remembered that the future historian grew up during the reign of a powerful sovereign and that his personal misfortunes had begun when usurpers challenged the rights of the legitimate heir to the throne. Ibn Khaldun saw many states collapse, and, like everyone else in the Maghreb, suffered as a result of the anarchy that raged in the area and which he describes in such poignant terms. As a historian, he was fully aware of the decline that was gradually overtaking the Maghreb. Lacoste,Yves.(1984) p 122

Umran for himself. He tries to avoid others sharing it. But the fact is that all the member of the *Asabiya* of the ruler is entitled to have the same. So this spread a feeling of apathy and inactivity in the minds of the people who made up the *Asabiya*. Consequently they are made to submissiveness and apathy takes hold of them. This process contributes to the fall of *Umran* in the next generation.

V/39. Seats of Royal Ruined at their Fall

The consequence of decline and fall that affects an *Umran* affects not to a part of it but to the whole of the *Umran*.¹²² Therefore when *Umran* declined both royal power and their seats are also ruined. There is no situation in which the dynasty is ruined and their capital city is saved except in the case that the royal power is assumed by some other branch of the dynasty. In other words there is no question of ruining the city, which is the seat of a dynasty while the dynasty still retained its natural strength. Ibn Khaldun assigned four reasons why the cities also ruined along with the dynasty.

“First: At the beginning of the dynasty its necessary Bedouin outlook requires it not to take away people’s property.... This causes the taxes and imports to be kept low. The expenditures are small and there is little luxury. When a city that had been a royal capital comes into the position of a new dynasty that knows little of luxury, luxury decreases among the inhabitants of that city...because the subjects follow the

¹²² ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.374-76;Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 291-301;Issawi,C.(1950)p 74;Siddiqi,S.K.(1984),p 46.

dynasty. As a result, the sedentary culture of the city decreases and may luxurious customs disappear from it".¹²³

Secondly royal authority is obtained by the struggle for power in the existing dynasty. Which is characterized by luxurious habits. So, when a dynasty is over powered by still nomadic Asabiya the latter is inclined to reject the luxurious practices of the former. They deliberately avoid the former. So this also causes ruin of cities that are thrived in luxurious living.

Thirdly, the newly established dynasty must have chosen another abode as their seat of rules in order to avoid the rival people who supported their former dynasty. If the new dynasty considered it some and safe to have a seat of their own of that in place of the former one, the former is ruined gradually or destroyed.

Fourthly, the seats of every dynasty will be near the people who belonged to the Asabiya of that dynasty. As a result capital moved to the people who assumed power after having succeeded by the new dynasty. Therefore the former lost its position though it might constitute a branch or province of the later dynasty. When royal seats are changed from one

¹²³ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 297-98 Siddiqi,S.K.(1984), p 46

Ibn Khaldun grasped the reciprocal nature of the relationships between wealth and population. In his view an increase in population, by permitting a greater degree of division of labor, could increase wealth, and greater wealth could further lead to a larger population. Crafts in the city could improve and increase only when many people demanded them. Thus differences in income and market-prosperity between districts and towns were considered due to differences in population. When a city's economic condition weakened as the result of decreases in its civilization and the number of its inhabitants, luxury in the city and it decreased and it inhabitation reverted to restricting themselves to the necessities. The labor supply decreased because of the lack of population. Hence, the city gradually decayed and fell into complete ruin. As a result, crafts disappeared.

city to another sedentary culture also moved accordingly because the capital always stood for the best possible luxury and refinement.¹²⁴

V/40. Division of a Dynasty Into Two

The division that takes place in any dynasty is the symptom of having affected by senility.¹²⁵ When ruler is established firmly and assumes all glory for himself after annihilating all possible claimants, he is too proud to let anyone share in it. At this point some of them escape to remote region for his life who is later on able to create an Asabiya and a dynasty there when the original dynasty is in the declining stages. Later on his power grows continually while that of the original dynasty shrinks. Some times, the second dynasty becomes ‘an equal partner in the dynasty.... Inevitably, luxury, ease and decrease in the extent of its power cause it to be affected by the symptoms of senility. Then members of the ruling family or people of the dynasty who have gained control divide it among themselves, and numerous dynasties come into existence’.¹²⁶

V/41. Population Explosion at the End of Dynasty

This phenomenon is the result of the nature of the dynasty. In its initial stage dynasty is characterised by moderation in all its matters and dealings with the people.¹²⁷ This moderation generated an incentive to economic growth.

¹²⁴ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 297-301)

¹²⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.,292-93;c.f. chapter 'Asabiya', section 9,31.

¹²⁶ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 117.

¹²⁷ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.301-302; Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 135-37.

“(Civilization) will be abundant and procreation will be vigorous”. This process takes place gradually and it will be noticeable only after some generations passed. The number of the inhabitants increases beyond the limit of equilibrium. This causes unrest, famine and pestilence.

In wild craze for power and luxury, people and the ruler quarrel each other. So much of the time and money are wasted instead of cultivating the land. Much of the groves and farms are destroyed in this fight. Then famine affects the *Umran*. Neglect to hygienic and cleanliness causes pestilence. Thus *Umran* passes hard days in the end of its ruin as a result of its own misdealing.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Rosenthal, F.:(1958).vol. II, p 135-137

Chapter VI

'ASABIYA'

The term '*asabiya*' is derived from the root of 'ASABA' which means to wind, fold, tie, bind, wrap etc. Another term related with this is 'ASAB' which means 'nerve'. Therefore '*asabiya*' gives the implication of nervous, nervosity, zealous partisanship, bigotry, fanaticism party-spirit, team-spirit, tribal solidarity, racialism, clannishness, tribalism, national consciousness, nationalism etc.

Other derivations of the term are 'Asabath', and 'Usba' having the meaning of 'union, league federation, association, group, troop, band gang, clique, paternal relations, agnates, etc.'¹ Ibn Khaldun was well aware of the negative implications the world contained. 'The word appears relatively early in Arabic dictionaries and is even found in Hadith.... 'Does '*asabiya*' mean loving ones people? No, replied the prophet, '*asabiya*' means helping ones people in unjust actions'.² The word 'Usba' is referred to in the Quran in four places. Abdullah Yusuf Ali rendered it 'body, party and group'.³

¹ J.M. Cowan, Arabic – English dictionary spoken language service. Inc(1976). New York.

² Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 103.

³ "They said, Truly Joseph and his brother are loved more by our father than we. But we are a 'goodly body'. Really our father is obviously wandering (in his mind) ('We' means the half brothers of Yusuf and his brother Benjamin –Here 'Usbath' is body or group) Quran .chapter.XII, Yusuf. 8.

They said: It the wolf were to devour him while we are (so large) a party, then should we indeed (first) have perished our selves Here Usba is rendered 'party'.Quran ,chapter. XII Yusuf- 14.

Qarun was doubtless, of the people of Moses; but he acted insolently towards them. Such were the treasures. We had bestowed on him, that their very keys would have been a

Modern western scholars who studied Muqaddimah have given a variety of translations to the term.⁴ The following statement summarises almost all of the meaning and interpretations that the western authorities on 'Muqaddimah' have given to the term. "In their attempts to define '*asabiya*' in terms of its effects, various authors have translated it as 'the vitality of the State', 'the life force of the people' or '*Lebenskraft*.' There is indeed a link between the vitality of the state and '*asabiya*': when the latter disappears, state structures begin to break up. But Ibn Khaldun stresses that '*asabiya*' exists prior to the formation of the state and begins to decline as soon as the tribe has taken power. In that sense, Erwin Rosenthal is quite right to say that '*asabiya*' is the motor of the development of the state... His formulation is interesting and accurate, but much too general and abstract.

"'Patriotism', 'national awareness' and 'national feeling' are both erroneous and anachronistic. Aside from being too general, such concepts are much too modern to be applied medieval North Africa, where there were no real nations and tribal structures were dominant.

'*asabiya*' has also been interpreted as a particular expression of universal sociological nation such as 'public spirit', 'social solidarity', 'group cohesion', 'common will' and 'solidarity, in the strong sense'. De Slane translates '*asabiya*' in a number of ways, but usually gives

burden to a body of strong men (Here Usbat is rendered as body or group) Quran ,chapter. XXVIII Qsas 76

Those who brought forward the lie are a body among your selves" Quran ,chapter. XXIV Noor – 11.

⁴ Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 100-103;Henrich Simon.p. 68.

'esprit de corps', and Rosenthal renders it as 'group feeling'. These interpretations rightly stress one of the constituent elements of '*asabiya*', namely a certain form of solidarity. But it is nearly so broad or so general as these translations might suggest. '*asabiya*' is in fact inseparable from the phenomenon of tribalism".⁵

"Some authors bring out the role of the chieftain by translating '*asabiya*' as 'nobility' or 'aristocratic structure of society'. But not all aristocratic societies are based upon '*asabiya*'. Expressions such as 'solidarity in battle' or 'warlike attitude' bring out the military elements which is certainly essential to the nation of '*asabiya*'. But not all military organizations or formations are characterized by '*asabiya*'.

"In an attempt to specify the nature of '*asabiya*' by specifying its base, 'blood ties', 'agnatic solidarity' and 'agnation' have all been suggested as translations, although the last two terms are in fact over-restrictive. Such interpretations stress only one element in this complex notion at the expense of its other elements. And, as Ibn Khaldun

⁵ "According to Toynbee, '*asabiya*' is 'the basic protoplasm out of which all bodies politic and bodies social are built up'. This formulation has the advantage of stressing, or even over-emphasizing, the importance of '*asabiya*', but it is still insufficiently explicit and too general.

"Although all these interoperation bring out the importance of '*asabiya*', they tend to overstate it by making it synonymous with a general notion of social solidarity. If that is the case, how are we to explain the fact that according to Ibn Khaldun, townspeople, who are not necessarily lacking in cohesion have no '*asabiya*'?"

"By making '*asabiya*' synonymous with social solidarity in the most general sense, such interpretations completely miss the essentially tribal nature of the phenomenon. They also miss one of its most important constituent elements: the vital role of the chieftain who rules the tribe". Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 101

demonstrates, social organizations can be based upon blood ties without necessarily being characterized by ‘*asabiya*’.⁶

“Finally some authors use nomadic way of life, on the grounds that ‘*asabiya*’ is characteristic of ‘umran’badawi tribes. ’*asabiya*’ is certainly a characteristic of some nomadic groups, but Ibn Khaldun stresses that it can also characterize sedentary groups. The mountain tribes from the High Atlas which founded the Almohad Empire, for instance, had a high level of “‘*asabiya*’”. It is also possible to challenge these interpretations on the grounds that if Ibn Khaldun had wanted to describe the qualities or nature of nomads, he could have used the term *muruwa*, which refers precisely to such nations....

“Our brief examination of the many interpretations of the nation of “‘*asabiya*’” underlines its importance and complexity. It also shows that most of the translations are accurate up to a point. But they are not entirely satisfactory, as they are at once too general. They are too

⁶ “According to Helmut Riter, Ibn Khaldun uses “‘*asabiya*’ in the sense of Machiavelli’s *virtu*, that is, an innate disposition towards political power and aggression, the combination of a will to power and cunning that characterizes leaders. It is because they combine these aptitudes that leaders can impose their views upon a group of men and sway their opinion. It is quite accurate to say that the leaders groups with ‘*asabiya*’ display *virtu*. Being a psychological trait, *virtu* is, however, universal characteristic of leaders of men, whereas not all-human groups, which follow leaders, are characterized by ‘*asabiya*’. ‘*asabiya*’ refers to the influence of leaders of men in a very specific historical context.

“According to some authors ‘*asabiya*’ means ‘tribal fanaticism’. It does in a sense cover that notion, but it is reducible to fanaticism. Ibn Khaldun could have used the well-known term *hadija* to describe that form of tribal behavior. Others argue that ‘*asabiya*’ is a form tribal solidarity found amongst non-Arabic indigenous groups who where fighting against Arab domination. It thus mean tribal solidarity, as opposed to ‘umran, the cognate solidarity between all Muslims. Although al these notion contain an element of truth, they are either too specific or too broad. Moreover, they do not coincide with the realities of North Africa, where the only power struggles were those between Berber dynasties, all of which were Arabized to some extent. Besides, had Ibn

specific in stressing only one of the constituent elements of “*‘asabiya’*”, which is a complex combination of very different factors”⁷

VI/1. Basis of ‘*Asabiya*’

The term ‘*asabiya*’ constitutes one of the most fundamental concepts of the Muqaddimah. As a Technical term, Ibn Khaldun himself has given us in detail the meaning, implication, and other related matters pertaining to the term. So it is better to rely on ‘Muqaddimah’ itself to get the real meaning and implication of this most fundamental technical term. The most important aspect of the term ‘*asabiya*’ is that it cannot be explained but in relation with something concrete and manifest ‘*asabiya*’ is the manifestation of the unity of all the members of a particular group. Therefore he argued that ‘*asabiya*’ required some basic “reference” commonly shared by the all-particular individuals of the group. ⁸Ibn Khaldun has given a direct indication to this point in detail. “‘*asabiya*’ is the result of common blood relation or something equal to it.” The explanation to this statement clearly established the real meaning and implication of the term ‘*asabiya*’.

“(Respect for) blood ties is something natural among men. It lead to affection for the relatives. It guarantee no harm or destruction ought to fall upon them. It generates some shame when one of them are treated unjust or attacked. It voluntarily urges them to interfere in such

Khaldun wanted to stress political opposition towards Arab domination, he would have used *shu`ubiya* rather than ‘*asabiya*’.”Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 1022.

⁷ Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 100-103 ;also c.f. Taha Husain .p84-96;Sati Husri. p .333-353.

⁸ ‘Muqaddimah’,p.128-29.; Rosenthal.F.(1958)vol. I, p.264-5.c.f.chapter ‘*hadhari*’. section 2.

a state and check whatever peril or destruction threatens them. This state of mind is natural and common to man.

“There exists direct and manifest relationship between the members of relatives. In such a state their unity and ‘*asabiya*’ becomes very strong and unbreakable. Certain other relations are something remote and partly forgotten with some faint remaining of its awareness. It also urges the related persons to extend help in case of unjust treatment of shame”⁹ ‘*asabiya*’ include all the things mentioned here. It is not mere *group feeling* or *esprit de corpse*.¹⁰

VI/2. ‘*Asabiya*’ – Basis of Umran

Ibn Khaldun argued that human existence is impossible without ‘*asabiya*’. It is something indispensable Just like that of food, shelter and water. He explained this point thus: “Goodness and evil are natural human affairs. He is near to evil if in other wise is not trained. Injustice and mutual a aggression are the two evils common to men. He who cast his eyes upon the property of his brother will by his hand upon on it to

⁹ ‘*Muqaddimah*’, p.127-28; Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol.. I p.264.

¹⁰ But human associations are not always limited to the blood relations. There exist relations with the clients and allies. Ibn Khaldun put these relations also in same level with the blood relations, though a bit inferior. Just like the blood relatives, “the affection everybody has for his clients and allies result from the feeling of shame that comes to a person when one of his neighbors relatives or a blood relatives in any degree (of kinship) is humiliated” Their association is also something corresponding to common descent. It also evokes close contact, move imagination, guarantee affection and mutual help. This is the true sense of ‘*asabiya*’ as it is used in *Muqaddimah* in a technical sense. It generates pride in being counted to an ‘*asabiya*’ and humiliation when treated unjustly. It voluntarily generates an intention to extend help even to the extend of putting off the life.

take it, unless there is a restraining influence to hold him back”¹¹ Here he quoted line of Mutanabbi

‘Injustice is a human characteristic. If you find

A moral man, there is some reasons why he is not unjust’.

Mutual aggressions in towns are prevented by the government authorities there (which is the result of the manifestation of *‘asabiya’*¹². Aggression towards a town from outside are prevented by the city walls, or the militia “prepared and ready to offer resistance”.¹³ In the case of Nomads of the desert their restraining influence comes from their tribal leaders who are held in great respect and veneration. They maintain tribal militia “composed of noble youths of the tribe who are known for their courage”.¹⁴

VI/3. Lineage – Basis of *‘asabiya’* Among Nomads

Nomads are the people of desert who always roam in search of new pastures and dwellings. Their subsistence lay breeding either the camels or the cattle and sheep. They always have poor life, hard

¹¹‘Muqaddimah’ .p.128-29;Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol. I p.262-; Issawi, Charles (1950). p 105.

¹² C.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 12 below .

¹³ C.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 16.

¹⁴ The most fundamental nature of this tribal militia is that they are closely-knit *‘asabiya’* shared in the common descent. “This strengthen their stamina and makes them feared, since everybody’s affection for his family and his group is more important (than anything else).”¹⁴ In all these conditions *‘asabiya’* determine the human existence. Those persons who do not have any participation in *‘asabiya’* succumb to the aggressions of others and perish soon. The basis of *‘asabiya’* among nomads is generally common lineage. Therefore, “ those who have no one of their own lineage rarely feel affection for their fellows. If danger is in the air on the day of battle, such a one slinks away and seeks to save himself”. Rosenthal.F.(1958)F. vol. II p-263-; R. A. Nicholson: ‘Translation of Eastern Poetry and Prose. pp- 181 f. They cannot exist in

conditions and unfavorable habitates in the desert.¹⁵ But the nomads “has become familiar and accustomed” to it through generations until it ‘became confirmed in their character and natural qualities’. Others are not attracted to their conditions. Therefore there exist among them purity of lineage which served them the strong basis for establishing ‘*asabiya*’. Their lineage and the account of their mutual relationship remain well-known to each and every members of the ‘*asabiya*’ and even to the outsiders. “They have been preserved pure in unbroken liners” which alone guarantee their ‘*asabiya*’.¹⁶

VI/4. ‘*Asabiya*’ and Leadership

According to Ibn Khaldun ‘*asabiya*’ among a people and leadership over them are inseparably inter related.¹⁷ The reason is that leadership exists only through superiority, which is the result of ‘*asabiya*’. Ibn Khaldun rightly pointed out the fact that there always

desert, as they would be ‘swallowed up’ by others. Thus it becomes clear that ‘*asabiya*’ is a fundamental factor in determining the human existence.

¹⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.129-30; Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol. I.p.265. Issawi, Charles (1950). pp 104 ff.

¹⁶ Why are these destructive tribes, which have no political aims, characterized by anarchic egalitarianism and a low level of ‘*asabiya*’? According to Ibn Khaldun they are camel nomads who live in precarious circumstances on the edge of the desert. ‘They are in a state of savagery.’ They are used to a tough and hard life. Their poverty determines the survival of very egalitarian structures. If a privileged minority is to emerge and exercise something more than a moral influence over the tribe, there must be a surplus available for appropriation. No such surplus exists in these poverty-stricken groups.

Although they too had been camel nomads, the Almoravids did develop ‘*asabiya*’ and a ruling aristocracy because they could derive profit from the caravan trade. With the more advanced level of *umran badawi* found amongst groups which owned cattle and sheep and amongst semi-nomadic tribes who practiced both farming and stock breeding there was a surplus. Privileged leaders could appear because they could appropriate much of the surplus product. The absence of ‘*asabiya*’ and of any constructive policies amongst the Bedouin thus results from the extremely rudiment nature of their productive activity. Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 112

¹⁷ . ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.132-33; Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p.269-73 .

existed a number of fractional '*asabiya*' within the scope of a bigger '*asabiya*'. These smaller '*asabiya*'s are to be put together either by force or conciliation. Out of these numerous '*asabiya*'s, one particular '*asabiya*' is, of necessity, to be pronounced out, which assumed leadership over the rest of '*asabiya*'s. This particular '*asabiya*' has more strength than that of the others due to the close family tie. "They are more firmly established in their particular descent, (but they still) share with the other '*asabiya*' the common descent". Leadership in this general '*asabiya*' "is rested in one particular family" "who has more manifest '*asabiya*' than all others."¹⁸

Then Ibn Khaldun put forward the case of an individual who is attached to the leading '*asabiya*'¹⁹. His status in that '*asabiya*' never go beyond the states of clients and allies. "This in no way guarantee him seniority over them" and thus become leader over them. "Leadership

¹⁸ Leadership never goes to the whole of '*asabiya*' even though they share in its '*asabiya*' commonly. Leadership is transmitted in that bigger '*asabiya*' from generation to generation through one superior branch to the next until their whole of '*asabiya*' is weakened and destroyed. Ibn Khaldun further argued that leadership belonging to a particular '*asabiya*' could not be given to any one outside it. The reason for this is that leadership results from superiority, which in turn is derived from '*asabiya*' that supercedes each individual '*asabiya*'s. The inferior '*asabiya*'s within an '*asabiya*' are aware of the superiority of the leading '*asabiya*' and really obey and follow them. Thus it become clear that leadership over a given '*asabiya*' is always limited to superior '*asabiya*' within its scope. C.f, Issawi, Charles (1950). 108, 114-15.

¹⁹ "How does the chieftain establish his authority over the tribe? Partly by means of the profits he make from trade. But wars also allow him to appropriate a major share of the booty and to acquire an un-challenged authority over those who pay him tribute. The chieftain therefore involves the tribe in conflicts so as to enrich himself and retain control over the tribesman. As less and less of the wealth is shared, the old egalitarianism disappears and the warriors in theory equal, are transformed into vassals. The power of the tribal aristocracy increases at the expense of military democracy". Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 107.

must of necessity be inherited from the person who is entitled to it, in accordance with the fact... that superiority results from *'asabiya'*.

“Assuming that he has developed close contact with them, that he has mixed with them, that the fact that he was originally merely attached to them has been forgotten, and that he has become one of their skin and is addressed as one having the same descent as they, how could he, or one of his for bears, have acquired leadership before that process had taken place, since leadership is transmitted in one particular branch that has been marked for superiority through *'asabiya'*?”²⁰

VI/5. *'Asabiya'* and Nobility

Regarding the relation between *'asabiya'* and nobility Ibn Khaldun stated that; those who belong to an *'asabiya'* can only have nobility in its real and basic sense; that those who are outside *'asabiya'* have nobility metaphorically or figuratively and that; the nobility of clients, allies, and followers is through their masters and not through their own descent.²¹

He explained this argument thus: Nobility and prestige are the result of qualities .A 'noble house' means that a man counts noble and famous among his forebears, the fact that he is their progeny and

²⁰ 'Muqaddimah' .p.132-33;Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.. I p.270.

²¹ The tern Ibn Khaldun used here is 'Bayt' which means 'large respectable families' or 'noble families.' Rosenthal explained the term thus “ it was particularly well established in old Persian Empire. All signs point to the fact that the Arabs derived their usage of the word in this particular sense from the Persian cultural orbit”²¹ But this statement is doubtful as Ibn Khaldun is pointing to a general characteristic of *'asabiya'* in all ages and countries. Had Rosenthal been correct, Ibn Khaldun's criticism of Ibn Rushd in the

descendant gives him great standing among his followers. The advantage of this descent consists in '*asabiya*' deriving from it that guarantees affection, protection and mutual help. When the '*asabiya*' is formidable, the usefulness of a noble descent is more evident. The advantage of having a number of noble ancestors to an '*asabiya*' makes it more effective. Thus prestige and nobility in an '*asabiya*' become firmly grounded as a result of common descent. "The nobility of a 'house' is in direct proportion to the different degrees" of '*asabiya*' because it the secret of ('*asabiya*').²²

In the case of clients, allies and followers, nobility come to them through their association with their masters. The reason for this is that men of '*asabiya*' only have nobility in its true and basic sense. Other smaller and inferior '*asabiya*'s maintain relation with this basic nobility as clients, allies, or followers²³. As a result of this relationship, they "share in the '*asabiya*' of their masters and take it on as if it were their

same section regarding 'nobility' would have become out of sense". Henrich Simon.p. 143-44. Shaukat Ali.(1993),p. 126 ff.

²² 'Muqaddimah'.p.134-35. Rosenthal.F.(1958).F.,vol. I p-274 On the other hand, persons not belonging to any '*asabiya*' do not possess nobility in its true sense. They have nobility in a figurative sense." Seen in its proper light, prestige means to the inhabitants of cities that some of them count among their forefathers who had good (personal) qualities and who mingled with good people... This is different from the real meaning of '*asabiya*' as [it] derives from (common) descent and a number forefathers. Nobility comes to that particular family through '*asabiya*' alone. In course of time, the noble '*asabiya*' lost this status as a result of the natural weakening and disappearance of '*asabiya*'. At this stage, anyhow, some knowledge of their former nobility is kept alive among the masses even though the usefulness of it is gone as result of the loss of '*asabiya*'. Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 275.

²³ subservience and '*asabiya*'. How an '*asabiya*' is assimilate or conquered by another one (the implication of superiority of '*asabiya*' in the process)

own '*asabiya*' and participate to some extent in the '*asabiya*' of their masters.²⁴

VI/6. '*Asabiya*' and Weakening of Nobility

Ibn Khaldun argued that nobility is something acquired. It emerges from a state of not being noble, devoid of leadership and prestige. "All nobility and prestige is preceded by the non existence of nobility and prestige". Nobility and '*asabiya*' are inter-related and one of which guarantee the other. The decline of one necessarily leads to the destruction of the other. Ibn Khaldun argued that nobility and prestige has its beginning in '*asabiya*' and a natural course of rise and fall through a span of four generations. In course of this rise and fall the transformations that takes place in '*asabiya*' is important to note.

The first generation builds prestige and nobility, which is the manifestation of '*asabiya*' itself. The second generation is able to get direct contact with the toils and cost of '*asabiya*' and nobility, still they come inferior to the 'first generation' that had direct participation in building prestige and nobility. The third generation comes still inferior as they do have only indirect information and least involvement of building nobility. Theirs is of blind imitation of the tradition who keeps it in the illusion that nothing is to be done to break the tradition.

²⁴ This is applied to both individuals and groups in general. In the case of an individual who are attached to noble '*asabiya*', his own original '*asabiya*' is of no use to him as its influence disappears as soon as he severs with his own and comes into contact with the outside one. Even if a number of his ancestors also has shared in the noble '*asabiya*', his status remain inferior and is confirmed to that of clients or allies while he shares certain amount of nobility not in full. The same is the status of clients and servants of any dynasty. They are considered noble only because of the fact that they are not belonged but attached to the real noble '*asabiya*'. 'Muqaddimah'.p.135-36;Rosenthal.F. vol.. I p- 76-78.

Thereafter comes the forth generation who is devoid of all “qualities that preserved the edifice of their glory”. This generation keeps a number of illusions regarding their nobility, which clearly indicate the decline of ‘*asabiya*’ itself. “He imagines that the edifice was not built through application and effort. He thinks it is something due his people from the very beginning by virtue of the mere fact of their (noble) descent, and not something that resulted from group (effort) [‘*asabiya*’]and (individual) qualities. For, he sees the great respect in which he is held by the people, but he does not know how that respected originated and what the reasons for it was. He imagines that it is due to his descent and nothing else. He keeps away from those in whose ‘*asabiya*’ he shares, thinking that he is better than they. He trusts that (they will obey him because) he was brought up to take their obedience for granted, and he does not know the qualities that made obedience necessary. Such qualities are humility (in dealing) with (such men) and respect for their feeling. Therefore, he considers them despicable and they in turn, revolt against him and despise him”.²⁵ Thus ends the dynasty where emerges another nobility. This is applicable to the royal authority, nobles of tribes, amirs and everybody else whose existence is based on ‘*asabiya*’.²⁶

²⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’, p.136-38; Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol.. I P-280.

²⁶ In his study contemporary Bedouin civilization in the middle east, R.Montagne shows clearly how the authority of the chieftain begins to increase when the tribe settles in less arid areas. In the desert, the chief is simply *primus inter pares* and his influence is purely moral. In regions where more productive agriculture and stock breeding leads to a major increase in production, the chieftain appropriates the land and the herds, and become surrounded by clients and servants. He becomes the master of the tribe. The true nature of ‘*asabiya*’ can thus be specified in negative terms. It cannot be identified merely with a nomadic way of life, or with ‘*umran badawi*’ in any absolute sense. It does not simply mean tribal solidarity or the survival of blood ties. It corresponds to a certain

VI/7. 'Asabiya' Aims at Royal Power

Ibn Khaldun argued that human existence required, in its very nature, some kind of political authority who exercise 'a restraining influence and mediator in all social organization, so as to control the members from fightings, aggressions and injustice.'²⁷ He further argued that such a restraining power in any social set up is achieved only through 'asabiya'. This is because of the fact that such a person who exercises a restraining influence must have superiority over the other in the matter of 'asabiya' because the question of pressing any claim or defending it is backed by some kind of 'asabiya'. Even injustice and aggressions are perpetrated over others through the superiority achieved from 'asabiya' of some kind. So the defense of it also necessitates 'asabiya'²⁸. Ibn Khaldun termed such superiority the 'mulk' or royal authority. This royal 'authority signifies more than leadership'. Leadership means being a chieftain, and the leader is obeyed, but he has no power to force others to accept his rulings. Royal authority means superiority and the power to rule by force²⁹.

At the same time royal authority is evolved out of leadership or chieftainship itself. Any leader or chieftain having the support of 'asabiya' aspire still more power who "finds the way open toward superiority and (the use of) force' as it is something desirable to the

level of social and political structures within the tribe and to a certain level of economic development. 'asabiya' is a form of military democracy which appears when *de facto* aristocracy emerges within a tribal community. Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 112.

²⁷ 'Muqaddimah' I prefatory discussion,p.41-44; Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol.. I P- 92. Henrich Simon.p. 138;c.f.chapter 'hadhari'.section .2

²⁸ 'Muqaddimah'.p.154;Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol.. 1 p. 313.

²⁹ 'Muqaddimah'(in Tunis manuscript only) quoted in Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol. P -268-69.

mind. The achievement of such a status is also the outcome of the support of the '*asabiya*' "which causes (the others) to obey him". Thus royal superiority is a goal to which '*asabiya*' leads naturally.³⁰

VI/8. '*Asabiya*' and Dynasties

We have noted above that '*asabiya*' is the basis of aggressive and defensive strength that ultimately lead to the assimilation of all smaller '*asabiyas*' and the foundation of a dynasty. All the activities that are related with this process is the manifestation of various aspects of '*asabiya*'. The royal authority is a "noble and enjoyable position including all joys and pleasures of the world". This peculiar nature leads to competition for it. It is not handed over to outside a given '*asabiya*' unless it is taken away and the result is fight and unending attempts to capture it. Neither the capture nor the defense of royal power is attained but with '*asabiya*'. Therefore Ibn Khaldun argued that royal power is the goal as well as the result of '*asabiya*'.³¹

³⁰ Ibn Khaldun further explained other course of developments to '*asabiya*' in relation with royal authority. There may be a bigger '*asabiya*' within which there existed a number of fractional 'houses' or '*asabiyas*'. In such a condition one of these fractions must be "stronger than all other '*asabiya*'" that make others subservient, and in which all the diverse '*asabiya*' coalesce... to become one greater '*asabiya*'. Otherwise, splits would occur and lead to dissensions and strife". 'Muqaddimah'.p.139-40; Rosenthal, vol. I p-284-85. "At another instance, one such predominating '*asabiya*', having established its superiority over its own sub-'*asabiya*', possibly try to expand its sway over the outside '*asabiya*'. Ibn Khaldun envisaged here two possibilities of effective resistance or defeat. In the first instance, which is possible through '*asabiya*' alone, the two '*asabiya*' continue to sway over its own domain and people. In the second instance if one overpowers the other, the defeated '*asabiya*' become subservient to the winner. They are submerged in the victorious '*asabiya*' and give added strength to it, which still further opportunities of assimilating other '*asabiyas*'. Its power and domain expand considerably until they become big empires. 'Muqaddimah'.p.139-41; Rosenthal-vol. I, 284-286.

³¹ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 154;Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p.311-13; Issawi, Charles (1950). 108-11,113-15.

At the same time, he argued that there are variations in the necessity of the presence of '*asabiya*' in the various stages of the dynasty. In the beginning when a dynasty is in the process of being established, it exercises greater amount of '*asabiya*'. In this stage the dynasty conquer and assimilate other '*asabiya*' and fight the ruling dynasty until it is over thrown. They had to use a large amount of force to compel the people to accept their power instead of the over- thrown dynasty to which they are familiar. So '*asabiya*' in the initial stage of dynasty stand more powerful and manifest in all aspects.

But once leadership is firmly established in a royal dynasty and is passed over to the next generation, 'the beginnings are forgotten'. People become subservient to the ruling dynasty. As a result there would not be any '*asabiya*' to challenge the existing order. In this stage dynasty requires no more '*asabiya*' as powerful as that of the initial stage.³²

³² C.f.chapter '*asabiya*'.section 20.In this connection the following statement in Muqaddimah is to be evaluated and critically. It reads thus; "Member of a royal family may be able to found a dynasty that can dispense with '*asabiya*'". The statement is deducted from the facts related with the establishments of two dynasties. They are the Idrisids of Morocco and the Fatimids who founded their empire in 909 in Tunis. The founder of the former was Idris and the latter was Ubaidulla al Mahdi originally belonging to the '*asabiya*' of the Quraysh. But the '*asabiya*'s that helped them to found their empires were that of the Berbers of Africa who readily accepted his leadership. So in the superficial evaluation these two dynasties were the examples of establishing power out side the scope of the basic '*asabiya*'.

But, considering another aspect of these developments we can notice that they were not really 'out side' the basic '*asabiya*'. Before the foundation of these two dynasties there in Morocco and Tunis had existed a prolonged rule based on the Quraysh '*asabiya*'. As a result there had developed a favorable atmosphere among the Berbers who welcomed these leaders from the Quraysh. It was a period in which the Berbers of that time had not grown enough to have their own '*asabiya*' that can be replaced with the Quraysh. So they succumbed to the latter in their quest for independence within the Muslim orbit. The other extreme is also debatable, that is, consider the case of escaping this very Idris and Ubaidullah to their respective places not in the period they actually did it. But

VI/9. 'Asabiya' and Transfer of Power

Ibn Khaldun envisaged two types of transfer of power. Firstly power transferred within the scope of a bigger nation and secondly it transferred to an outside nation. In both instances the factor of 'asabiya' has the determining role.³³ He argued that royal authority is retained within the control of a nation as long as their 'asabiya' is strong enough to conquer the rival 'asabiya' and put them under subjugation. These subjugated 'asabiyas are employed as servants and to further the various interests and enterprises of the dynasty. There are still other 'asabiyas who are though belonged to the 'asabiya' of the ruling dynasty, do not share with them the opportunities of being the royal class, who in course of time succumb to abundance, luxury and splendor, that destroy, their power of resistance and fortitude. Their 'asabiya' is broken down by the very natural necessity of such a development.³⁴ Their prowess disappears as the result of senility (The duties of) the dynasty make them soft. Time feasts on them, as their energy is exhausted by well-being and their vigor drained by the nature of luxury".³⁵

somewhere near the end of seventh century and what would have been the result of trying to build in dynasty there? The only possible answer within the scope of the social theories enunciated in Muqaddimah is 'impossible'

³³ 'Muqaddimah'.p.145-47;Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 296-99;c.f.chpt' *hadhari*'.section 40.

³⁴ Issawi,Charles(1950). 116-20.

³⁵'Muqaddimah' .p.147; Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.. I P-297 ;c.f.chapter '*asabiya*'. section 18,21;At this juncture, the royal 'asabiya' is put to destruction and power is transferred to another 'asabiya'. But this transfer took place within the 'asabiya' as long as the nation retained 'asabiya'. If not, royal power is captured by outsiders. Royal power continues to be among the nation as long as they provide further and further 'asabiya' s on the destruction of the ruling 'asabiya'. Each of the ruling class experiences the same course of development. "Royal authority thus continues in a particular nation until the force of the 'asabiya' are exhausted completely".

Here the meaning of '*asabiya*', as has been explained by Ibn Khaldun, denotes still further scope beyond that of one based on blood relations. Blood relations create '*asabiya*' in its basic sense. At the same time a nation included a number of '*asabiya*', all of which came into power in course of the life span of this bigger '*asabiya*'. Thus, the concept of Ibn Khaldun is that the passage of human history is from generation to generation through the medium of nations with their own natural rise and fall.

VI/10. '*Asabiya*' and Size, Provinces and Span of Empires

Ibn Khaldun argued that the '*asabiya*' factor determined the size of the empire the amount of its provinces and the length of its duration etc...It is the member of the '*asabiya*' who scatter into the provinces and border regions that they took under their control. 'Only thus it is possible to protect them against enemies and to enforce the laws of the dynasty relative to the collection of taxes, restrictions and other things.'³⁶ This scattering continues until the members of the '*asabiya*' is exhausted. "This is the time when the territory (of the dynasty) has reached its farthest extension". Any undertakings beyond this natural and possible extension are 'detrimental' to its very existence. Any expansion beyond the power of '*asabiya*' make all the border areas 'open to any chance attack by enemy or neighbor'. Such a defeat creates "boldness towards it and diminishes respect for it". The other extreme is also possible; if the power of '*asabiya*' is not distributed and

³⁶ 'Muqaddimah'.p.161-63; Rosenthal.F.(1958).F, vol. I P. 328.

exhausted over the border areas 'the dynasty retains the strength to go beyond the limit until its expansion has gone as far as possible'.³⁷

VI/11. Innumerable '*Asabiya*' and Royal Power

A dynasty is the consequence of the achievement of the '*asabiya*' that brings in unity of aim and purpose.³⁸ Ibn Khaldun envisaged a situation in which there may exist-as in the case of nomads whom he considered far removed from acquiring royal power-a number of '*asabiya*' defending their own opinions and desires instead of unity of aim and purpose. In such a condition a dynasty and royal power are rarely established. Even if one is established, 'there is much opposition and rebellion against it. Even if one is established, there is much opposition and rebellion against it. Each '*asabiya*' under the control of the dynasty thinks that it has all the right to become the leading force. On the other hand where there is no such fractions and unrelenting nomads dynasty comes into being without much '*asabiya*'. The dynasty continues to rule for generations without much opposition. The transfer of power also is done vary easily from one branch of the dynasty to another.

³⁷ When a dynasty is in the process of decline it is the just opposite of this process; the provinces that lay farthest from the center are lost in the beginning. This process continues until there remained the capital only, which is also lost soon.

Ibn Khaldun further argued that the extent, length of its duration etc are in proportion to the numerical strength of the members of the '*asabiya*'. It is the members and the representatives of the '*asabiya*' who are employed as the 'militiamen' and officers in the provinces and territories of the dynasty. So the number, just like that of the strength of '*asabiya*' is a determining factor. 'Muqaddimah', p.164-66; Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol. I. p. 330.

³⁸ Henrich Simon.p.144;Issawi,Charles(1950). 122-26;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 15.

VI/12. '*Asabiya*', Royal power and Amassing of Glory

The leaders of '*asabiya*', by their very natural characteristics, amass all glory for them selves. Leadership derives from the natural consequence of '*asabiya*' which overcomes, gains control over others, and bring them all under its rule. For this, one of the various '*asabiyas*' must have some superiority over others so as to bring others in unity, and create a bigger '*asabiya*'. "All the various groups are then under the influence of the superior '*asabiya*'"³⁹

This overwhelming '*asabiya*' keep for itself all leadership and glory. One member of them is singled out as the leader over others who become "too proud to let others share in his leadership and control over (the people) or to let them participate in it". The aspiration of other '*asabiya*' are crushed who 'gradually become accustomed not to share glory with the ruler.' The ruler thus claims all the glory for himself and does not permit the people to share in it."⁴⁰

VI/13. '*Asabiya*' and Clients, Slaves, Friendship etc

Ibn Khaldun argued that the natural basis of '*asabiya*' is blood relationship among its constituent members. It is the clearest and

³⁹ 'Muqaddimah'.p.166-67;Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.p-337.

⁴⁰ According to Ibn Khaldun, it is basically the emergence of 'Umran badawi, luxury and comfort, which leads to the disappearance of '*asabiya*' within the ruling tribe. The tribe becomes much wealthier because it is able to levy taxes on agriculture and trade. This new wealth destroys tribal solidarity. As more and more of the profits are appropriated and as inequality between members of the tribe increases, they become increasingly aware of what is happening. It becomes obvious that the ruler and his entourage are the main beneficiaries of the tribe's victories. Increasingly, ties of kinship begin to look like a pretence. Profits are distributed amongst relatively few people and this allows the privileged few to surround themselves with more and more clients. The importance of blood ties decline accordingly. Lacoste,Yves.(1984).p. 113.

closest basis of '*asabiya*'. But considering the aims of '*asabiya*' is concerned, i.e. mutual help, protection against possible threats and pressing the claims, he argued that such conditions exist in other human associations also. Blood relationship is something natural and very much manifest.⁴¹

Still, other associations are possible with man as the '*asabiya*' in man is neither inherent nor instinctive as in the case of other living beings such as bee and locusts; rather it is intentional and purposefully practiced. Considering the availability of some kind of associations among bees and locusts,⁴² Ibn Khaldun argued that the '*asabiya*' found among men is the result of cognitive thinking aimed at the protection and mutual help which is necessary for his very existence while the former was the result of 'instinct'. So the aim of '*asabiya*' is achieved from other associations such as master –client, or slave relations and friendship or any other associations purposefully created for pressing the claims and mutual protection.

The implication of '*asabiya*' is thus still broader so as to include all human associations that are formed 'to bring about the feeling of close contact [through] social intercourse, friendly association, long familiarity and the companionship that results from growing up together, having the same wet nurse, and sharing the other circumstances of death and life'.⁴³ Such close associations bring out the result of affection and co-operation. Thus we can see that the use of the

⁴¹ F Rosenthal vol. I . p 374 ; C Issawi p.105.

⁴² 'Muqaddimah'.p.41; Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 84.

⁴³ 'Muqaddimah'.p.184-85; Rosenthal.F.(1958)vol. I p-374.

term '*asabiya*' in Muqaddimah is something broader in meaning that includes any kind of human groupings purposefully created for the fulfillment of anything that cannot be done individually. Therefore the broadness of purpose determines the nature of the basis of the '*asabiya*'. The generation having bigger and broader purposes creates a basis that suits them and work for the same and the vice-versa.

VI/14. '*Asabiya*' and Succession

Ibn Khaldun pointed out that the '*asabiya*' factor played a determining role in the succession of rulers and leaders. The succession generally took place in two ways, firstly the reigning ruler in his lifetime itself appoint his successor (presumably his own brother or son) who came to power following the death of the former. The second instance is that a successor (a person not belonging to the family of the ruler) is selected and appointed after the death of the reigning ruler. In either case, the fundamental factor that determines criteria to become the successor is the status of the person been selected in the '*asabiya*' of the regime.

According to the arguments of Ibn Khaldun, nowhere in human history a successor is selected without considering the '*asabiya*' factor. Even mere children came into the throne where the factor '*asabiya*' alone determined the criteria. Under this circumstances Ibn Khaldun made two significant judgments. They are firstly how guardianship and control over the ruler took place and secondly, those who look such guardianship and control do not share with the ruler the special insignia of the royal authority. Explaining the first point, Ibn Khaldun argued

that a child of the ruling dynasty is possible to succeed to the throne. “It becomes clear that he is unable to fulfill the function of ruler. Therefore they are fulfilled by his guardian, one of father’s wazirs , someone from his entourage , one of his clients or a member of his tribe”.⁴⁴

The second judgment that Ibn Khaldun made in this regard is also significant which also stress ‘*asabiya*’ as a determining factor. The royal power has its own titles and insignia in which none of others is admitted to share with.⁴⁵ This is the case even at the time when a out-party is exercising ‘real power’ for the ruler in the throne who is incapable of fulfilling the duties of royal power. ‘These who gain power over the ruler do not share with him in the special titles that goes with royal authority’. The royal authority comes into being as a result of ‘*asabiya*’, which causes all other ‘*asabiyas*’ to subdue to their rule. They amass all glory for themselves, which include the special titles and insignia of the royal house. This person who gain control over the royal candidate belongs to the category of aliens or followers. Therefore, his ‘*asabiya*’ do not come on a similar footing with that of the royal ‘*asabiya*’.

⁴⁴ ‘Muqaddimah’. p.185-86; Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol. I. p. 378. This situation may develop into two possibilities. Firstly this guardian may gain full control of the royal power in the pretext of functioning for the ‘*de jure*’ ruler who is put to believe that the ruler’s share in the royal authority consists merely in sitting on the throne, shaking hands , etc. and ultimately becoming the puppet in the formers hands. Ibn Khaldun has cited a number of such examples

The second possibility is that the child-ruler may become aware of his situation and contrive to escape from it. He thus regains the royal authority for his family. He stops the person who has gained royal power over it, either by killing him or by merely deposing him. However this happens very rarely. ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.142-45; Rosenthal.F.(1958)F.(1958) Vol.. I – 378) the best example here is Akbar the great.

⁴⁵ ‘Muqaddimah’ . p.57-70; Rosenthal. F. (1958)vol. II, 48-73.

At the same time his '*asabiya*' is not completely cut off from that of the royal '*asabiya*'. In that case he will no way be able to get mastery over the affairs of the royal. 'His '*asabiya*' is comprised by and subordinate to the '*asabiya*' of the family of the ruler'. But he cannot appropriate the colour of the royal '*asabiya*'. "He gives the people of the dynasty the impression that he merely acts for the ruler and executes the latter's decisions from behind the curtains. He carefully refrains from using the attributes, emblems, or titles of royal authority. He avoids throwing any suspicions upon himself in this respect even though he exercises full control."⁴⁶

VI/15. '*Asabiya*' Offices of the State

Ibn Khaldun assigned due consideration and significance to '*asabiya*' in the selection and appointment of various officials that go along with the ruler and the dynasty.⁴⁷ He argued that the ruler personally is weak and incapable of anything as in the case of any single individual. At the same time he is under the weight of a heavy burden of being the ruler. He has to look into a number of problems related with the royal power which include the protection of the people from their enemies; enforce restraining laws among them so as to prevent mutual aggression; safeguard their interests related with a number of economic matters and dealings; exercise political leadership

⁴⁶ '*Muqaddimah*', p.310-18,285-87; Rosenthal F.(1958). vol. I P-379.

⁴⁷ wazirate, door keeper, ministry of finance, of correspondence, police, admiral, the sward, pen to men of '*asabiya*' alone; Issawi, Charles(1950). p.115 '*Muqaddimah*'. p.235-70; Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.II.p. 3-48. '*Muqaddimah*'. p.235-57; Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II p-3-46.

in order to get the people submitted to his will and desires so that he alone possess all glory devoid of none”.

In fact all this includes the setting up of an administrative mechanism that looks into the entire problems related with the existence of state and the government for which the individual capacity of the ruler is not enough. So the ruler seeks the help of others capable of performing the duties related with this set up. Here the criteria, Ibn Khaldun argued, is not capacity or ability alone. The ruler seeks help of other who has ability as well as participation in '*asabiya*' of the ruler. The selection is “from persons close to the ruler through common descent, common up-bringing, or old attachment to the dynasty. This makes such persons and the ruler work together in the same spirit.”⁴⁸ The event of passing these offices that are related with the administrative machinery of the state into anybody else or to those who are not at all attached to the royal '*asabiya*' is impossible.

VI/16. '*Asabiya*' and War

Ibn Khaldun argued that wars and competition are natural among human beings. Both the parties seeking to avenge and those trying to defend itself are supported by their respective '*asabiya*'.⁴⁹ Moreover, they are incited and excited each other by their '*asabiya*'. Here Ibn Khaldun has put to discussion a number of other matters regarding the methods used in warfare and the factors that determine defeat and victory. One such factor is '*asabiya*'. He evaluated an opinion of Al

⁴⁸ Rosenthal, f.(1958) vol.II.p. 3-4.

⁴⁹ 'Muqaddimah', p.270-79; Rosenthal, F.(1958). vol. II p.73-89; Lacoste, Yves. (1984).p. 105-106; Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 141.

Turtusi who stated, “One of the reasons for victory in war is that one side may have a large number of brave and famous knights than the other. For instance one side may have ten or twenty famous heroes, and the other only eight or sixteen. The side that has more, even if only one more, will be victorious”⁵⁰

Evaluating this statement Ibn Khaldun argued that Turtusi has given credence to the ‘external factors’ only and not to the fact of ‘*asabiya*’ that give superiority over others. He explained that one group might have a single ‘*asabiya*’ while the other is composed of a number of ‘*asabiyas*’ that are put together. In this situation, the single ‘*asabiya*’ becomes superior to the latter one even if the latter is superior in number and might. They are rarely likely to abandon each other as in the case of separate individuals”.

Ibn Khaldun considered that ‘*asabiya*’ has its strongest manifestation under certain conditions while it is lost all of its influence and power in some others. While some factors strengthened ‘*asabiya*’ in all directions, some others weakened and destroyed it completely. The strengthening factors include (1) pristine nomadism (2) craze for moral values, (3) religion (4) victory over others etc. The weakening factors include (1) severity of law and injustice (2) luxury and indulgence (3) fines and imports (4) obedience and submissiveness (5) defeat and state of being overpowered (6) seeking outside help on the part of those who are in royal power (7) natural old age etc. It is clear that both of these factors are closely interrelated. The presence of the first one naturally

⁵⁰ Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol. II. p.87.

guarantees the absence of the second factors. As a key concept to Muqaddimah, the manifestation of '*asabiya*' in these circumstances is very much important.

VI/17. '*Asabiya*' in Nomadism

Ibn Khaldun considered nomadism a quiet natural state of human association which has some categories also. Firstly the nomads living on camel breeding are the basic nomads while those who live on cattle and sheep are less nomadic in character. Still others, who are settled in hamlets and villages and are engaged in agriculture, are also included in the category of nomads. In fact the term nomads as is used in Muqaddimah included all those nations outside the scope of sedentary people in cities and towns.⁵¹

The manifestation of '*asabiya*' in this entire nomadic situation is important. Ibn Khaldun has made a number of evaluations of these human associations and arrived at conclusions that stand valid as far as the question of '*asabiya*' is concerned.

Firstly, in the nomadic civilization the lineage is kept clear and known to all. '*asabiya*' is the result of the knowledge of human relations and the consequent protection and help, which is guaranteed only through such an association. Nomads has manifest lineage of all the individual members that ensure '*asabiya*' because blood relation is the fundamental basis to it.

⁵¹ c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 3;also '*Asabiya*'.section.3.

Secondly⁵², the civilization in nomadic stage is characterized by simplicity and frugality. They are people who cannot provide for the luxuries and indulgence of the pleasure of life. Their resources are limited. They do not have sciences and crafts to provide for the varied tastes of easiness and luxury. Their food, clothes dwellings etc are always confined to the fulfillment of necessities of life. They cannot provide for beyond that. Ibn Khaldun considered luxury, indulgences in pleasures, and even the sedentary civilization, the stage in which '*asabiya*' is destroyed. The nomadic stage is the just opposite of sedentary life. So it become clear that nomadism and its frugality with all their simplicities is a factor that guarantee and strengthens '*asabiya*'⁵³.

VI/ 18. '*Asabiya*' and Moral Values

Ibn Khaldun consider moral values another important factor that guarantee and strengthen '*asabiya*'. He stated thus: "A sign of royal authority is the eager desire to require praiseworthy qualities" or moral values (on the part of an individual). He further argued that the moral

⁵² Ibn Khaldun thus makes it quite clear that he does not see '*asabiya*' as a general, notion or as the basis of all governments in all societies, as he notes that it does not exist in much of the Muslim world. More importantly, it does not exist in the areas with the most powerful and stable states.

We therefore have to reject all interpretations which turn '*asabiya*' into a general, permanent sociological notion. Basically, Ibn Khaldun restricts it to North Africa. When he invokes '*asabiya*' to explain events in other countries, he makes it quite clear that he is referring to past events [usually the great Arab conquests of the seventh century] or to a political conjuncture of the past." Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 104 . .

⁵³ "What, then, are the component elements of the complex notion of '*asabiya*'? , '*asabiya*' is characteristic of '*umran badawi*' in the Maghreb and it disappears with the development of '*umran hadhari*' and luxury. Tribal structures are a precondition for its existence. Ibn Khaldun clearly relates the existence of '*asabiya*' in North Africa to the survival of tribal organizations, and its absence in Iraq and Syria to the fact that there are no longer any real tribes in those countries." Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. . 105.

values in men are more inclined human instincts while the vices are the result of his animal instinct.

“Thus the moral values in men are appropriate to political and royal power since goodness is appropriate to political authority.”⁵⁴ *‘asabiya’* is the basis upon which this royal power is built up to which the moral values serve as complimentary qualities. Moreover, the royal power and the moral values are the two goals of *‘asabiya’*. The existence of one with out the other “would be similar to that of a person with his limbs cut off or appearing naked in public”. Its absence to the ‘noble’ and the royal is a grave defect.⁵⁵

The eagerness to assimilate these kinds of moral values in a leader as well as the members of a group guarantee and strengthen *‘asabiya’*. “Thus we know that these are the qualities of leadership... which have made them deserving of being the leaders of the people. When a generation assimilate these moral values their mutual bonds of unity are strengthened and their power increased that do manifest in their *‘asabiya’*. The other extreme to this situation is immorality that weaken *‘asabiya’*.”⁵⁶

⁵⁴ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.142-45; Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.. I P-291)

⁵⁵ Ibn Khaldun considered the moral values something that supplemented *‘asabiya’*. This moral values included generosity, the forgiveness of errors tolerance towards the weak, hospitality towards the guest, the support of dependents, maintenance of the indignant, patience in adverse circumstances, faithful fulfillment of obligations, liberality with money for the preservation of honor, respect of the religious law and the scholars,... great respect for old and teachers, acceptance of truth.... fairness and care for the weak... humility toward the poor.... avoidance of fraud, cunning, deceit and not fulfilling obligations and similar things. Muqaddimah’,p.142-5;Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.. I p-292-93.

⁵⁶ C.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 16; Lacoste, however seems not to have realised what Ibn Khaldun considered to be true with regard to the functions of religion in umran. He says,“Ibn Khaldun moves quite illogically from a rigorous analysis of the realities of

VI/19. 'Asabiya', Religion and Savage Nations

Ibn Khaldun assigned religion a positive role in strengthening 'asabiya' especially among the savage nations. Defining savage nations, he said they are least willing to subordinate themselves to each other, because they are rude, proud, ambitious and eager to be the leader. Their aspiration very rarely coincides. Thus it became clear that the nomads are characterized by strong spirit of individuality. Royal power and government, on the other hand, is the result of the presence

North Africa and an objective study of its social and political evolution to a vision of conflict between Good and Evil. If reduced to his objective arguments, his explanation of the successive crises that punctuate the history of the Maghreb is in itself clear and satisfactory. Why, then, does he bring in moral arguments, which shed no light on the problem? It is not as though there would be no conflict between the ruler and the townspeople if the latter were virtuous. This use of value judgements is in complete contradiction with the conception of history and the analytic method elaborated by Ibn Khaldun

"How are we to explain Ibn Khaldun's excessively harsh view of 'umran hadhari and of the urban population? This damning condemnation is all the more curious in that it comes from a man who not only belonged to a great urban family but was also familiar with and appreciated the values of urban life. He had enjoyed all the refinements of Andalusian culture. He may well have tired of life at court, and he was certainly attracted towards the harsh purity of life amongst the tribes. Having been driven out of Telemcen, Fez and Grenada, he took refuge in the citadel of Qalat Ibn Salamah, where he lived in peace under the protection of a great Arab tribe. Ibn Khaldun was also in close contact with certain mystical movements. Perhaps his antipathy towards its comforts of urban life expresses a certain puritanical moralism and a taste of asceticism? Yet, for most of his life, Ibn Khaldun does not seem to have scorned the advantages of 'umran hadhari or the pleasures of life at court.

Such arguments are not to be dismissed, but they do not solve the problem. Why should Ibn Khaldun resort to ethical arguments to explain things for which he had already provided a scientific explanation? After all, in other areas his concern for objective analysis and his rejection of value judgments led him to reject the normative arguments of religion.

Ibn Khaldun makes a methodical analysis of the process which leads the state to its inevitable downfall. He understands the process, but deplors it. He does of course refer to the biological cycle of all living things-'Dynasties have a natural life span like individuals'- but he cannot stop himself from railing against the townspeople and making them responsible for the collapse of the empire created by 'asabiya". Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 119.

of '*asabiya*' to which the exercise of restraining influence that ensure order and discipline is necessary.⁵⁷

It is toward this background Ibn Khaldun argued that religion served as a factor that ensured unity and order. Religion serves as a restraining influence among the nomads and savage nations. It takes away the haughtiness and jealousy from men and bring in moral values. They are easily subordinated and united as religion, "causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercise a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy".

He further explained that, as the size of the '*asabiya*' determined the size of the royal power and the empire, dynasties of wide power and royal authority have their origin in religion because religion can unite people on a broader basis. Religion can bring individual desires come together in agreement to press their claims, and hearts become united. Religion is characterized by its aversion toward the worldly gains that usually brings mutual jealousy and wide spread differences. But when men are united under the banner of religion It cause them reject all that was in the worldly gains and advance toward spirituality .It brings its adherents together in their out look and purposes. As a result '*asabiya*' is strengthened and widened.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 16.

⁵⁸ Issawi,Charles(1950).p.131; Rosenthal, Vol.. I 319-20; 20-22 c.f. chapter "Religion and Umran"

VI/20. '*Asabiya*' and Obedience

According to Ibn Khaldun, there are a number of factors that weakened and destroyed '*asabiya*'. Meekness and docility found among the people or the members of nation is a major factor that destroyed '*asabiya*'.⁵⁹ When the men of '*asabiya*' are meek and docile it break their vigour and strength. The very presence of such a situation itself is the open declaration of the loss of '*asabiya*'. The men of '*asabiya*' never "become fond of meekness until they are too weak to defend themselves. Those who are too weak to defend themselves are all the more weak when it comes to withstanding their enemies and pressing their claim" as a result of the loss of '*asabiya*' –the basic factor that 'create the ability to defend oneself, to offer opposition, to protect oneself and press over claims'⁶⁰.

It is for the same reason Ibn Khaldun argued that the defeated nations are ruined very quickly. The defeat itself is the manifestation of the weakening of '*asabiya*'. Furthermore, defeat is another factor that adversely affect further weakening of what ever '*asabiya*' remained.

The defeated nation is naturally put to subjugation that further brings apathy. When they lose control of their own affairs, they are put to enslavement, become instrument of others and have to be dependents. Subsequently their hope diminishes, stimulation are gone, civilization decreases, business and other activities ceases; and the '*asabiya*' is crushed under the impact of defeat. They become unable to

⁵⁹ 'Muqaddimah'.p.141-45 I; Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol. I-287-291 Issawi, Charles (1950). pp-60ff

⁶⁰ Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol. I .p. 287-89

defend their claims, and ultimately come under the domination of others.

The adverse impact of defeat on '*asabiya*' is so severe that "it makes no difference that they have already reached the limit of their royal authority or not." Here the human nature is such that when he is deprived of leadership and prevented from exercising all his powers, as a consequence of the loss of '*asabiya*', he becomes apathetic even in matters of food and drink."⁶¹ Any defeat that affects an '*asabiya*' has the detrimental result for it generates boldness toward it and diminishes respect greatly.⁶²

VI/21. '*Asabiya*' and luxury

Ibn Khaldun considered luxury, and prosperity-the result of amassing wealth that leads to the sedentary life-an important factor that disintegrated '*asabiya*'. Submergence in prosperity on the part of the men of '*asabiya*' leads to their loss of power, strength and courage. Such a condition always leads to the decline of '*asabiya*' itself. These luxuries start from taking any thing beyond the level of what is necessary in matters of food, clothes and shelter. These luxurious people take great pride in them which goes on to develop further until they are completely submerged in the consequent ways of pleasures. Thus their energy is gone, natural disposition is destroyed and succumbed to all vices of the sedentary life.⁶³

⁶¹ Issawi, Charles (1950), p. 97; '*Muqaddimah*', p. 148; Rosenthal-vol. -300.

⁶² c.f. chapter 'Bedouin'. section 16 .

⁶³ '*Muqaddimah*', p. 120-21; Rosenthal, F. (1958) F. vol. I P-249C. Issawi, Charles (1950), p. 80 ff; Shaikat Ali. (1993), p. 137-38; c.f. chapter '*hadhari*'. section 10, 36, 37.

“As a result, the toughness of desert life is lost. ‘*asabiya*’ and courage weaken... their children and offspring grow up too pound to look after themselves or to attend to their own needs. They have disdain also for all the other things that are necessary in connection with ‘*asabiya*’. This finally becomes a character trait and natural characteristics of theirs. Their ‘*asabiya*’ and courage decrease in the next generations. Eventually, ‘*asabiya*’ is altogether destroyed... The things that go with luxury and submergence in a life of ease brake the vigour of ‘*asabiya*’...When ‘*asabiya*’ is destroyed, (they) no longer able to defend or protect itself.” (The nation) will be swallowed up by others.⁶⁴

VI/22. ‘*Asabiya*’ and Enforced Laws

Another factor that destroyed the ‘*asabiya*’ is enforced laws⁶⁵. This is because of the fact that any laws enforced with brute force that brings about domination through intimidation “breaks the fortitude and deprives the power of resistance of being oppressed.” Some times laws are enforced by means of punishments against a nation who are unable to defend it. This destroys their mental power to pose a defense. “ The use of punishment against someone who cannot defend himself generates in that person a feeling of humiliation that, no doubt, must break his fortitude”⁶⁶The loss of fortitude and the power of resistance lead to further breaking up of ‘*asabiya*’.

⁶⁴ ‘Muqaddimah’ .p.140-41;Rosenthal.F.(1958)F. vol. I P – 287.

⁶⁵ Rosenthal.F. vol. I P-258- 61 ;‘Muqaddimah’ , p.125-27.

⁶⁶ Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 259;c.f.chapter ‘ *hadhari*’.section 6,8;c.f.chapter ‘Bedouin’. section 14,27.

For the same reason, '*asabiya*' is found very strong among the savage people who are never accustomed to any kind of intimidation and brute forces. The leaders and chiefs of the savage tribes always try not to antagonize their followers. Their control is always considerate, kind and just.⁶⁷ On the other hand the Sedentary people are always controlled by a number of rules and regulation enforced by the authorities in cities and towns. So, their '*asabiya*' is found always weak as a result of their dependence on laws and regulations. It destroys their power of resistance and fortitude.

VI/23. '*Asabiya*' and Injustice

Ibn Khaldun considered injustices another factor that destroyed '*asabiya*' and civilization.⁶⁸ His statement is as follows, 'Injustice brings about the ruin of Umran.' General indication of Muqaddimah regarding civilization is that '*asabiya*' is the only basic qualities that guarantee the existence of Umran. Where a nation is able to maintain '*asabiya*' it remain unchallenged. When '*asabiya*' is broken and ruined the nation is destroyed. So injustice is a weakening factor that ruins civilization through the weakening of the basic factor of '*asabiya*'.

Injustice, according to the concepts of Muqaddimah has a wide scope of meaning. It does not simply imply taking away the properties

⁶⁷ In savage nation the leaders and the led always remain on a same footing. Their leader is one among them in all details of life, food, clothes home customs etc. He cannot have superiority over others. So as to enforce his will and wishes over them. So the Nomadic nations always unhealed strong individuality, which is a 'defect' of them in relation with the royal power. Nomads, therefore remains away from getting any royal power. 'Muqaddimah' II/27 p....Rosenthal- Vol. I 306-8, Issawi, Charles(1950).p.59 ff.

⁶⁸ 'Muqaddimah' 286-90; Rosenthal .F.vol .II.p.103-111 Issawi, p. 84 ff; Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 136;c.f.chapter '*hadhari*'.section 35.

of the people forcefully and not being duly rewarded or compensated. It is more general than this. "Who ever takes someone's property, or uses him for forced labor, presses an unjustified claim against him, or impose upon him a duty not required by the law, collect injustice taxes, deny people of their rights" etc. commit injustice in its broader sense.⁶⁹

Forced labour is a grievous injustice because labour constitute the 'capital of the people with which they gain their subsistence. So the capital remains uncompensated when they are not rewarded satisfactorily. Another form of injustice, more grievous and destructive is "the appropriation of people's property by buying their possessions as cheaply as possible and then reselling the merchandise to them at the highest possible prices by means of forced sales and purchase",⁷⁰

All these and other farms of injustice affect the people's incentive to enterprises, which also break their fortitude and power of resistance. No injustice can be perpetrated upon a people whose '*asabiya*' is powerful enough to resist their just claims. People succumb to injustice only when their '*asabiya*' is weakened, which later on further disintegrate, and ruin at the repeated perpetration of injustice. Defence of claims and right is the aim of '*asabiya*'. And justice in all its meaning and implication is the basic claim of any nations. If any nation become unable to defend for their justice, it

⁶⁹ Rosenthal .vol. II .p.106-7.

⁷⁰Rosenthal . vol. II.p.109.

creates a situation of defeat which further destroy 'asabiya' itself as a result of the inertia that creep into it.⁷¹

VI/24. 'Asabiya' and Imposts

Ibn Khaldun considered all types of impost an element that destroys 'asabiya'.⁷² It brings about meekness and docility and the subsequent ruining of 'asabiya'. He considered all types of impost and taxes a kind of 'oppression' to which no people 'asabiya' bow their heads unless they consider its payment 'easier than being killed and destroyed'.

A nation paying impost does not succumb to it unless and until they become resigned to submission. It is an implication of the ruin of 'asabiya' itself, which make it too weak to defend and protect of its

⁷¹ All these factors contribute to the destruction of 'asabiya'. Ibn Khaldun's penetrating analysis goes into every aspect of its destruction. Recruiting mercenaries, buying slaves and paying new clients absorbs a major share of the state's revenue, which has already been reduced by the concessions granted to tributaries. The granting of charters of *iqta* to chieftains of mercenary tribes and to new clients has the effect of creating a new category of 'feudal lords' who, in their turn, begin to challenge the ruler. In order to cover his increased expenditure, the ruler illegally increases taxes on land and commercial transactions. This has the effect of slowing down economic activity, making taxes heavier and reducing tax revenue even further. The subsequent poverty and discontent lead to disturbances which pretenders and discontented 'feudal lords' exploit to their own ends. Antagonisms within the ruling tribe produce major disturbances amongst the various peoples ruled by the state. New mercenaries are needed to suppress sedition, and have to be paid. Tribes in the service of the ruler are granted new charters of *iqta*. The ruler resorts to illegal methods of taxation in order to compensate for his loss of revenue and to cover his increasing expenditure. Increased taxation, both legal and illegal, of stagnating resources provokes new rebellions. The strongest tribes try to avoid paying taxes. The dissident *Bled essiba* grows at the expense of the *Bled el-Maghzan*, the area controlled and taxed by the ruler's agents. Decimated in the struggle against absolutism, the most dangerous pretenders and enemies – the ruler's own kinsmen. Ultimately, the state is supported only by mercenaries and falls into decline" Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 115.

⁷² Muqaddimah .p.141-42;Rosenthal. F.vol.p.287-90 Issawi,Charles(1950).p. 60 ff; c.f.chapter 'hadhari'.section 27.

claims. Submitting to the impositions is also a sign of accepting defeat that ruin *'asabiya'* itself. "People whose *'asabiya'* cannot defend them against oppression certainly cannot offer any opposition or press any claims."⁷³

VI/25. *'Asabiya'* and Harshness

Ibn Khaldun agreed that one of the indispensable requirements of human association is leadership and its basic factor of *'asabiya'*. Leadership is the quality emerged out of *'asabiya'* alone.⁷⁴ So the two things are inter-related. Ibn Khaldun explained the meaning of being the ruler and the ruled. The interest of the people in their leader is not in his personal appearance. Rather it consists in looking after their affairs, protection of their wealth, life honour etc. The ruler requires the subjects and they require a leader. The leader becomes a leader through the *'asabiya'* of the subjects. So the most beneficial relation between the two is 'mildness' that always complement and strengthen the bonds of *'asabiya'* and brings unity, which furthers the power of the leader.

On the other hand, harsh relation between the two estranges them and weakens each other. 'If the ruler uses force and is ready to mete out punishment and eager to expose the faults of people and to count their sins, (they) become fearful and depressed and seek to protect themselves against him through lies, ruses and deceit'⁷⁵ This condition in no way strengthen *'asabiya'*. Furthermore it creates evil

⁷³ Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. I .p.289.

⁷⁴ 'Muqaddimah' .p.188-89; Rosenthal F.(1958). Vol.p. 382-85; Issawi, Charles(1950).p. 128-30;Henrich Simon.p. 144-45;c.f.chapter '*hadhari*'.section. 27.

⁷⁵ Rosenthal .F.(1958).vol.I p. 383.

consequences also, as a result of people being accustomed to lies, ruses and deceits which become a character trait and their minds are corrupted. If the leader goes on to resort to harshness and keep a forced grip on the subjects. '*asabiya*' will be destroyed'

VI/26. '*Asabiya*' and Seeking Outside Help

A ruler, having established in power as a result of the strength of the '*asabiya*' that support him who are employed as ministers in various 'enterprises' related with maintaining their power and authority, may seek help of outsiders, i.e. those who do not originally share in the basic '*asabiya*' against his won '*asabiya*'. This situation comes into being during the second generation of rulers. It is in this period the ruler accumulates all the glory for himself. He becomes independent of those of his close relation and pushes them out. "As a result, his own people become, in fact, his enemies"⁷⁶.

It is in this situation the ruler seek the help of those who do not originally belong to his basic '*asabiya*'. He uses them against his own '*asabiya*'. They are rewarded adequately with high positions. They 'become closer to him than any one else. They deserve better than any one else to be close to him and to be his followers, as well as to be preferred and to be given high positions, because they are willing to give their lives for him, preventing his on people from the power that had been theirs and from occupying with him the rank to which they

⁷⁶ Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol. I. P.372.

had been used".⁷⁷ This is the function of the outsiders in a royal power during the second generation of its rules.⁷⁸

The ruler confer upon them high ranks and administrative function such as wazir, tax collector and even royal titles which are deprived to those who share basically to his own '*asabiya*'. Such a Situation, in fact is the sign of the chronic disease that has affected the '*asabiya*' and the dynasty. The result of such a movement is the breaking up of the basic factor of '*asabiya*' and the decline of the dynasty and Umran itself. The feelings of the members of '*asabiya*' become diseased because of the contempt and hostility that breed into their minds. Their disunity is manifest in their hate for him who uses the first opportunity to get him out. Thus it became clear that the greed for power and glory on the part of the ruler ultimately lead to the breaking up of his own basic '*asabiya*' and the subsequent destruction of umran.

VI/27. How '*Asabiya*' is transformed from Nomadic to Sedentary

Ibn Khaldun pointed out that the basic factor that guarantees Umran is '*asabiya*'. When the presence of certain amount of '*asabiya*' is assured among a nation , they gain superiority over other '*asabiya*' and gain royal power. As a result of the defeat inflicted upon other subordinate '*asabiya*', they are paralyzed, if not fully crushed, whom the royal '*asabiya*' make use of.⁷⁹ All "these things are possible only in

⁷⁷ 'Muqaddimah' .p.183-84;Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol. I.p. 372;Issawi,Charles(1950). .p.121.

⁷⁸ c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 34 below.

⁷⁹'Muqaddimah' ,p.172-74,175-76; Rosenthal. F.(1958).p.347-51, 353-55; Issawi, Charles (1950). p. 118 ff

connection with savage life. The first stage of dynastic there fore is that of savage life.”⁸⁰

As soon as royal power comes under the control of the ‘*asabiya*’ there follow a life of sedentary with its ease, luxury and comfort. “Sedentary culture is merely diversification of luxury and a refined knowledge of the craft employed for the diverse aspects of it”.⁸¹ These development have great effect upon ‘*asabiya*’ itself .The transition from savage state to the sedentary stage is natural to umran. But, it brings about adverse consequences to ‘*asabiya*’, the basis of human association.

The transition naturally leads Umran from nomadic simplicity to sedentary luxury. While simplicity in life strengthened ‘*asabiya*’, luxury and the subsequent indulgence lead to the developments of immorality and vices that eat into the body of ‘*asabiya*’. So it become dear that the natural course of development that effect a dynasty is also a factor that weaken ‘*asabiya*’.

Furthermore, this point is put to discussion under various sections such as the five stages of dynasty from its beginning in the first to the fifth in which ‘*asabiya*’, dynasty and umran itself are rained and destroyed. During the first stage the dynasty maintained ‘*asabiya*’ in its highest degree while it declined into complete destruction under the fifth stage.⁸²

⁸⁰Muqaddimah'.p.172-74;175-76;Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I. p. 347-51;353-55; Issawi, Charles (1950). 118;c.f.chapter ' *hadhari*'.section 4,11.

⁸¹ Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 347

⁸² Faruqi .M.R, “The Cultural Atlas of Islam”. p.313.

VI/28. 'Asabiya' and Social Change

Ibn Khaldun considered that any social change is possible with 'asabiya' only.⁸³ He said, Religious propaganda couldn't materialize without 'asabiya' because 'every mass undertaking by necessity requires 'asabiya'.' Here the use of the term 'religious propaganda' is not confined to its narrow sense.

A new religion and religious reformation always stand for a new set of values and morals above the existing ones to which the mass is firmly attached. So there comes the inevitable clash between the new values and the existing ones. The existing values are even backed by those in power and the people in general. So the new values require 'strong efforts backed by 'asabiya'' in order to 'under mine the foundations of the existing values'. On the other hand, if the new values are not supported by such a strong 'asabiya' its exponent and the values itself are destroyed⁸⁴.

He further argued that once such a clash took place between the new and the old values, and the old one is defeated and subjugated, the exponents of it eagerly assimilated the values of the victorious.⁸⁵ This is

⁸³ 'Muqaddimah'.p.159-61; Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. 1 p-322-26; Issawi, Charles. (1950). p. 133 ff.

⁸⁴ 'Muqaddimah'.p.147; Rosenthal .F.(1958).p.299; Issawi, Charles(1950).p. 530.

⁸⁵ In North Africa, 'asabiya' played an important political role, amongst both Berber and Arabized groups. It was most important during the Middle Ages, but in some cases continued to play the same role until relatively recent times. Thus, even at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Berber mountains of Morocco, the chieftain or *Amghar* would surround himself with an armed band of *imedoukal* who were not dissimilar to the *gaisindi* of the middle ages. Similar phenomena could also be observed amongst the Arab tribes. The armed group guarantees the chieftain's authority over the rest of the tribe. 'asabiya' combines vassal relations and the tribal solidarity of a military democracy subordinated to a tribal chieftain who is gradually becoming a feudal lord.

because of the fact that the vanquished nation always imitated the victor in dress, occupation, customs, belief, values etc.

VI/29. 'Asabiya' and Disintegration of Dynasties/Umran

Ibn Khaldun argued that the Umran and dynasty are founded upon two foundations -they are '*asabiya*' and money.⁸⁶ And decline appeared in a nation through the disintegration of '*asabiya*' and the acquisition and spending of wealth. Ibn Khaldun explained these point thus: "the umran and royal power are the result of '*asabiya*' which, 'have the same relationship to civilization as *form* to *mater* ... One cannot imagine a dynasty without Umran while a Umran without dynasty and authority is impossible...Since the two cannot be separated, the disintegration of one of them must influence the other just as its non existence would entail the non existence of the other".⁸⁷

The most basic factor that ensures Umran and royal power is '*asabiya*'. "There must be a major '*asabiya*' uniting all the '*asabiyas*' subordinate it⁸⁸". This major '*asabiya*' assumes all power and glory for itself while other are deprived of it. There begins the chronic disease to their '*asabiya*'. More over they become accustomed to luxurious tastes in food clothes and houses, which also demoralize them. Above all, the ruler seeks outside help against his own men and relatives who are then humiliated and destroyed. All these conditions ultimately lead to the

Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 108.c.f.chapter ' *hadhari*'.section 12,13;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'. section 21.

⁸⁶ Muqaddimah.p.294-97;Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol.. I.pp.118-124.

⁸⁷Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol. II.p.300-301. Muqaddimah.p.374-76;Issawi,Charles. (1950). p. 101 ff.

⁸⁸ Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II. P. 119.

disappearance of *'asabiya'* and the consequent decline of Umran and power⁸⁹

VI/30. *'Asabiya'* and Transfer of Power Within its Limits

The chronic disease of decline may affect the royal power and not to the whole of the nation who share in the *'asabiya'*.⁹⁰ Those who become royal leaders are exposed to the adverse affect of luxury, indulgence, etc and are weakened soon. At the same, there are people within a nation who are not affected by these vices. So when the ruling *'asabiya'* is weakened, they are defeated by others who share in the broader *'asabiya'* and assumed power. Ibn Khaldun derived this conclusion from the rise and fall of various Arab dynasties.

This is the same case with the various Turkish, Mangolean and European nations. "All this has its origin in *'asabiya'* which differs in different groups. Luxury wears out the royal authority and overthrows it...when a dynasty is wiped out, the power is taken (away) from (the member of that dynasty) by those people whose *'asabiya'* has a share

⁸⁹ "One of the main reasons for the decline of *'asabiya'* is the behavior of the ruler himself. He is the de facto leader of the tribe, but has no legal claims to that position. Once he accedes to the throne, he in theory enjoys absolute power. He wants to unify and centralize a state which is in fact no more than a collection of dominant and dominated tribes. He is a tribal chieftain who wants to found a dynasty. Whereas he once developed *'asabiya'* within his tribe and used blood ties to his own advantage, he now needs to destroy a political structure which has become a major obstacle to the establishment of a true absolute monarchy. Important figures in the tribe still regard him as no more than primus inter pares and invoke tribal solidarity. Once they realize that it was they who gave him his kingdom, they refuse to obey his orders and attempt to exploit the situation as best they can. A conflict therefore arises between the ruler, jealous of his position, and his former allies, who become more and more greedy for profits and power. Within the ruler's family the conflict is even more serious. His kinsmen refuse to obey him, constantly demand bigger stipends and become claimants to the throne itself". Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 116.

⁹⁰ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 145-47;Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 296-99.

in the (established) '*asabiya*', since it is reorganized that submission and subservience (by others) belong to [them] and since people are used to the fact that [it] has superiority over all other '*asabiya*'.⁹¹

VI/31. '*Asabiya*' and Emergence of New Dynasties

Ibn Khaldun argued that the emergence of a new dynasty reached the stage of 'senility and destruction while the new one has acquired enough '*asabiya*' to challenge it.⁹² The new dynasty takes two ways to establish itself in power. "(The one way is) for provincial governors in the dynasty to gain control over remote regions when (the dynasty) losses its influences there"⁹³ "The other way is for some rebel from the neighboring nations and tribes to revolt against the dynasty". In either case the process is closely related with the factor of '*asabiya*'. Such a challenge to the existing dynasty cannot be put forward but with the support of a strong '*asabiya*' behind it.

Moreover "the new dynasty gains domination over the ruling dynasty through perseverance ad not through sudden action".⁹⁴ Ibn Khaldun has given a detailed elaboration of this point also. The quality of 'perseverance' is very much important here. It is a quality closely associated with the savage nations and least found among the sedentary people. Ibn Khaldun agreed that the savage nations achieve superiority as a result of the quality of 'perseverance' that develops among them as a result the very nature of their savage way of living.

⁹¹ Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 289.

⁹² Muqaddimah.p.298-301;Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II, p.128 – 35.c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'. section 21; c.f.chapter '*hadhari*'.section 14.

⁹³ Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol.II,p. 129-30

⁹⁴ Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II. P-130-35.

This very quality is stressed here as one of the criteria for achieving royal power. The existing dynasty is firmly established in the mind of the people which puts many hindrance in the way of the founder of a new dynasty. “Consequently, he falls back on patience and perseverance, until senility of the ruling dynasty has become oblivious”.⁹⁵

The second factor that demand the perseverance is the superior strength of arm and man power the ruling dynasty posses. “The people of the new have the desert attitude and more poor and indigent”⁹⁶ The difference between the ruling dynasty and the new dynasty is in matters of ‘*asabiya*’. The ruling dynasty has so many factors that weaken ‘*asabiya*’ while the emerging one has factors that strengthen it.

Ibn Khaldun’s analysis of the rise and fall of the state is, then of considerable importance. It concentrates upon the play of internal factors. In the context of North African structures, the rise of an empire is intimately connected with the causes of its decline. Once has reached the throne, the ruler has to destroy the forces that forged his empire in order to transform his authority as a tribal chieftain into absolute power.

But the ruling tribe, which is struggling against the ruler, is also his sole power base. Even if he does not rely upon mercenaries, the antagonism between his authority and that of the tribal chieftains will

⁹⁵Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II.p.131.

⁹⁶ Rosenthal.F.(1958). vol. II.p.131.

appear sooner or later. In his attempt to tribal power he undermines the basis of the empire.⁹⁷

VI/32. 'Asabiya' and Immorality

Ibn Khaldun agreed that sedentary life is the ultimate aim of 'asabiya' and Umran where it assumed characters unbecoming to its very existence.⁹⁸ "Excessive Sedentary culture and luxury corrupt the city generally". Corruption of the individual inhabitants is the result of satisfying the luxurious needs. It damages the minds of the people morally'.

'Immorality, wrong-doings, insincerity and trickery for the purpose of making a living in proper or an improper manner, increase among them... People are now devoted to lying, gambling, cheating fraud, theft, perjury and usury. Because of the many desires and pleasures resulting from luxury, they are found to know everything about the ways and means of immorality ... the city then teems with

⁹⁷ Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 116;He continues,"The conquests of the victorious tribe allow the state to develop, but the very existence of the state implies the break up of tribal structures. The congenital weakness of the North African states is a result of this internal contradiction. The concept of 'asabiya' is, then, eminently dialectical and 'asabiya' is the motor of the development of the state, and it is destroyed by the emergence of the state.

'asabiya' is a socio-political structure which marks the transition from a classless to a class society. The tribal aristocracy holds power only in so far as it is still integrated into egalitarian structures. As the power of the aristocracy grows, it becomes a class whose interests are in contradiction with those of other members of the tribe, and tribal structures begin to break up. To a certain extent, their break-up strengthens the privileged class; it begins to extend its authority over its clients, who become vassals, and to appropriate some of the means of production (land, cattle). The break up of tribal structures is in a sense progressive, in that it marks the beginning of a transition towards a more progressive and more highly developed mode of production. Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 116.

⁹⁸c.f.chapter 'hadhari'.section 36,37;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 10,11,12;Rosenthal II. p-291-97.

low people of blameworthy character'. The causality of such a course is upon '*asabiya*' itself which is broken and the Umran is wiped out.

On the contrary savage people keep away from all these vices and immorality and consequently their '*asabiya*' is kept strong that enable them achieve royal power.

VI/33. All '*Asabiya*' Do not Have Royal Power

Ibn Khaldun further explained that all '*asabiya*' do not have royal power which in reality, belong only to those who dominate subjects, collect taxes, send out (military) expeditions, protect the frontier regions, and have no one over them who is stronger than they". He stated that this is the true meaning of royal authority.⁹⁹ At the same time he admitted that there are a number of '*asabiya*' that falls short of accomplishing all these things. 'Such royal authority is defective and not royal authority in the real meaning of the term". Furthermore he said that there exist a number '*asabiya*' inferior in number and strength.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ 'Muqaddimah', p.187-88; Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. I. p. 380-82; Issawi, Charles(1950). p.133 ff.

¹⁰⁰ "This passage, which is very important if we are to understand the meaning of '*asabiya*', suggests a clear distinction between egalitarian tribes, in which the chieftain has only moral authority, and the tribe with '*asabiya*' in which the chieftain has succeeded in asserting his dominance. Only tribes which are no longer egalitarian and which have developed '*asabiya*' constitute a political force capable of making their chieftains heads of state. Solidarity based upon blood ties is not, then, '*asabiya*' but merely a precondition for its development. Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 106-107

VI/34. The Three Generations and Five Stages of Dynasties and the Changes That Affect 'Asabiya'

Now it is significant to consider the transformations that affect '*asabiya*' during a course of the rise and fall of a dynasty.¹⁰¹ Ibn Khaldun assigned a dynasty a period of three generations each of which having a period of forty years and five stages through which a dynasty has its rise and fall. Ibn Khaldun agreed that the life span of a generation, equal to that of an individual, is forty years.

During a period of forty years, the generation is completely replaced with a new one. Thus a dynasty within a period of three generations is established and declined. The first being the builder who is characterized by strong bonds of '*asabiya*'; second being that of the maintaining what is gained in the first one which is gradually shifting from nomadic to sedentary and the subsequently weakening of '*asabiya*'.

The third generation has been completely cut off from the positive qualities, submerged in all vices and immoralities which of course shatter the bonds of '*asabiya*' and bring about the inevitable destruction.¹⁰² Through these three generations, Umran and dynasty passed through five stages - the first that of the success, the second that of the ruler gains complete control over his people; the third that of leisure and tranquility; the fourth that of contentment and peacefulness and the fifth that of waste and squandering.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ 'Muqaddimah'.p.170-74;175-76; Issawi, Charles(1950).p.117; Rosenthal. F. (1958). vol. I. p.343-4,353-55.

¹⁰² 'Muqaddimah' .p.172-74.Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 347-51

¹⁰³ Rosenthal.F.(1958) vol.I.p.353-56; 'Muqaddimah'.p.175-76.

Chapter VII

RELIGION, ASABIYA AND UMRAN

VII/1. Introduction

It is in the light of the preceding chapters, we have to evaluate the role that Ibn Khaldun assigned to religion to play in umran. In the very beginning it is not easy to make out how Ibn Khaldun visualised in Muqaddimah the relationship between religion and civilization. The difficulty is largely due to the fact that Muqaddimah is a work that deals with the basic problems related with the historic incidents. The subject matter of the work, therefore, is the 'how' and 'why' of history. It is a philosophic discussion of the factors that control, create and contribute to the socio-historic phenomena of human society. It is for this reason that Ibn Khaldun could maintain in the work secular characteristic regarding its subject matter.

Still Ibn Khaldun gave in Muqaddimah due consideration to the spiritual aspect of human life. It is a fact that he was a great religious scholar, yet he maintained a high level of objectivity and impartiality in dealing with the matters of *Umran*. If we consider the outlook of Ibn Khaldun regarding the relation between religion and *Umran*, as it is explained in his work, we specifically note can arrive at the following four points.¹

¹ "In his approach to history, however, Ibn Khaldun does think and argue like a modern scientist. The questions he asks are basically those that we are now asking and the causes he uncovers are very similar to those which interest us. It is this modern scientific

Firstly, Ibn Khaldun argued that the spiritual experience and the consequent enormous branches of religious knowledge are natural to human civilization. In order to establish this argument he divided human experiences in terms of categories of knowledge out of which the spiritual experiences of the Prophets is considered to be 'the perfect and the infallible'. He argued that the Prophets had 'the power of pure intellection' that transcended the limitations such as time, space, matter, motion etc....² Therefore he argued that religious experience and knowledge brought by the Prophets are free from the limitation of material sciences.

attitude that makes Ibn Khaldun so very different from most mediaeval thinkers. But for all that he was still a man of the fourteenth century, and no less an important part of his intellectual activity was closely connected with his religion. Because of his religion, he raised problems which others before him had already formulated in much more secular and rational terms. Ibn Khaldun's originality lies not only in the modernism of his historical thought, but also in the hiatus between his scientific approach to history and his religious convictions.

"Given that for centuries little distinction was made between scientific activity and religious speculation, the same contradiction applies to all the scientists of the past. But in their work the contradiction is much less pronounced than it is in Ibn Khaldun. From a scientific point of view, these philosopher-scientists were far less modern than Ibn Khaldun; but they were also much less influenced by religion". Lacoste, Yves. (1984). p. 188-89.

² Radhakrishnan.S "The term 'Hindu' had originally a territorial and not a creedal significance. It implied residence in a well-defined geographical area. Aboriginal tribes, savage and half-civilized people, the cultured Dravidians and the Vedic Arians were all Hindus as they were the sons of the same mother....The Hindu attitude to religion is interesting. While fixed intellectual beliefs mark off one religion from another, Hinduism sets itself no such limits. Intellect is subordinated to intuition, dogma to experience, outer expression to inward realization. Religion is not the acceptance of academic abstractions of the celebration of ceremonies, but a kind of experience." 'Hindu view of life'. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London (1964). p. 12-13

"Wesley asks, 'What is faith?' and answers, Not an opinion nor any number of opinions put together, be they ever so true. It is the vision of the soul, that power by which spiritual things are apprehended, just as material things are apprehended by the physical senses.'...If we take faith India the proper sense of trust or spiritual conviction, religion is faith or intuition...Hindu thought has no mistrust of reason. There can be no final breach between the two powers of the human mind, reason and intuition. Beliefs that foster and promote the spiritual life of the soul must be in accordance with the nature

Secondly, Ibn Khaldun argued that religion served as a bigger basis of *asabiya*, which helped to create a bigger civilization, royal power and dynasty.³ Religion can serve as a broader basis of *asabiya* among the unruly nomads who could be brought under the common banner of religion and thus unity is assured so as to make a bigger state and dynasty.

Thirdly Ibn Khaldun considered religion as the fountainhead of all those good qualities and virtues that contribute to the creation of unity and conformity among the people by promulgating virtues and preventing vices. According to Ibn Khaldun, the virtues assured unity while the vices lead to disunity. Here religions took the dual role of promoting virtues among the people as well as regulating vices. Religion is the most effective instrument to 'civilize' the unruly and disobedient nomads and to make them good citizens for the creation of an ideal society, state and royal power.⁴

and the laws of the word of reality with which it is their aim to bring us into harmony."Ibid.p..14

³ "Religion", Freud writes, "is born of the need to make tolerable the helplessness of man". Freudian analysis had shown not only that human behaviour stems from hidden motives but also that it often reenacts behaviour learned in earlier situations. These earlier responses, usually of an infantile nature, are repeated in adulthood in a disguised form. Religion to Freud, is an example of this kind of repetition. It is as reenactment of infantile behaviour in the face of human limitations. Maturity, however, means outing aside childish things. Freud claims that despite the consolation of religion humans remain helpless. He believes that religious ideas which "should solve for us the riddles of the universe and reconcile us to the troubles of life" have "the weakest possible claim to authenticity". He believes people should give up such infantile responses. Each person will then "find himself in a difficult situation.... that he is no longer the center of creationbut is not the destiny of childishness to be overcome?". Meta Spencer. 'Foundations of Modern Sociology'p. 385

⁴ Christopher Tournroe&George Yates. "Religion is by no means easy to define. One definition sees religion as any set of meaningful answers to the basic dilemmas of human existence such as birth, sickness and death. Another definition is that religion is any system of ideas, practices and rules of conduct that center of belief in a god or

Fourthly, Ibn Khaldun considered religion as the infallible source for all those laws and regulations that guaranteed social integrity and *Umran*. A civilised society required laws and regulations to control their affairs. But laws could be promulgated without giving any consideration to other's interests, rights etc. Here, Ibn Khaldun argued that laws that are imposed with the help of any outside power or threat destroyed fortitude of the people. He argued that rules and regulations are indispensable for the smooth functioning of any civil society.

These rules and regulations may take their origin from the narrow-minded visions of the rulers and their advisers who give least consideration to justice, or rights and interest of others. The impositions of such laws result in the destruction of the fortitude of the people as it creates in them the feelings of timidity and enslavement. The question of rules and regulation thus poses a riddle to any civil society in the sense that they are indispensable while their arbitrary nature also contain the seeds of destruction and ruin. Ibn Khaldun argued that this riddle could be solved only with the help of a religion. The following elaborate discussion of these four points is sure to establish the relationship between religion and civilization as Ibn Khaldun envisaged it in *Muqaddimah*.

VII/2. Man is Essentially Ignorant

Ibn Khaldun argued that man is ignorant by his very nature and he acquired knowledge in course of his life. He put forward this argument, which is one of the fundamentals to *Muqaddimah*, based upon the first

supernatural reality." 'Sociology of religion; Sociology for G.C.S.E.' Longman. Honkong, 1987.p.152-53.

revelation of Quran to the prophet. The revelation reads thus; “Recite in the name of your Lord who created. Created man out of a clot of blood. Recite and your lord is the most noble who taught man with pen. Taught man what he did not know.”⁵

The two points stressed in these verses are that, firstly man is created and secondly that man is ‘taught’. Ibn Khaldun argued that what distinguishes man from other living beings is the power of perception. Human knowledge is something acquired after his birth. In other words the intellectual perception in man is not hereditary.

VII/3. Categories of Intellect

Ibn Khaldun further divided intellect into three categories. They are discerning intellect, experimental intellect and the speculative intellect. All these levels of intellects come to man only ‘after the animality in him has reached perfection’. The first level of intellect is the discerning intellect before the accruing of which, ‘man has no knowledge of whatever and is counted one of the animals’. The beginning of the life of any human being is very much similar to that of any other living organism. But man becomes distinguished due to his ability to think, perceive, acquire and store knowledge. All these are obtained subsequent to the growth of the child. It is the ability to think that distinguishes man from other living beings.⁶

Ibn Khaldun maintained that the ability to think is a distinguished quality of human species. It is a criterion to differentiate between man

⁵ Quran, Chapter 94, verses 1-5.

⁶ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 429-30 Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.II.p. 424-25.

and animal. This special quality helped man to obtain his livelihood, to co-operate with others so as to create *Umrān* and enabled him to overpower the entire natural and animal kingdom and to utilise them for his benefits.⁷ It is God, he argued, who bestowed this distinguished quality in man. This power, apart from being a distinguishing quality, made man 'perfect' and superior over all other things.⁸

“Perception is something peculiar to living beings... Living being may obtain consciousness of things through the external senses such as hearing, vision, smell, touch and taste. Man has this advantage over other being that he may perceive things through his ability to think. This ability in man is something beyond the five senses. This power is the result of special powers placed in the human brain with which he takes the pictures of the *'sensibilia'*, applies his mind to them. Thus man's ability to think enables him to abstract other pictures. The ability to think is the occupation with pictures that are beyond sense perception, and the application of the mind to them for analysis and synthesis”.⁹

⁷ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 411-13.

⁸ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 411.

⁹ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 412.2). “Like the rest of the philosopher-theologians of Islam, Ibn-Rushd was convinced that Islam as a religion had to contribute a great deal towards the enrichment of every branch of knowledge. The knowledge of God, soul and spirit can only be acquired through prophecy, and whatever other insights one acquired through philosophy, logic and ethics were secondary in character. He believed that religion alone can ensure material welfare and moral health of the society. Any knowledge which ensured happiness of mankind in one form or another could never be contrary to Islam. Ibn-Rushd once said that “philosophy is the companion and the foster-sister of the Sharia”. He made a powerful case for the unification of revelation and reason. Truth in his opinion was not a monopoly of any particular race or nationality. He was convinced that the Quran and the Hadith did not debar the believers from accumulating knowledge from pre-Islamic sources.

Ordinance itself requires us to look into the books of the ancients, since their intention and goal in what they wrote was the same goal that towards which Divine ordinance has urged us. Any man forbidding the study of these books to any one properly qualified to

Thus, Ibn Khaldun argued the thought-process of the mind is related with the processes of analysis and synthesis of the ideas attained by means of sense perception. He believed the thought process in man is the continuation of the sense perception in a higher level.

He has divided this thought process into three categories. They are 1. Perception, 2 Apperception and 3. Speculative Intellect. Out of the three categories, the first one is that level of intellectual understanding of the things that exist in the outside world which are in a natural or arbitrary order, so that he may try to arrange them with the help of his own power'. This kind of perception is also known as discerning intellect. It helped men to obtain useful things for him and repel things that are harmful to him.

The second type of thought process is known as apperception or experimental intellect. This provided man 'with the ideas and the behaviour needed in dealing with his fellow men and in leading them. They are obtained one by one through experiences until they are perfected and become really useful.¹⁰

The third degree consisted of speculative intellect of hypothetical knowledge. It provided knowledge of things beyond the reach of five senses. It consisted of both the above two degrees of thought process. This level of knowledge, Ibn Khaldun argued is a continuous process that

look into them-anyone that is, who combines sagacity of spirit with religious uprightness and moral virtue-thereby bars mankind from the very door whereby Divine ordinance calls men to get to know God, the door of speculation, leading to the true knowledge of Him'. A.J. Arbery, 'Revelation and Reason in Islam', London: George Allen & Union, 1957, P. 68) quoted in Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 40-41.

¹⁰ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 413.

provide man with perception and apperception and finally takes him to the highest level of pure intellection.

VII/4. The Discerning Intellect

“The discerning intellect”, Ibn Khaldun argued, “is that branch of thought process that helped man to create order and arrangement in the world outside man¹¹. This is illustrated with the help of a good example. It is as follows: “If a man thinks of bringing into existence a roof to shelter him, he will progress in his mind (from the roof) to the wall supporting the roof and then to the foundation upon which the wall stands. Here, his thinking will end, he will then start to work on the foundation, then (go on to) the roof with which his action will end.”

¹²What Ibn Khaldun wanted stress with this example is the importance of grasping the sequence of events required for creations in the material world. Only such awareness guarantee creation. “Thus, human action in the outside world materializes only through thinking about the order of things since things are based upon each other. After (he has finished thinking) he starts doing things”. ¹³Human actions proceed to materialise only after the first principle cause in the sequence is duly grasped. It is because of this fact that human actions are seen in a well-arranged manner while that of living beings other than man are in a haphazard way. “Animals perceive only with the senses. Their perception are

¹¹ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p.413-17.

¹² Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 414-15.

¹³ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 415.

disconnected and lack a connecting link since only thinking can constitute such (a connecting link)".¹⁴

All human beings are not in the same level of having this discerning intellect. Some have more power of this while others have scanty. This disparity "determined the degree of humanity" each individual human being possessed. This knowledge helped man to subdue animals and utilize them to fulfill his needs. Man is able to master the material world because this power of discerning intellect helped him to find out and establish the underlying rules and causes behind every natural phenomenon and help him master it. This discerning intellect is followed by the experimental intellect.

VII/5. The Experimental Intellect

The second category of intellect is experimental intellect that is put to detailed discussion in Muqaddimah. He considered this category of thought process related with the social requirement of human beings. Man does not have a complete existence or life in isolation.¹⁵ In another words, man is political by his vary nature and required the co-operation and help of others for his existence. He is lead to the requirement of association and consultation in all maters related with his existence. "Strife, conflict, quarrel, affection and consideration are natural and

¹⁴ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 41621) "The world around human beings is topsy-turvy, and unless knowledge and perception reduce this chaotic mass of observations and experiences to some disciplined form, life becomes meaningless. Man must also use his thinking faculties to find causal relationship between objects and things. In his opinion, 'the degree to which a human being is able to establish an orderly causal chain determines his degree of humanity" Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 145

¹⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 417-19.

common in dealing with the common matters of the people. 'This leads to war and peace among nations and tribes.'¹⁶

The unity and disunity, as far as human beings are concerned, does not come into being 'haphazardly' as it is the case with all the animal kingdom. Human actions are controlled and determined by his thought. Therefore his actions are speculated and put to deliberations. They are preplanned in an orderly and well-arranged manner. This planning of human behaviour with his fellow beings, is the result of his distinguishing quality of thought-process. His actions thus are arranged and regulated in an orderly manner in accordance with the political aspects and social norms. This helped man to promote things that are useful and good for his existence and well being. Furthermore, it helped man to avoid those things that are harmful and detrimental to him.¹⁷

What is the most important requirement here is that the recognition of the things that are good or bad for human social organization. This recognition cannot be attained all on a sudden. Rather, it required sound experience of a long period extending even beyond the life span of a single individual. This experimental knowledge, therefore, is gathered from the 'forefathers'. The human experience of the past or the history of mankind is studied with greater significance. Man's highly developed brain, which provided man with the ability to think helped him to retain

"No discussion of knowledge in Islam could be complete without thorough understanding of its spiritual and religious foundations.... According to Islam the Quran as the revealed word of God is the fountainhead of all knowledge. All secular knowledge, accumulated through observation, reflection or experimentation is meant to verify, support and strengthen the religious beliefs of the people." Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 147.

¹⁶ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 416.

¹⁷ 'Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.II.p. 416.

the knowledge of the past. Depending upon the experiences of others, every individual is able to acquire more of the experimental knowledge than what their own self-experiences can provide. This helped them to dispense with lengthy and careful study of each and every event personally.¹⁸

Ibn Khaldun quoted in this connection a famous Arabic saying ‘He who is not educated by his parents will be educated by time’. Here the term ‘parents’ is used to include teachers and elders as well. The meaning of this saying is that experimental knowledge is a must for each and every person, and that if a person has not acquired adequate level of this knowledge, must be compelled to have it in course of his lifetime by the very nature of his requirements of co-operation with others. This kind of practical knowledge, Ibn Khaldun argued, is obtained following the first category of knowledge i.e. the discerning intellect.¹⁹

¹⁸ “Knowledge is essential for three basic reasons. Firstly, it facilitates cooperation among human beings. Sociability of man is an unquestioned reality. Nothing in life can be accomplished in isolation. The variety of human needs, frailty of human character, and physical weakness, prompt men to live in company and seek others’ help. Knowledge alone helps them to understand the nature and purpose of such a cooperation for various occasions. Secondly, the pathways of life are strewn with many ghoulisn objects. Man is in dire need of knowledge to differentiate between good and evil so that he can avoid the latter and perpetuate the former. And lastly, knowledge economizes time and increases human energies, to resolve the numerous imponderable problems of life. If each individual were to search out a solution for every problems of life, independent of the knowledge which he gathers from other’s experiences, very little would be accomplished.” Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 145-46.

¹⁹ W.S.Norman “But in neither case is direct personal experience enough. We must depend a good deal on others for information about the empirical reality that lies beyond our own experience, for it would be impossible for us to test personally every item of information about the world that is relevant to our daily activities...One must often rely on substitute for personal experience in establishing the validity of such information. The process of consensual validation- when we see that others believe something, it is easier for us to believe it too- makes this possible”., ‘Focus on Society’(1980).p. 316-17.

VII/6. Categories of Human Perception

“It should be known that the world of man is the most noble and exalted of the worlds of existing thing. Even though human reality is a uniform (element) in (the world), it contains different levels, which differ from each other through conditions peculiar to them, to such a degree that the realities at each level are different ones.”

“The first level is constituted by the human world of the body including man’s external sense perception, his thinking which is directed towards making a living, and all the other activities which are granted to him by his present existence.”²⁰

²⁰ The second level is constituted the world of sleep (dream vision). It involves perception by the imagination. Man lets the perceptions of his imagination rove in his inward (being). With his external senses, he perceives some of them as unencumbered by time, place or any other condition of the body. He sees them in places where he (himself) is not. If they are good, they present him with the glad tidings of pleasure he may expect in this world and the other world.... These two levels are shared by all human individuals, but, as one has seen, they differ as to the way perceptions are attained in them.” In other words, he believed cosmological knowledge as found in the books of the ancients provided powerful crutches to the understanding of the word of God. He points out that it is the duty of every ardent believer to understand the universe around him because it testifies to the greatness of the Creator. Blossoms in the oasis of the desert and the stars in distant heavens, earth and water, plants and change of seasons, rain, rivers and oceans, floods, storms and the entire cyclones, and the entire cycle of life and death, are signs meant to speak eloquently for the boundless, authority, control, as well as mercy and benediction of God. Exploration of the mysteries buried in the bosom of the universe is a legitimate activity of the human mind. Numerous other instances could be collected from the writings of other Muslim scientists, to prove that the dichotomy between science and religion which highlights the Western Civilization did not exist in Islam. Most scientists were devout Muslims, and in their books and public statements, they professed undeviating confidence in the truth and wisdom of the religious doctrines. They did not have to be atheists or agnostics, in order to perform creative experiments in various sciences. In most cases they believed that by uncovering the mysteries of nature, they were serving the cause of religion. In the religion they found a permanent source of inspiration for their innovative endeavours. There were constant intellectual skirmishes between strictly orthodox circles, and scholars who believed in free will and indulged in liberal interpretation of the Quranic principles, but in the world of Islamic scientific thought atheism was never accepted as prerequisite for enquiry into the realm of sciences.” Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 41-42.

“The third level is that of prophecy... The fourth level is that of death. Here, human individuals leave their outward life for an (other) existence. Now, after (the existence of) the four levels has been established. We want to explain how human perceptions with regard to those four levels clearly differ.

“At the first level, human perceptions are clear and obvious.... With the help of these perceptions, man is able to master the habits of knowledge, to perfect his human reality, and to satisfy the requirements of divine worship which brings him to Salvation.

“At the second level, those of sleep (dream vision) human perceptions are the same as those of external sense perception. Although the limbs of the body are not used as they are in the walking state, yet the person who has a (dream) vision ascertains everything perceived by him in his sleep without any doubt or misgiving.... A perception in sleep is the clearest evidence (we have) for the fact that sensual perception operates at the subsequent levels.²¹

VII/7. Dream Vision and Interpretation

Ibn Khaldun considered dreams a type of experience or knowledge peculiar to human beings. It is something natural to every human being. Dream visions are beyond the human control. It is quiet accidental to have

²¹ “It is not known to us how sensual perception takes place on the third level- that of the Prophets- but they themselves have a more than certain (knowledge) of perception through intuition... He perceives all kinds of sensual perceptions, exactly as he perceives them at the levels of body and sleep, (but) through a kind of necessary knowledge that God creates for him, and not through ordinary human perception by means of the limbs of the body.” Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p. 69-75.cf also vol.I.p.194, 199.

a dream vision.²² Ibn Khaldun considered that dream visions are the result of the spiritual power within man. The spirit is situated in the heart to which it withdraws in times of sleep that put all the external organs take rest.

“Now, the spirit of the heart is vehicle of man’s rational spirit. Through its essence, the rational spirit perceives everything that is in the divine world, since its reality and its essence are identical with perception. It is prevented from assimilating any supernatural perception by the veil of its preoccupation with the body and the corporal powers and senses.”²³ But during sleep, the spirit is able to get perceptions from its own world. “When it has perceived these perceptions from its own worlds, it returns with them to its body, since, as long as it remains in its corporal body, it cannot be active except through corporal means of perception”.

“The faculties through which the body perceives knowledge are all connected with the brain. The active part among them is the imagination. It derives imaginary pictures from the pictures perceived by the senses and turns them over to the power of memory, which retains them until they are needed in connection with speculation and deduction. From the (imaginary pictures) the soul also abstracts other spiritual, intellectual pictures. In this way, abstractions ascend from the *sensibilia to the intelligibilia*. The imagination is the intermediary between them. Also when the soul has received a certain number of perceptions from its own world, it passes them on to the imagination, which forms them into

²² Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.207.vol.III .p.103.

²³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol. p.103-04.

appropriate pictures and turns those perceptions over to the common sense. As a result the sleeper sees them as they were perceived by the senses. Thus, the perceptions come down from the rational spirit to the level of sensual perception, with the imagination, imagination again being the intermediary. This is what dream vision actually are.”²⁴

Ibn Khaldun distinguished the true dreams from the confused dreams by clarifying that the former derives its picture from the rational spirit while the latter derives it from the imagination. The true dreams have their impression deep in the mind while the other is ‘vague’.

Another point Ibn Khaldun stressed is that most dreams require interpretations. The perception the spirit has in a dream is transmitted into the brain, which put it under the cover of an analogue. This analogue always suits the idea contained in the dream. So it becomes necessary to interpret most of the dream. Still there are dream visions that do not require any interpretations.

In short dreams consist of human experience and knowledge. True dreams always convey some truth and knowledge. At the same time experience and knowledge acquired through dreams are not all pervading in nature. It is true that every human being has dream visions, but not all the knowledge is perceived through dream vision. Moreover, there are confused visions that never convey any truth at all²⁵.

²⁴ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 104-105.

²⁵ Ibn Khaldun considered divine revelation that the Prophets had something supernatural. This experience and the resultant knowledge, he argued, are the only perfect truth while all other experience of the human brain is imperfect. They are constrained by the natural deformities of time, space, matter etc. The Prophetic experience of divine revelation takes place unrestricted by these factors. Hence, they are called the super-natural. All other

VII/8. The Knowledge of Angels or Pure Intellection

Ibn Khaldun argued that there exist three categories of knowledge. The first two of them are sensual perception and scientific perceptions or the knowledge that are based upon thought process. The second one, which is the result of his ability to think, is facilitated by a highly developed brain. It is a special quality of human beings.²⁶

Ibn Khaldun, having established the existence of the above two levels of knowledge, 'deduced' the existence of still higher levels of knowledge above the scientific knowledge. He named this level of knowledge *angelic or pure intellection* because it transcends all the condition of time, space motion and matter peculiar to the scientific knowledge. All the scientific knowledge is constrained, because it is limited by the condition of time, space, matter and motion and are the result of the thought process. As it is some thing acquired , all scientific knowledge is prone to defect and required correction. The knowledge of the angels, on the other hand, Ibn Khaldun argued 'never have any

experience, like logic, philosophy, metaphysics, astronomy sorcery and talisman, Ibn Khaldun argued, included in the category of intellectual exercises of human brain. Studying the ways and methods related to each of these disciplines that helps to attain knowledge in these branches. In another words, they are acquired knowledge through certain inborn talents that lighten the burden of acquiring it. The supernatural experience, on the other hand, is not something acquired or learned. It is beyond any control of the person to whom the divine revelation is given. It is significant to note here the standpoint of Ibn Khaldun regarding philosophy, astronomy and logic.

²⁶Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.419-22.'Muqaddimah'.p.91-105. "Above the material world, which is the source of our 'perception and volition',there is the world of angels. To enter this world is the culmination of humanity. This is very rare but such a disposition is within the realm of possibility. A person, who has reached the stage of angelicality, becomes eligible for revelation.

All Prophets, in Ibn Khaldun's opinion, are endowed with such disposition and are custodians of supernatural knowledge. They are human but their knowledge is superhuman. What they gain at the supernatural stage of prophecy becomes then an integral part of their humanity." Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 148-49 .

defect'. Furthermore he said: "they are essences free from corporality and matter and they are pure intellect in which intellect, thinker and the object of thinking are one. It is in a way, an essence the reality of which is perception and intellect".²⁷

Ibn Khaldun deduced the existence of pure intellection of the angels upon the basis of the dream experiences that which are proved to be true and conform reality. "Often we may deduce (the existence of) that high spiritual world and essences it contains, from visions and things we had not been aware of while awake but which we found in our sleep and which are brought to our attention in it and which, if they are true (dreams) conform reality." He further clarified this point explaining the untrue or confused dreams, which are the pictures, brought from imagination stored in the mind.²⁸

²⁷ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 241."The Hindu never doubted the reality of the one supreme universal spirit, however much the descriptions of it may fall short of its nature.... When asked to define the nature of God, the seer of the Upanishad sat silent, and when pressed to answer exclaimed that the Absolute is silence.... The Hindu thinkers bring out the sense of the otherness of the divine by the use of negatives, 'There the eye goes not, speech goes not, nor mind, we know not, we understand not how one would teach it.' The neti, 'not this,' of Yajnavalkya reminds us of the nescio of Bernard, of 'the dim silence where all lovers lose themselves' of Ruysbroeck, of the negative descriptions of Dionysius the Aeropagite, Eckhart and Boehme." Radhakrishnan.S."Hindu view of life"Hindu view of Life'.p. 18-20.

"Every view of God from the primitive worship of nature up to the Father –love of a St Francis and the Mother–love of a Ramakrishna represents some aspects or other of the relations of the human to the divine spirit. Each method of approach, each mode of address answered to some mood of the human mind. Not one of them gives the whole truth, though each of them is partially true. God is more than the law that commands, the judge that condemns, the love that constrains, the father to whom we owe our being, or the mother with whom is bound up all that we can hope for or aspire to. 'Him who is the One Real sages name variously.' 'My names are many as declared by the great seers'.... 'This indestructible enduring reality is to be looked upon as one only.'" Radhakrishnan.S,"Hindu view of life".p. 22.

Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p.420.

²⁸ Abul Hasan Nadwi. "A great achievement of the Mujaddid [Shaikh Ahmad] as a Renovator of faith consisted of his demonstrating the incompetence of knowledge gained

VII/9. The Knowledge of Prophets

Ibn Khaldun considered Prophets as the link between the worlds of human beings and the angels. The 'scientific knowledge' that ordinary human beings have, suffers from the shortcomings of time, space and matter while that of the angels are free from them.²⁹ Here Prophets acted as a medium of transmitting that angelic pure-intellection to the mankind. Prophets therefore, are endowed with the qualities of both the human beings and angels. Prophets are more inclined to the qualities of the angels. "In Prophets, the trend towards the divine is more powerful than their humanity, as far as the powers of perception, the powers of desire-that is concupiscence and wrath-and the other conditions of the body are concerned. Prophets keep away from things human except in as much as they are necessary for life".³⁰

through intellectual process as well as spiritual intuition to penetrate the metaphysical truths, such as, the gnosis of God, his attributes, the ultimate truth and reality of existence, etc. He showed that the knowledge gained through either of these sources was neither beyond doubt nor free from mistake. He proved that the true knowledge of God could be had through revelation vouchsafed to the Prophets for it occupied a higher place in comparison to intellect in the same way as intellect was superior to sensory perceptions. Thus, the knowledge of God and the correct way of divine worship could be known from the Prophets alone. He established that the ancient Greek philosophers had committed grievous mistakes in understanding the true nature and attributes of God. This was because there was nothing like pure or abstract intellect nor there existed any pure and unmixed spiritual intuition or ecstatic inspiration, free from all intrinsic and extrinsic influences. The mystics and theosophists had blundered, explained Mujaddid, like the philosophers, because they failed to recognize that intellect and theosophy were both equally incompetent to get at the knowledge pertaining to God. This meant that the Prophethood remained as the only trustworthy medium of obtaining knowledge about God and His attributes and commandments. "Saviours Islamic Sprit" vol III, 'Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi' p.160-61.

²⁹ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 422-24.

³⁰ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 422. "Similarly, the personal experience of revelation is too infrequent to provide full support for our acceptance of a belief. Here, too, we must depend on the testimony of others to reinforce our sense that our values and priorities are valid. But because values are not facts or specific events, they cannot be validated simply by others' reports of what they have observed, instead others' support of the validity of

They are more inclined to worship and devotion to god. They have a natural disposition to exchange their humanity for angelicity, in order actually become a part of the angelic species at any time in a single instant. Thereafter, they resumed their humanity while they are in commune with the angelic world, they accepted the ideas which are to be revealed to the fellow human beings.” This is the interpretation given to revelation by Ibn Khaldun.³¹ This supernatural experience is one of the direct observation and vision. No mistake or slip attaches itself to it. And it is not affected by the errors or unfounded assumptions.³²

“Ibn Khaldun too did not ignore the problem of the relation between faith and knowledge. He fundamentally separates the sphere of knowledge from the sphere of faith and limits knowledge to the world that can be perceived through the senses. Because of this separation, it is erroneous to place him in the spiritual proximity of al-Ghazzali as Ayad does³³ for this is purely and a formal manner of observation that neglects the inner meaning. According to al-Ghazzali’s doctrine, the separation of religion, whose truths are understood intuitively through inner enlightenment, from knowledge, the understanding through reason, leads to the devaluation of all knowledge. Through the abolition of causality in the world God becomes the direct creator of everything that happens, and

beliefs must be more frequently in the form of behaviours that indicate, both directly and indirectly, their own acceptance of the truth of these beliefs. Collective affirmations of faith and participation in ritual that symbolize faith are thus needed to supply the same degree of consensual validation for beliefs that, for instance, the mass media provide in the case of empirical knowledge about current events.” W.S.Norman, ‘Focus on Society’. p.316-17.

³¹ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 423

³² Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. II, p. 423.

³³ M. Kamil Ayad, “Ibn Khaldun’s Theories of History and Society”, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1930, pp. 46ff

the mysteriousness of the world is emphasised. Ibn Khaldun's separation of the natural world from the supernatural one is altogether different: it is diametrically oppose to al-Ghazzali's theory. Knowledge is in no way devaluated. To be sure, because of his empirical attitude, he limits knowledge to the natural sphere. What is not accessible through observation does not belong in the field of his investigation³⁴

This observation is very important for our consideration because Ibn Khaldun believed that religious knowledge brought by Prophets constituted the perfect truth, as they are free from any mistakes and required no correction. He further stated, "the veil of the supernatural is gone, and clear and direct observation has been attained. When (the Prophets) quit that state and re-assume their humanity, this clarity does not quit the knowledge they have, for it has become attached to it in the former condition."³⁵

³⁴ Therefore, there is a fundamental difference between al-Ghazzali and Ibn Khaldun. Al-Ghazzali separates faith and knowledge in order to make faith omnipotent, in order to devaluate knowledge; the world is abandoned to the caprices of divine despotism: its course can neither be understood nor predicated. Ibn Khaldun separates faith and knowledge in order to keep faith out of his field of study; he avoids metaphysical speculation by renouncing the reliance on a single explanation for the whole universe. By leaving the supernatural to religion he remains formally faithful to the dogma, but he excludes this dogma from his scientific studies. Henrich Simon.p. 153-55 .

³⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II,p. 424. "It goes without saying that Ibn Khaldun was the product of his time. For him, Islam as an institution is a reality which he does not question. It is clear that subjectively he embraces the Islamic faith, that spiritually he belongs to this world; but is the historical picture that he draws Islamic? Richter writes: 'In spite of the purely empirical and developmental method, Ibn Khaldun conceives of the historical process in terms of a general order in the universe, which does not by any means overthrow the laws of Islam, nor has the intention to do so. Where there are indications of this, however, he is a solitary figure'.G. Richter, "The Word Outlook of the Arab Historians in the Middle Ages", quoted in Henrich Simon.p. 152.

VII/10. The Real Meaning of Prophecy

Ibn Khaldun argued that prophecy is the only valid supernatural experience men ever had. He examined a number of other techniques, methods and experiences that prevailed during his days that are used to comprehend and explain the outside physical world.³⁶ After making an elaborate discussion on these methods, he concluded thus: “but it is obviously based on arbitrary notions and wishful thinking. The truth that should be present to one’s mind is that the supernatural cannot be perceived by any craft at all. The only people who can acquire knowledge of the supernatural are those distinguished human beings who are fitted by nature to return from the world of sensual perception to the world of the spirit. (ie the Prophets)”.³⁷

It is towards this background that he explained the real meaning of prophecy. He argued, “The world with all the created things in it has a certain order and solid construction. There existed the relation between

³⁶Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I. 6th Preface. p. 194-202. 'Muqaddimah'. p. 91 ff.

³⁷ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I,p.233-34 “Prophethood is a blessing because it is through the Prophets alone that man can approach the divine person, His nature and attributes, which comprise the source of all the excellence and grace of this world and the next. Prophethood imparts us the understanding of things agreeable and unsuited to His Sublime Existence. Since our limited and inadequate intellect is contingent and created, it has no comprehension of the uncreated First Principle nor it is aware of the attributes that are either becoming or unbecoming to it. Rather, the inadequacy of Intellect often misleads one to attribute perfection to something deficient or to do just the other way round. The ability to distinguish between the two is to me the greatest of all internal and external gifts bestowed on man. Thus, unblest is the man who ascribes unseemly acts and objects to God’s Exalted person. It was Prophethood which drew a line of demarcation between the truth and untruth and distinguished between what was fit to be paid divine reverence and what was unfit for it. The apostles of God invite mankind to the divine path because of Prophethood which enables them to attain propinquity with Him. And, as already explained, the Prophethood makes man aware of the commandments of God and gives the discernment of the permissible and impermissible, Likewise, there are many more gifts of Prophethood which go to prove its blessedness. Prophethood loses none of its merits nor

cause and things caused, combination of some parts of creations with others and transformations of something into others". They are following a remarkable pattern and are arranged gradually and continually in an ascending order. For example the earth, water, air, fire etc are cited. "Each one of the elements is prepared to be transformed into the next higher or lower one." This is more visible in the world of creations where the beginning is from the minerals, then plants and animals. "The last stage of minerals is connected with the first stage of plants such as herbs and seedless plants". The last stage of plants, such as palms and vines, is prepared to change to the first stage of animals such as snails and shellfish that have only the power of touch. The animal world then widens and reaches to man who is endowed with the power of thinking and reflection. Man is the end of the physical creation and is connected with the spiritual world by means of soul in him. The essence of the spiritual world is pure perception and absolute intellection that is the characteristics of angels. The soul, consequently, must be prepared to exchange humanity for angelicality, in order actually to become part of the angelic species at certain times in a flash of a moment.³⁸

threw is any blame on it if any one misguided by his carnal desires decides to follow the accursed Satan or rejects the teachings of the Prophets." Nadwi.p.190-91.

³⁸ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I,p.195."Marx's views on religion are usually discussed in connection with a controversy between his followers and Weber's over the impact of religion on society. Marx's followers believe that the only basic forces in society are economic and ethnological: Wber's followers see religion as influencing social life also, causing changes that would not otherwise occur. Marx tended to see religion as an effect of other factors; Wber saw it more as a cause of other factors.

"Marx held that groups of people tended to choose belief systems (or ideologies) that can be used to justify their own economic advantages. Some social groups have leisure and the chance to communicate with one another, and therefore develop convincing doctrines to support their dominance. Other groups (worker and especially peasants) may have neither the leisure nor the chance to discuss their situation, and they may not be fully aware of the fact that they are exploited. Indeed, the ruling group may be able to get the

He further stated, “The human soul in man cannot be seen, but its influence is evident in the body. It helped man to get perception, imagination and thinking. The soul always moved towards the higher stage of angelicality. It wants to proceed to active intellection by assimilating itself to the highest spiritual group (the angels).³⁹

Ibn Khaldun, taking this argument as a premise, classified human souls into three types; the first category ‘is by nature too weak to arrive at spiritual perception’. They acquire the perceptive and apperceptive knowledge. The movement of their perception is downward to the senses and the imagination. This is the extreme extent human corporal perception can reach. ‘It is the goal of the perception of the scholars’.

The second types of soul are able to move towards spiritual intellection, which need no help of the organs of the body. They are prepared for such type of perception by their own very nature. Their perception is not restricted to the limitations of the primary ‘*intelligibilia*’ of the primary human perceptions. Such is the perception of the saints, mystics and divines.

workers to believe that their rule is proper and any rebellion against it is a sin. To Marx, religion was such a doctrine, an ‘opiate of the people’ that prevents them from rebelling against their oppressors. Clearly Marx did not argue that religion has no effect. It has to have some effect if it is used by the ruling classes to dominate the workers. However, Marx did not expect religion to be a source of social change, and Marxist sociologists have generally ignored the study of religion.” Meta Spencer.p. 386-87.

³⁹ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I,p.197; “Ibn Khaldun, in spite of his deep-seated rationalism and keen and observant eye over the complex and fast-changing nature of human affairs, adhered very closely to the traditions of Muslim scholarship. He added something of his own to its theory and practice, but on the whole, the underlying pattern was the same. The Muqaddimah eloquently confirms his religious bias, although he is much more critical of the established authorities whose views had choked creativity among intellectuals of Islam. Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 144.

The (third) kind of soul is by nature suited to exchange humanity altogether, both corporal and spiritual humanity for angelicity of the highest stage so that it may actually become an angel in the flash of a moment, glimpse the highest group within their own stage, and listen to essential speech and divine address during that moment. (These are) the Prophets.’⁴⁰

“God implanted and formed in them the natural ability to slough off humanity in that moment which is the state of revelation. They are free from the lets and hindrances of the body by which they are afflicted as other human beings. It is by virtue of their natural constitution and not with the help of any acquired faculty or craft.” The Prophet thus ‘learn all that may there be learned’ and brings back down to the level of the powers of human perception. This exchange into the level of angels and return take place in a flash moment.⁴¹

VII/11. Limitations of Human Intellect

Ibn Khaldun considered any level of ‘human knowledge’ imperfect and infallible.⁴² All intellectual exercises like logic, metaphysics, dream

⁴⁰ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I, p. 199; vol. III, p. 39.

⁴¹ Rosenthal, F. (1958) vol. I, p. 199. “Al-Beruni, like most Muslim scientists, believed that all knowledge was inherently religious. It was difficult for him to disbelieve that the universe was the creation of God, and that all the material glories of life on earth, including the blessings of human reason and intelligence was diverse manifestations of his eternal and universal benediction. All learning and every enquiry was (sic) sacred because with every new discovery, man’s faith in God was strengthened and it proved the truth of the Prophet’s message. He believed that the universe was the handiwork of God and it’s study constituted the noblest pursuit of human mind. Labels given to various sciences were immaterial, physical sciences, history or studies relating to man and society, all had religious character. Al-Beruni in all his writings continued to emphasize that examination of visible phenomena, provided a clue to the invisible world and this reconciliation between the secular and the spiritual knowledge, in his opinion constituted the hallmark of Islamic civilization. Shaukat Ali. (1993). p. 34-35.

⁴² Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 37-39, 255.

visions, mystic experiences of the Sufis and saints, speculative theology, philosophy, sorcery, and talisman are the result of the human intellection. They are conditioned by the factors of time, space, motion and matter. Regarding the limitations of human mind, he has made a lengthy statement in his discussion on speculative theology. ⁴³This argument is applicable to all the intellectual or scientific experiences of man. ⁴⁴

He said, "Man should not trust the suggestions that his mind makes, that it is able to comprehend all existing things and their causes and to know all the details of existence. Such a suggestion of the mind should be dismissed as stupid."⁴⁵ Such a notion is superficial and the matter is different in fact. Ibn Khaldun substantiated his argument by

⁴³ This is a science that involves arguing with logical proofs in defense of the articles of faith such as the oneness of God. Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 34.

⁴⁴ "It is a strange coincidence that after about two hundred years of the Mujaddid's findings on this subject, the famous German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) inaugurated a new era in philosophical speculation by adopting method for examining the working of reasoning faculty and the nature of pure or abstract intellect. His great work, the Critique of Pure Reason, published in 1781, dealt a deathblow to speculative dogmatism. In the words of Sir Muhammad Iqbal the Critique of Pure Reason revealed "the limitation of human reason and reduced the whole work of the rationalists to a heap of ruins". Glowing tributes have been paid to this achievement of the western thought; some have even acclaimed Kant as the greatest blessing of God for the German nation. Dr. Harold Hoffding writes in the History of Modern Philosophy that Kant's Critique is "an immortal masterpiece of philosophy, a work which stands as a milestone in the long wanderings of human thought"

"In Kant's view, "thought sets to work dogmatically, i.e., with involuntary, frequently naive, confidence in its own powers and in the vitality of its own assumption. Hence it believes itself able to solve all problems and to penetrate to the innermost nature of the world. This is the age of great systems. Later comes a time in which it appears that these thought – constructions cannot reach the heavens, and that the architects cannot agree as to their plan. This is the age of doubt, of scepticism. Men mock at these futile attempts with their contradictions, and console themselves half sadly, half cynically, with what appears to be an absolutely negative result. This is a natural reaction against blind dogmatism. Kant attacks both these tendencies. He found one task which had been neglected by dogmatists and sceptics alike, i.e., the enquiry into the nature of our intellect and our knowledge itself, with a view to discovering what forms and powers we have at our disposal for the comprehension of things, and how far these forms and powers can take us." Nadwi p. 178-79.

⁴⁵ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 37.

logically introducing three examples of a deaf, a blind and an animal. To the deaf man, 'the whole group of audible things constitutes no part of existence'. As far as the blind man, 'the whole group of visible things constitutes no part of existence for him'. He pointed out further that "if (people with such defects) were not set right by their adherent to information they receive from their [contemporaries]...they would not admit (the existence of audible things, things visible, etc).'⁴⁶ 'If dumb animals were asked and could speak, we would find that they would ignore the whole group of *intelligibilia*. It would simply not exist for them'.⁴⁷ "Now, it might be assumed that there exists another kind of perception different from ours, since our sense perceptions are created and brought into existence. Gods' creation extends beyond the creation of man. Complete knowledge does not exist (in man). The world of existence is too vast for him.... Therefore every one should be suspicious of the comprehensiveness of his perceptions and should follow what the (Prophet) commanded him to believe and to do... He knows better what is good for him. His level (of perception) is higher than that of human perception. The territory he covers (in his mind) is wider than that of human intelligence".⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.37

⁴⁷ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.37.Ibn Khaldun has also made a searching and insightful examination of the religious connotations of knowledge in Islam. Before making an assessment of his views, it would, however be essential to keep in mind that in spite of his great faith in scientific enquiry, he remained convinced about the decisive role of the many religious principles which cannot be verified by scientific scrutiny. Secular knowledge in his opinion is good, but the complete veil from the face of the realities is lifted only by religion. Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 147-48.

⁴⁸ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.37-38.He considered the extension of reason, the metaphysical speculation, to be precisely the characteristic mark of philosophy; and he did not call himself a philosopher. His attack against the subject matter and method of the (Moslem) Aristotelians was quite serious. Ibn Khaldun rejects quite categorically the claim of the

Here one may ask whether Ibn Khaldun was fully dismissing with the validity of human intellect and its abilities. The answer is in negative. He in fact has asserted the validity of human intellect and the resultant various branches of sciences. He argued that every subject that can be understood by the human intelligence constituted a science. What he really argued was that human intellect has limitations. Its conclusions and perceptions are not perfect and do not represent 'Ultimate Truth.'

He continued, "This does not speak against intellect and intellectual perceptions. The intellect, indeed is a correct scale. Its indications are completely certain and in no way wrong. However, the intellect should not be used to weigh such matters as the oneness of god, the other world, the truth of prophecy, the real character of the divine attributes or anything else that lies beyond the level of the intellect. That would mean to desire the impossible. One might compare it with man who sees a scale in which gold is being weighed, and wants to weigh mountains in it. The (fact that this is impossible) does not prove that the indications of the scale are not true (when it is used for its proper purpose).

"However, there is limit at which the intellect must stop. It cannot go beyond its own level. Thus, it cannot comprehend god and his attributes.... This shows that those who give the intellect preference

philosophers who believe that they are able to prove the dogmas of religion with the help of reason.

The rejection of the metaphysical speculation of the Aristotelians by no means can be considered as an enthusiastic attitude in favour of religious faith. Ibn Khaldun rejects only the attempt of the [Moslem] Aristotelians to speculate beyond what can be perceived science of speculative theology'. He himself talks in a conventional manner about then separates quite sharply his own point of view from al Ghazzali's agnosticism." Henrich Simon.p. . 155-156

over (traditional) informations in such matters are wrong, deficient in understanding and faulty in reasoning.”⁴⁹“If this is clear, it is possible that the ascending sequence of causes reached the point where it transcend the realm of human perception and existence and thus ceases to be perceivable. The intellect would here become lost, confused and cut off in the wilderness of conjectures. ⁵⁰“Thus, (recognition of the) oneness of God is identical with inability to perceive the causes and the ways in which they exercise their influence and with reliance in this respect upon the Creator of the causes who comprises them.... We know about Him only in as much as we have issued from Him.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Rosenthal.F..(1958) vol.III.p. 38.

⁵⁰ Regarding the limitation of reason Radhakrishnan stated , “The world is there, and we work in it and through it. We do not and cannot know the why of this world. It is this fact of its inexplicable existence that is signified by the word maya. To ask what is the relation between the absolute self and the empirical flux, to ask why and how it happens, that three are two, is to assume that everything has a why and a how. To say that the infinite becomes the finite or manifests itself as finite is on this view utter nonsense. The limited cannot express or manifest the unlimited. The moment the unlimited manifests itself in the limited, it itself becomes limited. To say that the absolute degenerates or lapses in to the empirical is to contradict its absoluteness. No lapse can come to a perfect being. No darkness can in perfect light. We cannot admit that the supreme, which is changeless, becomes limited by changing. To change is to desire or to feel a want, and it shows lack of perfection. The absolute can never becomes an object of knowledge, for what is known is finite and relative. Our limited mind cannot go beyond the bounds of the time, space and cause, nor can we explain these, since every attempt to explain them assumes them. Through thought, which is itself a part of the relative world, we cannot know the absolute self. Our relative experience is a waking dream. Science and logic are parts of it and products of it too. This failure of metaphysics is neither to be wept over nor to be laughed over, neither to be praised nor blamed, but understood. With a touching humility born of intellectual strength, a Plato, or a Nagarjuna, a Kant or a Sankara, declares that our thought deals with the relative, and has nothing to do with the absolute”. ‘Indian Philosophy’ .p. 34

⁵¹ Rosenthal.F..(1958) vol.III.p. 38- 39.”Ibn Khaldun has no interest in the non-natural; he talks without enthusiasm about it since he reports the different views of it. In his work, religion is considered as a sciences .As an object of knowledge from which result certain rituals and certain kinds of behaviour; it is a part of culture, and only as such does he notice it. In vain we look for a propagation of the faith in Ibn Khaldun’s work; his God is not an omnipotent, powerful Allah, but a final point, as an ultimate cause with no direction with the connection with the terrestrial sphere. Henrich Simon.p. 157-58.

VII/12. The Meaning and Aim of Worship

Ibn Khaldun held the view that the acknowledgement of a religious faith is tantamount to admitting man's inability to comprehend the mysteries of creation⁵². "Such (declaration of the) oneness of God does not merely refer to faith, which is affirmation based upon judgment. It belongs to the talk of the soul. Its perception lies in its acquisition in a form that becomes an attribute of the soul. In the same way, the object of (all human) actions and divine worship is acquisition of the habit of obedience and submissiveness and the freeing of the heart from all preoccupations save the worshiped master, until the novice on the path to God becomes a holy person."⁵³

Ibn Khaldun held the view that religion and all the modes of worship are something closely related to the transformation of human thought and action rather than mere intellectual preoccupation. Here he used a technical term closely related with the Muslim mysticism i.e. *Hal* that means a 'state of mind'. "The deference between 'state' and knowledge in questions of dogma is the same as that between talking

⁵² 'Muqaddimah'.p. 458-67

⁵³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.39. Meta Spencer; "In the year before World War I Durkheim wrote one of his most important contributions to functionalist sociology-Elementary Forms of Religious life. In it he asked two questions: (1) What is religion?(2) What are the functions of religion for human society? It struck him that religion was very much a "Social thing". He felt that to understand it all one must focus on its collective basis.

Durkheim divided human experiences into two very different areas, the sacred and the profane. The profane experience was everyday life, while the sacred experience was anything that stimulated awe and worship. Durkheim decided that the purpose of religion was to maintain the separation of the sacred from the profane through the practice of ritual. Today many people assume that the most important feature of religion is the private, inner experience of the individual and that the rituals performed in group meetings are unimportant outward displays that have little bearing on one's deep experience. But Durkheim thought that the ritual itself was the central importance. Meta Spencer. 'Foundations of Modern Sociology '. p. 385.

(about attributes) and having them. This may be explained as follows: Many people know that mercy to the orphans and poor bring (a human being) close to God and is commendable. They say so and acknowledge the fact. They quote the sources for it from the religious law. But if they were to see an orphan or a poor persons of the destitute classes, they would run away from him and disdain to touch him, let alone show mercy to him or any of the higher 'stations' of sympathy, affection and charity..."⁵⁴

Now there are people who, in addition to the station of knowledge and the realization of the fact that mercy to the poor brings (a human being) close to god, have attained another, higher 'stations'. They have attained the attribute and habit of mercy. When they see an orphan or a poor person, they approach him and show him (mercy). They wish to receive the (heavenly) reward for the compassion they show him. They are hardly able to refrain from (showing compassion), even if they are

⁵⁴ "But the human mind finds it extremely difficult to resign itself to absolute silence or negative descriptions. Man is a talking animal. He insists on interpreting the religious mystery in terms of his own experience.... We cannot think of God without using our imagination. The religious seer needs the help of the imagination to express his vision. 'Without a parable spake he not unto them.' the highest category we can use is that of self-conscious personality.'(uttama purusha). If we analyse the concept of personality, we find that it includes cognition, emotion, and will, and God is viewed as the supreme knower, the great lover, and the perfect will, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva. These are not three independent centers of consciousness, as popular theology represents, but three sides of one complex personality. The different pictures of God which prevailed in the country were affiliated to one or the other of this trinity.

"The Hebrew prophets and Mahomet were struck by the majesty and the unconditional binding force of the imperative of consciences. Since they were familiar with kingship as the source of all authority, they made the supreme a lord of lords, a king of kings. The Protestant Christians do not care so much for the inviolable dignity of the ethical imperative as for the essential benignity and beneficence of the Supreme...." Radhakrishnan.S."Hindu view of life".p.21.

repulsed. They give as charity whatever they have available from their own property.”⁵⁵

Ibn Khaldun further extended the scope of ‘belief’ and religion so as to include all the aspect of life- individual as well as collective. “The relationship of man’s knowledge of the oneness of God to his possession of it as an attribute, is of the same character. Knowledge results by necessity from possession of an attribute. It is a kind of knowledge that exists on a more solid basis than knowledge attained previous to the possession of the attributes. An attribute (on the other hand) is not obtained from knowledge alone. What Ibn Khaldun wanted to convey is that he envisaged two types of knowledge; firstly a knowledge that is followed by an attribute and secondly an attribute that is lead to certain knowledge .Out of the two the latter is more deep and solid than the former. “There must be an action, and it must be repeated innumerable times. (Only) this results in a firmly rooted habit, in the acquisition of the attribute and real (knowledge). Another kind of knowledge thus makes its appearance.... The original knowledge which was devoid of being an attribute is of little advantage or use. It is the (kind of) knowledge that the majority of thinkers (possess). But the (real) object is knowledge as a ‘state’ and it originates from divine worship”.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.40. In the light of this statement the following statement cannot be justified. “Here, it must suffice to say that we clearly see that, for Ibn Khaldun, religion was by no means a fundamental fact of life, but rather a secondary factor. That he made the disreputable ‘asabiya’ the central term of his conception, raising it to the level of the *sine qua non* of religion, seems decidedly unorthodox and indicates protest.” Henrich Simon.p. 86.

⁵⁶ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p. 40. The consequence of shared religious beliefs for maintaining social order, consequence Durkheim and other functionalists have long emphasized, are the heightening of feelings of community and moral unity for those who share similar beliefs. Religious doctrines have reinforced the most important universal taboos in human societies those against incest and murder. They have provided sacred

Ibn Khaldun further argued that this 'state' or mental disposition is the real aim and meaning of any religious faith. The obligations that religion imposes on its adherents require this distinction. "Perfection in matters of belief depends on the other knowledge, that which results, from the possession of (these matters) as an attribute. Perfection in matters of divine worship depends on acquisition of (these matters) as an attribute, as real (knowledge) of them". The divine worship and its continuous practice is oriented towards this goal.⁵⁷

It is clear from all statement we have made that the object of all obligations is the acquisition of a habit firmly rooted in the soul from which knowledge results for the soul. It is the (recognition of the)

legitimacy to norms that attempt to curb human competitiveness and destructiveness. These have been the obvious, manifest consequences of religious belief especially for small isolated, homogeneous and slowly changing societies.

Durkheim's focus on the sacred as the essence of religion and his recognition of the role religion in reinforcing solidarity and cooperation among believers and of ritual in promoting commitment to social norms and values were major insights. Durkheim did not believe in the empirical reality of the realm of the supernatural. But he regarded religious beliefs as essential to the continued existence of human societies insofar as they curb individual egotism and impulse and reinforce the collective conscience.

Durkheim's theories about religion have inspired many contemporary studies on the function of religion in complex, more secular, industrial societies. In the United States, which is founded on the principal of the separation of church and state, religious ritual is nevertheless associated with major political events such as conventions and inaugurations and important legal functions such as judicial procedures (courtroom testimony and the swearing in of jurors and new citizens). Almost all public events, in fact, are sanctioned by prayer and an affirmation of the United States as one nation under God. Betty Yorburg Harper & Row pub, New York (1982). p. 421-22.

⁵⁷ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III, p. 41. The following statement on Ibn Khaldun is a good example of what the west thought of him with regard to the observations on the role of religion in human life. "It goes without saying that Ibn Khaldun was the product of his time. For him, Islam as an institution is a reality which he does not question. It is clear that subjectively he embraces the Islamic faith, that spiritually he belongs to this world; but is the historical picture that he draws Islamic? Richter writes: 'In spite of the purely empirical and developmental method, Ibn Khaldun conceives of the historical process in terms of a general order in the universe, which does not by any means overthrow the laws of Islam, nor has the intention to do so. Where there are indications of this, however, he is a solitary figure'. G. Richter, "The World Outlook of the Arab Historians in the Middle Ages", quoted in Henrich Simon. p. 151-152.

oneness of God; which is the (principal) article of faith and the thing through which happiness is attained...This shows that faith...is of that type and has several degrees. The first degree is the affirmation by the heart of what the tongue says. The *highest* degree is the acquisition...of a quality that has complete control over the heart. It commands the actions of the limbs. Every activity takes place in submissiveness to it. Thus all actions, eventually, become subservient to this affirmation by faith. It is perfect faith. The believer who has it will commit neither a great nor a small sin. The acquisition of the firmly rooted habit (of faith) prevents even the briefest deviations from its ways”⁵⁸.

VII/13. Sufism

Ibn Khaldun considered mysticism a kind of human⁵⁹ experience. Regarding the nature and scope of Sufism or asceticism he has given us a detailed account that include its various aspects, technicalities and problems.⁶⁰“The Sufis came to represent asceticism, retirement from the

⁵⁸ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.41-42. Religion as a body of self imposed body of laws –c.f. below. S.Radhakrishann 21“Living with a purpose .on “Tagore” “The poet’s religion has no place for any fixed doctrine. Religion is an endless adventure of man’s entire being towards a truth which is revealed possession in this very quest. Truth is not the exclusive possession of any one individual or class or race or religion. The one Truth has many faces... The real is one; wise men speak of it in many ways. On the basis of such a view India had been struggling for sarva-samanvaya. The variations are determined by the accidents of geography and history. The concepts of god are relative to our traditions and training. This emphasis on unity in diversity as against uniformity has persisted for centuries in the Indian outlook. This view negates discord for unity, comprehends the differences. When differences become contradictions, conflicts, arise. Tagore repudiates narrow, dogmatic, exclusive views of religion. It is wrong to think that certain nations, certain races and certain creeds are specially chosen by God.

⁵⁹ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p. 76;‘Muqaddimah’.p. 467-75.

⁶⁰ “...The rise of mysticism remained one of the most baffling and unresolved controversies of Islam. It was said that mysticism arose at a time when Islamic doctrines, due to countless superimposed interpretations, had become extremely confusing. Moreover, many of the practices had not only become complex but were also stagnant. They had lost their original power to inspire the faithful. Mysticism emerged as a

world and devotion to divine worship. Then they developed a particular kind of perception which comes about through ecstatic experience. This comes about as follows. Man, as man, is distinguished from all the other animals by his ability to perceive. His perception is of two kinds. He can perceive sciences and matters of knowledge, and these may be certain, hypothetical, doubtful, or imaginary. Also, he can perceive 'states' persisting in himself, such as joys and grief, anxiety and relaxation, satisfaction, anger, patience, gratefulness and similar things. The reasoning part active in the body originates from perceptions, volitions and states. It is through them that man is distinguished (from the other animals).... Thus knowledge originates from evidences, grief and joy from the perception of what is painful or pleasurable, energy from rest, and inertia from being tired. In the same way, the exertion and worship of the Sufi novice must lead to a 'state' that is the result of his exertion. That state may be a kind of divine worship. Then, it will be firmly rooted in the Sufi, and become a station for him.⁶¹

spiritual and emotional device by which the tedium of routinized religious rituals could be dispelled. It provided fresh areas for the excitement of human soul and spirit." Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 48. For Ibn Khaldun mysticism was never a baffling and unresolved controversy.

⁶¹ "Religion in India is not dogmatic. It is a rational synthesis which goes on gathering in to itself new conceptions as philosophy progresses. It is experimental and provisional in its nature, attempting to keep pace with the progress of thought. The common criticism that Indian thought, by emphasis on intellect, puts philosophy in the place of religion, brings out the rational character of religion in India. No religious movement has ever come in to existence without developing as its support a philosophic content. Mr.Havell observes: "In India, religion is hardly a dogma, but a working hypothesis of human conduct, adapted to different stages of spiritual development and different conditions of life." Whenever it tented to crystallise itself in a fixed creed, there were set up spiritual revivals and philosophic reactions which threw beliefs into the crucible of criticism, vindicated the true and combated the false. Again and again, we shall observe, how when traditionally accepted beliefs become inadequate, nay false, on account of changed times , and the age grows out of patience with them , the insight of a new teacher, a Buddha or Mahavira, a Vyasa,a or a spiritual life. These are doubtless great moments in

“...The Sufi novice continues to progress from station to station, until he reaches... desired goal of happiness... The basis of all of [the stages] is obedience and sincerity. Faith precedes and accompanies all of them. Their result and fruit are states and attributes. They lead to others and again others [until the stage of] gnosis. If the result shows some shortcoming or defect, one can be sure that it comes from some shortcoming that existed in the previous stage...

“The novice, therefore, must scrutinize himself in all his actions and study their concealed import, because the results, of necessity, originates from actions, and shortcomings in the results, thus, originates from defects in the actions. The Sufi novice finds out about that through his mystical experience”.⁶²

It is true that man possesses an internal faculty to perceive higher realities. In fact, there may be a few more similar faculties and senses but all of them are no more than human faculties – weak, limited, fallible and impressionable. Like the bodily senses and faculties, the sources of acquiring knowledge through sensory impressions, there is always the likelihood of committing a mistake or getting a deceptive impression

the history of Indian thought, times of inward testing and vision when at the summons of the spirit's breath blowing where, the soul of man makes a fresh start and goes forth on a new venture. It is the intimate relation between the truth of philosophy and the daily life of people that makes religion always alive and real.p. 25-26

⁶² Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.77-79. “For Tagore, God, man and nature and bound together in single unity. He repudiates the view which looks upon the world as a valley of dry bones, a charnel-house, a sham, a life. In mediaeval Europe, the flesh was treated as impure and the world as vanity and renunciation was prescribed as the only way to salvation. For Tagore the whole universe is a manifestation of the supreme, *Isavasyam idam sarvam*. All things are interrelated in God,... Spirit and life are two poles of one reality. When the world is enveloped by God, its pettiness is relieved. Tagore agrees with Pascal who says that ‘a man does not show his greatness by being at one extremity, but rather by touching both at once’. S.Radhakrishnan. ‘Living with a Purpose’(1987).p.100.

through this inner sense also. Had it not been so, the ecstatic intuitions and spiritual inspirations of the theosophists and mystics would not have differed so widely in their impressions of what they deem to be the Truth or Reality. Such differences are common among the Muslim and non-Muslim mystics.

In any case, there is nothing like 'pure intellect': like the ordinary faculty of reasoning, the inner intellect is also impressed by external observations and perceptions and touched by internal passions and affections; and hence it cannot be expected to reflect the true image of a thing without any possibility of mistake. Similarly, the beliefs and surroundings of the mystics and theosophists colour their spiritual perceptions and that is why we find in the observations of neo-Platonic mystics the traces of Greek and Egyptian superstitions. The ideas that sometime appear to them as realities during their ecstatic transports cannot be treated as anything more than product of their imaginations, devoid of any reality or existence outside their minds.⁶³

This account clearly shows that mysticism is a human experience that can be shared by any individual ready to devote to the methods and practices peculiar to it. It is a kind of acquired experience. Ibn Khaldun considered mysticism par with other branches of intellectual sciences. Therefore it is needless to say that it has all the limitations of any intellectual exercises. Mystic experiences are rather subjective and vary from person to person.⁶⁴

⁶³ Nadwi .p.166-67.

⁶⁴ "Among the writers and thinkers who played a great role in the history of the Muslim world during its periods of stress were the Sufis. Their movement was expressed in outward form

VII/14. Philosophy

In section 30 of the sixth chapter of *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldun has given a discussion referring to the arguments of the philosophers who argue that it is the philosophy that represents the ultimate truth.⁶⁵ “There are (certain) intelligent representatives of the human species who think that the essences and the conditions of the whole of existence, both the part of it perceivable by the senses and that beyond sensual perception, as well as the reasons and causes of (those essences) and conditions, can be perceived by mental speculation and intellectual reasoning. They also think that the articles of faith are established as correct through (intellectual) speculation and not through [religious] tradition, because they belong among the intellectual perceptions. Such people are called ‘philosophers’ [which] means love of wisdom”.⁶⁶

as a protest against the formalism of orthodoxy in Islam, and gradually developed into a rebellion against the decadence, corruption and tyranny of a sick, materialist society. Sufism was the antithesis of arrogance, intolerance, demagoguism, hypocrisy and inhumanity. The Sufis’ purpose was to create a renaissance of man’s spirit, through which he might live a simple, innocent, happy and harmonious life. They hoped to open man’s eyes, that he might see how egoism, greed, pride, and strife are folly and that the universe is spiritual, and that men are the sons of God. The Sufis agreed with St. Paul that the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance.” L.F.Rushbrook Williams (edt), *A Message and Method of Love, Harmony and Brotherhood*, Sufi Studies: East and West, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973, P 47)quoted in Shaukat Ali.(1993).p. 49.

⁶⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.246-58;‘*Muqaddimah*’.p. 514 ff.

⁶⁶Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.246-47;S.Radhakrishnan. “Philosophy in India is essentially spiritual. It is the intense spirituality of India, and any great political structure or social organisation that it has developed, that has enabled it to resist the ravage of time and the accidents of history. p 24-25Radhakrishnan, S. ‘Towards a New World.’ Orient Paper Backs. Delhi, 1986[reprint]

At another place he said, “Today the soul of man no longer rests upon secure foundations. Everything round him is unsteady and contradictory. His soul has become more complicated, his spirit more bitter, and his outlook more bewildered. But his unrest is not a mere negative force. He is not only oppressed by new doubts but is inspired by new horizons, new perspectives, and a thirst for new relations with fellow men.

Ibn Khaldun, after putting thorough inspection of the arguments and the methods of the philosophers stated further: "They assume that happiness consist in the perception of existence with the help of such conclusions (if at the same time, such perception is) combined with the improvement of the soul and the soul's acceptance of a virtuous character. [i.e. the ethics]. Even if no religious law had been revealed (to help man to distinguish between virtue and vice), they think the (acquisitions of virtue) possible by man because he is able to distinguish between vice and virtue in (his) action by means of his intellect, his (ability to) speculate, and his natural inclination towards praise worthy actions, his natural disinclination for blame worthy actions. They assume that when the soul becomes (virtuous); it attains joy and pleasures and that ignorance of (moral qualities) means eternal pain".⁶⁷

Ibn Khaldun did not approve these arguments. He said: It should be known that the (opinion) the (philosophers) hold is wrong in all its aspects...The philosopher, who restrict themselves to affirming the intellect and disregards everything beyond it, are in away comparable to physicist who restrict themselves to affirming the body and who disregard (both) soul and intellect in the belief that there is nothing beyond the body....".⁶⁸

"He has reached a more advanced state of spiritual maturity, and so the dogmas of traditional religions are no longer able to answer his questions or overcome his doubt. The present profound malaise is really a form of growing pains. The new world for which the old is in travail is still like an embryo. The components are all there; what is lacking is the integration, the completeness which is organic consciousness, the binding together of the different elements, making them breathe and come to life. We need a rational faith to sustain a new order of life and rescue us from our mental fag and spiritual anxiety". "Towards a New World" (1986).p.35.

⁶⁷ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III. p.239.

⁶⁸ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III. p.250-51.

He held the view that their arguments in this regard are insufficient. "The argument concerning the *existentia* beyond sensual perception, -*the spritualia*-constitute what the (philosophers) call 'the divine science' or science of metaphysics. The essences of (*the spritualia*) are completely unknown. One cannot get at them, nor can they be proven by logical arguments, because an abstraction of *intelligibilia* from the individual *existentia* of the outside world is possible only in the case of things we can perceive by the sense, from which the universals are thus derived. We cannot perceive the spiritual essences and abstract further quiddities from them, because the senses constitute a veil between us and them. We have, thus, no (logical) arguments for them, and we have no way whatever of affirming their existence. There are only available to us (in this condition) the situations in which perceptions of human soul take place, and especially the dream visions which are within the intuitive experience of all".⁶⁹

The conclusion that Ibn Khaldun arrived at is that philosophy and its logical arguments are mere brain works of man. Therefore, it never transcends the limitations of time space, matter and matter. On the other hand, the knowledge brought about through divine revelation to a Prophet is free from all such limitations and conjectures. They represent, he argued, the perfect truth that brings conviction in the mind of a

⁶⁹ Rosenthal, F.(1958).vol.III.p.252.

In fact the spiritual world cannot be studied and evaluated because it "is immaterial", and cannot be proven by logical arguments". "The great philosopher Plato said that no certainty can be achieved with regard to the Divine, and one can state about the Divine only what is most suitable and proper – that is conjectures." Rosenthal, F.(1958). vol.III.p.352-53. Ibn Khaldun further stated: "we want certainty about the *existentia* that are beyond sensual perception, while, in their philosophy, (those conjecture) are the limit that human thinking can reach. Rosenthal, F.(1958).vol.III.p.253.

believer to the extent of complete devotion to their teachings. Thus a true believer of a religion is ready to sacrifice any thing and everything for the faith including his life and property.⁷⁰

At the same time, Ibn Khaldun pointed out that both the rational perceptions, (science) and the Prophetic perceptions (supernatural) are received in man through the same medium of soul or spirit. “Man is composed of tow parts. One is corporeal. The other is spiritual, and is mixed with the former. Each one of these parts has its own perception, though the (part) that perceives is the same in both cases, namely the spiritual part. At times, it perceives spiritual perception. At other times, it perceives corporal perceptions. However, it perceives the spiritual perception through its own essence without any intermediary, while it perceives the corporal perceptions through the intermediary of organs of the body, such as the brain and the senses...”⁷¹

VII/15. Astrology

Ibn Khaldun considered astrology a ‘craft’ related with the intellectual exercise of man⁷². Criticising the standpoint of certain ‘weak-mind’ astrologers who held the view that the knowledge derived from astrology is ‘revelation’ he said, “This is fallacy. The clearest proof is that, of all people, the Prophets are least familiar with the crafts. They do not undertake to give information about the supernatural, unless (such information) comes (to them) from God. Why, then, should the claim to produce (supernatural information) through a craft (such as

⁷⁰ M.Koyakutty-Muqaddimah, Malayalam introduction p.xiv-xv.

⁷¹ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.253;Issawi,Charles(1950) .p.176-9.

⁷² Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III,p.258-67;‘Muqaddimah’.p. 519 ff,

astrology) and make it the law for their followers to do so?”⁷³

Astrology is that branch of craft that deals with the position of celestial bodies such as the sun, the moon, the planets and stars as well as the influences they exercise on the earth and on the living beings including man. Astrologers propound the theory that this craft brings knowledge that “enables them to know the things that are going to be in the world of elements before they are created.”⁷⁴

He continued: “it makes the weakness of the achievements of astrology clear. Knowledge, or conjecture about, things that came into being can only result from knowledge of all their cause, that is, agent, recipient, form and end, as has been explained in the proper place. According to (the astrologers), the astral powers are merely agents. The elemental part is the recipient. Further more the astral powers are not the sole agents. There are others power that act together with (the astral powers) upon the material element (involved) such as the generative power of father and species contained in the sperm, the power the

⁷³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.258-9.

⁷⁴ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III .p.258.”Ibn Khaldun pointed out that the ancient astrologers held view that the knowledge derived from astrology “is acquired through experience’. But he criticized this standpoint also. “It (thus) is something that all (human) lives combined would not be able to achieve, because experience is obtained through numerous repetitions which make the obtainment of (empirical) knowledge or conjecture possible. Astral revolutions may be very long. Greatly extended periods of time are required for their repetition. Even all the lives in the world (combined) would not be too short for (observing) them”. Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.258.Today we can very well state that they are truly long. It is calculated that the solar system takes around 48 thousand years to complete one perfect revolution; that is, it takes that much of years for the second combination of the celestial bodies in the solar system to take their exact position in which they are at present. Ibn Khaldun put to discussion of the arguments of Ptolemy who said ‘the starts have influences over the earth exactly in the same way the sun and moon have, which can be studied in comparison. Some stars, Ptolemy argued, strengthened the power of sun while others weakened. Ibn Khaldun quoted Ptolemy thus: still (astrology) remains conjectural and is not certain in any respect.It also forms

particular quality distinguishing each verity in their species, and other things. When the astral powers reach perfection and are known, they (still) are only one among many causes that go into the making of a thing that comes into being.”⁷⁵

VII/16. Other Super Natural Experiences and Crafts

Ibn Khaldun has put in *Muqaddimah* to discussion a number of other experiences and intellectual exercises like sooth saying, geomancy the *Hisab-al-nim*, the *Zairajah*, sorcery, talisman and secret letters. It is in the sixth prefatory discussion and in the sixth chapter, Ibn Khaldun has put to discussion a number of supernatural experiences and intellectual exercise like future-telling; dream vision, Sufism, geomancy, the *Hisab-al-nim*, The *Zairajah*, Sorcery and Talisman Secret letters etc⁷⁶. He has discussed all of them on an elaborate basis, their ways and methods and the nature of experiences and knowledge derived through them. We are prompted to ask what is the significance of the discussion on these supernatural experiences in relation with purely empirical discipline like ‘the science of *Umran*’. The answer lies in the fact that Ibn Khaldun’s discussion of these subjects in *Muqaddimah* is neither accidental, nor due to the legacy of medieval period; it is truly purposeful.

All these discussions become valid and meaningful only in comparison with the supernatural experiences of divine revaluation that the Prophets had as the infallible truth which is the basis of religion that

no part of the divine decrease”. Ibn Khaldun concluded thus: This is the sum total of the discussion by Ptolemy and his colleagues”. Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. III. p. 260.

⁷⁵Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 207; vol. III. p. 103.

⁷⁶Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 200-214; vol. I. p. 200-214; vol. I. p. 222; vol. III. p. 55; vol. I. p. 226; vol. I. p. 234; vol. I. p. 238; vol. III. p. 182; vol. III. p. 256; vol. III. p. 171.

never pose any contradictions between what is gained through the intellectual perceptions (the sciences and crafts) and what is given to the Prophets in the form of divine revelation.⁷⁷ The truth brings to the heart conviction and firmness while untruth uncertainty and lack of conviction. The conviction and firmness urges the follower of a faith devotion to the extent of dying for it. It is in this light that Ibn Khaldun elaborated the fallacy and limitations of all these experiences. It is significant to note here that he considered the angelic vision as pure and perfect intellection and that the Prophets are intermediary between that of the angelic vision and the man. Therefore, the prophetic experiences of revelation, he argued, belonged to the category of perfect truth. All other human experience sprouted out of the brainwork of man, which are characterised by the limitations of time, matter, space motion etc. Yet, he never argued that they are always untrue. What he said is that it is likely to have errors and miscalculations.

Another important fact to be noted here is that Ibn Khaldun put these supernatural exercises to discussion with the aim of comparing and contrasting them with the supernatural experiences of the Prophets in the form of divine revelations. Thus, he arrived at the conclusion that only these experiences represented the ultimate truth that cannot have any contradiction with the experiences and knowledge derived through the scientific methods. Nor they can be encompassed by the knowledge derived from it.

It is a fact that Ibn Khaldun arrived at this conclusion taking the various verses of Quran and the tradition of the Prophet as the premises.

⁷⁷ M Koyakuttiy, introduction P XIV

At the same time, Quran itself has manifestly acknowledged the universality of this divine experience in all ages, places, and communities.⁷⁸ Thus Ibn Khaldun was not narrowing his vision to the extreme of stating that Quran and Prophet Muhammad were the only true representatives of divine truth. He was elaborating the point to the extent of including all true divine experiences in all communities, places and ages.⁷⁹

After elaborating the details of fortune telling Ibn Khaldun stated thus. "Soothsayers who are a Prophet's contemporaries are aware of the Prophet's truthfulness and the significance of his miracles.... What prevents soothsayers from acknowledging the truthfulness of the Prophets, and causes them to deny (him), is simply their misguided desire to be the Prophet themselves".⁸⁰ Regarding geomancy, which he called a

⁷⁸ Quran, chapter Al Fatir verse. 24.

⁷⁹ 16 Universality of Faiths Miss Evelyn Underhill writes: "Though mystical theologies of the East and the West differ widely –though the ideal of life which they hold out to the soul differ too-yet in the experience of the saint this conflict is seen to be transcended. When the love of God is reached, divergences become impossible, for the soul has passed beyond the sphere of the manifold and is immersed in the one reality....One cannot honestly that there is any wide difference between the Brahmin, the Sufi or the Christian mystics at their best." p 26

"Augustine wrote a work of fifteen books on the Trinity, yet when he stood with his mother at the window of the house at Ostia and sought to express the profound sense he felt of being in the grasp of God, he spoke not of the Trinity, but of the one God in whose presence the soul is lifted above itself and above all words and songs." P 26-27

"It matters not whether the seer who has the insight has dreamed his way to the shadow of the temple or the tabernacle, the church or the mosque.... The intellectual representations of the religious mystery are relative and symbolic. As Plato would say, our accounts of God are likely stories, but all the same legendary. Not one of them is full and final. We are like little children on the seashore trying to fill our shells with water from the sea. While we cannot exhaust the waters of the deep by means of our shells, every drop that we attempt together into our tiny shells is a part of the authentic waters.... From the Rsis, or seers, of the Upanisads down to Tagore and Gandhi, the Hindu has acknowledged that truth wears vestures of many colours and speaks in strange tongues." Radhakrishnan.S. "Hindu View of Life"

⁸⁰ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 207.

craft who used the medium of sands, Ibn Khaldun stated that this people are also belonged to the category of the soothsayers. Those who strive to discover the supernatural and know the future through this craft used sand and are called thus geomancy. Ibn Khaldun made an elaboration of this craft in detail and finally concluded thus; “This craft is prevalent in all civilized (region). There exist a literature dealing with it. Outstanding ancient and modern personalities were famous for it. But it is obviously based on arbitrary notions and wishful thinking. The truth that should be present to ones mind is that the supernatural cannot be perceived by any craft at all. The only people who can acquire knowledge of the supernatural are those distinguished human beings who are fitted by nature to return from the world of sensual perception to the world of the spirit” [i.e. the Prophets].⁸¹

Another craft called Hisab-al-nim (which F. Rosenthal explained what exactly is not known) lays down “certain rules for the discovery of the supernatural’.... It serves to predict the victor and the vanquished when kings go to war with each other.”⁸² Ibn Khaldun concluded this discussion also saying thus: “All these ways of perceiving the supernatural are based upon no proof, and are not verifiable”.⁸³

⁸¹ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.233-34.

⁸² Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.234-35.

⁸³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.238. Another method used to discover the supernatural is that technique “called Zairajah of the word’. This is a branch of the science of letter magic, (practiced) among the (authorities on letter magic). It is (the technique of) finding out answers from questions by means of connection exiting between the letters of he expressions used (in the question). They imagine that these (connections) conform the basic for knowing the future happening they want to know Rosenthal,F. (1958).vol.III.p.182.

Ibn Khaldun has given a detailed account of this letter magic as well as its various operations. What is significant to note here is the conclusion that he derived at in the end. He stated thus: “ It should be known that all these operations lead only to getting an answer that corresponds to the idea of the question. They do not give information of anything supernatural. They are a sort of witty (game)”.⁸⁴ Thus it becomes clear that Ibn Khaldun held the view that the divine revelation that the Prophets received represented the truth. And the religion they propagated was inspired by that vision of the pure intellection. This nature of religion basically determines the roles it has to play in the human individual and collective life as it is described in *Muqaddimah*. These roles included primarily (1) a broader basis to *asabiya*, (2) source of moral values and (3) rules and regulations that are self-imposed among the followers of religion.

VII/17. Religion as Basis of *Asabiya*

We have noted in the former three chapters the chief arguments of Ibn Khaldun regarding *Umran*, *asabiya* and Royal authority. He argued that social life for man (*Umran*) is something indispensable.⁸⁵ *Asabiya* required a basic reference for unity either in the form of blood relation or something equal to it, which served as a common platform. When *asabiya* and *Umran* are guaranteed, it assured royal power and political leadership also. *Umran* and royal authority prospered as long as *asabiya*

⁸⁴ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.III.p.227.

⁸⁵ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 151,157-58;Rosenthal.F..(1958) vol.I.p.305-306,310-20

is kept intact. The decline and weakening of *asabiya*, therefore, resulted in the decline of *Umran* and royal power.⁸⁶

Now we pass on to discuss the roles that Ibn Khaldun assigned to religion in relation with *asabiya* and *Umran*. There are three references in Muqaddimah regarding the relation in between religion and *Umran* and *asabiya*. The first one reads thus:- “Arabs can obtain royal authority only by making use of some religious coloring, such as prophecy, or sainthood, or some great religious event in general”⁸⁷ The term ‘Arabs’, as we have noted above, does not carry any implication of nationality as it included all the nomadic peoples who are ‘savage’ in their nature. The very first sentence in this section is enough to clear any suspicion. “Arabs are savage, least willing to subordination, rude, proud, ambitious and eager to be the leader”. In fact this is the nature of all savage nations irrespective of their nationalities.

⁸⁶ Sociology of religion; Sociology for G.C.S.E.

What social needs does religion fulfil?

Many sociologists have claimed that religion helps to create unity in society. It does this in a number of ways:

All religions provide shared values and standards of behavior; without a general acceptance of some values between individuals a common way of life would be impossible and society would collapse. An example of a shared value is the Old Testament’s Eighth Commandment, ‘Thou shalt not steal’.

Religion gives further support (sanction) to the rules and laws of society. Thus individuals are fearful of breaking certain rules because they may be punished by God as well as society.

All religions have rituals and ceremonies which bring believers together and so strengthen their commitment to a common way of life.

We must be careful however not to exaggerate the unifying function of religion. Sometimes, far from acting as the cement holding the social structure together, religion can be a cause of disunity, as in the case of Northern Ireland. But for Durkheim, one of the founding fathers of sociology, religion has the essential function of binding communities together: religion is a system of beliefs and sacred rituals which unites people into social groups.....” p.152-53.

⁸⁷ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 305.

The second statement is reads thus: - “Dynasties of wide power and large royal authority have their origin in religion based either on prophecy or on truthful propaganda”.⁸⁸

The third statement reads thus: - “Religious propaganda gives a dynasty at its beginning another power in addition to that of the *asabiya* it possessed as the result of the number of its (supporters)”.⁸⁹ We have discussed in detail the salient features of nomadic *Umrans*; both of the virtues and drawbacks of their nature. Their virtues included in being closer to good⁹⁰ courageous, achievement of superiority; maintenance of purity of lineage; etc. But their vices are also significant which included Disunity; unfamiliarity to crafts and sciences

In the chapter *asabiya*, we have noted the peculiarity of *asabiya* its basis it aims at royal power its necessity for human existence its relation to the size a span of dynasties etc. We have also noted that it is almost impossible to have *Umrans* and royal power where there is⁹¹

⁸⁸ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p. 319. “To be sure, in his discussion of the factors that determine the course of history Ibn Khaldun sees *asabiya*, as the basic force that primarily determines the development. Thus, even though the social factor of group cohesion is the basis of the psychological factor of *asabiya*, the course of history is ultimately determined by spiritual factors, although they are worldly and not transcendental. The significance of the alternation of nomadic life, a historical reality of the (Moslem) world and an unmistakable fact in Ibn Khaldun’s time, has been recognised by the empiricist Ibn Khaldun. But without proof or justification he transfers the knowledge gained from the concrete object to humanity in general. Henrich Simon. p. 87.

⁸⁹ ‘Muqaddimah’.p. 158; Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.320.

⁹⁰ c.f.chapter ‘Bedouin’.sections 10,11,12,4,7,16,15,17.’

⁹¹ innumerable *asabiya*. c.f.chapter ‘Asabiya’.section 3,8,2,11,12 etc. Sociology of religion, Introduction to sociology.,Betty Yorburg Harper & Row pub ,New York (1982) .“Religion is uniquely human invention. It presupposes language and the capacity to think and worry about and fear the past, future, and unknown. Religion reflects the human need to cope not only with clear and present concerns but also with ultimate questions and meanings. “Religion is a shared set of beliefs and practices oriented toward the sacred and supernatural that unite believers into a moral community. The sacred is anything

The basic idea Ibn Khaldun propounded regarding the inter-relationship between *asabiya* and *Umran* is that the latter is the result of the presence the former. Moreover, there is a proportionate relationship between two i.e. when the *asabiya* is small, the *Umran* is also small. On the other hand, when the *asabiya* is bigger, the *Umran* and the royal power also assumed a size and span proportionate to it.⁹²

One of the salient features of nomads that Ibn Khaldun pointed out is that they are people given to complete freedom. They dwell either in the depth of deserts or nearby deserts that provide them freedom of movement as opposed to the towns and cities where people are curtailed by a number of rules and regulations. "It is difficult for them to subordinate themselves to each other, because they are used to (no control) and because they are in a state of savagery".⁹³ "Even their leaders are compelled to treat them very gently to "avoid antagonizing them". This is the general characteristics of all the nomads. They are the true representatives of strong individuality. As a result, they are people away

material or nonmaterial, human or nonhuman, that is elevated above the ordinary and mundane and is endowed with awe, reverence mystery, and, sometimes fear. Religious beliefs define what is sacred. The supernatural is the other reality for those who believe a reality that is based on faith and does not require observations or empirical verification of its existence. P.41

⁹² C.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 11,9.Henrich Simon.p., "Gibb goes on to say that the seemingly secondary position of religion in Ibn Khaldun's ideas is due to the fact that his subject is not religion but the State, that for this reason he discusses religion only in relation to the external course of history

'Although for theological purposes it was found necessary to insist that cause and effect are not integrally connected, in so far as both the apparent cause and the apparent effect are in reality separate divine creation, yet it was accepted that God did in fact, by eternal custom, create the appropriate "effect" after creating the cause....It, may however, be allowed that Ibn Khaldun lays much greater stress than most Moslem writers upon the inevitable working of cause and effect as 'natural law'. H.A.R.Gibb, 'The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory'(1933) p.29 Quoted in Henrich Simon.p. 160-161.

⁹³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.306;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 14.

from gaining royal authority, which is the result of bigger '*asabiya*'. The establishment of royal power, on the other hand, requires subordination of individual interests to the common interest and the assimilation of smaller *asabiyas* with that of the bigger one. It is here that Ibn Khaldun presented religion as a common platform of unity.⁹⁴

He argued that the nature of savage people such as unwillingness to subordination, rudeness, proud, ambitions and eagerness to be leader than to be lead cannot be put to silence but with a strong element such as religion. "Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion (among them) through prophecy or sainthood, then they have some restraining influence themselves. The qualities of haughtiness and jealousy leave them. It is then easy for them to subordinate themselves and unite (as a social organization). This is achieved by the common

⁹⁴ The basic functions of religion for society lie in its legitimating the foundations of society's culture and its integration and transmission of the basic beliefs and values that give social life meaning and purpose. The ultimate justification of anything, whether it be political authority, standards of sexual conduct, or tragic misfortune seems to most people to lie beyond the realm of empirical reason and sensory evidence. Only religion can provide meaningful interpretation of the word at this level....

The religious institution has an extremely important relationship to the political institution, providing as it does the basis for political legitimacy under both traditionalistic and often charismatic forms of authority; even in a rational-legal system, as we have found in this country[U.S], it is virtually impossible to keep the two institutions entirely separate.

Under communism, to be sure, the basic justification of political authority is not found in a shared concept of the supernatural, but instead in an elaborate picture of the inevitable movement of history. It is not unreasonable, then, to think of communism as a "secular religion," since in many ways Marxism and its various modifications do perform many of the functions of religion. Its failure to replace religion completely, however, suggests that communism does not provide satisfactory answers to all of the questions that make religion so universally important to human beings. W.S.Norman. p. 331-32

religion they now have. It causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercise a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy”⁹⁵

But the role of religion as a common platform for creating a bigger *asabiya* among the nomadic people is not something arbitrary. We have noted above that the religious experience represented the ultimate truth that cannot be proved to be false or contradict with the knowledge derived from the experiences of human intellect. So the meaning of the use of the term ‘submission to a faith’ included conviction in the truthfulness of the faith to the extent of controlling the believer’s thoughts and actions in conformity with the jurisdiction of the teachings of the religion.

“When there is a Prophet or saint among them, who calls upon them to fulfill the commands of god and rids them of blameworthy qualities and causes them to adopt praise worthy ones, and who has them concentrate all their strength in order to make the truth prevail, they become fully united (as a social organization) and obtain superiority and royal authority.”⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I .p.305, , Issawi,Charles(1950) .p. 58;c.f.chapter 'Bedouin'.section 16;c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 20.

⁹⁶ 'Muqaddimah'.p.51-52;Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I .p.305-6. “The intellectual structure of Ibn Khaldun’s work is, then, singularly complex and original. On the one hand, he is a mystic who is prepared to countenance all kinds of obscurantism in order to defend the cause of his religion. On the other hand, he claims to the heritage the great rationalist philosophers. We are not dealing with an absurd, static or paralyzing opposition between two irreducibly antagonistic attitudes, but with a contradiction that was dialectical and productive.

“So, in this very exceptional case, it would seem that the influence of the religious reaction, which had such negative effect elsewhere, was a relatively positive. It had a positive effect in that it repressed the rationalist metaphysics which, by asserting that abstract reasoning was the only source of knowledge, had sterilized research into and formulation of the laws governing reality. But- and this is the important point- for Ibn Khaldun, the mystical attitude was restricted to the spiritual domain alone. Ibn Khaldun did not take refuge in fatalism. He struggled to understand the realities of his time.

Ibn Khaldun further explained this statement in the following words and stated that the width and size of the royal power exceedingly spread when there is religious colour behind their *asabiya*. “This is because royal authority results from superiority. Superiority results from *asabiya*. Only by God’s help in establishing His religion do individual desires come together in agreement to press their claims and hearts become united.... The secret of (this) is that when the hearts succumb to false desires and are inclined toward the world, mutual jealousy and widespread differences rise.⁹⁷ (But) when they are turned toward the truth and reject the world and what ever is false, and advance toward God, they become one in their outlook. Jealousy disappears. There are few differences. Mutual co-operation and support flourish. As a result, the extent of the state widens, and the dynasty grows.”⁹⁸

The explanation continued in thus; Religion brings convictions of truth and unity of aim as individual interests are silenced and put to concord. This brings unity among the adherents of the faith to the extent of “willing to die for (their objectives)”. When religion brings “insight into their affairs, nothing can withstand them, because their outlook is one and their object one of common accord.”⁹⁹ On the other hand, when people are divided in their purpose and are submerged in worldly interest, disunity and un-trust develop among them. They are prone “to abandon

Although he had abandoned it as a dogma or metaphysic, Ibn Khaldun retained his rationalism as a method of investigation and deduction, and oriented it towards the empirical observation of a real society.” Lacoste, Yves.(1984).p. 192-93.

⁹⁷ c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section 19,22,c.f.chapter 'Hadari'.section 11,12,13,14.

⁹⁸ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 158;Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.319- 20.

⁹⁹ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.320.

each other, since they are afraid of death". They cannot offer united resistance as the people with religion can do.

It is just the opposite of this when the people and dynasty shed its religious coloring and is in pursuit of material gains which brings in disunity, jealousy and mistrust among them. It breaks their unity and results in the loss of *asabiya*. When *asabiya* is lost *Umran* and royal power is also ruined.

VII/18. Moral Values, *Asabiya* and *Umran*

Ibn Khaldun considered the moral values ensued from the teachings of religion a factor that constructively promoted *asabiya* and *Umran* while immorality resulted in their destruction and ruin¹⁰⁰. As is noted above, the religious concept of Ibn Khaldun encompassed that standard of faith and conviction that regulated all the thoughts and actions of every individual. Once the cheerfulness of the faith entered the heart 'it is as difficult for the soul to oppose the habit of faith'.¹⁰¹ When it is established firmly it 'become a kind of natural disposition' that 'prevents from even the briefest deviation from its ways'¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ 'Muqaddimah', p. 142-45; Rosenthal.F..(1958) vol.I.p. 291095.

¹⁰¹ Rosenthal.F..(1958) vol.III.p. 42.

¹⁰² cf. above on meaning and aim of worship.17 Toleration in Religions "Hinduism requires every man to think steadily on life's mystery until he reaches the highest revelation. While the lesser forms are tolerated in the interests of those who cannot suddenly transcend them, there is all through an insistence on the larger idea and the purer worship.... Again, Hinduism does not believe in bringing about a mechanical uniformity of belief and worship by a forcible elimination of all that is not in agreement with a particular creed, it does not believe in any statutory methods of salvation. Its scheme of salvation is not limited to those who hold a particular view of God's nature and worship. Such an exclusive absolutism is inconsistent with an all-loving universal God. It is not fair to God or man to assume that one people are the chosen of God, that their religion occupies a central place in the religious development of mankind, and that all others should borrow from them or suffer spiritual destitution.

Ibn Khaldun considered religion as a spiritual experience from which ensued all kinds moral values. The ultimate aim of religious belief is the spiritual communion after the death towards which the worldly life is oriented as a preparatory period. This spiritual orientation of the religion subsequently inculcated all kinds of moral values that assured *asabiya* and royal power. He stated thus, “A sign of royal authority is the eager desire to acquire praise worthy qualities and vice versa.... Political and royal authority are guarantee to mankind and serves as a representation of God among men with respect of His laws. Now divine laws affecting men are all for their good and envisage the interests.... Man-made laws, on the other hand, all result from stupidity... in opposition to the will and power of God”.¹⁰³

What Ibn Khaldun meant by praiseworthy qualities is more values itself is understood from the following statement. “We find in [men of *asabiya*] an eager desire for goodness and good qualities such as generosity, the forgiveness of errors.”¹⁰⁴

After all, what counts is not creed but conduct. By their fruits ye shall know them and not by their beliefs. Religion is not correct belief but righteous living. The truly religious never worry about other people’s beliefs. Look at the great saying of Jesus: “Other sheep I have which are not of this fold.’ Jesus was born a Jew and did and died a Jew. He did not tell the Jewish people, among whom he found himself, ‘It is wicked to be Jews. Become Christians.’ He would have done the same with Hinduism had he been born a Hindu. The true reformer purifies and enlarges the heritage of mankind and does not belittle, still less deny it.” Radhakrishnan.S.“Hindu view of life”.George Allen. p. 37. “Religious toleration is the theme of one of Asoka’s rock edicts,“The King, beloved of the Gods, honors every form of religious faith, but considers no gift or honours so much as the increase of the substance of religion; whereof this is the root, to reverence one’s own faith and never to revile that of others. Whoever acts differently injures his own religion while he wrongs another’s’. The texts of all forms of religion shall be followed under my protection.” Radhakrishnan.S.“Hindu view of life”.George Allen P 41

¹⁰³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.291 – 92.

¹⁰⁴ C.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section. 18.

Ibn Khaldun considered the simplicity of the nomads in all matters pertaining to life identical with the moral values as opposed to the luxury, indulgence in pleasures and squandering of wealth which is the result of fulfilling the animal instinct in man. Therefore he evaluated nomads closes to being good than the sedentary people. courageous and better able to achieve superiority On the other hand, the sedentary people are immoral, as a result of their extreme indulgence in luxurious habits.¹⁰⁵

As noted above, the luxurious living in sedentary life is the result of wealth and prosperity acquired from the abundant labour force, the crafts and technology that developed in town. This wealth surpassed the amount required for fulfilling the basic requirements of the people. So the money is gradually spent on unnecessary but delicate requirements of life.¹⁰⁶ Thus the habit of luxury, as in the case of any habit is attained gradually and unnoticed. None know how the habits of scarcity gave way to that of the luxurious habits. The effect of this development is very much crucial for the *Umran*. People become senile, incapable of defense, and their *asabiya* is broken down.¹⁰⁷ It is towards this background the statement of Ibn Khaldun regarding the influence of abundance of food

¹⁰⁵ C.f. chapter 'Hadari'.sections0 11to15.

¹⁰⁶ c.f. chapter 'Hadari', section ' 1,3,13;c.f chapter 'Bedouin', section ' 10,11. Towards this background the following statement is to be criticised "Even though Gibb attempts to prove his claim that Ibn Khaldun's theory is dominated by shari'ah [the religious law of Islam] and culminates in the caliphate by quoting the part where Ibn Khaldun talks about the change of the caliphates into monarchy; before that, Ibn Khaldun explains in detail why Quraish descent was necessary for the caliphs. And in fact the reason is the strong 'asabiya of the Quraish tribe. This means that 'asabiya is the pre condition of religion; it does not come after it in time or in value. Although what Ibn Khaldun has to say about the Prophet Muhammad and his time is rather conventional - critical impartiality is replaced by religious phrases, nature is supposedly broken by the time- this must be considered a weakness, but by no means must it be evaluated as the central idea of Ibn Khaldun's theory." Henrich Simon.p. 165.

¹⁰⁷ c.f. chapter 'Hadari', section ' 11,24,3,4,5,12,13.

and luxurious habits, is to be evaluated. "It should be known that the influence of abundance upon the body is apparent even in matters of religion and divine worship. The frugal inhabitants of the desert and those who settled in areas who have accustomed themselves to hunger and to absence from pleasures are found to be more religion and more ready for divine worship than people who live in luxury and abundance. Indeed it can be observed that there are few religious peoples in towns and cities, in as much as people there are for the most part obdurate and careless.... The existence of pious men and ascetics is, therefore, restricted to the desert whose inhabitants eat frugally".¹⁰⁸

VII/19. Religion as Body of Rules and Regulations

The third significant observation that Ibn Khaldun made with regard to the inter-relation between religion and *Umran* is that he considered religion provided a complete system of rules and regulations pertaining to all the aspects of human life that gave due consideration to the material and spiritual welfare and interest of individual in particular and society in general. In order to understand the arguments of Ibn Khaldun regarding religion as a body of rules and regulations, we have to consider a number of points that have been already discussed in the preceding pages.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 179-80.

¹⁰⁹ Radhakrishnan, S. 'Towards a New World.' Orient Paper Backs. Delhi, 1986 [reprint] 18 Religion of Future Today the soul of man no longer rests upon secure foundations. Everything round him is unsteady and contradictory. His soul has become more complicated, his spirit more bitter, and his outlook more bewildered. But his unrest is not a mere negative force. He is not only oppressed by new doubts but is inspired by new horizons, new perspectives, and a thirst for new relations with fellow men.

He has reached a more advanced state of spiritual maturity, and so the dogmas of traditional religions are no longer able to answer his questions or overcome his doubt. The present

This evaluation of Ibn Khaldun is of crucial significance in the light of various general observations pertaining to *Umran*, *Asabiya* and religion. We have noted above the situation of sedentary *Umran* with regard to reliance upon laws and regulation ¹¹⁰The situation of impositions such as laws, religion, slavery, taxes etc, that brings meekness and docility¹¹¹, the effects of luxury, abundance and submission to immoralities¹¹², the situations of developing inertia and helplessness in the minds of the defeated nation who, as a consequence, perished soon¹¹³, the effects of tyranny, injustice and unfound and irrational claims that are pressed upon the mass whose fortitude, as a result is destroyed¹¹⁴, the destructive nature of imposts¹¹⁵, the consequence of harshness of laws ¹¹⁶the transition of *Umran* in its natural course of development from nomadism to sedentary culture where it assumed its own natural traits such a dependance on rules and regulations, assumption of luxury,¹¹⁷the consequence development of senility,¹¹⁸ and the disintegration of *Umran*¹¹⁹. We have also noted above the views of Ibn Khaldun with regard religious knowledge as the infallible body of spiritual experience.

profound malaise is really a form of growing pains. The new world for which the old is in travail is still like an embryo. The components are all there; what is lacking is the integration, the completeness which is organic consciousness, the binding together of the different elements, making them breathe and come to life. We need a rational faith to sustain a new order of life and rescue us from our mental fag and spiritual anxiety. p35

¹¹⁰ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 8.

¹¹¹ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 37.

¹¹² c.f chapter 'Hadari', section. 36.

¹¹³ c.f. chapter 'Hadari', section ' 38.

¹¹⁴ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya, section ' 23.

¹¹⁵ c.f. chapter 'Asabiya, section ' 24.

¹¹⁶ cf. chapter 'Asabiya, section ' .25.

¹¹⁷ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 10;

¹¹⁸ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 11,12

¹¹⁹ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 13

We have to take all these observations of Ibn Khaldun to evaluate how he considered religion as a perfect and infallible source of law. As is noted above the content of *Muqaddimah* is not religion in nature and as such there is no direct reference to this effect. Still, taking all the observations that he made with regard to what is supernatural into consideration, we can boldly say that Ibn Khaldun's positive evaluation of the relation between religion and *Umrān* is something taken for granted. An analysis of this aspect of religion, which is implicit in any sense in *Muqaddimah*, consequently leads to the evaluation of the role of religion in this natural course of development. Thus we are able to notice that religion has two functions to assume in the *Umrān*. They are firstly, religion guarantee rules and regulations that are to be self-imposed, and secondly it helps to maintain simplicity as opposed to luxury.

Another significant feature of the rules and regulations derived from a religious fountainhead is also to be mentioned here. As opposed to all the other laws, which are the result of the wrath or limited and narrow visions of ordinary intellect, and are imposed among the people by using force or threat, the religion laws has this merits that they are derived from an 'infallible' source and, therefore, are basically ultimate truth which brings conviction to the heart and as a consequence are voluntarily practiced by the believer instead of being forced to do so.

It is in the light of these observations we have to evaluate the statements that Ibn Khaldun made with regard to religion as an instrument of 'self restraining influence'. *Muqaddimah* does not contain any direct reference, as in the case of other matters and features of

Umran, asabiya and religion, with regard to religion as a “self-imposed body of rules and regulations”. In fact we have to deduce it from the various statements that he had made in connection with religion and their related details.

Ibn Khaldun has considered religion a ‘restraining influence’ and perfect truth that fulfill the mental and spiritual requirements of man.¹²⁰ He stated the nomadic Arabs cannot have a single *asabiya* and the subsequent royal authority unless there is some religious coloring in the form of a Prophet or a saint who enjoins them ‘towards the truth and reject the world and whatever is false’.¹²¹ Then they have some restraining influence in themselves. It is, then easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite. It causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercises a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy.¹²² The common factor of religion enjoins the nomads to fulfill the commands of religion “that rids them of their vices and instill the moral rules. It concentrate their whole strength in order to make the truth prevail”.¹²³ The statement of Ibn Khaldun regarding religion as a self-imposed restrain has been discussed where he elaborately discussed the problems regarding the succession to the royal power with special significance to the emergence of caliphate and their succession as well as the intricate situations in which the transfer of caliphate took place in the early generation of the Muslim civilization. Comparing and contrasting

¹²⁰ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 151;Rosenthal,F.(1958) vol.I.p. 305-306

¹²¹ 'Muqaddimah'.p. 157;Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.319.

¹²² Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.305.

¹²³ Ibid. Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.30.

the situations that prevailed during the time of the Prophet and the first generation with that of the succeeding one, he stated, “Their situations was different from that of the (four) caliphs, who lived in a time when royal authority as such did not yet exist and the (sole) restraining influence was religions. Thus, everybody had his retraining influence in himself”.¹²⁴

At another place Ibn Khaldun stated thus: “*asabiya* which determine unity and disunity in the customary course of affairs, was not of the same significance then...(At that time) Islam was winning the hearts of the people and causing them to be willing to die for it in a way that disturbed the customary course of affairs”. This was due to the supernatural experiences they had during the time of the Prophet. “Thus, it was not necessary to pay attention to *asabiya*. Man generally had the colouring of submissions and obedience. They were thoroughly frightened and perturbed by a sequence of extra ordinary miracles and other divine happenings”.¹²⁵ This statement clearly shows what Ibn Khaldun meant by religious experiences as a self-imposed discipline that transform the outlooks of the individual to the effect of bringing out *asabiya* and *Umran*.

¹²⁴ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.433.Just as it is important to the political institution, religion performs legitimating functions for the economic system, as we saw in the relationship between the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism, and for the family in its sanctioning of the marriage relationship. Finally, almost by definition, it is the religious institution that has “custody” of the fundamental justifications for the patterns of behavior that make up society, and thus it stands behind the continued stability of the other institutions of society. W.S.Norman. p. 331-32

¹²⁵ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.437.

What is significant in the observation of Ibn Khaldun is the fact that the spiritual experience that a Prophet had can be experienced with others also, though far inferior in nature and content. It should be noted that the spiritual experience of the Prophet and the mystic experience that others have are of the same nature and is received with the same faculty. The striking difference between the two is that the Prophets had a natural disposition to have spiritual experience while saints and divines have it through the lines and methods wrought about by a Prophet. Hence the latter is acquired.¹²⁶

Another significance of the observation in this regard is that when people succumb to luxury, pleasures and material gains, religion loose its restraining influences. He observed thus: "These helpful (circumstance) passed with the disappearance of miracles and the death of the generation that had witnessed them with their own eyes. The coloring mentioned [above] changed little by little... The influence of *asabiya* and of the ordinary course of affairs manifested itself in the resulting good and bad institutions".¹²⁷

This observation of Ibn Khaldun is one of the most important aspects of *Muqaddimah* that has its relevance in any civil society. As opposed to savage nations, who are accustomed to complete freedom and required no rules and regulation, any civil society indispensably required rules and regulations. The royal power or the state government is the custodian of the total *Asabiya* of the nation. It is their duty to guarantee justice, peace and order etc. within the nation, which are

¹²⁶ *Muqaddimah*, p. VI preface, 91-120; Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 184-94; vol. III. p. 76-103.

¹²⁷ Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 437.

never to be generated out of the selfish whims and passion of those who are in power.

In all types of governments, whether it be democratic or kingship or autocratic, some level of interaction is to be taken place between the leader and the lead with regard to the general policies implemented to guarantee justice, peace and order. Ibn Khaldun argued that royal power resulted only when people are put to order and submission by any one superior in *Asabiya* who cause them to move through the ways and methods of general interest. Otherwise state would not be emerged out. Once the state is formed, it guaranteed fresh vistas of progress and development of resources, conveniences and general uplift to the whole people.

But this course of development has a grave negative side too. Had Ibn Khaldun ceased his observation at the above point, there would have been neither novelty nor modern applicability to *Muqaddimah*. His observation clearly pointed out that the situation of bringing the mass into submissiveness by the state or royal power, even if for the general welfare, ultimately destroyed the individual himself. As has been already pointed out that any forms of imposition, injustice, unjust claims, coercion and even education destroyed the power of resistance, courage, fortitude and manliness of the subject. The subjects develop to become too weak to even pose challenge or press any claims as a result of inertia and helplessness that creep in to their minds. Intimidity develops in them

to the extent of making them 'similar with the ladies and children who always need to be protected and looked after.'¹²⁸

Ibn Khaldun is the first person to point out this riddle that ultimately leads to the ruin of *Umran*. This riddle is a grievous question in any civil societies who do not have any platform of unity (*Asabiya*) other than the civil law. Civil society is impossible when there is no legal system, but the very rules and regulation contain the poisons of ruin; that is the result of being implemented by any kind of coercion that crushed the fortitude of the individual. So what Ibn Khaldun suggested is that a balance between the two extremes is necessary. And how could it be possible?

"Here comes religion with its own solutions. As it is not forcefully implemented, religious laws have its restraining influence in both individual and society. Religious laws are practiced not because of any external coercion, but the individual voluntarily succumbs to the religion. The follower of the faith requires no external stimulation to do so. When this situation is translated into the society, they also get the inspiration of inward stimulation of religion and they are bound together into a single solid body. Even the breach of law in such a situation is

¹²⁸Religion is self restraint:-"It is no argument against the (statement just made) that the men around Muhammad observed the religious laws, and yet did not experience any diminution of their fortitude, but possessed the greatest possible fortitude. When the Muslims got their religion from the Lawgiver (Muhammad), the restraining influence came from themselves....It was not a result of technical instruction or scientific education.(The laws) were the laws and precepts of the religion, which they received orally and which their firmly rooted (belief in)the truth of the articles of faith caused them to observe. Their fortitude remained unabated and it was not corroded by education or authority.

Umer said, "Those who are not educated by the religion law are not educated by God". What Umer meant was that very one should have his restraining influence within himself and not from outside coercion. It also expressed the conviction of him regarding religion as the perfect truth. Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.260.

punished through self-purification and not through any outward punishments.

The individual and the society in general are restrained on its own. There are no external impositions and as such the individual freedom, fortitude, courage etc. is never at stake. Both the individual and the society get the best out of them. As Iqbal pointed out religion becomes "the expression of the whole man". Thus, according to Ibn Khaldun, religion in its depth gives man his perfect freedom and expression of all faculties even while giving the society and the state its complete expressions of justice, peace and order. But with the help of this balance of religion the above mentioned riddle cannot be solved to the best of interest of the individual (who can have all the freedom to go to the extent of complete anarchy) and the state (which can control and curtail him putting the very individual to destruction of his freedom, courage, fortitude and power of resistance).

But how religion can give such a depth of conviction? How religion can have any application to the rational faculty of individual if it is a mere bunch of unfound principle? What is the guarantee that individual is bound to follow the principle of religion voluntarily? How it is possible that the feeling of the conviction and accountability can be created in any individual with regard to religion? Here again, Ibn Khaldun gives answers in his own way. It is here the arguments that we have already referred in the beginning of this chapter with regard to religious experience as ultimate truth becomes all the more significant and relevant. The precepts of religion must of necessity be Truth. There should be neither internal contradiction within the principles of the faith

or without the external experiences (sciences) of man with nature around him. In another words, Ibn Khaldun suggested that religious knowledge always stay beyond the scientific faculty of man and pause no practical contradiction, and it bring conviction to the believer because 'truth bring heart of its conviction and assurance while falsehood make it waver and faulty'. This conviction in truth creates in the minds of the follower of religion devotion even to the extend of dying for the faith.¹²⁹

The second point with regard to religion is that it always upheld the values of simplicity and moderation as against abundance and luxury. All religions are characterised by this feature of spirituality that naturally created in the outlooks of the believers a feeling of simplicity and moderation in food, cloth, dwellings and all other dealings. Ibn Khaldun suggested that nomads, with their frugal resources are more inclined towards spirituality. The scarcity of resources among nomads necessitated as a result of life in the desert. "They obtain no more than the bare necessity, and some times less, and in no case enough for a comfortable or abundant life. They are mostly found restricted to milk.... In spite of this, the desert people who lack grain and seasoning are fond to be healthier in body and better in character than the hill people who have plenty of everything.... Their character less intemperate and their minds keener as far as knowledge, and perception are concerned."¹³⁰

¹²⁹ c.f. above VII/18.begenning;M Koyakutty. (1984) Preface. p.xii-xiv.

¹³⁰ 'Muqaddimah'.p. Vth preface 87-91 ;Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I .p.177 – 78. "It should be known that not all the temperate zones have an abundance of food, nor do all their inhabitants lead a comfortable life. In some parts, the inhabitants enjoy an abundance of grain, seasonings, wheat, and fruits, because the soil is well balanced and good for plants and there is an abundant civilization. And then, in other parts, the land is strewn with rocks, and no seeds or herbs grow at all. There, the inhabitants have a very hard time. Instances of such people are the inhabitants of the Hijaz and the Yemen, or the Veiled

The abundance of material resources and the adverse effects emanated from luxurious living is also significant to note here because Ibn Khaldun considered that it is not the material resources that strengthen the *Umran*, but the natural qualities of nomadism with its simplicity kept the physique healthier, mind sharper, courage and fortitude aflame. "As to the reason for it, may be tentatively suggested that a great amount of food and the moisture it contains generate pernicious superfluous matter in the body, which in turn, produce a disproportionate widening of the body....The mind and the ability to think are dulled. The result is stupidity, carelessness and a general intemperance." Hunger, on the other hand, may greatly improve the physique and the mind.

The following statement therefore is very much meaningful in this context. He argued that the simplicity of life and the good moral values to which nomads (and even the village people) characteristically conspicuous, are acquired as a result of natural expediency to which their environment has compelled. All the good qualities of the nomads and the village people are the result of this 'experience and education' within the fold of an environment that always stood opposed to the vices of the town.¹³¹

Sinhajah who live in the desert of the Maghrib on the fringes of the sandy deserts which lie between the Berbers and the Sudanese Negroes. All of them lack all grain and seasonings. Their nourishment and food is milk and meat. Another such people is the Arabs who roam the waste regions. They may get grain and seasoning from the hills, but this is the case only at certain times and is possible only under the eyes of the militia which protects (the hill country). Whatever they get is little, because they have little money." Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol. I. p. 177.

¹³¹ c.f. chapter 'Hadari', section ' 2,

Another significant observation made in Muqaddimah is that this village environment can be 'experienced' (to a certain extent) even in towns. He pointed out that both the simplicity and luxury are not an in born trait, but a question of habit. Man can have the freedom to be used to either of the habits, and once one habit is firstly and firmly rooted in the character, it becomes easy for the person to keep away from the other.¹³²

The following statement, therefore, is having much wider meaning that it really and explicitly states. 'The basic thing to know is that foodstuff, and whether to use or not to use them, are matters of customs. Whoever accustoms himself to a particular type of food that agrees with him becomes used to it.... The same applies to those who have accustomed themselves to suffer hunger and do without food. If through gradual training, [body] has becomes used to hunger, (it) becomes a natural custom of the soul'.¹³³ Hunger has favorable influences on the health and well being of body and intellect."¹³⁴ This

¹³² With regard to crafts, which he considered a habit, he stated that once one craft is firmly and thoroughly rooted in any person, it is difficult for him to master another habit or craft. 'The reason for this is that habits are qualities and colors of the soul. They do not come all at once. 'A person who is still in his natural state has (an) easier (time) acquiring certain habits and is better prepared to gain them. When the soul has been colored by a habit, it is no longer in its natural state, and it is less prepared (to master another habit), because it has taken on a certain coloring from that habit. As a result, it is less disposed to accept (another) habit. Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.355.

¹³³ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.181.

¹³⁴ Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I,p. 182

At another place he stated: Those who die in famines are victims of their previous habitual state of satiation, not of the hunger that now afflicts them for the first time.... When however, the amount of food one eats is slowly decreased by gradual training there is no danger of death. The adepts of Sufism practice (such gradual abstinence from food). Gradualness is necessary when one gives up the training. Were a person suddenly to return to his original diet he might die. Therefore he must end the training as he started it, that is, gradually. Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p. 180-2.

case of foodstuffs is applicable to all that matters related to individual and collective life. Thus, once the simplicity is maintained, it generated natural traits of its own that included all goodness, moral enlightenment, social unity, justice, truthfulness etc.

“The Sufi training is a religious one. The Sufis aspire to total concentration upon God and upon the approach to him in order to obtain the mystical experiences of gnosis and Divine oneness. In addition to their training in concentration and hunger, the Sufis feed on their exercise by which their devotion to their training can fully materialize. [Still] whatever supernatural knowledge or activity is accidental, and was not originally intended”¹³⁵.

When the influence of the religious faith decreased and external restrictions are imposed, the individual is deprived of his natural ‘fortitude and stamina’ that weaken their mind. When people turn to sedentary life and luxurious habits, their fortitude is declined. On the other hand, nomads are never accustomed to luxurious habits. They retain simplicity a natural disposition. They live far away from the laws of

“Prophets are to acquaint their fellow men with what is good for them and to urge them to let themselves be guided a right” .’Muqaddimah’.p.Vth preface,p.91-120; Rosenthal,F. (1958). vol.I.p.184. “It should be known that the information they give [regarding the supernatural things] is intrinsically and necessarily true.” Prophets ‘ make propaganda for religion and divine worship by means of prayer, almsgiving and chastity’- Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.186-87. Moral uprightness is the character of the Prophets even before they are called upon the mission of religion.

¹³⁵ The reliance of sedentary people upon laws destroys their fortitude and power of resistance at all against hostile acts.”.Ibn Khaldun continued,“ This is the case with students, whose occupation it is to study and to learn from teachers and religion leaders, and who constantly apply themselves to instructions and education in every dignified gathering” c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 8 Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p. 260.

government, (techniques of) instructions and (coercion) of education. Hence superior fortitude is formed among them.¹³⁶

VII/20. Royal authority leads to luxury- luxury corrupts moral

The following statement of Ibn Khaldun is more significant in this regard. He stated, "Further more, luxury corrupts the character. (Through luxury) the soul acquires diverge kinds of evil and sophisticated customs. People loose the good qualities that were sign and indication of (their qualification for) royal authority. They adopt the contrary bad qualities (immoralities). This points towards retrogression and ruin... The dynasty shows symptoms of dissolution and disintegration. It becomes affected by the chronic diseases of senility and finally dies."¹³⁷

He further stated, "The purpose (of human beings) is their religion.... Therefore, religious laws have as their purpose to cause (human beings) to follow such a course in all their dealings with God and their fellow men... Anything...that is dictated by force, superiority, of the free play of the power of wrathfulness, is tyranny and injustice."¹³⁸

¹³⁶ c.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 37. Ibn Khaldun considered the effects of any external pressures imposed upon the individual detriment to him. These impositions may be in the form of enforced slavery or impositions. asb 20,21,22,23,24,25. These impositions ultimately destroyed the fortitude of the individual who became too weak to pose any opposition or press any claim. In this sense, Ibn Khaldun seemed to be advocating complete individual freedom. He envisaged a concept of individual freedom that is in no way curtailed by any restrictions. He regarded even education, imposed religious faiths, taxes etc best medium of curtailments that destroyed the individuals and subsequently lead to the destruction of the Umrans." " The hour will not arise until the zakath become an impost." Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.II.p.336.

¹³⁷Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.341. Stages of transition-Rosenthal, F .(1958). vol.I. p.553; Exaggerated harshness-harmful; Rosenthal,F.(1958).vol.I.p.382; Issawi 128-30. Religion perfect truth;Rosenthal, F. (1958). vol.II. p.385ff; Issawi, Charles (1950). p.134-36.

¹³⁸ c.f. injustice- c.f chapter 'Asabiya, section ' 23.

and considered reprehensible by the (religious law), as it is also considered reprehensible by the requirements of political wisdom. Likewise, anything (done by royal authority) that is directed (merely by consideration of policy or political decisions without supervision of the religious law, is also reprehensible, because it is vision lacking the divine light.... Political [rational] consider only worldly interests”.¹³⁹

It is in the light these arguments, we have to consider one usage of Ibn Khaldun regarding Prophet Muhammad. Ibn Khaldun has mentioned the name of Prophet Muhammad in Muqaddimah more than 165 places. When we read Muqaddimah, we are not in darkness with regard to the author’s convictions in Islam as a religious belief, as a body of human experience, and as a set of rules and regulations that pervade all aspects of individual and collective life of the Muslims. So it is significant to consider here one usage of Ibn Khaldun regarding the prophet of Islam.

Out of all these references to the prophet Muhammad, more than fifty are a mere adjective, i.e. ‘the Lawgiver’ (*al sharie*, the shariat giver). Rosenthal in his translations has always taken pain to supplement this usage with the name ‘Muhammad’ within the brackets. The significance of this usage lie in the fact that it comes wherever Ibn Khaldun refers to religion as perfect truth, infallible perception, complete law, or supernatural experience.

¹³⁹ Rosenthal.f.(1958) vol.I.p. 448-9. 'Muqaddimah'.p. 294-97;C.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' 12. how decline comes. 'Muqaddimah'.p. 394-97.c.f.chapter 'Asabiya'.section. 29 need for political leadership. 'Muqaddimah'.p. 3022) sedentary culture – result of royal IV/ 17. C.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' – 19) Sedentary end of Umrans IV/18, (C.f chapter 'Hadari', section ' – 2,3.

Referring to the natural transformation of 'caliphate' into 'kingship' Ibn Khaldun constantly used the term 'Lawgiver' to signify the prophet. In this discussion, he has mentioned a number of rules and regulations that the prophet brings into force. In all these contexts, the usage of the 'Lawgiver' is more significant

“[Asabiyya] is necessary to the Muslim community. Its existence enables (the community) to fulfill what God expects of it. It is said in (the sound tradition of) the sahih: ‘God sent no prophet who did not enjoy the protection of his people’. Still, we find that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) censured [asabiyya] and urged (us) to reject it and to leave it alone. He said: ‘God removed from you the arrogance of the pre-Islamic times and its pride in ancestors. You are the children of Adam, and Adam was made of dust’. God said: ‘Most noble among you in God’s (eyes) is he who fears God most’

We also find that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) censured royal authority and its representatives. He blamed them because of their enjoyments of good fortune, their senseless waste, and their deviation from the path of God. He recommended friendship among all Muslims and warned against discord and dissension.

It should be known that in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muhammad), all of this world is a vehicle for (transport to) the other world. He who loses the vehicle can go nowhere. When the Lawgiver (Muhammad) forbids or censures certain human activities or urges their omission, he does not want them to be neglected altogether. Nor does he want them to be completely eradicated, or the powers from which they

result to remain altogether unused. He wants those powers to be employed as much as possible for the right aims. Every intention should thus eventually become the right one and the directions (of all human activities) one and the same. It was in this sense that Muhammad said: ‘He who emigrates to God and His Messenger emigrates to God and His Messenger, but he who emigrates to gain worldly goods or to marry a woman emigrates to where he emigrates’.

The Lawgiver (Muhammad) did not censure wrathfulness in the intention of eradicating it as a human quality. If the power of wrathfulness were no longer to exist in (man), he would lose the ability to help the truth become victorious. There would no longer be holy war or glorification of the word of God. Muhammad censured the wrathfulness that is in the service of Satan and reprehensible purposes, but the wrathfulness that is one in God and in the service of God, deserves praise. Such (praiseworthy) wrathfulness was one of the qualities of Muhammad.

Likewise, when the Lawgiver (Muhammad) censures the desire, he does not want them to be abolished altogether, for a complete abolition of concupiscence in a person would make him defective and inferior. He wants the desires to be used for permissible purposes to serve the public interests, so that man becomes an active servant of God who willingly obeys the divine commands.

“Likewise, when the religious law censures [asabiyya], and says: ‘Neither your blood relatives nor your children will be of use to you (on the Day of Resurrection)’, (such a statement) is directed against a [asabiyya] that is used for worthless purpose, as was the case in pre-

Islamic times. It is also directed against a [asabiyya] that makes a person proud and superior. For an intelligent person to take such an attitude is considered a gratuitous action, which is of no use for the other world, the world of eternity. On the other hand, an [asabiyya] that is working for the truth and for fulfillment of the divine commands is something desirable. If it were gone, religious laws would no longer be, because they materialize only through [asabiya], as we have stated before.

“Likewise, when the Lawgiver (Muhammad) censures royal authority, he does not censure it for gaining superiority through truth, for forcing the great mass to accept the faith, nor for looking after the (public) interests. He censures royal authority for achieving superiority through worthless means and for employing human being for indulgence in (selfish) purpose and desires, as we have stated.”¹⁴⁰

VII/21. Concluding Remarks

As Franz Rosenthal rightly observed, the genius of Ibn Khaldun is moulded in the confused tribal politics of North Africa in the 14th century in which he himself was also a major participant . But his involvement took a definite turn when he devoted his gifted thought and scholarship to look into the affairs around him as well as to that which were actively operating in the land ever since the Muslim conquests took place. There were a number of contemporary scholars who were more gifted than Ibn Khaldun, but his thought worked in such away that ultimately led him to the visions of the social theories that we read in Muqaddimah. So we can boldly say that the involvement of Ibn

¹⁴⁰ Rosenthal.F.(1958).vol.I.p. 414—16; 'Muqaddimah'.p. 202-204.

Khaldun in the politics of the day was genuinely to the best of the convictions of the author and he was not a hypocrite to that effect as some Arab authorities evaluated him.

Secondly there is no need to impose our own meanings to the technical terminologies of the work such as Umran, Badawi, Hadhari, Asabiya etc. Ibn Khaldun himself has given the meanings of these terminologies and it is the best way to rely upon Muqaddimah through internal analysis to get the true meaning of all the technical terminologies of Ibn Khaldun. Here in this study, only three terms and their inter-relationship visa vis Muqaddimah is done on an exhaustive scale.

Thirdly the western approach to Ibn Khaldun and Muqaddimah is astonishingly one sided especially with regard to their evaluation of what is spiritual in it. They discarded these aspects of the work either due to misunderstanding or not understanding and tried to eulogise the physical features of the work. These physical theories seemed exceedingly attractive to the 'scientific out look' of the west. But they were in no way able to rise up to that level of Ibn Khaldun who presented the study of the spiritual on a scientific or empirical level. The stand point of Ibn Khaldun with regard to spiritual is more sound when he stated that the rational power in man is unable to comprehend all that is within the physical world.

In course of the last four centuries, human awareness of the physical world around him has exceedingly enlarged beyond the magnitude of any narration; still most of the basic questions related with

life and death remain unresolved even today which to a follower of any true faith seems not so perplexive.

Fourthly even centuries before the sociologist like Durkhem has evaluated the role that religion played in the formation of a social set up Ibn Khaldun very clearly substantiated the point. Beyond that he indirectly pointed to the fact that religious faith a necessary element in the social formation as the faith provided all the moral rules that guarantee it.

Fifthly, and which is the most significant one, Ibn Khaldun very effectively envisaged the question of individual freedom and imperative authority of the state. His solution is that religious faith, which is based upon the conviction in the ultimate truth, brings about 'inward education' in an individual and programs him suitable to the civilised society. The achievement of this through religion also safeguards both individual' freedom and social harmony. In a nation like India that is inhabited by people devoted to religious faiths, these visions are of profound contemporary application.

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