

THE MUQADDIMAH

**Abd-ar-Rahman bin
Muhammad ibn Khaldun**

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

[p. 1 :xxii]

Ibn Khaldun's Life

[p. 1 :xxii]

WRITING the biography of Ibn Khaldun would not seem to be a particularly difficult task, for he left posterity an autobiography which describes the events of his life in great detail and presents the historical background clearly. He supports his statements with many documents quoted literally. In fact, Ibn Khaldun's description of his own life is the most detailed autobiography in medieval Muslim literature. It gives us an accurate knowledge of events in the author's life such as is available, before modern times, for but few historical personalities.

Until recently, Ibn Khaldun's autobiography was known only in a recension that broke off at the end of the year 1394,¹ but now its continuation has been discovered and is available in a carefully annotated edition.² It brings the account down to the middle of the year 1405, less than a year before Ibn Khaldun's death.

In 1,382 the fifty-year-old scholar and statesman left his native north-west Africa never to return. For the period before this date, Ibn Khaldun's autobiographical statements can be supplemented by a perfunctory biograph-

¹ Cf. *Ibar*, VII, 379-463. The text, which is very unsatisfactory, was reprinted in the margin of an edition of the *Muqaddimah* published in Cairo, 1322/1904. Showing that in the autograph manuscript of Ibn Khaldun's *Lubab al-Muhassal*, the vocalization *muqaddamah* is occasionally used, Fr. Luciano Rubio makes a rather strong case for reading *Mugaddamah*, instead of *Muqaddimah*. Cf. *La Ciudad de Dios*, CLXII (1950), 171-78. No completely vocalized occurrence of the word—which would decide the question—is known to me from the old MSS of the *Muqaddimah*. I feel certain that both forms are equally possible, and that the problem is a very minor one.

²The complete autobiography was edited by Muhammad Tawit at-Tanji and published under the title *at-Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldun wa-rihlatuhu gharban wa-sharqan* [Biography of Ibn Khaldun and Report on his Travel(s) in the West and in the East] (Cairo, 1370/1951). In his footnotes at-Tanji supplies ample bibliographical references concerning the personalities Ibn Khaldun mentions in the *Autobiography*.

ical note incorporated by his friend Ibn al-Khatib in *his History of Granada*.³ Written in general terms of praise, it lacks any critical appreciation of its subject. There exists another biography of Ibn Khaldun which a Western writer, Ismail b. Yasuf b. al-Ahmar, inserted in an anthology of contemporary poets, entitled *Nathîr al jumân*. The writer, a member of the ruling family of Granada, died about the same time as Ibn Khaldun. It can be assumed that he relied on Western authorities for the earlier period of Ibn Khaldun's life. Unfortunately, the text of this biography is not yet available.⁴

For Ibn Khaldun's later years, when he participated in the flourishing literary life of Mameluke Egypt, the biographical sources are more varied. Biographies of Ibn Khaldun were composed by his pupils and admirers; nor could his enemies disregard him when writing the biographical history of the period. The latter present another view of his personality, and though their state ments have to be taken with reservations, they help us to understand it better.⁵

Ibn Khaldun's own great work, especially the *Muqaddimah*, is another important source for his biography. Written in a much more personal style

³ The *History of Granada*, entitled *al-I hdlah f i akhbdr Gharndlah*, was published in Cairo, 1319/1901, but the two volumes which appeared do not contain Ibn Khaldun's biography. My knowledge of the work is based upon al-Maqqari, *Naḥb at-lib* (Cairo, 1304/1886-87), IV, 6 ff. Al-Maqqari may be assumed to have given a rather complete and literal quotation of Ibn al-Khatib's text. Al-Maqqari's contemporary, Abmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihj* (Cairo, 1351/1932, in the margin of Ibn Far-bun, *Dibdf*), p. 169, also quotes, if rather briefly, from Ibn al-Khatib's biography of Ibn Khaldun. Cf. also al-Ghuzuli, *Maldli'* (Cairo, 1299-1300/1881-83), I, 275.

The volume of the *Ibdtah* that contains Ibn Khaldun's biography is preserved in the Escorial, No. 1674 of the recent catalogue. M. Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (Madrid, 1760-67), II, 105, referred briefly to it, mentioning the list of Ibn Khaldun's works (cf. p. xlv, below). It is strange that this list, as quoted here, includes a reference to Ibn Khaldun's "*History of the Arabs* in five volumes."

⁴ References to it are found in the editor's notes to the *Autobiography*, p. 67 (n. 1) and index, p. 439.

⁵ At present, we know most of these biographies only in excerpts quoted by as-SakhAwî (1427/28-1497), in his *Iḥaw' al-ldmi'* (Cairo, 1353-55/ 1934-36), IV, 145-49. A collection of all biographical accounts, as preserved in MSS and printed texts or as reconstructed from quotations, would be of great help for the study of Ibn Khaldun's life.

than most medieval works, the *Muqaddimah* sharply outlines his own personal philosophy and provides insights into the workings of his mind.

This abundance of biographical source material has enabled modern scholars at various times to write Ibn Khaldun's life and to present the data in a factually correct form to which little can be added. These modern biographies vary greatly in length. Among the longest are de Slane's account in the Introduction to his translation of the *Muqaddimah*, largely a literal translation of the *Autobiography*,⁶ and that by M. A. Enan, in his *Ibn Khaldun, His Life and Work*.⁷ There has been no recent treatment *in extenso* of Ibn Khaldun's early life (down to 1382), but his Egyptian period is the subject of two masterly studies by W. J. Fischel, "Ibn Khaldun's Activities in Mamluk Egypt (1382-1406)"⁸ and *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*.⁹

In its outlines, Ibn Khaldun's life thus is quite clearly known. However, the modern student who would like to know much more about him, discovers that his questions can only be answered by conjecture, if at all. Considering the excellence of the source material, at least as judged by external criteria, the deficiencies in our knowledge must be ascribed to the internal character of the available information. It is true that no amount of material will ever fully satisfy a biographer, but in Ibn Khaldun's case there are particular reasons why a fully satisfactory account of his life is virtually impossible of achievement. In the first place, Ibn Khaldun considered only such events in his life worth recording as were especially remarkable, the most unusual achievements of an exceptional person. Thus he did not pay much

⁶ W. M. de Slane had previously published this biographical account in *Journal asiatique*, 111⁴ (1844), 5-60, 187-210, 291-308, 325-53.

⁷ Published in Lahore in 1941 and subsequently reprinted there. Enan's work is a translation from the Arabic. A second edition of the Arabic work appeared recently. There is, of course, an ever-growing number of Arabic studies of Ibn Khaldun's life and work.

⁸ In *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, No. 11) (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1951), pp. 103-24.

⁹ Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952.

attention to the kind of data so dear to modern psychological biographers. He does not speak about his childhood. His family is mentioned only because family considerations often influenced the course of his wanderings and because it was afflicted by unusual misfortunes. All his ordinary activities are passed over in silence. Ibn Khaldun would probably have denied that this kind of data has any heuristic value. He would have doubted the validity of the modern biographer's claim that experiences which he shared with all his contemporaries contributed to the formation of his individual personality; he would have doubted that recording them might help future generations of scholars to understand him better.

Another difficulty that confronts Ibn Khaldun's biographer is not unconnected with this attitude. Patient scholarly research has succeeded in gaining a picture in broad outline of the environment in which Ibn Khaldun grew up and spent his life. Yet, all our sources together do not yield enough detailed information to allow us to understand fully his position in it for, in spite of his importance, he was but a minor element in the overall picture. R. Brunschvig's outstanding historical synthesis, *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsides*;¹⁰ contributes greatly to our understanding of the historical factors of Ibn Khaldun's era. But through no avoidable fault of its own, the work cannot yet answer all the questions modern students raise concerning Ibn Khaldun's development as a historical personality. Just as the autobiography does not disclose all the facets of his being, other medieval historians grossly neglected other important factors. They do not fully reveal the true character of certain events in which Ibn Khaldun was actively or passively involved. Hardly ever do they give precise information about his contemporaries. The rulers, statesmen, and scholars with whom he had to deal are not described with sufficient clarity for us to be able to assess the true meaning of his relationship to them. Thus there are still many questions

¹⁰ Published in Paris as Vols. VIII (1940) and XI (1947) of the "Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger."

that cannot be answered, and Ibn Khaldun cannot as yet be made the subject of an "interesting" biography in the modern sense. A biographical sketch prefacing an edition or translation of the author's work, however, is subject to less exacting specifications. Primarily, it should fulfill two purposes. First, it should acquaint the reader sufficiently well with the leading facts of the author's life. This purpose, I believe, can be amply fulfilled in Ibn Khaldun's case. Secondly, it should set forth the historical conditions that enabled the author to develop his genius. Where Ibn Khaldun and the *Muqaddimah* are concerned, we must often enough rely on conjecture and inference, but the thought that it is always difficult, if not impossible, adequately to account for intellectual greatness, may be of some consolation to us here.

Ibn Khaldun belonged to a clan of South Arabian origin. Khaldun, from whom the family name was derived, is believed to have immigrated to Spain in the eighth century, in the early years of the Muslim conquest. He settled in Carmona, a small city situated within the fateful triangle that Cordoba, Sevilla, and Granada form; in that small area much Spanish Muslim history of general European significance took place over the centuries. Khaldun's "children"-that is, his descendants left Carmona to settle in Sevilla. We do not know the exact date, but it is probable that the Khaldun family had already taken residence there in the eighth century.

According to Ibn Khaldun's own memory, only ten generations of forebears separated him from the founder of his family. These are too few generations to span a period of seven hundred years, even if one doubts the validity of Ibn Khaldun's theory that there are three generations to a century. Ibn Khaldun's own genealogy was obviously defective. It is worthy of note that a descendant of (the first) Khaldun had in the eleventh century reckoned about nine generations from the founder down to his own time.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 3 f. Quoting Ibn Hazm, Ibn Khaldun relates the genealogy of one Ab-ul-Fadl, a descendant of Kurayb b. Khaldun. Kurayb's pedigree as given in the *Autobiography* is defective; see Ibn Hazm's original text, *Jamharah*, ed, E. Levi-Provencal (Cairo, 1948), p. 490, and

Ibn Khaldun's knowledge of his more remote ancestors is remarkably limited, considering the great prominence that his family enjoyed for centuries. All his information was based upon works published by Spanish historians. At least two of these works, by Ibn Hayyan and Ibn Hazm, have been preserved to the present day. Apparently there existed no written history or private archives in the Khaldun family itself; such records as may have existed might have been lost when the family left Spain in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Historically, the most prominent among Ibn Khaldun's relatives was a certain Kurayb. He revolted against the Umayyad ruler at some time near the end of the ninth century, and succeeded in establishing a quasi-independent patrician government in Sevilla, which lasted for over a decade. He was killed in 899.¹² Ibn Khaldun, however, was unable to determine the exact relationship between himself and this Kurayb. If one can believe in the accuracy of the pedigree Ibn Khaldun recorded, their only common ancestor was the first Khaldun.

While Ibn Khaldun's Arab descent has occasionally been questioned, it has also been considered a major influence in forming his outlook on life and on history. Neither point of view has anything to recommend it. Ibn Khaldun's claim to Arab descent through the male line cannot reasonably be doubted, though he may have had Berber and Spanish blood in his veins as well. Decisive in itself is the fact that he believed himself to be of Arab descent, a circumstance that, in a sense, conferred title of nobility. However, even if Ibn Khaldun was proud of his ancient Arab lineage, there is no indication that it colored his historical views or influenced his reactions to his environment differently than his peers and contemporaries. In fact, it would

also *Ibar*, II, 244 f. It is, of course, by no means certain that Abu'l-Fadl's and Kurayb's pedigree was accurately traced in any of the sources.

¹²Cf. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1992), II, 40 ff., 80 ff. Cf. also *Ibar*, IV, 135 f.

seem that not his Arab descent, but his Spanish origin was the crucial factor in his intellectual development and outlook, as will be shown below.

The disaster Kurayb met with at the end of the ninth century must have involved a large part, if not all, of the Khaldun clan. But its position in Sevilla was soon re-established in its former eminence. In the middle of the eleventh century,¹³ the Banu Khaldun are said to have been the intellectual and political leaders of the city.

In 449 [1057/58], there died in Sevilla Abu Muslim 'Amr ('Umar?) b. Ahmad Ibn Khaldun, a pupil of the great scientist Maslamah al-Majriti. He was himself, we are told, a great scientist.¹⁴ He was a sixth generation descendant, at the very least, of Kurayb's brother Muhammad. Ibn Khaldun had occasion to mention him in the *Muqaddimah*. No other scholar among Ibn Khaldun's ancestors and relatives is known by name, but there can be no doubt that most of them were highly educated men. It was a condition of leadership in their city, and that some of them excelled in religious and legal, if not in worldly learning, is certain.

The political leadership in Sevilla, in fact, belonged to the Banta Khaldun together with some other noble families. Sovereignty over the city was vested in a nominal ruler, but actual control of Sevilla's affairs was exercised by these great families from their fortified rural seats and imposing residences in town. In the early thirteenth century, the realm of the Spanish Almohads crumbled. The Christians encroached more and more closely upon the triangle of Cordoba-Sevilla-Granada. By that time, the Khaldun fam-

¹³ Cf. Ibn Hayyan as quoted in the *Autobiography*, p. 5.

¹⁴ See note 643 to Ch. vi, below.

We have one reference to a certain Ibn Khaldun from the twelfth century, probably a member of the famous Khaldun family. This one is described as a haughty poet in a couplet by Ibn Kisra al-Malagi (d. A.D.1206/7, or 1207/8), quoted by al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-Wafayat* (Cairo, 1951), I, 261:

You overbearing poet whose ancestor is Khaldun:

You are not satisfied with being vinegar (*khall*), but also want to be mean (*dun*).

Cf. also Ibn Sa'id. *'Unwdn al-murgisdl* (Algiers, 1949), p. 52.

ily and the other patricians of Sevilla held completely independent control through domination of the city council; but they failed to heed the call sent out around the year 1232 by Muhammad b. Yusuf Ibn al-Ahmar, founder of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada, to rally to the Muslim cause and help form a united front against the infidel "abomination." The Banu Khaldun, realizing the city's precarious situation, had decided to leave even before the actual fall of Sevilla in 1248, and crossed over to the safety of northwest Africa, where they were not without friends.

The early decision to leave Sevilla appears to have been strongly motivated by their support of the rising cause of the Almohad Hafsids in Africa. 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 grandfather of Ibn Khaldun's great-great-grandfather. Thus, from the start, the Banu Khaldun had good connections with the most powerful group in northwestern Africa. In addition, they can be assumed to have had other associations there which they were able to use to good advantage and through which they gained influential positions as soon as they arrived. Marriages and personal cleverness added other important friends.

The refugees from Spain who came over and settled in north western Africa in ever growing numbers constituted a group apart, an elite group at that.¹⁵ The *Muqaddimah* frequently mentions the great contributions made by Spanish refugees to the cultural life of northwestern Africa and stresses the superiority of Spain and the originality of its civilization.¹⁶ This shows that Ibn Khaldun, more than a century after his family had left Spain, still considered himself to some extent a member of that glorious civilization. Though as a Muslim he felt at home everywhere within the vast realm of Is-

¹⁵Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, II, 155 f.

¹⁶ See 2:24, 290, 350 f., 386 f., and 3:302, below.

lam, he preserved throughout his life a deep and sincere affection for northwest Africa, the country of his birth, for the "homeland" where, according to the poet, "the amulets are first attached" to the child. He always felt a certain responsibility for the political fate of northwestern Africa and took an active interest in it long after he had left. His true spiritual home, however, was Spain.

This background helps to explain the ease with which Ibn Khaldun shifted his loyalties throughout his life. No matter how high his own position or that of his ancestors before him at one or another northwest African court, no matter how close he was to a ruler, he did not feel bound by "group feeling," as he might have called it, or by the ties of a common cultural heritage. He considered the ruler his employer, and his position a job to be done, neither more nor less. But his basic loyalty to Spain and its civilization had a much more far-reaching effect on Ibn Khaldun's personality and work than these transient ties. It gave him a remarkable detachment with respect to the historical events that took place before his eyes. In a sense, it enabled him to view them as an impartial observer, even when he was deeply involved personally. This peculiar division in Ibn Khaldun's physical and spiritual ties seems to have been the decisive factor in his ability to abstract general reflections about history from observed facts, in his ability, that is, to write the *Muqaddimah*.

The ancestor of Ibn Khaldun among the members of the Khaldun family who went to northwestern Africa, was al-Hasan b. Muhammad, his grandfather's grandfather. Al-Hasan went first to Ceuta, the city of northwestern Africa which is closest to Spain, and customarily the first stopping place for refugees from Spain. He then went on to Mecca, which suggests that he may have used his intention to perform the pilgrimage as an excuse for leaving Sevilla. Upon his return from Mecca, he joined the Hasid ruler Abu Zakariya' in Bone, using his relationship to the abovementioned Ibn al-Mubtasib as an introduction. He received a pension and fiefs. Thus, the

intimate relationship of the Khaldun family with the Hafsid house started auspiciously. It continued to bring high honors and, as a corollary, wealth to all of Ibn Khaldun's forebears.

His immediate ancestors were affected by the vicissitudes that befell individual members of the Hafsid dynasty. However, through good luck and intelligent politics, they usually managed to stay on the winning side. Their places of residence changed with the requirements of court life. For most of the time they seem to have resided in Tunis.

Al-Hasan is said to have died during the reign of Abu Zakariya'. His son Abu Bakr Muhammad, Ibn Khaldun's great-grandfather, attained the very important position of manager of financial affairs (*sahib al-ashghal*),¹⁷ or, as we might say, minister of finance. He was captured and killed during Ibn Abi 'Umarah's revolt against the Hafsids, around the year 1283.¹⁸ It has recently become known that Abu Bakr was the author of a handbook for government secretaries,¹⁹ which he wrote in his youth during Abu Zakariya's reign. Though not a *Fürstenspiegel* in the true sense, it belongs to a type of works that, according to Ibn Khaldun's own statement, was one of the main sources of inspiration for the *Muqaddimah*.

Ibn Khaldun's grandfather, also named Muhammad, was satisfied with the minor position of deputy doorkeeper²⁰ to the Hafsid rulers. According to his grandson, they held him in high esteem, and his personal influence was great. Moreover, in later life he himself refused higher positions offered him. After having twice performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, he lived a retired life and devoted himself to pious studies. He died at a very advanced age in 737 [1336/37].

¹⁷See 2:16 and 24, below.

¹⁸*Cf. R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale*, I, 84 ff.

¹⁹*Cf. E. Levi-Provençal (the owner of the MS), "Un Recueil de lettres officielles almohades," in Hesperis*, XXVIII (1941), 1-80, esp. 12 ff.

²⁰For the office of doorkeeper, see below, 2:14 ff. Ibn Khaldun also speaks of his grandfather in *Ibar*, VI, 300 f., 304, 311; de Slane (tr.), II, 384 f., 394, 409.

Under his influence, his son Muhammad, Ibn Khaldun's father, also pursued a scholarly career. He achieved a respectable knowledge of the Qur'an and jurisprudence and had a good foundation in grammar and poetry. He died in the terrible epidemic of 1348-49. His son, who was seventeen years old when his father died, has noted a few remarks of his father in the *History*.²¹ As was customary, the father saw to it that his children received a good education, and he participated himself in their instruction. The love of scholarship and contemplation evident in Ibn Khaldun's father and grandfather combined in their famous offspring with a reawakening of the high political ambitions that had gripped many generations of the first Khaldun's descendants. Thus was produced the admirable combination of scholar and statesman that we find in Ibn Khaldun.

Ibn Khaldun, Abu Zayd, was born in Tunis on Ramadan 1, 732 [May 27, 1332). His given name was 'Abd-ar-Rahman, his ethnic denomination al-Hadrami, derived from Hadramawt, the ancestral home of his clan in South Arabia. The scholarly title of his later years was Wall-ad-din, "Guardian of the Religion." We know that he had two brothers: an elder brother, Muhammad, whose fellow student he was, and Yahya, one year his junior, who, like Ibn Khaldun, was to become a high-ranking politician and an accomplished historian.²²

Ibn Khaldun provides a disproportionate amount of information about his education and the personalities of his teachers.²³ This was in keeping with traditional Muslim biographical practice, for this science, which had been created to satisfy the demands of legal and religious scholars for exact data concerning their authorities, attributed great importance to the names of a scholar's teachers. In Ibn Khaldun's autobiography, references to his

²¹ *Ibar*, VI, 197, 292; de Slane (tr.), II, 104, 365. See also 2:222, below.

²² *Cf. GAL*, II, 241; *Suppl.*, II, 340.

²³ Most of these men are known to us mainly through Ibn Khaldun. When he does not say much about one of them, there probably was little to say.

teachers' Spanish origin or to their close connections with Spain occur with regularity. Very few among them fail to fall into this category.

His early education followed customary lines. He studied the Qur'an and the Quranic sciences under the guidance of Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Burral. He learned Arabic under his father and a number of other scholars whose names are given as Muhammad b. al-'Arabi al-Hasa'iri, Muhammad b. ash-Shawwash az-Zarzali, Ahmad b. al-Qassar, and Muhammad b. Bahr. The last-named also instructed Ibn Khaldun in poetry; he may have been responsible for planting the seeds of Ibn Khaldun's unusual understanding of poetry which is so evident in the discussion of poetry in the last chapters of the *Muqaddimah*.

Traditions (*hadith*) and jurisprudence were more advanced subjects. Ibn Khaldun's teachers in these fields, therefore, included some better-known names, such as Shams-ad-din Muhammad b. Jabir b. Sultan al-Wadiyashi (1274-1348), for the traditions, and Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Jayyani, Muhammad al-Qasir, as well as the famous Muhammad b. 'Abd-as-Salam al-Hawwari (1277/78-1348/49),²⁴ for jurisprudence.

Childhood influences are largely unconscious, and usually the child's reception of them is passive. The most decisive period for the intellectual development of a young man is the years between fifteen and twenty-five. During these years the youth completes his education and begins his career, giving his life a direction which later can hardly undergo basic change. Often, this time of growth from childhood to manhood passes without violent transitions; but when great historical events occur during it, they may play havoc with the ordinary course of development. It was of the greatest significance for Ibn Khaldun's future that these decisive years of his life fell in the period from 1347 to 1357, a time of extraordinary upheaval in the history of northwest Africa.

²⁴ Cf. also *GAL*, I, 306.

The position of the Hafsid dynasty in Tunis, never stable, had become increasingly insecure before Ibn Khaldun's birth and during his childhood. This instability may have been one of the reasons why his father and grandfather preferred lives of quiet retirement to active participation in political life. But in the period between 1347 and 1357, Hafsid rule over Tunis suffered its worst eclipse. For a time it all but disappeared. However, it recovered in due course and by 1370 entered upon another flourishing era.

In 1347, the Merinid ruler of Fez, Abu l-Hasan, since 1337 master of the 'Abd-al-Wadid state of Tlemcen, conquered Tunis. In the following year, after suffering a severe setback at Kairouan (al-Qayrawan)²⁵ at the hands of the Arab tribes of the region, he was obliged to withdraw again from Tunis. However, for some time the political situation of the Hafsids remained precarious. Abu 'Inan, Abu l-Hasan's son and successor, succeeded in another attack on Tunisia in 1,357, but his victory almost immediately came to naught. After Abu 'Inan's death in 1358, only the usual squabbles of north-west African politics presented minor and temporary obstacles to a speedy Hafsid recovery. Nature played her part among the events that influenced Ibn Khaldun's destiny, adding the Black Death, the terrible plague that struck Tunis in 1348-49 with unabated fury, to the man-made disturbances.²⁶

The Merinid conquest of 1347 brought to Tunis a great number of famous scholars in the retinue of Abu l-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. Their scholarly fame was probably well deserved, though we can only judge from hearsay; only a few isolated remarks and scarcely any of their written works have come down to us. Ibn Khaldun took as his teachers Muhammad (b. 'Ali) b. Sulayman as-Satti, 'Abd-al-Muhayman b. Muhammad al-Hadrami (1277/78-1349), and, above

²⁵ See also 3:264 and 471 ff., below.

²⁶ See also Ibn Khaldun's account in the *Muqaddimah*, p. 64, below.

all, Muhammad b, Ibrahim al-Abili (1282/83-1356),²⁷ whom Ibn Khaldun considered his principal master. Al-Abili's departure from Tunis, later on, was one of the reasons for Ibn Khaldun to leave his native city.

There were other famous scholars in Abu l-Hasan's company, such as young 'Abdallah b. Yusuf b. Ridwan al-Malaqi,²⁸ who was of about Ibn Khaldun's age, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. as-Sabbagh, and Muhammad b,-Ahmad b. Marzuq (d. 781[1379/80]), with whom Ibn Khaldun did not always remain on good terms. Ibn Khaldun, however, did not regard these men as his teachers.

The great plague carried away many of Ibn Khaldun's *shaykhs* and he lost both his parents at this time. Ibn Khaldun's only reference to his mother is this mention of her death. He was left, it would seem, without the guidance he needed. His elder brother Muhammad became head of the family. Ibn Khaldun could hardly have foreseen that a bright future was in store for the Hafsid in Tunis; had he done so, he might have stayed on there and weathered the storm. He would have passed his life in Tunis as a member of the patrician Khaldun family-and perhaps, in that case, he would never have written the *Muqaddimah*. As it was, he was conscious only of the dearth of scholarship there and of the bleak political outlook of the moment. The government and the Hafsid ruler were under the control of Ibn Tafragin.²⁹ The twenty-yearold Ibn Khaldun was made *Sahib al-'alamah*, Master of the Sig nature, an important court position. His service consisted of writing the words "Praised be God" and "Thanks are due to God" in large letters be-

²⁷ As at-Tanji states in the *Autobiography*, p. 33, this is the correct form of the name, and the original home of al-Abili was Avila in northern Spain. Forms like Abboli, Abull, etc. are not correct; cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 18-20, 25; G. Marcais, *La Berberie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1946), p. 300. Al-Abili is quoted, 2:197 and 339, below. He also furnished material for the *Tbar*: see, for instance, VII, 91 f., 95, 96, 232; de Slane (tr.), III, 369, 376 f., 379 f.; IV, 167 f.

²⁸*F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim Concept of Freedom* (Leiden, 1960), p. 44.

²⁹ See also 3:427 ff, below.

tween the opening formula and the text of official documents.³⁰ The office of the *'alamah* does not seem to have included any definite executive or administrative functions, but its holder became privy to all important government business, enabling him to act in an advisory capacity. Thus, Ibn Khaldun was started upon a government career, but he did not cherish the prospect of staying in Tunis. Neither the new and promising position nor his elder brother's disapproval prevented him from absconding, in 1352, from the Tunisians' camp during their campaign against the people of Constantine led by a Hafsid rival of the Tunisian ruler.

With the help of the Khaldun family's many scholarly and political connections everywhere in northwestern Africa, Ibn Khaldun slowly made his way west. Abu 'Inan, the new Merinid ruler, was no less a friend of scholarship than his father Abu'l-Hasan had been,³¹ and his star as the leading personality among northwest African rulers was rapidly rising. Ibn Khaldun met him in the summer of 1353³² He spent the winter of 1353/54 in Bougie, at this time in the hands of a high Merinid official, and in 1354 he accepted Abu 'Inan's invitation to come to Fez and join the circle of scholars he was gathering around himself for study and teaching.

In Fez, Ibn Khaldun completed his education in lively association with the scholars who lived there or passed through. He had contact with the Qur'an scholar Muhammad b. as-Saffir. He encountered the powerful personality of Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Maqqari, who, like other great Muslim scholars, considered it improper to reveal the date of his birth and who died at the end of 1357 or the beginning of 1358.³³ There was Muhammad b. Ahmad al-'Alwi (1310/11-1369/70) who, according to rumor, had

³⁰On the *'alamah*, cf. E. Levi-Provencal in *Hesperis*, XXVIII (1941), 17 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 61 ff. See also 2:26 f. and 62 f., below.

³¹We are told that Abu 'Inan carried a library with him on his expeditions. Cf. Ibn Farhan, *Dibaj* (Cairo, 1351/1932), p. 283.

³²Cf. *Tbar*, VII, 291; de Slane (tr.), IV, 300.

³³Cf. Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, II, 164 f.

instructed Muhammad b. 'Abd-as-Salam, one of Ibn Khaldun's teachers in Tunis, in the highly suspect subjects of philosophy and science. Among them were also the little-known judge Muhammad b. 'Abd-ar-Razzaq and Muhammad b. Yahya al-Barji (1310/11-1384). Upon Ibn al-Khatib's request, Ibn Khaldun wrote down some of al-Barji's poetry so it could be incorporated with the poet's biography in Ibn al-Khatib's *History of Granada*.³⁴ In Fez, Ibn Khaldun enjoyed the opportunity of meeting the physician and astrologer Ibrahim b. Zarzar whom later, in 1364, he met again at the court of Pedro the Cruel in Sevilla.³⁵ In Fez, he also saw the *sharif* Muhammad b. Ahmad as-Sabti (1297/98-1359) shortly before his death, and in 1355 he met there for the first time the famous scholar Abu l-Barakat Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ballafigi (d. 1370),³⁶ A whom he quotes several times³⁷ in the *Muqaddimah*. At that time, and again later, in 1361,³⁸ he studied Malik's *Muwatta* with him, and, as Ibn Khaldun's Egyptian student, the great Ibn Hajar, reports,³⁹ always held al-Ballafigi in the highest respect.

In medieval Muslim civilization the development of a scholar was a long-drawn-out process and, in a sense, his education continued throughout his life. Accomplished scholars would attend the classes and lectures of their colleagues whenever they wished to profit from them. In this way Ibn Khaldun used every opportunity that offered itself to study with fellow scholars. In this respect his residence in Granada during the years 1363-65 seems to

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 220 f.

³⁵ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 85. In 1356, Abu 'Inan called Ibn Zarzar to Morocco a second time, but he did not come. Cf. W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, pp. 80 f.; M. M. Antufla in *al-Andalus*, I (1933), 144 (n. 1).

³⁶ Cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 27. For the vocalization Ballafigi, see *Autobiography*, p. 61, and the vocalization indicated in MSS. C and D of the *Muqaddimah*, as well as in the verse quoted by Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, II, 116. The form appears to refer to a place name composed with "villa," perhaps Villavega? * S. Gilbert in *al-Andalus*, XXVIII (1963), 381 ff

³⁷ See 2:459 and 3:269 and 407 f., below.

³⁸ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 305.

³⁹ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah* (Hyderabad, 1348-50/1929-31), IV, 155-57.

have been especially profitable, but even during his most unsettled years, such as the time he spent in Biskra in 1370-71, he found a scholar from whom he gained information which he later incorporated in the *Muqaddimah*.⁴⁰

However, Ibn Khaldun's formative period reached its conclusion during the years he stayed in Fez with Abu 'Inan. From his seventeenth year onwards, his schooling could hardly be called formal or continuous. Possibly it was this haphazard education as much as his particular intellectual endowment that explains why he did not become an outstanding specialist in any one field. Some of the aspersions later cast on his learning by his enemies may be discounted, but the *Muqaddimah* itself clearly shows that Ibn Khaldun had neither the desire nor the equipment to make original contributions of note to any of the established disciplines. He was endowed with that rarer gift, a deep insight into the essentials of the accumulated knowledge of his time, and he possessed the ability to express this gift clearly and forcefully. This gift helped to place his "new science" upon firm foundations.

Neither in his *Autobiography* nor in the *Muqaddimah*, nor in any other parts of his *History*, does Ibn Khaldun mention any scholarly works written before the *Muqaddimah*. The *Autobiography* contains many specimens of his letters and of his occasional poetry-types of literary exercise requiring great skill and a wide range of literary knowledge. They were acclaimed in his own age and would suffice to establish the reputation of a man of letters quite as well as any other kind of publication. In the *Autobiography*, however, Ibn Khaldun does not state that he had published any collections of this type before, and only one later work is mentioned, namely, the description of northwestern Africa that he wrote for Timur (Tamerlane) in 1401. In the eyes of Ibn Khaldun this document, an official pamphlet despite its great length, hardly qualified as a true work of scholarship; moreover, it was probably never published.

⁴⁰ See p. 238 and 3:196, below.

It is strange that Ibn Khaldun mentions no publications by his pen except his great historical work. His silence could be taken to mean that he actually did not publish anything at all during his earlier, very active, years. However, we have the word of his older contemporary and close friend, Ibn al-Khatib,⁴¹ that Ibn Khaldun did publish some works long before he started on the *Muqaddimah*. Ibn al-Khatib says:

He wrote an original commentary on the *Burdah*,⁴² in which he showed his wide ability, his understanding of many things, and his great knowledge.

He abridged a good deal of the books of Averroes.

He put together a useful composition on logic for the Sultan⁴³ in the days when he studied the intellectual disciplines.

He abridged the *Muhassal* of the imam Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi.⁴⁴ When I first met him,⁴⁵ I jokingly said to him: "You owe me something, for you have abridged my *Muhassal*."⁴⁶

He wrote a book on calculation (elementary arithmetic).

⁴¹Mubammad b. 'Abdallah, 713-776 [1313-1374]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 260 ff.; *Suppl.*, II, 372 ff. His "History of Granada" has already been quoted several times as an important source of information for Ibn Khaldun and his time. Ibn Khaldun quotes from his friend repeatedly in the *Muqaddimah*. However, mention of "Ibn al-Khatib" or "the imam al-Khatib" refers to the great philosopher Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi; see n. 44 to this Introduction and n. 246 to Ch. III of the *Muqaddimah*, below. The quotation from Ibn al-Khatib that follows is based on al-Maggari, *Nafh at-tib*, IV, 11; cf. n. 3, above.

⁴²This is the famous poem in praise of Muhammad written by al-Busiri in the thirteenth century. Cf. *GAL*, I, 264 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 467 ff. Ibn Khaldun considered a copy of the *Burdah* a suitable present for Timur. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 377; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, p. 41.

⁴³Abu Inan? However, M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History* (London, 1957), p. 42, thinks of Mubammad V of Granada.

⁴⁴See n. 41, above, and p. 402, below. Ahmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihaj*, p. 169, who also quotes Ibn al-Khatib in this connection, has, incorrectly, *al-Mahsul*, which is another famous work by Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi.

⁴⁵This would be at the time of Ibn al-Khatib's arrival in Fez in 1359/60.

⁴⁶Since Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi was commonly known in Ibn Khaldun's circle as Ibn al-Khatib, Ibn al-Khatib claimed the work of his namesake as his own.

At the time of writing,⁴⁷ he has begun to write a commentary on a *rajaz* poem I composed on the principles of jurisprudence. What he has (done) already is so perfect that it cannot be surpassed.

(Ibn al-Khatib then praises the prose, both rhymed and unrhymed, of Ibn Khaldun's official writings and speaks about his promising bid for recognition as a poet.)

For any ordinary scholar in his early thirties, this would be a respectable list of publications; however, it does not contain any distinguished work. To compose a commentary on the *Burdah* was a beginner's exercise, never much more. None of the other works mentioned, all of which were textbooks, required, or (probably) displayed, much originality. Nevertheless, had Ibn Khaldun been an ordinary scholar he would almost certainly have referred, in the appropriate chapters of the *Muqaddimah*, to his abridgment of the *Muhassal* or to his book on elementary arithmetic. His failure to mention these earlier works, possibly because of his own low regard for them, shows his rare and wholly admirable restraint. Since some of them were abridgments or brief handbooks, he may have felt an aversion to them later in his life; for he came to consider brief handbooks as detrimental to scholarship and said so in the *Muqaddimah* (Sect. 35 of Ch. vi).

Very recently, Ibn Khaldun's abridgment of the *Muhassal*, entitled *Lubab al-Muhassal fi usul ad-din*, has come to light. Long buried in the great Library of the Escorial, Ibn Khaldun's autograph manuscript of the work, completed on Safar 29, 752 [April 27, 1351], when Ibn Khaldun was not yet nineteen years old, has been edited by Fr. Luciano Rubio and was published in Tetuan in 1352. The abridgment was what we would call a long and learned term paper, written for his teacher al-Abili, with whom he had

⁴⁷ The *History of Granada* contains references to events as late as 1373. However, the work had been published prior to that date. Ibn al-Khatib mentioned a copy of the work in a letter addressed to Ibn Khaldun, dated January 24, 1368; cf. *Autobiography*, p. 121. One would like to think that Ibn Khaldun worked on this commentary during his stay in Granada in 1363-64.

been studying the *Muhassal*. It shows that young Ibn Khaldun had mastered the intricate philosophical speculations of the *Muhassal* and Nasir-ad-din's commentary on it to an astonishing degree, even though his work was a beginner's exercise.^{47a}

During his stay at the Merinid court in Fez during the years 1354-62, Ibn Khaldun was already married; indeed, it seems most likely that he married while still in Tunis. His wife was a daughter of Muhammad b. al-Hakim (d. 1343), the great Hafsid general and minister of war, member of a noble and scholarly family.⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldun mentions that he had children by her. When he went to Spain, in the fall of 1363, he sent his wife and children to Constantine to stay with his wife's brothers, since he did not want to take them with him before he was settled there. Later on, they followed him to Spain. As a result of his frequent changes of domicile, Ibn Khaldun had often to repeat this family arrangement. He was deeply devoted to his family, but was frequently separated from them for long periods of time. More than once, they were in great danger and held as hostages, while Ibn Khaldun himself was safe and far away.

It is not known whether Ibn al-Hakim's daughter was Ibn Khaldun's only wife, though probably she remained his principal one as long as she lived. We hear, incidentally, of the birth of another son, which must have taken place about the year 1370,⁴⁹ but we do not know whether Ibn al-Hakim's daughter was the mother, though nothing would contradict this assumption. According to one source, his wife and his five daughters perished in 1384 when a tragic accident befell Ibn Khaldun's family on the journey from Tunis to Egypt, and only his two sons, Muhammad and 'Ali, reached Egypt safely.⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun does not mention the circumstances of the tragedy in his

^{47a} M. Mahdi, *op. cit.*, p. 297, refers to a hitherto unknown work of Ibn Khaldun on Sufism.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 155 ff. He also was very wealthy, as appears from the amount of personal property confiscated from him by the ruler on one occasion. See p. 368, below.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 209 ff.

⁵⁰ The source for this report is Ibn Qadi Shuhbah. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 259 (n. s).

Autobiography, so that this account can hardly be trusted in all its details. But its reference to only one wife may indicate that it was Ibn al-Hakim's daughter who perished.

Possibly Ibn Khaldun married again later in Egypt. The only positive statement to this effect was made in connection with aspersions on Ibn Khaldun's private life;⁵¹ therefore, it may not be true. But during his interview with Timur, too, he referred to his family in Egypt,⁵² but it is doubtful whether this reference can be taken literally. However, it is most likely that he did marry again, a course perfectly proper and almost obligatory upon him in accordance with Muslim custom.

It seems extremely doubtful that any of Ibn Khaldun's children survived him. If so, and especially had they been sons, some incidental information about them would almost certainly have been found. According to the *Autobiography*, a son of his was a secretary to the ruler of Morocco in 1398/99, but the text of the passage and its interpretation are rather uncertain.⁵³

This is practically all we know of Ibn Khaldun's personal life, and it is hardly enough to satisfy our legitimate curiosity. Even this limited knowledge we owe solely to Ibn Khaldun's inability to keep from mentioning his family altogether when he recounted the great events of his life and career. Thus, in spite of his unconscious tendency to minimize family influence, we glimpse something of how strong and significant it may have been in reality.

At Abu 'Inan's court in Fez, Ibn Khaldun was a member of the ruler's circle of scholars. As such, he had the duty of attending public prayers in Abu 'Inan's company. But soon Abu 'Inan tried to draw Ibn Khaldun into government affairs. Towards the end of the year 1355, he was asked to serve

⁵¹Cf. as-Sakhawi, *ad-law' al-lami'*, IV, 146.

⁵²Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 379; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, p. 43.

⁵³ Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 369 ff; Fischel, *op. Cit.*, p. 34, reads "birthplace" instead of "son," and refers the equally doubtful "secretary" to Ibn Khaldun himself. However, as he explains himself, Ibn Khaldun speaks of Morocco in the context and thus cannot mean his birthplace.

as the ruler's secretary with the task of recording Abu 'man's decisions on the petitions and other documents submitted to him. Ibn Khaldun did not relish the idea of performing this job, because, he said, he "had never seen his ancestors do a thing like that." It seemed to him beneath his own and his family's dignity to hold a clerical position, even a very high one; The Banu Khaldun were used to occupying advisory, administrative, or executive positions.

At any rate, Ibn Khaldun's official employment did not last long. With the Hafsids Abu 'Abdallah who was at that time in Fez, he had begun a friendship which was to prove sincere and lasting. However, this friendship aroused Abu 'man's suspicion, and led to Ibn Khaldun's imprisonment on February 10, 1357. Abu 'Inan shortly thereafter embarked upon his conquest of Tunisia, and it is easy to infer why he considered it advisable to withhold freedom of movement from a Tunisian who was on good terms with the Hafsids family.

Ibn Khaldun's prison term lasted for twenty-one months. He was released only when Abu 'Inan died, on November 27, 1358. For a young man eager to build a career, this must have seemed a long time of enforced inactivity, but it probably gave him the leisure to continue his scholarly pursuits.

With Abu 'man's death, the power of the Merinid dynasty collapsed. Except for a brief period of recovery under an energetic ruler some years later, the Merinid realm was to undergo a fate that Ibn Khaldun describes often and graphically in the *Muqaddimah*. The rulers became mere figureheads controlled by prime ministers who exercised the actual power, an atmosphere ideal for the mushroom-like growth of little kingmakers. Each of the higher state officials selected his favorite candidate from among the members of the dynasty and tried to promote him. Ibn Khaldun himself participated enthusiastically in this game, and he seems to have been inferior to none in the art of political maneuvering. Later in life he often complained of the "intrigues" that had brought about his misfortunes and had so frequently

obliged him to change his place of residence. Although we feel sympathetically inclined towards one of the great personalities of all times, and naturally disposed to discount criticism of him, we have to acknowledge the disconcerting, if not surprising, fact that the intrigues against him of which Ibn Khaldun complained were merely countermeasures to his own.

The candidate whose side Ibn Khaldun supported after Abu 'Inan's death was Abu Salim. This proved a good choice, for Abu Salim became the ruler of Morocco in July of 1359. As a reward for his support, Ibn Khaldun was made his secretary of state. Near the end of Abu Salim's reign, he was entrusted with the *mazalim*, that is, with jurisdiction over complaints and crimes not covered by Muslim religious laws.⁵⁴ This was Ibn Khaldun's first legal position, albeit connected with law and the judiciary only in the European sense of these terms. In Islam, it was a long way from the secular judicial *mazalim* duties, delegated by the ruler, to the powerful position of judge. Ibn Khaldun enjoyed his new function; he modestly remarked that he performed it well. But it did not last long, for Abu Salim perished in the autumn of 1361 in the course of a revolt organized by civilian and military officials.

In the meantime, the `Abd-al-Wadids had regained control over Tlemcen. Farther east, in Bougie, Constantine, and Tunis, the Hafsids were re-establishing their positions. By contrast, politics in Fez were rather disturbed. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, wished to leave Fez and hoped to find a more secure and promising field of activity elsewhere. However, the government in Fez feared that he might use his knowledge of northwest African politics to its detriment and tried to detain him. He finally made a deal with the Fast authorities and was permitted to leave on the condition that he would not remain in northwestern Africa but go to Spain. Thus, he left Fez and traveled,

⁵⁴ For the *mazalim*, cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Droit, 111) (Paris, 1938-43), II, 141 ff. See also pp. 455 f., below,

via Ceuta, to Granada, the only important Muslim state left in the Iberian peninsula. He arrived in Granada December 26, 1362.

Granada was prepared to give Ibn Khaldun a royal welcome. As Abu Salim's secretary of state, Ibn Khaldun had given a friendly reception to Muhammad V of Granada (1354-59 and 1.362-91) when the latter had come to Fez as a fugitive from his native country, accompanied by his prime minister, the great scholar and writer Ibn al-Khatib, mentioned earlier. Through Ibn Khaldun's active interest, Muhammad V had been enabled to reestablish his rule over Granada. For these past services, Ibn Khaldun was now rewarded with the ruler's confidence and munificence and by the friendship of Ibn al-Khatib. In 1364, he was put in charge of a mission sent to Pedro the Cruel, King of Castilla, for the purpose of ratifying a peace treaty between Castilla and the Muslims. Thus, Ibn Khaldun had an opportunity to visit Sevilla, the city of his ancestors. The Christian ruler honored him highly, offering to take him into his service and to restore his family's former property to him. Ibn Khaldun declined; but, it may be noted, he had no word of indignation for an offer the acceptance of which would have involved betraying his religion. Nor did he at this time censure the infidel, as, much later in his *Autobiography*, he was to censure the infidels of the East.

In the cultured atmosphere of Granada Ibn Khaldun felt secure enough to bring his family over from Constantine. Soon, however, he saw danger signs on the horizon. He sensed that Ibn al-Khatib was becoming displeased at his growing influence in the court. Yet, he desired to avoid an open break with him. As a matter of fact, he remained on the best of terms with Ibn al-Khatib and retained throughout his life the greatest respect for the latter's literary abilities. The personal contact of the two men, however, was interrupted. It appears that Ibn Khaldun actually saw Ibn al-Khatib only once again after their Granada association. This was during Ibn al-Khatib's unhappy stay in Fez shortly before his assassination in 1374.

Under the circumstances, Ibn Khaldun was glad to receive an invitation from his old friend, the Hafsid Abu 'Abdallah, who had gained control over Bougie in June, 1364. Asked to come and be his prime minister, Ibn Khaldun gladly accepted the invitation. On leaving Granada he received expressions of great regret and a very flattering letter of thanks written by Ibn al-Khatib in the name of Muhammad V, and dated February 11, 1365. He arrived in Bougie the following month and was there given a rousing reception.

Ibn Khaldun apparently tried his best to further Abu 'Abdallah's cause. However, Abu l-'Abbas, Abu 'Abdallah's cousin, at this time the ruler of Constantine, was destined to restore the Hafsid dynasty. Abu 'Abdallah was not successful in the military defense of his regime. After his first defeat, Ibn Khaldun volunteered for the dangerous task of collecting taxes from the Berber tribes in the mountains of Bougie. The money was badly needed to maintain Abu 'Abdallah's rule. But after the latter's death in May, 1366, Ibn Khaldun did not feel inclined to cast his lot with Abu 'Abdallah's children. Realizing the hopelessness of their situation, he took the sensible step of going over to Abu l-'Abbas in order to salvage as much of his own position as possible.

The next eight or nine years were the most precarious ones in Ibn Khaldun's stormy career. But they were also those in which he played an important independent role in the political life of northwestern Africa. Soon after he had gone over to Abu l-'Abbas, he felt his position vis-a-vis that ruler to be uncertain and wanted to withdraw. He eventually succeeded in overcoming Abu l-'Abbas' reluctance to give him permission to leave. Thereupon he resumed his old connections with the Riyah-Dawawidah Arabs, begun when he left Tunis in 1352, and settled in Biskra. Soon, the news reached him that his brother Yahya, who was subsequently to become for a number of years his close associate, had been imprisoned by Abu l-'Abbas. This act convinced him of the hopelessness, at least for the time being, of his position with that prince.

The political pattern in northwestern Africa for the next few years was a simple one. On the one side, we find Abu Hammu, who was the 'Abd-al-Wadid ruler of Tlemcen, and the Hafsid ruler of Tunis. Opposed to them were an 'Abd-al-Wadid pretender to the rule over Tlemcen, and Abu l-'Abbas, the Hasid ruler of Constantine and Bougie. In this situation, the attitude of the Arab tribes was the decisive factor. They could swing the victory to one side or the other, and here Ibn Khaldun had considerable influence.⁵⁵

Abu Hammu of Tlemcen was married to a daughter of Abu 'Abdallah of Bougie, Ibn Khaldun's former friend and master. Abu Hammu now approached Ibn Khaldun and asked him to enter his service. For his part, Ibn Khaldun seems to have considered Abu Hammu his most promising choice for future employment. However, he was reluctant to follow Abu Hamma's uncertain destiny. Even in March, 1368, after receiving a most pressing and flattering invitation to become Abu Hamma's prime minister, he preferred to maintain a cautious, waiting attitude. He sent his brother Yahya, who had been released, to Tlemcen, but himself remained in the region of Biskra. The reasons he gave for refusing Abu Hamma's offer were that he was disgusted with the snares and pitfalls of high office and that he had neglected scholarship for too long. Indeed, during these years, Ibn Khaldun's feeling of bitterness toward political life—he once called it⁵⁶ "the morass of politics"—and his desire for the peace and quiet of scholarly research, found more and more frequent expression. Ibn Khaldun fully realized how difficult it is to withdraw from the higher levels of politics once one has attained them.⁵⁷ He, for one, never succeeded in keeping out of public life except for rather brief periods, because the particular gifts he possessed and the services he was eminently qualified to render were always in great demand. Although,

⁵⁵ For the events of this period, see also G. Marcais, *Les Arabes en Berberie du XI^e au XIV^e siecle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp, 310 ff

⁵⁶Cf. *Autobiography*, p.143.

⁵⁷See 2:99 ff., below.

when his political fortunes were at their lowest ebb, he fervently asserted his desire for a scholar's life in peaceful retirement, to the very last he always surrendered easily to the temptations of power and a political career.

His reluctance to join Abu Hammu was proved by subsequent events to have been justified. A new element appeared on the northwest African political scene when a temporary recovery of the Merinid power was made under the leadership of 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the young and energetic new ruler of Fez (1366-72). His march on Tlemcen, in 1370, made Abu Hammu's position there untenable for the time being. In April of the same year, Ibn Khaldun met with Abu Hamma. But he seems to have felt that 'Abd-al-'Aziz's victorious progress made it unsafe for him to stay in northwestern Africa, especially in view of his own strained relations with the Merinids ever since he had left Fez following Abu Salim's death. Consequently, he decided to cross over to Spain, but the attempt to escape did not succeed. Stranded at the port of Hunayn, which is situated halfway between the modern towns of Beni Saf and Nemours, he was captured by a detachment of Abd-al-'Aziz's troops. Abd-al-'Aziz seems to have feared that his departure to Spain would inaugurate an attempt by Ibn Khaldun's group to secure Spanish intervention in northwestern Africa. Brought before the Merinid ruler, Ibn Khaldun was hard put to it to explain his earlier attitude towards the Merinids and to soothe 'Abd-al-'Aziz with assurances that Bougie would be an easy conquest. When Ibn Khaldun left the ruler's presence he was not sure whether he would escape with his life. He was, therefore, greatly relieved when his confinement lasted only for one night and he was set free the next morning. He went to El-Eubbad (al-'Ubbad), near Tlemcen, the sanctuary of the great mystic and saint Abu Madyan, and firmly decided to devote his future to study and teaching.

A few weeks later, Ibn Khaldun was pressed into the service of 'Abd-al-'Aziz, who wanted to exploit the scholar's connections with the Arab tribes and hoped he could win them over to the Merinid side. Ibn Khaldun

did not feel in a position to refuse 'Abd-al-'Aziz's request. Also, perhaps, he was not unaware of the opportunity for a change of scene and for freeing himself to some degree from direct Merinid supervision. Thus, he left for Biskra August 4, 1370, and again took a hand in Arab tribal politics, though he may not have been overactive in his employer's behalf. After two full years of this life, he was summoned by 'Abd-al-'Aziz to Fez. He left Biskra with his family September 11, 1372.

While on the way to Fez only a few days later, the news of 'Abd-al-'Aziz's death reached him. He decided to continue his journey nevertheless, only to be held up by Bedouins acting on the instigation of Abu Hammu. He escaped only with the greatest difficulty, and reached Fez in October or November. The confusion reigning in Fez made it impossible for him to obtain a satisfactory and sufficiently secure position. While biding his time, he may have had some leisure for scholarly pursuits; but he had to look for a more promising place to live, and again he turned to Spain, hoping to find a refuge there. His friend, Ibn al-Khatib, now an exile in Fez, had been replaced as prime minister in Granada by Ibn Zamrak,⁵⁸ another famous litterateur, whom Ibn Khaldun had known when he, like Ibn al-Khatib now, was a refugee in Fez during the reign of Abu Salim. However, Ibn Khaldun encountered a number of difficulties in realizing his plan. The relations between Fez and Granada were at this time strained almost to the point of war, and the Fasi government tried to prevent his departure by every means. Sometime in 1374, probably in the fall, he finally succeeded in getting away, but his family was not permitted to join him. The government in Fez even went so far as to persuade the ruler of Granada to extradite him. He was returned to northwest Africa, but through the intervention of a friend managed to go from Hunayn, where he was landed, to Abu Hammu who once again was in control of Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldun took up his residence in nearby al-'Ubbad. Here his family was able to join him on March 5, 1375.

⁵⁸Cf. GAL, II, 259; 2d ed., II, 336; Suppl., II, 370.

After the experiences of these nine years, Ibn Khaldun was thoroughly tired of politics and the dangers of public life. Thus, when Abu Hamma asked him to head a political mission to the Dawawidah Arabs, he seized the opportunity it offered to seek freedom from governmental service. After leaving Tlemcen, he stopped among the Awlad 'Arif, the leading family of the Suwayd branch of the Arab Zughbah tribes, and had his family brought to him. The Awlad 'Arif permitted the whole family to live under their protection in Qal'at Ibn Salamah, a castle and village in the province of Oran granted to them by Abu 'Inan, the Merinid of Fez in whose reign Ibn Khaldun had completed his studies almost twenty years before. There, Ibn Khaldun spent over three years in comfort and quiet, and started to write his *History* of the world. In November of 1377, he tells us,⁵⁹ "I completed its Introduction (*Muqaddimah*) in that remarkable manner to which I was inspired by that retreat, with words and ideas pouring into my head like cream into a churn, until the finished product was ready." It was to take Ibn Khaldun four more years, together with an opportunity to use the libraries in Tunis, before he completed his great historical work.

More will be said about the *Muqaddimah* in the following pages. The other parts of the monumental *History* (*Kitab al-'Ibar*) certainly deserve more careful study and discussion than they have so far received, though this is not the place for an exhaustive analysis of the work. But we may, at least, stress the fact that, in general, Ibn Khaldun's achievement has not been judged fairly. On the contrary, a good deal of direct and indirect abuse has been heaped upon the *Ibar*. This began when Ibn Hajar, Ibn Khaldun's famous student, saw fit to remark that his teacher's knowledge of the eastern part of the Muslim world and its history was not too precise⁶⁰ – a statement which, though to some degree correct, is so obvious and of so little real sig-

⁵⁹ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 229.

⁶⁰ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), p. 420. Cf. also Ibn Khaldun himself, p. 65, below.

nificance that one wishes that Ibn Hajar had not made it. In modern times, scholars have often expressed the opinion that the *'Ibar* does not reflect the historical and sociological insights of the *Muqaddimah*.

The last two volumes of the seven-volume work deal with the history of the Muslim West. To this day, these two volumes are the most important source we possess for northwest African and Berber history. As such, they are indispensable. It is, however, more important to know that they clearly reflect Ibn Khaldun's great gifts as a researcher and writer. A good deal of the material they contain is based upon knowledge carefully collected at first-hand. The historical presentation is as clear and interesting as the Muslim taste in historiography—which runs to excessively detailed reporting of facts—permitted.

Volumes ii to v of the *'Ibar* (of which the *Muqaddimah* constitutes volume 1), belong to a different category. They deal with events of the pre-Islamic world and with Arab and Eastern Muslim history. Occasionally, though rarely, they contain information for which they appear to be our principal source, such as the account of the Arab tribes in Syria.⁶¹ In general, however, these volumes contain little material for which we do not have older or more accurate sources. This could hardly be otherwise, considering the character of Muslim historiography and the abundant material at our disposal. However, in his treatment of pre-Islamic history, a matter that Muslim historians have always known imperfectly, Ibn Khaldun has the merit of having consulted unusual sources. In particular, he was eager to use more than one source, whenever possible.⁶² He compared the sources at his disposal and tried to exercise as much critical judgment with regard to them as the meagerness and confusing character of the information permitted.

⁶¹Cf. *'Ibar*, V, 436 f. A resume of the information appears later in Vol. VI of the *'Ibar*. See p. 269, below.

⁶²Cf. G. Levi Della Vida, "La traduzione araba delle Storie di Orosio," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* (Fontes ambrosiani, No. 27) (Milan, 1951), III, 185-203, esp. 203. Spanish translation in *al-Andalus*, XIX (1954), 257-93.

The pages on Muslim history have to be judged by different criteria. Here the decisive factor is the method used by Ibn Khaldun in selecting and abridging the historical material at his disposal. Much investigation and study are needed before a definite judgment on his achievement in this respect can be given. However, Ibn Khaldun seems to have done whatever was humanly possible with considerable ability, avoiding the chitchat and incredible tales that he easily might have been tempted to use.

Ibn Khaldun does not deserve the reproach that the descriptive part of his history fails to measure up to the high standards set by the theories of the *Muqaddimah*. His discussion of contemporary northwest African history, dealing largely with material he had himself observed, is obviously guided by the insights into tribal politics which he expressed in the *Muqaddimah*. The larger, more urbanized and centralized eastern Muslim region presented much more complex problems. Ibn Khaldun possessed only written sources for its history and was almost completely unacquainted with its contemporary reality when he wrote. To apply the general reflections of the *Muqaddimah* to individual events so remote and unfamiliar to him, would have been an almost hopeless task and, moreover, would have required a forbidding amount of space. It was for this reason that Ibn Khaldun put his theoretical reflections in the form of an introduction. Incidentally, in doing so, he merely followed the example of many earlier Muslim historians who also relegated their general historical theories to the introductions of their respective works. However, they usually did so in a manner infinitely more restricted than that of Ibn Khaldun.

Meanwhile, the author of the *Muqaddimah* was beginning to grow restless in his seclusion at Qal'at Ibn Salamah. Indeed, it is hard to visualize this active man of affairs, long accustomed to the company of scholars and the great of his time, living out the prime of his life in a place where there was little to learn and even less to do. When he fell gravely ill, his realization of his loneliness and isolation became acute. Upon recovery, he decided to

leave Qal'at Ibn Salamah and, thinking of the work still to be done on his *History*, wished he could be near large libraries, such as were to be found in Tunis.⁶³

By this time, the Hafsid Abu l-'Abbas had been master of Tunis and the mightiest ruler in all of northwestern Africa for seven years. Ibn Khaldun's first, unfortunate encounter with him had happened eleven years ago. Thus, it was natural that Ibn Khaldun should now turn his eyes in that direction. The most promising approach was also clearly indicated. Ibn Khaldun addressed Abu l-'Abbas as a scholar who wanted to do research in Tunis and as a native who desired to see the town of his birth and the graves of his parents once more. His petition was successful. Abu l-'Abbas, respecting Ibn Khaldun's famous family name, graciously permitted him to come to Tunis. Early in the winter of 1378, Ibn Khaldun left Qal'at Ibn Salamah. On his way, he met Abu l-'Abbas, who was on a military expedition. He arrived in Tunis in November or December, 1378.

Once he had again settled down in his old home, Ibn Khaldun began to encounter difficulties with many people, both scholars and courtiers. As Ibn Khaldun tells the story, it was because he enjoyed Abul-'Abbas' favor that he aroused the envy of the ruler's entourage. In view of their past conflict, however, it would seem more likely that Abul-'Abbas was reluctant to promote Ibn Khaldun. The courtiers, moreover, were themselves interested in having Ibn Khaldun under the ruler's supervision, and, as far as we know, had no fear that Ibn Khaldun could use his close association to influence him. Thus, while there certainly was animosity against Ibn Khaldun in court circles, it probably was not due to his alleged success in winning Abul-'Abbas' favor.

⁶³There is very little precise information on libraries in Tunisia at this period. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, II, 367 f. There must also have existed many private collections in Tunis.

Ibn Khaldun started teaching in Tunis and met with opposition from the great jurist Ibn 'Arafah al-Warghami (1316-1401).⁶⁴ Ibn 'Arafah was sixteen years older than Ibn Khaldun; he had studied under the same teachers, but it had taken him longer to mature as a scholar. He had slowly achieved eminence in the Muslim world as the leading representative of Malikite jurisprudence. When he saw that his students preferred Ibn Khaldun's classes to his own, he deeply resented the presence of the brilliant intruder who, for his part, may have failed to establish a suitably deferential relationship with the older man. The situation as described by Ibn Khaldun, is, of course, a common one in university life, and while we may hesitate to apportion exact degrees of guilt to one side or the other, neither the fact of this rivalry nor its unfortunate effect upon Ibn Khaldun's situation in Tunis can be doubted. For the rest of his life Ibn 'Arafah never changed his opinion of Ibn Khaldun. Much later, probably in either 1390/91 or 1393/94⁶⁵ when he stopped in Egypt in the course of his pilgrimage, he grimly denounced Ibn Khaldun's fitness as a jurist and stated sarcastically that he had lost all respect for the office of judge now that Ibn Khaldun had become one.⁶⁶ It has been shrewdly suggested that Ibn 'Arafah's opposition to Ibn Khaldun may have had a deeper meaning, that it symbolized the opposition of formal Muslim jurisprudence to the stirrings of a new spirit faintly noticeable in Ibn Khaldun's thinking.⁶⁷ Be this as it may, there were more concrete motives to determine Ibn 'Arafah's attitude towards Ibn Khaldun during his years in Tunis.

When Abu'l-'Abbas went on another of his military expeditions, Ibn Khaldun was obliged to accompany him, for the ruler feared that if he were left alone in Tunis, Ibn Khaldun would intrigue against him. Ibn Khaldun

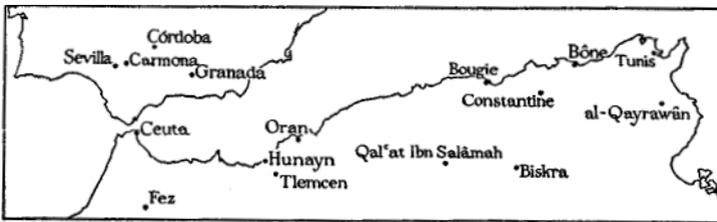
⁶⁴Cf. *GAL*, II, 247; *Suppl.*, II, 547.

⁶⁵ Cf. as-Sakhiwi, *al-Paw' al-lkmi'*, IX, 240-42.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 146.

⁶⁷Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, II, 391.

resented this interruption of his life and work. To make matters worse, he had presented Abu'l-'Abbas with a copy of the completed *History*, but this work did not contain the customary panegyric (on the reign of the ruler who commissioned it or supported its author) with which Muslim historians were wont to end their works. Ibn Khaldun suspected that his failure to have included such a panegyric was used to cast suspicion upon his loyalty to Abu'l-'Abbas. Finally, in October of 1382, when Abul-'Abbas was getting ready another military expedition, Ibn Khaldun feared he was again to be forced to accompany it, and decided to leave. He seized the opportunity offered by the presence of a ship in the harbor of Tunis, ready to sail for Alexandria, to ask Abu'l-'Abbas for permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. This was the age-old pretext for Muslims in public life who felt insecure and wanted to remove themselves from the political scene. The permission was granted, and October 24, 1382, Ibn Khaldun sailed for Alexandria. His family remained in Tunis, possibly because he had first to find a means of livelihood abroad, or because Abu'l-'Abbas may not have allowed them to leave with him. They would be valuable hostages in the event Ibn Khaldun turned west instead of east and decided to play a part, once again, in the history of northwestern Africa or Spain.



Ibn Khaldun's Maghrib and Southern Spain

However, Ibn Khaldun sailed eastward, and thereafter his only contacts with the West were by correspondence or through travelers⁶⁸ After more than forty days at sea, he reached Alexandria December 8, 1382. He did not then go on to Mecca, but settled in Egypt where, except for occasional

⁶⁸See p lxiv, below

travels in the East, including an eventual pilgrimage, he remained for the rest of his life.

If Ibn Khaldun had seriously entertained the idea of going on the pilgrimage at that critical juncture of his career, he gave it up for the time being. On January 6, 1383, he moved to Cairo, the fame of which had already reached him while he was still in the West. Egypt under the Mamelukes was prosperous and comparatively stable politically. To Ibn Khaldun Cairo's size, the innumerable people it contained, and its importance as the center of Islam surpassed his anticipations.⁶⁹ The city's crowded streets, its splendid buildings, its magnificent and splendidly equipped colleges, and the eternal beauty of the Nile aroused his excitement and enthusiasm. However, his most urgent task was to find a position which would allow him to stay in Egypt. Great as his personal qualifications undeniably were, his career in the West had been greatly facilitated by his family connections, by his relationship with many important people there, and by the numerous helpful friendships that were his birthright. A sizable number of his countrymen lived in Egypt, and Ibn Khaldun presumably consulted them; later on, his own house was to become a center for visitors from northwestern Africa. Yet, in building up a position for himself in Egypt, he had to rely mainly on his own resources, his personality, abilities, scholarship, and experience of public life. His success in Egypt is proof, if such were needed, of his personal qualities.

Fortunately for Ibn Khaldun, al-Malik az-Zahir Barquq had become Egypt's ruler shortly before his arrival. In beginning his reign, he presumably was trying to attract new personalities to enlarge and improve the quality of his entourage. Ibn Khaldun soon gained the new ruler's esteem and confidence. Only once did a passing disturbance interrupt their good relations, which lasted until Barquq's death in 1399. Ibn Khaldun reciprocated Barquq's favor by the gesture of renaming the *History* in his honor *az*

⁶⁹See 3:315, below.

Zahiri, using Barquq's royal title⁷⁰ Throughout his life, Ibn Khaldun never ceased to speak of Barquq with gratitude and affection.

Another fortunate circumstance helped Ibn Khaldun in Egypt. Almost immediately upon arrival, he was able, in some way unknown, to establish connections with a high-ranking and very influential Turkish official, Al-tunbugha al-Jubani (d. 1390), who was instrumental in introducing him to Barquq and into the proper Egyptian circles. He was to spend the remaining twenty-three years of his life in a variety of highly respected positions, becoming at different times professor, college president, and judge. In his youth Ibn Khaldun may have regarded such positions as somewhat beneath his ambitions and the family tradition, but they were in keeping with the development of his personality and the course of his career, as well as appropriate activities for his declining years.

Intellectual communication between the western and the eastern parts of the Muslim world was poor, even if certain contacts existed in Ibn Khaldun's time.⁷¹ So recent a work as his *History* could hardly have been widely known or appreciated in Egypt at the time of his arrival. While still in Tunis, he may have sent a few presentation copies to Egyptian scholars, or, more likely, when he came to Cairo he may have given copies to a few scholars likely to be interested in the work. Nor could his previous publications, if they had reached Egypt at all, have gained a great reputation for the author. But his wide and ready knowledge and, above all, his mastery of literary Arabic, must have made an immediate impression on the persons he met. He was given an opportunity to hold courses at al-Azhar University, and, when it became open, Barquq appointed him to the professorship of Malikite jurisprudence in the Qamhiyah College.

⁷⁰See p. xci, below. The name *az-Zahiri*, however, did not remain attached to the work.

⁷¹ See, in particular, 2:350, below.

Ibn Khaldun began teaching in the Qamhiyah College on March 19, 1384.⁷² The inaugural lecture he delivered on that occasion, as well as two other inaugural lectures given in connection with subsequent appointments to professorships, are preserved in the *Autobiography*. These inaugural lectures are extremely valuable documents of Muslim academic life. The Qamhiyah lecture comprised an encomium on the Turks and Barquq, and a statement as to the spirit in which Ibn Khaldun intended to discharge his professorial duties. The Zahiriyah inaugural lecture was delivered at a newly established institution and therefore followed slightly different lines. It had as its exclusive theme the praise of Barquq, particularly as builder of the Zahiriyah College. The most important lecture of the three was given at Surghatmishiyah College. It began, as was customary, with an encomium on Barquq and a statement as to the spirit in which Ibn Khaldun approached his task. It then turned into a scholarly discussion of Malik's *Muwatta*, with biography of its author, an account of the origin of the work, and the history of its transmission. On these three academic occasions, a distinguished audience of officials was greatly impressed by Ibn Khaldun's skillful presentation of his subject.

All of Ibn Khaldun's teaching positions were officially in the religious sciences. There can be little doubt that he mainly taught jurisprudence and traditions. But he also lectured on the *Muqaddimah*,⁷³ and he probably had some liberty to teach historical subjects of his own choosing, if he desired. During all the years in Egypt, he kept working on the *Muqaddimah*, improving it, and bringing his *History* up to date.

The Qamhiyah professorship was a good position, but Ibn Khaldun was soon called to a more important task. On August 8, 1384, Barquq appointed him Chief Maliki Judge of Egypt. Custom required the individual nominated to a judgeship to pretend to refuse the appointment, and Ibn Khaldun

⁷² Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 279 (n. 3).

⁷³ See p. cv, below.

went through the required motions. Still sensitive to the lure of public life, he gladly accepted the new honor; for, while the professorship gave him prestige, the judgeship meant both prestige and power. Five times more he was called upon to be a judge, and on all these occasions he seems to have welcomed the opportunity for official activity that the judgeship offered. It must have been gratifying to him at the end to die in office. Fully conscious of the importance of his position, he fulfilled his legal functions with dignity and severity; his adversaries charged him with being intolerably overbearing while in office, yet willing to please everybody while out of office.⁷⁴

At the beginning of his career as judge, Ibn Khaldun appears to have assumed the role of reformer—a rather puzzling metamorphosis for a man with his outlook on life, a realist by both temperament and experience. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun must have known beforehand that to attempt reforms of long-established customs would make enemies for himself. He must certainly have realized that he could not succeed in introducing reforms in a foreign country without "group feeling" (*asabiyah*) to sustain him in his efforts. Apparently he was actuated not so much by a conscious scheme of reform as by the urge to do his job well. This is why he proceeded against the corruption and bribery which were rampant among notaries and clerks, and tried to weed out incompetent muftis and ignorant legal advisers. Among the latter were many countrymen of his from the West who had settled in Egypt and set themselves up as experts in Maliki jurisprudence.

As a result of these efforts, he remained less than a year in the judgeship. His will to fight was broken by a great personal misfortune, the loss of his family. As soon as he had obtained the full professorship at the Qamhiyah College, he had set in motion the international machinery necessary to bring to Cairo his loved ones whom he had been forced to leave behind in Tunis. In a letter dated April 8, 1384, Barquq approached Abu'l-'Abbas of Tunis in this matter, and his intervention was successful. But the ship carrying Ibn

⁷⁴ Cf. asSakhiwi, *al-Paw' al-lami*, IV, 146.

Khaldun's family and some fine horses intended as a gift from Abul-'Abbas to Barquq, was wrecked near the harbor of Alexandria⁷⁵ in October/November, 1384, and everyone, it seems, was lost.⁷⁶

Relieved from the judgeship, Ibn Khaldun again turned to teaching. He was appointed professor of Malikite jurisprudence in the Zahiriyah College and Mausoleum which Barquq had just built and named after his own royal title. He was now securely established in Egypt and could think of undertaking the long-postponed pilgrimage to Mecca. Ibn Khaldun left Cairo on September 29, 1387, and returned eight months later, compensated for the hardships of the journey by contact with the interesting people he had met. Soon after his return, in January, 1389, he was made professor of the science of traditions in the Surghatmishiyah College, and in April of the same year, when the presidency of the Baybars Institute became vacant, he was, in addition, appointed president of that institution.

The year 1389 also witnessed a revolt against Barquq in Egypt. For a time he was deprived of his throne, but was able to regain control and re-entered Cairo February 2, 1390. During that period, Ibn Khaldun, together with the other Egyptian legal authorities, had issued a legal opinion against Barquq; but they claimed to have been forced to do so. Ibn Khaldun's relationship with Barquq seems to have been somewhat clouded for a time, and Barquq, at the urging of an interested third party, deprived Ibn Khaldun of the presidency of the Baybars Institute. That there was no real break between the two men is shown by the fact that Ibn Khaldun retained his professorship and, on May 21, 1399, regained the Malikite judgeship. One month later, Barquq died and was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, Faraj.

Ibn Khaldun was confirmed in his position under the new ruler. In 1400, he visited Damascus in the company of Faraj. On the way back to Egypt, he made a pilgrimage to the holy cities of Palestine, Jerusalem, Bethlehem,

⁷⁵Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 339; *Ibar*, V, 480.

⁷⁶See p. xlvii, above.

and Hebron. On his return to Egypt, he found another aspirant to his judgeship trying, by influence and bribery, to remove him and to be appointed in his place – intrigues such as, Ibn Khaldun claims, led to his removal from office on later occasions also. His rival was successful, and replaced him as Malikite judge on September 5, 1400.

The Tatar hordes under Timur were by then knocking at the Syrian gateway to Egypt, and the Egyptian army under Faraj had to move against them. Ibn Khaldun, though still out of office, was asked to accompany the ruler on this expedition, and reluctantly agreed. The expedition left Egypt in November, 1400, and reached besieged Damascus a month later. During the first week of 1401, Faraj and his advisers, informed of a revolt then being planned in Egypt, decided to return. In the beleaguered city a difference of opinion arose between the military and civilian authorities as to the best course to take. While the military authorities wanted to hold out, the civilian authorities, that is, the judges and jurists in Damascus, including such temporary residents as Ibn Khaldun, thought it best to surrender. Their treasonable weakness, which perhaps may be excused by the seeming hopelessness of the situation, won out. They escaped unscathed, but had to watch the betrayed city being sacked and ravaged by the Tatar hordes. To later generations, though not to the contemporary Damascenes, there was a compensating element in the debacle: the civilian authorities' lack of courage provided Ibn Khaldun with a chance to meet Timur face to face and to leave posterity a vivid account of their historic meeting.

When the Damascus judges first approached Timur, he asked them about Ibn Khaldun and expressed the wish to see him. Since the military authorities were still in control of the city gates, Ibn Khaldun could not leave the city by way of them. Thus, he had to have himself lowered by ropes from the walls of Damascus and, January 10, 1401, got in touch with Timur. His personal association with the world conqueror extended to the end of February of that year. Ibn Khaldun's main concern, on the occasion of their in-

terviews, was to obtain the safety of his colleagues and himself. At the same time, he was fully conscious of meeting in Timur one of the great makers of history. Timur, for his part, had in mind the advantage to his future plans of grandiose world conquest, of having a man of Ibn Khaldun's background and experience attached to his court. In particular, he desired to avail himself of Ibn Khaldun's intimate, firsthand knowledge of the western portion of the Muslim world, a qualification that Barquq, too, had considered a most valuable asset.

For Ibn Khaldun had kept his connections with the West alive, and even showed his northwest African origin outwardly by dressing in the style of that region. While in Egypt, he did many favors for Western friends, such as presenting a poem by a Western litterateur to Barquq, and procuring books in Egypt for a Spanish scholar unable to buy them himself. He informed interested statesmen in the West of his own doings and of the political situation in Egypt. In turn, he tried, through pilgrims and travelers as well as through correspondents, to obtain political information from the West, ostensibly for bringing his *History* up to date, but partly for political purposes. Thus, he was especially useful as an adviser on diplomatic relations between Egypt and the West, whether concerning the exchange of presents or the proper reception due a Western pilgrim of high rank passing through Egypt.⁷⁷

Timur's interest in Ibn Khaldun's knowledge of the West appears to have been of a more aggressive character. He inquired about the geography of the area and asked Ibn Khaldun to write a detailed description of it to be translated into Mongol for the use of himself and his military advisers. Ibn Khaldun complied with the request by writing a long paper on the subject. However, as soon as he was safely back in Egypt, he wrote another, also rather lengthy document, a letter addressed to "the ruler of north-

⁷⁷ Cf. W. J. Fischel in *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, pp. 115-17.

western Africa," presumably, the Merinid in Fez.⁷⁸ In it, he supplied his addressee with a history of the Tatars and a careful and wellbalanced estimate of Timur's personality. Obviously, he felt a twinge of conscience at having given Timur information dangerous to the future well-being and independence of the country of his youth. By informing the northwest Africans of the character of the Tatar menace, he intended to neutralize the potentially harmful results of his previous action.

If Timur actually thought of attaching Ibn Khaldun to his staff, he did not press the matter. Ibn Khaldun was able to obtain Timur's permission to leave and return to Egypt. On his way to the coast via Safad, he was robbed by tribesmen, but when he reached the coast he was able to board a passing vessel which carried him to Gaza. Without having the faintest premonition of the significance of this encounter, Ibn Khaldun met on board an ambassador of Bayazid Yildirim, the Ottoman ruler of Asia Minor, a power destined to become far more important for the future of Ibn Khaldun's world and work than the great conqueror whom he had just left. It is only just to observe that the chances of Yildirim's survival, in the precarious position in which he found himself at that moment, would have seemed remote to any observer just then.

In March, 1401, Ibn Khaldun reached Egypt after an absence of six months. Except for the dates of his appointments to and dismissals from the judgeship, we know very little about these last five years of his life. He was appointed judge for the third time in April, 1401, deposed at the beginning of March, 1402, reappointed again in July, 1402, and deposed in September, 1403. His next appointment came on February 11, 1405, and this time his tenure of office lasted to the end of May, 1406. His last appointment came in March, 1406, and only a few days later, on Wednesday, March 17, death

⁷⁸If a son of Ibn Khaldun was actually present at the court of Fez (see n. 53, above), it would have been natural for Ibn Khaldun to address himself to the Merinid.

suddenly relieved him of the office. He was buried in the Sufi cemetery outside Cairo's Nasr Gate.

As is so often the case with men of genius, Ibn Khaldun's actions and aspirations were simple and uncomplicated. With great single-mindedness he endeavored to acquire leadership in the organization of his society and to master the intellectual development of humanity at its contemporary level. His background and upbringing had taught him to consider these the most desirable achievements in this world, and, by and large, he was able to realize them. Recognizing that all means were necessary and therefore justified, Ibn Khaldun's actions to achieve the first goal were ruthless and opportunistic. Recognizing further that the more enduring achievement of intellectual leadership is largely incompatible with the search for worldly success,⁷⁹ he strove to strike a sound balance between the active and the contemplative aspects of his personality. Aided by great ability and endurance, as well as by circumstances that, though harsh, were favorable to his aspirations, he became the great thinker and doer he set out to be.

In the realm of intellectual achievement, the greatest hopes he may reasonably have harbored were eventually fulfilled. His contemporaries, it is true, and the generations immediately following, refused to recognize or to appreciate the stirrings *of* a new spirit apparent in his work. But his labors had considerable influence upon the first generation *of* his pupils, including such men as al-Magrizi and Ibn Hajar, and, through them, in turn, upon such pupils *of* theirs as as-Sakhawi. These and many other great scholars throughout the fifteenth century profited from Ibn Khaldun's historical teaching.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ See 3:308 ff, below.

⁸⁰ Al-Fasi, the historian *of* Mecca (1373-1429), quoted the *History of* Ibn Khaldun in his *Igd*, and around 1425 a certain Muhammad b. Abmad b. Muhammad Ibn az-Zamlakani incorporated excerpts from Ibn Khaldun's *History* in his *Tadhkirah*, of which a MS is preserved in Cairo (Egyptian Library, Taymur, *adab* 604). Ibn az-Zamlakani tells us that he used a MS of the *History* deposited in the Mu'ayyadiyah Library in Cairo.

It may well be said that the great and active interest in historical studies noticeable during that period was stimulated by him. Moreover, a new interest in the independent theoretical discussion of historiography may be observed at that time. Ibn Khaldun's great example may well have started this trend, though it did not continue along the lines he suggested.

The great period of the rediscovery of Ibn Khaldun began as early as the sixteenth century and gained momentum in the seventeenth. At the beginning of the latter century, al-Maqqari, a scholar from northwestern Africa, made considerable use of Ibn Khaldun's work.⁸¹ But for the true understanding of Ibn Khaldun, a people was needed who, like the Romans, were mainly concerned with politics and therefore concentrated their intellectual interests upon history. Such a people were the Ottoman Turks, whose scholars and statesmen vied with each other in their interest in Ibn Khaldun's work and ideas. They included such men as Weysi (Wissi) Effendi,⁸² Tashkopruzadeh (1495-1561),⁸³ Hajji Khalifah (1609-57), Tab'i Bey (ca. 1670),⁸⁴

As-Suyuti (1445-1505), through his teacher Ibn Hajar, knew of Ibn Khaldun's theory about three generations spanning a century; cf. *Nazm, al-'iqyan*, ed. P. K. Hitti (New York, 1927), p. 171. Al-Qalqashandi (1355-1418) quoted Ibn Khaldun repeatedly; see nn. 504 and 546 to Ch. iii below.

A late fifteenth-century work, in which Ibn Khaldun's discussion of politics and political ethics was abridged from the *Muqaddimah*, would be interesting to know. This was the *Bada'i' as-silk fi tabai' al-mulk* by Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Mubammad b. al-Azraq; cf. al-Maqqari, *Analectes*, ed. R. Dozy et al. (Leiden, 1855-61), I, 940. Ibn al-Azraq is referred to by as-Sakhawt, *ad-law' al-lami'*, XI, 234, but his biography, which should appear in *Daw'*, VIII, 205, is missing, apparently owing to an omission in the printed edition.

⁸¹ His contemporary Abmad Baba also knew Ibn Khaldun's *Autobiography*; see 3:395, below, and *Nayl al-ibtihaj*, pp. 170, 243 ff.

⁸² See p. xciv, below.

⁸³ Mentioned by A. Z. Velidi Togan, *Tarihde Usul* (Istanbul, 1950), p. 170, as an author familiar with Ibn Khaldun's work; no further information is supplied.

According to A. Adnan Adivar, "Ibn Haldun," in *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1950), V, 740, Ibn Khaldun had been a subject of notice in the encyclopaedia composed by Mubammad b. Ahmad al-'Ajami, a professor in Istanbul who died in 1550. Cf. *GAL*, II, 453.

⁸⁴ Cf F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 212.

Na'ima (1688/89-1716),⁸⁵ and many others of the eighteenth century and later. Their activities, so far as they concerned Ibn Khaldun, constitute an important segment of Turkish intellectual history and ought to be studied as such. Nor should we forget the men, often little known or anonymous, who brought numerous manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun's work to Turkey and had them copied for their own study.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, European scholars joined with the Turks in studying Ibn Khaldun. Many ideas discussed in the European West long after Ibn Khaldun's time were found, amazingly enough, not to be as new as had been thought, but to have been known, in their rudiments at least,⁸⁶ to the northwest African of the fourteenth century who founded a "new science" in his *Muqaddimah*.

The *Muqaddimah*

[p.1:lxviii]

THE ORIGINAL "introduction" (*muqaddimah*) to Ibn Khaldun's great *History* covers only a few pages (below, pp. 15-68). 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. One of these is a principal reason why even great historians occasionally err, namely, their ignorance of changes in the environment within which history unfolds. The remainder of what is now called the *Muqaddimah* originally constituted the

⁸⁵Cf. A. Z. Velidi Togan, p. 171, following Z. F. Findikoglu & H. Z. Ulken, *Ibn Haldun* (Istanbul, 1940). Findikoglu has published another article on the subject of Turkish students of Ibn Khaldun, in *Melanges Fuad Koprulu* (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 153-63.

⁸⁶ Ibn Khaldun has been claimed as the forerunner of a great many Western scholars, both major and minor. A. Schimmel, *Ibn Chaldun* (Tubingen, 1951), p. xvii, lists Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Gibbon, Montesquieu, Abbe de Mably, Ferguson, Herder, Condorcet, Comte, Gobineau, Tarde, Breysig, and W. James. He has been compared with Hegel, 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.

first book of the *History*, and was designed to prove this thesis. It was intended to elucidate the fundamental principles of all history, which determine the true historian's reconstruction of the past.

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 his *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 characteristic proper name for it." Thus, it is not surprising that, in a late addition to the *Muqaddimah* itself, Ibn Khaldun refers to it as the *Muqaddimah*⁸⁷ and that he gave lectures exclusively devoted to it⁸⁸ To all later ages, *Muqaddimah* was the title almost universally used.

With respect to its literary form, the *Muqaddimah* would not seem to deserve unqualified praise.⁸⁹ 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 historical writing and as is the case with the middle volumes of Ibn Khaldun's work. The *Muqaddimah* 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 *Muqaddimah* 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;

⁸⁷ See 2:124, below. In the colophon at the end of Ch. in, A speaks of the "end of the first half of the *Muqaddimah*," and in the colophon at the end of Ch. iv, D speaks of the chapter as the "fourth chapter of the *muqaddimah* of the *History*." See also p. 10, l. 11, below.

⁸⁸ See p. cv, below.

⁸⁹ For opinions on the style and language of the *Muqaddimah*, see also p. cxi, below.

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 *Muqaddimah*, quite apart from the consideration that he used the work later as a textbook for lectures.

Another factor to make for prolixity was Ibn Khaldun's use of a new terminology that was largely his own. Since the reader, or listener, could not be assumed to be acquainted with it, it required constant repetition and redefinition. In addition, there was the old problem of proper cross-referencing which the manuscript literature prior to the invention of printing was never able to solve.⁹⁰ Since it was difficult to refer to some previous statement briefly and unambiguously, it always seemed safer for an author to repeat the same information as often as his exposition might require. In consequence, Ibn Khaldun's style often appears to be redundant. It may even be said that the *Muqaddimah* could easily be reduced to about half its size and would then be a much more readable work, especially to readers unable to savor the richness of the original language or unwilling to follow all the nuances and subtle variations in the workings of a great scholar's mind.

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 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

⁹⁰ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Analecta Orientalia, No. 24) (Rome, 1947), pp. 37 ff.

as the most developed form of human association and civilization. Finally, much space is devoted to higher civilization, to commerce, the 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.

As a scholarly craftsman, Ibn Khaldun proves his mettle in miniature sketches of the historical development of the various crafts and sciences. His information, based upon his teachers' instruction, was rather restricted, especially in comparison with the vast amount of Arabic literature from all periods that the modern scholar has at his disposal. For the early epochs of Muslim literature, Ibn Khaldun usually depended upon the traditional information contained in a few classics, without attempting to verify it, and he did not hesitate to jump from the oldest times directly to periods nearer his own. The results, therefore, often seem superficial and rather arbitrary to modern scholarship. They are, however, deceptively convincing, even though they do not always stand up to the scrutiny of a much later stage of scholarship, and thus testify to the insight, vigor, and skill of Ibn Khaldun.

Another measure of Ibn Khaldun's scholarly craftsmanship is the way he handles the quotations that he inserts in his work. They run the gamut from reliability to unreliability, from doubly checked, exact quotations to vague and inaccurate allusions from memory. At the one extreme, for instance, is the text of Tapir's long *Epistle* to his son.⁹¹ Ibn Khaldun first quoted it from Ibn al-Athir's *History*. Then he checked and corrected it, although, it seems, rather haphazardly, against the text quoted in the *Annals byat-Tabari*, whom he rightly held in the highest esteem.⁹² The *Annals* do, in fact, contain the original text of Tahir's *Epistle*, which Ibn al-Athir had taken over into his work. Whenever Ibn Khaldun doubted the reliability of

⁹¹ See 2:139 ff., below.

⁹² Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 373; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, pp. 37 f.

his manuscript source for a quotation, he had no illusions about the matter, nor did he leave his readers in the dark.⁹³

At the other extreme, there are general references that profess to indicate the contents of a work but fail to do so correctly. One such is the reference to a book by Ibn 'Arabi.⁹⁴ There are references that cannot be located, at least not at the place cited. These were clearly quotations from memory,⁹⁵ and even the best-trained memory cannot always be trusted. The circumstances under which the *Muqaddimah* was composed in the seclusion of Qal'at Ibn Salamah, explain, of course, such lapses; but Ibn Khaldun certainly had many opportunities later on to correct other quotations, as he corrected that of Tahir's *Epistle*, and yet he failed to do so.

Further, there are summary references to a number of sources for the same subject, none of them quite accurate. There are quotations that reproduce their source exactly, and others that render the meaning of the source correctly but take some liberty in the wording, mainly by shortening the original. In general, Ibn Khaldun most frequently used this last procedure, which the nature of his material demanded, in particular, in the historical presentation.

While the form of the *Muqaddimah* and the scholarly details of its composition are not without significance for the proper appreciation of the work and its author, its main interest is as a contribution to human thought. Brief summary of the contents hardly does it justice. Much of its value lies in the light it sheds upon details in Ibn Khaldun's political, sociological, economic, and philosophic thinking. The complete text as provided in the following pages is a better guide to the meaning of the work than any summary presentation. Therefore, only a few leading ideas of Ibn Khaldun's system are here singled out for remark.

⁹³ See 3:183, below.

⁹⁴ See 2:187 ff., below.

⁹⁵ See, for instance, nn. 110, 1489, and 1502 to Ch. vi, below.

The center of Ibn Khaldun's world is man, in the same sense that for most Muslim historians and philosophers he is the center of speculation.

Greek geography as it had been transmitted to the Muslims taught that man is dependent on his physical environment; it must provide physical conditions that enable him to sustain life. The extreme north and the extreme south are too cold or too hot for human beings to exist there. The best conditions are offered in the middle regions of the earth between its northern and southern extremes. The physical environment also influences man's character, his appearance, and his customs, in accordance with differences in the climate and fertility of given areas.⁹⁶

Beyond man, there is the supernatural, which has many different manifestations. It extends from the sublime realm of the omnipotent, omniscient, and eternal Muslim Deity - for the supreme oneness and intellectuality of Graeco-Muslim philosophy had become hardly distinguishable from the monotheistic God - down to the most primitive magic and superstition. Ibn Khaldun sincerely believed in the reality of all the supernatural's manifestations. Muslim religious tradition firmly supported him in this attitude; not only belief in the divine aspect of the supernatural, but also belief in magic, were parts of the religious credo, as the Qur'an and alleged facts of Muhammad's life both attest. The famous *Risalah* of Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani, a brief textbook on Malikite jurisprudence, for instance, presup-

⁹⁶ Cf. Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* [Quadripartitum] ii. 2; ed. and tr. F. E. Robbins (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1940), pp. 120 f. A. von Kremer, "Ibn Chaldun und seine Kulturgeschichte der islamischen Reiche," in *Sitzungs-Berichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, XCIII (1879), 589 ff., referred to *al-Jahiz*, in this connection. Cf. also alKindi, *Fi l-ibanah 'an al-'illah al-fa'ilah al-qarlbah li-l-kawn wa-l-fasdd*, ed. M. 'A. Abu Ridah in *Rasa'il al-Kinds al-falsafiyah* (Cairo, 1369/1950), 1, 224 ff.

From a later period one may, for instance, compare Rashid-ad-din, *Ta'rikh al-Ghazani* (photostat of an Istanbul MS in the Egyptian Library in Cairo, *ta'rikh* 1889, p. 41): "In each zone there must be people who dwell in towns and people who dwell in deserts *off* by themselves, especially in countries where there are gardens and meadows and much water and splendid pastures and where there is no equal distribution of cultivated areas (*'imarat*)."

poses the reality of sorcery, the evil eye, and the divinatory power of dreams. On the other hand, it repudiates astrology as being incompatible with Islam.⁹⁷ Ibn Khaldun studied this work in his youth and almost certainly must have known it by heart.

However, despite his belief in the reality of the supernatural, Ibn Khaldun relegated its influence to a realm outside of, or beyond, the ordinary course of human affairs. Magic and sorcery existed for him, though he contended that much fraud and sleight of hand enter into their actual practice, as he knew from his own experience and from hearsay. Astrology and alchemy, on the other hand, do not exist; their claims can be disproved by rational arguments. Notwithstanding the reality of some of the black arts, they do not interfere in the processes of human history and are in no way able to do so.

Similarly, Ibn Khaldun restricted the influence of the Divine to the extraordinary in human affairs. It may manifest itself occasionally in psychological attitudes; for instance, psychological factors can be more decisive for the outcome of a battle than numbers and equipment. However, the divine influence on human affairs shows itself mainly in an unusual, rare "extra push," in the added impetus to greatness that it may provide. Religious fervor and the appearance of prophets, who, incidentally, cannot succeed in this world without concrete political support, can intensify and accelerate political movements. History *offers* instances of this, the most prominent one being the phenomenal, superhuman success of Islam.

Thus, supernatural influence upon human affairs in one way or another was for Ibn Khaldun an established, indubitable fact. However, he thought of it as out of the ordinary and not as a necessity in the historical drama, the processes of which may go on unfolding without ever being disturbed by it. In this sense, Ibn Khaldun's philosophy can be called secular, as scholars

⁹⁷ Cf. Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, ed. L. Bercher (Bibliothèque arabe-française) (3d ed.; Algiers, 1949), pp. 320 ff. Two of Ibn Khaldun's early teachers, al-Widiyashi and Ibn 'Abd-as-Salām, taught him the *Risalah*; cf. as-Sakhawī, *a l-Daw' al-Idml'*, IX, 241.

have occasionally described it. His secularism does not imply, however, any opposition to the supernatural world, let alone disavowal of it; to him its existence was as certain as anything observed by means of his senses. In his mind the only matter for inquiry was the degree of relationship between man and the supernatural. The civilization in which Ibn Khaldun lived was permeated with a tradition of mysticism many centuries old. Ibn Khaldun was inclined to consider constant and active contact with the Divine to be primarily the prerogative of the individual, and to acknowledge no more than a casual relationship between the supernatural and the forms of human social organization.

To explain the origins of human social organization, man's first step in his historical career, Ibn Khaldun adopted a theory that Muslim philosophy had already, fairly generally, accepted. As he himself tells us,⁹⁸ the view had developed in discussion of a particular religious problem, namely, that of the necessity of prophecy. But it is characteristic of the working of his mind, that Ibn Khaldun generalized and secularized the applicability of this deeply pessimistic theory. Man, with his God-given power of thinking, is acknowledged to be at the pinnacle of an ascending world order which progresses from minerals, plants, and animals toward human beings. Basically, however, man is an animal, and human organization starts from the realization that, if left to his own animal instincts, man would eat man.⁹⁹

Ibn Khaldun found this theory expounded in two great works by Avicenna, the *Kitab ash-Shifd'* and its abridged version, the *Kitab an-Najdh*.¹⁰⁰ A full elaboration appeared in the large philosophical encyclopedia

⁹⁸ See p. 79 and 2:417, below.

⁹⁹ A Malikite scholar of northwestern Africa, al-Qabisi, quotes the seventh-century Ibn Masud as saying, "Men need three things: (1) a ruler to decide their differences, for without one, each would eat the other...." Cf. A. F. al-Ahwini, *at-Ta'lim fi ray al-Qdbisi* (Cairo, 1364/1945), p. 270.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas* (Halle & New York, 1907), pp. 673 f., for the *Kitab ash-Shifa'*; and Avicenna, *Kitab an-N'ajah* (Rome, 1593), p. 84. For references from Greek and Arabic literature in this connection, see D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita* (Rome,

compiled by the thirteenth-century writer ash-Shahrazuri. In all probability, this work was never available to Ibn Khaldun. Nonetheless, since ash-Shahrazuri's statement is close to the spirit of Ibn Khaldun's thinking, it is worth quoting here. As in Avicenna's works, the theory of the origins of human social organization is presented in the form of premises for proving the existence of prophecy:¹⁰¹

(1) The individual human being cannot accomplish all the things that are necessary for his livelihood, unless he has co-operation from someone else. He needs food, clothing, shelter, and weapons, not only for himself, but also for his wives, his children, his servants, and his dependent relatives. All the things mentioned are technical matters. In order to learn them, a man by himself would require a longer time than the time he could keep alive without these things. Assuming that he could (somehow manage) to live (on his own), it would be (only) with great difficulty and trouble. He would not be able to obtain the various kinds of intellectual perfection (that are the goal of humanity). Thus, of necessity there must exist a group the members of which cooperate to acquire many different crafts and (technical) skills. In this way, each individual accomplishes something from which his fellow men can profit. Full cooperation will (in this way) materialize, and the life of the human species and of other animal species will reach perfection. . . . The sages called this social organization "urbanization" (*tamaddun*, from Greek πολις, town). Therefore, they said "man is political by nature." (This is to be understood) in the sense that he needs this kind of social organization in order to live, to provide for his own livelihood, to improve his situation in this world, and to perfect his soul for the next world.

[19261-38], I, 10 (n. 57). A brief statement by Ibn Taymiyah along the same lines, from his *hisbah fi l-Islam* (Cairo, 1318/1900-1901), p. 3, was also quoted in connection with Ibn Khaldun by H. A. R. Gibb, "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VII (1933), 23-31.

¹⁰¹As-Shahrazuri, *ash-Shajarah al-ilahiyah*, quoted from the Istanbul MS, Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 3227, fol. 501a.

(II) The proper order of such social organization, which is political and based upon co-operation, can materialize only when there exists mutual intercourse governed by justice among the people, because (otherwise) each individual would want all the needed benefits for himself and would come to grief in conflict with the others competing with him for them... .

(III) This religious law must have (as its founder) a person who lays down all these general norms... .

In contrast to ash-Shahrazuri, Ibn Khaldun does not consider religious inspiration a requirement for the person charged with keeping people from devouring each other. Any individual in a position to exercise a restraining influence upon his fellow men will do; besides, on the highest moral plane, there exist individuals with native ability for such a role in society. A person with such restraining influence upon others is called *wazi* by Ibn Khaldun. The term, and the idea implied, is borrowed from the literature of traditions (of the Prophet and the early Muslims). According to this literature, al-Hasan (al-Basri), upon being appointed judge, had remarked that people cannot do without *wazi's*; one of the explanations for *wazi* in this context is "the ruler and his men who keep the people apart."¹⁰²

¹⁰²Cf. Majd-ad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah* (Cairo, 1329/1904), IV, 221; *Lisan al-'Arab* (Bulaq, 1300-1308/1882-90), X, 270. Another of the traditions quoted in these works reads: "The restraining influence of the government is more widely effective than that of the Qur'an." Ascribed to the caliph 'Uthmin, this remark appears as early as the ninth-century *Kitab al-Kuttab* of 'Abdallah al-Baghda-di, ed. D. Sourdel in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* (Damascus), XIV (1954), 142. Its application to political theory was discussed in the tenth century by Muhammad b. Yusuf al-'Amid in his *I'lam bi-manaqib al-Islam* (MS, Istanbul, Ragib 1463, fol. 18b). Cf. *The Islamic Quarterly*, III (1966), 51. In the work of a Spanish author known to Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Bassam, the remark is ascribed to al-Hasan b. Abi l-Hasan al-Bagri (d. ca. 728). Cf. his *Dhakhirah* (Cairo, 1361/1942), 12, 9. The *waza'ah* (pl. of *wazi'*) function as a kind of truant officers sent after mischievous boys in a story from the *Kitab al-Aghani* (Bulaq, 1285/1868), XVIII, 124. Cf. also ash-Sharishi, *Sharh al-Magdmtd* (Cairo 1306/1889), I, 143.

For the person who has the restraining influence in himself, earlier authors did not use the root *wz'* but similar roots such as *w'z* and *zjr*; cf. al-Jahiz, *Bukhala*" (Cairo, 1948), p. 173; tr. C. Pellat (Beirut & Paris, 1951), p. 274; and al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sullaniyah* (Cairo, 1298/1881), Ch. xvi, p. 180.

The ability to think, God's special gift to man, is the particular human quality or innate gift that enables human beings to cooperate. Among the other animals, cooperation can be observed only on a very restricted scale. As a rule they are stronger than man, because they possess sharp teeth, claws, etc. To compensate man for lacking this type of physical endowment, he was given the ability to think, and his hands serve him as skillful instruments for executing his ideas.

As soon as several human beings, with their God-given power of thinking, begin to cooperate with each other and to form some kind of social organization, *'umran* results. *'Umran* (translated here as "civilization") is one of the key terms in Ibn Khaldun's system. It is derived from a root which means "to build up, to cultivate," and is used to designate any settlement above the level of individual savagery. In Ibn Khaldun's time and place, ruins left by many great and prosperous cities attested to the prior existence of high civilization; it could be seen that large agglomerations of human beings had been stopped in their growth and expansion by geographical factors. Thus, Ibn Khaldun naturally arrived at the idea (which, incidentally, seems to be by and large correct) that progress in civilization is in direct proportion to the number of people co-operating for their common good. Thus, *'umran* acquired the further meaning of "population," and Ibn Khaldun frequently uses the word in this sense. Wherever people are cooperating with each other, no matter on how limited a scale, there *is 'umran*. When the number of these people increases, a larger and better *'umran* results. This growth in numbers, with a corresponding progress in civilization, finally culminates in the highest form of sedentary culture man is able to achieve; it declines from this peak when the number of cooperating people decreases.

Al-Miwardi says that scholars have a restraining influence in themselves (*zajir min nafsihi*) which prevents them from sitting down in seats belonging to more distinguished and deserving scholars. According to a tradition quoted by al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'* (Cairo, 1352/1933), III, 10, the possession of a restraining influence in one's heart (*wa'iz min qalbihi*) is a gift of God. *Zdjir min nafsihi*, in connection with teachers, is also used by Ibn Khaldun, p. 452, l. 12, below.

The two fundamentally different environments in which all human cooperation takes place and the forms of social organization develop, were distinguished by Ibn Khaldun as "desert, desert life" (*badawah*, cf. Bedouins) and "town, sedentary environment." The literal translation of *badawah* and cognate words by "desert (Bedouins)" requires some explanation, as it only partially expresses the concept Ibn Khaldun had in mind when he used these words. Ibn Khaldun was familiar with the essential characteristics of nomadism, and often stressed the detriment to higher civilization inherent in the Bedouin way of life. In this connection, he used *badawah* to express the concept of nomadism. However, in Arabic as spoken outside the Arabian peninsula, the term *badawah* was applied to the largely sedentary rural people living at some distance from the great population centers, and Ibn Khaldun preferably used it in this sense. Thus, by referring to "desert, Bedouins" and "settled area, sedentary urban people," Ibn Khaldun did not consciously make a distinction between nomadism and sedentary life as sociological phenomena. He simply grouped together nomads and (sedentary) backwoods people, on the one hand, and contrasted them with sedentary urban people as inhabitants of large population centers, on the other. Ibn Khaldun's "Bedouins" were not, as a rule, nomads living in the desert, but dwelt chiefly in villages, and practiced agriculture and animal husbandry for a livelihood. It must also not be forgotten that, in Ibn Khaldun's experience, the term "urban population" did not have the same meaning as it has today. Cities in his day permitted, and required, a good deal of agricultural activity. In Ibn Khaldun's thinking, the sociological distinction amounts to no more than a quantitative distinction as to the size and density of human settlements.

The question arises: What causes differences in the size of human settlements? If all the elements in nature existed in the same quantity and strength, none greater or lesser, stronger or weaker, than another, there would be no mixture, no creation nor generation. Correspondingly, did all human

beings share equally the urge and need for co-operation, there would be no difference in the quality or size of the resulting human social organizations. There must be some factor that causes such differences as do exist, some incitement for the desire for co-operation to exist on a larger scale among some human beings than among others. Only thus can large states have originated.

That some such factor exists, Ibn Khaldun recognized and called '*asabiyah* "group feeling."¹⁰³ Arab lexicographers correctly connect the term with the word '*asabah* "agnates." Thus, it originally signified something like "making common cause with one's agnates."¹⁰⁴ However, in Ibn Khaldun's mind the term appears to have been associated with the related words '*isbah* and Qur'anic '*usbah*, both meaning "group" in a more general sense.¹⁰⁵ The group with which a human being feels most closely connected is primarily that of his relatives, the people with whom he shares a common descent. But as a feeling and a state of mind the '*asabiyah* can also be shared by people not related to each other by blood ties but by long and close contact as members of a group.

Ibn Khaldun's use of the term is noteworthy because it has been much used in Muslim literature in a different meaning. Islam generally condemned '*asabiyah* as a quality and state of mind. It is traditionally considered to mean "bias," or, more specifically, blind support of one's group without regard for the justice of its cause.¹⁰⁶ As such, any show of '*asabiyah* is depreciated as an atavistic survival of the pagan, pre-Islamic mentality. Ibn Khaldun, of

¹⁰³There has been considerable discussion among modern scholars as to the meaning of '*asabiyah*. We may mention here only F. Gabrieli, "Il concetto della '*alabiyyah* nel pensiero storico di Ibn Ualdun," in *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, LXV (1930), 473-512; and, most recently, H. Ritter, "Irrational Solidarity Groups, a Socio-Psychological Study in Connection with Ibn Khaldun," in *Oriens*, I (1948), 1-44.

¹⁰⁴*Cf. Lisan al-'Arab*, II, 96.

¹⁰⁵See p. 263, below, and F. Gabrieli, p. 474 (n. 1).

¹⁰⁶The historian at-Tabari also uses the term in the meaning of "tribal unrest." *Cf. his Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879-1901), III, 624; Glossary, p. ccclxiv.

course, was fully aware of this customary usage. In *a locus classicus*¹⁰⁷ he discriminates between an objectionable pagan '*asabiyah*' and "the natural *asabiyah* that is inseparable (from human beings). The latter is the affection a man feels for a brother or a neighbor when one of them is treated unjustly or killed. Nothing can take it away. It is not forbidden (by Muslim religious law). On the contrary, it is something desirable and useful in connection with the holy war and with propaganda for Islam."

There are a few passages in other writers where '*asabiyah*' is similarly spoken of as a praiseworthy quality. Thus, from his own reading, Ibn Khaldun knew that on one occasion the historian Ibn al-Athir employed '*asabiyah*' in the meaning of "giving helpful group support to anyone who needed and claimed it."¹⁰⁸ He was also aware that '*asabiyah*' could be applied to praiseworthy emotions, e.g. patriotism, in which case, as Ibn al-Khatib had said,¹⁰⁹ '*asabiyah*' was then inoffensive to either religion or worldly rank. Still, it cannot as yet be determined just how original and daring Ibn Khaldun was when he gave the term the positive meaning he did. It is uncertain to what degree he may have followed the example of the intellectual circle in which he moved, and whose backing he received. Jurisprudence stressed the privileged position agnates had in many respects, but it remains to be seen whether the juridical literature ever discussed the abstract concept of '*asabiyah*' in this context. Possibly, Ibn Khaldun got some support from

¹⁰⁷ *Ibar*, III, 3. See also pp. 414 f., below

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Ibar*, V, 237, following Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* (Cairo, 1302/1885), XI, 49, anno 541.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, I, 7, and cf. also I, 100. A similar application of '*asabiyah*' is found in al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-hikam* (Madrid, 1958), p. 41. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "Arabische Nachrichten über Zenon den Eleaten," in *Orientalia*, N.S. VI (1937), 33 f. Further examples of '*asabiyah*' in connection with praiseworthy aspirations are found in Yaqut, *Irshad*, ed. Margoliouth (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 6) (Leiden & London, 1907-27), I, 77; 11, 157; (Cairo, 1355-57), II, 129; V, 155; however, in such cases, *ta'assub* is often used. * Al-Qifti, *Inbah*, II, 242; as-Safadi, *Wafi*, IV, 335.

this quarter.¹¹⁰ At any rate, so far as our present knowledge goes, it seems that his use of the term *'asabiyah* in so positive a sense is his most original single intellectual contribution to the *Muqaddimah*.

Preponderance of *'asabiyah* renders one group superior to others; it also determines leadership within a given group. The leading or ruling element within one or more groups will be that person or, more frequently, that family, the importance and ramifications of whose blood relationships give them the strongest and most natural claim to control of the available *'asabiyahs*. And no group can retain its predominance, nor any leader his dominant position in the group, when their former *'asabiyah* is no longer there to support them.

The leader who controls an *'asabiyah* of sufficient strength and importance may succeed in founding a dynasty and in winning *mulk*, "royal authority," for himself and his family. In Ibn Khaldun's vocabulary, the word for both "dynasty" and "state" is *dawlah*, although the idea of "state" also finds approximate expression in the occasional use of such terms as *amr* and *kalimah*.¹¹¹ In Ibn Khaldun's view of history, according to which the whole world and everything in it depends upon man, there is no room for an abstract concept of "the state." A state exists only in so far as it is held together and ruled by individuals and the group which they constitute, that is, the dynasty. When the dynasty disappears, the state, being identical with it, also comes to an end.

¹¹⁰Cf. D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, II, 514: *'asabah* 'agnates,' derived from *'asaba*, 'to surround, fortify,' because, as the jurists say, the agnates surround a man and give him strength."

¹¹¹ *Amr* is a word of many meanings, the principal ones being "command" and "matter." *Kalimah* means "word." In this context, the meaning of either word would seem to be something like "the whole business." *Kalimah* is commonly used in Muslim literature in this sense. It may have gained this meaning from "word" coming to mean "thing," a transition in meaning known from other Semitic languages. Therefore, *kalimah* has usually been translated in the following pages "the whole thing."

According to Ibn Khaldun, the described process of the formation of states does not apply to the early Muslim state. Early Muslim history, with its concept of a pure, unworldly type of state, represented by the first four caliphs, must be considered an exception to the law of *'asabiyah* that governs the formation of states in general. However, this particular case represents one of the rare interventions of the supernatural in human affairs. Therefore, Ibn Khaldun was able to follow the orthodox Muslim view of early Islamic history (and of the recurrence of the early conditions at a later date in the days of the Mahdi as well), and felt justified in dealing extensively with the caliphate and its institutions, even though they were, for him, entirely atypical.

Since the founding of a dynasty or state involves large numbers 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 beings, a large amount of labor, even an excess supply of it, becomes available. A certain amount of labor may then be channeled into 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 permit the cultivation of crafts that serve no actual need but are concerned with mere luxuries.¹¹² Once this

¹¹²Ibn Khaldun's three steps: necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, correspond to Vico's six steps: "Men first feel necessity, then look for utility, next attend to comfort, still later amuse themselves with pleasure, thence grow dissolute in luxury, and finally go mad and waste their substance." Cf. *G. Vico, The New Science*, tr. T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (Ithaca, N. Y., 1948), p. 70. Cf. also Ibn Khaldun's five stages in the life of dynasties, pp. 35a ff, below.

stage in the development of civilization is reached, man is able to develop the sciences which, although they do not produce any material object or immediate gain, nonetheless constitute fulfillment *of* mankind's higher and truly human aspirations in the domains of the spirit and the intellect.

This development towards luxury carries its own penalty with it in the form *of* causing degeneration. The pristine simplicity and rudeness of manners (often called "desert life" and "desert attitude") that flourished in small human organizations, become corroded.¹¹³ Obviously, Ibn Khaldun had a lingering and rather sentimental admiration for "the good old days" when Arab civilization was imbued with the desert attitude. However, he fully recognized the superiority of sedentary culture, the goal of all of man's efforts to become civilized, and was resigned to the inevitability of the development leading to and past it.

The principal victim of this inevitable tendency towards luxury is state and dynasty. Like an individual, the dynasty is endowed with a natural span of life. It runs its full course in three generations-"from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves," so to speak. It passes from obscurity through power and wealth

¹¹³ Again, Vico (*loc. cit.*) agrees with Ibn Khaldun: "The nature of peoples is first crude, then severe, then benign, then delicate, finally dissolute."

Al-Mubashshir b. Fatik, whose *Mukhtar al-hikam*, an anthology of the sayings of the ancient sages, was very popular in Spain-if not in Ibn Khaldun's time, at any rate a century earlier -attributes the following saying to Plato (No. 400 of Plato's sayings, quoted from the edition of the *Mukhtar* prepared by me = ed. Badawi [Madrid, 1958], p. 176):

"Great dynasties are tough of nature at the beginning, able to cope with realities and obedient to God and civil authority. Later on, towards the end of their course [?], when the security of the people has been assured, the latter begin to participate in the well-being that has been prepared for them. Then, submerged in the life *of* abundance and ease which the dynasty has made possible, they give themselves over to luxury and no longer come to the support (*of* the regime when it needs them). They are so affected by this course *of* events that eventually they lack the power to defend themselves against attack. When this has occurred, the power of the dynasty crumbles at the first assault. Dynasties are like fruits: too firm to be eaten at the beginning, they are of middling quality as they grow riper. Once they are fully ripened they taste good, but now they have come as close as fruits can come to rottenness and change."

back into obscurity. Three interrelated factors produce this development and accelerate the eventual "senile decay" of the dynasty: indulgence in luxury, loss of *'asabiyah*, and financial trouble.¹¹⁴ The desire of the ruling group to gain exclusive control over all the sources of power and wealth brings about strained relations and, eventually, a fatal estrangement between the dynasty and the men whose *'asabiyah* supports and maintains it. Its members thus come to need military support from outside sources, and must have money to procure it. Further, their growing addiction to luxurious habits also requires more and more money. To raise the needed sums, they must increase the tax load and try to open up new sources of revenue. Finally, the point of diminishing returns is reached in tax collections and other schemes for securing added revenues.

As a jurist, Ibn Khaldun was naturally much interested in questions of government finance and business matters. The Muslim legal and economic literature in our possession clearly reflects the great practical importance assigned these questions in juridical activity. Yet, this literature is dominated by theoretical considerations and is greatly inclined to follow traditional forms. It is far from containing complete information about the innumerable aspects of financial and economic life that occupied the day-by-day attention of lawyers and jurists and were discussed in academic legal circles. Written formulations of legal questions were largely obliged to follow theoretical lines; practical economic and financial matters were not considered worthy of being treated in books. Thus, Ibn Khaldun's attention to practical questions in a literary work showed admirable boldness. He succeeded in

¹¹⁴Cf. the saying ascribed to Plato in al-Mubashshir b. Fatik, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, No. 148 of Plato's sayings; cf. H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, No. 141) (Tubingen, 1879), p. 224 = ed. Badawi (Madrid, 1958), p. 149:

"Dynasties begin young, grow to adulthood, and pass into their dotage. When the dynasty's income is greater than the ruler and his followers merit, the dynasty is young and promises to endure. When the income becomes equal to the need, the dynasty has reached self-contained adulthood. And when the income falls below what is needed, the dynasty has entered upon its second childhood."

giving a picture of the role of capital and labor in society that not only does credit to his acumen, but bears witness to the high level the legal circles of his time had reached in their understanding of these matters.

In the course of its rapid progress toward senility and final collapse, the dynasty loses control of its own destiny. Often the ruler becomes a ruler in name only, controlled by some outsider who is not a member of the dynasty but who wields the actual power. However, there are limitations to the outsider's sway since no *'asabiyah* ("group feeling") sustains him. Thus, as a rule, he is unable to take over complete authority; eventually he may supersede the dynasty by founding one of his own. To achieve this, however, the challenging person or group must be fired and propelled by possession of a new *'asabiyah*.

All dynastic history moves in circles. As it approaches senility, the dynasty slowly shrinks inwards from its borders toward its center, under the persistent pressure of the new "outside" leader and his group. Eventually, the ruling dynasty collapses. The new leader and his group thereupon constitute a new dynasty, which takes power -only to suffer, in three more generations, the fate of its predecessors.

Here, another problem arises. How, under these conditions, can the survival of any higher civilization be explained? In the first place, there is the great and inevitable attraction of a higher civilization for people on a lower level. Defeated peoples always show a strong tendency towards imitating the customs of their conquerors in every detail. While still struggling against the ruling dynasty, and during the first period of their power after having displaced it, the less civilized groups take over some of the advantages of civilization that the ruling dynasty had possessed. Thus, they do not start completely afresh, and some of the gains of the older civilization, at least, are preserved. Ibn Khaldun's answer to the problem of how all higher civilization is preserved lies in the word *malakah* "habit." *Malakah* is a loan-translation of the Greek ἐξίς, which also was translated into the Latin *habi-*

tus, from which our "habit" is derived.¹¹⁵ Through continuous repetition, an individual may master a craft or a science, thus making it his "habit." This even explains the knowledge of the Arabic language with which the Arabs of former times were born, but which had to be acquired as a "habit" by later generations. Once a person has acquired the "habit" of a craft or science, it is difficult, if not impossible, for him to master another; but mastery of the first habit remains with him permanently. Since the acquisition of habits is a matter of education, they can be passed on to others who aspire to them, provided that proper methods of education and instruction are known and that their exercise does not lapse during political upheavals. Thus, we have an explanation for the survival of past civilizations, though 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.

In Ibn Khaldun's orthodox Muslim environment, it was believed that human intellectual power was always constant and capable of producing the highest civilization at any given time. Therefore, Ibn Khaldun could hardly have assumed that steady progress in human civilization was possible or even necessary. There was, however, another widespread popular notion in his time. 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 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

¹¹⁵Cf. S. Munk, *Melanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1859), p. 450 (n. 1). The same word *malakah* is also used by Ibn Khaldun in a different meaning as a technical term, "rulership." See p. 383, below.

generations, for political and cultural life was moving in never ending, always repeated circles.

After this brief survey of some leading ideas in the *Muqaddimah*, we may ask what the sources are from which Ibn Khaldun drew inspiration and information for his comprehensive picture of human society. He himself acknowledged his great indebtedness to the Muslim literature of political administration and the *Furstenspiegel*. In particular, he referred to al-Mawardi's *Ahkdm as-sultaniyah*, a rather theoretical compilation of basic data on political law and administration, and to the *Furstenspiegel* of the Spaniard at-Turtushi, a mediocre achievement compared with other works of its kind but still containing much relevant material. Ibn Khaldun's references to these two works seem to be from memory: he certainly was familiar with their contents, but he may not have looked into them for some years when he composed the *Muqaddimah*. In addition to this type of works whose general influence he rightly stressed, Ibn Khaldun often indicates the sources from which he derived specific pieces of information.

Much of his material and many of his best ideas Ibn Khaldun owed to his juridical training. In particular, discussions of legal matters with his teachers, fellow students, and colleagues must have contributed greatly to his knowledge. A search for other works in which the material of such oral discussions might have been preserved would not, presumably, be too successful. For, as stated before, Muslim juridical literature is predominantly theoretical in spirit and traditional in form; furthermore, manuscript literature in general is selective and reluctant to admit new disciplines or topics. Each new written work must repeat all or nearly all of the material previously known, else that material would be lost. For all these reasons, we should not expect to find many echoes of the oral exchange of ideas between Ibn Khaldun and his friends, or among lawyers of other periods, in the legal literature.

Moreover, owing to well-known historical circumstances, the amount of Arabic literature from Spain and northwest Africa still extant is proportionally much smaller than that of the Muslim East. We know very little of the Western writings of Ibn Khaldun's time or from the period immediately preceding.¹¹⁶ Under these circumstances, we should perhaps be justified in assuming that practically every matter of detail found in the *Muqaddimah* was probably not original with Ibn Khaldun, but had been previously expressed elsewhere. Even his characterization of *'asabiyah* as a positive factor in society, or his demand for knowledge of social conditions as prerequisite to the historian's correct evaluation of historical information, although seemingly original ideas, may have been inspired by a source yet to be rediscovered.

Our evidence does not permit us to attribute a great amount of originality to Ibn Khaldun so far as the details of his work are concerned. Yet, he was right when he claimed that the *Muqaddimah* was profoundly original and constituted a new departure in scholarly research. Its originality in the intellectual sense is obvious. The *Muqaddimah* re-evaluates, in an altogether unprecedented way, practically every single individual manifestation of a great and highly developed civilization. It accomplishes this both comprehensively and in detail in the light of one fundamental and sound insight, namely, by considering everything as a function of man and human social organization.

How Ibn Khaldun conceived this idea is a question that will probably never be answered, at least not until we learn much more about the workings of the minds of exceptionally gifted individuals. The circumstances of his life gave him the external qualifications needed for the writing of a work like the *Muqaddimah*, and there were other factors that created a favorable atmosphere for its production. It is true that Ibn Khaldun used compara-

¹¹⁶A considerable proportion of the surviving literature *is* very imperfectly known and has yet to be published.

tively few direct examples from contemporary history. This fact becomes still more apparent if one compares the *Muqaddimah* with Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (though the two works are so different in scope and outlook that they should hardly be mentioned in the same breath). The *Principe* is full of events its author had witnessed in his own time, while Ibn Khaldun was more used to deductive than to inductive reasoning. Moreover, as an active politician, he probably felt it necessary to exercise the greatest care in interpreting contemporary events while the chief actors were still alive or while their power remained with their descendants. However, he had wide political experience and a happy ability to view the contemporary political happenings of northwestern Africa with the detachment of a spiritual foreigner, forever comparing them in his own mind with the greatness of his own Spanish homeland.¹¹⁷

But surely there must have been others, perhaps many others, who were similarly situated, and yet did not write a *Muqaddimah*. As it is, we can hardly do better than to state simply that here was a man with a great mind, who combined action with thought, the heir to a great civilization that had run its course, and the inhabitant of a country with a living historical tradition -albeit reduced to remnants of its former greatness-who realized his own gifts and the opportunities of his historical position in a work that ranks as one of mankind's important triumphs.

The Textual History of the *Muqaddimah*

[p. 1:lxxxviii]

1. MANUSCRIPTS

THE TEXT of the *Muqaddimah* is very well attested and documented. Few, if any, works written before modern times can boast of being as well represented by manuscripts. Four manuscripts written during Ibn Khaldun's

¹¹⁷ See p. xxxvi, above. It may be noted that Ibn Khaldun had a very low opinion of Abu Bakr, the Hafsid during whose reign he was born, and did not trouble to conceal it.

lifetime exist in Turkey alone. Two undated ones also exist, which were written, at the latest, shortly after his death. Manuscripts written during an author's lifetime may, of course, contain an inferior text, but in this particular case the quality of the old manuscripts is, in general, very high. One of them (A) is a copy presented to the library of the ruler of Egypt, apparently by Ibn Khaldun himself. Another (B) was written under Ibn Khaldun's eye by his proven amanuensis (who may also have been a friend and admirer). A third copy (C) bears testimony to its accuracy in Ibn Khaldun's own hand.

All these manuscripts have the same textual value that, in the period after the invention of printing, would be ascribed to a book printed under its author's supervision. There may be occasional mistakes, but a carefully written manuscript usually compares favorably with a printed text. Most manuscripts of this type may be confidently regarded as authentic copies of the text, and any factual mistakes or miswriting they contain may be considered the author's own.

Under these circumstances, we should expect the variant readings to be comparatively few and insignificant. Collation shows this to be, indeed, the case. There does exist a great number of very considerable variations among the texts, but these are not variant readings in the ordinary sense. They are additions and corrections made by Ibn Khaldun at different periods of his life. The existence of such extensive emendations demonstrates in a fascinating manner that the medieval author worked much as his modern colleague does. Once the text of the *Muqaddimah* is established with the help of the extant manuscripts, the principal result will be found to be the light it throws upon the history of the text in the hands of its author.

In translating the *Muqaddimah* a certain amount of duplication is unavoidably caused by the existence of an earlier and a later text. Though it would be desirable to translate all variations of the different texts known to have been seen by the author, such an undertaking is impracticable, if not impossible, for a work as long as the *Muqaddimah*. But the manuscript ev-

idence of the *Muqaddimah* also shows that, basically, the text of the work is well established and utterly reliable for purposes of translation.

The excellent quality of the Arabic text of the *Muqaddimah* has often been doubted by Western scholars, but it is an indisputable fact. Such textual difficulties as do occur would not, in any case, be cleared up by a complete collation of manuscripts. In preparing this translation, I have therefore collated only some of the outstanding ones. An exhaustive utilization of all the manuscripts can be expected in the forthcoming edition of the *Muqaddimah* by Muhammad Tawit at-Tanji, who has already published the text of Ibn Khaldun's *Autobiography*.¹¹⁸ Since at-Tanji has traveled widely in search of *Muqaddimah* manuscripts, his edition will surely make it possible to elucidate their interrelationship and to clear up the many problems connected with their history.

The following remarks should be considered as entirely provisional, pending the appearance of at-Tanji's edition. Earlier scholars who have dealt with the manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun¹¹⁹ have often had to rely upon incomplete or secondhand information, and therefore their statements are sometimes more than a bit confused. In order to avoid this danger so far as is within my abilities, I have restricted myself to manuscripts that I have seen myself, with the single exception of the Fez manuscript. Needless to say, my remarks are subject to such revision as a more thorough study of the manuscripts than I was able to undertake may one day make possible.

During my stay in Turkey in the summer of 1952, I consulted the following manuscripts of the *Muqaddimah*:

¹¹⁸See n. 2, above.

¹¹⁹Pioneer work was done by N. Schmidt in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLVI (1926), 171-76; M. Plessner in *Islamica*, IV (1931), 538-42; and Claude Cahen in *Revue des études islamiques*, X (1936), 351 f. The important listing of *Muqaddimah* MSS in *GAL*, II, 245; 2d ed., II, 316; *Suppl.*, II, 343, must also be mentioned. For MSS and editions of Ibn Khaldun's work, one may further compare G. Gabrieli, "Saggi di bibliografia e concordanza della Storia d'Ibn Haldun," in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, X (1924), 169-211. * Cf. Badawi, *Mu'allafat Ibn Khaldun* (Cairo, 1962).

LIBRARY WHERE LOCATED (<i>In Istanbul unless otherwise noted</i>)	MS DESIGNATION
Suleymaniye	Esad 2418 Damad Ibrahim 863 Reis el-kuttap (=Abir I) 679 Halet Eff. 617
Nuru Osmaniye	3423 3424 3065 3066 3067 3069 3070
Topkapusaray	Ahmet III, 3042
Atif Effendi	1936
Ragib Papa	978
Murad Molla	Hamidiye 982
Millet Library	Hekimoklu Ali Papa 805
University Library	MS. ar. 2743
Orhan Cami, Bursa (Brussa)	Huseyin Celebi 793 ¹²⁰

¹²⁰Another MS of the *Muqaddimah* in Turkey (which I was unable to examine) is at Gulsehri, in the library of Kara Vezir Mehmet Pasa Cf. *Une liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliotheques de Kayseri, Aksehir, Bor, Gulsehri, Nevsehir, Wigde, Urgup, publiee a l'occasion du XXII. Congres International des Orientalistes* (Istanbul, 1951), p. 11.

The large number of manuscripts of the *Muqaddimah* in Turkey reflects the great interest of the Ottoman Turks.¹²¹ From this point of view, practically all the manuscripts are of considerable historical import. Here, however, only the oldest and best manuscripts will be briefly described. The letters in the margin are the sigla by which the manuscripts will be designated whenever they are referred to. (*The identification of the manuscripts in this web edition appears in bold.*)

¹²¹See p. lxxvii, above.

A (1) MS. Damad Ibrahim 863. The manuscript contains 433 folios and is not dated. It clearly seems to have been written by the same hand that wrote MS. Damad Ibrahim 867, which contains the sixth part of the *'Ibar*. The latter manuscript is dated Safar 4, 797 [November 29, 1394]. The scribe gives his name as 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. Shihib, a name strangely similar to that of the scribe of our manuscript B of the *Muqaddimah*. But the handwriting is entirely different, so that there is no possibility that the scribes could be identical; this seems anyhow unlikely.

As in some other manuscripts, the text of A is distributed over two parts with separate title pages and tables of contents. Part One contains the beginning, up to and including chapter three, while Part Two contains the rest of the work.

The title page informs us that the manuscript was written for the library of Ibn Khaldun's patron, the Mameluke ruler al-Malik az-Zahiri, with the given name of Barquq (1382-99).¹²² In the manuscript (fols. 7b ff), the work itself is dedicated to Barquq in a long and sincerely affectionate dedication. Ibn Khaldun even changes its title to include the name of his benefactor: *az-Zahiri fi l-'ibar bi-akhbar al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam wa-l-Barbar*; also, at the end of the first part (fol. 235a) and at the end of the second part, reference is again made to the new title *az-Zahiri*. This is further evidence that the manuscript was written during Barquq's lifetime. It is less easy to understand why manuscript B, which was also written during Barquq's life, makes no mention either of the title *az-Zahiri* or of the dedication of the work to him. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see why the manuscript sent to Fez refrained from advertising Ibn Khaldun's renaming of the work.

Manuscript A, the oldest of the preserved manuscripts, is not the best among them. Both B and C are superior to it. A appears to have been written by a professional copyist. The text is nonetheless reliable and comes as close

¹²² See pp. lix ff., above.

to being the equivalent of a published edition of a modern author as any work of the manuscript age. A copy of A formed the basis of Quatremere's edition of the *Muqaddimah*, which thus has the most solid basis that the great French scholar, almost a hundred years ago, could have hoped for.

(2) Another manuscript, written in 798 [1396], is the famous copy of the *Muqaddimah* at Fez. For a long time there has been a sort of mystery around it that is only now beginning to be solved. Much has been written about it in the scholarly literature. Brief reference may be made to it here, though I have not seen it myself.

The manuscript forms part of a complete copy of the *'Ibar* that Ibn Khaldun sent as a *waqf* donation to the Qarawlyin Mosque in Fez. Al-Maqqari, in 1629/30, in his voluminous biography of Ibn al-Khatib, mentioned that he had seen and used the eight-volume copy of the *'Ibar* in the Qarawiyin Mosque in Fez and that a notation in Ibn Khaldun's own handwriting was on it.¹²³

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, J. Graberg of Hemso heard about the existence of an "autograph copy" of the *Muqaddimah* in the Qarawiyin Mosque. However, he was unable to gain access to it.¹²⁴

A copy of the manuscript was apparently used in Nasr alHurini's Bulaq edition of 1274 [1857], but nothing definite can be added in this connection at the present time.

In his *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliotheque de la Mosquee d'El-Qarouiyine* (Fez, 1918), A. Bel listed as No. 1266 a manuscript of the *'Ibar* with a *waqf* notice in Ibn Khaldun's handwriting but failed to say whether No. 1270, which he listed as containing the *Muqaddimah*, belonged to the same set or not.¹²⁵ Following up Bel's lead, in 1923 E. Levi-Provencal

¹²³Cf. al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, IV, 14.

¹²⁴ Cf. his *Notizia intorno alla famosa opera istorica di A'bd-er-Rahman Ibnu Khaldun*, nuova edizione (Florence, 1846), pp. 8 f.

¹²⁵ H. P. J. Renaud reproduced a short passage from this MS, without comment. See 3:123 (n. 616), below.

was able to publish the photograph of a *waqf* deed, dated Safar 21, 799 [November 24, 1396], which he found at the beginning of Volume v of the *'Ibar*.¹²⁶ The same page also contained a notation in Ibn Khaldun's hand: "Praised be God! That which is attributed to me (here) is correct. Written by 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Khaldun." E. Levi-Provencal was also shown a copy of Volume III of the *'Ibar*. However, he was unable to obtain any information as to the *Muqaddimah* manuscript of this set. The scribe of the manuscripts seen was 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan Walad al-Fakhuri, who also copied manuscript B.

In 1930, G. Bouthoul stated that he had examined a two-volume copy of the *Muqaddimah* in Fez. It was, he said, written in Maghribi script and contained poems in the vulgar language at the end, some of which had been composed by Ibn Khaldun in his youth.¹²⁷ These statements have not been verified. In his reprint of de Slane's translation of the *Muqaddimah*, Bouthoul published, as a frontispiece to Volume iii (Paris, 1938), a reproduction of the *waqf* notice which, he said, "... appears at the front of the copy of the *Prolegomena*." However, the photograph turns out to be merely another shot of the same page that had been reproduced before by E. Levi-Provencal.

There are, however, other indications that the copy of the *Muqaddimah* from Ibn Khaldun's *waqf* set of the *'Ibar is*, in fact, preserved in Fez. Recently, A. J. Arberry informed me that he was shown a two-volume copy in Fez. (*However, I was assured in Fez in 1963 that the *Muqaddimah* is lost.)

B (3) MS. Yeni Cami 888. The manuscript contains 273 large folios. One folio, comprising 3:449, 1. 20, to 3:464, 1. 17 of this translation, is missing.

The manuscript is dated Jumada 1 10, 799 [February 9, 1397]. The scribe was 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. al-Fakhkar, who also copied the Fez set and the Aya Sofya and Topkapusaray copies of Ibn Khaldun's *Autobiogra-*

¹²⁶In *Journal asiatique*, CCIII (1923), 161-68.

¹²⁷Cf. G. Bouthoul, *Ibn-Khaldoun, sa philosophie sociale* (Paris, 1930), p. 92.

phy. He copied manuscript B from a manuscript "crowned" with the handwriting of the author, who had also added some marginal notes and additions to it, all of which he copied. We are further told that Ibn Khaldun himself read most of this manuscript copy. His "reading" may have been no more than perfunctory. There can be no doubt, however, as to the excellence of Ibn al-Fakhkhar's work.

The manuscript is not divided into two parts. The table of contents at the beginning covers the whole work. Ibn Khaldun's additions to the original manuscript from which B was copied, occasionally have not been incorporated in the body of the text of B, but are written on separately inserted slips of paper. It may be noted that one event mentioned on an inserted slip occurred less than a year before B was copied. (See note 157 to Ch. iii, below.)

C (4) MS. Atif Effendi 1936. The text of the *Muqaddimah* covers 303 folios. The manuscript breaks off with fol. 302b, corresponding to 3:413 (n. 1620), below; it is continued by another hand for a few lines, and then concludes with Ibn Khaldun's subscription from the end of the *Muqaddimah*. Between fols. 129b and 130a, one quire of the manuscript has been copied in a later hand on seven additional leaves numbered 130a-136b, to replace a missing portion of the original. This situation is indicated, in Arabic, at the bottom left of fol. 129b: "From here on, one quire is missing. We hope that God will restore it in the original." This is followed by a notation in Turkish: "In the handwriting of the late Weysi (Wissi) Effendi," the famous litterateur who lived from 1561 to 1628.¹²⁸ He purchased the manuscript in Cairo on April 7, 1598, a note on the title page informs us.

The first flyleaf of the manuscript contains the following notation: ". . . I happened to read this book, the first volume of the *Kitab al-'Ibar fi akhbar al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam wa-l-Barbar*. I have found it full of many useful notes and numerous ingenious observations. No previous (work) contains as many

¹²⁸Cf. F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 152-54.

interesting remarks or is so rich a treasure-trove of novel, useful notes. The excellence of its composition as well as its order and arrangement show the author's perfect scholarship and his preeminence over his contemporaries in learning and the transmission of knowledge. I wrote these lines realizing the great importance of the book, as a testimony to its author, God give him the opportunity to enjoy it and similar (works), by [?] the Prophet and his family! These lines were written by the weak slave (of God), Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Muhammad al-Isfijabi, on Saturday, Sha'ban 24, 804 [April 29, 14021."

In the upper left-hand corner of the title page appears the following note in Maghribi writing:

This is the draft of the *Muqaddimah* of the *Kitab al-'Ibar ft akhbar al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam wa-l-Barbar*. The contents are altogether scientific¹²⁹ and form a kind of artistic preface to the historical work. I have collated and corrected it. No manuscript of the *Muqaddimah* is more correct than this one. Written by the author of the work, 'Abd-ar-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, God give him success and in His kindness forgive him.

The note is framed by a gold border, the work of some later owner of the manuscript, who has also called attention to the autograph of Ibn Khaldun in a note of his own.¹³⁰

¹²⁹That is, in contrast to historical information based upon tradition.

¹³⁰This was not unusual. Other bibliophiles proud of their treasures made sure that the association value of a MS would not be overlooked. In Istanbul, for instance, a MS copy of Maskawayh's *Jdwidhan Khiradh* (Library Feyzullah, 1587) contains the note of a former owner or student to the effect that it had been studied in the year 589 [1187] by Mas'ud b. Mawdad b. Zengi, atabek of Mosul from 1176 to 1193.



1. Autograph of Ibn Khaldun (upper left corner)
From *MS. C* (Atif Effendi 1936)

The title page contains fifteenth-century notes of sales. Some concern the Tantada'i family. It seems that Badr-ad-din Hasan at-Tantada'i, a blind scholar who lived from about 1400 to 1483¹³¹ bought the manuscript in 1465. He must have given it away while he was still alive, for in 1479 his

¹³¹ Cf. as-Sakhawi, *ad-Daw' al-lami*, III, 94 f.

son Baha'-ad-din Muhammad purchased it from his brothers Ahmad and Yahya. Further information about the manuscript may be gleaned from the title page - the story of its purchase by Weysi (Wissi) Effendi mentioned above, for instance. One of the owners' notes is dated in the year 1665/66. Another, dated in 1705/6, is that of a Mecca judge, but there is no reason to believe that the manuscript was at that time in Mecca. The judge may have been a resident of Istanbul.

The verso of the title page contains the table of contents for the entire work, since (like manuscript B) manuscript C is not divided into two parts. At the top, we find the following notation: "Completion of the writing of the book, 804 [1401/4]"

There can be no doubt that C was written during Ibn Khaldun's lifetime. However, until recently, the problem of whether the note in his handwriting is genuine may well have arisen, for until then the only authentic specimen of Ibn Khaldun's handwriting available for comparison was the two lines in Maghribi handwriting in the Fez manuscript. Similarity between them and the writing in C is not striking, although there are a number of points of similarity. Other probable autographs of Ibn Khaldun (recently reproduced by W. J. Fischel in his *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, pp. 8 f., 11, and by at-Tanji in his edition of the *Autobiography*) are all written in a good Eastern hand and are therefore of no help for establishing the authenticity of the note in Maghribi writing in C. The problem has now been decided by H. Ritter's¹³² publication of eleven lines in Ibn Khaldun's Western handwriting from the *Tadhkirah al-jadidah* of his pupil Ibn Hajar. These lines indubitably are in the same hand as that of C. Only a scribe well acquainted with Ibn Khaldun's handwriting, using it as a model, could have forged the specimen in C. This, however, is most unlikely and need not be considered seriously. The autograph manuscript of Ibn Khaldun's *Lubab al-Muhassal* (cf. p. xlv, above) is of comparatively little help in this connection. The script as it

¹³²Cf. H. Ritter, "Autographs in Turkish Libraries," in *Oriens*, VI (1953), 83 and pl. xvii.

appears on the specimens from the middle and the end of the manuscript reproduced in the edition, is not strikingly similar to the one used in C or in the note published by Ritter, nor is it markedly different. But it should be noted that the *Lubab al-Muhassal* was written from forty-four to fifty years earlier than the other two documents, and Ibn Khaldun's signatures definitely look alike in all cases.

The fact that Ibn Khaldun continued using his Western hand writing in Egypt does not necessarily dispose of the genuineness of the specimens in Eastern script. We do not know whether Ibn Khaldun's early education included a course in Eastern hand writing, but he probably used the Eastern script rarely, if ever, before he went to Egypt. However, it may have been much easier to wear Western dress in the East (as Ibn Khaldun did) than to attempt to use the Western script there. Ibn Khaldun himself tells us¹³³ that the Western script was difficult for Egyptians to read; on one occasion, as a favor to a Western poet, he had one of the latter's poems transcribed in the Eastern script for presentation to Barquq. Although in this case, Ibn Khaldun presumably did not do the actual copying himself, yet it seems almost certain that, on many occasions, he considered it advisable to use the Eastern handwriting in Egypt. In particular, when making notes on a copy of one of his works written in the Eastern script, he may have preferred to use it. There are obvious traces of Western calligraphic style in the presumed specimens of Ibn Khaldun's Eastern handwriting, especially in the forms of *s* and *d*.¹³⁴ However, if Ibn Khaldun did not have considerable previous experience in writing an Eastern hand before coming to Egypt-and this seems doubtful -it is remarkable that a man past fifty succeeded so well

¹³³ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 271.

¹³⁴ Cf. William Wright (ed.), *The Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions (Oriental Series)*(London, 1875-83), pl. lxxxiv: "Ibn Khaldun's own hand is that of a Maghribi who has trained himself to write in the Egyptian fashion."

in changing his accustomed style.¹³⁵ It may thus be that the presumed specimens of his Eastern hand were not written by him after all.

The text of C contains many of the additions and corrections that constitute the later stages of the text of the *Muqaddimah*. Most of them were written by the writer of the entire manuscript. Unfortunately, the name of the scribe is not given; but, of course, he was a person other than Ibn Khaldun.

How are we to interpret the historical data just reviewed? The most likely explanation, which, however, still involves guesswork, seems to be as follows. Manuscript C was copied in 804 [1401/2] from an early text of the *Muqaddimah*, presumably Ibn Khaldun's own copy. The additions and corrections found in it were transferred verbatim to C by the same scribe.¹³⁶ Ibn Khaldun had indicated on his copy the year 804 as the date when he had stopped working on the *Muqaddimah* (for the time being, at least). Later in the same year, al-Isfijabi, probably the first owner of C, affixed his admiring note at the beginning of the work, after reading it.

Manuscript C was used in later centuries as model for other copies. For example, Nuru Osmaniye 3424, which was copied by a certain Mehmet Muezzinzade for 'Ali Pasha (d. 1716)¹³⁷ and which is dated Rabi' 1 4, 1127 [March 10, 1715], has the same lacuna at the end as C. The same is true of the manuscript which in Quatremere's edition was referred to as A,¹³⁸ though it remains to be seen whether that manuscript was copied from our manuscript C directly or indirectly. The manuscript Hamidiye 982 contains a note to the

¹³⁵ Another famous scholar from the Muslim West, Ibn Sayyid-an-nas (cf. *GAL*, II, 71 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 77), who, however, was born in Cairo, is said to have had a good knowledge of both the Egyptian and the Maghribi scripts. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, IV, 209. Cf. also the handwriting in the autograph of Ibn Sa'id (see below, 3:445), described by F. Trummer, *Ibn Sa'id's Geschichte der vorislamischen Araber* (Stuttgart, 1928), p. 21.

¹³⁶ Passages that appear as marginal additions in C are occasionally found incorporated in the texts of A and B.

¹³⁷ Cf. *EI*, s.v. "Ali Pasha Damid."

¹³⁸ See pp. c f., below. This MS has the additions that appear in the MS. Ragib Pala but not in C or any other of the available MSS. See p. xcix, below.

effect that it was collated with the Atif Effendi manuscript, that is, with C, by a certain Hajj 'Abd-ar-Razzaq in 1177 [1763/64]. (Cf. below, p. xcix.)

D (5) MS. Huseyin Celebi 793 in Bursa (Brussa). This manuscript was noted in *Une Liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliothèques de Bursa, publiée à l'occasion du XXII. Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Istanbul, 1951), p. 49. The catalogue number and the date of the manuscript are not, however, correctly designated on this list. Dr. Ahmed Ates first called my attention to this manuscript.

The manuscript contains 239 folios. It is dated Wednesday, Sha'ban 8, 806 [February 20, 1404]. The name of the scribe is given as Ibrahim b. Khalil as-Sa'di ash-Shafi'i al-Misri. On its title page it has an owner's note dated in the year 850 [1146/47], written by Yahya b. Hijji ash-Shafi'i, of the famous family of scholars. Starting early as a student and bibliophile, he was only twelve or thirteen years old when he wrote the note in manuscript D. He died in 888 [1483].¹³⁹ Ibn Hijji's note would seem to make it practically certain that D was, indeed, written in 806, and is not a later copy of the manuscript written in that year, as might well be possible otherwise. For it must be pointed out that D, despite its date, is not an exceptionally good manuscript but contains a number of omissions and a great many other mechanical mistakes.

Manuscript D clearly was based on C, or was derived from the archetype from which C itself was copied. This origin is indicated, for instance, where D inserts a meaningless *man yaqsidu* after *ghayriyah* at Vol. 111, p. 68, line 6, of the Paris edition (in this translation, 3:86, l. 19, below). In C a mark after *ghayriyah* indicates that a marginal note is to be added at this place. However, *man yaqsidu* does not belong there. It is to be inserted after *waqasd* in line 15 (3:87, l. 5, below), where the fact that it was omitted is

¹³⁹Cf. as-Sakhawi, *ad-Daw' al-lami'*, X, 252-54.

indicated by another omission mark after *wa-qasd*. The intended marginal note to *ghayriyah* apparently was never written.

Manuscript D had subsequently a rather curious history. The original colophon of the year 806 was frequently included in later copies, and these copies were mistaken for the original.¹⁴⁰ Thus, Nuru Osmaniye 3423 has been mistaken for the manuscript of 806, but script and paper exclude the possibility that it was written in the fifteenth century. In fact, its similarity to Nuru Osmaniye 3424, mentioned above, p. xcvi, dates it in the early eighteenth century.

Another copy of D is the manuscript Hekimoglu Ali Pasa 805, which has a flyleaf notation to the effect that it was written in 1118 [1706/7] for one Abu'l-Khayr Ahmad. The second part of the manuscript Halet Effendi 617 is likewise a copy of D.

E (6) MS. Ahmet III, 3042, Vol. 1. The manuscript contains 297 folios. It is not dated but has an owner's note of the year 818 [1415/16] in the name of one Muhammad b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman adDarib. Consequently, it must have been written in or before that year. The manuscript is important because (apart from the basic text of C) it is the only old manuscript available that contains an early form of the text of the *Muqaddimah*.

Another volume found under the same catalogue number contains Ibn Khaldun's personal copy of the *Autobiography*.¹⁴¹ It was written out by Ibn al-Fakhkhar (cf. above, p. xciii). However, if my memory does not deceive me, manuscript E is in a different hand.

(7) MS. Halet Effendi 617 consists of two parts, in 235 and 181 folios, respectively. The second part has already been mentioned as a copy of D. The first part, however, dates back to the fifteenth century. It has an owner's

¹⁴⁰The dependence of other MSS on D can easily be checked with the help of the omissions in D, as, for instance, the passage from 3:420 (n. 1649) to 3:426 (n. 1680), below.

¹⁴¹ Cf. at-Tanji's introduction to his edition of the *Autobiography*, pp. 10 f.

note in the name of a Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Qusawi (?), dated 853 [1449].

(8) MS. Ragib Pasa 978 contains 382 folios. It is of recent date, no earlier than the early eighteenth century. The note of a reader who tried to collate and correct the manuscript is dated in 1153 [1740/41]. One of the marginal notes in the manuscript refers to az-Zurqani, the commentator of Malik's *Muwatta'*, who died in 1122 [1710].

This manuscript, the text of which has yet to be studied, is interesting because it contains occasional marginal notes originating from a manuscript written by a certain al-Qatari, claimed by him to have been copied from "the original manuscript." This Qatari evidently was the Abu s-Salah Muhammad al-Hanafi al-Qatari who wrote the manuscript Nuru Osmaniye 3066, dated Monday, Dhu 1-Qa'dah 14, 1082 [March 13/14, 1672]. In another Nuru Osmaniye manuscript, 9065, which the same scribe finished on Sunday, Dhu 1-Qa'dah 90, 1101 [September 4(?), 1690, he was described as an imam and preacher of the Jami' al-Wazir (Mosque of the Wazir) in the Border City (*thaghr*) of Jidda. However, there is no further information about "the original manuscript" that al-Qatari claimed to have used. Judging from such passages as those below, p. 192 (n. 260), and p. 230 (n. 349), it cannot have been C, unless in its present state C has not preserved all the inserted slips it once contained. (Cf. above, p. xcvi [n. 198].)

2. EDITIONS

Editions of the *Muqaddimah* are as numerous as manuscripts. The work is studied in the schools and colleges of the Arab countries. At least in recent years, it seems that each year produces a new reprint of the text, but most of these editions are worthless. A constantly increasing number of misprints disfigures them. It would be reassuring, though not particularly instructive, to review all these editions and investigate their interdependence. Since I have been unable to do this, my remarks are restricted to such observations

as I can make about editions in my private possession. The rare Paris edition is not among these but is, of course, well represented in the great libraries.

Publication and translation of small portions of the *Muqaddimah* before 1857-58 are associated with such names as HammerPurgstall and Silvestre de Sacy. Today, their works have little more than bibliographical interest, and full listing may, therefore, be reserved as a task for the compiler of the complete bibliography of Ibn Khaldun, which has been needed for so long. In the meantime, de Slane's observations, in the introduction to his translation of *the Muqaddimah* (Vol. i, pp. cxv-cxvi -see p. cviii, below), and those by G. Gabrieli (see note 119, above) suffice. Cf. now W. J. Fischel's bibliography, pp. 483 f. of Vol. 3, below, as well as the one by H. Peres in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), II, 304-29.

(1) The first complete scholarly European edition of the *Muqaddimah* was brought out by Etienne Marc Quatremere in Paris in 1858, under the title of *Prolegomenes d'Ebn-Khaldoun*. It was printed by Firmin Didot Freres in three volumes, figuring as Volumes xvi, xvii, and xviii of the *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Impiriale*, published by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Quatremere had died only the year before at the age of seventy-five, regretted as a scholar of great merits but also, it seems, one who was at odds with his colleagues and with the world in general.

Quatremere did not live to publish an introduction to his edition. According to W. M. de Slane, the French translator of the *Muqaddimah*, Quatremere based his text on four manuscripts, presently located as follows. Quatremere's manuscript A, dated 1146 [1733], is in the Bibliotheque Nationale, catalogued as No. 1524 of the Arabic manuscripts. MS. B, dated 1151 [1738], is in Munich as No. 373 in Aumer's catalogue.¹⁴²

¹⁴² The MS belonged to Quatremere personally; his large library was acquired by the then King of Bavaria for his library in Munich.

MS. C, a copy made in 1835/36 of the Damad Ibrahim manuscript referred to above (pp. xc ff.) by the letter A, is now in the Bibliotheque Nationale, catalogued as No. 1517. MS. D, the oldest manuscript among the four used by Quatremere and dated 1067 [1656/57], is No. 5136 among the Arabic manuscripts of the Bibliotheque Nationale.¹⁴³

On the surface, the manuscript basis of Quatremere's edition seems rather shaky. However, Quatremere was fortunate in being able to use a copy of the oldest extant manuscript (our A), which, apparently, was very reliable. His good fortune extended further, in that among his manuscripts he discovered the last and most complete text of the *Muqaddimah* as it came from Ibn Khaldun's pen. Thus, he was able to offer in his edition a good complete text. The only exception to this statement concerns some particularly difficult passages such as the poems at the end of the *Muqaddimah*, where Quatremere's edition fails us completely. That his edition includes a good number of minor misprints may be blamed, in part, on the fact that the printing firm chosen by Quatremere did not specialize in printing long Arabic texts. However, few printed editions of Arabic texts are free from misprints. The misprints in Quatremere's edition, though numerous, do not amount to much as a major shortcoming of his edition. The principal reproach to be laid against him is that he neglected to indicate textual differences and variant readings among his manuscripts, as accurately and carefully as we could wish. These may have seemed of small importance to him, and they often are; however, he made it difficult for later scholars to judge the quality of his work correctly.

No. 654 of Aumer's catalogue contains a very few excerpts from the *Muqaddimah*. Strangely enough, Aumer remarks that this MS agrees with Quatremere's MS. A. For the possibility that Quatremere's A is a copy of the Atif Effendi MS. C, see p. xcvi, above.

¹⁴³ Cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions* (Paris, 1925). Of course, this MS was no new acquisition, but in de Slane's catalogue of the Arabic MSS in Paris it was mentioned only in the Table de Concordances as No. 742 i-corresponding to No. 5076 of the handwritten catalogue.

As a matter of fact, Quatremere's edition has often been maligned unfairly, and still is undervalued at the present time. The editor's negligence in indicating manuscript variants is part of the reason. The obvious fact that the manuscripts used were of recent date has also aroused mistrust. However, it should be stated bluntly that much of the unfair treatment meted out to Quatremere's work must be laid at the door of William MacGuckin de Slane, the French translator of the *Muqaddimah*. With an unusual pettiness, such as betrays some personal grudge, de Slane went so far as to note even the most minor and obvious misprints in Quatremere's edition, and treated them as major, damning blunders in the footnotes to his translation. He left no doubt as to how poorly he regarded Quatremere's work, and de Slane was supported in this view by Dozy, who wrote an influential review of the translation. In his review, R. Dozy brushed Quatremere's edition aside as a product of the scholar's senility. Between them, de Slane and Dozy set the stage for an unfriendly reception of Quatremere's work. It has been more for this reason, than for any more solidly based one, that doubts concerning the quality of Quatremere's text have been voiced and demands for a new edition raised. While a new edition will mean a great step forward, it will not expose major factual defects in Quatremere's text.

(2) While Quatremere's edition was still in press, an Egyptian edition of the *Muqaddimah* appeared, which had been printed at Bulaq near Cairo. Finished in Safar, 1274 [September/October, 1857], it was printed in a very large format and succeeded in compressing the entire text to 316 pages. The editor was Nasr al-Hurini (d. 1874)¹⁴⁴ an Egyptian scholar of considerable merit. Although it was intended to form the first volume of a complete edition of the *Ibar*, only the *Muqaddimah* was published at this time.

To judge by occasional marginal notes, al-Hurini apparently used two manuscripts, which he called the Fez and the Tunis manuscripts. Of course, there is no consistent indication of variant readings. Al-Hurini often correct-

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *GAL*, II, 489 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 726.

ed the text according to his own judgment, a fact de Slane noted in the introduction to his translation (pp. cix f.). Indeed, it seems that in practically all instances where the Bulaq edition diverges from the manuscripts that have come to my attention, we have to reckon with free corrections by the editor. Sometimes his text gives the impression of being superior, but this superiority lacks documentary confirmation. Only in a few passages, as, for instance, 3:235 and 3:446 (n. 1813), below, do we find indisputable instances of a superior text in the Bulaq edition. Thus, the text of the Bulaq edition may usually be disregarded even where it is tempting to rely on its *lectio facilior*. Final judgment on it, however, should be postponed until the entire manuscript evidence has been thoroughly investigated.

However, Bulaq has some importance of its own by virtue of the fact that it provides the earliest text of the *Muqaddimah* presently available in printed form, with the fewest number of the author's later corrections and additions. The Tunis manuscript preserves Ibn Khaldun's original dedication to the Hafsid ruler. The Fez manuscript appears to go back to Ibn Khaldun's donation copy (see pp. xci ff above). In these respects the Bulaq edition supplements the Paris edition which represents a much later stage of the text of the *Muqaddimah*.

(3) Ten years later, in 1284 [1867/68], the complete text of the *'Ibar* was published in Bulaq in seven volumes. The first volume contains the *Muqaddimah* in 534 pages. The text is identical with that published previously and even retains al-Hurini's notes. However, it may be noted that in the chapter on letter magic, the new edition contains the magical table between pp. 436 and 437, and some of the material on magic that had been omitted from the first Bulaq text (pp. 255-57). So far as the quality of the text of the rest of the *'Ibar* is concerned, it clearly leaves much to be desired.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ For partial editions and translations of sections of the *'Ibar* other than the *Muqaddimah*, cf. *GAL*, II, 245; *Suppl.*, II, 343 f.

(4) All later Oriental reprints, so far as I know, are based upon the Bulaq text and take no cognizance of the Paris edition. One very successful reprint of this sort was undertaken in Beirut in 1879 (and published early in 1880). I have before me a second, identical edition of the year 1886.

The technically very ambitious project of publishing a fully vocalized edition of the *Muqaddimah, in usum scholarum*, was also undertaken in Beirut.¹⁴⁶ I have before me a photomechanical reproduction of the vocalized Beirut edition. This reproduction was put together in the Printing House of Mustafa Muhammad in Cairo, and although it is not dated, it must be about twenty to twenty-five years old. The "publisher" does not indicate the origin of his text but states on the title page that he is reserving all rights for himself and that his edition has been checked by a committee of scholars against a number of manuscripts!

The long chapter on letter magic is omitted in my copy, as are all the long dialect poems and some of the *muwashshahahs* and *zajals* at the close of the *Muqaddimah*. In addition, the vocalized text is slightly censored, omitting comments that appear to reflect adversely upon Christianity (p. 480 and 3:82, below), as well as remarks dealing with sexual matters (2:295, below). The difficult and exhausting task of vocalizing the entire text of the *Muqaddimah* has been fairly successfully executed. However, the text

A concordance of pages of de Slane's edition of the *Histoire des Berberes*, his translation of it, and Vols. VI and VII of the Bulaq edition, has been provided by G. Gabrieli in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, X (1924), 169-211. A reprint of de Slane's translation of the *Histoire des Berberes* was undertaken under the supervision of P. Casanova (Paris, 1925, 1927, and 1934), but did not go beyond Vol. III. The pagination of the reprint is the same as that of the first edition. (Vol. IV was published in Paris in 1956, without the bibliography originally promised.)

Cf. further, O. A. Machado, "La historia de los Godos segun Ibn Haldun," in *Cuadernos de Historia de Espana* (Buenos Aires), I-II (1944), 139-55.

¹⁴⁶ According to some old notes of mine, which I am at present unable to check, the vocalized text appeared simultaneously with the unvocalized Beirut edition. However, Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, states that the first vocalized edition appeared in 1900.

as such is unusually poor, shot through with mistakes and marred by many omissions.

There are many other Egyptian reprints of the *Muqaddimah*. Some of these do not follow the Beirut edition, but the Bulaq text. In this way each has perpetuated itself in successive reprint editions marked by increasing numbers of mistakes. I have before me editions of 1327 [1909] and 1348 [1.930], as well as one very recent reprint of the Beirut text, undated but printed in Cairo, that is an especially outrageous insult to the noble art of printing.

(5) Some editions of brief excerpts of the *Muqaddimah* are mentioned below, p. cix. See also footnote 31 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction.

(6) The plans of at-Tanji for a critical edition of the *Muqaddimah* were mentioned above, p. lxxxix.

3. GRADUAL GROWTH OF THE TEXT

Before passing on to the translations, a word may be said about the gradual growth of the text of the *Muqaddimah*. From the available evidence, as presented in the preceding pages, it is possible to draw the following picture of the history of the text in Ibn Khaldun's hands.

Ibn Khaldun himself informs us that he wrote the *Muqaddimah* during a period of five months ending in the middle of the year 779 [November, 1377]; see 3:480, below. He was far from any large library, and had to rely largely on his memory and notes. He then went to Tunis, where he had access to the books he needed to consult, and there he finished the entire *History*. He presented a copy to the Hafsid Abu l-'Abbas of Tunis (1370-94).¹⁴⁷ It is possible that one of the manuscripts on which the Bulaq edition was based contains this oldest text. But none of the available manuscripts or editions has it. The earliest texts at present available are those of the Bulaq edition and

¹⁴⁷ See p. lvii, above.

manuscript E, but since they already contain indications of Ibn Khaldun's stay in Egypt, they can be no earlier than 1382.

Ibn Khaldun's habit of correcting and expanding the *History* continued while he was in Egypt. In one particular case it is expressly stated that Ibn Khaldun lectured on the *Muqaddimah* in Egypt¹⁴⁸ He probably devoted more time to his work when he was out of *office* than when he was judge, but he never ceased trying to improve the *Muqaddimah* or collecting additional material for it, even when in office.¹⁴⁹ He was constantly reading pertinent material and even had Egyptian Bedouins recite poetry to him (3:438 f., below), But it seems that, primarily, the material for his additions and corrections derived from his lectures on the *Muqaddimah* and other subjects. This would explain why the sections dealing with traditions and jurisprudence - subjects on which he lectured *ex-officio* and in which his students were professionally interested-show the most numerous traces of larger and smaller revisions.

It would be wrong to consider the successive stages of the text of the *Muqaddimah* as "recensions" in the proper sense of the term. For instance, Ibn Khaldun never changed the passages where he speaks of himself as still being in the Maghrib. His additions and corrections were jotted down unsystematically in a longdrawn-out process, much as a modern author might add notes in the margins of his published works.

Ibn Khaldun's corrections rectify obvious mistakes committed earlier, as, for instance, in his treatment of the division of the earth into zones (pp. 111 ff., below). Or, in the case of quotations, they supply a better text obtained with the help of some new source: an example is Tahir's *Epistle* to his son.¹⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun had already corrected his original quotation from Ibn

¹⁴⁸ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 40, quoting as-Sakhawi, *ad-Daw' al-lami'*, VIII, 233.

¹⁴⁹ See p. cvi, below.

¹⁵⁰ See pp. lxx ff., above, and 2:139 ff., below.

al-Athir with the help of at-Tabari by the time A was written, and C still preserves the marginal corrections which later copyists entered in the body of the text.

The table of contents at the beginning of the work, which treats the *Muqaddimah* as an independent work,¹⁵¹ must nonetheless have been added by the author at an early stage, for it appears already in A. Ibn Khaldun also adds quotations from works he has come across in further reading, as a sort of afterthought. Or, he expands and changes the text, because it no longer seems to express adequately or fully the ideas he has in mind. A minor instance of this kind of correction (or revision) can be found in a passage where Ibn Khaldun thought it advisable to tone down a strong expression of monistic mysticism (2:398, below). The most prominent emendations in the text of the work are of this kind, although there are not a great many of them. An outstanding example of Ibn Khaldun's concern for clear expression is the very considerable enlargement of his introductory remarks to the sixth chapter, dealing with the sciences (2:411 ff., below). The earliest text in which the expanded version occurs is manuscript C, so it must have entered the text of the *Muqaddimah* between 1397 and 1402. This interval may perhaps be further restricted to the period between 1397 and 1399, because Ibn Khaldun was thereafter extremely busy with official duties. However, it should not be forgotten that, even while on official business, Ibn Khaldun found time to study. In fact, the last-dated entry in the *Muqaddimah* refers to reading accomplished during his stay in Damascus in the spring of 802 [1400] (2:229 f., below); and he found time to insert the note bearing upon it in manuscript C.

A later stage, the latest we know of, in fact, is represented by the Bursa manuscript D of 806 [1404]. It shows that Ibn Khaldun was still working on his book two years before his death. Characteristic of this stage in the development of the text of the *Muqaddimah* was his replacement of a distich

¹⁵¹See p. lxviii, above.

near the end with another very beautiful one (3:478, below). It shows that Ibn Khaldun retained his fine appreciation of poetry up to a time of life when many men, and especially men of affairs, no longer give much thought to it.¹⁵²

That most of Ibn Khaldun's additions and corrections were incorporated into the body of the text in the manuscripts written during his lifetime is shown by manuscript D. This process did not always come off without mishaps, as a striking example below (pp. 365 f.) indicates.

In general, it is possible to show at what stage in the textual history of the *Muqaddimah* almost any addition or correction was made by Ibn Khaldun. Undoubtedly, if a manuscript of the preEgyptian "recension" of the work were to become available, still greater precision would be attained. The history of the text of the *Muqaddimah* offers a classical example of how an author's variant readings originate and how they influence the traditional appearance of his work.

4. PREVIOUS TRANSLATIONS

(1) The first complete translation of the *Muqaddimah* ever published was a Turkish version. In the year 1730 Pirizade Effendi (1674-1749) translated the *Muqaddimah* from the beginning through the fifth chapter. This Turkish text was published in Cairo in 1275 [1859],¹⁵³ in a lithographed edition of 617 pages in large format; the translation ended on p. 522. On the remaining pages, the work was completed by a reproduction of the Arabic text based on the first Bulaq edition. A few pages on Ibn Khaldun's life serve as introduction, compiled by Ahmet Jevdet Effendi, later Pasha (1822-95). The

¹⁵² For the *'Ibar*, the latest date to be found in the Bulaq text is 796 [1394]; cf. *'Ibar*, V, 508; VI, 9. The Bulaq text of *'Ibar*, VI, 200, refers to the year 799, but this appears to be a misprint, since de Slane's translation, II, 110 gives 796. It would, however, seem probable that MSS of the *'Ibar* with additions of a later date exist.

¹⁵³ F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 282 f., mentions an edition (Bulaq, 1274) of 626 pp. I have no further information about it. M. Mostafa Ziada refers to a Turkish translation of the *Muqaddimah* made for Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt [?]. Cf. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, IV (1953), 267.

latter also translated the remaining sixth chapter of the *Muqaddimah*, which was published in Istanbul in 1277[1860/61],¹⁵⁴ accompanied by copious explanatory notes.

(2) A complete French translation, under the title of *Prolegomenes historiques d'Ibn Khaldoun*, was published by William MacGuckin de Slane on the basis of Quatremere's edition and with comparison of the Paris manuscripts used by Quatremere, the first Bulaq edition, and the Turkish translation (in part). The three volumes appeared in Paris in the years 1862, 1865, and 1868, as Vols. xix to xxi of the *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Imperiale*.

De Slane did an altogether admirable job of presenting a highly readable and, in the main, accurate translation of the work. The "freedom" of his version has often been unjustly censured, for it was intentional, and a "free" translation is perfectly legitimate for a work with the stylistic character of the *Muqaddimah*. There are occasional mistakes of translation, some of them caused by the difficulty of the subject matter and the language, others of a sort that might easily have been avoided. Explanatory footnotes are sparse, and de Slane usually did not bother to indicate the sources for his statements. However, the concluding words of R. Dozy's review of de Slane's work still stand: "Rarely has so difficult a book been translated so well."¹⁵⁵

A photomechanical reproduction of de Slane's translation was published in Paris in 1934-38, with a brief preface by G. Bouthoul. Important corrections to the translation were provided by R. Dozy in the review by him which appeared in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 133-218. More recently, a number of valuable corrections were published by A. Bombaci, "Pos-

¹⁵⁴ According to Babinger, this is the third volume of a complete edition of the Turkish translation, begun in 1275 [1858/59]. I am familiar only with the volume containing the sixth chapter. For the work on the *Ibar* by 'Abd-al-Latif Subbhi Pasha (1818-1886), published in Istanbul in 1276 [1859/60], cf. Babinger, pp. 368-70.

¹⁵⁵ In *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 218.

tille alla traduzione De Slane della *Muqaddimah* di Ibn Haldun," in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, N.5. III (1949), 439-72.

For many years after the publication of de Slane's translation, scholars, almost to a man, relied on it for their quotations from the *Muqaddimah*. The occasional exceptions have been noted in footnotes to this translation at the appropriate passages. Only in recent years have fresh translations of comparatively large sections of the *Muqaddimah* begun to be made.¹⁵⁶

(3) In English, there are a few brief passages in R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1922). Recently, a rather large selection of brief excerpts was published by Charles Issawi, under the title of *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London, 1950).

(4) The book by Erwin Rosenthal, entitled *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken fiber den Staat* (Munich and Berlin, 1932), consists largely of excerpts from the *Muqaddimah*, in German translation. A large volume of selections in German translation was published by A. Schimmel in Tübingen in 1951, under the title of *Ibn Chaldun: Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus der muqaddima*.

(5) A short selection of Arabic passages with accompanying French translation was published by G. Surdon and L. Bercher under the title of *Recueil de textes de sociologie et de droit public musulman contenus dans les "Prolegomenes" d'Ibn Khaldoun*, "Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Supérieures Islamiques d'Alger," No. 6 (Algiers, 1951). The translators profess their particular concern for bringing out the basically juridical flavor of Ibn Khaldun's terminology.

5. THE PRESENT TRANSLATION

A work such as the *Muqaddimah*, modern in thought yet alien in language and style, may be presented to the modern reader in one of three ways. It may be translated as literally as the second language permits. The translator may go farther and use modern phraseology and style. Or, finally, the

¹⁵⁶ For early partial translations, see p. c, above.

work may be recast and given the form it would have had it been written by a contemporary author in the second language.

If a translation is to impress the modern reader with the full worth and significance of the original, the last-mentioned approach would seem to be the ideal one. Realizing this, scholars have frequently chosen to publish selected and rearranged passages of the *Muqaddimah*. However, a complete rewriting in this manner, besides being hardly practicable, would almost necessarily produce a subjective interpretation of the *Muqaddimah*, and thereby obscure Ibn Khaldun's thought..

The second approach to translation was what de Slane attempted. It, too, has pitfalls. One is the danger of distorting the author's ideas by modernizing them, and thereby attributing to him thoughts that were utterly foreign to him. Moreover, a work dealing with a great variety of subjects, and the *Muqaddimah* is certainly such a work, depends to a great extent in its formal and intellectual organization upon the threads of association that the author's particular terminology and way of expression provide.

The drawback of any completely literal translation is obvious: it may easily be incomprehensible to the general reader. Further, a literal translation often entirely perverts the literary character of the original. It is transformed from a literary product using the normal and accepted forms of its own language into a work rendered strained and unnatural by not conforming to the style of the language into which it was translated.

The present translation was begun in the belief that a mixture of the literal and modernizing types of rendering would produce the most acceptable result. Yet, it must-be confessed that with each successive revision, the translator has felt an irresistible urge to follow ever more faithfully the linguistic form of the original.

The literalness of the present version is intended to reduce to a minimum the amount of interpretation always necessary in any translation. The reader unfamiliar with the Arabic original ought to be encumbered by no

more than an unavoidable minimum of subjective interpretation. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun's particular terminology, which he evolved with great pains for his "new science," had to be preserved as far as possible; to some degree, it must have impressed his contemporary readers as unusual. Therefore, at least the outstanding terms, such as *'umran*, *'asabiyah*, *baddwah*, were preserved in the translation by rather artificial loan renderings ("civilization," "group spirit," "desert life or attitude"). This involved the occasional occurrence of expressions such as "large civilization." But any other procedure would irrevocably have destroyed the essential unity of Ibn Khaldun's work, which is one of its main claims to greatness.¹⁵⁷ For the sake of literalness, an attempt has been made to translate passages that are repeated in the original, in identical or nearly identical words, in the same fashion each time. However, since such repetitions occur frequently in the text of the *Muqaddimah*, the attempt probably remained unsuccessful, or, at best, only partly successful. Some modernizing tendency remains in the translation but it chiefly affects syntactical and stylistic features, and only very rarely the vocabulary.

Ibn Khaldun's contemporaries praised the literary quality of the *Muqaddimah* highly. Ibn Khaldun himself, in a poetical dedication of his *History*, used rather exuberant language in speaking of the linguistic perfection of his work:

I tamed rude speech. It may be said that

Refractory language becomes in (my work) amenable to the words I utter¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ It seems regrettable, and in some ways definitely misleading, that it was not possible to give a uniform translation to such commonly used words as *nasab* "descent, pedigree, lineage, family," *sirr* "secret," *faun* "branch," and many others. In quite a few cases, as, for instance, in the case of *sultan* "government, authority, ruler, Sultan," it may seem advisable to add the Arabic at each occurrence. I decided against such a procedure, and only very rarely will the reader find an Arabic word added in brackets in the text of the translation.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 24,0, l. 10.

This self-praise was, of course, a routine authors had to follow in the past when the advertising methods of the modern publishing business were as yet unknown. But others chimed in with their praise. The style of the *Muqaddimah* was said to be "more brilliant than well-strung pearls and finer than water fanned by the zephyr." It was called a "Jahizian" style, reminiscent of the verbal fireworks of al-Jahiz, the celebrated model of good Arabic style.¹⁵⁹ All these testimonies may have been rather perfunctory; still, they certainly have some basis in fact. It is true, as has often been remarked, that Ibn Khaldun did not always adhere strictly to the accepted norms and rules of classical Arabic, which were artificial to him and remote from the speech habits of his time. But Ibn Khaldun's long, rolling, involved sentences, his skillful and yet restrained application of rhetorical figures, and his precise use of a large, though not farfetched, vocabulary make it indeed a pleasure to read the *Muqaddimah*, or to hear it read aloud.¹⁶⁰

However, the modern translator's agreement with such positive appraisals of the linguistic and stylistic qualities of the *Muqaddimah* is somewhat forced. For, alas! all the factors that enhance the beauty of the work in its original language and justified the admiration of Ibn Khaldun's contemporaries, are so many thorns in the translator's flesh. His long sentences have constantly to be broken up into smaller units, and the cohesiveness of the author's style is thereby loosened. In keeping with a common stylistic feature of Arabic speech, Ibn Khaldun could repeat pronouns through whole pages, thus confronting his translator with the task of supplying the appropriate nouns. Ibn Khaldun also was extremely fond of a threefold *parallelismus membrorum*, another source of embarrassment to the translator. The ordinary twofold parallelism, well known from the Bible, is difficult enough to translate, an imitation of the threefold one practically impossible. Sometimes, one word or phrase may do as a translation of all three mem-

¹⁵⁹ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 419 (n. 7).

¹⁶⁰ See pp. *lxviii* f., above,

bers, but more often than not, the threefold parallelism can only be broken up into seemingly redundant phrases. Another stylistic feature is a kind of inversion by means of which later elements of a story are given first, and the earlier elements are given later, in a sentence introduced by "after." This can be brilliant in Arabic but is most often unpalatable in modern English translation (although it would have been somewhat more acceptable in another age, in the eighteenth century, for instance).

The large number of parentheses (in the translation) is the result of the need for clarifying stylistic changes. These parentheses have been used in order to indicate to the reader that in these passages the translator has added something that is not literally found in the Arabic text. They may be disregarded, and the text enclosed by them should be considered an integral part of the context. In a few cases, however, the words in parentheses serve another purpose, namely, that of explaining the preceding words.

In the choice of explanatory footnotes the translator has more leeway. Ibn Khaldun's own ideas and the way he expressed them offer no particular difficulties to the understanding. But the numerous passages where technical details are discussed or earlier authors are quoted sorely try the translator's knowledge of words and things. Incidentally, Ibn Khaldun himself is on record as admitting that he did not quite understand the text he copied (at 2:224 and 3:183, below). Like many other Arabic works, the *Muqaddimah* contains some passages where it obviously was much easier for the author to copy his source than it is for the translator to find out the meaning of the text copied. In general, where the translator has succeeded in understanding Ibn Khaldun's text correctly, very little in the way of added explanation is necessary.

However, historical understanding and interpretation of the work pose greater problems. The *Muqaddimah* was composed nearly at the end of the intellectual development of medieval Islam, and the work covers practically all its aspects. A well-nigh incalculable number of notes and excursuses

would be required if one were to comment on the historical significance of Ibn Khaldun's statements and put each of them in proper perspective. Nearly a century ago de Slane felt that he could provide unlimited notes and explanations to his translation (cf. his introduction, p. ii), but he refrained from doing so for the sake of brevity. In the end, he did very little indeed in the way of annotation.¹⁶¹ Since his time, the material that has a sound claim to consideration in the notes has grown immeasurably. A hundred years ago, very few printed Arabic texts existed, and nearly all the pertinent information was still buried in manuscripts. Even nowadays, when a good part of Arabic literature has become available in printed form, it is often necessary, in connection with the *Muqaddimah*, to refer to manuscripts. In fact, our knowledge has outgrown the stage where the historical problems of a work like the *Muqaddimah*, considered in its entirety, can be elucidated by means of footnotes. The important task of interpretation must be left to monographs on individual sections of the text, a scholarly labor that has been attempted so far only on a very small scale.¹⁶² In the notes to this translation, the major problem has been one of selection, that of providing references that give the fullest possible information in easily accessible form.

In some respects, it has been possible to be briefer than de Slane. Nowadays, many of Ibn Khaldun's examples from political history no longer require comment, nor, from the point of view of modern historiography and sociology, does the acceptability of Ibn Khaldun's historical interpretations have to be argued.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹See p. cviii, above.

¹⁶²Cf., for instance, the article by Renaud quoted below, n. 616 to Ch. VI. For earlier attempts in this direction by S. van den Bergh, J. -D. Luciani, and H. Frank, see nn. I, 263, and 454 to Ch. vi.

¹⁶³The total number of "mistakes" of one kind or another in the *Muqaddimah* is astonishingly small. Vico's *La scienza nuova*, by comparison, is full of wrong and outdated statements; of the translation by T. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (Ithaca, N. Y., 1948), p. viii. Naturally, Vico was handicapped by his age's predilection for learned information. The desire to show off one's learning led to committing many blunders, but also prepared the soil for a tremendous growth of true learning, such as the prudent and staid civilization of Ibn Khaldun would never have contemplated.

A reference to C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, where authors and works of literature are concerned, makes it possible to dispense with further references, save, perhaps, for very recent bibliographical material, which has been carefully examined before inclusion. The *Encyclopedia of Islam* and that splendid time-saving tool, the *Concordance et Indices de la tradition musulmane*, were also, in many cases, considered sufficient as guides to further study.

Apart from obvious references of this kind, and a certain amount of necessary philological comment,¹⁶⁴ the selection of notes has been guided by one dominant consideration. Works that Ibn Khaldun himself knew, knew about, or may reasonably be supposed to have known or known about, have been emphasized. Knowledge of Ibn Khaldun's sources is of immeasurable assistance in better understanding his historical position and significance. While a very small start in this direction could be made in the footnotes to this translation, I am convinced that this kind of comment should be given preference over any other.

When I had completed my version, I compared it with the previous translations as carefully as possible, giving particular attention to de Slane's. I have not considered it necessary to acknowledge de Slane's help whenever I have corrected mistakes of my own. Nor have I felt it necessary to signal passages where I think de Slane erred. The reader ignorant of Arabic may be slightly puzzled when he observes the divergences, often considerable, between this translation and that of de Slane. Nonetheless, my hope is that he will put greater reliance in the present translation, although its recent origin, of course, is no guarantee of its correctness.

Rendering proper names is a minor problem in all translations from the Arabic, as here. Arabic proper names can easily be transcribed, and the method of transcription employed here needs no special comment. Howev-

¹⁶⁴ Variant readings of the MSS have, however, not been indicated with any degree of consistency. Cf. p. lxxxix, above.

er, foreign proper names, and especially place names in northwestern Africa (the Maghrib), make for complications. European place names, Spanish ones most notably, have been translated into their accepted English or current native form. Place names from the East are given in transcription, except when a generally accepted English form exists. There may, however, be differences of opinion as to what constitutes a generally accepted English form. Thus, some of the proper names as well as generally known Arabic terms retained in the translation have been deprived of their macrons or circumflexes, while others, with perhaps an equal claim to such distinction, have been left untouched; as a rule, preference has been given to accurate transcription. With a very few exceptions, place names from northwestern Africa have been given in what may be considered the most widely used and acceptable of the various French forms; usually, a transcription of the Arabic form has been added. In the case of Berber names, we will know how Ibn Khaldun pronounced them, once a study of the manuscripts of the *Ibar* has been made. For the time being, we know his pronunciation only in those cases where the manuscripts of the *Muqaddimah* and the *Autobiography* indicate it, and his pronunciation has, of course, been followed. In modern scholarly literature, there seems to be little agreement on the finer points of the transcription of ancient Berber tribal and personal names.

Much more might be said about technical details arising out of the present translation. However, if they were wrongly handled, mere knowledge of that fact would not repair the harm done to, nor, if they were correctly applied, increase by itself the usefulness of, the translation of what has been called with little, if any, exaggeration, "undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (2d ed.; London, 1935), III, 322. cxv

INVOCATION

[p.1:3]

IN THE NAME OF GOD; THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE. PRAY, O GOD, FOR OUR LORD MUHAMMAD AND HIS FAMILY AND THE MEN AROUND HIM.

THE SERVANT of God who needs the mercy of God who is so rich in His kindness, 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Khaldun al-Hadrami-God give him success!-says:¹ Praised be God! He is powerful and mighty. In His hand, He holds royal authority and kingship.² His are the most beautiful names and attributes. His knowledge is such that nothing, be it revealed in secret whispering or (even) left unsaid, remains strange to Him. His power is such that nothing in heaven and upon earth is too much for Him or escapes Him.

He created us from the earth as living, breathing creatures. He made us to settle³ on it as races and nations. From it, He provided sustenance and provisions for us.

The wombs of our mothers and houses are our abode. Sustenance and food keep us alive. Time wears us out. Our lives' final terms, the dates of

¹ These words are written in Maghribi script in B and C. MSS written later in Ibn Khaldun's life are more effusive. A already has: "The *Shaykh*, jurist, imam, (religious) scholar, chief judge, Wali-ad-din'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Khaldun-God lengthen his life-has said...." C adds in the margin: "This is the Muslim Judge, Wali-ad-din Abu Zayd al-Maliki." D reads: "Our Lord and Master, the servant of God who needs God, Wali-ad-din, the Muslim Judge, Abu Zayd'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Khaldun al-Hadrami al-Maliki -God lengthen his days and strengthen his judgments and repair all his powers [cf. n, 145, below] and seal his actions with good deeds in His excellence and and generosity, for He is likely and able to do that, and He 'has power over everything'-has said...."

² These terms (*mulk* and *malakut*) are commonly used to refer to the natural and supernatural worlds, respectively.

³ The root '*mr*', from which '*umran*' "civilization" is derived, is used here. It is the purpose of the *khulbah* "invocation" of Arabic works to summarize the main theme of the work, and this is what Ibn Khaldun attempts to do here in two paragraphs.

The word "races," Arabic *ill*, may also mean "generations." It is occasionally translated by "groups." See p. 249, l. 2, below.

which have been fixed for us in the book (of destiny), claim us. But He lasts and persists. He is the Living One who does not die.

Prayer and blessings upon our Lord and Master, Muhammad, the Arab⁴ prophet, whom Torah and Gospel have mentioned and described;⁵ him for whose birth the world that is was (already) in labor before Sundays were following upon Saturdays in regular sequence and before Saturn and Behemoth had become separated;⁶ him to whose truthfulness pigeon and spider bore witness.⁷

(Prayer and blessings) also upon his family and the men around him who by being his companions⁸ and followers gained wide influence and fame and who by supporting him found unity while their enemies were

⁴ Bulaq adds "illiterate."

⁵In the medieval polemics between Muslims and Christians and Muslims and Jews, an important subject of discussion was the references to Muhammad that, according to Muslim theologians, could be found in Scripture. Cf., for instance, Maimonides, *Epistle to Temen*, ed. and tr. A. S. Halkin and B. Cohen (New York, 1952), p. viii; J. Horowitz in *El*, s.v. "Tawrat"; W. M. Watt, "His Name is Ahmad," in *The Muslim World*, XLIII (1953), 110-17.

⁶ Muhammad existed prior to time and space, if not in body at least in soul and through the divine light of prophecy, which, as something divine, was also primeval. The (Neo-Platonic, mystic, Shi'ah) theory of the primeval prophetic light was common in orthodox Islam long before Ibn Khaldun's time and had been spread mainly through the medium of Sufism. Cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre and Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1917), pp. 313 ff.; L. Massignon in *El*, s.v. "Nur Muhammadi."

Saturn occupies the seventh heaven and, therefore, represents the most remote distance, Cf. W. Hartner in *El*, s.v. "Zubal."

Al-Bah(a)mut is the Biblical Behemoth of Job 40:15, which Jewish tradition identified with Leviathan. Some commentators of Qur'an 68.1 (1) (cf. al-Baydawi and the references given by de Slane) identify the mythological fish upon which the earth rests with Behemoth.

⁷When Muhammad left Mecca to go to Medina, he stayed in a cave for some time. Meccans who went after him saw that two pigeons had built a nest over the entrance to the cave, and/or a spider had spread a web over it. They concluded that no one could have used the cave recently. This famous legend, which is mentioned by the commentaries on Qur'an 9.40 (40), is of rather late origin and was considered with some suspicion even by medieval biographers of the Prophet. Cf. Ibn Kathir, *Biddyah* (Cairo, 1351-58/1932-40), III, 181 f.

⁸ *Sahbatihl*, as in B and D. A, C, and E have *mahabbatihi* "loving him."

weakened through dispersion. Pray, O God, for him and them, for as long as Islam shall continue to enjoy its lucky fortune and the frayed rope of unbelief shall remain cut! Give manifold blessings (to him and them)!

FOREWORD

[p.1:6]

HISTORY is a discipline widely cultivated among nations and races. It is eagerly sought after. The men in the street, the ordinary people, aspire to know it. Kings and leaders vie for it.

Both the learned and the ignorant are able to understand it. For on 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 affairs), how certain dynasties came to occupy an ever wider space in the world, and how they settled the earth until they heard the call and their time was up.

The inner meaning of history, on the other hand, involves speculation and an attempt to get at 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).⁹

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

⁹Cf. Bombaci, p. 441.

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 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.

Many systematic historical works have been composed, and the history of nations and dynasties in the world has been compiled and written down. But there are very few (historians) who have become so well known as to be recognized as authorities, and who have replaced the products of their predecessors by their own works. They can almost be counted on the fingers of the hands; they are hardly more numerous than the vowels in grammatical constructions (which are just three). There are, for instance, Ibn Ishaq;¹⁰ at-Tabari;¹¹ Ibn al-Kalbi;¹² Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Wagidi;¹³ Sayf b. 'Umar al-Asadi;¹⁴ al-Mas'udi,¹⁵ and other famous (historians) who are distinguished from the general run (of historians) .

It is well known to competent persons and reliable experts that the works of al-Masudi and al-Waqidi are suspect and objectionable in certain respects.¹⁶ However, their works have been distinguished by universal ac-

¹⁰ Muhammad b. Ishaq, author of the famous biography (*sirah*) of Muhammad. He died in 150 or 151 [A.D. 767/68] Cf. GAL, 1, 134f. Suppl., 1, 205 f.

¹¹ Muhammad b. Jarir, author of the *Annales*, 224/25-310 [839-923]. Cf. GAL, I, 142 f. Suppl., 1, 217 f.

¹² Hisham b. Muhammad, d. 204 or 206 [819/20 or 821/22]. Cf. GAL, 1, 138 ff. Suppl., I, 211 f.

¹³ The biographer of Muhammad and historian of early Islam, 130-207 [747-823]. Cf. GAL, 1, 135 f.; Suppl., 1, 207 f.

¹⁴ He died in 180 [796/971]. Cf. GAL, Suppl., 1, 213 f.

¹⁵ Ali b. al-Husayn, d. 345 or 346 [956 or 957]. Cf. GAL, I, 143 fl. Suppl, I, 270 f.

¹⁶ Ibn Khaldun's Egyptian pupil, Ibn Hajar, is a good witness as to the partisan objections of theologians against the historians mentioned. Al-Mas'udi's works are out of circulation (*tafiyah*), because he was a Shi'ah and Mu'tazilah, and the Spaniard Ibn Dibyah (cf. GAL, I, 310 fl.; Suppl., I, 544 f.)

ceptance of the information they contain and by adoption of their methods and their presentation of material. The discerning critic is his own judge as to which part of their material he finds spurious, and which he gives credence to. Civilization, in its (different) conditions, contains (different) elements to which historical information may be related and with which reports and historical materials may be checked.

Most of the histories by these (authors) cover everything because of the universal geographical extension of the two earliest Islamic dynasties¹⁷ and because of the very wide selection of sources of which they did or did not make use. Some of these authors, such as al-Mas'idi and historians of his type, gave an exhaustive history of the pre-Islamic dynasties and nations and of other (pre-Islamic) affairs in general. Some later historians, on the other hand, showed a tendency toward greater restriction, hesitating to be so general and comprehensive. They brought together the happenings of their own period and gave exhaustive historical information about their own part of the world. They restricted themselves to the history of their own dynasties and cities. This was done by Ibn Hayyan, the historian of Spain and the Spanish Umayyads,¹⁸ and by Ibn ar-Ra'iq, the historian of Ifrigiyah and the dynasty in Kairouan (al-Qayrawan).¹⁹

thought very little of him. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan* (Hyderabad, 1329-30/1911-13), IV, 224f. Al-Waqidi is often considered an untruthful transmitter of historical traditions and ignorant of pre-Islamic history. Ash-Shafi'i declared all his writings to be lies. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), III, 14 ff.; and Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* (Hyderabad, 1325-27/1907-9), IX, 363 ff.

¹⁷That is, the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids.

¹⁸Hayyan b. Khalaf, 377-469 1987/88-10761. Cf. *GAL*, I, 338; *Suppl.*, I, 578; and see below, 3:364. B and C change the correct *IbnHayyan* in the margin to Abu Hayyan.

¹⁹Ibrahim b. al-Qasim, who lived *ca.* A.D.1000. Cf. *GAL*, I,155; *Suppl.*, I, 229, 252; see also below, 1:360 and 3:363.

Ifriqiyah reflects the name of the Roman province of Africa. This geographical term is commonly used by Ibn Khaldun (cf. p. 130, below) and has been retained in the translation

The later historians were all tradition-bound and dull of nature and intelligence, or, (at any rate) did not try not to be dull. They merely copied²⁰ the (older historians) and followed their example. They disregarded the changes in conditions and in the customs of nations and races that the passing of time had brought about. Thus, they presented historical information about dynasties and stories of events from the early period as mere forms without substance, blades without scabbards, as knowledge that must be considered ignorance, because it is not known what of it is extraneous and what is genuine. (Their information) concerns happenings the origins of which are not known. It concerns species the genera of which are not taken into consideration, and whose (specific) differences are not verified.²¹ With the information they set down they merely repeated historical material which is, in any case, widely known, and followed the earlier historians who worked on it. They neglected the importance of change over the generations in their treatment of the (historical material), because they had no one who could interpret it for them. Their works, therefore, give no explanation for it. When they then turn to the description of a particular dynasty, they report the historical information about it (mechanically) and take care to preserve it as it had been passed on down to them, be it imaginary or true. They do not turn to the beginning of the dynasty. Nor do they tell why it unfurled its banner and was able to give prominence to its emblem, or what caused it to come to a stop when it had reached its term. The student, thus, has still to search for the beginnings of conditions and for (the principles of) organization of (the various dynasties). He must (himself) investigate why the various dynasties brought pressures to bear upon each other and why they succeeded each other. He must search for a convincing explanation of the elements that made for mutual separation or contact among the dynasties. All this will be dealt with in the Introduction to this work.

²⁰ Literally, "wove on the loom." Cf., for instance, n. 1444 to Ch. vi, below.

²¹ For these terms of logic, see below, 3:142, 145, and 272, for example. Cf. Bombaci, p. 441.

Other historians, then, came with too brief a presentation (of history). They went to the extreme of being satisfied with the names of kings, without any genealogical or historical information, and with only a numerical indication of the length of reigns.²² This was done by Ibn Rashiq in the *Mizan al-'amal*,²³ and by those lost sheep who followed his method. No credence can be given to what they say. They are not considered trustworthy, nor is their material considered worthy of transmission, for they caused useful material to be lost and damaged the methods and customs acknowledged (as sound and practical) by historians.

When I had read the works of others and probed into the recesses of yesterday and today, I shook myself out of that drowsy complacency and sleepiness. Although not much of a writer,²⁴ I exhibited my own literary ability as well as I could, and, thus, composed a book on history. In (this book) I lifted the veil from conditions as they arise in the various generations. I arranged it in an orderly way in chapters dealing with historical facts and reflections. In it I showed how and why dynasties and civilization originate. I based the work on the history of the two races that constitute the population of the Maghrib at this time and people its various regions and cities, and on that of their ruling houses, both long- and short-lived, including the rulers and allies they had in the past. These two races are the Arabs and the Berbers. They are the two races known to have resided in the Maghrib for such a long time that one can hardly imagine they ever lived elsewhere, for its inhabitants know no other human races.

I corrected the contents of the work carefully and presented it to the judgment of scholars and the elite. I followed an unusual method of arrange-

²²For the so-called "dust letters" mentioned here as used for numerical indication, see n. 883 to Ch. vi, below.

²³Hasan b. Rashiq, 390 to 456 or 463 [1000 to 1064 or 1070/711. Cf. GAL, I, 307; *Suppl.*, I, 599 f. Ibn Khaldun's reference to the *Mizan al-'amal* was apparently copied by Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf ax-zunun*, ed. Flugel (Leipzig & London, 1835-58), VI, 385. The *Mizan al-'amal* is not preserved.

²⁴Literally, "I bargained on my own for authorship though I was bankrupt... ."

ment and division into chapters. From the various possibilities, I chose a remarkable and original method. In the work, I commented on civilization, on urbanization, and on the essential characteristics of human social organization, in a way that explains to the reader how and why things are as they are, and shows him how the men who constituted a dynasty first came upon the historical scene. As a result, he will wash his hands of any blind trust in tradition. He will become aware of the conditions of periods and races that were before his time and that will be after it.

I divided the work into an introduction and three books:

The Introduction deals with the great merit of historiography, (offers) an appreciation of its various methods, and cites errors of the historians.

The First Book deals with civilization and its essential characteristics, namely, royal authority, government, gainful occupations, ways of making a living, crafts, and sciences, as well as with the causes and reasons thereof.

The Second Book deals with the history, races, and dynasties of the Arabs, from the beginning of creation down to this time. This will include references to such famous nations and dynasties - contemporaneous with them,²⁵ as the Nabataeans,²⁶ the Syrians, the Persians, the Israelites, the Copts, the Greeks, the Byzantines, and the Turks.

The Third Book deals with the history of the Berbers and of the Zanatah who are part of them; with their origins and races; and, in particular, with the royal authority and dynasties in the Maghrib.

Later on, there was my trip to the East, in order to find out about the manifold illumination it offers and to fulfill the religious duty and custom of circumambulating the Ka'bah and visiting Medina, as well as to study the systematic works and tomes on (Eastern) history. As a result, I was able to

²⁵ Since the pre-Islamic Arabs are considered to have existed since the beginning of the world, all the nations of the world may be said to have been their contemporaries.

²⁶ The Nabataeans, according to Muslim belief, were the pre-Islamic population indigenous to the Iraq. The ancient Syrians, as well as the Nabataeans, include the ancient Mesopotamians.

fill the gaps in my historical information about the non-Arab (Persian) rulers of those lands, and about the Turkish dynasties in the regions over which they ruled. I added this information to what I had written here (before in this connection). I inserted it into the treatment of the nations of the various districts and rulers of the various cities and regions that were contemporary with those (Persian and Turkish) races. In this connection I was brief and concise and preferred the easy goal to the difficult one. I proceeded from general genealogical (tables)²⁷ to detailed historical information.

Thus, (this work) contains 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 references to the great dynasties that were contemporary 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, and Berbers, and the Supreme Rulers Who Were Contemporary with Them."²⁸

²⁷Bulaq and E have *al-asbab* "general causes," but the reading *al-ansab* seems preferable. The genealogical tables are the ones which Ibn Khaldun regularly adds to the historical description of peoples and dynasties in the *Ibar*.

²⁸In Arabic: *Kitdb al-'Ibar wa-diwan al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar fi ayyam al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam wa-l-Barbar wa-man 'asarahum min dhawi as-sultan al-akbar*. The exact meaning of the title, especially of the words *diwan al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar*, translated here by "Archive of Early and Subsequent History," has given rise to much speculation. A recent discussion is that of R. Kobert in *Orientalia*, n.s. XV (1946), 150-54. The different suggestions are conveniently summarized by Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, p. 25 (n. 92). Closest to the correct understanding was Silvestre de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie arabe* (Paris, 1826), II, 290.

Al-mubtada' and *al-khabar* placed next to each other are grammatical terms which refer to the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence. The subject of a nominal sentence comes at the beginning and the predicate usually at the end. The sense in which Ibn Khaldun wants "beginning" and "end" to be understood here is made amply clear by the preceding sentence (as well as by the whole *Muqad-*

I omitted nothing concerning the origin of races and dynasties, concerning the synchronism of the earliest nations, concerning the reasons for change and variation in past periods and within religious groups, concerning dynasties and religious groups, towns and hamlets, strength and humiliation, large numbers and small numbers, sciences 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 and causes of it(s existence).

As a result, this book has become unique, as it contains unusual knowledge and familiar if hidden wisdom. Still, after all has been said, I am conscious of imperfection when (I look at) the scholars of (past and contemporary) times.²⁹ 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 (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.³⁰

dimah). In the preceding sentence, *mubtada' al-ahwal wa-ma ba'dahu min al-khabar*, translated here by "early conditions and subsequent history," refers to the "early conditions," the beginnings of human social and political organization, which come first like the subject of a nominal sentence; "subsequent history" (*khabar*) follows upon them as the predicate of a nominal sentence follows its subject. The grammatical connection is conceived by Ibn Khaldun as a logical connection, suggesting a causal nexus between "early beginnings" and "subsequent history."

²⁹ *Ahl al-'usur*. For this expression, cf. *Autobiography*, p. 297, and below, 2:465 (*a'immat al-a'sar*).

³⁰ Cf. Qur'an 5.175 (167). In some MSS, a dedication addressed to a particular patron follows here.

INTRODUCTION

The excellence of historiography. -An appreciation of the various approaches to history. -A glimpse at the different kinds of errors to which historians are liable. Something about why these errors occur.³¹

[p.1:16]

IT SHOULD BE KNOWN that history is a discipline that has a great number of (different) approaches. Its useful aspects are very many. Its goal is distinguished.

(History) makes us acquainted with the conditions of past nations as they are reflected in their (national) character. It makes us acquainted with the biographies of the prophets and with the dynasties and policies of rulers. Whoever so desires may thus achieve the useful result of being able to imitate historical examples in religious and worldly matters.

The (writing³² of history) requires numerous sources and greatly varied knowledge. It also requires a good speculative mind and thoroughness. (Possession of these two qualities) leads the historian to the truth and keeps him from slips and errors. If he trusts historical information in its plain transmitted form and has no clear knowledge of the principles resulting from custom, the fundamental facts of politics, the nature of civilization, or the conditions governing human social organization, and if, furthermore, he does not evaluate remote or ancient material through comparison with near or contemporary material, he often cannot avoid stumbling and slipping and deviating from the highroad of truth. Historians, Qur'an commentators and leading transmitters have committed frequent errors in the stories and events they reported. They accepted them in the plain transmitted form, without regard for its value. They did not check them with the principles underlying

³¹The following four pages were translated by R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 176-79. The Arabic text, down to p. 56, l. 30, of this translation, was edited with notes and a glossary by D. B. Macdonald, *A Selection from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun* (Semitic Study Series, No. 4) (Leiden, 1905; repr. 1948).

³²Nicholson supplies "student" instead of "writing."

ing such historical situations, nor did they compare them with similar material. Also, they did not probe (more deeply) with the yardstick of philosophy, with the help of knowledge of the nature of things, or with the help of speculation and historical insight. Therefore, they strayed from the truth and found themselves lost in the desert of baseless assumptions and errors.

This is especially the case with figures, either of sums of money or of soldiers, whenever they occur in stories. They offer a good opportunity for false information and constitute a vehicle for nonsensical statements. They must be controlled and checked with the help of known fundamental facts.

For example, al-Mas'udi and many other historians report that Moses counted the army of the Israelites in the desert.³³ He had all those able to carry arms, especially those twenty years and older, pass muster. There turned out to be 600,000 or more. In this connection, (al-Mas'udi) forgets to take into consideration whether Egypt and Syria could possibly have held such a number of soldiers. Every realm may have as large a militia as it can hold and support, but no more. This fact is attested by well-known customs and familiar conditions. Moreover, an army of this size cannot march or fight as a unit. The whole available territory would be too small for it. If it were in battle formation, it would extend two, three, or more times beyond the field of vision. How, then, could two such parties fight with each other, or one battle formation gain the upper hand when one flank does not know what the other flank is doing! The situation at the present day testifies to the correctness of this statement. The past resembles the future more than one (drop of) water another.

Furthermore, the realm of the Persians was much greater than that of the Israelites. This fact is attested by Nebuchadnezzar's victory over them.

³³Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab* (Paris, 1861-77), I, 93 f.; IV, 20. Al-Mas'udi refers briefly to the number of Israelites. According to al-Bakri, *Kitab al-masalik wa-l-mamalik* (MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 3034, fol. 47a), Moses left Egypt with 620,000 men able to carry arms, not counting those under ten and over sixty years of age. The exact number 603,550 found in Num. 1:46, was also known to the Arabs; cf., for instance, Ibn Kathir, *Bid'ayah*, I, 321, where the printed text gives 603,555.

He swallowed up their country and gained complete control over it. He also destroyed Jerusalem, their religious and political capital. And he was merely one of the officials of the province of Fars.³⁴ It is said that he was the governor of the western border region. The Persian provinces of the two 'Iraqs,³⁵ Khurasan, Transoxania, and the region of Derbend on the Caspian Sea³⁶ were much larger than the realm of the Israelites. Yet, the Persian army did not attain such a number or even approach it. The greatest concentration of Persian troops, at al-Qadisiyah, amounted to 120,000 men, all of whom had their retainers. This is according to Sayf³⁷ who said that with their retainers they amounted to over 200,000 persons. According to 'A'ishah and az-Zuhri,³⁸ the troop concentration with which Rustum advanced against Sa'd at al-Qadisiyah amounted to only 60,000 men, all of whom had their retainers.

Then, if the Israelites had really amounted to such a number, the extent of the area under their rule would have been larger, for the size of administrative units and provinces under a particular dynasty is in direct proportion to the size of its militia and the groups that support the (dynasty), as will be explained in the section on provinces in the first book.³⁹ Now, it is well known that the territory of the (Israelites) did not comprise an area larger than the Jordan province and Palestine in Syria and the region of Medina and Khaybar in the Hijaz.⁴⁰ Also, there were only three generations⁴¹ between

³⁴Al-Mas' di, *Muruj adh-dhahah*, I,117, describes him as governor of the 'Iraq and the Arabs for the Persian King (King of Fars). Cf. also at-Tabari, *Annales*,I, 646.

³⁵That is, Mesopotamia and northwestern Persia adjacent to it.

³⁶Cf. W. Barthold in *El*, s.v."Derbend." For the "Gates" and Derbend, see also p. 155, below.

³⁷See p. 7, above. For the numbers of the participants in this battle, see also p. 321, below.

³⁸Muhammad b. Muslim, who died between 123 and 125 [740 and 742/43]. Cf. GAL, I, 65; *Suppl.*, I, 102.

³⁹See pp. 327 ff., below.

⁴⁰See also p. 474, below.

Moses and Israel, according to the best-informed scholars. Moses was the son of Amram, the son of Kohath (*Qahat* or *Qahit*), the son of Levi (*Lewi* or *Lawi*),⁴² the son of Jacob who is Israel-Allah. This is Moses' genealogy in the Torah.⁴³ The length of time between Israel and Moses was indicated by al-Mas'udi when he said: "Israel entered Egypt with his children, the tribes, and their children, when they came to Joseph numbering seventy souls. The length of their stay in Egypt until they left with Moses for the desert was two hundred and twenty years. During those years, the kings of the Copts, the Pharaohs, passed them on (as their subjects) one to the other."⁴⁴ It is improbable that the descendants of one man could branch out into such a number within four generations.⁴⁵

It has been assumed that this number of soldiers applied to the time of Solomon and his successors. Again, this is improbable. Between Solomon and Israel, there were only eleven generations, that is: Solomon, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed (*Ubidh*, or *Ufidh*), the son of Boaz (*Ba'az*, or *Bu'iz*), the son of Salmon, the son of Nahshon, the son of Amminadab (*Amminddhab*, or *Hamminddhab*), the son of Ram, the son of Hezron (*Had/srun*, or *Hasran*), the son of Perez (*Baras*, or *Bayras*), the son of Judah, the son of Jacob. The descendants of one man in eleven generations would not branch out into such a number, as has been assumed. They might, indeed, reach hundreds or thousands. This often happens. But an increase beyond that to higher figures⁴⁶ is improbable. Comparison with observable

⁴¹The early text, as represented by Bulaq, had the statement (later corrected by Ibn Khaldun) that there were four generations between Moses and Jacob. Amram is made the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath. Cf. also, for instance, ath-Tha'labi, *Qisas al-anbiya'*, at the beginning of the chapter on Moses.

⁴²The MSS state that the L of Levi should have either i or a, as indicated above. *For Israel-Allah, cf. at-Tabari, I, 442.

⁴³Exod. 6:16 ff.

⁴⁴The quotation is not, apparently, to be found in al-Mas'udi.

⁴⁵population increase, see also *Ibar*, V, 506.

⁴⁶Literally, "to higher powers of ten" (*'uqud*). Cf. also J. Ruska, *Der Islam*, X(1920), 87 ff. Somewhat different, Bombaci, p. 441.

present-day and well-known nearby facts proves the assumption and report to be untrue. According to the definite statement of the Israelite Stories,⁴⁷ Solomon's army amounted to 12,000 men, and his horses⁴⁸ numbered 1,400 horses, which were stabled at his palace. This is the correct information. No attention should be paid to nonsensical statements by the common run of informants. In the days of Solomon, the Israelite state saw its greatest flourishing and their realm its widest extension.

Whenever⁴⁹ contemporaries speak about the dynastic armies of their own or recent times, and whenever they engage in discussions about Muslim or Christian soldiers, or when they get to figuring the tax revenues and the money spent by the government, the outlays of extravagant spenders, and the goods that rich and prosperous men have in stock, they are quite generally found to exaggerate, to go beyond the bounds of the ordinary, and to succumb to the temptation of sensationalism. When the officials in charge are questioned about their armies, when the goods and assets of wealthy people are assessed, and when the outlays of extravagant spenders are looked at in ordinary light, the figures will be found to amount to a tenth of what those people have said. The reason is simple. It is the common desire for sensationalism, the ease with which one may just mention a higher figure, and the disregard of reviewers and critics. This leads to failure to exercise self-

⁴⁷Cf. I Kings 10:26. As a rule, Muslim scholars gave an unpleasant connotation to the term "Israelite Stories," as mere fiction presented as history. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 417.

⁴⁸*Muqrabat* is an adjective used in connection with horses and camels. Ibn Khaldun uses the word commonly for good riding (or race) horses; see 2:358, below, and *Ibar*, V, 473, 479 f., 501; VI, 289, 394; VII, 36. The vocalization *muqrabat*, as against *muqarrabat*, is confirmed by a verse of Ibn Khaldun's in the *Autobiography*, p. 73, I. 4. Regardless of what the original derivation of the term may have been (cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, II, 158; Ibn Hudhayl, *La Parure des cavaliers*, ed. L. Mercier [Paris, 1922], p. 29; tr. by the same [Paris, 1924], p. 1 to), Ibn Khaldun seems to have connected it with the form *qarraba*, in the meaning of "to present" (noble horses as a gift). This is shown by *Ibar*, V, 499, last line.

⁴⁹Cf. Issawi, p. 29.

criticism about one's errors and intentions, to demand from oneself moderation and fairness in reporting, to reapply oneself to study and research. Such historians let themselves go and made a feast of untrue statements. "They procure for themselves entertaining stories in order to lead (others) astray from the path of God."⁵⁰ This is a bad enough business.

It⁵¹ may be said that the increase of descendants to such a number would be prevented under ordinary conditions which, however, do not apply to the Israelites. (The increase in their case) would be a miracle in accordance with the tradition which said that one of the things revealed to their forefathers, the prophets Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was that God would cause their descendants to increase until they were more numerous than the stars of heaven and the pebbles of the earth. God fulfilled this promise to them as an act of divine grace bestowed upon them and as an extraordinary miracle in their favor. Thus, ordinary conditions could not hinder (such an event), and nobody should speak against it.

Someone might come out against this tradition (with the argument) that it occurs only in the Torah which, as is well known, was altered by the Jews. (The reply to this argument would be that) the statement concerning the alteration (of the Torah by the Jews) is unacceptable to thorough scholars and cannot be understood in its plain meaning, since custom prevents people who have a (revealed) religion from dealing with their divine scriptures in such a manner. This was mentioned by al-Bukhari in the *Sahih*.⁵² Thus, the great increase in numbers in the case of the Israelites would be an extraor-

⁵⁰ Qur'an 31.6 (5).

⁵¹ The following three paragraphs are found in the margin of C (and in MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 3424), but appear neither in the earlier texts nor in D

⁵²For Mubammad b. Ismail al-Bukhari, 194.-256 [810-870], and his famous canonical collection of prophetic traditions, see GAL, I, 157 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 260 ff. I do not know which passage of the *Sahih* Ibn Khaldun may have had in mind here. Al-Bukhari certainly believed in the alteration of the Torah by the Jews. Perhaps Ibn Khaldun was recalling the often-quoted tradition that the Muslims should neither believe nor disbelieve statements concerning the Torah made by Jews and Christians; cf. J. Horowitz in *El*, s.v. "Tawrat."

dinary miracle. Custom, in the proper meaning of the word, would prevent anything of the sort from happening to other peoples.

It is true that a (co-ordinated battle) movement in (such a large group) would hardly be possible, but none took place, and there was no need for one. It is also true that each realm has its particular number of militia (and no more). But the Israelites at first were no militiamen and had no dynasty. Their numbers increased that much, so that they could gain power over the land of Canaan which God had promised them and the territory of which He had purified for them. All these things are miracles. God guides to the truth.

The⁵³ history of the Tubba's, the kings of the Yemen and of the Arabian Peninsula, as it is generally transmitted, is another example of silly statements by historians. It is said that from their home in the Yemen, (the Tubba's) used to raid Ifriqiyah and the Berbers of the Maghrib. Afriqus b. Qays b. Sayfi, one of their great early kings who lived in the time of Moses or somewhat earlier,⁵⁴ is said to have raided Ifriqiyah. He caused a great slaughter among the Berbers. He gave them the name of Berbers when he heard their jargon and asked what that "*barbarah*" was.⁵⁵ This gave them the name which has remained with them since that time. When he left the Maghrib, he is said to have concentrated some Himyar tribes there. They remained there and mixed with the native population. Their (descendants) are the Sinhajah and the Kutamah. This led at-Tabari, al-Jurjani,⁵⁶ al-Mas'udi,

⁵³The whole discussion of South Arabian history appears in C on an inserted sheet.

⁵⁴The historical reports on ancient South Arabian history were no less confusing for Ibn Khaldun than they are for us. He tried to deal with them critically in *Ibar*, II, 50 ff. Cf. below, pp. 296 and 360. For the legendary eponym of Africa, one may also compare al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-buldan*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 229; (Pseudo-)Ibn Hisham, *Tijan* (Hyderabad, 1347/1928-29), pp. 407 ff. Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1948), p. 461, calls Himyar-Berber connections lies existing only in the imagination of Yemenite historians.

⁵⁵Cf. also at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 516; *Ibar*, II, 51; VI, 89, 93 f; de Slane (tr.), I, 168, 176.

⁵⁶Ali b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz, d. 392 [1002]. Cf. *GAL, Suppl., I*, 199. Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 93; de Slane (tr.), I, 175.

Ibn al-Kalbi,⁵⁷ and al-Bayhaqi⁵⁸ to make the statement that the Sinhajah and the Kutamah belong to the Himyar. The Berber genealogists do not admit this, and they are right. Al-Mas'udi also mentioned that one of the Himyar kings after Afriqus, Dhul-Adh'ar, who lived in the time of Solomon, raided the Maghrib and forced it into submission. Something similar is mentioned by al-Mas'udi concerning his son and successor, Yasir.⁵⁹ He is said to have reached the Sand River⁶⁰ in the Maghrib and to have been unable to find passage through it because of the great mass of sand. Therefore, he returned.

Likewise, it is said that the last Tubba',⁶¹ As'ad Abu Karib, who lived in the time of the Persian Kayyanid king Yastab,⁶² ruled over Mosul and Azerbaijan. He is said to have met and routed the Turks and to have caused a great slaughter among them. Then he raided them again a second and a third time. After that, he is said to have sent three of his sons on raids, (one) against the country of Firs, (one) against the country of the Soghdians, one of the Turkish nations of Transoxania, and (one) against the country of the

⁵⁷See p. 7, above, and *Ibar*, VI, 90; de Slane (tr.), I, 170.

⁵⁸Al-Bayhaqi's *Kitdb al-Kama'im* is one of the principal sources for Ibn Sa'id's (see 3:445, below) account of pre-Islamic history. Cf. F. Trummer, *Ibn Sa'id's Geschichte der vorislamischen Araber*, p. 62; *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 558. Ibn Sa'id, in turn, was one of Ibn Khaldun's sources. However, the identity of the author of the *Kama'im* is not certain. It has been suggested that he was the historian and litterateur Ali b. Zayd, 499-565 [1106-1169] (*GAL*, 1, 324; *Suppl.*, 1, 557 f.), but we are well informed about his literary output, and no *Kitdb al-Kama'im* appears in the list of his works.

⁵⁹Al-Mas'udi mentions Afriqus and his brother Dhul-Adh'ir, and in another context speaks of the Sand River; cf. *Muruj adh-dhahab*, II, 224, 151; 1, 369. But the story of Yasir (whose name is occasionally spelled Nishir, incorrectly) and the Sand River appears in at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 684 ff.

⁶⁰On the legendary Widi as-Sabt (the "Sabbath River" of the Jewish Sambation legends) in the West, where sand flows like water, see G. Ferrand, "Le *Tubfat al-albab* de Abu Hamid al-Andalusi al-Garniti," in *Journal asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 48, 252. Cf. also Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, I, 118 f.

⁶¹Or rather, "the second"? Hamzah al-Isfahani, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt (St. Petersburg & Leipzig, 1844-48), I, 125, calls him *al-awsat*, "the middle Tubba'," but *al-dkhir* is, of course, found elsewhere. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, ed. Wustenfeld (Göttingen, 1858-60), I, 12.

⁶²This is how Ibn Khaldun read the name, as indicated by the vocalization in C. B and D similarly have Yastasab, and in the passage below, p. 25, D has *f* as the last letter. It should be Bish'tasp = Vishtaspa. The Kayyanids correspond to the historical Achaemenids

Rum (Byzantines)⁶³ The first brother took possession of the country up to Samarkand and crossed the desert into China. There, he found his second brother who had raided the Soghdians and had arrived in China before him. The two together caused a great slaughter in China and returned together with their booty. They left some Himyar tribes in Tibet. They have been there down to this time. The third brother is said to have reached Constantinople. He laid siege to it and forced the country of the Rum (Byzantines) into submission. Then, he returned.

All this information is remote from the truth. It is rooted in baseless and erroneous assumptions. It is more like the fiction of storytellers. The realm of the Tubba's was restricted to the Arabian peninsula. Their home and seat was San'a' in the Yemen. The Arabian peninsula is surrounded by the ocean on three sides: the Indian Ocean on the south, the Persian Gulf jutting out of the Indian Ocean to al-Basrah on the east, and the Red Sea jutting out of the Indian Ocean to Suez in Egypt on the west. This can be seen on the map. There is no way from the Yemen to the Maghrib except via Suez. The distance between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean is two days' journey or less. It is unlikely that the distance could be traversed by a great ruler with a large army unless he controlled that region. This, as a rule, is impossible. In that region there were the Amalekites and Canaan in Syria, and, in Egypt, the Copts. Later on, the Amalekites took possession of Egypt, and the Israelites (took possession) of Syria. There is, however, no report that the Tubba's ever fought against one of these nations or that they had possession of any part of this region. Furthermore, the distance from the Yemen to the Maghrib is great, and an army requires much food and fodder. Soldiers traveling in regions other than their own have to requisition grain and livestock and to plunder the countries they pass through. As a rule, such a procedure does not yield enough food and fodder. On the other hand, if

⁶³For the eastern expedition of the Tubba's, see Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, I, 119, and (Pseudo-)Ibn Hisham, *Tijan*, pp. 429 ff.

they attempted to take along enough provisions from their own region, they would not have enough animals for transportation. So, their whole line of march necessarily takes them through regions they must take possession of and force into submission in order to obtain provisions from them. Again, it would be a most unlikely and impossible assumption that such an army could pass through all those nations without disturbing them, obtaining its provisions by peaceful negotiation. This shows that all such information (about Tubba' expeditions to the Maghrib) is silly or fictitious.

Mention of the (allegedly) impassable Sand River has never been heard in the Maghrib, although the Maghrib has often been crossed and its roads have been explored by travelers and raiders at all times and in every direction.⁶⁴ Because of the unusual character of the story, there is much eagerness to pass it on.

With regard to the (alleged) raid of the Tubba's against the countries of the East and the land of the Turks, it must be admitted that the line of march in this case is wider than the (narrow) passage at Suez. The distance, however, is greater, and the Persian and Byzantine nations are interposed on the way to the Turks. There is no report that the Tubba's ever took possession of the countries of the Persians and Byzantines. They merely fought the Persians on the borders of the 'Iraq and of the Arab countries between al-Bahrayn and al-Hirah, which were border regions common to both nations.⁶⁵ These wars took place between the Tubba' Dhul-Adh'ar and the Kayyanid king Kaygawus, and again between the Tubba' *al-Asghar*⁶⁶ Abu Karib and the Kayyanid Yastab (Bishtasp). There were other wars later on with rulers of the dynasties that succeeded the Kayyanids, and, in turn, with their suc-

⁶⁴ The same argument is used again below, pp. 27 and 75.

⁶⁵ Al-Hirah on the Euphrates was the capital of the Lakhmid buffer state under Persian control. Al-Babrayn included the country on the northwestern shore of the Persian Gulf, and not only the islands today known under that name.

⁶⁶ "The Younger" Abu Karib is apparently identical with the above mentioned "last" Tubba', As'ad Abu Karib.

cessors, the Sassanians. It would, however, ordinarily have been impossible for the Tubba's to traverse the land of the Persians on their way to raid the countries of the Turks and Tibet, because of the nations that are interposed on the way to the Turks, because of the need for food and fodder, as well as the great distance, mentioned before. All information to this effect is silly and fictitious. Even if the way this information is transmitted were sound, the points mentioned would cast suspicion upon it. All the more then must the information be suspect since the manner in which it has been transmitted is not sound. In connection with Yathrib (Medina) and the Aws and Khazraj, Ibn Ishaq⁶⁷ says that the last Tubba' traveled eastward to the 'Iraq and Persia, but a raid by the Tubba's against the countries of the Turks and Tibet is in no way confirmed by the established facts. Assertions to this effect should not be trusted; all such information should be investigated and checked with sound norms.⁶⁸ The result will be that it will most beautifully be demolished.

God is the guide to that which is correct.

Even⁶⁹ more unlikely and more deeply rooted in baseless assumptions is the common interpretation of the following verse of the *Surat al-Fajr*: "Did you not see what your Lord did with 'Ad -Iram, that of the pillars?"⁷⁰

The commentators consider the word Iram the name of a city which is described as having pillars, that is, columns. They report that 'Ad b. 'Us b. Iram had two sons, Shadid and Shaddid, who ruled after him. Shadid perished. Shaddad became the sole ruler of the realm, and the kings there submitted to his authority. When Shaddad heard a description of Paradise, he

⁶⁷Cf. *Ibar*, II, 55. Cf. also Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, I, 12 f., where, however, only events dealing with the Tubba's return from his eastern expedition are dealt with.

⁶⁸Cf. Bombaci, p. 442.

⁶⁹The following story, too, is found in the margin of C, though it appears incorporated in the text of B and D. It is found in Bulaq, but not in A.

⁷⁰Qur'an 89.6-7 (5-6). Cf. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1926), p. 89, and, for the following story, A. J. Wensinck in *EI*, s.v. "Iram Dhat al-'Imad."

said: "I shall build something like it." And he built the city of Iram in the desert of Aden over a period of three hundred years. He himself lived nine hundred years. It is said to have been a large city, with castles of gold and silver and columns of emerald and hyacinth, containing all kinds of trees and freely flowing rivers. When the construction of (the city) was completed, Shaddad went there with the people of his realm. But -when he was the distance of only one day and night away from it, God sent a clamor from heaven, and all of them perished. This is reported by at-Tabari, ath-Tha'alibi,⁷¹ az-Zamakhshari,⁷² and other Qur'an commentators. They transmit the following story on the authority of one of the men around Muhammad, 'Abdallah b. Qilabah.⁷³ When he went out in search of some of his camels, he hit upon (the city) and took away from it as much as he could carry. His story reached Mu'awiyah, who had him brought to him, and he told the story. Mu'awiyah sent for Ka'b al-ahbar⁷⁴ and asked him about it. Ka'b said, "It is Iram, that of the pillars. Iram will be entered in your time by a Muslim who is of a reddish, ruddy color, and short, with a mole at his eyebrow and one on his neck, who goes out in search of some of his camels." He then turned around and, seeing Ibn Qilabah, he said: "Indeed, he is that man."

No information about this city has since become available anywhere on earth. The desert of Aden where the city is supposed to have been built lies in the middle of the Yemen. It has been inhabited continuously, and travelers and guides have explored its roads in every direction. Yet, no information about the city has been reported. No antiquarian, no nation has mentioned it. If (the commentators) said that it had disappeared like other antiquities, the

⁷¹See 2:444, below.

⁷²See 2:446 f. and 3:338 f., below.

⁷³Actually, Ibn Qilabah is known only for this story; cf. Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, III, 327, who calls attention to the biography of the man in Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*.

⁷⁴Cf. M. Schmitz in *EL*, s.v., and, most recently, M. Perlmann in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (Jewish Social Studies, Publication No. 5) (New York, 1953), pp. 85-99, and *idem*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XLV (1954), 48-58.

story would be more likely, but they expressly say that it still exists. Some identify it with Damascus, because Damascus was in the possession of the people of 'Ad. Others go so far in their crazy talk as to maintain that the city lies hidden from sensual perception and can be discovered only by trained (magicians) and sorcerers. All these are assumptions that would better be termed nonsense.

All these suggestions proffered by Qur'an commentators were the result of grammatical considerations, for Arabic grammar requires the expression, "that of the pillars," to be an attribute of Iram. The word "pillars" was understood to mean columns. Thus, Iram was narrowed down in its meaning to some sort of building. (The Qur'an commentators) were influenced in their interpretation by the reading of Ibn az-Zubayr⁷⁵ who read (not 'Adin with *nunation* but) a genitive construction: 'Ad of Iram. They then adopted these stories, which are better called fictitious fables and which are quite similar to the (Qur'an) interpretations of Sayfawayh which are related as comic anecdotes.⁷⁶

(In fact,) however, the "pillars" are tent poles. If "columns" were intended by the word, it would not be farfetched, as the power of (the people of Ad) was well known, and they could be described as people with build-

⁷⁵That is, 'Abdallah b. az-Zubayr, who is also quoted elsewhere as an authority for Qur'an readings. Cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an* (Leiden, 1937), pp. 226 ff.

⁷⁶Sayfawayh (or Sifawayh) is mentioned as early as the tenth century, in the list of famous comedians in Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, ed. Flugel (Leipzig, 1871-72), p. 313; (Cairo, 1348/1929-30), p. 435. Cf., further, Ibn al-Jawzi, *Ikhhār al-hamqa wa-l-mughafalin* (Cairo, 1347/1928), pp. 81 f., and Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, III, 132 f. This Sayfawayh (or Sibawayh) should not be confused with the later Egyptian Sibawayh to whom Ibn Zulaq devoted the *Kitdb Akhbar Sibawayh al-Misri* (Cairo, 1352/1933). Cf. now F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Early Islam* (Leiden, 1956), p. 11.

MSS. B, C, and D clearly indicate a reading Sayqawayh (Siqawayh) with *q*, but Sayfawayh probably is the correct form.

It may seem strange that a comedian like Sayfawayh should have had anything to do with "Qur'an interpretations." If Ibn Khaldun expressed himself correctly, they may have been facetious applications of Qur'an verses (and traditions), jokes such as we find in the literature on Muslim comedians. Cf. also the story of ar-Rashid and Ibn Abi Maryam, p. 33, below.

ings and columns in the general way. But it would be farfetched to say that a special building in one or another specific city (was intended). If it is a genitive construction, as would be the case according to the reading of Ibn az-Zubayr, it would be a genitive construction used to express tribal relationships, such as, for instance, the Quraysh of Kinanah, or the Ilyis of Mudar, or the Rabi'ah of Nizir. There is no need for such an implausible interpretation which uses for its starting point silly stories of the sort mentioned, which cannot be imputed to the Qur'an because they are so implausible.

Another fictitious story of the historians, which they all report, concerns the reason for ar-Rashid's destruction of the Barmecides. It is the story of al-'Abbasah, ar-Rashid's sister, and Ja'far b. Yahya b. Khalid, his client. Ar-Rashid is said to have worried about where to place them when he was drinking wine with them. He wanted to receive them together in his company. Therefore, he permitted them to conclude a marriage that was not consummated. Al-'Abbasah then tricked (Ja'far) in her desire to be alone with him,⁷⁷ for she had fallen in love with him. Jafar finally had intercourse with her—it is assumed, when he was drunk—and she became pregnant. The story was reported to ar-Rashid who flew into a rage.

This story⁷⁸ is irreconcilable with al-'Abbasah's position, her religiousness, her parentage, and her exalted rank. She was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas and separated from him by only four generations, and they were the most distinguished and greatest men in Islam after him. Al-'Abbasah was the daughter of Muhammad al-Mahdi, the son of Abu Ja'far 'Abdallah al-Mansur, the son of Muhammad as-Sajjad, the son of the Father of the Caliphs 'Ali. 'Ali was the son of 'Abdallah, the Interpreter of the Qur'an, the son of the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbas. Al-'Abbasah was the daughter of

⁷⁷ The long story as to how the persistent 'Abbasah finally succeeded, with the connivance of Ja'far's mother, in being united with Jafar (who did not know that it was she), is told by al-Mas'udi, *Muraj adh-dhahab*, VI, 387 ft.

⁷⁸ Cf. also *Ibar*, V, 436 f.; VI, 7. See pp. 269 and 272, below.

a caliph and the sister of a caliph. She was born to royal power, into the prophetic succession (the caliphate), and descended from the men-around-Muhammad and his uncles. She was connected by birth with the leadership of Islam, the light of the revelation, and the place where the angels descended to bring the revelation. She was close in time to the desert attitude of true Arabism, to that simple state of Islam still far from the habits of luxury and lush pastures of sin. Where should one look for chastity and modesty, if she did not possess them? Where could cleanliness and purity be found, if they no longer existed in her house? How could she link her pedigree with (that of) Ja'far b. Yahya and stain her Arab nobility with a Persian client? His Persian ancestor had been acquired as a slave, or taken as a client, by one of her ancestors, an uncle of the Prophet and noble Qurashite, and all (Ja'far) did was that he together with his father was dragged along (by the growing fame of) the 'Abbasid dynasty and thus prepared for and elevated to a position of nobility. And how could it be that ar-Rashid, with his high-mindedness and great pride, would permit himself to become related by marriage to Persian clients! If a critical person looks at this story in all fairness and compares al-'Abbasah with the daughter of a great ruler of his own time, he must find it disgusting and unbelievable that she could have done such a thing with one of the clients of her dynasty and while her family was in power. He would insist that the story be considered untrue. And who could compare with al-'Abbasah and ar-Rashid in dignity!

The reason for the destruction of the Barmecides was their attempt to gain control over the dynasty and their retention of the tax revenues. This went so far that when ar-Rashid wanted even a little money, he could not get it. They took his affairs out of his hands and shared with him in his authority. He had no say with them in the affairs of his realm. Their influence grew, and their fame spread. They filled the positions and ranks of the government with their own children and creatures who became high officials, and thus barred all others from the positions of wazir, secretary, army com-

mander, doorkeeper (*hajib*), and from the military and civilian administration. It is said that in the palace of ar-Rashid, there were twenty-five high *officials*, both military and civilian, all children of Yahya b. Khalid. There, they crowded the people of the dynasty and pushed them out by force. They could do that because of the position of their father, Yahya, mentor to Harun both as crown prince and as caliph. (Harun) practically grew up in his lap and got all his education from him. (Harun) let him handle his affairs and used to call him "father." As a result, the (Barmecides), and not the government, wielded all the influence.^{78a} Their presumption grew. Their position became more and more influential. They became the center of attention. All obeyed them. All hopes were addressed to them. From the farthest borders, presents and gifts of rulers and amirs were sent to them. The tax money found its way into their treasury, to serve as an introduction to them and to procure their favor. They gave gifts to and bestowed favors upon the men of the ('Alid) Shi'ah⁷⁹ and upon important relatives (of the Prophet). They gave the poor from the noble families (related to the Prophet) something to earn. They freed the captives. Thus, they were given praise as was not given to their caliph. They showered privileges and gifts upon those who came to ask favors from them. They gained control over villages and estates in the open country and (near) the main cities in every province.

Eventually, the Barmecides irritated the inner circle. They caused resentment among the elite and aroused the displeasure of high officials. Jealousy and envy of all sorts began to show themselves, and the scorpions of intrigue crept into their soft beds in the government. The Qahtabah family, Ja'far's maternal uncles, led the intrigues against them. Feelings for blood ties and relationship could not move or sway them (the Qahtabah fami-

^{78a}Lit., "the preferred position (ordinarily enjoyed by government and ruler) went from the government to them," or, if *ithar* should rather be translated "bounty," instead of "preferential position" (cf. 2:274, 1.34, below), "the bounty (ordinarily dispensed by government and ruler)...."

⁷⁹ In the first case, the 'Alids, rather than the 'Abbasid Shi'ah, are meant. The latter are meant by "important relatives of the Prophet," though this, too, may be another term for the 'Alids.

ly) from the envy which was so heavy on their hearts. This joined with their master's incipient jealousy, with his dislike of restrictions and (of being treated with) highhandedness, and with his latent resentment aroused by small acts of presumptuousness on the part of the Barmecides. When they continued to flourish as they did, they were led to gross insubordination, as is shown, for instance, by their action in the case of Yahya b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. 'al-Hasan b. 'All b. Abi Talib, the brother of "the Pure Soul" (an-Nafs az-Zakiyah), Muhammad al-Mahdi, who had revolted against al-Mansur.⁸⁰

This Yahya had been brought back by al-Fadl b. Yahya from the country of the Daylam under a safe-conduct of ar-Rashid written in his own hand. According to at-Tabari,⁸¹ (al-Fadl) had paid out a million dirhams in this matter. Ar-Rashid handed Yahya over to Ja'far to keep him imprisoned in his house and under his eyes. He held him for a while but, prompted by presumption, Ja'far freed Yahya by his own decision, out of respect for the blood of the Prophet's family as he thought, and in order to show his presumption against the government. When the matter was reported to ar-Rashid, he asked Ja'far about (Yahya). Ja'far understood and said that he had let him go. Ar-Rashid outwardly indicated approval and kept his grudge to himself. Thus, Ja'far himself paved the way for his own and his family's undoing, which ended with the collapse of their exalted position, with the heavens falling in upon them and the earth's sinking with them and their house. Their days of glory became a thing of the past, an example to later generations.

Close examination of their story, scrutinizing the ways of government and their own conduct, discloses that all this was natural and is easily explained. Looking at Ibn 'Abdrab bib's report⁸² on ar-Rashid's conversation

⁸⁰ See pp. 410 f., below,

⁸¹ *Annales*, 111, 614, *anno* 176.

⁸² Ahmad b. Muhammad, 246-328 [860-940]. Cf. GAL, I, 154 f.; *Suppl.*, 1, 250 f.; *Iqd* (Cairo, 1305/1887), III, 24. The edition of the *Iqd* has Ishaq b. 'Ali, instead of Dawud b. 'Ali.

with his greatgranduncle Dawud b. 'Ali concerning the destruction of the Barmecides as well as al-Asma'i's evening causeries with ar-Rashid and al-Fadl b. Yahya, as mentioned in the chapter on poets in the *'Iqd*,⁸³ one understands that it was only jealousy and struggle for control on the part of the caliph and his subordinates that killed them. Another factor was the verses that enemies of the Barmecides among the inner circle surreptitiously gave the singers to recite, in the intention that the caliph should hear them and his stored-up animosity against them be aroused. These are the verses:

Would that Hind could fulfill her promise to us
 And deliver us from our predicament,
 And for once act on her own.

The impotent person is he who never acts on his own.⁸⁴

When ar-Rashid heard these verses, he exclaimed: "Indeed, I am just such an impotent person." By this and similar methods, the enemies of the Barmecides eventually succeeded in arousing ar-Rashid's latent jealousy and in bringing his terrible vengeance upon them. God is our refuge from men's desire for power and from misfortune.

The stupid story of ar-Rashid's winebibbing and his getting drunk in the company of boon companions is really abominable. It does not in the least agree with ar-Rashid's attitude toward the fulfillment of the requirements of religion and justice incumbent upon caliphs. He consorted with religious scholars and saints. He had discussions with al-Fudayl b. 'Iyad,⁸⁵ Ibn as-Sammak,⁸⁶ and al-'Umari,⁸⁷ and he corresponded with Sufyan.⁸⁸ He wept

⁸³ *'Iqd*, III, 108-11. See also below, 3:411.

⁸⁴ The verses are by 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah who lived *ca.* A.D. 700. Cf. *GAL*, I, 45 H; *Suppl.*, I, 76 f. Cf. P. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des 'Umar Ibn Abi Rebia* (Leipzig, 1901), I, 115 (No. 165, II, 1 f.). Cf. also Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, V11, 4, anno 229.

⁸⁵ Died 187 [803]. Cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 430.

⁸⁶ Muhammad b. Sabih, d. 183 [799/800]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, V, 364-73.

⁸⁷ Apparently 'Abdallah b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. al-Khattab, d. 184 [800/801]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 302 f. A nephew of this man, 'Ubaydallah b. 'Umar, was brought

when he heard their sermons. Then, there is his prayer in Mecca when he circumambulated the Ka'bah.⁸⁹ He was pious, observed the times of prayer, and attended the morning prayer at its earliest hour. According to at-Tabari and others, he used every day to pray one hundred supererogatory *rak'ahs*.⁹⁰ Alternately, he was used to go on raids (against unbelievers) one year and to make the pilgrimage to Mecca the other. He rebuked his jester, Ibn Abi Maryam, who made an unseemly remark to him during prayer. When Ibn Abi Maryam heard ar-Rashid recite: "How is it that I should not worship Him who created me?"⁹¹ he said: "Indeed, I do not know why." Ar-Rashid could not suppress a laugh, but then he turned to him angrily and said: "O Ibn Abi Maryam, (jokes) even during the prayer? Beware, beware of the Qur'an and Islam. Apart from that, you may do whatever you wish."⁹²

Furthermore, ar-Rashid possessed a good deal of learning and simplicity, because his epoch was close to that of his forebears who had those (qualities). The time between him and his grandfather, Abu Ja'far (al-Mansur), was not a long one. He was a young lad when Abu Ja'far died. Abu Ja'far possessed a good deal of learning and religion before he became caliph and (kept them) afterwards. It was he who advised Malik to write the *Muwatta'*, saying: "O Abu 'Abdallah, no one remains on earth more learned than I and you. Now, I am too much occupied with the caliphate. Therefore, you should write a book for the people which will be useful for them. In it

by ar-Rashid to Baghdad (cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, X, 310), but he would not seem to be the one meant here.

⁸⁸ Of the two famous Sufyans, Sufyan ath-Thawri and Sufyin b. 'Uyaynah, the latter is meant here. He lived from 107 to 198 [725/26 to 814]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IX, 174-84.

⁸⁹Cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, VI, 87 f., anno 193. Cf. also G. Audisio, *Harun ar-Rashid* (New York, 1931), p. 173.

⁹⁰Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 740, anno 193. A *rak'ah* isa prescribed sequence of motions in prayer.

⁹¹Qur'an 36.22 (21).

⁹² Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 743 f.

you should avoid the laxity of Ibn 'Abbas and the severity of Ibn 'Umar,⁹³ and present (*watti'*)it clearly to the people." Malik commented: "On that occasion, al-Mansur indeed taught me to be an author."⁹⁴

Al-Mansur's son, al-Mahdi, ar-Rashid's father, experienced the (austerity of al-Mansur) who would not make use of the public treasury to provide new clothes for his family. One day, al-Mahdi came to him when he was in his office discussing with the tailors the patching of his family's worn garments. Al-Mahdi did not like that and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, this year I shall pay for the clothes of the members of the family from my own income." Al-Mansur's reply was: "Do that." He did not prevent him from paying himself but would not permit any (public) Muslim money to be spent for it. Ar-Rashid was very close in time to that caliph and to his forebears.⁹⁵ He was reared under the influence of such and similar conduct in his own family, so that it became his own nature. How could such a man have been a winebibber and have drunk wine openly? It is well known that noble pre-Islamic Arabs avoided wine. The vine was not one of the plants (cultivated) by them. Most of them considered it reprehensible to drink wine. Ar-Rashid and his forebears were very successful in avoiding anything reprehensible in their religious or worldly affairs and in making all praiseworthy actions and qualities of perfection, as well as the aspirations of the Arabs, their own nature.

⁹³Ibn 'Abbas is the 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas mentioned above, p. 29, the Prophet's cousin. Ibn 'Umar is 'Abdallah, a son of the caliph 'Umar, who died in 73 or 74 [692/93 or 693/941. Cf. K. V. Zettersteen in *EI* s.v. " 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar."

⁹⁴Ibn Khaldun also refers to this story in his *Surghatmishiyah* lecture. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 301. Cf. also Ibn Farbut (Cairo, 1351/1932), *Dibaj*, p. 25.

⁹⁵ A, C, and D read *ubuwatihi*, but in B we find *abawayhi* "his parents," or "his two forebears" (?). Translating *wa-ubawatihi* "and counted him among his forebears" would be possible here, but is hardly correct.

One may further compare the story of the physician Jibril b. Bukhtishu' reported by at-Tabari and al-Mas'udi.⁹⁶ A fish had been served at ar-Rashid's table, and Jibril had not permitted him to eat it. (Jibril) had then ordered the table steward to bring the fish to (Jibril's) house. Ar-Rashid noticed it and got suspicious. He had his servant spy on Jibril, and the servant observed him partaking of it. In order to justify himself, Ibn Bukhtishu' had three pieces of fish placed in three separate dishes. He mixed the first piece with meat that had been prepared with different kinds of spices, vegetables, hot sauces, and sweets. He poured iced water over the second piece, and pure wine over the third. The first and second dishes, he said, were for the caliph to eat, no matter whether something was added by him (Ibn Bukhtishu') to the fish or not. The third dish, he said, was for himself to eat. He gave the three dishes to the table steward. When ar-Rashid woke up and had Ibn Bukhtishu' called in to reprimand him, the latter had the three dishes brought. The one with wine had become a soup with small pieces of fish, but the two other dishes had spoiled, and smelled differently. This was (sufficient) justification of Ibn Bukhtishu' s action (in eating a dish of fish that he had prevented the caliph from eating). It is clear from this story that ar-Rashid's avoidance of wine was a fact well known to his inner circle and to those who dined with him.

It is a well-established fact that ar-Rashid had consented to keep Abu Nuwas imprisoned until he repented and gave up his ways, because he had heard of the latter's excessive wine bibbing.⁹⁷ Ar-Rashid used to drink a date liquor (*nabidh*), according to the 'Iraqi legal school whose *responsa*(concerning the permissibility of that drink) are well known.⁹⁸ But

⁹⁶Cf. *Muraj adh-dhahab*, V1, 305 ff., but at-Tabari does not seem to have the story. Cf. also Ibn Abi Ulaybi'ah, '*Uyan al-anba*', ed. Muller (Konigsberg & Cairo, 1882-84), 1, 129.

Jibril was an early member of the famous dynasty of physicians. He died in 213 [828/29]. Cf. C. Brockelmann in *El*, s.v. "Bakhtishu'."

⁹⁷ "For Abu Nuwas, see *GAL*, I, 75 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 114 ff.

⁹⁸For the lenient I {anafite attitude toward *nabidh*, see A. J. Wansinck in *El*, s.v. "Nabidh." Cf. also p. 445, below.

he cannot be suspected of having drunk pure wine. Silly reports to. this effect cannot be credited. He was not the man to do something that is forbidden and considered by the Muslims as one of the greatest of the capital sins. Not one of these people (the early 'Abbasids) had anything to do with effeminate prodigality or luxury in matters of clothing, jewelry, or the kind of food they took. They still retained the tough desert attitude and the simple state of Islam. Could it be assumed they would do something that would lead from the lawful to the unlawful and from the licit to the illicit? Historians such as at-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, and others are agreed that all the early Umayyad and `Abbasid caliphs used to ride out with only light silver ornamentation on their belts, swords, bridles, and saddles, and that the first caliph to originate riding out in golden apparel was al-Mu'tazz b. al Mutawakkil, the eighth caliph after ar-Rashid.⁹⁹ The same applied to their clothing. Could one, then, assume any differently with regard to what they drank? This will become still clearer when the nature of dynastic beginnings in desert life and modest circumstances is understood, as we shall explain it among the problems discussed in the first book, if God wills.¹⁰⁰

A parallel or similar story is that reported by all (the historians) about Yahya b. Aktham, the judge and friend of al-Ma'mun.¹⁰¹ He is said to have drunk wine together with al-Ma'mun and to have gotten drunk one night. He lay buried among the sweet basil until he woke up. The following verses are recited in his name:

O my lord, commander of all the people!
He who gave me to drink was unjust in his judgment.
I neglected the cupbearer, and he caused me to be,
As you see me, deprived of intelligence and religion.

⁹⁹Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, VII, 401.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, pp. 318 ff., below.

¹⁰¹The story is told fully in Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Tqd*, III, 313.

Yahya b. Aktham died in 242 or 243 [847]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIV, 191 ff.

The same applies to Ibn Aktham and al-Ma'mun that applies to ar-Rashid. What they drank was a date liquor (*nabidh*) which in their opinion was not forbidden. There can be no question of drunkenness in connection with them. Yahya's familiarity with al-Ma'mun was friendship in Islam. It is an established fact that Yahya slept in al-Ma'mun's room. It has been reported, as an indication of al-Ma'mun's excellence and affability, that one night he awoke,¹⁰² got up, and felt around for the chamber pot. He was afraid to wake Yahya b. Aktham. It also is an established fact that the two used to pray together at the morning prayer. How does that accord with drinking wine together! Furthermore, Yahya b. Aktham was a transmitter of traditions. He was praised by Ibn Hanbal¹⁰³ and Judge Isma'il.¹⁰⁴ At-Tirmidhi¹⁰⁵ published traditions on his authority. The *hadith* expert al-Mizzi mentioned that al-Bukhari transmitted traditions on Yahya's authority in works other than the *Jami' (as-Sahih)*.¹⁰⁶ To vilify Yahya is to vilify all of these scholars.

¹⁰²Bulaq adds "thirsty." In this case the "vessel" (*ina*) mentioned would not be a chamber pot, but a water pitcher. A very similar story of how al-Ma'mun himself went out for a drink of water and did not disturb Yahya b. Aktham occurs in al-Itlidi, *I'lam an-nas bi-ma waqa'a li-l-Bardmikah min Bani l-'Abbas* (Cairo, 1303/1886), p. 110. Al-Itlidi adds another story, according to which al-Ma'mun had gone to urinate and hesitated to call his servants to help him to get ready for the morning prayer, as long as Yahya did not stir. Thus, it seems hardly possible to decide whether Ibn Khaldun thought of a water pitcher or a chamber pot. *Ind'* "urine glass" is found in at-Tabari, *Firdaws al-bikmah* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 354 f. An author closer to the time of Ibn Khaldun, as-Suyuti, uses a synonym for *ind'*, *wi'd'*; cf. as-Suyuti, *Tanbi'at al-ghabi bi-tabri'at Ibn al-'Arabs*, Istanbul MS, Laleli, 3645, fol. 162a. For another version of the story, cf. as-Sulami, *Addb a,c-suhbah*, ed. M. J. Kister (Oriental Notes and Studies, No. 6) (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 57.

¹⁰³Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal, the founder of the Hanbalite school of jurisprudence, 164-241 [1780-855]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 181 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 309 f.

¹⁰⁴Isma'il b. Ishaq, the Malikite judge. Cf. 3:13, below.

¹⁰⁵Muhammad b. 'Isa, d. 279 [892], author of one of the authoritative collections of traditions. Cf. *GAL*, I, 161 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 267 f.

¹⁰⁶The *Tahdhib al-Kamal* of Yusuf b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman al-Mizzi, 654-742 [1256-1341] (cf. *GAL*, II, 64; *Suppl.*, II, 66 f.), was not available, but see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 180. In al-Bukhari's *Ta'rikh* (Hyderabad, 1360/1941), IV2, 263, we find only Yahya's name, without any further information.

Furthermore, licentious persons accuse Yahya b. Aktham of having had an inclination for young men. This is an affront to God and a malicious lie directed against religious scholars. (These persons) base themselves on storytellers' silly reports, which perhaps were an invention of Yahya's enemies, for he was much envied because of his perfection and his friendship with the ruler. His position in scholarship and religion makes such a thing impossible. When Ibn Hanbal was told about these rumors concerning Yahya, he exclaimed: "For God's sake, for God's sake, who would say such a thing!" He disapproved of it very strongly. When the talk about Yahya was mentioned to Ismi'il, he exclaimed: "Heaven forbid that the probity (*'adalah*)¹⁰⁷ of such a man should cease to exist because of the lying accusations of envious tale-bearers."¹⁰⁸ He said: "Yahya b. Aktham is innocent in the eyes of God of any such relationship with young men (as that) of which he is accused. I got to know his most intimate thoughts and found him to be much in fear of God. However, he possessed a certain playfulness and friendliness that might have provoked such accusations." Ibn Hibban mentioned him in the *Thiqat*.¹⁰⁹ He said that no attention should be paid to these tales about him because most of them were not correct.

A similar story is the one about the basket reported by Ibn 'Abdrabbih, author of the *Iqd*, in explanation of how al-Ma'mun came to be al-Hasan b. Sahl's son-in-law by marrying his daughter Buran.¹¹⁰ One night, on his rambles through the streets of Baghdad, al-Ma'mun is said to have come

¹⁰⁷*Adalah* is a common term of Muslim jurisprudence and political science for which in this translation the word "probity" was chosen. It means possession of the moral qualifications that make a person acceptable for high office and for serving as a witness, that is, for exercise of his duties as a citizen. See also p. 395 and n. 388 to Ch. iii, below.

¹⁰⁸Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIV, 200, I, 13.

¹⁰⁹I consulted the MS. Ahmet III, 2995 (of the Topkapusaray in Istanbul) of the work on reliable transmitters (*Thiqat*) by Ibn Hibban, 274-354 [887/88-965] (cf. GAL, I, 164; *Suppl.*, 1, 273 f.), but it does not go as far as Yahya. For the remarks of Ibn Hibban and the statement of Isma'il, see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 181.

¹¹⁰Cf. *Iqd*, III, 356-63. Cf. also below, pp. 348 f.

upon a basket that was being let down from one of the roofs by means of pulleys and twisted cords of silk thread. He seated himself in the basket and grabbed the pulley, which started moving. He was taken up into a chamber of such-and-such a condition-Ibn 'Abdrabbih described the eye and soul-filling splendor of its carpets, the magnificence of its furnishings, and the beauty of its appearance. Then, a woman of extraordinary, seductive beauty is said to have come forth from behind curtains in that chamber. She greeted al-Ma'mun and invited him to keep her company. He drank wine with her the whole night long. In the morning he returned to his companions at the place where they had been awaiting him. He had fallen so much in love with the woman that he asked her father for her hand. How does all this accord with al-Ma'mun's well-known religion and learning, with his imitation of the way of life of his forefathers, the right-guided ('Abbasid) caliphs, with his adoption of the way of life of those pillars of Islam, the (first) four caliphs, with his respect for the religious scholars, or his observance in his prayers and legal practice of the norms established by God! How could it be correct that he would act like (one of those) wicked scoundrels who amuse themselves by rambling about at night, entering strange houses in the dark, and engaging in nocturnal trysts in the manner of Bedouin lovers! And how does that story fit with the position and noble character of al-Hasan b. Sahl's daughter, and with the firm morality and chastity that reigned in her father's house!

There are many such stories. They are always cropping up in the works of the historians. The incentive for inventing and reporting them is a (general) inclination to forbidden pleasures and for smearing the reputation of others. People justify their own subservience to pleasure by citing men and women of the past (who allegedly did the same things they are doing). Therefore, they often appear very eager for such information and are alert to find it when they go through the pages of (published) works. If they would follow the example of the people (of the past) in other respects and in the qualities

of perfection that were theirs and for which they are well known, "it would be better for them,"¹¹¹ "if they would know."¹¹²

I once criticized a royal prince for being so eager to learn to sing and play the strings. I told him it was not a matter that should concern him and that it did not befit his position. He referred me to Ibrahim b. al-'Mahdi¹¹³ who was the leading musician and best singer in his time. I replied: "For heaven's sake, why do you not rather follow the example of his father or his brother? Do you not see how that activity prevented Ibrahim from attaining their position?" The prince, however, was deaf to my criticism and turned away.

Further silly information which is accepted by many historians concerns the 'Ubaydid (-Fatimids), the Shi'ah caliphs in al-Qayrawan and Cairo.¹¹⁴ (These historians) deny their 'Alid origin and attack (the genuineness of) their descent from the imam Ismail, the son of Ja'far as-Sadiq. They base themselves in this respect on stories that were made up in favor of the weak 'Abbasid caliphs by people who wanted to ingratiate themselves with them through accusations against their active opponents and who (therefore) liked to say all kinds of bad things about their enemies. We shall mention some such stories in our treatment of the history of (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids). (These historians) do not care to consider the factual proofs and circumstantial evidence that require (us to recognize) that the contrary is true and that their claim is a lie and must be rejected.

¹¹¹ Qur'an 3.110 (106); 4.46 (49), 66 (69); 47.21 (23); 49.5 (5).

¹¹² Qur'an 2.102 (96), 103 (97); 16.41 (43); 29.41 (40), 64 (64); 68.33 (93).

¹¹³ The son of the caliph al-Mahdi, who was for a short time considered by some groups as caliph. 162-224 1779-839]; cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 223, and below, pp. 325f. and 433f., and 8:341.

¹¹⁴ The question of the 'Alid origin of the Fatimids and their early history was loaded with political "dynamite" for many centuries after the Fatimid dynasty had ceased to exist. In some respects, it is still of importance today. Cf. the works of W. Ivanow: *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (Islamic Research Association Series, No. 10) (Oxford, 1942), and *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism* (The Ismaili Society Series, No. 1) (Bombay, 1946). Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 335.

They all tell the same story about the-begilnli g of the Shi'ah dynasty. Abu 'Abdallah *al-Muhtasib*¹¹⁵ went among the Kutamah urging acceptance of the family of Muhammad (the 'Alids). His activity became known. It was learned how much he cared for 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdi and his son, Abu'l-Qasim. Therefore, these two feared for their lives and fled the East, the seat of the caliphate. They passed through Egypt and left Alexandria disguised as merchants. Isa an Nawshari, the governor of Egypt and Alexandria, was informed of them. He sent cavalry troops in pursuit of them, but when their pursuers reached them, they did not recognize them because of their attire and disguise. They escaped into the Maghrib. Al-Mu'tadid¹¹⁶ ordered the Aghlabid rulers of Ifriqiyah in al-Qayrawan as well as the Midrarid rulers of Sijilmasah to search everywhere for them and to keep a sharp lookout for them. Ilyasa', the Midrarid lord of Sijilmasah, learned about their hiding place in his country and detained them, in order to please the caliph. This was before the Shi'ah victory over the Aghlabids in al-Qayrawan. Thereafter, as is well known, the ('Ubaydid-Fatimid) propaganda spread successfully throughout Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, and then, in turn, reached the Yemen, Alexandria and (the rest of) Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz. The ('Ubaydid-Fatimids) shared the realm of Islam equally with the Abbasids. They almost succeeded in penetrating the home country of the 'Abbasids and in taking their place as rulers. Their propaganda in Baghdad and the 'Iraq met with success through the amir al-Basasiri, one of the Daylam clients who had gained control of the 'Abbasid caliphs. This happened as the result of

¹¹⁵ Abu 'Abdallah ash-Shi'i, through whose efforts the Fatimids became rulers of northwestern Africa, is said to have been *mubtasib* (cf. pp. 462 f., below) in al-Basrah, if it was not his brother Abu l-'Abbas who held that office. Cf. *Ibar*, III, 362; IV, 31 f., 204 f. See also below, 2:133.

¹¹⁶ Rather, his son and successor al-Muktafi. The event related took place in the year 293 [905/6], after the death of al-Mu'tadid. Cf. Ibn 'Whirl, *alBayan al-Mughrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Levi-Provencal (Leiden, 1948-5 1), I, 140. But see also below, p. 46, and *Ibar*, III, 360; IV, 31.

a quarrel between al-Basasiri and the non-Arab amirs.¹¹⁷ For a whole year, the ('Ubaydid-Fatimids) were mentioned in the Friday prayer from the pulpits of Baghdad. The 'Abbasids were continually bothered by the ('Ubaydid Fatimid) power and preponderance, and the Umayyad rulers beyond the sea (in Spain) expressed their annoyance with them and threatened war against them. How could all this have befallen a fraudulent claimant to the rulership, who was (moreover) considered a liar?¹¹⁸ One should compare (this account with) the history of the Qarmatian.¹¹⁹ His genealogy was, in fact, fraudulent. How completely did his propaganda disintegrate and his followers disperse! Their viciousness and guile soon became apparent. They came to an evil end and tasted a bitter fate. If the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) had been in the same situation, it would have become known, even had it taken some time.

Whatever qualities of character a man may have,.

They will become known, even if he imagines they are concealed from the people¹²⁰

The ('Ubaydid-Fatimid) dynasty lasted uninterruptedly for about two hundred and seventy years. They held possession of the place where Ibrahim (Abraham) had stood¹²¹ and where he had prayed, the home of the Prophet and the place where he was buried, the place where the pilgrims stand and where the angels descended (to bring the revelation to Muhammad). Then, their rule came to an end. During all that time, their partisans showed them the greatest devotion and love and firmly believed in their descent from the imam Ismail, the son of Ja'far as-Sadiq. Even after the dynasty had gone and

¹¹⁷ This refers to events at the beginning of the Saljuq rule under Tughrilbek, that took place in the period from December, 1058, to 1060. Cf. also *Ibar*, III, 463 f.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Ibar*, III, 360.

¹¹⁹ The "Qarmatian" was the supposed founder of the sect, a certain Hamdin, who lived in the second half of the ninth century. Cf. L. Massignon in *El*, s.v. "Iarmatians."

¹²⁰ This verse is quoted from near the end of Zuhayr's *Mu'allaqah*; cf. 3:397 and 410, below. Cf. J. Hausherr, *Die Mu'allaka. des Zuhair* (Berlin, 1905), p. 35.

¹²¹ That is, the *Maqam Ibrahim* in the Sanctuary in Mecca.

its influence had disappeared, people still came forward to press the claims of the sect. They proclaimed the names of young children, descendants of (the 'UbaydidFatimids), whom they believed entitled to the caliphate. They went so far as to consider them as having actually been appointed to the succession by preceding imams. Had there been doubts about their pedigree, their followers would not have undergone the dangers involved in supporting them. A sectarian does not manipulate his own affairs, nor sow confusion within his own sect, nor act as a liar where his own beliefs are concerned.

It is strange that Judge Abu Bakr al-Baqillani'¹²² the great speculative theologian, was inclined to credit this unacceptable view (as to the spuriousness of the 'Ubaydid-Fatimid genealogy), and upheld this weak opinion. If the reason for his attitude was the heretical and extremist Shi'ism of (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids, it would not be valid, for his denial of their 'Alid descent) does not invalidate¹²³ (the objectionable character of) their sectarian beliefs, nor would establishment of their ('Alid) descent be of any help to them before God in the question of their unbelief. God said to Noah concerning his sons: "He does not belong to your family. It is an improper action. So do not ask me regarding that of which you have no knowledge."¹²⁴ Muhammad

¹²²Muhammad b. at-Tayyib, d. 403 [to131. Cf. *GAL*, I, 197; *Suppl.*, I, 349. In Ibn Khaldun's circle, he was esteemed one of the greatest of ancient eastern Malikites, and he is, therefore, often quoted in the *Muqaddimah*.

Recent publications in connection with al-Baqillani include the edition of his *Kitab at-Tamhid* by al-Khudayri and Abu Ridah (Cairo, 1366/1947), who contribute much biographical material, and G. E. von Grunebaum, *A Tenth Century Document of Arabic Literary Criticism* (Chicago, 1950). An edition of his *Insaf* appeared in Cairo in 1369/1950. Al-Baqillani's work against the Fatimids was entitled *Kashf al-asrar wa-hatk al-astar*. Cf. Ibn Kathir, *Biddayah*, XI, 346; the edition of the *Tamhid* cited above, p. 259 (n. 3). That al-Ghazzali based his *Mustahiri* upon al-Baqillani's *Kashf* has been denied by I. Goldziher, and, indeed, Goldziher's study of the *Mustahiri* has no indication that the work dealt with the 'Alid descent of the Fatimids. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazdli gegen die Bdtinija-Sekte* (Leiden, 1916), pp. 15 f.

¹²³The phrase used here means "to push back." Cf. 3:49, below.

¹²⁴Qur'an 11.46 (48).

exhorted Fatimah in these words: "O Fatimah, act (as you wish). I shall be of no help to you before God."^{124a}

When a man comes to know a problem or to be certain about a matter, he must openly state (his knowledge or his certainty). "God speaks the truth. He leads (men into) the right way."¹²⁵ Those people (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids) were constantly on the move because of the suspicions various governments had concerning them. They were kept under observation by the tyrants, because their partisans were numerous and their propaganda had spread far and wide. Time after time they had to leave the places where they had settled. Their men, therefore, took refuge in hiding, and their (identity) was hardly known, as (the poet) says:

If you would ask the days what my name is, they would
not know,
And where I am, they would not know where I am.¹²⁶

This went so far that Muhammad, the son of the imam Isma'il, the ancestor of 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdi, was called "the Concealed (Imam)."¹²⁷ His partisans called him by that name because they were agreed on the fact he was hiding out of fear of those who had them in their power. The partisans of the 'Abbasids made much use of this fact when they came out with their attack against the pedigree of (the 'Ubaydid Fatimids). They tried to ingratiate themselves with the weak ('Abbasid) caliphs by professing the erroneous opinion that (the 'Alid descent of the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids was spurious). It pleased the 'Abbasid clients and the amirs who were in charge of military

^{124a}Cf. *Concordance*, V, 15, 11. 64 f.

¹²⁵Qur'an 33.4 (4).

¹²⁶ The verse is ascribed by some authors to Abu Nuwas. Cf. al-Amidi, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif* (Cairo, 1354/1935-36), p. 94, and ar-Raghib al-Isfahini, *Muhddarat* (Cairo, 1287/1870), I, 171. However, it does not appear in Abu Nuwas' *Diwan* (Cairo, 1898). Ibn Bullan, *Da'wat al-atibba'*, at the beginning, ascribes it to al-Husayn b. Hani' (*leg.* Abu l-Hasan b. Hani').

The first line may be read in the passive: "If the days were asked....."

The text found in Ibn Bullan has a variant reading requiring this translation.

¹²⁷ See also p. 412, below.

operations against the enemies of the ('Abbasids). It helped them and the government to make up for their inability to resist and repel the Kutimah Berbers, the partisans and propagandists¹²⁸ of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), who had taken Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz away from (the 'Abbasids). The judges in Baghdad eventually prepared an official statement denying the 'Alid origin (of the 'Ubayd id-Fatimids).¹²⁹ The statement was witnessed by a number of prominent men, among them the Sharif ar-Radi¹³⁰ and his brother al-Murtada,¹³¹ and Ibn al-Bathawi.¹³² Among the religious scholars (who also witnessed the document) were Abu Hamid al-Isfarayini,¹³³ al-Quduri,¹³⁴ as-Saymari¹³⁵ Ibn al-Akfani,¹³⁶ al-Abiwardi,¹³⁷ the Shi'ah jurist Abu 'Abdallah b. an-Nu'man,¹³⁸ and other prominent Muslims in Baghdad. The event took place one memorable¹³⁹ day in the year 402 [1011] in the time of al-Qadir. The testimony (of these witnesses) was based upon hearsay, on what people in Baghdad generally believed. Most of them were partisans of the 'Abbasids who attacked the 'Alid origin (of the 'Ubaydid Fatimids). The historians reported the information as they had heard it. They handed it down to us just as they remembered it. However, the truth lies behind it. Al-Mu'tadid's¹⁴⁰

¹²⁸C and D read "representatives of the dynasty."

¹²⁹Cf. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'ilism* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 60 f. The earliest published source so far known for the text of the affidavit is Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam* (Hyderabad, 1357 /1938 -), VII, 255. Ibn Khaldun's list of signers corresponds much more closely to that in Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, IX, 98, *anno* 402, and VIII, 10, *anno*296, than to that in Ibn al-Jawzi.

¹³⁰Muhammad b. al-Husayn, 359-406 [969/70-1015]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 82; *Suppl.*, I, 131f.

¹³¹All b. al-Ilusayn, 355-436 [966-1044/451]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 120 ff.

¹³²Ibn al-Athir expressly states that he was an 'Alid, but I have no further information about the man.

¹³³Ahmad b. Muhammad, 345-406 [956/57-1016]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VII, 277 f.

¹³⁴Ahmad b. Muhammad, 362-428 1972/73-10371. Cf. *GAL*, I, 174 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 295 f.

¹³⁵Abu 'Abdallah al-Husayn b. 'Ali, 351-436 [962/63-1045]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 119.

¹³⁶Abu Muhammad 'Abdallah b. Muhammad, 316 or 320 to 405 [928/29 or 932 to 1014]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VII, 273.

¹³⁷Abu l-'Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad, d. 425 [1034]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 80 f.

¹³⁸Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Mu'allim, d. 413 [1022]. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 11 f.

¹³⁹See note 162 to Ch. in, and p. 450, below.

¹⁴⁰See n. 116, above.

letter concerning 'Ubaydallah (addressed) to the Aghlabid in al-Qayrawan and the Midrarid in Sijilmasah, testifies most truthfully to the correctness of the ('Alid) origin of the ('Ubaydid-Fatimids), and proves it most clearly. Al-Mu'tadid (as a very close relative) was better qualified than anyone else to speak about the genealogy of the Prophet's house.¹⁴¹

Dynasty and government serve as the world's market place,¹⁴² attracting to it the products of scholarship and craftsmanship alike. Wayward wisdom and forgotten lore turn up there. In this market stories are told and items of historical information are delivered. Whatever is in demand on this market is in general demand everywhere else. Now, whenever the established dynasty avoids injustice, prejudice, weakness, and double-dealing, with determination keeping to the right path and never swerving from it, the wares on its market are as pure silver and fine gold. However, when it is influenced by selfish interests and rivalries, or swayed by vendors of tyranny and dishonesty, the wares of its market place become as dross and debased metals. The intelligent critic must judge for himself as he looks around, examining this, admiring that, and choosing this.

A similar and even more improbable story is one privately discussed by those who attack the ('Alid) descent of Idris b. Idris b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'All b. Abi Talib, who became imam after his father in Morocco.¹⁴³ They hint at the punishable crime of adultery by insinuating that the unborn child left after the death of the elder Idris was in fact the child of Rashid, a client of the Idrisids. How stupid of these God-forsaken men! They should know that the elder Idris married into the Berber tribes and,

¹⁴¹ Cf. R. Dozy, *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 149 f., and *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 380 f.

¹⁴² Cf. below, 2:102 and 287, and also 2:352. As early as the ninth century, Ibn Qutaybah quoted Abi' Hazim as saying to Sulaymin b. 'Abd-al-Malik: "The government serves as a market place to which whatever is in demand with (the government) is brought." Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun al-akhbar*(Cairo, 1343-49/1925-30), I, 2.

¹⁴³ Ibn Khaldun speaks of the Idrisids of Fez in *Ibar*, IV, 12 ff. Cf. also below, p. 411.

from the time he came to the Maghrib until his death, was firmly rooted in desert life. In the desert, no such thing could remain a secret. There are no hiding places there where things can be done in secret. The neighbors (if they are women) can always see and (if they are men) always hear what their women are doing, because the houses are low and clustered together without space between them. Rashid was entrusted with the stewardship of all the women after the death of his master, upon the recommendation of friends and partisans of the Idrisids and subject to the supervision of them all. Furthermore, all Moroccan Berbers agreed to render the oath of allegiance to the younger Idris as his father's successor. They voluntarily agreed to obey him. They swore that they were willing to die for him, and they exposed themselves to mortal danger protecting him in his wars and raids. Had they told each other some such scandalous story or heard it from someone else, even a vengeful enemy or scandal-mongering rebel, some of them at least would have refused to do those things. No, this story originated with the 'Abbasid opponents of the Idrisids and with the Aghlabids, the 'Abbasid governors and officials in Ifriqiyah

This happened in the following manner. When the elder Idris fled to the Maghrib after the battle of Fakhkh,¹⁴⁴ al-Hadi sent orders to the Aghlabids to lie in wait and keep a sharp watch out for him. However, they did not catch him, and he escaped safely to the Maghrib. He consolidated his position, and his propaganda was successful. Later on, ar-Rashid became aware of the secret Shi'ah leanings of Wadih, the 'Abbasid client and governor of Alexandria, and of his deceitful attitude in connection with the escape of Idris to the Maghrib, and (ar-Rashid) killed (Wadih). Then, ash Shammakh, a client of (ar-Rashid's) father, suggested to ar Rashid a ruse by means of

¹⁴⁴A locality near Mecca where 'Alids in revolt were defeated in 169 (1786). Cf., for instance, Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Maqatil at-Talibiyin* (Cairo, 1368/1949), pp. 434 ff.; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, VI, 38, anno 169; *Tbar*, III, 215 f. Ibn al-Athir states that it is uncertain whether it was al-Hidi or ar-Rashid who killed Wadih, who was postmaster general and chief of the intelligence service in Egypt.

which to kill Idris. (Ash-Sham makh) pretended to become his adherent and to have broken with his 'Abbasid masters. Idris took him under his protection and admitted him to his private company. Once, when Idris was alone, ash-Shammakh gave him some poison and thus killed him. The news of his death was received by the 'Abbasids most favorably, since they hoped that it would cut the roots and blunt the edge of the 'Alid propaganda in the Maghrib. News of the unborn child left after Idris' death had not (yet) reached them. Thus, it was only a brief moment until the ('Alid) propaganda reappeared. The Shi'ah was successful in the Maghrib, and Shi'ah rule was renewed through Idris, Idris' son. This was a most painful blow to the 'Abbasids. Weakness and senility had already taken hold of the Arab dynasty. No longer could (the 'Abbasids) aspire to the control of remote regions. Far away as the elder Idris was in the Maghrib, under the protection of the Berbers, ar-Rashid had just enough power, and no more, to poison him with the help of a ruse. Therefore, the 'Abbasids now had recourse to their Aghlabid clients in Ifrigiyah. They asked them to heal the dangerous breach caused by (the Idrisids), to take measures against the woe that threatened to befall the dynasty from that direction, and to uproot (the Idrisids) before they could spread. Al-Ma'mun and the succeeding caliphs wrote to the Aghlabids to this effect. However, the Aghlabids were also too weak (to control) the Berbers of Morocco, and might better have tried to embarrass their own rulers as (the Idrisids embarrassed them), because the power of the caliphate had been usurped by non-Arab slaves, who diverted to their own purposes its entire control and authority¹⁴⁵ over men, taxes, and functionaries. It was as the contemporary ('Abbasid) poet described it:¹⁴⁶

A caliph in a cage

¹⁴⁵*An-naqd wa-l-ibram*, literally "the untwisting and twisting." Cf. n. 1, above: "all his powers," and below, p. 379, l. 21. Cf. also H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le siecle des Omayyades* (Beirut, 1930), p. 4.

¹⁴⁶The verses are quoted by al-Mas'Odli, *Muruj adh-dbahab*, VII, 325, with reference to the caliph al-Musta'in, who was one of those dominated by the Turkish generals Wasif and Bugha.

Between Wasif and Bugha

He says what they tell him,

Like a parrot.

The Aghlabid amirs, therefore, were afraid of possible intrigues and tried all kinds of excuses. Sometimes, they belittled the Maghrib and its inhabitants. At other times, they tried to arouse fear of the power of Idris and his descendants who had taken his place there. They wrote the 'Abbasids that he was crossing the borders of his territory. They included his coins among their gifts, presents, and tax collections, in order to show his growing influence and to spread terror about his increasing power, to magnify (the dangers) which would lie in attacking and fighting him, as they were being asked to do, and to threaten a change in allegiance if they were forced to that. Again, at other times, they attacked the descent of Idris with the (aforementioned) lie, in order to harm him. They did not care whether the accusation was true or not. The distance (from Baghdad) was great, and, weak-minded as the 'Abbasid children and their non-Arab slaves were, they took anybody's word and listened to anybody's noise. They went on in this manner until the Aghlabid rule came to an end.

The nasty remark (about the Idrisid genealogy) then became known to the mob. Some slanderers listened eagerly to it, using it to harm the Idrisids when there were rivalries. Why do such God-forsaken men stray from the intentions of the religious law, which knows no difference between definite (fact) and (mere) guess?^{146a} Idris was born in his father's bed, and "the child belongs to the bed."¹⁴⁷ It is a (Muslim) article of faith that the descendants of Muhammad are above any such thing (as adultery). God removed every turpitude from them and cleansed them. Idris' bed is free of all uncleanness

^{146a} In a case like this, involving the crime of throwing suspicion upon someone's sexual morality.

¹⁴⁷This is a Prophetic tradition. Cf. *Handbook*, p. 45b; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, I, 193.

and all turpitude. This is decided in the Qur'an.¹⁴⁸ Whoever believes the contrary confesses his guilt and invites unbelief.

I have refuted the accusation against Idris here at length, in order to forestall doubts and strike out against the envious. I heard the story with my own ears from a man who was hostile to (the Idrisids) and attacked their descent with this lying invention. In his self-deception, he passed on the story on the authority of certain historians of the Maghrib who had turned their backs on Muhammad's descendants and were skeptical concerning their ancestors. But the situation (of the Idrisids) is above all that and not susceptible of such a (taint). (No space should be devoted to refuting such an accusation, since) to deny a fault where (the existence of) a fault is impossible is (in itself) a fault.¹⁴⁹ However, I did defend them here in this world and, thus, I hope that they will defend me on the Day of Resurrection.

It should be known that most of those who attack the ('Alid) descent of (the Idrisids) are themselves persons who claim to be descendants of Muhammad or pretend to be connected with his descendants, and who envy the descendants of Idris. The claim to (Muhammadan) descent is a great title to nobility among nations and races in all regions. Therefore, it is subject to suspicion. Now, both in their native Fez and in the other regions of the Maghrib, the descent of the Idrisids is so well known and evident that almost no one can show or hope to show as well-established a pedigree. It is the result of continuous transmission by the more recent nations and generations on the authority of the older preceding ones. The Idrisids count the house of their ancestor Idris, the founder and builder of Fez, among their houses. His mosque is adjacent to their quarter and streets. His sword is (suspended) unsheathed atop the main minaret of their residence. There are other relics of his which have been attested to many times in an uninterrupted tradition, so that the tradition concerning them is almost as valuable as direct obser-

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Qur'an 33.33 (33).

¹⁴⁹ See also 3:54, below.

vation (as to its reliability). Other descendants of Muhammad can look at these signs which God gave to the Idrisids. They will see the Muhammadan nobility of the Idrisids enhanced by the majesty of the royal authority their ancestors exercised in the Maghrib. They will realize that they themselves have nothing of the sort and that they do not measure up even halfway to any one of the Idrisids. They will also realize that those who claim to be Muhammad's descendants but do not have such testimonies to confirm their claim as the Idrisids have, may at best find their position conceded (as possibly true), because people are to be believed with regard to the descent they claim for themselves,¹⁵⁰ but there is a difference between what is known and what is mere guess, between what is certain and what is merely conceded as possibly true.

When they realize these facts, they are choked in their own spittle (which they swallow in impotent jealousy). Their private envy causes many of them to wish that they could bring down the Idrisids from their noble position to the status of ordinary, humble persons. Therefore, they have recourse to spite and persistent malevolence and invent erroneous and lying accusations such as the one discussed. They justify themselves by the assumption that all guesses are equally probable. They ought to (prove) that! We know of no descendants of Muhammad whose lineage is so clearly and obviously established as that of the descendants of Idris of the family of al-Hasan. The most distinguished Idrisids at this time are the Banu 'Imran in Fez. They are descendants of Yahya al-Juti b. Muhammad b. Yahya al-'Addam b. al-Qasim b. Idris b. Idris. They are the chiefs of the 'Alids there. They live (at the present time) in the house of their ancestor Idris. They are the leading nobility of the entire Maghrib. We shall mention them in connection with the Idrisids, if God wills.¹⁵¹ They are the descendants of 'Imran b. Muhammad

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Bombaci, p. 442, and below, p. 54.

¹⁵¹ In *Ibar*, IV, 15, l. 25, Ibn Khaldun mentions only Yahya al-'Addam. *Al-'Addam* is the form indicated in the MSS of the *Muqaddimah*.

b. al-Hasan b. Yahya b. 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. 'All b. Muhammad b. Yahya b. Ibrahim b. Yahya al-Juti. The chief of their (house) at this time is Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Imran.

To these wicked statements and erroneous beliefs one may add the accusations that weak-minded jurists in the Maghrib leveled against the imam al-Mahdi, the head of the Almohad dynasty.¹⁵² He was accused of deceit and insincerity when he insisted upon the true oneness of God and when he complained about the unjust people before his time. All his claims in this respect were declared to be false, even down to his descent from the family of Muhammad, which his Almohad followers accept. Deep down in their hearts it was envy of al-Mahdi's success that led the jurists to declare him a liar. In their self-deception, they thought that they could compete with him in religious scholarship, juridical decisions, and religion. He then turned out to be superior to them. His opinion was accepted, what he said was listened to, and he gained a following. They envied this success of his and tried to lessen his influence by attacking his dogmas and declaring his claims to be false. Furthermore, they were used to receive from al-Mahdi's enemies, the Lamtunah kings (the Almoravids), a respect and an honor they received from no one else, because of the simple religion (of the Almoravids). Under the Lamtunah dynasty, religious scholars held a position of respect and were appointed to the council, everybody according to his influence among his people in his respective village. The scholars, therefore, became partisans (of the Almoravids) and enemies of their enemies. They tried to take revenge on al-Mahdi for his opposition to them, his censure of them, and his struggle against them. This was the result of their partisanship for the Lamtunah and their bias in favor of the Lamtunah dynasty. Al-Mahdi's po-

The pedigree of the Banu 'Imran which follows is added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D.

Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab*, p. 44, refers to the first Yahya (al-'Addam) as Yabyi al-JUti. Ibn JIazm, *loc. cit.*, I. 10, also refers to Yabya b. Ibrahim b. Yahya (al-Juji)

¹⁵²Ibn Khaldun dealt with the beginning of the Almohads in *Ibar*, VI, 225 ff; de Slane (tr.), II, 161 ff.

sition was different from theirs. He did not share their beliefs. What else could be expected of a man who criticized the attitude of the ruling dynasty as he did and was opposed in his efforts by its jurists? He called his people to a holy war against them. He uprooted the dynasty and turned it upside down, despite its great strength, its tremendous power, and the strong force of its allies and its militia. Followers of his killed in the struggle were innumerable. They had sworn allegiance to him until death. They had protected him from death with their own lives. They had sought nearness to God by sacrificing themselves for the victory of the Mahdi's cause as partisans of the enterprise that eventually gained the upper hand and replaced the dynasties on both shores.¹⁵³ (Al-Mahdi himself) remained always frugal, retiring, patient in tribulation, and very little concerned with the world to the last; he died without fortune or worldly possessions. He did not even have children, as everybody desires but as one often is deceived in desiring. I should like to know what he could have hoped to obtain by this way of life were it not (to look upon) the face of God, for he did not acquire worldly fortune of any kind during his lifetime. Moreover, if his intention had not been good, he would not have been successful, and his propaganda would not have spread. "This is how God formerly proceeded with His servants."¹⁵⁴

The (jurists') disavowal of (al-Mahdi's) descent from Muhammad's family is not backed up by any proof. Were it established that he himself claimed such descent, his claim could not be disproved, because people are to be believed regarding the descent they claim for themselves.¹⁵⁵ It might be said that leadership over a people is vested only in men of their own skin. This is correct, as will be mentioned in the first¹⁵⁶ chapter of this book. But¹⁵⁷ al-Mahdi exercised leadership over all the Masmudah. They agreed

¹⁵³I.e., northwestern Africa and Spain.

¹⁵⁴Qur'an 40.85 (85).

¹⁵⁵Cf. p. 52, above.

¹⁵⁶*Leg.* "second." Cf. p. 273, below.

¹⁵⁷Cf. Bombaci, pp. 442 f.

to follow him and be guided by him and his Harghah group, and, eventually, God gave complete success to his propaganda. In this connection, it must be realized that al-Mahdi's power did not depend exclusively on his Fatimid descent, and the people did not follow him on that account (only). They followed him because of their Harghah-Masmudah group feeling and because of his share in that group feeling which was firmly rooted in him. (Al-Mahdi's) Fatimid descent had become obscured and knowledge of it had disappeared from among the people, although it had remained alive in him and his family through family tradition. His original (Fatimid) descent had, in a way, been sloughed off, and he had put on the skin of the Harghah-Masmudah and thus appeared as one of their skin. The fact that he was originally of Fatimid descent did not harm him with regard to his group feeling, since it was not known to the members of the group. Things like that happen frequently once one's original descent has become obscured.

One might compare (with the above) the story of Arfajah and Jarir concerning the leadership of the Bajilah.¹⁵⁸ Arfajah had belonged to the Azd but had put on the skin of the Bajilah so successfully that he was able to wrangle with Jarir over the leadership before 'Umar, as has been reported. This example makes one understand what the truth is like.

God is the guide to that which is correct.

Lengthy discussion of these mistakes has taken us rather far from the purpose of this work. However, many competent persons and expert historians slipped in connection with such stories and assertions, and they stuck in their minds. Many weak-minded and uncritical persons learned these things from them, and even (the competent historians) themselves accepted them without critical investigation, and thus (strange stories) crept into their material. In consequence, historiography became nonsensical and confused, and its students fumbled around. Historiography came to be considered a domain of the common people. Therefore, today, the scholar in this field needs

¹⁵⁸Cf. p. 268 and 2:39, below.

to know the principles of politics, the (true) nature of existent things, and the differences among nations, places, and periods with regard to ways of life, character qualities, customs, sects, schools, and everything else. He further needs a comprehensive knowledge of present conditions in all these respects. He must compare similarities or differences between the present and the past (or distantly located) conditions. He must know the causes of the similarities in certain cases and of the differences in others. He must be aware of the differing origins and beginnings of (different) dynasties and religious groups, as well as of the reasons and incentives that brought them into being and the circumstances and history of the persons who supported them. His goal must be to have complete knowledge of the reasons for every happening, and to be acquainted with the origin of every event. Then, he must check transmitted information with the basic principles he knows. If it fulfills their requirements, it is sound. Otherwise, the historian must consider it as spurious and dispense with it. It was for this reason alone that historiography was highly considered by the ancients, so much so that at-Tabari, al-Bukhari, and, before them, Ibn Ishaq and other Muslim religious scholars, chose to occupy themselves with it. Most scholars, however, forgot this, the (real) secret of historiography, with the result that it became a stupid occupation. Ordinary people as well as (scholars) who had no firm foundation of knowledge, considered it a simple matter to study and know history, to delve into it and sponge on it. Strays got into the flock, bits of shell were mixed with the nut, truth was adulterated with lies.

"The final outcome of things is up to God."¹⁵⁹

A¹⁶⁰ 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 deeply hidden, becoming

¹⁵⁹ Qur'an 81.22 (21).

¹⁶⁰Cf. Issawi, pp. 29-96.

noticeable only after a long time, so that rarely do more than a few individuals become aware of it.

This is as follows. The condition of the world and of nations, their customs and sects, does not persist in the same form or in a constant manner. There are differences according to days and periods, and changes from one condition to another. This is the case with individuals, times, and cities, and, in the same manner, it happens in connection with regions and districts, periods and dynasties.

"This is how God formerly proceeded with His servants."¹⁶¹

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 Mудар 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 Christians¹⁶² in the north. With their^{162a} passing, entire nations ceased to exist, and institutions and customs changed. Their glory was forgotten, and their power no longer heeded.

¹⁶¹ Qur'an 40.85 (85).

¹⁶²Literally, "Franks."

^{162a}The pronoun presumably refers to the Arabs.

The widely accepted reason for changes in institutions and customs is the fact that the customs of each race depend on the customs of its ruler. As the proverb says: "The common people follow the religion of the ruler."¹⁶³

When politically ambitious men overcome the ruling dynasty and seize power, they inevitably have recourse to the customs of their predecessors and adopt most of them. At the same time, they do not neglect the customs of their own race. This leads to some discrepancies between the customs of the (new) ruling dynasty and the customs of the old race.

The new power, in turn, is succeeded by another dynasty, and customs are further mixed with those of the new dynasty. More discrepancies come in, and the discrepancy between the new dynasty and the first one is much greater (than that between the second and the first one). Gradual increase in the degree of discrepancy continues. The eventual result is an altogether distinct (set of customs and institutions). As long as there is this continued succession of different races to royal authority and government, discrepancies in customs and institutions will not cease to occur.

Analogical reasoning and comparison are well known to human nature. They are not safe from error. Together with forgetfulness and negligence, they sway man from his purpose and divert him from his goal. Often, someone who has learned a good deal of past history remains unaware of the changes that conditions have undergone. Without a moment's hesitation, he applies his knowledge (of the present) to the historical information and measures the historical information by the things he has observed with his own eyes, although the difference between the two is great. Consequently, he falls into an abyss of error.

¹⁶³Cf. p. 300 and 2:129, 306, below. *Din* "religion" is here used in the more general sense of "way of doing things." Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun al-akhbar*, I, 2.

This may be illustrated by what the historians report concerning the circumstances of Al-Hajjaj.¹⁶⁴ They state that his father was a schoolteacher. At the present time, teaching is a craft and serves to make a living. It is a far cry from the pride of group feeling. Teachers are weak, indigent, and rootless. Many weak professional men and artisans who work for a living aspire to positions for which they are not fit but which they believe to be within their reach. They are misled by their desires, a rope which often slips from their hands and precipitates them into the abyss of ruinous perdition. They do not realize that what they desire is impossible for men like them to attain. They do not realize that they are professional men and artisans who work for a living. And they do not know that at the beginning of Islam and during the (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) dynasties, teaching was something different. Scholarship, in general, was not a craft in that period. Scholarship was transmitting statements that people had heard the Lawgiver (Muhammad) make. It was teaching religious matters-that-were not known, by way of oral transmission. Persons of noble descent and people who shared in the group feeling (of the ruling dynasty) and who directed the affairs of Islam were the ones who taught the Book of God and the Sunnah of the Prophet, (and they did so) as one transmits traditions, not as one gives professional instruction. (The Qur'an) was their Scripture, revealed to the Prophet in their midst. It constituted their guidance, and Islam was their religion, and for it they fought and died. It distinguished them from the other nations and ennobled them. They wished to teach it and make it understandable to the Muslims. They were not deterred by censure coming from pride, nor were they restrained by criticism coming from arrogance. This is attested by the fact that the Prophet sent the most important of the men around him with his embassies to the Arabs, in order to teach them the norms of Islam and the

¹⁶⁴Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, the great governor of the 'Iraq (ca. 660-714). Cf. H. Lammens in *EI*, s.v. "al-Hadjjadj."

religious laws he brought. He sent his ten companions¹⁶⁵ and others after them on this mission.

Then, Islam became firmly established and securely rooted. Far-off nations accepted Islam at the hands of the Muslims. With the passing of time, the situation of Islam changed. Many new laws were evolved from the (basic) texts as the result of numerous and unending developments. A fixed norm was required to keep (the process) free from error. Scholarship came to be a habit.¹⁶⁶ For its acquisition, study was required. Thus, scholarship developed into a craft and profession. This will be mentioned in the chapter on scholarship and instruction.¹⁶⁷

The men who controlled the group feeling now occupied themselves with directing the affairs of royal and governmental authority. The cultivation of scholarship was entrusted to others. Thus, scholarship became a profession that served to make a living. Men who lived in luxury and were in control of the government were too proud to do any teaching. Teaching came to be an occupation restricted to weak individuals. As a result, its practitioners came to be despised by the men who controlled the group feeling and the government.

Now, Yusuf, the father of al-Hajjaj, was one of the lords and nobles of the Thaqif, well known for their share in the Arab group feeling and for their rivalry with the nobility of the Quraysh. Al-Hajjaj's teaching of the Qur'an was not what teaching of the Qur'an is at this time, namely, a profession that serves to make a living. His teaching was teaching as it was practiced at the beginning of Islam and as we have just described it.

¹⁶⁵The *'asharah al-mubashsharah*, the ten early Muslims to whom Paradise was guaranteed. Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), s.v. "al-'Ashara 'l-mubashsharah." They were the first four caliphs, Talhah, az-Zubayr, 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Sa'id b. Zayd, and Abu 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrah.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. p. lxxxiv, above.

¹⁶⁷That is, the sixth chapter of the *Muqaddimah*, beginning at 2:411, below. Cf. esp. n. 2 to ch. VI as well as 2:426 and passages such as that at 2:444, below.

Another illustration of the same (kind of error) is the baseless conclusion critical readers of historical works draw when they hear about the position of judges and about the leadership in war and the command of armies that judges (formerly) exercised. Their misguided thinking leads them to aspire to similar positions. They think that the office of judge at the present time is as important as it was formerly. When they hear that the father of Ibn Abi 'Amir, who had complete control over Hisham, and that the father of Ibn 'Abbad, one of the rulers of Sevilla, were judges,¹⁶⁸ they assume that they were like present-day judges. They are not aware of the change in customs that has affected the office of judge, and which will be explained by us in the chapter on the office of judge in the first book.¹⁶⁹ Ibn Abi 'Amir and Ibn 'Abbad belonged to Arab tribes that supported the Umayyad dynasty in Spain and represented the group feeling of the Umayyads, and it is known how important their positions were. The leadership and royal authority they attained did not derive from the rank of the judgeship as such, in the present-day sense that (the office of judge constitutes an administrative rank). In the ancient administrative organization, the office of judge was given by the dynasty and its clients to men who shared in the group feeling (of the dynasty), as is done in our age with the wazirate in the Maghrib. One has only to consider the fact that (in those days judges) accompanied the army on its summer campaigns and were entrusted with the most important affairs, such as are entrusted only to men who can command the group feeling needed for their execution.

Hearing such things, some people are misled and get the wrong idea about conditions. At the present time, weak minded Spaniards are especially given to errors in this respect. The group feeling has been lost in their country for many years, as the result of the annihilation of the Arab dynasty

¹⁶⁸ Al-Manštir died in 392 [1002]. Cf. E. Levi-Provencal in *EI*, s.v. "A1-Mangur Ibn Abi `Amir." The 'Abbasids ruled Sevilla during the eleventh century.

¹⁶⁹Cf. pp. 452 ff., below.

in Spain and the emancipation of the Spaniards from the control of Berber group feeling. The Arab descent has been remembered, but the ability to gain power through group feeling and mutual co-operation has been lost. In fact, the (Spaniards) came to be like (passive) subjects,¹⁷⁰ without any feeling for the obligation of mutual support. They were enslaved by tyranny and had become fond of humiliation, thinking that their descent, together with their share in the ruling dynasty, was the source of power and authority. Therefore, among them, professional men and artisans are to be found pursuing power and authority and eager to obtain them. On the other hand, those who have experience with tribal conditions, group feeling, and dynasties along the western shore, and who know how superiority is achieved among nations and tribal groups, will rarely make mistakes or give erroneous interpretations in this respect.

Another illustration of the same kind of error is the procedure historians follow when they mention the various dynasties and enumerate the rulers belonging to them. They mention the name of each ruler, his ancestors, his mother and father, his wives, his surname, his seal ring, his judge, doorkeeper, and wazir. In this respect, they blindly follow the tradition of the historians of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties, without being aware of the purpose of the historians of those times. (The historians of those times) wrote their histories for members of the ruling dynasty, whose children wanted to know the lives and circumstances of their ancestors, so that they might be able to follow in their steps and to do what they did,¹⁷¹ even down to such details as obtaining servants from among those who were left over from the (previous) dynasty¹⁷² and giving ranks and positions to the descendants of its servants and retainers. Judges, too, shared in the group feeling of the

¹⁷⁰*Ra'aya* (raia, rayah) "cattle," then "subjects." See also p. 883, below.

¹⁷¹Literally, "wove on their loom." Cf. p. 9, above, and n. 1444 to Ch. vi, below.

¹⁷²Cf. Bombaci, p. 443.

dynasty and enjoyed the same importance as wazirs, as we have just mentioned. Therefore, the historians of that time had to mention all these things.

Later on, however, various distinct dynasties made their appearance. The time intervals became longer and longer. Historical interest now was concentrated on the rulers themselves and on the mutual relationships of the various dynasties in respect to power and predominance. (The problem now was) which nations could stand up (to the ruling dynasty) and which were too weak to do so. Therefore, it is pointless for an author of the present time to mention the sons and wives, the engraving on the seal ring, the surname, judge, wazir, and doorkeeper of an ancient dynasty, when he does not know the origin, descent, or circumstances of its members. Present-day authors mention all these things in mere blind imitation of former authors. They disregard the intentions of the former authors and forget to pay attention to historiography's purpose.

An exception are the wazirs who were very influential and whose historical importance overshadowed that of the rulers. Such wazirs as,-for instance,- al-Ijajaj,-the Band Muhallab, the Barmecides, the Banu Sahl b. Nawbakht, Kaffir al-Ikhshidi, Ibn Abi 'Amir, and others should be mentioned. There is no objection to dealing with their lives or referring to their conditions for in importance they rank with the rulers.

An additional note to end this discussion may find its place here.

History refers to events that are peculiar to a particular age or race. Discussion of the general conditions of regions, races, and periods constitutes the historian's foundation. Most of his problems rest upon that foundation, and his historical information derives clarity from it. It forms the topic of special works, such as the *Muruj adh-dhahab* of al-Mas'udi. In this work, al-Mas'udi commented upon the conditions of nations and regions in the West and in the East during his period (which was) the three hundred and thirties [the nine hundred and forties]. He mentioned their sects and customs. He described the various countries, mountains, oceans, provinces, and dynas-

ties. He distinguished between Arabic and non-Arabic groups. His book, thus, became the basic reference work for historians, their principal source for verifying historical information.

Al-Mas'udi was succeeded by al-Bakri¹⁷³ who did something similar for routes and provinces, to the exclusion of everything else, because, in his time, not many transformations or great changes had occurred among the nations and races. However, at the present time—that is, at the end of the eighth [fourteenth] century—the situation in the Maghrib, as we can observe, has taken a turn and changed entirely. The Berbers, the original population of the Maghrib, have been replaced by an influx of Arabs, (that began in) the fifth [eleventh] century. The Arabs outnumbered and overpowered the Berbers, stripped them of most of their lands, and (also) obtained a share of those that remained in their possession. This was the situation until, in the middle of the eighth [fourteenth] century, civilization both in the East and the West was visited by a destructive plague which devastated nations and caused populations to vanish.¹⁷⁴ It swallowed up many of the good things of civilization and wiped them out. It overtook the dynasties at the time of their senility, when they had reached the limit of their duration. It lessened their power and curtailed their influence. It weakened their authority. Their situation approached the point of annihilation and dissolution. Civilization decreased with the decrease of mankind. Cities and buildings were laid waste, roads and way signs were obliterated, settlements and mansions became empty, dynasties and tribes grew weak. The entire inhabited world changed. The East, it seems, was similarly visited, though in accordance with and in proportion to (the East's more affluent) civilization. It was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction,

¹⁷³The geographer, 'Abdallah b. Mubammad, 432-487 [104041-1094]. Cf. *GAL*, 1, 476; *Suppl.*, 1, 875 f. He is repeatedly quoted by Ibn Khaldun A new edition of al-Bakri's geographical dictionary, *Mujam ma stajam*, appeared in Cairo in 1945-51. His *Routes and Provinces (al-Masdlk wa-l-mamalik)* is still unpublished except for some sections.

¹⁷⁴Cf. p. xl, above.

and the world had responded to its call. God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

When 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-Mas'udi did for his. This should be a 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.¹⁷⁵ (This restriction is necessitated) by my lack of knowledge of conditions in the East and among its nations, and by the fact that secondhand information would not give the essential facts I am after. Al-Mas'udi's extensive travels in various countries enabled him to give a complete picture, as he mentioned in his work. Nevertheless, his discussion of conditions in the Maghrib is incomplete. "And He knows more than any scholar."¹⁷⁶ God is the ultimate repository of (all) knowledge. Man is weak and deficient. Admission (of one's ignorance) is a specific (religious) duty. He whom God helps, finds his way (made) easy and his efforts and quests successful. We seek God's help for the goal to which we aspire in this work. God gives guidance and help. He may be trusted.

It remains for us to explain the method of transcribing non-Arabic sounds whenever they occur in this book of ours.

¹⁷⁵ Ibn Khaldun soon changed his mind and added the history of the East to his work at a very early stage in its preparation.

¹⁷⁶Qur'an 12.76 (76).

It should be known that the letters (sounds)¹⁷⁷ of speech, as will be explained later on,¹⁷⁸ are modifications of sounds that come from the larynx. These modifications result from the fact that the sounds are broken up in contact with the uvula and the sides of the tongue in the throat, against the palate or the teeth, and also through contact with the lips. The sound is modified by the different ways in which such contact takes place. As a result, the letters (sounds) sound distinct. Their combination constitutes the word that expresses what is in the mind.

Not¹⁷⁹ all nations have the same letters (sounds) in their speech. One nation has letters (sounds) different from those of another. The letters (sounds) of the Arabs are twentyeight, as is known. The Hebrews are found to have letters (sounds) that are not in our language. In our language, in turn, there are letters (sounds) that are not in theirs. The same applies to the European Christians, the Turks, the Berbers, and other non-Arabs.

In order to express their audible letters (sounds), literate Arabs¹⁸⁰ chose to use conventional letters written individually separate, such as *'*, *b*, *j*, *r*, *t*, and so forth through all the twenty-eight letters. When they come upon a letter (sound) for which there is no corresponding letter (sound) in their language, it is not indicated in writing and not clearly expressed. Scribes sometimes express it by means of the letter which is closest to it in our language, the one either preceding or following it.¹⁸¹ This is not a satisfactory way of indicating a letter (sound) but a complete replacement of it.

¹⁷⁷The written symbol is considered to be identical with the sound indicated by it.

¹⁷⁸ Apparently the remarks immediately following are meant.

¹⁷⁹Cf. Issawi, pp. 156 f. Cf. also *Ibar*, VII, 7; de Slane (tr.), III, 188 ff.

¹⁸⁰Actually, the term Ibn Khaldun uses carries the connotation of "(pre)Islamic Jewish and Christian Arabs." He thinks first of the originators of Arabic orthography and then refers to the way in which, in his opinion, literate (Muslim) Arabs later expressed sounds not found in Arabic.

¹⁸¹The way Ibn Khaldun expresses himself, this would seem to refer to the position of letters in the written alphabet, and not to their articulation. It should, of course, refer to the latter. Again, the notions of letters and sounds are confused.

Our book contains the history of the Berbers and other non-Arabs. In their names and in some of their words, we came across letters (sounds) that did not correspond with our written language and conventional orthography. Therefore, we were forced to indicate such sounds (by special signs). As we said, we did not find it satisfactory to use the letters closest to them, because in our opinion this is not a satisfactory indication. In my book, therefore, I have chosen to write such non-Arabic letters (sounds) in such a way as to indicate the two letters (sounds) closest to it, so that the reader may be able to pronounce it somewhere in the middle between the sounds represented by the two letters and thus reproduce it correctly.

I derived this idea from the way the Qur'an scholars write sounds that are not sharply defined, such as occur, for instance, in *as-sirat* according to Khalaf's reading.¹⁸² The s is to be pronounced somehow between s and z. In this case, they spell the word with s and write a z into it.¹⁸³ thus - indicate a pronunciation somewhere in the middle between the two sounds.¹⁸⁴

In the same way, I have indicated every letter (sound) that is to be pronounced somehow in the middle between two of our letters (sounds). The Berber *k*, for instance, which is pronounced midway between our clear *k* and *j* (*g*) or *q*, as, for instance, in the name *Buluggin*, is spelled by me with a *k* with the addition of one dot-from the *j*-below, or one dot or two-from the *q*-on top of it.¹⁸⁵ This indicates that the sound is to be pronounced mid-

¹⁸² Khalaf b. Hisham, one of the seven Qur'an readers, d. 229 (843/44]. Cf. T. Noldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergstrasser, and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qordns* (Leipzig, 1909-38), III, 182. His reading of *as-sirat* applies to Qur'an 1.6 (5).

¹⁸³ For this spelling (ض) in Berber words, see, for instance, pp. 128 f, 2:49, 197, and 3:129, below.

¹⁸⁴ In the ninth century, a transcription alphabet was invented by Abmad b. at-Tayyib as-Sarakhsi. Cf. P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan* (Memoires de l'Institut d'Egypte, Nos. 44-45) (Cairo, 1942-43), II, 245 (n. 2). However, we do not know what it looked like.

¹⁸⁵ Instances for the spelling ڪ are quite frequent. Cf., for instance, "Gawgaw," p. 119, below. Examples for ڪ and ڪ may be found in the spelling of Wangarah in C; cf. p. i 19, below.

Arabic *jim* was pronounced in Egypt according to its ancient Semitic sound value *g*, but Ibn Khaldun was not thinking of the Egyptian pronunciation when he referred to it in this context, but rather of the

way between *k* and *j* (*g*) or *q*. This sound occurs most frequently in the Berber language. In the other cases, I have spelled each letter (sound) that is to be pronounced midway between two letters (sounds) of our language, with a similar combination of two letters. The reader will thus know that it is an intermediate sound and pronounce it accordingly. In this way, we have indicated it satisfactorily. Had we spelled it by using only one letter (sound) adjacent to it on either side,^{185a} we would have changed its proper pronunciation to the pronunciation of the particular letter (sound) in our own language (which we might have used), and we would have altered the way people speak. This should be known.

God gives success.

generally recognized fact of the similarity of *j*, *q*, and, *k* as pronounced in the various Arabic dialects. On the pronunciation of *q*, cf. the discussion below, 9 : 348 fl:

The references to *q* in this sentence appear in the margin of C.

Another transcription sign ط (t with the two dots of t) is used for European t, as, for instance, in *Angalatirrah* (England). It also appears in *Tatar*:

^{185a}That is, using either *k* or *j* (*q*) to express the *g* sound, as, for instance, in the case of *Buluggin*.

Book One of the *Kitab al-'Ibar*

The nature of civilization. Bedouin and settled life, the achievement of superiority, gainful occupations, ways of making a living, sciences, crafts, and all the other things that affect (civilization). The causes and reasons thereof.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

[p.1:71]

IT¹ 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, and the different ways by which one group of human beings achieves superiority over another. 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 ways of making a living, with the sciences 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.

Untruth naturally afflicts historical information. There are various reasons that make this unavoidable. One of them is partisanship for opinions and schools. If the soul is impartial in receiving information, it devotes to that information the share of critical investigation the information deserves, and its truth or untruth thus becomes clear. However, if the soul is infected with partisanship for a particular opinion or sect, it accepts without a moment's hesitation the information that is agreeable to it. Prejudice and partisanship obscure the critical faculty and preclude critical investigation. The result is that falsehoods are accepted and transmitted.

Another reason making untruth unavoidable in historical information is reliance upon transmitters. Investigation of this subject belongs to (the theological discipline of) personality criticism.²

¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 26 f., and J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes* (Paris, 1946), pp. 138-42.

² "Personality criticism" (*al-jarh wa-t-ta'dil*) is concerned with investigating the reliability or unreliability of the transmitters of traditions. Ibn Khaldun often has occasion to refer to it; see, for instance, p. 76 and 2:16off., 447ff., below.

Another reason is unawareness of the purpose of an event. Many a transmitter does not know the real significance of his observations or of the things he has learned about orally. He transmits the information, attributing to it the significance he assumes or imagines it to have. The result is falsehood.

Another reason is unfounded assumption as to the truth of a thing. This is frequent. It results mostly from reliance upon transmitters.

Another reason is ignorance of how conditions conform with reality.^{2a} Conditions are affected by ambiguities and artificial distortions. The informant reports the conditions as he saw them but on account of artificial distortions he himself has no true picture of them.

Another reason is the fact that people as a rule approach great and high-ranking persons with praise and encomiums. They embellish conditions and spread the fame (of great men). The information made public in such cases is not truthful. Human souls long for praise, and people pay great attention to this world and the positions and wealth it offers. As a rule, they feel no desire for virtue and have no special interest in virtuous people.

Another reason making untruth unavoidable - and this one is more powerful than all the reasons previously mentioned is ignorance of the nature of the various conditions arising in civilization. Every event (or phenomenon), whether (it comes into being in connection with some) essence or (as the result of an) action, must inevitably possess a nature peculiar to its essence as well as to the accidental conditions that may attach themselves to it. If the student knows the nature of events and the circumstances and requirements in the world of existence, it will help him to distinguish truth from untruth in investigating the historical information critically. This is more effective in critical investigation than any other aspect that may be brought up in connection with it.

^{2a}Cf. n. 379 to Ch. i, below.

Students often happen to accept and transmit absurd information that, in turn, is believed on their authority. Al-Mas'udi,³ for instance, reports such a story about Alexander. Sea monsters prevented Alexander from building Alexandria. He took a wooden container in which a glass box was inserted, and dived in it to the bottom of the sea. There he drew pictures of the devilish monsters he saw. He then had metal effigies of these animals made and set them up opposite the place where building was going on. When the monsters came out and saw the effigies, they fled. Alexander was thus able to complete the building of Alexandria.

It is a long story, made up of nonsensical elements which are absurd for various reasons. Thus, (Alexander is said) to have taken a glass box and braved the sea and its waves in person. Now, rulers would not take such a risk.⁴ Any ruler who would attempt such a thing would work his own undoing and provoke the outbreak of revolt against himself, and (he would) be replaced by the people with someone else. That would be his end. People would not (even) wait one moment for him to return from the (dangerous) risk he is taking.

Furthermore, the jinn are not known to have specific forms and effigies. They are able to take on various forms. The story of the many heads they have is intended to indicate ugliness and frightfulness. It is not meant to be taken literally.

All this throws suspicion upon the story. Yet, the element in it that makes the story absurd for reasons based on the facts of existence is more convincing than all the other (arguments). Were one to go down deep into the water, even in a box, one would have too little air for natural breathing.

³Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, II, 425 ff. The story goes back ultimately to the snake (dragon) that frightened the workmen who built Alexandria. Cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. Kroll (Berlin, 1926), p. 32.

⁴*Gharar* "risk" is a legal term, used mainly in connection with commercial matters. In this context it implies unlawful gambling.

Because of that, one's spirit⁵ would quickly become hot. Such a man would lack the cold air necessary to maintain a well-balanced humor of the lung and the vital spirit. He would perish on the spot. This is the reason why people perish in hot baths when cold air is denied to them. It also is the reason why people who go down into deep wells and dungeons perish when the air there becomes hot through putrefaction, and no winds enter those places to stir the air up. Those who go down there perish immediately. This also is the reason why fish die when they leave the water, for the air is not sufficient for (a fish) to balance its lung. (The fish) is extremely hot, and the water to balance it's humor is cold. The air into which (the fish) now comes is hot. Heat, thus, gains power over its animal spirit, and it perishes at once. This also is the reason for sudden death,⁶ and similar things.

Al-Mas'udi reports another absurd story, that of the Statue of the Starling in Rome⁷ On a fixed day of the year, starlings gather at that statue bringing olives from which the inhabitants of Rome get their oil. How little this has to do with the natural procedure of getting oil!

Another absurd story is reported by al-Bakri. It concerns the way the so-called "Gate City" was built.⁸ That city had a circumference of more than

⁵The "vital spirit" which, according to Galenic and Muslim medicine, was believed to originate in the left cavity of the heart. See also pp. 210, 329, and 2:136, 374, below.

⁶*Mas'uq* may refer to death by lightning, but also includes other kinds of inexplicable sudden death. Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, XII, 66.

⁷Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 94. The story of the Statue of the Starling was mentioned before al-Mas'udi by Ibn Khurradadhib, *Kitdb al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, tr. M. J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, No. 6) (Leiden, 1889), p. 88. Many other geographers refer to it; cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropaische and ostasiatische Streifzage* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 260 ff.; and, more recently, M. J. Deny, "La Legende de l'eau des sauterelles et de l'oiseau qui detruit ces insectes," *Journal asiatique*, CCII (1923), 325. Marquart sought the origin of the story in a popular etymology for the Capitol: Campidoglio, *campo d'oglio* "olive oil field."

⁸ Al-Bakri's *Masalik* contains a brief reference to the "Copper City." Cf. MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 3034, fol. 186a, Laleli, 2144, fol. 58a. This reference does not appear in W. M. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed.; Algiers, 1913). None of the available texts says anything about a

a thirty days' journey and had ten thousand gates. Now, cities are used for security and protection, as will be mentioned.⁹ Such a city, however, could not be controlled and would offer no security or protection.

Then, there is also al-Mas'udi's story of the "Copper City."¹⁰ This is said to be a city built wholly of copper in the desert of Sijilmasah which Musa b. Nusayr¹¹ crossed on his raid against the Maghrib. The gates of (the Copper City) are said to be closed. When the person who climbs the walls of the city in order to enter it, reaches the top, he claps his hand and throws himself down and never returns. All this is an absurd story. It belongs to the idle talk of storytellers. The desert of Sijilmasah has been crossed by travelers and guides. They have not come across any information about such a city.¹² All the details mentioned about it are absurd, (if compared with) the customary state of affairs. They contradict the natural facts that apply to the

Gate City," A village called *Dhat al-abwab*, which, however, is different from the one mentioned here, is referred to by al-Bakri in *Mu'jam ma sta'jam*, p. 218. Cf. also below, 2:245.

⁹Cf. 2:237 f., below.

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldun refers to *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 95. However, he adds some details to al-Mas'udi's very brief statement, from his own knowledge of the famous story. An earlier contemporary of al-Mas'udi gives it in considerable detail: Ibn al Faqih, *Kitab al-buldan* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, No. 5) (Leiden, 1885), pp. 71 (n.g), 88 ff., quoted by Yaqut, *Mujam al-buldan*, ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 455 ff, and other geographers. In the eleventh century, the theologian al-Khatib al-Baghdadi studied it in monograph form under the title of "The Story of the Bronze City and the Lead Cupola." Cf. Yusuf al-'Ashsh, *al-Khatib al-Baghdadi* (Damascus, 1945), p.109. Cf. also G. Ferrand in *Journal asiatique*, CCVII (1925, 61 ff. Through its inclusion in *The Arabian Nights*, the story has become familiar to Western readers.

Instead of "Copper City," the city is referred to as "Bronze City" by al-Mas'udi and elsewhere. The word "bronze" (*sufir*) is at times wrongly translated as "brass." Cf. M. Aga-Oglu, "A Brief Note on the Islamic Terminology for Bronze and Brass," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIV (1944), 218-32. The vacillation between "Bronze City" and "Copper City" is due to the fact that the Arabic words for bronze and copper were often used interchangeably without regard to their precise meaning. Cf. G. Levi Della Vida, "The 'Bronze Era' in Muslim Spain," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), 183 (n. 7).

¹¹The great general (A.D. 640-716/17) who completed the conquest of the Muslim West. Cf. E. Levi-Provencal in *EI*, s.v. "Musa b. Nulair."

¹²The same argument occurs above, pp. 24 and 27.

building and planning of cities. Metal exists at best in quantities sufficient for utensils and furnishings. It is clearly absurd and unlikely that there would be enough to cover a city with it.

There¹³ are many similar things. Only knowledge of the nature of civilization makes critical investigation of them possible. It is the best and most reliable way to investigate historical information critically and to distinguish truth and falsehood in it. It is superior to investigations that rely upon criticism of the personalities of transmitters. Such personality criticism should not be resorted to until it has been ascertained whether a specific piece of information is in itself possible, or not. If it is absurd, there is no use engaging in personality criticism. Critical scholars consider absurdity inherent in the literal meaning of historical information, or an interpretation not acceptable to the intellect, as something that makes such information suspect. Personality criticism is taken into consideration only in connection with the soundness (or lack of soundness) of Muslim religious information, because this religious information mostly concerns injunctions in accordance with which the Lawgiver (Muhammad) enjoined Muslims to act whenever it can be presumed that the information is genuine. The way to achieve presumptive soundness is to ascertain the probity (*'adalah*) and exactness of the transmitters.

On the other hand, to establish the truth and soundness of information about factual happenings, a requirement to consider is the conformity (or lack of conformity of the reported information with general conditions). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate whether it is possible that the (reported facts) could have happened. This is more important than, and has priority over, personality criticism. For the correct notion about something that ought to be¹⁴ can be derived only from (personality criticism), while

¹³Cf. Issawi, pp. 34 f.

¹⁴ Referring to the injunctions of the religious law.

the correct notion about something that was can be derived from (personality criticism) and external (evidence) by (checking) the conformity (of the historical report with general conditions).

If¹⁵ this is so, the normative method for distinguishing right from wrong in historical information on the grounds of (inherent) possibility or absurdity, is to investigate human social organization, which is identical with civilization. We must distinguish the conditions that attach themselves to the essence of civilization as required by its very nature; the things that are accidental (to civilization) and cannot be counted on; and the things that cannot possibly attach themselves to it. If we do that, we shall have a normative method for distinguishing right from wrong and truth from falsehood in historical information by means of a logical demonstration that admits of no doubts. Then whenever we hear about certain conditions occurring in civilization, we shall know what to accept and what to declare spurious. We shall have a sound yardstick with the help of which historians may find the path of truth and correctness where their reports are concerned.

Such¹⁶ 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 conventional¹⁷ or an intellectual one.

It should be known that the discussion of this topic is something new, extraordinary, and highly useful. Penetrating research has shown the way to

For this paragraph, one should compare what Ibn Khaldun says in *Ibar*; II, 116: "In connection with happenings that can be referred to sensual perception, the information transmitted by a single informant (*khahar al-wahid*) is sufficient, if its soundness appears probable."

¹⁵Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 179 f.

¹⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 36 f.

¹⁷"Conventional" is used here in the sense of the more common "traditional."

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.¹⁸ 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 toward a behavior that will result in the preservation and permanence of the (human) species.

The subject here is different from that of these two disciplines which, however, are often similar to it. In a way, it is an entirely original science. In fact, I have not come across a discussion along these lines by anyone. I do not know if this is because people have been unaware of it, but there is no reason to suspect them (of having been unaware of it). Perhaps they have written exhaustively on this topic, and their work did not reach us.¹⁹ There are many sciences. There have been numerous sages among the nations of mankind. The knowledge that has not come down to us is larger than the knowledge that has. Where are the sciences of the Persians that 'Umar ordered wiped out at the time of the conquest!²⁰ Where are the sciences of the Chaldaeans, the Syrians, and the Babylonians, and the scholarly products and results that were theirs! Where are the sciences of the Copts, their predecessors! The sciences of only one nation, the Greek, have come down to us, because they were translated through al-Ma'mun's efforts. (His efforts in this direction) were successful, because he had many translators at his disposal and spent much money in this connection. Of the sciences of others, nothing has come to our attention.

¹⁸Cf. 3:368, below.

¹⁹ In later Muslim scholarship, it was considered disrespectful to suggest that earlier scholars knew less than oneself or than other, more recent men. Cf., for instance, F. Rosenthal, "Al-Asturlabi and as-Samaw'al on Scientific Progress," *Osiris*, IX (1950), 563.

²⁰ See 3:114 ff., below, where 'Umar's alleged action and al-Ma'mun's translating activities are discussed again.

The accidents involved in every manifestation of nature and intellect deserve study. Any topic that is understandable and real requires its own special science. In this connection, scholars seem to have been interested (mainly) in the results (of the individual sciences). As far as the subject under discussion is concerned, the result, as we have seen, is just historical information. Although the problems it raises are important, both essentially and specifically, (exclusive concern for it) leads to one result only: the mere verification of historical information. This is not much. Therefore, scholars might have avoided the subject.

God knows better. "And you were given but little knowledge."²¹

In the field under consideration here, we encounter (certain) problems, treated incidentally by scholars among the arguments applicable to their particular sciences, but that in object and approach are of the same type as the problems (we are discussing). In connection with the arguments for prophecy, for instance, scholars mention that human beings co operate with each other for their existence and, therefore, need men to arbitrate among them and exercise a restraining influence.²² Or, in the science of the principles of jurisprudence, in the chapter of arguments for the necessity of languages, mention is made of the fact that people need means to express their intentions because by their very nature, co operation and social organization are made easier by proper expressions²³ Or, in connection with the explanation that laws have their reason in the purposes they are to serve, the jurists mention that adultery confuses pedigrees and destroys the (human) species; that murder, too, destroys the human species; that injustice invites the destruction of civilization with the necessary consequence that the (human) species will be destroyed.²⁴ Other similar things are stated in connection with the

²¹ Qur'an 17.85 (87).

²²Cf. p. lxxv, above, and 2:417, below.

²³ Cf., for instance, al-Amidi, *al-Ihkdm fi usul al-a/kdm*(Cairo, 1914), I, 16 f. Ibn Khaldun was well acquainted with this author's works.

²⁴Cf. also 2:295, below.

purposes embedded in laws. All (laws) are based upon the effort to preserve civilization. Therefore, (the laws) pay attention to the things that belong to civilization. This is obvious from our references to these problems which are mentioned as representative (of the general situation).

We also find a few of the problems of the subject under discussion (treated) in scattered statements by the sages of mankind. However, they did not exhaust the subject. For instance, we have the speech of the Mobedhan before Bahram b. Bahram in the story of the owl reported by al-Mas'udi²⁵ It runs: "O king, the might of royal authority materializes only through the 'religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is accomplished only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation.²⁶ The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer for it, and that (overseer) is the ruler."

There also is a statement by Anosharwan²⁷ to the same effect: "Royal authority exists through the army, the army through money, money through taxes, taxes through cultivation, cultivation through justice, justice through

²⁵ Cf. *Muruj adhdhahab*, II, 169 ff. Mobedh (magupat) is the title of the Zoroastrian priest. Mobedhan actually is the Persian plural of the word. Cf. also 2:104 f., below.

In an abbreviated form, the speech is quoted as made by 'Abdallah b. Tahir (cf. 2:139, below), in Ibn Abi Hajalah at-Tilimsani, *Sukkarddn as-suldn* (Cairo, 1317/1899, in the margin of al-'Amili, Mikhldh), p. 86.

²⁶ *Imarah*, from the same root as 'umran, and practically identical with it. Cf. al-Mubashshir b. Fatik, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, No. 3 of the sayings of Seth: "If a ruler thinks that he can amass property through injustice, he is wrong, for property can be amassed only through cultivation of the soil (*'imarat al-arl*)." Cf. the Spanish translation published by H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, p. 82.

²⁷ Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, II, 210. Anosharwan is the celebrated Sassanian ruler Khosraw I, A.D. 531-579. A shortened form of the saying is quoted anonymously by Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyun al-akhbar* (Cairo, 1343-49/1925-30), I, 9. A similarly shortened form is ascribed to 'Ali in a marginal note in one of the MSS of the *Secretum Secretorum*; cf. Badawi's edition (cited below, n. 29), p. 128 (n. 1).

the improvement of officials, the improvement of officials through the forthrightness of wazirs, and the whole thing in the first place through the ruler's personal supervision of his subjects' condition and his ability to educate them, so that he may rule them, and not they him."

In the *Book on Politics* that is ascribed to Aristotle and has wide circulation, we find a good deal about (the subject which is under discussion here). (The treatment,) however, is not exhaustive, nor is the topic provided with all the arguments it deserves, and it is mixed with other things. In the book, (the author) referred to such general (ideas)²⁸ as we have reported on the authority of the Mobedhan and Anosharwan. He arranged his statement in a remarkable circle that he discussed at length. It runs as follows:²⁹ "The

²⁸C and D: *al-kulliyat*. B: *al-kalimat*"words."

²⁹ The pseudo-Aristotelian *Politics*, which Ibn Khaldun also quotes below, p. 235 and 2:48, is better known as *Sirr al-asrar* "Secretum Secretorum." The work is supposed to have been translated from the Greek by Yahya b. al-Bitriq; cf. *GAL*, I, 203; 2d ed., I, 221 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 364. It had even greater success in European languages than in Arabic.

The Arabic text has recently been published by 'Abd-ar-Rahman Badawi, *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum* (Cairo, 1954), I, 65-171. A modern English translation of the Arabic was prepared by Ismail 'Ali and A. S. Fulton, and published in Vol. V of the works of Roger Bacon, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920). Cf. M. Plessner, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXVIII (1925), 912 ff. An edition and French translation were prepared by P. Sbath but have remained unpublished. Cf. P. Sbath, *Al-Frhris* (Cairo, 1938), I, 9 (n. 4).

The passage quoted appears at the end of the third chapter dealing with justice. Cf. pp. 126-28 of Badawi's ed., and Roger Bacon, *ed. cit.*, V, 226; cf. also pp. L11 f. and 126. Cf., further, M. Steinschneider, "Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen," in *Zwölfes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 82. A fifteenth-century English rendering may be found in R. Steele, *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series No. 74) (London, 1898), p. 207.

Among other Arabic authors who quote this passage, mention may be made of Ibn Juljul [tenth century] (cf. Badawi, *op. cit.*, p. 37 of the introd.), and al-Mubashshir b. Fatik [eleventh century], *Mukhtar al-hikam*, at the end of the chapter on Aristotle. Ibn Juljul, in turn, was quoted by Ibn Abi Ulaybi'ah, '*Uyun al-anba'*', ed. Muller, I, 66 f. Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah shows the eight sentences inscribed along the sides of an octagon. Cf. also R. Blachere's translation of Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Kitab Tabaqat al-umam* (Paris, 1935), p. 68. There are quite a few minor variations in the text as it appears in the various sources. Cf. now Wad Sayyid's edition of Ibn Juljul, *Les Generations des medecins et des sages* (Cairo, 1955), p. 26.

world is a garden the fence of which is the dynasty. The dynasty is an authority through which life is given to proper behavior. Proper behavior is a policy directed by the ruler. The ruler is an institution supported by the soldiers. The soldiers are helpers who are maintained by money. Money is sustenance brought together by the subjects. The subjects are servants who are protected by justice. Justice is something familiar,³⁰ and through it, the world persists. The world is a garden ...", and then it begins again from the beginning. These are eight sentences of political wisdom. They are connected with each other, the end of each one leading into the beginning of the next. They are held together in a circle with no definite beginning or end. (The author) was proud of what he had hit upon and made much of the significance of the sentences.

When our discussion in the section on royal authority and dynasties³¹ has been studied and due critical attention given to it, it will be found to constitute an exhaustive, very clear, fully substantiated interpretation and detailed exposition of these sentences. We became aware of these things with God's help and without the instruction of Aristotle or the teaching of the Mobedhan.

The statements of Ibn al-Muqaffa³² and the excursions on political subjects in his treatises also touch upon many of the problems of our work. However, (Ibn al-Muqaffa) did not substantiate his statements with arguments as we have done. He merely mentioned them in passing in the (flowing) prose style and eloquent verbiage of the rhetorician.

The MSS of the *Muqaddimah* usually leave an empty space for insertion of the circle in which the saying is to be inscribed. The drawing is executed in B and C. The artistically executed drawing of an inscribed octagon reproduced here comes from an Istanbul MS of the *Secretum*, Reis el-kuttap (Asir 1), 1002, fol. 121b. (Cf. Frontispiece, Vol. 2.)

³⁰ *Ma'luf* "familiar" may here possibly mean "harmonious." Arabic *ta'lif* translates Greek αρμολια. Cf., for instance, P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Galenus Compendium Timaei Platonis* (Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi, Plato Arabus i) (London, 1951), p. 106.

³¹Cf. pp. 313 ff., below.

³² Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa', d. 142 [769/60]. Cf. GAL, I, 151 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 233 ff. Cf. also below, 3:393.

Judge Abu Bakr at-Turtushi³³ also had the same idea in the *Kitab Siraj al-Muluk*. He divided the work into chapters that come close to the chapters and problems of our work. However, he did not achieve his aim or realize his intention. He did not exhaust the problems and did not bring clear proofs. He sets aside a special chapter for a particular problem, but then he tells a great number of stories and traditions and he reports scattered remarks by Persian sages such as Buzurjmihr³⁴ and the Mobedhan, and by Indian sages, as well as material transmitted on the authority of Daniel, Hermes, and other great men. He does not verify his statements or clarify them with the help of natural arguments. The work is merely a compilation of transmitted material similar to sermons in its inspirational purpose. In a way, at-Turtushi aimed at the right idea, but did not hit it. He did not realize his intention or exhaust his problems.

We, on the other hand, were inspired by God. He led us to a science whose truth we ruthlessly set forth.³⁵ 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.

God guides with His light whomever He wants (to guide).³⁶

³³ Muhammad b. al-Walid, *ca.* 451 to 520 or 525 [1059 to 1126 or 1131]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 459; *Suppl.*, I, 829 f. Cf. also above, p. lxxxv.

³⁴The wazir of Khosraw I Anosharwan who appears in Arabic literature and is the chief representative of Persian wisdom.

³⁵Ibn Khaldun here uses two proverbial expressions for truthful information. They are: "Juhaynah has the right information," and "He gave me the true age of his camel."

³⁶Cf. Qur'an 24.35 (35).

In³⁷ this book, now, we are going to explain such various aspects of civilization that affect human beings in their social organization, as royal authority, gainful occupation, sciences, and crafts, (all) in the light of various arguments that will show the true nature of the varied knowledge of the elite and the common people, dispel misgivings, and remove doubts. We say that man is distinguished from the other living beings by certain qualities peculiar to him, namely: (1) The sciences and crafts which result from that ability to think which distinguishes man from the other animals and exalts him as a thinking being over all creatures.³⁸ (2) The need for restraining influence and strong authority, since man, alone of all the animals, cannot exist without them. It is true, something has been said (in this connection about bees and locusts. However, if they have something similar, it comes to them through inspiration,³⁹ not through thinking or reflection. (3) Man's efforts to make a living and his concern with the various ways of obtaining and acquiring the means of (life). This is the result of man's need for food to keep alive and subsist, which God instilled in him, guiding him to desire and seek a livelihood. God said: "He gave every thing its natural characteristics, and then guided it."⁴⁰ (4) Civilization. This means that human beings have to dwell in common and settle together in cities and hamlets for the comforts of companionship and for the satisfaction of human needs, as a result of the natural disposition of human beings toward co-operation in order to be able to make a living, as we shall explain. Civilization may be either desert (Bedouin) civilization as found in outlying regions and mountains, in hamlets (near suitable) pastures in waste regions, and on the fringes of sandy deserts. Or it may be sedentary civilization as found in cities, villages, towns, and small communities that serve the purpose of protection and for-

³⁷Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 180 f.

³⁸Cf. 2:411 ff., below.

³⁹ Arabic uses the same word (*waby*) for Prophetic "inspiration" and for what we would translate in this context as "instinct." The "inspiration" of bees is mentioned in Qur'an 16.68 (70).

⁴⁰ Qur'an 20.50 (52).

tification by means of walls. In all these different conditions, there are things that affect civilization essentially in as far as it is social organization.

Consequently,⁴¹ the discussion in this work falls naturally under six chapter headings:

(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 occupations, and their various aspects. And

(6) On the sciences, their acquisition and study.

I have discussed desert civilization first, because 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.⁴² 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.

God gives success and support.

⁴¹Cf. Issawi, p. 26.

⁴²Cf. above, p. lxxxii, and below, p. 249.

Chapter I. HUMAN CIVILIZATION IN GENERAL.

[p.1:87]

I.1. FIRST PREFATORY DISCUSSION

[p.1:89]

HUMAN¹ SOCIAL ORGANIZATION is something necessary. The philosophers expressed this fact by saying: "Man is 'political' by nature."² That is, he cannot do without the social organization for which the philosophers use the technical term "town" (*polis*).

This is what civilization means. (The necessary character of human social organization or civilization) is explained by the fact that God created and fashioned man in a form that can live and subsist only with the help of food. He guided man to a natural desire for food and instilled in him the power that enables him to obtain it.

However, the power of the individual human being is not sufficient for him to obtain (the food) he needs, and does not provide him with as much food as he requires to live. Even if we assume an absolute minimum of food—that is, food enough for one day, (a little) wheat, for instance—that amount of food could be obtained only after much preparation such as grinding, kneading, and baking. Each of these three operations requires utensils and tools that can be provided only with the help of several crafts, such as the crafts of the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the potter. Assuming that a man could eat unprepared grain, an even greater number of operations would be necessary in order to obtain the grain: sowing and reaping, and threshing to separate it from the husks of the ear. Each of these operations requires a number of tools and many more crafts than those just mentioned. It is beyond the power of one man alone to do all that, or (even) part of it, by himself.

¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 99 f.

² See p. lxxv, above, and 2:417, below.

Thus, he cannot do without a combination of many powers from among his fellow beings, if he is to obtain food for himself and for them. Through co-operation, the needs of a number of persons, many times greater than their own (number), can be satisfied.

Likewise, each individual needs the help of his fellow beings for his defense, as well. When God fashioned the natures of all living beings and divided the various powers among them, many dumb animals were given more perfect powers than God gave to man. The power of a horse, for instance, is much greater than the power of man, and so is the power of a donkey or an ox. The power of a lion or an elephant is many times greater than the power of (man).

Aggressiveness is natural in living beings. Therefore, God gave each of them a special limb for defense against aggression. To man, instead, He gave the ability to think, and the hand. With the help of the ability to think, the hand is able to prepare the ground for the crafts. The crafts, in turn, procure for man the instruments that serve him instead of limbs, which other animals possess for their defense. Lances, for instance, take the place of horns for goring, swords the place of claws to inflict wounds, shields the place of thick skins, and so on. There are other such things. They were all mentioned by Galen in *De usu partium*.³

The power of one individual human being cannot withstand the power of any one dumb animal, especially not the power of the predatory animals. Man is generally unable to defend himself against them by himself. Nor is his (unaided) power sufficient to make use of the existing instruments of defense, because there are so many of them and they require so many crafts and (additional) things. It is absolutely necessary for man to have the co-operation of his fellow men. As long as there is no such co-operation, he cannot obtain any food or nourishment, and life cannot materialize for him, because God fashioned him so that he must have food if he is to live. Nor, lacking

³At the beginning of the work, ed. C. G. Kuhn (Leipzig, 1821-33), III, 2. See also below, 3:149.

weapons, can he defend himself. Thus, he falls prey to animals and dies much before his time. Under such circumstances, the human species would vanish. When, however, mutual co-operation exists, man obtains food for his nourishment and weapons for his defense. God's wise plan that man(kind) should subsist and the human species be preserved will be fulfilled.

Consequently, social organization is necessary to the human species. Without it, the existence of human beings would be incomplete. God's desire to settle the world with human beings and to leave them as His representatives on earth⁴ would not materialize. This is the meaning of civilization, the object of the science under discussion.

The afore-mentioned remarks have been in the nature of establishing the existence of the object in (this) particular field. A scholar in a particular discipline is not obliged to do this, since it is accepted in logic that a scholar in a particular science does not have to establish the existence of the object in that science.⁵ On the other hand, logicians do not consider it forbidden to do so. Thus, it is a voluntary contribution.

God, in His grace, gives success.

When⁶ mankind has achieved social organization, as we have stated, and when civilization in the world has thus become a fact, people need someone to exercise a restraining influence and keep them apart, for aggressive-

⁴ Cf. Qur'an 2.30 (28).

⁵The "object" (*mawdu`*) of a science is the fundamental elements at its basis, such as quantities (measurements) in geometry, numbers in arithmetic, substances in physics, and so on. The object of Ibn Khaldun's new science is human social organization, or civilization (cf. p. 77, above). See 3:111 f., below. For the Avicennian basis of this theory, see, for instance, A: M. Goichon, *Lexique de la philosophie d'Ibn Sind* (Paris, 1938), p. 439, and AN I-Barakat Hibatallah al-Baghdadi, *Mu'tabar* (Hyderabad, 1357-58/ 1938-39), I, 221 ff. These fundamental elements of the individual sciences do not require proof of their existence. The pertinent Aristotelian passage in this connection (*Analytica posteriors* 76b 3 ff.), was quoted by de Slane. However, the Arabic translation, as published by `Abd-ar-Rahman Badawi, *Manliq Aristu* (Cairo, 1948-49), II, 339, does not use the term *mawdu`* in this context.

⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 100 f.

ness and injustice are in the animal nature of man. The weapons made for the defense of human beings against the aggressiveness of dumb animals do not suffice against the aggressiveness of man to man, because all of them possess those weapons. Thus, something else is needed for defense against the aggressiveness of human beings toward each other. It could not come from outside, because all the other animals fall short of human perceptions and inspiration. The person who exercises a restraining influence, therefore, must be one of themselves. He must dominate them and have power and authority over them, so that no one of them will be able to attack another. This is the meaning of royal authority.

It has thus become clear that royal authority is a natural quality of man which is absolutely necessary to mankind. The philosophers mention that it also exists among certain dumb animals, such as the bees and the locusts⁷ One discerns among them the existence of authority and obedience to a leader. They follow the one of them who is distinguished as their leader by his natural characteristics and body. However, outside of human beings, these things exist as the result of natural disposition and divine guidance, and not as the result of an ability to think or to administrate. "He gave everything its natural characteristics, and then guided it."⁸

The philosophers go further. They attempt to give logical proof of the existence of prophecy and to show that prophecy is a natural quality of man. In this connection, they carry the argument to its ultimate consequences and say that human beings absolutely require some authority to exercise a restraining influence. They go on to say that such restraining influence exists through the religious law (that has been) ordained by God and revealed to mankind by a human being. (This human being) is distinguished from the rest of mankind by special qualities of divine guidance that God gave him, in order that he might find the others submissive to him and ready to accept

⁷see p. 84, above

⁸Qur'an 20.50(52)

what he says. Eventually, the existence of a (restraining) authority among them and over them becomes a fact that is accepted without the slightest disapproval or dissent.

This proposition of the philosophers is not logical, as one can see. Existence and human life can materialize without (the existence of prophecy) through injunctions a person in authority may devise on his own or with the help of a group feeling that enables him to force the others to follow him wherever he wants to go. People who have a (divinely revealed) book and who follow the prophets are few in number in comparison with (all) the Magians⁹ who have no (divinely revealed) book. The latter constitute the majority of the world's inhabitants. Still, they (too) have possessed dynasties and monuments, not to mention life itself. They still possess these things at this time in the intemperate zones to the north and the south. This is in contrast¹⁰ with human life in the state of anarchy, with no one to exercise a restraining influence. That would be impossible.

This shows that (the philosophers) are wrong when they assume that prophecy exists by necessity. The existence of prophecy is not required by logic. Its (necessary character) is indicated by the religious law, as was the belief of the early Muslims.

God gives success and guidance.

⁹"Magians" originally meant the Zoroastrians. In later Islam they were considered as people who followed a kind of prophet but did not have Scriptures like the Christians and the Jews. Thus, they occupied a position somewhere between the latter and polytheists. The term was eventually used to denote the general idea of pagans. Cf. V. F. Buchner in EI, s.v. "Madjus."

¹⁰For the rather difficult use of *hi-khilaf*, cf. also below, p. 400, l. 15.

I.2. SECOND PREFATORY DISCUSSION: The parts of the earth where civilization is found. Some information about oceans, rivers, and zones.¹¹

[p.1:94]

IN¹² THE BOOKS of philosophers who speculated about the condition of the world, it has been explained that the earth has a spherical shape and is

¹¹ The material presented on pp. 94-103 represents the common stock of Muslim geographical knowledge, but here (and even more for pp. 116-66) Ibn Khaldun relies mainly upon the *Nuzhat al-mushtaq*, or, as he occasionally calls it (cf. pp. 97 and 103), the *Book of Roger*, by Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Idrisi, ca. A.D. 1099/1100-1162. Cf. *GAL*, I, 477; 2d ed., I, 628; *Suppl.*, I, 876 f. Al-Idrisi wrote his important geographical work for Roger II of Sicily (1129-1154). It was completed the year Roger died. Although Ibn Khaldun's basis is the work by al-Idrisi, he occasionally adds to the information he found there, from his own knowledge.

No reliable text of al-Idrisi's work has so far been published, nor do we have any translation and commentary of the entire book that would satisfy modern scientific requirements. An abridgment was published in Rome in 1592, and translated by Gabriel Sionita and Ioannes Hesronita in Paris in 1619, under the title of *Geographia Nubensis*. A rough translation of the work was attempted by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836-40).

While the whole work is thus not available in the true sense of the word, there have been a good number of detailed studies of small sections of it, in particular those concerned with the marginal areas to the north. Among the older studies, we may mention R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden, 1866); M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggiero"* (Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Ser. 2, Vol. VIII) (Rome, 1883); J. Gildemeister in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, VIII (1885), 117-45. Some of the recent studies are: O. J. Tallgren-Tuulio and A. M. Tallgren, *Idrisi, La Finlande et les autres pays Baltiques orientaux* in *Studia Orientalia* (ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica), 111 (1930); O. J. Tallgren (Tuulio), *Du Nouveau sur Idrisi, ibid.*, VI 3 (1936); W. Hoernerbach, *Deutschland und seine Nachbarländer nach der grossen Geographie des Idrisi* (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, No. 21) (Stuttgart, 1938); T. Lewicki, *La Pologne et les pays voisins dans le "Livre de Roger" de al-Idrisi* (Cracow, 1945; Warsaw, 1954); D. M. Dunlop, "Scotland According to al-Idrisi" in *Scottish Historical Review*, XXVI (1947); W. B. Stevenson, "Idrisi's Map of Scotland," *ibid.*, XXVII (1948), 202-4;

A. F. L. Beeston, "Idrisi's Account of the British Isles," *Bulletin of the British Schools of Oriental Studies*, XIII (1950), 265-80, etc.

In this section, particularly, the notes had to be severely restricted. As a rule, no special reference is made to the inaccuracies that were unavoidable in Ibn Khaldun's and al-Idrisi's time, regardless of the remarkable geographical information they possessed.

Ibn Khaldun speaks again briefly about the oceans and zones in the *Autobiography*, pp. 351 ff.

¹²Cf. Issawi, pp. 38 f.

enveloped by the element of water. It may be compared to a grape floating upon water.¹³

The water withdrew from certain parts of (the earth), because God wanted to create living beings upon it and settle it with the human species that rules as (God's) representative over all other beings.¹⁴ One might from this get the impression that the water is below the earth. This is not correct. The natural "below" of the earth is the core and middle of its sphere, the center to which everything is attracted by its gravity. All the sides of the earth beyond that and the water surrounding the earth are "above." When some part of the earth is said to be "below," it is said to be so with reference to some other region (of the earth).

The part of the earth from which the water has withdrawn is one-half the surface of the sphere of the earth. It has a circular form and is surrounded on all sides by the element of water which forms a sea called "the Surrounding Sea" (*al-Bahr al-Muhit*). It is also called *lablayah*,¹⁵ with thickening of the second *l*, or *oceanos*.¹⁶ Both are non-Arabic words. It is also called "the Green Sea" and "the Black Sea."

The part of the earth that is free from water (and thus suitable) for human civilization has more waste and empty areas than cultivated (habitable) areas. The empty area in the south is larger than that in the north. The culti-

¹³Cf. also p. 110, below. Ibn Khurradadhbih, in his *Masalik*, prefers the comparison to an egg yolk swimming in the white. The Rasa'il *Ikhwan as-safa* (Cairo, 1347/1928), I, 114, think of a half egg submerged in water. Al-Idrisi, too, mentions the comparison with a submerged egg.

¹⁴Cf. Qur'an 2.30 (28), etc., and n. 212 to Ch. m, below.

¹⁵ Cf *Ibar*, VI, 98; de Slane (tr.), I, 187. Cf. also Ibn 'Idhari al-Marrakushi, *al-Baydn al-mughrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Levi-Provengal (Leiden, 1948-51), I, 6. The editors vocalize the word *al-ablayuh*. De Slane thought to find here a corruption of *Atlant(ic)*, which seems hardly possible. He compared *πελαγος*, *pelagus*, which also is very difficult, though it may be mentioned that the Latin word *pelagus* occurs in connection with Spain in the opening pages of Orosius, whose work was translated into Arabic. *Lablayah*, as the word is vocalized in B and C, does not look like a Berber word, but may have been derived from the Romance languages perhaps, *el mare*?

¹⁶B vocalizes *Uqyanus*; A, C, and D *Ufyanus*.

vated part of the earth extends more toward the north. In the shape of a circular plane it extends in the south to the equator and in the north to a circular¹⁷ line, behind which there are mountains separating (the cultivated part of the earth) from the elemental water. Enclosed between (these mountains) is the Dam of Gog and Magog. These mountains extend toward the east. In the east and the west, they also reach the elemental water, at two sections (points) of the circular (line) that surrounds (the cultivated part of the earth).

The part of the earth that is free from water is said to cover one-half or less of the sphere (of the earth). The cultivated part covers one-fourth of it. It is divided into seven zones.¹⁸

The equator divides the earth into two halves from west to east. It represents the length of the earth. It is the longest line on the sphere of (the earth), just as the ecliptic and the equinoctial line are the longest lines on the firmament. The ecliptic is divided into 360 degrees. The geographical degree is twenty-five parasangs, the parasang being 12,000 cubits or three miles, since one mile has 4,000 cubits. The cubit is twenty-four fingers, and the finger is six grains of barley placed closely together in one row.¹⁹ The distance of the equinoctial line, parallel to the equator of the earth and dividing the firmament into two parts, is ninety degrees from each of the two poles. However, the cultivated area north of the equator is (only) sixty-four

¹⁷C has "straight" in the text; it is crossed out and replaced in the margin by "circular." All the features that Ibn Khaldun describes here can be easily traced on the map reproduced here, which is identical with the one that Ibn Khaldun had in front of him when he wrote this section.

¹⁸ Iqlim, Greek κλιμα, "clime."

¹⁹ For Muslim information about the length of the degree, see C. A. Nallino, "Il valore metrico del grado di meridian secondo i geografi arabi," *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (Rome, 1939-48), V, 408 ff. The value of seventy-five miles is credited by Arabic authors to Ptolemy (Nallino, *ibid.*, pp. 416 ff). Since an Arabic mil "mile" usually can be considered to be about two kilometers, or one and a quarter English miles more exactly, according to Nallino, 1973.2 m. this is far too large a value for the length of a degree. However, the Muslims were familiar with much more accurate data, as Nallino points out; and see also below, p. 113. The figure of seventy-five miles is found, for instance, in al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, III, 490 f., and in al-Idrissi. The standard gauge indicated above is derived from al-Idrissi; cf also al-Mas'udi, *loc. cit.*, and Nallino, *op. cit.*, V, 284.

degrees.²⁰ The rest is empty and uncultivated because of the bitter cold and frost, exactly as the southern part is altogether empty because of the heat. We shall explain it all, if God wills.

Information about the cultivated part and its boundaries and about the cities, towns, mountains, rivers, waste areas, and sandy deserts it contains, has been given by men such as Ptolemy in the *Geography*²¹ and, after him, by the author of the *Book of Roger*.²² These men divided the cultivated area into seven parts which they called the seven zones. The borders of the seven zones are imaginary. They extend from east to west. In width (latitudinal extension) they are identical, in length (longitudinal extension) different. The first zone is longer than the second. The same applies to the second zone, and so on. The seventh zone is the shortest. This is required by the circular shape that resulted from the withdrawal of the water from the sphere of the earth.

According to these scholars, each of the seven zones is divided from west to east into ten contiguous sections. Information about general conditions and civilization is given for each section.

(The geographers) mentioned that the Mediterranean which we all know branches off from the Surrounding Sea in the western part of the fourth zone. It begins at a narrow straits about twelve miles wide between Tangier and Tarifa, called the Street (of Gibraltar). It then extends eastward and opens out to a width of 600 miles. It terminates at the end of the fourth section of the fourth zone, a distance of 1,160 parasangs from its starting

²⁰Cf. p. 105, below. Ibn Khaldun realized later on that this fact, and, more especially, the theory of the identical latitudinal extension of the different zones mentioned in the next paragraph, were not safely established as he had originally thought. Therefore he added the long discussion below, pp. 112f. and 114 f.

²¹For knowledge of Ptolemy's *Geography* among the Arabs, cf. Nallino, op. Cit., V, 458 ff., and GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 382. The seven-zone division is of Greek origin but is not found in Ptolemy. Cf. E. Honigsmann, *Die sieben Klimata* (Heidelberg, 1929).

²²See n. 11, above, and pp. 103 and 116, below.

point. There, it is bordered by the coast of Syria. On the south, it is bordered by the coast of the Maghrib, beginning with Tangier at the Straits, then Ifrigiyah, Barqah, and Alexandria. On the north, it is bordered by the coast of Constantinople, then Venice, Rome, France, and Spain, back to Tarifa at the Street (of Gibraltar) opposite Tangier. The Mediterranean is also called the Roman Sea or the Syrian Sea. It contains many populous islands. Some of them are large, such as Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, Majorca, and Sardinia.²³

In the north, they say, two other seas branch off from the Mediterranean through two straits. One of them is opposite Constantinople. It starts at the Mediterranean in a narrow straits, only an arrow-shot in width. It flows for a three days' run and touches Constantinople. Then, it attains a width of four miles. It flows in this channel for sixty miles, where it is known as the Straits of Constantinople. Through a mouth six miles wide, it then flows into the Black Sea,²⁴ and becomes a sea that, from there, turns eastward in its course. It passes the land of Heracleia (in Bithynia)²⁵ and ends at the country of the Khazars, 1,300 miles from its mouth. Along its two coasts live the Byzantine, the Turkish, the Bulgar (Burjin)²⁶ and the Russian nations.

The second sea that branches off from the two straits of the Mediterranean is the Adriatic Sea (Gulf of Venice). It emerges from Byzantine territory at its northern limit. Then, from Sant' Angelo (de' Lombardi), its western boundary extends from the country of the Venetians to the territory of Aquileia, 1,100 miles from where it started. On its two shores live the Venetians, the Byzantines (Rum), and other nations. It is called the Gulf of Venice (Adriatic Sea).

²³The MSS, with the exception of D, add Denia. Denia was the overlord of the Baleares, but it is strange for Ibn Khaldun to refer to it as an island. Since Majorca is already mentioned, Denia seems clearly an oversight.

²⁴ Arabic *Bahr Nilush*, an accepted misreading for "Pontus."

²⁵The MSS have the spelling *Hryqlyh*. See also n. 191 to this chapter, below.

²⁶Ibn Khaldun mentions later both *Burjan* and *Bulghar*. Both refer to the same group. Cf. V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-alam* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. No. 11) (Oxford & London, 1937), p. 423.

From the Surrounding Sea, they say, a large and wide sea flows on the east at thirteen degrees north of the equator. It flows a little toward the south, entering the first zone. Then it flows west within the first zone until it reaches the country of the Abyssinians and the Negroes (the Zanj)²⁷ and Bib al-Mandeb in the fifth section of (the first zone), 4,500 parasangs from its starting point. This sea is called the Chinese, Indian, or Abyssinian Sea (Indian Ocean). It is bordered on the south by the country of the Negroes (Zanj) and the country of Berbera which Imru'ul-Qays mentioned in his poem.²⁸ These "Berbers" do not belong to the Berbers who make up the tribes in the Maghrib. The sea is then bordered by the area of Mogadishu, Sufilah, and the land of al-Wigwiq,²⁹ and by other nations beyond which there is nothing but waste and empty areas. On the north, where it starts, it is bordered by China, then by Eastern and Western India (al-Hind and as-Sind), and then by the coast of the Yemen, that is, al-Ahqif, Zabid, and other cities. Where it ends, it is bordered by the country of the Negroes, and, beyond them, the Beja.³⁰

Two other seas, they say, branch off from the Indian Ocean. One of them branches off where the Indian Ocean ends, at Bib al-Mandeb. It starts out narrow, then flows widening toward the north and slightly to the west until it ends at the city of al-Qulzum in the fifth section of the second zone, 1,400 miles from its starting point. This is the Sea of al-Qulzum or Sea

²⁷Ibn Khaldun's definition of the distinction between the Abyssinians and the Zanj is found below, p. 171.

²⁸Cf. his *Diwan*, ed. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1837), p. 27; (tr.) p. 42. Cf. also *Ibar*; VI, 199; de Slane (tr.), II, 107.

²⁹This is rather an elusive country in Muslim geography. It may be identified with Madagascar, as would seem to apply here, or possibly with the whole east coast of Africa, about which Muslim geographers had no clear idea. It has also been tentatively identified with Sumatra, and even with Japan. Cf. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 278, and below, p. 123.

³⁰Arabic *al-Bujah*, as always vocalized in the MSS.

of Suez (Red Sea). From the Red Sea at Suez to Fustat³¹ is the distance of a three days' journey. The Red Sea is bordered on the east by the coast of the Yemen, the Hijiz, and Jiddah,³² and then, where it ends, by Midyan (Madyan), Aila (Aylah), and Faran.³³ On the west, it is bordered by the coast of Upper Egypt, 'Aydhib, Suakin, and Zayla' (Zila'), and then, where it begins, by the country of the Beja. It ends at al-Qulzum. It (would) reach the Mediterranean at al-'Arish. The distance between (the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) is a six days' journey. Many rulers, both Muslim and pre-Islamic, have wanted to cut through the intervening territory (with a canal) but this has not been achieved.

The second sea branching off from the Indian Ocean and called the Persian Gulf (the Green Gulf), branches off at the region between the west coast of India and al-Ahqaf in the Yemen. It flows toward the north and slightly to the west until it ends at al-Ubullah on the coast of al-Basrah in the sixth section of the second zone, 440 parasangs from its starting point. It is called the Persian Gulf (Persian Sea). It is bordered on the east by the coast of Western India, Mukrin, Kirmin, Firs, and al-Ubullah where it ends. On the west, it is bordered by the coast of al-Bahrayn, the Yamamah, Oman, ash-Shihr, and al-Ahgaf where it starts. Between the Persian Gulf and al-Qulzum lies the Arabian Peninsula, jutting out from the mainland into the sea. It is surrounded by the Indian Ocean to the south, by the Red Sea to the west, and by the Persian Gulf to the east. It adjoins the 'Iraq in the region between Syria and al-Basrah, where the distance between (Syria and the 'Iraq) is 1,500 miles. (In the 'Iraq) are al-Kufah, al-Qidistyah, Baghdad, the Reception Hall of Khosraw (at Ctesiphon)³⁴ and al-Hirah. Beyond that live

³¹ The mention of Fustat shows that, basically, the information presented here goes back to a time before the foundation of Cairo in 969/70.

³² *Juddah*, as vocalized in the MSS.

³³ That is, the Biblical Paran. Cf. also p. 132, below.

³⁴ For the *Iwan Kisra*, to which Ibn Khaldun repeatedly refers as an impressive monument of pre-Islamic dynasties, see pls., iia, iib, below.

non-Arab nations such as the Turks, the Khazars, and others. The Arabian Peninsula comprises the Hijaz in the west, the Yamamah, al-Bahrayn, and Oman in the east, and in the south the Yemen along the coast of the Indian Ocean.

In the cultivated area (of the earth), they say, there is another sea to the north in the land of the Daylam. This sea has no connection with the other seas. It is called the Sea of Jurjan and Tabaristan (Caspian Sea). Its length is 1,000 miles, and its width 600. To the west of it lies Azerbaijan and the Daylam territory; to the east of it the land of the Turks and Khuwirizm; to the south of it Tabaristan; and to the north of it the land of the Khazars and the Alans.

These are all the famous seas mentioned by the geographers.

They further say that in the cultivated part of (the earth), there are many rivers. The largest among them are four in number, namely, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the River of Balkh which is called Oxus (Jayhun).

The Nile begins at a large mountain, sixteen degrees beyond the equator at the boundary of the fourth section of the first zone. This mountain is called the Mountain of the Qumr.³⁵ No higher mountain is known on earth. Many springs issue from the mountain, some of them flowing into one lake there, and some of them into another lake. From these two lakes, several rivers branch off, and all of them flow into a lake at the equator which is at the distance of a ten days' journey from the mountain. From that lake, two rivers issue. One of them flows due north, passing through the country of the Nubah and then through Egypt. Having traversed Egypt, it divides into many branches lying close to each other. Each of these is called a "channel." All flow into the Mediterranean at Alexandria. This river is called the

³⁵Ibn Khaldun did not accept the reading *qamar* "moon," which, as we know from Ptolemy, is correct. Following Ibn Sa'id, he read Qumr, considered to be the name of some "Indian" people. Cf p. 120, below. The vocalization in the MSS seems to be *Qumur*. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudd*, p. 205. For the island of the *Qmr*, meaning Java or the entire Malay Archipelago, see below, p. 123.

Egyptian Nile. It is bordered by Upper Egypt on the east, and by the oases on the west. The other river turns west ward, flowing due west until it flows into the Surrounding Sea. This river is the Sudanese Nile.³⁶ All the Negro nations live along its borders.

The Euphrates begins in Armenia in the sixth section of the fifth zone. It flows south through Byzantine territory (Anatolia) past Malatya to Manbij, and then passes Siflin, ar-Raggah, and al-Kufah until it reaches the Marsh (al-Batha') between al-Basrah and Wasit. From there it flows into the Indian Ocean. Many rivers flow into it along its course. Other rivers branch off from it and flow into the Tigris.

The Tigris originates in a number of springs in the country of Khilat, which is also in Armenia. It passes on its course southward through Mosul, Azerbaijan, and Baghdad to Wasit. There, it divides into several channels, all of which flow into the Lake of al-Basrah and join the Persian Gulf. The Tigris flows east of the Euphrates. Many large rivers flow into it from all sides. The region between the Euphrates and the Tigris, where it is first formed, is the Jazirah of Mosul, facing Syria on both banks of the Euphrates, and facing Azerbaijan on both banks of the Tigris.

The Oxus originates at Balkh, in the eighth section of the third zone, in a great number of springs there. Large rivers flow into it, as it follows a course from south to north. It flows through Khurasan, then past Khurasan to Khuwarizm in the eighth section of the fifth zone. It flows into Lake Aral (the Lake of Gurganj) which is situated at the foot [north?] of the city of (Gurganj). In length as in width, it extends the distance of one month's journey. The river of Farghanah and Tashkent (ash-Shash),³⁷ which comes from the territory of the Turks, flows into it. West of the Oxus lie Khurasan and Khuwarizm. East of it lie the cities of Bukhari, at-Tirmidh, and Samarkand.

³⁶See the map (following p. 110) for the generally accepted theory as to the common origin of the Nile and the Senegal (or the Niger), and p. 118, below. Cf. J. H. Kramers in *EI*, s.v. "al-Nil."

³⁷That is, the Syr Darya (Jaxartes). Cf. Minorsky, *Huddud*, p. 72.

Beyond that are the country of the Turks, Farghanah, the Kharlukh,³⁸ and (other) non-Arab nations.

(All) this was mentioned by Ptolemy in his work and by the Sharaf (al-Idrisi) in the *Book of Roger*. All the mountains, seas, and rivers to be found in the cultivated part of the earth are depicted on maps and exhaustively treated in geography. We do not have to go any further into it. It is too lengthy a subject, and our main concern is with the Maghrib, the home of the Berbers, and the Arab home countries in the East.

God gives success.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO THE SECOND PREFATORY DISCUSSION: The northern quarter of the earth has more civilization than the southern quarter. The reason thereof.

WE KNOW FROM OBSERVATION and from continuous tradition that the first and the second of the cultivated zones have less civilization than the other zones. The cultivated area in the first and second zones is interspersed with empty waste areas and sandy deserts and has the Indian Ocean to the east. The nations and populations of the first and second zones are not excessively numerous. The same applies to the cities and towns there.

The third, fourth, and subsequent zones are just the opposite. Waste areas there are few. Sandy deserts also are few or non-existent. The nations and populations are tremendous. Cities and towns are exceedingly numerous. Civilization has its seat between the third and the sixth zones. The south is all emptiness.

Many philosophers have mentioned that this is because of the excessive heat and slighthness of the sun's deviation from the zenith in the south. Let us explain and prove this statement. The result will clarify the reason why

³⁸Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 268 ff.; *idem*, *Sharaf al-ZamdnTahir Marvazi on China, the Turks, and India* (James G. Forlong Fund, No. 22) (London, 1942), pp. 106 f.; P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 75 (nn. 8, 5). While Kharlukh appears to be the correct form, Ibn Khaldun reads the name as al-Khazlajiyah, or al-Hazlajiyah. Cf. also pp. 158, 149, below. On p. 149, MS. C has *kh-z-l-khiyah*.

civilization in the third and fourth zones is so highly developed and extends also to the fifth, <sixth,> and seventh zones.

We say: When the south and north poles (of heaven) are upon the horizon, they constitute a large circle that divides the firmament into two parts. It is the largest circle (in it) and runs from west to east. It is called the equinoctial line. In astronomy, it has been explained in the proper place that the highest sphere moves from east to west in a daily motion by means of which it also forces the spheres enclosed by it to move. This motion is perceptible to the senses. It has also been explained that the stars in their spheres have a motion that is contrary to this motion and is, therefore, a motion from west to east. The periods of this movement differ according to the different speeds of the motions of the stars.

Parallel to the courses of all these stars in their spheres, there runs a large circle which belongs to the highest sphere and divides it into two halves. This is the ecliptic (zodiac). It is divided into twelve "signs." As has been explained in the proper place, the equinoctial line intersects the ecliptic at two opposite points, namely, at the beginning of Aries and at the beginning of Libra. The equinoctial line divides the zodiac into two halves. One of them extends northward from the equinoctial line and includes the signs from the beginning of Aries to the end of Virgo. The other half extends southward from it and includes the signs from the beginning of Libra to the end of Pisces.

When the two poles fall upon the horizon <which takes place in one particular region> among all the regions of the earth, a line is formed upon the surface of the earth that faces the equinoctial line and runs from west to east. This line is called the equator. According to astronomical observation, this line is believed to coincide with the beginning of the first of the seven zones. All civilization is to the north of it.

The north pole gradually ascends on the horizon of the cultivated area (of the earth) until its elevation reaches sixtyfour degrees. Here, all civiliza-

tion ends. This is the end of the seventh zone. When its elevation reaches ninety degrees on the horizon - that is the distance between the pole and the equinoctial- line-then it is at its zenith, and the equinoctial line is on the horizon. Six of the signs of the zodiac, the northern ones, remain above the horizon, and six, the southern ones, are below it.

Civilization is impossible in the area between the sixtyfourth and the ninetieth degrees, for no admixture of heat and cold occurs there because of the great time interval between them. Generation (of anything), therefore, does not take place.

The sun is at its zenith on the equator at the beginning of Aries and Libra. It then declines from its zenith down to the beginning of Cancer and Capricorn. Its greatest declination from the equinoctial line is twenty-four degrees.

Now, when the north pole ascends on the horizon, the equinoctial line declines from the zenith in proportion to the elevation of the north pole, and the south pole descends correspondingly, as regards the three (distances constituting geographical latitude).³⁹ Scholars who calculate the (prayer) times call this the latitude of a place. When the equinoctial line declines from the zenith, the northern signs of the zodiac gradually rise above it, proportionately to its rise, until the beginning of Cancer is reached. Meanwhile, the southern signs of the zodiac correspondingly descend below the horizon until the beginning of Capricorn is reached, because of the inclination of the (two halves of the zodiac) upwards or downwards from the horizon of the equator, as we have stated. The northern horizon continues to rise, until its northern limit, which is the beginning of Cancer, is in the zenith. This is where the latitude is twenty-four degrees in the Hijaz and the territory adjacent. This is the declination from the equinoctial at the horizon of the equator at the beginning of Cancer. With the elevation of the north pole (Cancer) rises, until it attains the zenith. When the pole rises more than twenty-four

³⁹This is explained below, pp.112 and 115.

degrees, the sun descends from the zenith and continues to do so until the elevation of the pole is sixty-four degrees, and the sun's descent from the zenith, as well as the depression of the south pole under the horizon, is the same distance. Then, generation (of anything) stops because of the excessive cold and frost and the long time without any heat.

At and nearing its zenith, the sun sends its rays down upon the earth at right angles. In other positions, it sends them down at obtuse or acute angles. When the rays form right angles, the light is strong and spreads out over a wide area, in contrast to what happens in the case of obtuse and acute angles. Therefore, at and nearing its zenith, the heat is greater than in other positions, because the light (of the sun) is the reason for heat and calefaction. The sun reaches its zenith at the equator twice a year in two points of Aries and Libra. No declination (of the sun) goes very far. The heat hardly begins to become more temperate, when the sun has reached the limit of its declination at the beginning of Cancer or Capricorn and begins to rise again toward the zenith. The perpendicular rays then fall heavily upon the horizon there (in these regions) and hold steady for a long time, if not permanently. The air gets burning hot, even excessively so. The same is true whenever the sun reaches the zenith in the area between the equator and latitude twentyfour degrees, as it does twice a year. The rays exercise almost as much force upon the horizon there (at this latitude) as they do at the equator. The excessive heat causes a parching dryness in the air that prevents (any) generation. As the heat becomes more excessive, water and all kinds of moisture dry up, and (the power of) generation is destroyed in minerals, plants, and animals, because (all) generation depends on moisture.

Now, when the beginning of Cancer declines from the zenith at the latitude of twenty-five degrees and beyond, the sun also declines from its zenith. The heat becomes temperate, or deviates only slightly from (being temperate). Then, generation can take place. This goes on until the cold becomes excessive, due to the lack of light and the obtuse angles of the rays of

the sun. Then, (the power of) generation again decreases and is destroyed. However, the destruction caused by great heat is greater than that caused by great cold, because heat brings about desiccation faster than cold brings about freezing.

Therefore, there is little civilization in the first and second zones. There is a medium degree of civilization in the third, fourth, and fifth zones, because the heat there is temperate owing to the decreased amount of light. There is a great deal of civilization in the sixth and seventh zones because of the decreased amount of heat there. At first, cold does not have the same destructive effect upon (the power of) generation as heat; it causes desiccation only when it becomes excessive and thus has dryness added. This is the case beyond the seventh zone. (All) this, then, is the reason why civilization is stronger and more abundant in the northern quarter. And God knows better!

The⁴⁰ philosophers concluded from these facts that the region at the equator and beyond it (to the south) was empty. On the strength of observation and continuous tradition, it was argued against them that (to the contrary) it was cultivated. How would it be possible to prove this (contention)? It is obvious that the (philosophers) did not mean to deny entirely the existence of civilization there, but their argumentation led them to (the realization) that (the power of) generation must, to a large degree, be destroyed there because of the excessive heat. Consequently, civilization there would be either impossible, or only minimally possible. This is so. The region at the equator and beyond it (to the south), even if it has civilization as has been reported, has only a very little of it.

Averroes⁴¹ assumed that the equator is in a symmetrical position⁴² and that what is beyond the equator to the south corresponds to what is beyond

⁴⁰Cf. Issawi, pp. 39 f.

⁴¹Mubammad b. Ahmad b. Rushd, 520-595 11126-11981. Cf. GAL, I, 461 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 833 ff.

⁴² Translation of *mu'tadil* in the usual way by "temperate" would not seem to be correct here. The word must here be translated by "symmetrical," or the like. This becomes clear from the discussion of Averroes' view of the problem found in L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd* (Paris, 1948), pp. 84 ff. Averroes ar-

it to the north; consequently, as much of the south would be cultivated as of the north. His assumption is not impossible, so far as (the argument of) the destruction of the power of generation is concerned. However, as to the region south of the equator, it is made impossible by the fact that the element of water covers the face of the earth in the south, where the corresponding area in the north admits of generation. On account of the greater amount of water (in the south), Averroes' assumption of the symmetrical (position of the equator) thus turns out to be impossible. Everything else follows, since civilization progresses gradually and begins its gradual progress where it can exist, not where it cannot exist.

The assumption that civilization cannot exist at the equator is contradicted by continuous tradition. And God knows better!

After this discussion, we wish to draw a map of the earth,⁴³ as was done by the author of the *Book of Roger*. Then, we shall give a detailed description of the map.

gues against the opinion advanced by Ibn Tufayl that the region around the equator was temperate. He maintains that Ibn Tufayl misunderstood the word *mu'tadil*, which could mean both "uniform" (symmetrical) and "temperate." Averroes further rejects the idea that the southern part of the earth contains habitable areas comparable to those in the north.

This would seem, in effect, the direct opposite of the opinion Ibn Khaldun here attributes to Averroes. However, the latter came out elsewhere for the theory of a habitable area in the south, which would be in a symmetrical position with relation to that in the north, as we learn from Gauthier, *ibid.*, pp. 87 f. Consequently, Ibn Khaldun's report on Averroes here is incomplete in a way, misleading - but it is not incorrect. Cf. also C. Issawi, *Osiris*, X (1952), 114 f.

The idea that the equator has a temperate climate is also mentioned in al-Biruni, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. C. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1878; 1923), p. 258; tr. by the same (London, 1879), p. 249.

⁴³ The map is executed only in C and in MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 3066, fol. 24a. The fact that even important MSS such as A and B do not have a map would seem to show that a special artist was required to draw it, who was not always available.

The map in C, which we have reproduced, is identical in nearly every detail with the map of the world in al-Idrisi's geographical work. Al-Idrisi's world map in the Oxford *MS* is reproduced in K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, Vol. VI (Stuttgart, 1927), pl. it. A drawing of it is to be found, *ibid.*, Vol. V (Stuttgart, 1931), between pp. 160 and 161. The Istanbul MS of al-Idrisi, Koprulu, 955, contains

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP⁴⁴

THIS DESCRIPTION is twofold. There is a detailed description and a general description.

The detailed description consists of a discussion of each country, mountain, sea, and river of the cultivated part of the earth. This discussion will be found in the following section.

The general description consists of a discussion of the division of the cultivated part of the earth into seven zones, their latitudinal (extension), and the length of their days. Such is the contents of this section.

Let us begin to explain these things. We have mentioned before that the earth floats upon the elemental water like a grape.⁴⁵ God's plan for civilization and for the elemental generation of life resulted in making part of (the earth) free of water.

The part that is free of water is said to constitute one-half the surface of the earth. The cultivated part is one-fourth of it. The rest is uncultivated. According to another opinion, the cultivated part is only one-sixth of it. The empty areas of the part which is free of water lie to the south and to the north. The cultivated area in between forms a continuum that stretches from west to east. There is no empty area between the cultivated part and the (Surrounding) Sea in these two directions.

They further said: Across the cultivated part of the earth an imaginary line runs from west to east facing the equinoctial line (of the firmament) in regions where the two poles of the firmament are on the horizon. At this line civilization begins. It extends from there northwards.

the map on pp. 4 and 5. Cf. also the map reproduced in G. H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pl. v.

⁴⁴ The text of this section is that of C and D, which incorporates Ibn Khaldun's corrections of earlier oversights. The earlier text is printed in italic type at the foot of the pages that follow. In the later stage of the text, asterisks mark the beginning and end of the paralleled passages. Cf. n. 20, above.

⁴⁵ Cf. p. 95, above.

Ptolemy said: "As a matter of fact, civilization extends beyond that line to the south." He indicated the latitudinal extension, as will be mentioned.⁴⁶

Ishaq b. al-Hasan al-Khazini⁴⁷ expresses the opinion that beyond the seventh zone (to the north) there is another civilization. He indicated its latitudinal extension, as we shall

KEY TO THE MAP

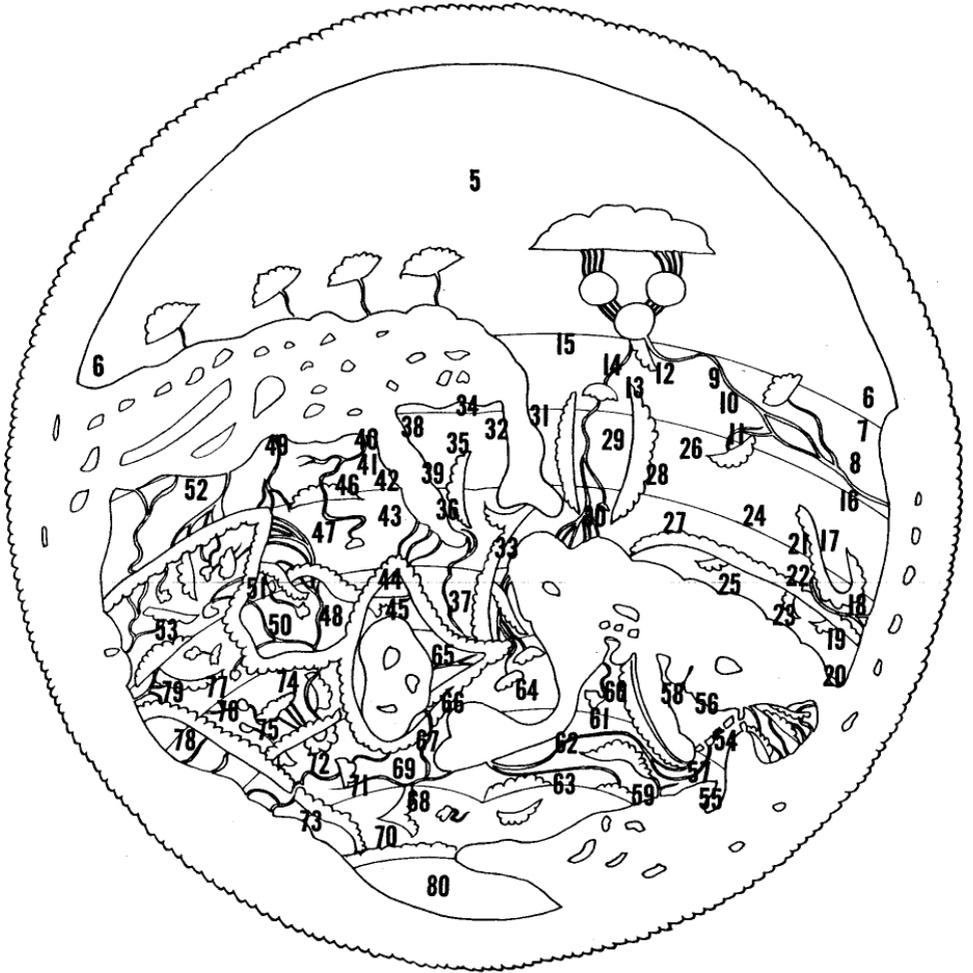
1 South	41 Mukrin
2 West	42 Kirmin
3 North	43 Firs
4 East	44 <i>al-Bahlus</i>
5 Empty beyond the equator because of the heat	45 Azerbaijan
6 Equator	46 Desert
7 Lamlam Country	47 Khurasin
8 Maghzawah (Maguzawa?)	48 Khuwirizm
9 Kanem [Country	49 Eastern India
10 Bornu	50 Tashkent
11 Gawgaw	51 Soghd
12 Zaghiy	52 China
13 at-Tijuwin	53 Tughuzghuz
14 Nubia	54 Gascogne
15 Abyssinia	55 Brittany
16 Ghanah	56 Calabria
17 Lamtah	57 France
18 as-Sus	58 Venice
19 Morocco	59 Germany (Alaminiyah)

⁴⁶ See p. 112, below.

⁴⁷ The reference to al-Khazini appears in the margin of C and is incorporated in the text of D.

Nothing seems to be known about this man. This is very strange, since he was evidently one of the older Muslim scholars, and our information about early Arabic scientists is probably as good as Ibn Khaldun's. He may have found him quoted in one of the works he consulted. This al-Khazini cannot be identical with Aba Jafar al-Khazini, because the latter is quoted below, p. 115, for different data.

20	Tangier	60	Macedonia
21	Sinhijah	61	Bohemia
22	Dar'ah	62	Jathuliyah
23	Ifriqiyah	63	Jarmaniyah
24	Fezzan	64	al-Baylagin
25	Jarid	65	Armenia
26	Kawir	66	Tabaristan
27	Desert of Berenice	67	Alans
28	Inner Oases	68	Bashqirs
29	Upper Egypt	69	Bulgars
30	Egypt	70	Pechenegs
31	Beja	71	Stinking Land
32	Hijiz	72	Waste Country
33	Syria	73	Magog
34	Yemen	74	Ghuzz
35	Yamimah	75	Tiirgish
36	al-Basrah	76	Adhkish
37	'Iraq	77	Khallukh
38	ash-Shihr	78	Gog
39	Oman	79	Kimik
40	Western India	80	Empty in the north because of the cold



mention.⁴⁸ Al-Khazini is one of the leading scholars in this craft (geography).

* Further, the ancient philosophers divided the cultivated part of the earth in the north into seven zones by means of imaginary lines running from west to east. They maintain that these zones have different latitudinal extensions. This will be discussed in detail.

⁴⁸ See pp. 114 f., below.

The first zone runs along the equator, north of it. South of it, there is only the civilization to which reference was made by Ptolemy. Beyond that are waste regions and sandy deserts, up to the circle of water which is called the Surrounding Sea. To the north, the first zone is followed, successively, by the second through the seventh zones. (The seventh zone) constitutes the northern limit of civilization. Beyond it are only empty and waste regions, down to the Surrounding Sea as (in the south). However, the empty regions in the south are much larger than those in the north.*

As to latitudes and length of days in the various zones, it should be known that the two poles of the firmament are upon the horizon at the equator in the west and the east.

It should be known that, as was mentioned above, the philosophers divided the cultivated part of the earth into seven parts from south to north. These parts they called zones. The whole of the cultivated area is distributed over these zones. Each zone extends from west to east.

The first zone runs from west to east with the equator as its southern border. Beyond it, there are only waste regions and sandy deserts, and civilization of a sort that, if it actually exists, is more like non-civilization. To the north, the first zone is followed, successively, by the second through the seventh zones. The seventh zone constitutes the northern limit of civilization. Beyond it (to the north) are only empty and waste regions until the Surrounding Sea is reached. The situation is the same here as it is beyond the first zone to the south. However, the empty areas in the north are much smaller than those in the south.

The sun there is at the zenith. As we follow the cultivated part of the earth farther and farther north, the north pole ascends slightly, and the south pole descends correspondingly, (at the horizon). Furthermore, the sun moves a corresponding distance from (its zenith at) the equinoctial line. These three distances are equal to each other. Each of them is called geographical latitude. This is well known to the scholars who determine the (prayer) times.

People hold different opinions as to the latitudinal extension (of the cultivated part of the earth) and as to the latitudinal extension (breadth) of the various zones. Ptolemy holds the opinion that the latitudinal extension of the entire cultivated part of the earth is $77\frac{1}{2}$. The latitudinal extension of the cultivated part beyond the equator to the south is 11° .^{48a} Thus, the latitudinal extension of the zones in the north is $66\frac{1}{2}$. According to him, the first zone extends to 16° ;^{48b} the second to 20° ; the third to 27° ; the fourth to 33° ; the fifth to 38° ; the sixth to 43° ; the seventh to 48° .⁴⁹ He then determined the degree on the firmament as having a length of $66\frac{2}{3}$ miles, (were it to be) measured on the surface of the earth.⁵⁰ Thus, the first zone from south to north is 1,067 miles (wide); the second zone, 2,333 miles; the third zone, 2,790 miles; the fourth zone, 2,185 miles; the fifth zone, 2,520 miles; the sixth zone, 2,840 miles, and the seventh zone, 3,150 miles.

^{48a} According to F. Boll, *Studien fiber Claudius Ptolemaeus* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 189 f., Ptolemy expressed different opinions as to the extent of the *oikoumenei*. In the *Tetrabiblos*, and apparently also in the *Almagest*, he assumed that it extended to the equator, whereas in the *Geography* he determined it as extending to $16^\circ 25' S$.

^{48b} Lit., ". . . the latitudinal extension of the first zone is 16° ."

⁴⁹ The figures are not Ptolemy's. They ought to be understood as indicating the limits of the zones. Thus, for instance, the second zone is assumed to extend from $16^\circ N$ to $20^\circ N$, and so on. However, the seventh zone should, in this case, extend to $66\frac{1}{2}^\circ$. Obviously, the statement of the preceding sentence, that the latitudinal extension of the northern zones is $66\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ is wrong. That figure is the boundary of the cultivated part of the earth. There is cultivation beyond the northern boundary of the seventh zone which, according to this passage, extends to $48^\circ N$.

The following computation of the extension of the zones in miles assumes, apparently, that the figures here refer to the extension of the zones in geographical degrees. Still, the figures are quite wrong. They should be: 1,800; 1,333.3; 1,800; 2,200; 2,533.3; 2,866.6; and 3,200. If one corrects the figures for the second and third zones from 2,333 and 2,790 to 1,333 and 1,790 respectively, they are almost correct. However, as the MSS show, Ibn Khaldun certainly wrote 2,333 and 2,790.

For the latitudes of the zones, see also al-Biruni, *Kitdb at-tafhim*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright (London, 1934), p. 138. E. Honigmann's discussion of the extension of the zones according to Arabic geographers does not include late authors such as Ibn Khaldun. Cf. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 163, 180, and 189.

⁵⁰ See pp. 96 f., above.

*The length of night and day differs in the various zones by reason of the declination of the sun from the equinoctial line and the elevation of the north pole above the horizon. This causes a difference in the arcs of day and night.

The length of night and day differs in the different zones by reason of the declination of the sun from the equinoctial line and the elevation of the north pole above the horizon. This causes a difference in the arcs of day and night.

At the boundary of the first zone, the longest night-which occurs when the sun enters Capricorn-and the longest day - which occurs when the sun enters Cancer-reach a maximum of thirteen hours. The same is the case at the boundary of the second zone in the north. The length of day there reaches its maximum of thirteen and one-half hours when the sun enters Cancer, the summer tropic. The longest night -when the sun enters Capricorn, the winter tropic is as long. For the shortest day and night, there thus remains the difference between thirteen and one-half and twenty-four, which is the combined number of hours of day and night, or one complete revolution of the firmament. The same is the case also at the boundary of the third zone in the north, where night and day reach a maximum length of fourteen hours; at the boundary of the fourth zone, where they reach a maximum length of fourteen and one-half hours; at the boundary of the fifth zone, where they reach a maximum length of fifteen hours; at the boundary of the sixth zone, where they reach a maximum length of fifteen and one-half hours; and at the boundary of the seventh zone, where they reach a maximum length of sixteen hours. There, civilization ends. The difference in the maximum length of night and day in the various zones, consequently, is an evenly distributed, gradual increase of half an hour in each, all the way from the first zone in the south to the last zone in the north.

In connection with these zones, "geographical latitude" refers to the distance between the sun at its zenith in a given place and the equinoctial line where it is at the zenith on the equator. It likewise corresponds to the de-

pression of the south pole below the horizon in that particular place, as well as to the elevation of the north pole. As was mentioned before,⁵¹ these three distances are equal to each other. They are called "geographical latitude."

At the boundary of the first zone, the longest night which occurs when the sun enters Capricorn - and the longest day - which occurs when the sun enters Cancer - reach, according to Ptolemy, a maximum of twelve and one-half hours; at the boundary of the second zone, a maximum of thirteen hours; at the boundary of the third zone, a maximum of thirteen and one-half hours; at the boundary of the fourth zone, a maximum of fourteen hours; at the boundary of the fifth zone, a maximum of one half-hour more; at the boundary of the sixth zone, a maximum of fifteen hours; and at the boundary of the seventh zone, a maximum of one half-hour more. For the shortest day and night, there thus remains the difference between the last figure and twenty-four, which is the combined number of hours of day and night, or one complete revolution of the firmament. The difference in the maximum length of night and day in the various zones, consequently, is an evenly distributed, gradual increase of half an hour in each, all the way from the first zone in the south to the last zone in the north.*

Ishaq b. al-Hasan al-Khazini maintains that the latitudinal extension of civilization beyond the equator (to the south) is $16^{\circ} 25'$, and the longest night and day there, thirteen hours. The latitudinal extension of the first zone and the length of day and night there are the same as beyond the equator (to the south). The second zone extends to 24° ,^{51a} and the length of its (longest) day and night at its farthest point is thirteen and one-half hours. For the third zone, the figures are 30° and fourteen hours. For the fourth zone, they are 36° and fourteen and one-half hours. For the fifth zone, they are 41° and fifteen hours. For the sixth zone, they are 45° and fifteen and one-half hours. For the seventh zone, they are $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and sixteen hours. The latitudinal ex-

⁵¹ See p. 105, above.

^{51a} Lit., "The latitudinal extension of the second zone is 24° . . ."

tension of civilization beyond the seventh zone (to the north) reaches from the boundary of the seventh zone to (latitude) 63° , and the length of the (longest) day and night to twenty hours.

Other leading scholars in the discipline, apart from Ishaq al-Khazini, maintain that the latitudinal extension of the cultivated area beyond the equator (to the south) is $16^\circ 27'$. The first zone extends to $20^\circ 15'$; the second to $27^\circ 13'$; the third to $33^\circ 20'$; the fourth to $38\frac{1}{2}^\circ$,⁵² the fifth to 43° ; the sixth to $47^\circ 53'$; or, according to another opinion, to $46^\circ 50'$; and the seventh to $51^\circ 53'$. Civilization beyond the seventh zone extends to 77° .

In Abu Jafar al-Khazini,⁵³ one of the leading scholars in the discipline, one also finds that the latitudinal extension of the first zone is from 1° to $20^\circ 13'$; of the second, to $27^\circ 13'$; of the third, to $33^\circ 39'$; of the fourth, to $38^\circ 23'$; of the fifth, to $42^\circ 58'$; of the sixth, to $47^\circ 2'$; and of the seventh, to $60^\circ 45'$.⁵⁴

This is as much as I know about the different opinions concerning latitudinal extension and length of day and night in the zones and concerning their width as indicated in miles.

God "created everything. Then, He determined it."⁵⁵

The geographers have subdivided each of the seven zones lengthwise from west to east in ten equal sections. They mention the countries, cities, mountains, and rivers of each section, and the traveling distances between them.

We shall now briefly summarize the best-known countries, rivers, and seas of each section. Our model will be the data set forth in the *Nuzhat al-*

⁵²D adds $20'$ (intended to replace $\frac{1}{2}^\circ$?).

⁵³ Abu Jafar Muhammad al-Khizini (not al-Khazini), an astronomer of the tenth century. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 387; G. Vajda in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XXV (1950), 8.

⁵⁴D has what is apparently an error: $55^\circ 40'$.

⁵⁵ Qur'an 25.2 (2). The word translated here by "determined" or "gave it its power" is taken by Ibn Khaldun here to mean "gave it its measurements."

mushtaq which al-'Alawi al-Idrisi al-Hammudi⁵⁶ composed for the Christian king of Sicily, Roger, the son of Roger. Al-Idrisi's family had given up its rule of Malaga, and he had settled at (Roger's) court in Sicily. He composed the book in the middle of the sixth [twelfth] century. He utilized many books by authors such as al-Mas'udi, Ibn Khurradadhbih, al-Hawgali, al-'Udhri, Ishaq al-Munajjim,⁵⁷ Ptolemy and others.

We shall begin with the first zone and go on from there to the last one.

The first zone

The Eternal Islands (the Canaries) from which Ptolemy began the determination of geographical longitude, are in the west. They are not part of the land mass of the first zone. They lie in the Surrounding Sea. A number of islands constitute them. The largest and best known are three in number. They are said to be cultivated.

We have heard⁵⁸ that European Christian ships reached them in the middle of this century, fought with the (inhabitants), plundered them, captured some of them, and sold some of the captives along the Moroccan coast

⁵⁶ See n. 11 to this chapter, above. It is obvious that in the following description, Ibn Khaldun relied upon the sectional maps that accompanied al-Idrisi's work. They are reproduced in Vol. VI of K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*.

⁵⁷ The works of all these authors are preserved.

For 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abdallah b. Khurradadhbih, who lived in the first half of the ninth century, see GAL, I, 225 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 404.

For Abu'l-Qasim b. Hawqal, of the tenth century, see GAL, I, 229; *Suppl.*, I, 408. A new edition of his work was made by J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938-39).

For Ahmad b. 'Umar al-'Udhri, 593-478 [1003-1085], see E. Levi-Provencal, *La Peninsule Ibirique* (Leiden, 1938), p. xxiv (n. 2); F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 409 (n. 4). (A forthcoming edition of al-'Udhri's work is announced in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, I (1955), 343. It was not known heretofore that the work was preserved.)

For Ishaq al-Munajjim, whose eleventh century dates are rather uncertain, see GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 405; R. Frye in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII (1949), 90-97.

⁵⁸ This information is not from al-Idrisi. Consequently, the century in which the event mentioned occurred would seem to be that in which Ibn Khaldun wrote. Cf. R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae* (Leiden, 1944-56), III, 248 fl.

where they came into the service of the ruler. After they had learned Arabic, they gave information about conditions on their island. They said that they tilled the soil with horns. Iron was lacking in their country. Their bread⁵⁹ was made of barley. Their animals were goats. They fought with stones, which they hurled backwards. Their worship consisted of prostrations before the rising sun. They knew no (revealed) religion and had not been reached by any missionary activity.

These islands can be reached only by chance, and not intentionally by navigation. Navigation on the sea depends on the winds. It depends on knowledge of the directions the winds blow from and where they lead, and on following a straight course from the places that lie along the path of a particular wind. When the wind changes and it is known where a straight course along it will lead, the sails are set for it, and the ship thus sails according to nautical norms evolved by the mariners and sailors⁶⁰ who are in charge of sea voyages. The countries situated on the two shores of the Mediterranean are noted on a chart (*sahifah*) which indicates the true facts regarding them and gives their positions along the coast in the proper order. The various winds and their paths are likewise put down on the chart. This chart is called the "compass."⁶¹ It is on this (compass) that (sailors) rely on their voyages. Nothing of the sort exists for the Surrounding Sea. Therefore, ships do not enter it, because, were they to lose sight of shore, they would hardly be able to find their way back to it. Moreover, the air of the Surrounding Sea and its surface harbors vapors that hamper ships on their courses. Because of the remoteness of these (vapors), the rays of the sun which the surface of the earth deflects, cannot reach and dissolve them. It

⁵⁹*Aysh*, originally "life."

⁶⁰The distinction between the two terms is approximately that between sailors of the high seas and those of coastal waters.

⁶¹Arabic *kunbas*.

is, therefore, difficult to find the way to (the Eternal Islands) and to have information about them.

The first section of the first zone contains the mouth of the Nile which has its origin in the Mountain of the Qumr, as we have mentioned.⁶² (This Nile) is called the Sudanese Nile. It flows toward the Surrounding Sea and into it at the island of Awliil.⁶³ The city of Sila,⁶⁴ Takrur,⁶⁵ and Ghanah⁶⁶ are situated along this Nile. At this time, all of them belong to the Mali people,⁶⁷ a Negro nation. Moroccan merchants travel to their country.

Close to it in the north is the country of the Lamtunah and of the other groups of the Veiled Berbers (Sinhajah), as well as the deserts in which they roam. To the south of this Nile, there is a Negro people called Lamlam. They are unbelievers. They brand themselves on the face and temples. The people of Ghanah and Takrur invade their country, capture them, and sell them to merchants who transport them to the Maghrib. There, they constitute the ordinary mass of slaves. Beyond them to the south, there is no civilization in the proper sense. There are only humans who are closer to dumb animals than to rational beings. They live in thickets and caves and eat herbs and unprepared grain. They frequently eat each other.⁶⁸ They cannot be consid-

⁶²See p. 101, above.

⁶³The island of Arguin, southeast of Cape Blanco. Cf. R. Hennig, "Die atlantische 'Salzinsel' der arabischen mittelalterlichen Geographen," *Der Islam*, XXVI (1942), 58-63.

⁶⁴De Slane, it seems, thought of Sili on the Black Volta. However, in the absence of further indications as to the situation of the city, this identification is as uncertain as any other that might be suggested.

⁶⁵Senegal Negroes, known today as Tukulor. Cf. M. Delafosse in *EI*, s.v. "Takrur."

⁶⁶For this once important city in the western Sudan, cf. G. Yver in *EI*, s.v. "Ghana."

⁶⁷The people of the Mandingo (Malinke) empire. Cf. H. Labouret in *EI*, s.v. "Mali," and s.v. "Mandingo."

For information about Ghanah and the Mali, Gawgaw, and Takrur, cf. G. Ferrand, "*Le Tuhfat al-albab* de Abu Hamid al-Andalusi al-Garnati," *Journal asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 41 f., 249 fl. Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 198 ff.; de Slane (tr.), II, 109 ff. Ibn Khaldun's source here is Ibn Sa'id. Cf., further, M. Meyerhof in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, XXX (1937), 670 f.; and *idem* in *Journal of the Royal Egyptian Medical Association*, XXIV (1941), 284-86.

⁶⁸Cf. p. 168, below.

ered human beings. All the fruits of the Negro territory come from fortified villages in the desert of the Maghrib, such as Touat (Tawat, Tuwat), Tigrarin,⁶⁹ and Ouargla (Wargalan).⁷⁰ In Ghanah, an 'Alid king and dynasty are said to have existed. (These 'Alids) were known as the Banu Salih. According to the author of the *Book of Roger*, (Salih) was Salih b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. al-Hasan, but no such Salih is known among the sons of 'Abdallah b. Hasan.⁷¹ At this time the dynasty has disappeared, and Ghanah belongs to the Mali ruler.

To the east of this territory, in the third section of the first zone, is the territory of Gawgaw.⁷² It lies along a river that has its origin in certain mountains there, flows westward, and disappears in the sand in the second section. The realm of Gawgaw was independent. The Mali ruler then gained power over the territory, and it came into his possession. At this time it is devastated as the result of a disturbance that happened there and that we shall mention when we discuss the Mali dynasty in its proper place in the history of the Berbers.⁷³

To the south of the country of Gawgaw lies the territory of Kanim, a Negro nation.⁷⁴ Beyond them are the Wangarah⁷⁵ on the border of the (Sudanese Nile) to the north. To the east of the countries of the Wangarah and the Kanim, there is the country of the Zaghay⁷⁶ and the Tajirah,⁷⁷ adjoining

⁶⁹ According to E. Laoust in *Hesperis*, XVIII (1934), 117, this place name is to be connected with Berber *agrur*, meaning "heap of stones," among other things.

⁷⁰ Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 59, 103; de Slane (tr.), I, 116, 198.

⁷¹ Ibn Khaldun repeats this information in *Ibar*, IV, 99, and V, 433.

⁷² This is the way the name of this Negro people is vocalized in B and C.

⁷³ Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 200; de Slane (tr.), II, 110.

⁷⁴ Cf. G. Yver in *EI*, s.v. "Kanem."

⁷⁵ The spelling is indicated in C. See n. 185 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

⁷⁶ Bulaq: Zaghawah. A seems to have here the wrong form, Zaghawah (!), but later on has Zaghawah. B has the usual form Zaghawah, but indicates that the word should be corrected to Zaghay, as we find it in C and D and on the map. See also p. 125, below. Some bibliographical information on the present-day Zaghawah of the Sudan may be found in H. A. Wieschhoff, *Anthropological Bibliography of Negro Africa* (American Oriental Series, No. 23) (New Haven, 1948), p. 456.

the land of the Nubah in the fourth section of the first zone. The land of the Nubah is traversed by the Egyptian Nile throughout its course from its beginning at the equator to the Mediterranean in the north.

This Nile originates at the Mountain of the *Qmr*, sixteen degrees above⁷⁸ the equator. There are different opinions as to the correct form of the name of this mountain. Some scholars read the name as *qamar* "moon," because the mountain is very white and luminous. Yaqut, in the *Mushtarik*,⁷⁹ as well as Ibn Sa'id,⁸⁰ reads *qumr*; with reference to an Indian people.⁸¹

Ten springs issue from this mountain. Five of them flow into one lake and five into another lake. There is a distance of six miles between the two lakes. From each of the two lakes, three rivers come forth. They come together in a swampy [?] lake (*batihah*) at the foot of which a mountain emerges. This mountain cuts across the lake at the northern end and divides its waters into two branches. The western branch flows westward through the Negro territory, and finally flows into the Surrounding Sea. The eastern branch flows northward through the countries of the Abyssinians and the Nubah and the region in between. At the boundary of Egypt, it divides. Three

⁷⁷The *r* in the name is attested as Ibn Khaldun's reading in all texts. The maps of al-Idrisi have w (Tadjoua = Dageou?); cf. M. Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfeda* (Paris, 1848-83), 111, 224.

⁷⁸"Above" and "below" on Arabic maps correspond to south and north. For the southern "orientation" of Arabic maps, see the remarks by G. Ferrand, *Journal asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 88 f., who states that it also occurs in Chinese and some medieval Western maps. Its origin seems to be as obscure as that of our northern orientation. Aristotle *De coelo* 285b 22-24, may have served as an inspiration for and justification of both. In the following pages, the words "above" and "below" have as a rule been translated "south" and "north," respectively.

⁷⁹The edition of this work by F. Wustenfeld (Gottingen, 1846), has an entry *al-qumr*; which, however, does not contain the information Ibn Khaldun mentions here. Cf. also Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, ed. Wustenfeld (Gottingen, 1866-73), IV, 862, I. 20, where the source of the Nile is said to be in the "land of the *Qmr*."

⁸⁰On this thirteenth-century historian, an important source for Ibn Khaldun in many respects, see n. 58 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above, and 9:445 (n. 1810), below.

⁸¹Cf. p. lot, above.

of its branches flow into the Mediterranean at Alexandria, at Rosetta,⁸² and at Damietta. One flows into a salt lake before reaching the sea.

In the middle of the first zone along the Nile, lie the countries of the Nubah and the Abyssinians and some of the oases down to Assuan. A settled part of the Nubah country is the city of Dongola, west of the Nile. Beyond it are 'Alwah⁸³ and Yulaq.⁸⁴ Beyond them, a six days' journey north of Yulaq, is the mountain of the cataracts. This is a mountain which rises to a great height on the Egyptian side but is much less elevated on the side of the country of the Nubah, The Nile cuts through it and flows down precipitately in tremendous cascades for a long distance. Boats cannot get through. Cargoes from the Sudanese boats are taken off and carried on pack animals to Assuan at the entrance to Upper Egypt. In the same way, the cargoes of the boats from Upper Egypt are carried over the cataracts. The distance from the cataracts to Assuan is a twelve day's journey. The oases on the west bank of the Nile there are now in ruins. They show traces of ancient settlement.

In the middle of the first zone, in its fifth section, is the country of the Abyssinians, through which a river flows, which comes from beyond the equator and⁸⁵ flows toward the land of the Nubah, where it flows into the Nile and so on down into Egypt. Many people have held fantastic opinions about it and thought that it was part of the Nile of the Qumr (Mountain of the Moon). Ptolemy mentioned it in the *Geography*. He mentioned that it did not belong to the Nile.

In the middle of the first zone, in the fifth section, the Indian Ocean terminates. It comes down from the region of China and covers most of the

⁸² The reference to Rosetta is a later addition in B and C, but is found already in Bulaq and A.

⁸³ A medieval country in the area of modern Khartum. Cf. J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 72 ff. D has Ghalwah, as one finds sometimes.

⁸⁴ This is the form in which the name appears in the MSS. It has been read Bilaq, the island of Philae near Assuan, but the indications given here and in al-Idrisi do not fit that reading.

⁸⁵ B and C add here (in the margin): "after passing opposite Mogadishu on the southern coast of the Indian Ocean." This is nonsensical.

first zone to the fifth section. Consequently, there is not much civilization there. Civilization exists only on the islands in (the Indian Ocean) which are numerous and said to number up to one thousand. (Civilization also exists) on the southern coast of the Indian Ocean, the southernmost limit of the cultivated part of the earth, as also on its northern coast. Of these coasts, the first zone contains only a part of China to the east and the whole of the Yemen in the sixth section of this zone, where two seas branch off northwards from the Indian Ocean, namely, the Red Sea (Sea of al-Qulzum) and the Persian Gulf. Between them lies the Arabian Peninsula, comprising the Yemen, ash-Shihr to the east on the shore of the Indian Ocean, the Hijaz, the Yamimah, and adjacent regions which we shall mention in connection with the second zone and the regions farther north.

On the western shore of the Indian Ocean is Zayla' (Zila'), which is on the boundary of Abyssinia, and the desert plains of the Beja north of Abyssinia, which lie between the mountain of al-'Alliqi⁸⁶ in the southernmost part of Upper Egypt and the Red Sea which branches off from the Indian Ocean. North of Zayla' (Zila') in the northern part of this section is the straits of Bib al-Mandeb, where the sea that branches off there is narrowed by the promontory of al-Mandeb which juts into the Indian Ocean from south to north along the west coast of the Yemen for twelve miles. As a result, the sea becomes so narrow that its width shrinks to approximately three miles. This is called Bib al-Mandeb. Yemenite ships pass it on their way to the coast of Suez near Egypt (Cairo). North of Bib al-Mandeb are the islands of Suakin and Dahlak. Opposite it to the west are the desert plains of the Beja, a Negro nation, as we have just mentioned. To the east, on the coast of (the straits of Bib al-Mandeb) is the Tihimah of the Yemen. It includes the place of Haly b. Ya'qub.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Cf., for instance, J. S. Trimingham, *op. cit.*, index, *s.v.*

⁸⁷ For Haly, cf. H. C. Kay, *Yaman* (London, 1892), p. 166; Yaqut, *Mujam al-buldan*, II, 827.

To the south of Zayla' (Zila') on the western coast of the Indian Ocean are the villages of Berbera which extend one after the other all along the southern coast of the (Indian Ocean) to the end of the sixth section. There, to the east, the country of the Zanj adjoins them. Then⁸⁸ comes the city of Mogadishu, a very populous city with many merchants, yet nomad in character, on the southern coast of the Indian Ocean. Adjoining it to the east is the country of the Sufilah on the southern coast in the seventh section of the first zone.

East of the country of the Sufilah on the southern shore, lies the country of al-Wiqwiq⁸⁹ which stretches to the end of the tenth section of the first zone, where the Indian Ocean comes out of the Surrounding Sea.

There are many islands in the Indian Ocean. One of the largest islands is the island of Ceylon (Sarandib) which is round in shape and has a famous mountain said to be the highest mountain on earth. It lies opposite Sufilah. Then, there is the island of Java (Malay Archipelago),⁹⁰ an oblong island that begins opposite the land of Sufilah and extends northeastward until it approaches the coasts that constitute China's southern boundary. In the Indian Ocean, to the south China is surrounded by the islands of al-Wiqwaq, and to the east by the islands of Korea.⁹¹ There are numerous other islands in the Indian Ocean. These islands produce different kinds of perfumes and incense. They also are said to contain gold and emerald mines. Most of their inhabitants are Magians.⁹² They have numerous rulers. These islands present remarkable cultural features that have been mentioned by geographers.

The northern coast of the Indian Ocean, in the sixth section of the first zone, is occupied by the whole of the Yemen. On the Red Sea side lie Zabid,

⁸⁸ This sentence and the first six words of the next appear in the margin of B and C and in the text of D.

⁸⁹ See p. 99, above.

⁹⁰ On Jazirat al-Qumr, cf. n. 85 to this chapter, above.

⁹¹ As-Silo. Cf. Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 89. (See n. 38 to this chapter, above.)

⁹² See n. 9 to this chapter, above.

al-Muhjam,⁹³ and the Tihamah of the Yemen. Next beyond that is Sa'dah, the seat of the Zaydi imams, lying far from the (Indian) Ocean to the south, and from the Persian Gulf to the east. In the region beyond that are the city of Aden and, north of it, San'a'. Beyond these two cities, to the east, is the land of al-Ahqaf and Z, afar. Next comes the land of Hadramawt, followed by the country of ash-Shihr between the (Indian) Ocean in the south and the Persian Gulf. This part of the sixth section is the only part that is not covered by water in the middle region of the first zone. Apart from it, a small portion of the ninth section is not covered by water, as well as a larger area in the tenth section that includes the southernmost limit of China. One of China's famous cities is the city of Canton.⁹⁴ Opposite it to the east are the islands of Korea which have just been mentioned.

This concludes the discussion of the first zone.

The second zone

The second zone is contiguous with the northern boundary of the first zone. Opposite its western limit) in the Surrounding Sea are two of the Eternal Islands, which have been mentioned.

At the southernmost part of the first and second sections of the second zone, there is the land of Qamnuriyah.⁹⁵ Then, to the east, there are the southernmost parts of the land of Ghanah. Then, there are the desert plains of the Zaghay Negroes. In the northernmost part, there is the desert of Nisar.⁹⁶ It extends uninterruptedly from west to east. It has stretches of desert which are crossed by merchants on their way from the Maghrib to the

⁹³ Near Zabid. Cf. Yaqut, *Mujam al-buldan*, IV, 692; 'Ibar, IV, 103.

⁹⁴ The MSS have Khinku. Al-Idrisi appears to have Khanqu. Therefore, k may represent an attempt at interpreting q as g, possibly under the influence of some recollection of the name of the other Chinese city which the older geographers mention with this one, namely, Khinju. Cf., for instance, al-Birunl, *Kitdb at-Tafhlm*, p. 143. Q in Khinqu is now commonly considered to be a misreading of Khanfu, Canton. Cf. W. Barthold in EI, s.v. "Khanfu," and Minorsky-Marvazi, pp. 22, 82.

⁹⁵ Apparently, Kanuri of Bornu.

⁹⁶This is the vocalization of the MSS.

Sudan country. It includes the desert plains of the Veiled Sinhajah Berbers. There are many subgroups, comprising the Gudalah,⁹⁷ the Lamtunah, the Massufah,⁹⁸ the Lamtah, and the Watrigah. Directly to the east of the waste regions is the land of Fezzan. Then, there are the desert plains of the Azgar, a Berber tribe, which extend due east in the southernmost part of the third section. This is followed, still in the third section, by part of the country of Kawar, a Negro nation. Then, there is a portion of the land of at-Tajuwin.⁹⁹ The northernmost part of the third section is occupied by the remainder of the land of Waddin, followed directly to the east by the land of Santariyah which is called the Inner Oases.¹⁰⁰

The southernmost limit of the fourth section is occupied by the remainder of the land of at-Tajuwin.

The middle of the fourth section, then, is intersected by Upper Egypt along the banks of the Nile, which flows from its source in the first zone to its mouth at the sea. In this section it passes through two mountain barriers, the Mountain of the Oases in the west, and the Muqattam in the east. At the southern part of the section lie Esna and Armant. There is a continuous riverbank region up to Assyut and Qus, and then to Sawl. There, the Nile divides into two branches. The right branch ends up at al-Lahun, still in the fourth section. The left branch ends up at Dalas. The region between them is the southernmost part of (Lower) Egypt. East of Mount Mugattam are the deserts of 'Aydhah, extending from the fifth section to the Sea of Suez, that is, the Red Sea (Sea of al-Qulzum) which branches off northwards from the Indian Ocean to the south. On the eastern shore of the Red Sea, in the same section, is the Hijaz, extending from the Mountain of Yalamlam to Yathrib (Medina). In the middle of the Hijaz is Mecca-God honor it!-and on its sea-

⁹⁷Bulaq corrects to the well-known Guzulah. Cf. 2:197, below.

⁹⁸Bulaq corrects to the well-known Zanitah group of Misritah.

⁹⁹See n. 77 to this chapter, above.

¹⁰⁰For Siwa and its medieval Arabic name Santariyah, cf. E. Laoust in *El*, s.v. "Siwa."

shore there is the city of Jiddah, which is opposite 'Aydhah on the western shore of the Red Sea.

In the sixth section to the west is the Najd, having as its southernmost limit Jurash and Tabalah,¹⁰¹ (and extending) up to 'Ukaz in the north. North of the Najd, in the sixth section, is the remainder of the Hijaz. Directly to the east of (the Najd) lies the country of Najran and Janad. North of that is the Yamamah. Directly to the east of Najran, there is the land of Saba' and Ma'rib, followed by the land of ash-Shihr, which ends at the Persian Gulf. This is the other sea that branches off northward from the Indian Ocean, as has been mentioned, and turns westward on its course in the sixth section. The northeastern area of (the sixth section) constitutes a triangle. At its southernmost part is the city of Qalhat, the coast (seaport) of ash-Shihr. North of it, on the coast, is the country of Oman, followed by the country of al-Bahrayn with Hajar, at the end of the (sixth) section.

The southwestern part of the seventh section contains a portion of the Persian Gulf connecting with the other portion of it in the sixth section. The Indian Ocean covers all the southernmost area of the seventh section. There, Western India lies along it, up to the country of Mukran which belongs to Western India. Opposite it, is the country of at-Tawbaran¹⁰² which also belongs to Western India. All of Western India lies in the western part of the seventh section. Western India is separated from Eastern India by stretches of desert, and is traversed by a river (the Indus) which comes from Eastern India and flows into the Indian Ocean in the south. Eastern India begins on the shore of the Indian Ocean. Directly to the east there lies the country of Ballahra.¹⁰³ North of it is Multan, the home of the great idol.¹⁰⁴ The north-

¹⁰¹ Both Jurash and Tabalah are described as belonging to the Tihamah and the Yemen.

¹⁰² Also called at-Tabaran. Cf. Ibn Khurradadhib, *Kitdb al-Masalik wa-l-mamulik*, p. 55 (text); p. 37 (tr.).

¹⁰³ Ballahra appears to be a royal title (Vallabharaya?). As the name of a country, it seems to refer to the Deccan. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 238; Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 146.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Minorsky-Marvazi, pp. 48 f., 149.

ernmost part of Eastern India is the southernmost part of the country of Sijistan.

The western part of the eighth section contains the remainder of the country of Ballahra that belongs to Eastern India. Directly to the east of it lies the country of Gandhara.¹⁰⁵ Then, at the southernmost part (of the section), on the shore of the Indian Ocean, there is the country of Malabar (Munibar). North of it, in the northernmost part (of the section), there is the country of Kabul. Beyond (Kabul) to the east^{105a} is the territory of the Kanauj, between inner and outer Kashmir at the end of the zone.

The ninth section, in its western part, contains farthest Eastern India, which extends to the eastern part (of the section) and stretches along its southernmost part up to the tenth section. In the northernmost part here, there is a portion of China. It includes the city of Khayghun.¹⁰⁶ China then extends over the whole tenth section up to the Surrounding Sea.

Third Zone

The third zone is contiguous with the northern boundary of the second zone. The first section, about one-third of the way from the southernmost part of the zone, contains the Atlas Mountain¹⁰⁷ which runs from the western part of the first section at the Surrounding Sea to the eastern end of the section. This mountain is inhabited by innumerable Berber nations, as will

¹⁰⁵ Al-Qandahar. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p.254; Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 152 (n. 3). Instead of "east," one should read "north."

^{105a}The obviously incorrect addition of: "extending to the Surrounding Sea," is eliminated in D. In C it appears as a marginal addition. At the end of the paragraph, "zone" is a mistake for "section."

¹⁰⁶It has been suggested that this is identical with the above-mentioned Canton (Khayghun < Khayfun < Khanfun < Khanfu [Khanfu]).

¹⁰⁷Arabic *Daran*; *Dyrin*, *Addirin* in classical geographical literature: Strabo xvii. 825; Pliny v. 73. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. "Durnus," "Dyrin." *Daran* is to be connected with the pl. *idrairen* of Berber *adrar* "mountain." Cf., for instance, G. Mercier, *Journal asiatique*, CCV (1924), 264. Modern Berbers use the form *dren* (*adrar n dren*). Cf. L. Justinard, "Textes Chleuh de loued Nfis," in *Memorial H. Basset* (Paris, 1928), I, 133 (n. 1). Cf. also R. Thouvenot, "La Montagne Marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hesperis*, XXVI (1939), 118.

be mentioned.¹⁰⁸ In the region between this mountain and the second zone, at the Surrounding Sea, there is the *Ribat* (Monastery) Missah.¹⁰⁹ East of here are the adjoining countries of (as-)Sus¹¹⁰ and Noun (Nul). Directly to the east of (these countries) is the country of Dar'ah, followed by the country of Sijilmasah and then by a portion of the desert of Nisar, the stretch of desert that we mentioned in describing the second zone.

The Atlas Mountain towers over all these countries of the first section. The western region of the Atlas has few passes and roads but near the Moulouya (Malwiyah) River, and from there on to where it ends, the Atlas has a great number of passes and roads. This region contains the Masmudah nations: at the Surrounding Sea the SaksIwah, then the Hintatah, the Tinmallal, the Gidmiwah,¹¹¹ and then the Haskurah who are the last Masmudah in this area. Then there are the Zanigah,¹¹² that is, the Sinhijah- tribes. At the boundary of the first section of the third zone, there are some Zanatah tribes. To the north, Mount Awras (L'Aures), the mountain of the Kutamah, adjoins (the Atlas). After that, there are other Berber nations which we shall mention in their proper places.

The Atlas Mountain in the western part of the section towers over Morocco to the north of it. In the southern part of (Morocco) lie Marrakech, Aghmat, and Tadla. On the Surrounding Sea there, are the *Ribat* Asfi and the city of Sale (Sala). East^{112a} of the country of Marrakech lie Fez, Meknes, Taza, and Qasr Kutamah,¹¹³ This is the area that is customarily called

¹⁰⁸In Vol. VI of the *Ibar*.

¹⁰⁹Or Missat, Miss At. Cf. also p. 326 and 2:196 f., below.

¹¹⁰Cf. E. Levi-Provencal in *EI*, s.v. "al-Sus al-Aksa."

¹¹¹For the *i* vowel in the first syllable, cf. Abmad Bibi, *Jtayl al-ibtihaj*, pp. 140 f.: *al-Jidmiwi*. Cf. also the spelling *Kydmawah* in *Ibar*, VI, 228, if the text is correct.

¹¹²Spelled with *s*, with a *z* written underneath. Cf. p. 67, above, and 2:197, below. Cf., further, *Ibar*, VI, 205; de Slane (tr.), 11, 122; G. S. Colin, *Hesperis*, X (1930), 110.

^{112a}Bulaq has "north," and C had "north" in the text, but in the margin we find "north" corrected to "east." "North" is correct, but possibly Ibn Khaldun himself made the wrong change.

¹¹³Today Alcazarquivir, according to I. S. Allouche, *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 2.

the Farthest Maghrib (Morocco) by its inhabitants. On the shore of the Surrounding Sea in that region lie Arcila (Azila)¹¹⁴ and Larache (al-'Ara'ish). Directly to the east of this area, there is the country of the Middle Maghrib whose center is Tlemcen (Tilimsan). On the shores of the Mediterranean there, lie Hunayn,¹¹⁵ Oran, and Algiers. The Mediterranean leaves the Surrounding Sea at the Straits of Tangier in the western part of the fourth zone,¹¹⁶ and then extends eastward to Syria. Shortly after it leaves the narrow straits, it widens to the south and to the north and enters the third and fifth zones. This is why many places within the third zone are on the Mediterranean coast, from Tangier up to al-Qasr as-saghir, then Ceuta, the country of Badis, and Ghassasah. Algiers, which comes next, is near Bougie (Bajayah) on the east. Then, east of Bougie at the boundary of the first section is Constantine, a day's journey from the Mediterranean. South of these places, toward the south of the Middle Maghrib, is the territory of Ashir, with Mount Titteri, followed by Msila (al-Masilah) and the Zab. The center of (the Zab) is Biskra, north of Mount Awras which connects with the Atlas, as has been mentioned. This is the eastern end of the first section.

The second section of the third zone is like the first section in that about one-third of the distance from its southern (limit) lies the Atlas Mountain which extends across this section from west to east and divides it into two portions. The Mediterranean covers one area in the north. The portion south of the Atlas Mountain is all desert to the west. To the east, there is Ghadames. Directly to the east (of this portion) is the land of Waddan, the remainder of which is situated in the second zone, as has been mentioned. The portion north of the Atlas Mountain between the Atlas and the Mediterranean contains in the west Mount Awras, Tebessa, and Laribus (al-Urbus). On the seacoast is Bone (Bunah). Directly east of these places lies the country of

¹¹⁴Spelled with *s* with a *z* written underneath. Cf. above, p. 67.

¹¹⁵Cf. p. lii, above.

¹¹⁶*Sic* correctly Bulaq, but A, B, C, and D have "section."

Ifriqiyah, with the city of Tunis, then Sousse (Susah), and al-Mahdiyyah on the seacoast. South of these places and north of the Atlas Mountain, is the country of the Djerid (Jarid, al-Jarid), Tozeur (Tuzar), Gafsa (Qafsah), and Nefzoua (Nafzawah). Between them and the coast is the city of Kairouan (al-Qayrawan), Mount Ousselat (Ouselet, Waslat), and Sbeitla (Subaytilah). Directly east of these places lies Tripoli on the Mediterranean. Facing it in the south are the mountains of the Hawwarah tribes, Dammar (Mount Demmer), and Maqqarah (the city of Maggara), which connect with the Atlas and are opposite Ghadames which we mentioned at the end of the southern portion. At the eastern end of the second section lies Suwayqat Ibn Mathkud^{116a} on the sea. To the south are the desert plains of the Arabs in the land of Waddan.

The third section of the third zone is also traversed by the Atlas Mountain, but at the limit (of the section) the Atlas turns northward and runs due north up to the Mediterranean. There, it is called Cape Awthan. The Mediterranean covers the northern part of the third section, so that the land between it and the Atlas narrows. Behind the mountain to the southwest, there is the remainder of the land of Waddan and the desert plains of the Arabs. Then, there is Zawilat Ibn Khattab,¹¹⁷ followed by sandy deserts and waste regions to the eastern boundary of the section. To the west of the area between the mountain and the sea, there is Sirte (Surt) at the sea. Then, there are empty and waste regions in which the Arabs roam. Then, there is Ajdabiyah and, where the mountain makes a turn, Barca (Barqah). Next comes Tulaymithah (Ptolemais) on the sea. Then, to the east of the mountain, after it makes the

^{116a}Cf., for instance, W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des Abdari* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 25) (Leipzig, 1940), p. 161.

¹¹⁷ Of the several Zawilah in the area mentioned by Yiqut, *Mu jam al-buldan*, II, 960 f., none, according to Yaqut, is qualified by Ibn Khattab. Cf., however, the information given by Ibn al-walid in his geographical work, ed. J. H. Kramers, I, 106.

turn, are the desert plains of the Hayyib¹¹⁸ and the Ruwahah, which extend to the end of the section.

The southwestern part of the fourth section of the third zone contains the desert of Berenice. North of it is the country of the Hayyib and the Ruwahah. Then, the Mediterranean enters this section and covers part of it in a southern direction almost to the southern boundary. Between it and the end of the section, there remains a waste region through which the Arabs roam. Directly to the east of it is the Fayyum, at the mouth of one of the two branches of the Nile. This branch passes by al-Lahfin in Upper Egypt, in the fourth section of the zone, and flows into the Lake of the Fayyum. Directly to the east of (the Fayyum) is the land of Egypt with its famous city (Cairo), situated on the other branch of the Nile, the one that passes through Dalas in Upper Egypt at the boundary of the second section. This latter branch divides a I, log second time into two more branches below Cairo, at Shattanawf and Zifta(h).¹¹⁹ The right branch again divides into two other branches at Tarnut.¹²⁰ All these branches flow into the Mediterranean. At the mouth of the western branch is Alexandria; at the mouth of the middle branch is Rosetta; and at the mouth of the eastern branch is Damietta. Between Cairo and the Mediterranean coast at these points lies the whole of northern Egypt, which is densely settled and cultivated.

The fifth section of the third zone contains all or most of Syria, as I shall describe it. The Red Sea ends in the southwest (of the section) at Suez, because in its course from the Indian Ocean northward, it turns eventually westward. A long portion of its western extension lies in this section, with Suez at its western end. Beyond Suez, on this part of (the Red Sea), there

¹¹⁸The doubling of the second consonant is indicated in the MSS, but the vocalization of this name and that of the following Ruwahah is uncertain. Some information is found in 'Ibar, VI, 72 f.; de Slane (tr.), I, 136 f. Cf. also Hoenerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹¹⁹ B and C vocalize *Zaftah*.

¹²⁰ *Sic* according to the correction suggested by Quatremere. The original *Trwt is* corrected in B and C to *Dhrwt*. D has D as the first consonant.

are the mountains of Paran (Faran), Mount Sinai (at-Tur), Aila (Aylah) in Midyan (Madyan), and, where it ends, al-Hawra'.¹²¹ From there, its shore-line turns southward towards the land of the Hijaz, as has been mentioned in connection with the fifth section of the second zone.

A portion of the Mediterranean covers much of the northwestern part of the fifth section. On its (coast) lie al-Farama¹²² and al-'Arish. The end of this portion of the Mediterranean comes close to al-Qulzum. The area in between there is narrow. It becomes a kind of gate leading into Syria. West of this gate is the desert plain (at-Tih), a bare country in which nothing grows, where the Israelites wandered for forty years after they had left Egypt and before they entered Syria, as the Qur'an tells.¹²³ In this portion of the Mediterranean, in the fifth section, lies part of the island of Cyprus. The remainder (of Cyprus) lies in the fourth zone, as we shall mention. Along the coastline of that narrow strip of land between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, are al-'Arish, the boundary of Egypt, and Ascalon. Between them, there is a (narrow) strip of land (separating the Mediterranean and) the Red Sea. Then, this portion of the Mediterranean turns to the north into the fourth zone at Tripoli and 'Argah.¹²⁴ That is the eastern end of the Mediterranean. This portion of the Mediterranean comprises most of the Syrian coast. East and slightly to the north of Ascalon, is Caesarea. Then, in the same general direction, are Acco, Tyre, Sidon, and 'Arqah. The sea then turns north into the fourth zone.

Opposite these places on the coast of this portion of the Mediterranean, in the fifth section, there is a big mountain which rises from the coast at Aila (Aylah) on the Red Sea. It runs northeastward until it leaves the fifth section. It is called Amanus (al-Lukkam). It is a kind of barrier between

¹²¹Doubtful.

¹²²The MSS vocalize *al-Farma*.

¹²³Cf. Qur'an 5.26 (29). Cf. pp. 288 and 344, below.

¹²⁴Or 'Iraqh. Cf. G. Wiet in *Journal asiatique*, XI 18 (1921), 112 f.

Egypt and Syria. At the one end, near Aila (Aylah), lies al-'Aqabah which the pilgrims pass through on their way from Egypt to Mecca. After it, to the north, is Abraham's tomb at Mount ash-Sharah¹²⁵ which is a continuation of the afore-mentioned Amanus north of al-'Aqabah. It extends due east, and then turns slightly (to the south). East of there is al-Hijr, the land of the Thamild, Tema (Tayma'), and Dumat al-Jandal, the northernmost part of the Hijaz. South of it is Mount Radwa.¹²⁶ Farther south, there are the castles of Khaybar. Between Mount ash-Sharah and the Red Sea lies the desert of Tabuk. North of Mount ash-Sharah is the city of Jerusalem near the Amanus. Then, there is the Jordan and Tiberias. East of it lies the (Jordan) depression (Ghor, al-Ghawr)^{126a} which extends to Adhri'at and the Hawran. Directly to the east of (the Hawran) is Dumat al-Jandal which constitutes the end of the Hijaz and the fifth section. Where the Amanus turns north at the end of the fifth section is the city of Damascus, opposite Sidon and Beirut on the coast. The Amanus lies between (Sidon and Beirut, on the one hand), and (Damascus, on the other). Directly east¹²⁷ of Damascus and facing it, is the city of Ba'lbakk. Then, there is the city of Emesa at the northern end of the fifth section, where the Amanus breaks off. East of Ba'lbakk and Emesa are the city Palmyra and desert plains extending to the end of the fifth section.

The southernmost part of the sixth section contains the desert plains of the Arab Bedouins, (which are) located to the north of the Najd and the Yamimah in the area between the Mountain of al-'Arj and as-Sammin and extending to al-Bahrayn and Hajar at the Persian Gulf. In the northernmost

¹²⁵ This mountain is different from Mount as-Sarah in Arabia, mentioned by the Arab geographers. Ash-Sharah is apparently identical with the element *Shard* occurring in the name of the Nabataean deity Dusares. Cf. also pp. 409 and 420, below, and *Ibar*, II, 211.

¹²⁶ See pp. 407 f., below.

^{126a} The description would hardly fit the Jordan depression. On al-Idrisi's sectional map, the legend *Bilad al-Ghawr min ash-Sha'm* starts at the Jordan and continues left almost up to Adhri'it. This explains Ibn Khaldun's statement.

¹²⁷ It should be north. On al-Idrisi's sectional map, Ba'lbakk is located northeast of Damascus.

part of the sixth section, to the north of the desert plains, lie al-Hirah, al-Qidisiyah, and the swampy lowlands of the Euphrates. Beyond that to the east is the city of al-Basrah. In the northeastern part of the sixth section, the Persian Gulf ends, at 'Abbidan and al-Ubullah. The mouth of the Tigris is at 'Abbidan. The Tigris divides into many branches and takes in other branches from the Euphrates. All of them come together at 'Abbidan and flow into the Persian Gulf. This portion of the Persian Gulf is wide in the southernmost part (of the section). It narrows toward its eastern boundary, and where it ends in the north it (also) is narrow. On the western coast lie the northernmost portion of al-Bahrayn, Hajar, and al-Ahsa'. To the west of this portion of the Persian Gulf, lie al-Khatt, as-Sammin,¹²⁸ and the remainder of the land of the Yamimah.

The eastern coast comprises the shores of Fars. In their southernmost part, at the eastern end of the sixth section, along a line stretching from the Persian Gulf eastward and beyond it to the south, are the mountains of al-Qufs¹²⁹ which are in Kirman. North of Hurmuz on the coast of the Persian Gulf, are Sirif and Najiram. In the east, toward the end of the sixth section and north of Hurmuz, is the country of Firs, comprising, for instance, Sibur, Darabjird, Fasi, Istakhr, ash-Shihijin, and Shiriz, the principal city. North of the country of Firs, at the end of the Persian Gulf, lies the country of Khuzistin which includes al-Ahwiz, Tustar, Jundishibur, Susa (as-Sus), Rimhurmuz, and other cities. Arrajin is on the boundary between Firs and Khuzistin. To the east of the country of Khuzistin are the Kurdish Mountains, which extend to the region of Isfahin. The Kurds live there. They roam beyond the mountains into the country of Firs. They are called *az-zumum*.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ The MSS and editions of the *Muqaddimah* have a final *n*. B and C vocalize *ar-Suman*. Ibn Khaldun may have thought again of the aforementioned as-Sammin. The correction ad-Dimir, suggested by de Slane in his translation, supplies a locality that would fit into the context (cf. Yaqut, *op. cit.*, III, 479).

¹²⁹ Kufich, in its Persian form. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 374.

¹³⁰ As indicated by al-Idrisi and the geographers, this is the plural of *zamm*, meaning "district, habitat." The geographical handbooks often list the word under *r*; but *z* is clearly indicated here and is the

The southwestern part of the seventh section contains the remainder of the Mountains of al-Qufs to which are adjacent in the south and north the countries of Kirman (and Mukran). They include the cities of ar-Rudhan, ash-Shirajan, Jiruft (Jayruft), Yazdshir, and al-Fahraj. North of the land of Kirman is the remainder of the country of Fars up to the border of Isfahan. The city of Isfahan lies in the northwest corner of the seventh section. East of the countries of Kirman and Fars, there is the land of Sijistin to the south, and the land of Kuhistan to the north. Between Kirmin-Fars and Sijistan-Kuhistin, in the middle of this section, is the great desert which has few roads because of the difficult terrain. Cities in Sijistin are Bust and at-Tiq. Kuhistan belongs to the country of Khurisan. One of Khurisan's best known places is Sarakhs,¹³¹ on the boundary of the section.

The eighth section contains, in the southwest, the plains of the Khalaj,¹³² a Turkish nation. They adjoin the land of Sijistan in the west and the land of Kabul of Eastern India in the south. North of these desert plains are the mountains and country of al-Ghar starting with Ghaznah, the key to India. Where al-Ghar ends in the north, lies Astarabadh. Then, to the north is the country of Herat in the middle of Khurasan, extending to the boundary of the section. It includes Isfarayin, Qishan, Bushanj, Marw-ar-rudh, at-Taliqan, and al-Juzajan. This part of Khurasan extends to the river Oxus. Khurasanian places on this river are the city of Balkh to the west, and the city of at-Tirmidh to the east. The city of Balkh was the seat of the Turkish realm.

correct form. Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Indices . . .* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, No. 4) (Leiden, 1879), pp. 251 f.; *idem* (ed.), *Ibn Khurradidhbih, Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, p. 47. In the latter passage, de Goeje refers to Kurdish *xdmah* as the original word. Cf. also H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* (Leipzig, 1888), II, 546.

¹³¹The MSS add: "and Quhistan" (or: "and Quhistan is"). However, Quhistan is merely the Arabic spelling of Kuhistan

¹³²B, C, and D vocalize al-Khulkh. Cf. p. 149, below, and esp. the Khulukh Turks, p. 161, below. It was thought that this people were identical with the Kharlukh, but Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 347 f., maintains the distinctive character of the names Khalaj and Kharlukh (Khallukh).

The Oxus comes from the country of Wakhan in the area of Badakhshan which borders on India, in the southeast corner of this section. It soon turns west to the middle of the section. There, it is called the Kharnab River. It then turns north, passes Khurasan, flows due north, and finally flows into Lake Aral in the fifth zone, as we shall mention. In the middle of the eighth section where it turns from the south to the north, five large rivers belonging to the country of Khuttal and Wakhsh¹³³ flow into it on the east. Other rivers, coming from the Buttam Mountains to the east and north of Khuttal, also flow into it. The Oxus, thus, becomes wider and larger, so much so that no other river equals it in these respects. One of the five rivers flowing into the Oxus is the Wakhsh ab¹³⁴ which comes from the country of Tibet that extends over the southeastern portion of this section. It flows toward the northwest. Its course is blocked by a great mountain which runs from the middle of this section in the south toward the northeast, and leaves this section close to its northern (boundary) to pass into the ninth section. It crosses the country of Tibet toward the southeast portion of this section. It separates the Turks from the country of Khuttal. It has only one road in the middle of this section to the east. Al-Fadl b. Yahya constructed a dam there with a gate in it,¹³⁵ like the Dam of Gog and Magog. When the Wakhshab leaves the country of Tibet and comes up against that mountain, it flows under it for a long distance, until it enters the country of Wakhsh and flows into the Oxus at the border of Balkh. (The Oxus) then sweeps on to at-Tirmidh in the north and flows into the country of al-J(izajan).

East of the country of al-Ghur, in the region between (this country) and the Oxus, is the country of al-Bamiyan, which belongs to Khurasan. There on the eastern bank of the river is the country of Khuttal, most of which is

¹³³Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 359.

¹³⁴*Wakhsh-ab* "River of Wakhsh" is the part of the Amu Darya system that furnished the Greeks with the name of *Ores*. For the Oxus in history, cf. also J. Markwart, *Wehrot and Arang*(Leiden, 1938).

¹³⁵ Cf. Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitdb al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, p. 34 (text); p. 24 (tr.).

mountainous, and the country of Wakhsh. This is bordered in the north by the Buttam Mountains, which come from the border of Khurasan, west of the Oxus, and run eastward. Finally, where they end, a large mountain range begins, behind which lies the country of Tibet and under which there flows the Wakhshab, as we have stated. (The two mountain ranges) join at the gate of al-Fadl b. Yahya. The Oxus passes between them. Other rivers flow into it, among them the river of the country of Wakhsh, which flows into it from the east, below at-Tirmidh in the north.^{135a} The Balkha River¹³⁶ comes from the Buttam Mountains where it starts at al-Juzaj an, and flows into it from the west. On the western bank of this river (Oxus) lies Amul,^{136a} which belongs to Khurasan. East of this river (Oxus) are the lands of the Soghd and Usrushanah, which belong to the country of the Turks. East of them is the land of Farghanah, which extends to the eastern end of the section. The entire country of the Turks here is crossed by the Buttam Mountains on the north.

In the western part of the ninth section lies the country of Tibet, up to the middle of the section. In the south is India, and in the east, to the boundary of the section, is China. In the northernmost part of this section, north of the country of Tibet, is the country of the Kharlugh,¹³⁷ which belongs to the country of the Turks, extending to the northern boundary of the section. Adjacent to it on the west is the land of Farghanah,¹³⁸ and on the east is the land of the Turkish Tughuzghuz,¹³⁹ extending to the northeastern end of the section.

^{135a} As the sectional map of al-Idrisi shows, the Wakhshab flows into the Oxus south of at-Tirmidh, and the river of the country of Wakhsh north of it.

¹³⁶ Identical with the unnamed river mentioned in Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 71?

^{136a} In the fourth zone.

¹³⁷ See n. 38 to this chapter, above, and p. 149, below.

¹³⁸ Bulaq adds: "also to the end of the section."

¹³⁹ Ibn Khaldun pronounced the name Bagharghar. However, below, p. 172, he had the form al-Tagharghar. For the Tughuzghuz, cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 263 ff.

The southern part of the tenth section is entirely occupied by the remaining northernmost portion of China. In the north is the remainder of the country of the Tughuzghuz. East of them is the country of the Turkish Kirghiz,¹⁴⁰ extending to the eastern end of the section. North of the land of the Kirghiz is the country of the Turkish Kimak.¹⁴¹

Opposite (the Kirghiz and Kimak countries), in the Surrounding Sea, lies the Hyacinth (Ruby) Island in the middle of a round mountain that completely blocks access to it. Climbing to the top of the mountain from the outside is extremely difficult. On the island, there are deadly snakes and many pebbles of hyacinth (ruby). The people of that region contrive to mine them with the help of divine inspiration.

The regions in the ninth and tenth sections extending beyond Khurasan and Khuttal are desert plains where innumerable Turkish nations roam. They are wandering nomads who have camels, sheep, cattle, and horses for breeding, riding, and eating. There are very many, (indeed) innumerable groups. There are Muslims among them in the area adjacent to the Oxus. They make raids on the unbelievers among them, who follow the Magian¹⁴² religion. They sell their captives to their near (neighbors), who export them to Khurasan, India, and the `Iraq.

The fourth zone

The fourth zone is contiguous with the northern part of the third (zone). Its first section, in the west, contains a portion of the Surrounding Sea which, oblong in shape, extends from the southern to the northern boundary of the section. The city of Tangier is situated on it in the south. North of Tangier, the Mediterranean branches off from this portion of the Surrounding Sea in a narrow straits that is only twelve miles wide, Tarifa and Algeciras (lying) to

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldun pronounced the name Kharkhir, or Khirkhir. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 282 ff.; Minorsky-Marvazi, pp. 104 f.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 304 ff.; Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 107.

¹⁴² See n. 9 to this chapter, above.

the north of it and Qasr al-Majaz¹⁴³ and Ceuta to the south of it. It runs east until it reaches the middle of the fifth section of the fourth zone, gradually widening and eventually covering the (first) four sections and most of the fifth section of the fourth zone, as well as adjacent regions of the third and fifth zones, as we shall mention.

The Mediterranean is also called the "Syrian Sea." It contains many islands. The largest of them, from west to east, are Ibiza, Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia, Sicily-which is the largest of them -the Peloponnesos, Crete, and Cyprus. We shall mention each of them in its particular section.

At the end of the third section of the fourth zone and in the third section of the fifth zone, the Adriatic Sea (Straits of the Venetians) branches off from the Mediterranean. It runs in a northern direction, then turns westward in the northern half of the section, and finally ends in the second section of the fifth zone.

At the eastern boundary of the fourth section of the fifth zone, the Straits of Constantinople branches off from the Mediterranean. In the north, it makes a narrow passage only an arrow shot in width, extending up to the boundary of the zone and on into the fourth section of the sixth zone, where it turns into the Black Sea, running eastward across the whole of the fifth, and half of the sixth, sections of the sixth zone, as we shall mention in the proper place.

Where the Mediterranean leaves the Surrounding Sea through the Straits of Tangier and expands into the third zone, there remains a small portion of this section south of the Straits. The city of Tangier is situated in it, at the confluence of the two seas. After Tangier comes Ceuta on the Mediterranean, then Tetuan (Tittawin), and Badis. The remainder of this section to the east is covered by the Mediterranean, which extends into the

¹⁴³ This location is usually thought to be the site of the above-mentioned al-Qa,r as-saghir (p. 129), nor can it have been far from it.

third (zone). Most of the cultivated area in this section is north of it and north of the Straits. All this is Spain.

The western part of Spain, the area between the Surrounding Sea and the Mediterranean, begins at Tarifa, at the confluence of the two seas. East of it, on the shore of the Mediterranean, is Algeciras, followed by Malaga, Almunecar, and Almeria. Northwest of these cities and close to the Surrounding Sea, there is Jerez (de la Frontera), followed by Niebla. Opposite these two cities, in the Surrounding Sea, is the island of Cadiz. East of Jerez and Niebla are Sevilla, followed by Ecija, Cordoba, and Marbella [?],¹⁴⁴ then Granada, Jaen, and Ubeda, then Guadix and Baza. Northwest of these cities on the Surrounding Sea are Santamaria and Silves. (North)east of these two cities are Badajoz, Merida, and Evora¹⁴⁵ followed by Ghafiq¹⁴⁶ and Trujillo, and then Calatrava. Northwest of these cities on the Surrounding Sea, there is Lisbon on the Tajo. East of Lisbon, on the Tajo, are Santarem and Coria. Then, there is Alcantara. Facing Lisbon on the east, there rises the Sierra (de Guadarrama) which starts in the west there and runs eastward along the northern boundary of the section. It ends at Medinaceli beyond the middle of (the section). Below (at the foot of) the Sierra, is Talavera, east of Coria, followed by Toledo, Guadalajara, and Medinaceli. Where the Sierra begins, in the region between the Sierra and Lisbon, is Coimbra. This is western Spain.

¹⁴⁴ For this geographical name, cf. E. Levi-Provengal, *La Peninsule Iberique*, p. 75 (n. 1), and the same scholar's edition of an-Nubahi, *Histoire des Juges d'Andalousie intitulee Kitab al-Markaba al'ulya [al-Marqabah al-'ulyd]* (Cairo, 1948), p. 82. However, the MSS definitely indicate *t* and not *b*. It is difficult to assume that Ibn Khaldun was not familiar enough with the geography of this particular part of Spain to avoid a mistake here. Therefore, de Slane's identification with Montillo cannot be ruled out.

¹⁴⁵ Evora is west of Badajoz and Merida.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. E. Levi-Provengal, *La Peninsule Iberique*, p. 167, where an identification with Guijo, northwest of Pedroche, is suggested, and the edition of an-Nubahl, p. 238, where Ghafiq is identified with Belacazar.

Eastern Spain is bordered by the Mediterranean. Here, Almeria is followed by Cartagena, Alicante, Denia, and Valencia, up to Tarragona¹⁴⁷ at the eastern boundary of the section. North of these cities are Lorca and Segura, adjacent to Baza and Calatrava, which belong to western Spain. To the east, then, comes Murcia, followed by Jativa north of Valencia,¹⁴⁸ then Jucar,¹⁴⁹ Tortosa, and¹⁵⁰ Tarragona at the boundary of the section. Then, north of these cities, there are the lands of Chinchilla and Huete, which are adjacent to Segura and Toledo in the west. Northeast of Tortosa, then, is Fraga. East of Medinaceli, there is Calatayud, followed by Saragossa and Lerida at the northeastern end of the section.

The second section of the fourth zone is entirely covered by water, except for a portion in the northwest which includes the remainder of the Pyrenees,¹⁵¹ the "Mountain of Passes and Roads." It comes there from the boundary of the first section of the fifth zone. It starts at the southeastern limit of the Surrounding Sea on the boundary of this section, runs south-eastward, and enters the fourth zone upon leaving the first section for the second, so that a portion of it falls into the fourth zone. Its passes lead into the adjacent mainland, which is called the land of Gascogne. It contains the cities of Gerona and Carcassonne. On the shores of the Mediterranean in this portion, is the city of Barcelona, followed by Narbonne.

The sea which covers this section contains many islands, most of which are uninhabited because they are small. In the west, there is the island of Sardinia, and in the east the large island of Sicily. Its circumference is said to be seven hundred miles. It contains many cities, the best known among them being Syracuse, Palermo, Trapani, Mazzara, and Messina. Sicily is opposite Ifriqiyah. Between Sicily and Ifriqiyah are the islands of Gozzo and Malta.

¹⁴⁷Bulaq has Tortosa.

¹⁴⁸This is not correct. "East," as we find in the Paris edition, is no better.

¹⁴⁹E. Levi-Provencal, *La Peninsule Iberique*, p. 126.

¹⁵⁰"And" seems a necessary correction of Bulaq. The other texts have "north of."

¹⁵¹ *Jabal al-burtat* "Mountain of the Gates (*porta*)."

The third section of the fourth zone is also covered by the sea, except for three portions in the north. The one in the west belongs to the land of Calabria, the one in the middle to Lombardy, and the one in the east to the country of the Venetians.

The fourth section of the fourth zone is also covered by the sea, as has been mentioned. It contains many islands. Most of them are uninhabited, as is the case in the third section. The inhabited islands are the Peloponnesos, in the northwest, and Crete, which is oblong in shape and stretches from the middle of the section to the southeast. A large triangular area of the fifth section in the south west is covered by the sea. The western side of (this triangle) goes to the northern boundary of the fifth section. The southern side goes across about two-thirds of the section. There remains at the eastern side of the section a portion of about one-third. Its northern part runs west along the seacoast, as we have stated. Its southern half contains the northernmost region of Syria. It is traversed in the middle by the Amanus. The Amanus eventually reaches the northern end of Syria, where it turns in a northeasterly direction. At the point where it turns, it is called "Chain Mountain."¹⁵² There, it enters the fifth zone. After it turns, it traverses a portion of the Jazirah in an easterly direction. West of where it turns, there rise contiguous mountain ranges. They finally end at an inlet of the Mediterranean, near the northern end of the section. Through these mountains, there are passes which are called ad-Durub (mountain passes). They lead into Armenia. This section contains a portion of Armenia situated between these mountains and the Chain Mountain.

The southern region, as we have mentioned before, comprises the northernmost region of Syria, and the Amanus extends across it from south to north in the area between the Mediterranean and the boundary of the

¹⁵² It corresponds to the Taurus. Cf. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides* (Algiers, 1951), I, 255. For the Durub, *ibid.*, I, 243.

section. On the sea coast is Antarsus,¹⁵³ at the beginning of the section to the south. It borders on 'Arqah and Tripoli which lie on the shore of the Mediterranean in the third zone. North of Antarsus is Jabalah, followed by Lattakiyah, Alexandretta, and Selefke. North of these cities is the Byzantine territory.

The Amanus, which lies between the sea and the end of the section, is hugged, in Syria in the southwestern part of the section, by the fortress of Ilisn al-Khawabi, which belongs to the Isma'ili Assassins who at this time are called Fidawis. The fortress (also) is called Masyat.¹⁵⁴ It lies opposite Antarsus to the east. On the side opposite this fortress, east of the Amanus, is Salamlyah, north of Emesa. North of Masyat, between the mountain and the sea, lies Antioch. Opposite it, east of the Amanus, is al-Ma'arrah, and east of al-Ma'arrah, al-Marighah. North of Antioch, there is al-Massisah, followed by Adhanah and Tarsus, at the furthest point of Syria. Facing (Antioch), west of the mountain, is Qinnasrin, followed by 'Ayn Zarbah. Opposite Qinnasrin, east of the mountain, is Aleppo, and opposite 'Ayn Zarbah is Manbij, the furthest point of Syria.

The area to the right of the Durub, between them and the Mediterranean, comprises the Byzantine territory (Anatolia). At this time, it belongs to the Turkomans and is ruled by Ibn Uthman (the Ottomans).¹⁵⁵ On the shore of the Mediterranean there, are Antalya and al--'Alaya.

Armenia, which lies between the Durub and the Chain Mountain, comprises Mar'ash, Malatya, and Ankara,^{155a} up to the northern end of the sec-

¹⁵³ I.e., Antartus, Antaradus.

¹⁵⁴ For Masyat (Magyad, Malyaf, Mayab), cf. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et medievale* (Bibliotheque archeologique et historique, No. 4) (Paris, 1927), p. 143.

¹⁵⁵ When the *Muqaddimah* was being written, the ruling Ottoman was Murid I b. Orkhan.

^{155a} Ibn Khaldun certainly read Ankara, but this is impossible. Bulaq has al-Ma'arrah, which is equally wrong but shows that Ibn Khaldun might have had some other reading than Ankara in his earliest text. The sectional maps of al-Idrisi have the correct reading Zibatrah. A misreading Ankara, for Zibatrah, which already in the time of al-Idrisi had been in ruins for centuries, is easily explained.

tion. In Armenia, in the fifth section, originate the river Jayhan and, to the east of it, the river Sayhan. The Jayhan flows south until it has traversed the Durub. It then passes by Tarsus and al-Massisah, then turns northwestward and eventually flows into the Mediterranean south of Selefke. The Sayhan runs parallel to the Jayhan. It is opposite Ankara and Mar'ash, traverses the Durub Mountains, reaches Syria, then passes by 'Ayn Zarbah, then turns away from the Jayhan, and turns northwestward. It joins the Jayhan west of al-Massisah.

The Jazirah, which is surrounded by the portion of the Amanus that turns into the Chain Mountain, contains in the south ar-Rafiqah and ar-Raqqah, followed by Harran, Saruj, Edessa, Nisibis, Samosata, and Amid, north of the Chain Mountain, at the northeastern end of the section. The Euphrates and the Tigris traverse this area in the middle. They originate in the fifth zone, pass southward through Armenia, and cross the Chain Mountain. The Euphrates, then, flows west of Samosata and Saruj in an easterly direction. It passes west of ar-Rafiqah and ar-Raqqah and on into the sixth section. The Tigris flows east of Amid and shortly thereafter turns to the east. Then, it soon passes on into the sixth section.

The sixth section of the fourth zone contains the Jazirah to the west. Immediately east of it is the country of the 'Iraq, which terminates near the boundary of the section. At the boundary of the 'Iraq is the Mountain of Isfahan which comes from the south of the section and runs in a westerly direction. When it reaches the middle of the northern end of the section, it runs west. Eventually, leaving the sixth section, it joins on its course due west, the Chain Mountain in the fifth section.

The sixth section is divided into two portions, a western and an eastern. The western portion, in the south, contains the point where the Euphrates leaves the fifth section, and, in the north, the point where the Tigris leaves it. As soon as the Euphrates enters the sixth section, it passes Qirqisiya'. There, a (river) branches off from the Euphrates. It flows north into the Jazirah and

disappears there in the ground. Shortly past Qirqisiya', the Euphrates turns south and passes to the west of the Khabir and on west of ar-Rahbah. A (river) branches off there from the Euphrates and flows south. Siffin lies to the west of it. (This river) then turns east and divides into a number of branches. Some of them pass by al-Kufah, others by Qasr Ibn Hubayrah and al-Jami'ayn (al-Hillah). Now, in the south of the section all of them enter the third zone and disappear into the ground east of al-Hirah and al-Qadisiyah. The Euphrates flows directly east from ar-Rahbah, and passes north of Hit. It then flows south of az-Zab^{155b} and al-Anbar, and into the Tigris at Baghdad.

When the Tigris leaves the fifth section for the sixth section, it flows due east, opposite the Chain Mountain which connects with the Mountain of al-'Iraq on its course due west, and passes north of Jazirat Ibn 'Umar. Then it passes Mosul in the same way, and Takrit. It reaches al-Hadithah, turns south, leaving al-Hadithah to the east of it, and likewise the Greater and the Lesser Zab. It flows directly south and to the west of al-Qadisiyah. Eventually it reaches Baghdad and joins with the Euphrates. Then it flows south, to the west of Jarjaraya, and eventually leaves the section and enters the third zone. There it divides into many branches. They unite again and there flow into the Persian Gulf at 'Abbidin. The region between the Tigris and the Euphrates, before they have come together at Baghdad, is the Jazirah. Below Baghdad, another river joins the Tigris. It comes from northeast of (the Tigris). It reaches an-Nahrawin opposite Baghdad to the east. Then it turns south and joins with the Tigris before entering the third zone. For the region between this river and the mountains of al-'Iriq and Kurdistan, there remains Jaluli' and, east of it at the mountain, Hulwin and Saymarah.

The western portion of the section contains a mountain that starts from the Kurdish mountains and runs east toward the end of the section. It is called the Mountain of Shahrazur. It divides the (western portion) into two

^{155b} This village is mentioned in Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, p. 72 (text), where the editor suggests that it be read ar-Rabb.

subdivisions. The southern subdivision contains Khunajin, northwest of Isfahan. This section is called the country of *al-Bahlus*.¹⁵⁶ In the middle of the southern subdivision is Nahiwand, and, in the north, Shahrazur, west of the point where the two mountain ranges meet, and ad-Dinawar (is) on the east, at the boundary of the section. The other subdivision contains part of Armenia, including its principal place, al-Marighah. The portion of the Mountain of al-'Iraq that faces it is called the Mountain of Birimma.¹⁵⁷ It is inhabited by Kurds. The Greater Zab and the Lesser Zib at the Tigris are behind it. At the eastern end of this section lies Azerbaijan, which includes Tabriz and al-Baylagan.¹⁵⁸ In the northeast corner of the section is a small portion of [the Black Sea,] the Caspian (Sea of the Khazars).¹⁵⁹

The seventh section of the fourth zone contains, in the southwest, the largest portion of the country of *al-Bahlus*, including Hamadhin and Qazwin. The remainder of it is in the third zone; Isfahan is situated there. (*Al-Bahlus* and Isfahan) are surrounded on the south by mountains which come from the west, pass through the third zone, leave it in the sixth section for the fourth zone, and join the eastern portion of the Mountain of al-'Iraq, as has been mentioned before. They (also) surround the eastern portion of the country of *al-Bahlus*. These mountains which surround Isfahan run north from the third zone, enter this seventh section, and then inclose the country of *al-Bahlus* on the east. Below (at the foot of) them, is Qishin, followed by Qumm. Near the middle of their course, they turn slightly west; then, describing an arc, they run northeastward, and eventually enter the fifth zone. Where they turn (west) and make the circle, ar-Rayy lies to the east. Where they turn (west), another mountain range starts and runs west to the boundary of the seventh section. South of the mountains there is Qazwin. North

¹⁵⁶ This is a corruption of *al-Bahlawiyin* "Pahlavis (Parthia)," which appeared in the older geographers. Cf. Ibn Khurradidhbih, *op. cit.*, p.57 (text); p. 38 (n. 3) (tr.).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 202 f.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 398.

¹⁵⁹ The reference to the Black Sea is out of place *here*.

of them and alongside the connecting mountains of ar-Rayy, extending in a northeastern direction to the middle of the section and then into the fifth zone, lies the country of Tabaristan in the region between these mountains and a portion of the Caspian Sea (Sea of Tabaristan). From the fifth zone, it enters the seventh section about halfway between west and east. Where the mountains of ar-Rayy turn west, there lie other, connecting mountains. They run directly east and slightly south, and eventually enter the eighth section from the west. Between the mountains of ar-Rayy and these mountains, at their starting point, there remains Jurjan, which includes Bistam.¹⁶⁰ Behind these (latter) mountains, there is a part of the seventh section that contains the remainder of the desert area between Fars and Khurisan, to the east of Qishin. At its farthest point, near these mountains, is Astaribidh. On the eastern slopes of these mountains, and extending to the boundary of the section, lies the country of Nisabur, which belongs to Khurisan. South of the mountains and east of the desert area, lies Nisabur, followed by Marw ash-Shihijan¹⁶¹ at the end of the section. North of it and east of Jurjan, are Mihrajin, Khazarun, and Tus, the eastern end of the section. All these places are north of the mountains. Far to the north of them is the country of Nasa, which is surrounded by barren stretches of desert, in the northeastern corner of the section.

The eighth section of the fourth zone, in the west, contains the Oxus which flows from south to north. On its western bank, there are Zamm¹⁶² and Amul which belong to Khurasan, as well as at-Tahiriyah and Gurganj which belongs to Khuwarizm. The southwest corner of the section is surrounded by the mountains of Astarabadh, which were found already in the seventh section. They enter this section from the west and encircle the (southwestern) corner, which includes the remainder of the country of Herat. In the

¹⁶⁰ Bistam is in Khurasan.

¹⁶¹ Cf. A. Jakoubovsky in *EI Supplement*, s.v. "Merw al-Shahidjan."

¹⁶² B and C vocalize Zum. B has ay-ahiriyah, instead of at-Tahiriyah.

third zone, the mountains pass between Herat and al-Juzajan, and eventually connect with the Buttam Mountain, as we mentioned there. East of the Oxus in the south of this section, is the country of Bukhara, followed by the country of the Soghd, with Samarkand as its principal place. Then comes the country of Usritshanah, which includes Khujandah at the eastern end of the section. North of Samarkand and Ustrushanah, is the land of Ilaq.¹⁶³ North of Ilaq is the land of Tashkent (ash-Shish), which extends to the eastern boundary of the section and occupies a portion of the ninth section that in the south includes the remainder of the land of Farghanah.

From this portion of the ninth section, comes the river of Tashkent (Syr Darya). It cuts through the eighth section, and eventually flows into the Oxus where the latter leaves the eighth section in the north for the fifth zone. In the land of Ilaq, a river coming from the ninth section of the third zone, from the borders of Tibet, flows into the river of Tashkent, and before the latter leaves the ninth section, the river of Farghanah flows into it. Parallel to the river of Tashkent lies Mount Jabraghun, which starts from the fifth zone, turns southeast, and eventually enters the ninth section and runs along the borders of the land of Tashkent. Then, it turns in the ninth section, continues along the boundaries of Tashkent and Farghanah, goes on to the southern part of the section, and then enters the third zone. Between the river of Tashkent and the bend of this mountain in the middle of the section, there is the country of Farab. Between it and the land of Bukhari and Khuwarizm are barren stretches of desert. In the northeast corner of this section is the land of Khujandah,^{163a} which includes Isbijab¹⁶⁴ and Taraz.¹⁶⁵

The ninth section of the fourth zone, to the west beyond Farghanah and Tashkent, contains the land of the Kharlukh in the south, and the land

¹⁶³Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 356.

^{163a} The reference to Khujandah, which was mentioned before as situated in the southeast of the section, cannot be correct. The sectional maps of al-Idrisi read Kunjdih. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 119.

¹⁶⁴Now Sayram.

¹⁶⁵Talas. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p. 358.

of the Khallukh¹⁶⁶ in the north. The whole eastern part of the section to its farthest point is occupied by the land of the Kimak. It extends over the whole tenth section to the Qufaya Mountains¹⁶⁷ which are at the eastern end of the section and lie there on a portion of the Surrounding Sea. They are the Mountains of Gog and Magog. All these nations are Turkish peoples.

The fifth zone

Most of the first section of the fifth zone is covered by water, except a small portion of the south and of the east. In this western region, the Surrounding Sea enters into the fifth, sixth, and seventh zones from the circle it describes around the zones. The portion to the south that is free from water has a triangular shape. It there touches Spain and comprises the remainder of it. It is surrounded on two sides

by the sea, as if by the two sides of a triangle. It occupies the remainder of western Spain, including Montemayor¹⁶⁸ on the seacoast at the beginning of the section in the southwest. Salamanca is to the east, and Zamora to the north. East of Salamanca, at the southern end, is Avila, and east of it, the land of Castilla with the city of Segovia. North of it is the land of Leon and Burgos. Beyond it to the north is the land of Galicia, which extends to the corner of this portion. At the Surrounding Sea there, at the far point of the western side (of the triangle), the portion includes the region of Santiago—that is, (Saint) Jacob.

Of eastern Spain, the triangular portion contains the city of Tudela, at the southern end of the section and to the east of Castilla. To the northeast of Tudela are Huesca and Pamplona directly to the east of (Huesca). West

¹⁶⁶They are possibly different from the Khalaj (p. 136, above), but, in spite of this passage, they may be identical with the Kharlukh (p. 103, n. 98 to this chapter, and p. 138, above).

¹⁶⁷O. J. Tallgren (Tuulio), *Studia Orientalia*, VI3 (1936), 170, suggests an identification of Qufaya with Ptolemy's Ripaia.

¹⁶⁸ Though there are many small Montemayors in Spain, in this region and elsewhere, de Slane's identification with Montemor-o-velho in Portugal is certainly correct.

of Pamplona, there is Estella (Qastallah), followed by Najera¹⁶⁹ in the region between Estella and Burgos. This (triangular) portion contains a large mountain. It faces the sea and the northeast side of the triangle, in close proximity both to it and to the seacoast at Pamplona in the east. We have mentioned before that it connects in the south with the Mediterranean in the fourth zone. It constitutes a barrier for Spain in the north. Its passes are gates leading from Spain to the country of Gascogne, which belongs to the European Christian nations. In the fourth zone, there belong to (Gascogne) Barcelona and Narbonne on the shore of the Mediterranean; north of them, Gerona and Carcassonne; and in the fifth zone, Toulouse, north of Gerona.

The eastern portion of this section has the shape of an oblong triangle with its acute angle beyond the Pyrenees to the east. On the Surrounding Sea, at the top where it connects with the Pyrenees, this portion includes Bayonne. At the end of it, in the northeastern region of the section, is the land of Poitou, which belongs to the European Christians and extends to the end of the section.

The western region of the second section contains the land of Gascogne. North of it are the lands of Poitou and Bourges.¹⁷⁰ Both countries have been mentioned by us. East of the country of Gascogne lies a portion of the Mediterranean. It projects into this section like a tooth, in an easterly direction. To the west, the country of Gascogne juts out into a gulf of the Mediterranean[?]. At the northern extremity of this portion is the country of Genoa, along which to the north lie the Alps.¹⁷¹ At their northern limit lies the land of Burgundy. East of the gulf of Genoa, which comes from the Mediterranean, another gulf comes from the same sea. The two gulfs include a portion of land in the shape of a peninsula on which, in the west, lies Pisa,

¹⁶⁹The MSS indicate *t* instead of *n*, as the first consonant of the name.

¹⁷⁰Or perhaps Perigueux? If this place and Poitou (and not Poitou and Gascogne) are referred to as mentioned before, it was probably confused by Ibn Khaldun with Burgos.

¹⁷¹ Mont Jun, apparently identical with Mons Jovis, Montjoux, St. Bernard. Cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Deutschland and seine Nachbarlander nach der grossen Geographie des Idrisi*, p. 38 (n. 45).

and in the east the great city of Rome, the capital of the European Christians and the residence of the Pope, their highest religious dignitary. It contains magnificent, historically famous buildings, imposing monuments,¹⁷² and gigantic churches. One of the remarkable things at Rome is the river that flows through it from east to west, the bed of which is paved with copper.¹⁷³ Rome contains the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul, who are buried in it. North of the country of Rome is the country of Lombardy, which extends to the boundary of the section. On the eastern shore of the gulf on which Rome is situated, lies Naples. It is adjacent to the country of Calabria, which (also) belongs to the lands of the European Christians. North of it, a portion of the Adriatic Sea (Gulf of Venice) comes into this section from the third section, turns west, and faces north in this section, and extends to about one-third of it. A large portion of the country of the Venetians is situated on this portion of the Adriatic Sea, in the south,¹⁷⁴ in the region between (the Adriatic Sea) and the Surrounding Sea. North of it lies the country of Aquileia in the sixth zone.

The third section of the fifth zone contains in the west the country of Calabria, between the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean. Part of the mainland in the Mediterranean in the fourth zone forms a portion of land in the shape of a peninsula, between two gulfs that extend due north from the Mediterranean into this section.¹⁷⁵ East of the country of Calabria is the

¹⁷²For *haykal* meaning "temple, effigy, large object," or "monument," see below, pp. 354, 356 ff., 2:235, 238 ff., 249, 258, 260, 859, and 3:132.

¹⁷³Cf. G. Levi Della Vida in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII (1943), 184ff.

¹⁷⁴Bulaq corrects the text by adding: "It (the Adriatic Sea) enters from the south." De Slane has the slightly better suggestion that "south" should be understood in the sense of "west." However, a glance at the map shows why Ibn Khaldun speaks here of Venice as situated south of the Adriatic Sea (even if its location is described differently later on). No case in support of "Surrounding Sea" can be made. It should read "Mediterranean."

¹⁷⁵This refers to the Gulf of Taranto and the heel of the Italian boot.

country of the Lombards,¹⁷⁶ along a portion of land formed by the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean, of which one end enters the fourth zone and the Mediterranean.

To the east, this section is surrounded by the Adriatic Sea, which belongs to the Mediterranean. It flows due north, then turns west opposite the northern end of the section. Alongside it, a large mountain (range) comes from the fourth zone. It faces it (the sea) and runs parallel to it on its way north, then turns west along it in the sixth zone, and eventually ends opposite a straits in the north of it, in the country of Aquileia, a German (Alamanni) nation, as we shall mention. At this straits and between it and this mountain (range), where the mountains and the sea go off to the north, lies the country of the Venetians. Where the mountains and the sea go off to the west, they border the country of Jarwasiyi, and then the country of the Germans (Alamanni), at the end of the straits.

The fourth section of the fifth zone contains a portion of the Mediterranean which enters it from the fourth zone. (This portion of the sea) is strongly indented by arms of the sea which jut out in a northerly direction and are separated by portions of land in the shape of peninsulas. At the eastern end of the section lies the Straits of Constantinople. (This narrow body of water) comes from this southern part (of the section), flows due north, and eventually enters the sixth zone. There, it immediately turns eastward (and joins) the Black Sea in the fifth section; (the latter also occupies) part of the fourth and sixth sections of the sixth zone, as we shall mention. Constantinople is to the east of this straits at the northern end of the section. It is a large city and was the seat of the Byzantine emperors. There are many stories about the magnificent architectural and other monuments there. The portion of this section between the Mediterranean and the Straits of Constantino-

¹⁷⁶According to Hoenerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 31 (n. 28), al-Idrisi designates by *bilad ankbarda* "country of the Lombards," the Lombard principalities in Apulia, whereas *anbardiya* "Lombardy" means Lombardy proper.

ple comprises the country of Macedonia, which belonged to the (ancient) Greeks, whose royal authority had its origin there. East of the straits and extending to the end of the section, there is a portion of the land of *Batus*.¹⁷⁷ This, I believe, is the desert plains where, at the present time, the Turkomans roam. There is (located) the realm of Ibn 'Uthman (the Ottomans), with its chief city Bursa (Brussa).¹⁷⁸ Before them, it belonged to the Byzantines, from whom it was taken away by other nations, and eventually came into possession of the Turkomans.

The southwestern part of the fifth section of the fifth zone contains the land of *Batus*(Anatolia). North of it and extending to the boundary of the section, is the country of Amorium. East of Amorium is the Qubagib (Tokhma Su)^{178a} which flows into the Euphrates. It has its source in a mountain there and flows south until it joins the Euphrates, before the latter leaves this section and crosses over into the fourth zone. West of (the Euphrates), at the (southern) end of the section, the Sayhan, and west of it, the Jayhan, originate. Both rivers flow alongside (the Euphrates). They have been mentioned before. East of (the Euphrates) there, the Tigris originates. It always flows alongside (the Euphrates), and eventually joins it at Baghdad. In the southeastern corner of this section, behind the mountain where the Tigris originates, lies Mayyafariqin. The Qubaqib, which we have mentioned, divides this section into two portions. The one covers the southwest and contains the land of *Batus* (Anatolia), as we have said. The northernmost part of (the land of *Batus*), the region extending to the northern end of the section and beyond the mountain where the Qubaqib originates, is the land of Amorium, as we have said. The other portion covers the northeastern and southeastern third (of the section). In the south of this the Tigris and Euphrates

¹⁷⁷ In the older geographers, the form was *an-natulus* "Anatolia." Cf. Ibn Khurradidhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, p. 107.

¹⁷⁸C and D vocalize *Bursah*.

^{178a}Cf. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, 250 f., 262 ff.

originate. In the north, there is the country of al-Baylagin, which adjoins the land of Amorium behind Mount Qubagib¹⁷⁹ and extends far. At its end, where the Euphrates originates, is Kharshanah.¹⁸⁰ In the northeast corner is a portion of the Black Sea that connects with the Straits of Constantinople.

The sixth section of the fifth zone contains in the southwest the country of Armenia, which extends eastward beyond the middle of the section. Arzan (Erzerum) is in the southwest (of Armenia). To the north (of it) lie Tiflis and Dabil. East of Arzan is the city of Khilat, followed by Bardha'ah. In the southeast is the (capital) city of Armenia. There, Armenia, entering the fourth zone, includes. al-Maraghah, east of the Mountain of the Kurds which is called Mountain of Barimma, and which has been mentioned before in connection with the sixth section of the fourth zone. In this section, and in the fourth zone, Armenia is bordered to the east by the country of Azerbaijan. (Azerbaijan's) easternmost point in this section is Ardabil, on a portion of the Caspian Sea. The Caspian Sea enters this section from the east from the seventh section, and is called the Sea of Tabaristan (Caspian Sea). On its northern shore, in this section, it contains a portion of the country of the Khazars. They are Turkomans. At the northern end of this portion of the Caspian Sea, a mountain range begins and runs due west to the fifth section, crosses it, encircles Mayyafariqin, and enters the fourth zone at Amid, where it connects with the Chain Mountain in the northernmost part of Syria, and from there (goes on to) connect with the Amanus, as has already been mentioned.

In these mountains in the northern part of this section, there are passes that constitute a sort of gates giving entry from both sides. To the south, is the country of the "Gates," which extends eastward to the Caspian Sea. The

¹⁷⁹ "Mount" may be wrong, but Ibn Khaldun apparently called the mountain where the Qubaqib was supposed to originate "Mount Qubaqib." On al-Idrisi's sectional map, this mountain is called Jabal Nadhan (?). The reading is uncertain. Cf. E. Honigmann, *Byzantion*, X (1953), 153.

¹⁸⁰Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 420 f.

city of Derbend,¹⁸¹ which belongs to this country, lies on the Caspian Sea. In the southwest, the country of the "Gates" adjoins Armenia. East of (the country of the Gates), between it and southern Azerbaijan, is the country of Arran (Ar-Ran),¹⁸² which extends to the Caspian Sea. North of these mountains, there lies a portion of this section comprising in the west the realm of the Sarir;¹⁸³ The northwest corner of that portion, which constitutes the (northwest) corner of the whole section, is also occupied by a small portion of the Black Sea that connects with the Straits of Constantinople. (This) has been mentioned before. This portion of the Black Sea is surrounded by the country of the Sarir. Trebizond, which belongs to (that country), lies on it. The country of the Sarir extends between the mountains of the "Gates" and the northern part of the section. It eventually reaches a mountain in the east that constitutes a barrier between it and the land of the Khazars. On the far boundary of the (country of the Sarir), is the city of Sul. Behind this mountain barrier, there is a portion of the land of the Khazars reaching the northeast corner of this section, between the Caspian Sea and the northern end of the section.

The seventh section of the fifth zone is entirely covered in the west by the Caspian Sea, a portion of which protrudes into the fourth zone to the south. On (the shores of) this portion are situated, as we have mentioned in connection with the (fourth zone), the country of Tabaristin and the mountains of the Daylam up to Qazwin. In the west of this portion and connecting with it, there is the small portion that lies in the sixth section of the fourth zone. Connecting with it in the north is the portion that lies in the eastern part of the sixth section above. A part of the northwest corner of this section, where the Volga flows into it, is not covered by the Caspian Sea. In the east-

¹⁸¹ Seen. 96 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

¹⁸² Cf. W. Barthold in EI, s.v. "Arran."

¹⁸³ The Sarir have been identified with the Avars. *Sarir* "throne" is an abridged form for "Master of the Throne," as their ruler was known to the Arabs. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 447 fr.

ern region of this section there (also) remains a part which is not covered by the Caspian Sea. It consists of desert plains in which the Ghuzz, a Turk nation, roam. They are also called the Khtiz. (Ghuzz) looks like an Arabization, with *kh* becoming *gh*, and doubling of the *z*.¹⁸⁴ This part is surrounded by a mountain (range) to the south that enters the eighth section, runs not quite halfway through the western part, turns north, eventually touches the Caspian Sea, hugs it closely all the way through its remaining portion in the sixth zone, then turns at its end, and separates from it. There, it is called Mount Shiyah.¹⁸⁵ It runs westward to the sixth section of the sixth zone, then turns back south to the sixth section of the fifth zone. It is this end of the mountain (range) that lies in this section between the land of the Sarir and the land of the Khazars. The land of the Khazars extends along the slopes of the mountain called Mount Shiyah in the sixth and seventh sections, as will be mentioned.

The whole eighth section of the fifth zone contains desert plains where the Ghuzz, a Turkish nation, roam. In the south west is Lake Aral, into which the Oxus flows. Its circumference is three hundred miles. Many rivers flow into it from these desert plains. In the northeast is the Lake of Ghurghun,¹⁸⁶ a fresh-water lake. Its circumference is four hundred miles. In the northern region of this section stands Mount Murghar,¹⁸⁷ which means "Snow Mountain," because the snow on it never melts. It lies at the far end of the section. South of the Lake of Ghurghun there is a mountain of solid stone where nothing grows. It is called Ghurghun Mountain. The lake is named after it. In

¹⁸⁴The parenthesis is a marginal note in B and C, and is found incorporated in the text of D. Cf. also the *Autobiography*, p. 358. The Turkish tribes are again discussed by Ibn Khaldun, following al-Idrisi, in *Ibar*, V, 569 f.

¹⁸⁵Shiyah is always indicated in the MSS. *Siydh*, Persian "black," would be more correct. The Persian form of Mount Shiyah, Siyah Kuh, appears below, p. 161.

¹⁸⁶ Lake of Qaraqum?

¹⁸⁷Mugojar Mountains (see Minorsky, *Uudud*, p. 202, and map vn)?

Turkish *kar* means "snow."

the Ghurghun and Murghar Mountains north of the lake, innumerable rivers have their origin. They flow into the lake from both sides.

The ninth section of the fifth zone contains the country of the Adhkish,¹⁸⁸ a Turkish nation, west of the country of the Ghuzz, and east of the country of the Kimak. In the east at its end, (the section) is hugged by the Qifaya Mountains that surround Gog and Magog. They stretch there from south to north, assuming this direction right after entering from the tenth section, which they had, in turn, entered from the end of the tenth section of the fourth zone. There, they border the Surrounding Sea on the northern boundary of the section. They then turn west in the tenth section of the fourth zone and extend almost to the middle of the section. From where they begin to this point, they surround the country of the Kimak. Entering the tenth section of the fifth zone, they cross it in a westerly direction to its end. South of them remains a portion of that section that stretches west in an oblong shape and contains the end of the country of the Kimak.

The mountains, then, enter the ninth section at its northeastern border, soon turn north, and run due north to the ninth section of the sixth zone, where the Dam (of Gog and Magog) is situated, as we shall mention. There remains the portion that is surrounded by the Qufaya Mountains in the northeast corner of this section. It is oblong in shape and stretches southward. It belongs to the country of Gog. The tenth section of the fifth zone is entirely covered by the land of Gog, except for a portion of the Surrounding Sea which covers part of it in the east from south to north, and except for the portion that the Qufaya Mountains leave in the southwest on their way through the section. Everything else is the land of Gog.

The sixth zone

Half of the first section of the sixth zone is mostly covered by the sea, which stretches eastward in a curving line along the northern part, then runs

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Minorsky, *k uddd*, p. 547.

southward along the eastern part, and ends near the southern part (of the section). A portion of land in this part is not covered by the sea. It is similar in shape to a peninsula, formed by two arms of the Surrounding Sea. It is long and wide. All this is the land of Brittany. At the entrance to it, between those two arms (of the sea) and in the southeast corner of this section, there is the country of Sees which is adjacent to the country of Poitou. (The country of Poitou) has been mentioned before in connection with the first and second sections of the fifth zone.

The second section of the sixth zone is entered by the Surrounding Sea in the west and north. In the northwest, it covers an oblong portion (extending) over more than half (the south-north extension) of (the section),^{188a} east of Brittany (which was mentioned) in the first section. (This portion of the sea) connects with the other portion in the north (that extends) from west to east. It widens somewhat in the western half of (the section). There, a portion of the island of England is situated. It is a large, far-flung island which contains a number of cities and is the seat of a magnificent realm. The remainder of (England) lies in the seventh zone. South of and adjacent to this western part and the island located there, (and still) in the western half of this section, are the countries of Normandy and Flanders. Then, there is (northern) France in the southwest of this section, and, east of it, the country of Burgundy. All these countries belong to the European Christian nations. The eastern half of the section contains the country of the Germans (Alamanni). The south is taken up by the country of Aquileia, with the country of Burgundy farther north, and then the lands of Lorraine and Saxony. On a portion of the Surrounding Sea in the northeast corner, is the land of Frisia. All these countries belong to the German (Alamanni) nations.

The western part of the third section of the sixth zone contains, in the south, the country of Bohemia,¹⁸⁹ and in the north, the country of Saxony.

^{188a} *Nisfihi*, as in Bulaq and in A, B, C, and D, is the correct reading and requires the above translation.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Hoenerbach, *Deutschland and seine Nachbarlknder . . .*, p. 73.

The eastern part contains, in the south, the country of Hungary, and in the north, the country of Poland. (Hungary and Poland) are separated by the Carpathian Mountains (Balwat). They come from the fourth section, run northwest, and eventually end in the country of Saxony at the boundary of the western half (of this section).

The fourth section of the sixth zone, in the south, contains the country of Jathuliyah,^{189a} and, in the north, the country of Russia. They are separated by the Carpathian Mountains, from the beginning of the section in the west to its end in the eastern half. East of the land of Jathuliyah is the country of Jarmaniyah. In the southeast corner, there is the land of Constantinople and the city of Constantinople at the end of the straits coming from the Mediterranean, where it connects with the Black Sea. A small portion of the Black Sea connecting with the straits appears in the southeast corner of the section. The corner between the straits and the Black Sea contains Musannah [?].¹⁹⁰

The fifth section of the sixth zone, in the south, contains the Black Sea, stretching due east from the straits at the end of the fourth section. It traverses the whole of this section and part of the sixth section, covering a distance (in length) of 1,300 miles from its beginning and (in width) of 600 miles. Beyond the Black Sea in the south of this section, there remains a piece of the mainland which is oblong in shape and stretches from west to east. The (western portion) of it contains Heracleia¹⁹¹ on the shore of the Black Sea, (a city) adjacent to the country of al-Baylaqan in the fifth zone. In the east(ern portion) of it is the land of the Alans, with its principal place, Sinope, on the Black Sea. North of the Black Sea in this section is the land of

^{189a}Lewicki, *La Pologne . . .*, II, 179 f., 99 ff., corrects Jathuliyah to something like Macedonia (Serbia and Bulgaria), and the following Jarminiyah, which could hardly be Germany, to Rumania, Romania (see n. 531 to Ch. in).

¹⁹⁰C indicates, however, that the *s* is vowelless. Cf. Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 120, where reference is made to the attempted identifications with Mesemvria and with the Arabic word meaning "dam."

¹⁹¹See n. 25 to this chapter, above. Here, the spelling is *Hrqlyh*. In B, this is gained by correction from *Hrqlh*.

the Bulgars (Burjan)¹⁹² in the west, and in the east the country of Russia. All (these countries) lie on the shores of the Black Sea. The country of Russia surrounds the country of the Bulgars (Burjan), (bordering it) in the east(ern portion) of this section, in the north(ern portion) of the fifth section of the seventh zone, and in the west(ern portion) of the fourth section of the sixth zone.

The sixth section of the sixth zone contains in the west the remainder of the Black Sea, where it turns slightly north. Between the Black Sea and the northern boundary of the section is the country of the Comans.¹⁹³ Following the north ward direction of the Black Sea, there is the remainder of the country of the Alans, which was at the southern end of the fifth section and which here becomes wider as it extends northwards. In the eastern part of this section, the land of the Khazars continues, and farther east lies the land of the Burtas.¹⁹⁴ In the northeast corner is the land of the Bulgars (Bulghar). In the southeast corner is the land of Balanjar,¹⁹⁵ which is there traversed by a portion of Mount Shiyah.¹⁹⁶ These mountains follow (the coast of) the Caspian Sea later on in the seventh section, and, after separating from it, run west across this part (of the sixth section), and enter the sixth section of the fifth zone, where they are linked with the Mountains of the "Gates." The country of the Khazars lies on both sides of them.

The seventh section of the sixth zone contains in the south an area that Mount Shiyah cuts across, to the western boundary of the section, after leaving the Caspian Sea. It is a portion of the country of the Khazars. East of (the country of the Khazars) is the portion of (the coast of) the Caspian Sea that

¹⁹²See n. 26 to this chapter, above.

¹⁹³Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, p.315.

¹⁹⁴They have been identified with the Finnish Moksha-Mordva. Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 462 ff; Minorsky-Marvazi, p. 109; J. Hrbek, *Archiv Orientalni*, XXIII (1955), 129.

¹⁹⁵Cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 24) (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 68 (n. 2), 191 H., 298 (n.1).

¹⁹⁶*Jabal Shiyah Ku(ya)h*. See n. 185 to this chapter, above.

is traversed by Mount (Shiyah) in the northeast. Beyond Mount Shiyah, in the northwest, is the land of the Burps. In the east(ern portion) of the section is the land of the Bashqirs¹⁹⁷ and the Pechenegs,¹⁹⁸ Turkish nations.

The entire southern part of the eighth section of (the sixth zone) is occupied by the land of the Khulukh Turks.¹⁹⁹ The northern region contains in the west the Stinking Land²⁰⁰ and, in the east, the land Gog and Magog are said to have laid waste before the Dam was constructed. In this Stinking Land, the Volga, one of the largest rivers in the world, originates. It passes through the country of the Turks and flows into the Caspian Sea in the seventh section of the fifth zone. The Volga makes many turnings. It originates in a mountain in the Stinking Land, from which three streams issue and unite to form one river. It flows due west to the boundary of the seventh section of the sixth zone and turns north into the seventh section of the seventh zone, where it flows along the southwestern boundary. It leaves the seventh zone in the sixth section, flows a short distance west, then turns south a second time, and returns to the sixth section of the sixth zone, where a branch comes out of it and flows westward into the Black Sea in that section. (The Volga itself next) passes through a portion of the country of the Bulgars (Bulghar) in the northeast, leaves the sixth zone in the seventh section to turn south a third time, flows through Mount Shiyah, traverses the country of the Khazars, and enters the fifth zone in the seventh section. There it flows into the Caspian Sea, in that portion of the southwest corner of the section which is not covered by the sea.

The ninth section of the sixth zone, in the west, contains the country of the Khifshakh Turks-the Qipchaqs-and the country of the Turgish,²⁰¹ who

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Minorsky, *Hudud*, pp. 318 f.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Minorsky, *Huddd*, pp. 312 ff; Minorsky-Marvazi, pp. 102 f.

¹⁹⁹ See n. 132 to this chapter, above.

²⁰⁰ A. Zeki Validi Togan, *op. cit.*, p. 61 (n. 2), suggests that the term originally referred to the color or quality of the soil (black humus).

²⁰¹ Cf. Minorsky, *Huddd*, pp. 300 ff.

are also Turks. In the east, it contains the country of Magog which is separated from the west by the afore-mentioned surrounding^{201a} Qufaya Mountains. They start at the Surrounding Sea in the eastern part of the fourth zone, and follow (the Surrounding Sea) to the northern boundary of the zone. There, they leave it and run northwesterly until they enter the ninth section of the fifth zone, where they return to their former due northerly course into the ninth section of (the sixth zone), which they cross from south to north, bearing a little to the west. There, in the middle of (the mountains), is the Dam built by Alexander. The mountains, then, continue due north into the ninth section of the seventh zone, which they traverse from the south on up to the Surrounding Sea in the north. They follow along it from there westward into the fifth section of the seventh zone, where they encounter a portion of the Surrounding Sea to the west.

In the middle of this ninth section is the Dam built by Alexander, as we have said. Correct information about it is found in the Qur'an. 'Ubaydallah b. Khurradhbih mentioned in his geographical work²⁰² that al-Wathiq saw in a dream that the Dam had opened. Frightened, he awakened and sent Salim (Sallam) the dragoman to investigate the Dam and to bring back information about it and a description of it, which he did. This is a long story that has nothing to do with the purpose of our work.

The tenth section of the sixth zone is occupied by the country of Magog, extending to the end of (the section). There it borders on a portion of the Surrounding Sea which surrounds (the section) to the east and north. (This portion) is oblong in the north and widens somewhat in the east.

^{201a} Cf. above, p. 158, and below, p. 163.

²⁰² Cf. *Kitab al-Masalik wa-l-mamalih*, pp. 162 ff. (text); pp. 124 ff. (tr.). Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXI (1951), 138. For Ibn Khurradhbih as a source for al-Idrisi, seen. 57 to this chapter, above.

The seventh zone

The Surrounding Sea covers most of the seventh zone in the north (from the beginning) to the middle of the fifth section, where it touches the Qufaya Mountains that surround Gog and Magog.

The first and second sections are covered by water, except for the portion not covered by water where the island of England is located, most of which lies in the second section. In the first section, there is a corner of England which extends towards the north. The remainder, with a portion of the sea that encircles it, lies in the second section of the sixth zone. It was mentioned there. The channel connecting England with the mainland is there twelve miles wide. Beyond the island of England, in the north of the second section, is the island of Raslandah²⁰³ oblong in shape, stretching lengthwise from west to east.

Most of the third section of the seventh zone is covered by water, except for an oblong portion in the south that is wider in its eastern part. Here, the land of Poland continues. It was mentioned in connection with the third section of the sixth zone, as lying in the north of it. In the western part of the portion of the sea covering this section, there lies a round, wide (island). It is connected with the mainland by an isthmus in the south, which leads to the land of Poland. North of it is the island of Norway,²⁰⁴ oblong in shape, which stretches lengthwise from west to east in the north (of the section).

The fourth section of the seventh zone is entirely covered in the north by the Surrounding Sea from the western to the eastern (boundaries of the section). Its southern part is not covered by the sea. To the west, it contains the land of the Finland [?]²⁰⁵ Turks. To the east lies the country of Tavast,²⁰⁶

²⁰³ The vowel of the first syllable is entirely uncertain. Raslandah has been identified with Iceland or Ireland, but is considered an unidentified part of Scotland by W. B. Stevenson, *Scottish Historical Review*, XXV II (1948), 202-4.

²⁰⁴ Cf. O. J. Tallgren (Tuulio), *Studia Orientalia*, VI 3 (1936), 82 f.

²⁰⁵ Ibn Khaldun read *Faymdzak* or the like (perhaps rather, *Faymdzak*), which suggested something Turkish to him. For the reading Finmirk = Finland, cf. Tallgren, *ibid.*, pp. 119 ff.

followed by the land of Estonia [?]²⁰⁷ extending to the eastern boundary of the section. (Estonia) is permanently covered by snow and has little civilization. It borders on the country of Russia in the fourth and fifth sections of the sixth zone.

The fifth section of the seventh zone contains in the west the country of Russia. In the north, (Russia)^{207a} extends to where the portion of the Surrounding Sea and the Qufaya Mountains meet, as we have mentioned before. The eastern region of the section contains the continuation of the land of the Comans, which lies on (the shore of) a portion of the Black Sea in the sixth section of the sixth zone. It reaches the Lake of T-r-m-y²⁰⁸ in this section. This is a fresh-water lake into which drain many rivers from the mountains south and north of it. In the northeast of this section is the land of the Nabariyah²⁰⁹ Turks, which extends to the boundary of the section.

The sixth section of the seventh zone contains in the southwest the continuation of the land of the Comans. In the middle of that region is Lake Gh-n-w-n.²¹⁰ This is a freshwater lake into which drain the rivers from the mountains in the regions east of it. It is constantly frozen because of the severe cold, except for a short while during the summer. East of the country of the Comans is the country of Russia, which started in the northeast of the fifth section of the sixth zone. In the southeast corner of this (the sixth) section, is the remainder of the land of the Bulgars (Bulghar) that started in the northeastern part of the sixth section of the sixth zone. In the middle of

²⁰⁶ Tavastland, Hame. Cf. Tallgren, *ibid.*, pp. 122 ff.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Tallgren, *ibid.*, pp. 124 f. Ibn Khaldun's spelling looks like that of Raslindah, in the second section.

^{207a} The dots used in C in connection with the verb (*wa-tantahi*) make it certain that Russia (and not the section) is meant. However, the statement is hardly correct. On the sectional map of al-Idrisi, the "continuation of the land of the Magians" would seem to lie between Russia and the Surrounding Sea.

²⁰⁸ Tallgren, p. 163, compares Tyrambe, a city on the Sea of Azov, mentioned by Ptolemy V. 8.

²⁰⁹ Tallgren, pp. 170 ff., reads Biarma, which seems very plausible.

²¹⁰ Cf. *Minorsky, Hudud*, pp. 217 f. No identification has been suggested. The MSS seem to have `nnun or `tun, but `ayn is certainly not correct.

this portion of the land of the Bulgars, there is the point where the Volga makes its first turn to the south, as has been mentioned. The Qufaya Mountains stretch all along the northern boundary of the sixth section from the west to the east.

The seventh section of the seventh zone, in the west, contains the remainder of the land of the Pechenegs, a Turkish nation. Beginning in the northeastern part of the preceding sixth and southwest of this section, it then, in the south, enters the sixth zone. In the east, there is the remainder of the land of the Bashqirs, followed by the remainder of the Stinking Land, which extends to the eastern boundary of the section. The northern boundary of the section is formed by the surrounding Qufaya Mountains stretching (all along it) from the west to the east.

The eighth section of the seventh zone contains in the southwest the continuation of the Stinking Land. East of it is the Sunken²¹¹ Land, a remarkable place. It is an immense opening in the earth, so deep that the bottom cannot be reached. The appearance of smoke during the day and of fire at night, which by turns flares up and disappears, leads to the conclusion that the place is inhabited. A river is occasionally seen there. It cuts through it from south to north. In the east of this section is the Waste Country, which borders the Dam. Across the northern limit of the section are the Qufaya Mountains, stretching all along it from the west to the east.

The ninth section of the seventh zone contains in the west the country of the Khifshakh, that is, the Qipchaqs. It is traversed by the Qufaya Mountains where they turn away from the north (of the section) at the Surrounding Sea and run southeast through the middle (of the section). They then leave (this zone) for the ninth section of the sixth zone and pass across it. There, in the middle of them, is the Dam of Gog and Magog, which we have already mentioned. The eastern part of this section contains the land of Magog, be-

²¹¹ Lit., "dug."

hind the Qufaya Mountains, on the sea. It^{211a} is not very wide and is oblong in shape and surrounds it in the east and north.

The tenth section of the seventh zone is entirely covered by the sea.

This finishes the discussion of the world map with the seven zones.

In the creation of heaven and earth and the difference between night and day, there are signs for those who know.²¹²

I.3. THIRD PREFATORY DISCUSSION: The temperate and the intemperate zones. The influence of the air upon the color of human beings and upon many (other) aspects of their condition.

[p.1:167]

WE²¹³ HAVE EXPLAINED that the cultivated region of that part of the earth which is not covered by water has its center toward the north, because of the excessive heat in the south and the excessive cold in the north. The north and the south represent opposite extremes of cold and heat. It necessarily follows that there must be a gradual decrease from the extremes toward the center, which, thus, is moderate. The fourth zone is the most temperate cultivated region.

The bordering third and fifth zones are rather close to being temperate. The sixth and second zones which are adjacent to them are far from temperate, and the first and seventh zones still less so. Therefore, the sciences, the crafts, the buildings, 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 hu-

^{211a} Grammatically, this pronoun can refer only to the land of Magog, and the second "it" to the sea. However, al-Idrisi's sectional map shows that it is the sea which is not very wide and oblong in shape and surrounds the land of Magog.

²¹² Cf. Qur'anic verses such as 2.164 (159); 3.190 (187); 45.3-5 (2-4).

²¹³ Cf. Issawi, pp. 42-46.

man inhabitants of these zones are more temperate (well-proportioned) in their bodies, color, character qualities, and (general) conditions²¹⁴ They are found to be extremely moderate in their dwellings, clothing, food stuffs, and crafts. They use houses that are well constructed of stone and embellished by craftsmanship. They rival each other in production of the very best tools and implements. Among them, one finds the natural minerals, such as gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, and tin. In their business dealings they use the two precious metals (gold and silver). They avoid intemperance quite generally in all their conditions. Such are the inhabitants of the Maghrib, of Syria, the two 'Iraqs, Western India (as-Sind), and China, as well as of Spain; also the European Christians nearby, the Galicians,²¹⁵ and all those who live together with these peoples or near them in the three temperate zones. The 'Iraq and Syria are directly in the middle and therefore are the most temperate of all these countries.

The inhabitants of the zones that are far from temperate, such as the first, second, sixth, and seventh zones, are also farther removed from being temperate in all their conditions. Their buildings are of clay and reeds. Their foodstuffs are durra and herbs. Their clothing is the leaves of trees, which they sew together to cover themselves, or animal skins. Most of them go naked. The fruits and seasonings of their countries are strange and inclined to be intemperate. In their business dealings, 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. Their qualities of character, moreover, are close

²¹⁴ Bulaq adds here: "and religions, even including the various (manifestations of) prophecy that are mostly to be found there, in as much as no historical information about prophetic missions in the southern and northern zones has come to our notice. This is because only those representatives of the (human) species who have the most perfect physique and character are distinguished by prophets and messengers. The Qur'an says [3.110 (106)], 'You are the best group (ever) produced [for mankind.]' The purpose of this is to have the divine message of the prophets fully accepted."

The available MSS, including E, do not have this passage, which apparently was deleted by Ibn Khaldun very early as superfluous, in view of such later remarks as those below, pp. 169 and 173.

²¹⁵ Bulaq adds: "Romans (Rum), Greeks....."

to those of dumb animals. It has even been 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.²¹⁶ The same applies to the Slavs. The reason for this is that their remoteness from being temperate produces in them a disposition and character similar to those of the dumb animals, and they become correspondingly remote from humanity. The same also applies to their religious conditions. They are ignorant of prophecy and do not have a religious law, except for the small minority that lives near the temperate regions. (This minority includes,) for instance, the Abyssinians, who are neighbors of the Yemenites and have been Christians from pre-Islamic and Islamic times down to the present; and the Mali, the Gawgaw, and the Takrur who live close to the Maghrib and, at this time, are Muslims. They are said to have adopted Islam in the seventh [thirteenth] century. Or, in the north, there are those Slav, European Christian, and Turkish nations that have adopted Christianity. All the other inhabitants of the intemperate zones in the south and in the north are ignorant of all religion. (Religious scholarship is lacking among them. All their conditions are remote from those of human beings and close to those of wild animals. "And He creates what you do not know."²¹⁷

The (foregoing statement) is not contradicted by the existence of the Yemen, the Hadramawt, al-Ahqaf, the Hijaz, the Yamimah, and adjacent regions of the Arabian Peninsula in the first and second zones. As we have mentioned,²¹⁸ the Arabian Peninsula is surrounded by the sea on three sides. The humidity of (the sea) influences the humidity in the air of (the Arabian Peninsula). This diminishes the dryness and intemperance that (otherwise) the heat would cause. Because of the humidity from the sea, the Arabian Peninsula is to some degree temperate.

²¹⁶ See p. 119, above. See also 2:958 f., below.

²¹⁷ Qur'an 16.8 (8).

²¹⁸ See p. 100, above.

Genealogists 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 the slavery God inflicted upon his descendants. It is mentioned in the Torah²¹⁹ that Noah cursed his son Ham. No reference is made there to blackness. The curse included no more than that Ham's descendants should be the slaves of his brothers' descendants. To attribute the blackness of the Negroes to Ham, reveals disregard of the true nature of heat and cold and of the influence they exercise upon the air (climate) and upon the creatures that come into being in it. 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. The sun is at the zenith there twice a year at short intervals. In (al-most) all seasons, the sun is in culmination for a long time. The light of the sun, therefore, is plentiful.²²⁰ People there have (to undergo) a very severe summer, and their skins turn black because of the excessive heat. Something 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 visual field (of the human observer), or close to it. It never ascends to the zenith, nor even (gets) close to it. The heat, therefore, is weak in this region, and the cold severe in (almost) all seasons. In consequence, the color of the inhabitants is white, and they tend to have little body hair. Further consequences of the excessive cold are blue eyes, freckled skin, and blond hair.

²¹⁹Cf. Gen. 9:25.

²²⁰See p. 106, above.

The fifth, fourth, and third zones occupy an intermediate position. They have an abundant share of temperance²²¹ which is the golden mean. The fourth zone, being the one most nearly in the center, is as temperate as can be. We have mentioned that before.²²² The physique and character of its inhabitants are temperate to the (high) degree necessitated by the composition of the air in which they live. The third and fifth zones lie on either side of the fourth, but they are less centrally located. They are closer to the hot south beyond the third zone and the cold north beyond the fifth zone. However, they do not become intemperate.

The four other zones are intemperate, and the physique and character of their inhabitants show it. The first and second zones are excessively hot and black, and the sixth and seventh zones cold and white. The inhabitants of the first and second zones in the south are called the Abyssinians, the Zanj, and the Sudanese (Negroes). These are synonyms used to designate the (particular) nation that has turned black. The name "Abyssinians," however, is restricted to those Negroes who live opposite Mecca and the Yemen, and the name "Zanj" is restricted to those who live along the Indian Sea. These names are not given to them because of an (alleged) descent from a black human being, be it Ham or any one else. Negroes from the south who settle in the temperate fourth zone or in the seventh zone that tends toward whiteness, are found to produce descendants whose color gradually turns white in the course of time. Vice versa, inhabitants from the north or from the fourth zone who settle in the south produce descendants whose color turns black. This shows that color is conditioned by the composition of the air. In his *rajaz* poem on medicine, Avicenna said:

Where the Zanj live is a heat that changes their bodies
Until their skins are covered all over with black.

²²¹As we can observe throughout this chapter, the same Arabic word is used by Ibn Khaldun to designate temperateness of climate and living conditions, and the resulting temperance of moral qualities.

²²² See p. 167, above.

The Slavs acquire whiteness
Until their skins turn soft.²²³

The inhabitants of the north are not called by their color, because the people who established the conventional meanings of words were themselves white. Thus, whiteness was something usual and common (to them), and they did not see anything sufficiently remarkable in it to cause them to use it as a specific term. Therefore, the inhabitants of the north, the Turks, the Slavs, the Tughuzghuz,²²⁴ the Khazars, the Alans, most of the European Christians, the Gog and Magog are found to be separate nations²²⁵ and numerous races called by a variety of names.

The inhabitants of the middle zones are temperate in their physique and character and in their ways of life. They have all the natural conditions necessary for a civilized life, such as ways of making a living, dwellings, crafts, sciences, political leadership, and royal authority. They thus have had (various manifestations of) prophecy, religious groups, dynasties, religious laws, sciences, countries, cities, buildings, horticulture, splendid crafts, and everything else that is temperate.

Now, among the inhabitants of these zones about whom we have historical information are, for instance, the Arabs, the Byzantines (Rum), the Persians, the Israelites, the Greeks, the Indians, and the Chinese. When²²⁶ genealogists noted differences between these nations, their distinguishing marks and characteristics, they considered these to be due to their (different)

²²³ Cf. the translation of Avicenna's poem by K. Opitz in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, VII (1939), 162, vv. 50-51. The same work appears to have been the subject of a study by H. Jahier and A. Nouredine, in *IV^e Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés de Gynécologie et d'Obstétrique* (1952), pp. 50-59, and of a new edition and translation by the same authors, published in 1956.

On the subject of the origin of the black and the white colors of skin, cf. also *Rasa'il Ikhwan as-safa'* (Cairo, 1347/1928), I, 233 f.

²²⁴ See n. 139 to this chapter, above.

²²⁵ Bulaq and B have "names."

²²⁶ Cf. Issawi, p. 50.

descents. They declared all the Negro inhabitants of the south to be descendants of Ham. They had misgivings about their color and therefore undertook to report the afore-mentioned silly story. They declared all or most of the inhabitants of the north to be the descendants of Japheth, and they declared most of the temperate nations, who inhabit the central regions, who cultivate the sciences and crafts, and who possess religious groups and religious laws as well as political leadership and royal authority, to be the descendants of Shem. Even if the genealogical construction were correct, it would be the result of mere guesswork, not of cogent, logical argumentation. It would merely be a statement of fact. It would not imply that the inhabitants of the south are called "Abyssinians" and "Negroes" because they are descended from "black" Ham. The genealogists were led into this error by their belief that the only reason for differences between nations is in their descent. This is not so. Distinctions between races or nations are in some cases due to a different descent, as in the case of the Arabs, the Israelites, and the Persians. In other cases, they are caused by geographical location and (physical) marks, as in the case of the Zanj (Negroes), the Abyssinians, the Slavs, and the black (Sudanese) Negroes. Again, in other cases, they are caused by custom and distinguishing characteristics, as well as by descent, as in the case of the Arabs. Or, they may be caused by anything else among the conditions, qualities, and features peculiar to the different nations. But to generalize and say that the inhabitants of a specific geographical location in the south or in the north are the descendants of such-and-such a well-known person because they have a common color, trait, or (physical) mark which that (alleged) forefather had, is one of those errors which are caused by disregard, (both) of the true nature of created beings and of geographical facts. (There also is disregard of the fact that the physical circumstances and environment) are subject to changes that affect later generations; they do not necessarily remain unchanged.

Cf. Qur'an 33:62 (62), 35:43 (41), 48:23 (25). The last sentence is also often translated, "You will not necessarily remain unchanged." The translation given in the text appears to represent the meaning as intended by the Prophet. It would be difficult to be certain about Ibn Khaldun's understanding of the passage. Qur'an commentators, such as al-Bayjawi, combine both translations.

This is how God proceeds with His servants. And verily, you will not be able to change God's way.²²⁷

I.4. FOURTH PREFATORY DISCUSSION: The influence of the air (climate) upon human character.

[p.1:174]

WE²²⁸ H A V E S E E N that Negroes are in general characterized by levity, excitability, and great emotionalism. They are found eager to dance whenever they hear a melody.²²⁹ They are everywhere described as stupid. The real reason for these (opinions) is that, as has been shown by philosophers in the proper place, joy and gladness are due to expansion and diffusion of the animal spirit. Sadness is due to the opposite, namely, contraction and concentration of the animal spirit. It has been shown that heat expands and rarefies air and vapors and increases their quantity. A drunken person experiences inexpressible joy and gladness, because the vapor of the spirit in his heart is pervaded by natural heat, which the power of the wine generates in his spirit. The spirit, as a result, expands, and there is joy. Likewise, when those who enjoy a hot bath inhale the air of the bath, so that the heat of the air enters their spirits and makes them hot, they are found to experience joy. It often happens that they start singing, as singing has its origin in gladness.

Now, Negroes live in the hot zone (of the earth). Heat dominates their temperament and formation. Therefore, they have in their spirits an amount of heat corresponding to that in their bodies and that of the zone in which they live. In comparison with the spirits of the inhabitants of the fourth zone, theirs are hotter and, consequently, more expanded. As a result, they are

²²⁸Cf. Issawi, pp. 46 f.

²²⁹Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869),151, and *Supplement au.r dictionnaires arabes*, II, 831b. Cf. also A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 157. For the theory that expansion and contraction of the animal spirit cause joy or sadness, cf. F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Early Islam*, p. 137.

more quickly moved to joy and gladness, and they are merrier. Excitability is the direct consequence.

In the same way, the inhabitants of coastal regions are somewhat similar to the inhabitants of the south. The air in which they live is very much hotter because of the reflection of the light and the rays of (the sun from) the surface of the sea. Therefore, their share in the qualities resulting from heat, that is, joy and levity, is larger than that of the (inhabitants of) cold and hilly or mountainous countries. To a degree, this may be observed in the inhabitants of the Jarid in the third zone. The heat is abundant in it and in the air there, since it lies south of the coastal plains and hills. Another example is furnished by the Egyptians. Egypt lies at about the same latitude as the Jarid. The Egyptians are dominated by joyfulness, levity, and disregard for the future. They store no provisions of food, neither for a month nor a year ahead, but purchase most of it (daily) in the market. Fez in the Maghrib, on the other hand, lies inland (and is) surrounded by cold hills. Its inhabitants can be observed to look sad and gloomy and to be too much concerned for the future. Although a man in Fez might have provisions of wheat stored, sufficient to last him for years, he always goes to the market early to buy his food for the day, because he is afraid to consume any of his hoarded food.

If one pays attention to this sort of thing in the various zones and countries, the influence of the varying quality of the air upon the character (of the inhabitants) will become apparent. God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."²³⁰ Al-Masudi undertook to investigate the reason for the levity, excitability, and emotionalism in Negroes, and attempted to explain it. However, he did no better than to report, on the authority of Galen and Ya'qub b. Ishaq al-Kindi, that the reason is a weakness of their brains which results in

²³⁰ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

a weakness of their intellect.²³¹ This is an inconclusive and unproven statement. "God guides whomever He wants to guide."²³²

I.5. FIFTH PREFATORY DISCUSSION: Differences with regard to abundance and scarcity of food in the various inhabited regions ('umran) and how they affect the human body and character.

[p.1:177]

IT²³³ 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 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 seasonings 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. They obtain no more than the bare necessity, and sometimes less, and in no case enough for a comfortable or abundant life. They are mostly

²³¹Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, I, 164 f. For the famous ninthcentury philosopher al-Kindi, see *GAL*, I, 209 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 372 ff. From among the many recent publications concerning him, we may mention M. 'A. Abu Ridah, *Rasd'il al-Kindi al-falsafiyah* (Cairo, 1369-72/1950-53). Cf. also R. Walzer, "The Rise of Islamic Philosophy," *Oriens*, III (1950), 1-19.

²³²Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

²³³Cf. Issawi, pp. 47-49. 177

found restricted to milk, which is for them a very good substitute for wheat. In spite of this, the desert people who lack grain and season-ings are found to be healthier in body and better in character than the hill people who have plenty of everything. Their complexions are clearer, their bodies cleaner, their figures more perfect and better, their characters less intemperate, and their minds keener as far as knowledge and perception are concerned. This is attested by experience in all these groups. There is a great difference in this respect between the Arabs and Berbers (on the one hand), and the Veiled (Berbers)²³⁴ and the inhabitants of the hills (on the other). This fact is known to those who have investigated the matter.

As to the reason for it, it may be tentatively suggested that a great amount of food and the moisture it contains generate pernicious superfluous matters in the body, which, in turn, produce a disproportionate widening of the body, as well as many corrupt, putrid humors. The result is a pale complexion and an ugly figure, because the person has too much flesh, as we have stated. When the moisture with its evil vapors ascends to the brain, the mind and the ability to think are dulled. The result is stupidity, carelessness, and a general intemperance. This can be exemplified by comparing the animals of waste regions and barren habitats, such as gazelles, wild cows (*maha*), ostriches, giraffes, onagers, and (wild) buffaloes (cows, *bagar*), with their counterparts among the animals that live in hills, coastal plains, and fertile pastures. There is a big difference between them with regard to the glossiness of their coat, their shape and appearance, the proportions of their limbs, and their sharpness of perception.²³⁵ The gazelle is the counterpart of the goat, and the giraffe that of the camel; the onagers and (wild) buffaloes (cows) are identical with (domestic) donkeys and oxen (and cows). Still, there is a wide difference between them. The only reason for it is the fact that

²³⁴ Ibn Khaldun has just mentioned them as belonging to the former group. Cf. *A. Schimmel, Ibn Chaldun*, p. 26 (n. 9).

²³⁵ Cf. pp. 292 f., below.

the abundance of food in the hills produces pernicious superfluous matters and corrupt humors in the bodies of the domestic animals, the influence of which shows on them. Hunger, on the other hand, may greatly improve the physique and shape of the animals of the waste regions.

The same observations apply to human beings. We find that the inhabitants of fertile zones where the products of agriculture and animal husbandry as well as seasonings and fruits are plentiful, are, as a rule, described as stupid in mind and coarse in body. This is the case with those Berbers who have plenty of seasonings and wheat, as compared with those who lead a frugal life and are restricted to barley or durra, such as the Masmudah Berbers and the inhabitants of as-Sus and the Ghumarah. The latter are superior both intellectually and physically. The same applies in general to the inhabitants of the Maghrib who have plenty of seasonings and fine wheat, as compared with the inhabitants of Spain in whose country butter is altogether lacking and whose principal food is durra. The Spaniards are found to have a sharpness of intellect, a nimbleness of body, and a receptivity for instruction such as no one else has. The same also applies to the inhabitants of rural regions of the Maghrib as compared with the inhabitants of settled areas and cities. Both use many seasonings and live in abundance, but the town dwellers only use them after they have been prepared and cooked and softened by admixtures. They thus lose their heaviness and become less substantial. Principal foods are the meat of sheep and chickens. They do not use butter because of its tastelessness. Therefore the moisture in their food is small, and it brings only a few pernicious superfluous matters into their bodies. Consequently, the bodies of the urban population are found to be more delicate than those of the inhabitants of the desert who live a hard life. Likewise, those inhabitants of the desert who are used to hunger are found to have in their bodies no superfluous matters, thick or thin.

It should be known that the influence of abundance upon the body is apparent even in matters of religion and divine worship. The frugal inhab-

itants of the desert and those of settled areas who have accustomed themselves to hunger and to abstinence from pleasures are found to be more religious and more ready for divine worship than people who live in luxury and abundance. Indeed, it can be observed that there are few religious people in towns and cities, in as much as people there are for the most part obdurate and careless, which is connected with the use of much meat, seasonings, and fine wheat. The existence of pious men and ascetics is, therefore, restricted to the desert, whose inhabitants eat frugally. Likewise, the condition of the inhabitants within a single city can be observed to differ according to the different distribution of luxury and abundance.

It can also be noted that those people who, whether they inhabit the desert or settled areas and cities, live a life of abundance and have all the good things to eat, die more quickly than others when a drought or famine comes upon them. This is the case, for instance, with the Berbers of the Maghrib and the inhabitants of the city of Fez and, as we hear, of Egypt (Cairo). It is not so with the Arabs who inhabit waste regions and deserts, or with the inhabitants of regions where the date palm grows and whose principal food is dates, or with the present-day inhabitants of Ifriqiyah whose principal food is barley and olive oil, or with the inhabitants of Spain whose principal food is durra and olive oil. When a drought or a famine strikes them, it does not kill as many of them as of the other group of people, and few, if any, die of hunger. As a reason for that, it may tentatively be suggested that the stomachs of those who have everything in abundance and are used to seasonings and, in particular, to butter, acquire moisture in addition to their basic constitutional moisture, and (the moisture they are used to) eventually becomes excessive. Then, when (eating) habits are thwarted by small quantities of food, by lack of seasonings, and by the use of coarse food to which it is unaccustomed, the stomach, which is a very weak part of the body and for that reason considered one of the vital parts, soon dries out and contracts. Sickness and sudden death are prompt consequences to the

man whose stomach is in this condition. Those who die satiation, not of the hunger that now afflicts them for the first time. In those who are accustomed to thirst^{235a} and to doing without seasonings and butter, the basic moisture, which is good for all natural foods, always stays within its proper limits and does not increase. Thus, their stomachs are not affected by dryness or intemperance in consequence of a change of nourishment. As a rule, they escape the fate that awaits others on account of the abundance of their food and the great amount of seasonings in it.

The basic thing to know is that foodstuffs, and whether to use or not to use them, are matters of custom. Whoever accustoms himself to a particular type of food that agrees with him becomes used to it. He finds it painful to give it up or to make any changes (in his diet), provided (the type of food) is not something that does not fulfill the (real) purpose of food, such as poison, or alkaloids,²³⁶ or anything excessively intemperate. Whatever can be used as food and is agreeable may be used as customary food. If a man accustoms himself to the use of milk and vegetables instead of wheat, until (the use of them) gets to be his custom, milk and vegetables become for him (his habitual) food, and he definitely has no longer any need for wheat or grains.

The same applies to those who have accustomed themselves to suffer hunger and do without food. Such things are reported about trained (ascetics). We hear remarkable things about men of this type. Those who have no knowledge of things of the sort can scarcely believe them. The explanation lies in custom. Once the soul gets used to something, it becomes part of its make-up and nature, because (the soul) is able to take on many colorings. If through gradual training it has become used to hunger, (hunger) becomes a natural custom of the soul.

^{235a} Aymah means, in particular, "thirsting after milk."

²³⁶ Cf. Bombaci, p. 444. Yatta' may be specifically Euphorbia, but below, p. 183, it is used as a general term for alkaloids taken as cathartics.

The assumption of physicians that hunger causes death is not correct, except when a person is exposed suddenly to hunger and is entirely cut off from food. Then, the stomach is isolated, and contracts an illness that may be fatal. 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 also 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.

We personally saw a person who had taken no food for forty or more consecutive days. Our *shaykhs* were present at the court of Sultan Abul-Hasan²³⁷ when two women from Algeciras and Ronda were presented to him, who had for years abstained from all food. Their story became known. They were examined, and the matter was found to be correct. The women continued this way until they died. Many persons we used to know restricted themselves to (a diet of) goat's milk. They drank from the udder sometime during the day or at breakfast.^{237a} This was their only food for fifteen years. There are many others (who live similarly). It should not be considered unlikely.

It should be known that everybody who is able to suffer hunger or eat only little, is physically better off if he stays hungry than if he eats too much. Hunger has a favorable influence on the health and well-being of body and intellect, as we have stated. This may be exemplified by the different influence of various kinds of food upon the body. We observe that those persons who live on the meat of strong, large bodied animals grow up as a (strong and large-bodied) race. Comparison of the inhabitants of the desert with those of

²³⁷The Merinid of Fez who ruled from 1331 to 1351 and was the predecessor of Abu Inan, under whom Ibn Khaldun came to Fez.

^{237a}Or, "when breaking their fast." This may be the preferable translation, even though Ibn Khaldun does not seem to think of ascetics in this passage.

settled areas shows this. The same applies to persons who live on the milk and meat of camels. This influences their character, so that they become patient, persevering, and able to carry loads, as is the case with camels.²³⁸ Their stomachs also grow to be healthy and tough as the stomachs of camels. They are not beset by any feebleness or weakness, nor are they affected by unwholesome food, as others are. They may take strong (alkaloid) cathartics unadulterated to purify their bellies, such as, for instance, unripe colocynths, *Thapsia garganica*, and Euphorbia. Their stomachs do not suffer any harm from them. But if the inhabitants of settled areas, whose stomachs have become delicate because of their soft diet, were to partake of them, death would come to them instantly, because (these cathartics) have poisonous qualities.

An indication of the influence of food upon the body is a fact that has been mentioned by agricultural scholars²³⁹ and observed by men of experience, that when the eggs of chickens which have been fed on grain cooked in camel dung, are set to hatch, the chicks come out as large as can be imagined. One does not even have to cook any grain to feed them; one merely smears camel dung on the eggs set to hatch, and the chickens that come out are extremely large. There are many similar things.

When we observe the various ways in which food exercises an influence upon bodies, there can be no doubt that hunger also exercises an influence upon them, because two opposites follow the same pattern with regard to exercising an influence or not exercising an influence. Hunger influences the body in that it keeps it free from corrupt superfluities and mixed fluids that destroy body and intellect, in the same way that food influenced the (original) existence of the body.

God is omniscient.

²³⁸This remark occurs in an appendix to L. Mercier's translation of Ibn Hudhayl, *La Parure des cavaliers* (Paris, 1924), p. 355. The author of the appendix, however, is not the fourteenth-century Ibn Hudhayl, or any other old author, but the modern Muhammad Pasha. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 887.

²³⁹That is, people familiar with works on agriculture such as the *Falahah an-Nabatiyah*; cf. 3:151 f., below. Cf. also n. 151 to Ch. iv.

I.6. SIXTH PREFATORY DISCUSSION: The various types of human beings who have supernatural perception either through natural disposition or through exercise, preceded by a discussion of inspiration and dream visions.

[p.1:184]

IT SHOULD BE KNOWN that God has chosen certain individuals. He honored them by addressing (them). He created them so that they might know Him. He made them connecting links between Himself and His servants. (These individuals) are to acquaint their fellow men with what is good for them and to urge them to let themselves be guided aright. They are to make it their task to keep (their fellow men) out of the fire of Hell and to show them the path to salvation. The knowledge that God gave these individuals, and the wonders He manifested through their statements, indicated that there exist things beyond the reach of man, that can be learned only from God through the mediation of (these individuals), and that (these individuals themselves) cannot know unless God instructs them in them. Muhammad said: "Indeed, I know only what God taught me." It should be known that the information they give is intrinsically and necessarily true, as will become clear when the reality of prophecy is explained.

The sign by which this type of human being can be recognized is that, in the state of inspiration, they seem to be removed from those who are present. This is accompanied by a feeling of being choked that looks like swooning or unconsciousness but has nothing to do with either.^{239a} In reality, it is an immersion in (and) encounter with the spiritual kingdom, the result of perceptions congenial to them but entirely foreign to the (ordinary) perceptions of men. (These extraordinary perceptions) are then brought down to the level of human perceptions in the form of some speech sound the person

^{239a} Cf. 2:423, below.

(who receives the revelation) hears and is able to understand, or in the form of an individual delivering the divine message to him. This state (of remoteness) then leaves him, but he retains the content of the given revelation. When Muhammad was asked about revelation, he said: "At times, it comes to me like the ringing of a bell. This affects me most. When it leaves me, I have retained what was said. At other times, the angel appears to me in the form of a man. He talks to me, and I retain the things he says."²⁴⁰ During that (process, the person who receives the revelation) shows inexplicable signs of strain and choking. A tradition says: "There was some anxiety in connection with the revelation that he had to calm."²⁴¹ 'A'ishah said: "The revelation would come to him on very cold days. Nevertheless, when it left him, there was sweat on his forehead."²⁴² God says in the Qur'an: "We shall lay upon you a heavy message."²⁴³

Because the act of receiving revelations leads to such conditions, the polytheists used to accuse the prophets of being possessed (by jinn). They said: "He has *a jinnias* his doubleganger, or companion." The outward appearance of the condition they observed misled them. "He whom God leads astray has no guide."²⁴⁴

Another sign by which inspired human beings can be recognized is the fact that (even) before receiving revelations, they are good, innocent, and averse to any blameworthy, sinful action. This is what is meant by 'ismah (immunity from sin and error, infallibility). It looks as if, by nature, they were disposed to avoid and shun blameworthy actions, and as if such actions were the negation of their very nature. According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, when Muhammad was a young man he carried stones with his uncle al-'Abbas for the restoration of the Ka'bah. He was carrying them in his

²⁴⁰ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, ed. Krehl (Leiden, 1862-1908), I, 4.

²⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 1, 6; IV, 490. Cf. also *Concordance*, III, 78b. Cf. p. 201, below.

²⁴² Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 4.

²⁴³ Qur'an 73.5 (5).

²⁴⁴ Qur'an 13.33 (33); 39.23 (24), 36 (37); 40.33 (35).

cloak, and thus, he was undressed. (As this was unbecoming,) he fell down in a swoon that lasted until he was covered with his cloak.²⁴⁵ (On another occasion,) he was invited to a wedding party where there was much merry-making. He fell fast asleep, and slept until the sun rose. Thus, he had nothing to do with the things the others did on that occasion. God kept him from all that. It was his nature. He even avoided food that was considered objectionable. Thus, he never touched onions or garlic. When he was asked about it, he said: "I communicate with One with whom you do not communicate."²⁴⁶

Attention should be paid (in this connection) to what Muhammad told Khadijah about the revelation when he first experienced it, and she wanted to know what it was like. She asked him to embrace her, and when he did so, it left him. Khadijah, thereupon, said that it was an angel, and not a devil, meaning that (a devil) would not come close to a woman. She also asked him what garments he liked best (for the angel) to wear during the revelation, and he replied, "White and green ones." Whereupon Khadijah said that it was an angel, meaning that green and white are the colors of goodness and of the angels. Black, on the other hand, is the color of evil and of the devils. There are other such stories.

Another sign by which (inspired human beings can be recognized) is the fact that they make propaganda for religion and divine worship by means of prayer, almsgiving, and chastity. Khadijah, as well as Abu Bakr, took that (conduct) as proof of Muhammad's truthfulness. They did not need any further proof of his mission beyond his conduct and character. According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, when Heraclius received the Prophet's

²⁴⁵ This does not refer to Muhammad's decision in the quarrel over the honor of replacing the Black Stone. Legend tells that he had it placed upon a garment and lifted into position by several rival groups. It refers to Muhammad's carrying ordinary stones to help with the restoration. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 400. For variations in the story, see, for instance, Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, II, 287 f., or Ibn Sayyid-an-nas, *Uyun al-athar* (Cairo, 1356/1937-58), I, 44 f., where we also find the story of the wedding. Cf. also T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds . . .*, pp. 124 ff.; I. Goldziher in *EL*, s.v. 'Isma.'

²⁴⁶ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 219; IV, 444 f. Cf. also *Handbook*, p. 155b.

letter in which he was asked to become a Muslim, he is said to have called the Qurashites who could be found in his country, among them Abu Sufyan, and to have asked them about Muhammad's condition. One of the questions he asked concerned the things Muhammad commanded them to do. Abu Sufyan's reply was: "Prayer, almsgiving, gifts, and chastity." Similar replies were given to all the other questions Heraclius asked. Heraclius' comment was: "If it is all really as you say, he is a prophet and he will take possession of this very ground upon which I am standing."²⁴⁷ The "chastity" to which Heraclius referred is *'ismah* (immunity from sin and error, infallibility). It is worth noting that Heraclius considered *'ismah* and propaganda for religion and divine worship as proofs of the genuineness of a prophetic mission, and did not require a miracle. This story, therefore, is proof that these qualities are among the signs of prophecy.

Another sign by which (inspired human beings can be recognized) is the fact that they have prestige among their people. According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, God "sent no prophet who did not enjoy the protection of his people."²⁴⁸ Another recension reads: ". . . who did not enjoy wealth among his people."²⁴⁹ This is al-Hakim's correction of the two *Sahihs*²⁵⁰ According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, Abu Sufyan replied to Heraclius' question concerning Muhammad's standing among the Qurashites, (by saying) that he had prestige among them. Whereupon Heraclius said, "Whenever messengers are sent, they have prestige among their people."²⁵¹ That means that (such a man) has group feeling and influence which pro-

²⁴⁷ al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 7 f., and, for further references, *Handbook*, p. 97. Cf. also below, 3:42.

²⁴⁸ Cf. also pp. 322 and 414, below.

²⁴⁹ Cf. *Concordance*, I, 291a. Since the reference to "wealth" was inappropriate in the case of Muhammad, "wealth" has been explained to mean "great number," or "protection, power, influence."

²⁵⁰ Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, al-Hikim an-Nisiburi, 321-405 [933-1014]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 166; *Suppl.*, I, 276 f. Cf. his *Mustadrak 'ala l-Sahihayn* [of al-Bukhari and Muslim] (Hyderabad, 1334-42/1915-29), II, 561.

²⁵¹ The term *ahsdb* is used in this story in al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 215; *Concordance*, I, 464b, II, 32 f.

tect him from harm at the hands of unbelievers, until he has delivered the messages of his Lord and achieved the degree of complete perfection with respect to his religion and religious organization that God intended for him.

Another²⁵² sign by which (inspired human beings can be recognized) is that they work wonders which attest to their truthfulness. "Wonders"²⁵³ are actions the like of which it is impossible for other human beings to achieve. They are, therefore, called "miracles." They are not within the ability of men, but beyond their power. There is a difference of opinion as to how they occur and as to how they prove the truth of the prophets. Speculative theologians base them selves on the doctrine of the "voluntary agent"²⁵⁴ and say that miracles occur through the power of God, and not through the action of the prophet. The Mu'tazilah maintain that human actions proceed from man himself. Still, miracles do not belong to the type of actions that human beings perform. According to all (schools), the prophet's place in the performance of miracles is (circumscribed by) the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*)²⁵⁵ which he offers by divine permission. That is, the prophet uses the miracles before they occur as proof of the truth of his claims. They thus take

²⁵² The text from here to p. 192, l. 22, is found in C on an inserted slip.

²⁵³ *Khawariq* are things that "break through" the ordinary course of affairs. *Mu'jazahis* "miracle" in the sense of something done by a prophet in confirmation of his mission. The terms may be used as synonyms, but, in general, "wonders" are considered inferior to "miracles," where both terms occur together.

²⁵⁴ Cf. 2:372, below, and *Rasa'il Ikhwan as-safa'*, III, 319 f.

²⁵⁵ *Tahaddi*, literally, means that the prophet seeks the people out, that he "goes to them and challenges them (*tahaddahum*)," by announcing his impending miracle and daring them to perform something similar. Ibn Khaldun explains the term as "the claim made in advance that the miracle will happen in agreement with the prophetic announcement"; cf. 3:100 and 170, below. Instead of "advance challenge," another suitable translation would be "advance information." Already in his *Lubab al-Muhassal* (Tetuan, 1952), p. 111, Ibn Khaldun used the same definition of "miracle" he repeats here at greater length.

For the problem of *tahaddi* in Muslim theology, see, for instance, alBagillani, *Tamhid*, pp. 114, 121 f., 126-29; *idem*, *I'jaz al-Qur'an* (Cairo, 1315/1898), pp. 116 f.; Imam al-Haramayn, *Irshad* (Cairo, 1369/1950), p. 313; Ibn Ilazm, *Faf* (Cairo, 1317-21), V, 2 and 7 f.

the place of an explicit statement from God to the effect that a particular prophet is truthful, and they are definite proof of the truth. An evidential miracle is the combination of a "wonder" and the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) that (announces) it. Therefore, the latter constitutes part of the miracle.

The notion of the speculative theologians (concerning the "voluntary agent") is self-explanatory. (The "voluntary agent") is (just) one. For they hold that "essential" means (being just one).^{255a} According to the notion of the speculative theologians, the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) is what makes the difference between (miracles, on the one hand), and acts of divine grace and sorcery (on the other), since (the latter) two need no confirmation of their truthfulness. The "advance challenge" (if it occurs at all in these cases) exists (in them) only by chance.

In the opinion of those who admit the existence of acts of divine grace, if an "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) occurs in connection with them, and if it is proof of them, it is proof only of saintliness, which is different from prophecy. This is why Professor Abu Ishaq²⁵⁶ and others did not admit the occurrence of wonders as acts of divine grace. They wanted to avoid confusion between the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) of the saint and prophecy. We, however, have (just) shown that there is a difference between the two. The "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) of a saint is concerned with other things than that of a prophet. There can be no doubt that the report on the authority of Professor Abu Ishaq is not clear and has often led to denial of (the possibility) that the wonders of the prophets could have been wrought by (saints), on the grounds that each of the two groups has its own kind of wonders.

^{255a}Following de Slane's doubtful suggestions, we might translate the very difficult passage as follows: "Therefore, the latter constitutes part of the miracle, or, to use the expression of speculative theologians, is its specific quality. It is one, for (speculative theologians) hold that (oneness) is the meaning of essential." There are, however, more objections to this translation than to the one given in the text.

²⁵⁶ Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Isfarayini, d. 418 (10271). Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, 1, 667; Abu I-Muzaffar al-Isfarayini, *at-Tabcir fi d-din* (Cairo, 1359/1,940), p. 119. Cf. also pp. 223, 393, and 3:100, below.

The Mu'tazilah do not admit the occurrence of acts of divine grace, because wonders do not belong to the actions of man that are customary and allow of no break (in the customary process).

It is absurd to believe that miracles could be produced fraudulently by a liar. According to the Ash'arites, this is absurd because the essential part of a miracle is defined as "confirmation of truthfulness and right guidance." Were a miracle to occur under the contrary conditions, proof would become doubt, guidance misguidance, and, I might add, the confirmation of truthfulness, untruth. Realities would become absurdities, and the essential qualities would be turned upside down. Something, the occurrence of which would be absurd, cannot be possible.²⁵⁷

According to the Mu'tazilah, fraudulent miracles are absurd, because it is improper for proofs to turn into doubts and for guidance to turn into misguidance. Such, therefore, could not come from God.

The philosophers hold that wonders are acts of the prophet (who performs them, even though they have no place in the power (of the prophet himself). This is based upon their doctrine that (there exists) an essential and necessary (causality) and that events develop out of each other according to conditions and reasons that (always) come up anew and, in the last instance, go back to the Necessary *per se* that acts *per se* and not by choice. In their opinion, the prophetic soul has special essential qualities which produce wonders, with the help of the power of (the Necessary *per se*) and the obedience of the elements to Him for purposes of generation. (The role of) the prophet (in this process), in their opinion, is that through those qualities that God put into him, he is by nature fitted for being active among (all) created things, whenever he addresses himself to them and concentrates on them. They hold that wonders are wrought by the prophet (himself), whether there is an "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) or not. They are evidence of the prophet's truthfulness, in as much as they prove that he is active among the

²⁵⁷ Cf., for instance, al-Isfarayin, p. 104.

created things, such activity constituting a special quality of the prophetic soul, not because they take the place of a clear assertion of his truthfulness. In their opinion, therefore, (wonders) are no definitive proof (of the prophet's truthfulness), as they are in the opinion of the speculative theologians. "Advance awareness," for them, does not constitute part of the miracle. It does not stand out as the thing that differentiates (miracles) from acts of divine grace. They hold that (miracles) are differentiated from sorcery by the fact that a prophet is by nature fitted for good actions and averse to evil deeds. Therefore, he could not do evil through the wonders he works. The opposite is the case with the sorcerer. All his actions are evil and done for evil purposes.²⁵⁸ Further, (miracles) are differentiated from acts of divine grace by the fact that the wonders of a prophet are of an unusual character, such as ascending to heaven, passing through solid bodies, reviving the dead, conversing with angels, and flying through the air.²⁵⁹ The wonders of a saint, on the other hand, are of a lower order, such as making much out of little, speaking about something that will happen in the future, and similar things inferior to the power of action of prophets. A prophet can produce the wonders of saints, but a saint is not able to produce anything like the wonders of prophets. This has been confirmed by the Sufis in what they have written about the mystic path and reported of their ecstatic experiences.

Now that this has been established, it should be known that the evidence of the noble Qur'an, which was revealed to our Prophet, is the greatest, noblest, and clearest miracle. Wonders are as a rule wrought by a prophet separately and apart from the revelation he receives. The miracle comes as evidence for it(s truthfulness). This is obvious. The Qur'an, on the other hand, is in itself the claimed revelation. It is itself the wondrous miracle. It is its own proof. It requires no outside proof, as do the other wonders wrought in connection with revelations. It is the clearest proof that can be, because it

²⁵⁸ Cf. 3:167, below.

²⁵⁹ Cf. 3:279, below.

unites in itself both the proof and what is to be proved. This is the meaning of Muhammad's statement, "Every prophet was given signs likely to provide reassurance for mankind. What I have been given is a revelation that was revealed to me. Therefore, I hope to have the greatest number of followers on the day of resurrection."^{259a} He refers to the fact that a miracle which is identical with the revelation (confirmed by it), is of such clarity and force of evidence that it will be found truthful, because of its clarity, by the greatest number of people. Therefore, many are those who consider (the Prophet) truthful and believe. They are the "followers," the nation of Islam.

And God, praised be He, knows better.

All²⁶⁰ this indicates that the Qur'an is alone among the divine books, in that our Prophet received it directly²⁶¹ in the words and phrases in which it appears. In this respect, it differs from the Torah, the Gospel, and other heavenly books. The prophets received them in the form of ideas during the state of revelation. After their return to a human state, they expressed those ideas in their own ordinary words. Therefore, those books do not have "inimitability."²⁶² Inimitability is restricted to the Qur'an. The other prophets received their books in a manner similar to that in which our Prophet received (certain) ideas that he attributed to God, such as are found in many traditions.²⁶³ The fact that he received the Qur'an directly, in its literal form,

^{259a} Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 391; IV, 419.

²⁶⁰ The text from here to p. 194, l. 3, below, appears (to my knowledge) only in MS. Ragib Pala 978, fol. 47a (and in the Paris edition). In the MS. Ragib Pala, the text is contained in a marginal note accompanied by the remark: "I found it this way in the manuscript written in the handwriting of the excellent Qatari, following the autograph (*'ala khatt*) of the author." Cf. p. xcix, above, and p. 230, below.

²⁶¹ *Mathuw* "recited"; cf. pp. 260, 437, and 3:113, 284, below.

²⁶² It should not be forgotten that *i'jāz* "inimitability" is formed from the same root as *mu jīzah* "miracle." Both convey the idea of something that ordinary mortals are too weak to achieve, and by which they are confounded.

²⁶³ The *hadith qudsi* "holy traditions." Cf. S. M. Zwemer in *Der Islam*, XI (1923), 53-65, and L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (2d ed.; Paris, 1954), pp. 135 f. Cf. also 3:88, below.

is attested by the following statement of Muhammad on the authority of his Lord who said: "Do not set your tongue in motion to make haste with (the revelation of the Qur'an). It is up to us to put it together and to recite it."²⁶⁴

The reason for the revelation of these verses was Muhammad's haste to study the (Qur'anic) verses, because he feared that he might forget (them), and because he wished to keep the directly and literally revealed text in memory. God guaranteed him that He (Himself) would "keep" it in the following verse: "We revealed the reminder, and we are keeping it."²⁶⁵ This is the meaning of "keeping" which is peculiar to the Qur'an. The meaning of it is not what the common people think. (Their opinion) is far off the mark.

Many verses of the Qur'an show that He directly and literally revealed the Qur'an, of which every *surah* is inimitable. Our Prophet wrought no greater miracle than the Qur'an and the fact that he united the Arabs in his mission. "If you had expended all the treasures on earth, you would have achieved no unity among them. But God achieved unity among them."²⁶⁶

This should be known. It should be pondered. It will then be found to be correct, exactly as I have stated. One should also consider the evidence that lies in the superiority of Muhammad's rank over that of the other prophets and in the exaltedness of his position.

We shall now give an explanation of the real meaning of prophecy as interpreted by many thorough scholars. We shall then mention the real meaning of soothsaying, dream vision, divination, and other supernatural ways of perception. We say:

(The real meaning of prophecy)

It²⁶⁷ should be known that we-May God guide you and us²⁶⁸ notice that this world with all the created things in it has a certain order and solid

²⁶⁴ Qur'an 75.16 f. (16 f.).

²⁶⁵ Qur'an 15.9 (9).

²⁶⁶ Qur'an 8.63 (64).

²⁶⁷ Cf. Issawi, pp. 164 f. For the discussion that follows here, see below, 2:419 ff. and 3:70 ff.

construction. It shows nexuses between causes and things caused, combinations of some parts of creation with others, and transformations of some existent things into others, in a pattern that is both remarkable and endless. Beginning with the world of the body and sensual perception, and therein first with the world of the visible elements, (one notices) how these elements are arranged gradually and continually in an ascending order, from earth to water, (from water) to air, and (from air) to fire. Each one of the elements is prepared to be transformed into the next higher or lower one, and sometimes is transformed. The higher one is always finer than the one preceding it. Eventually, the world of the spheres is reached. They are finer than anything else. They are in layers which are interconnected, in a shape which the senses are able to perceive only through the existence of motions. These motions provide some people with knowledge of the measurements and positions of the spheres, and also with knowledge of the existence of the essences beyond, the influence of which is noticeable in the spheres through the fact (that they have motion).

One should then look at the world of creation. It started out from the minerals and progressed, in an ingenious, gradual manner, to plants and animals. The last stage²⁶⁹ 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 connected with the first stage of animals, such as snails and shellfish which have only the power of touch. The word "connection" with regard to these created things means that the last stage of each group is fully prepared to become the first stage of the next group.

The animal world then widens, its species become numerous, and, in a gradual process of creation, it finally leads to man, who is able to think and to reflect. The higher stage of man is reached from the world of the monkeys,

²⁶⁸ For the use of such formulas to introduce the communication of esoteric knowledge, cf. n. 925 to Ch. vi.

²⁶⁹ Lit., "horizon."

in which both sagacity and perception are found, but which has not reached the stage of actual reflection and thinking. At this point we come to the first stage of man after (the world of monkeys). This is as far as our (physical) observation extends.

Now, in²⁷⁰ the various worlds we find manifold influences. In the world of sensual perception there are certain influences of the motions of the spheres and the elements. In the world of creation there are certain influences of the motions of growth and perception. All this is evidence of the fact that there is something that exercises an influence and is different from the bodi(ly substances). This is something spiritual. It is connected with the created things, because the various worlds must be connected in their existence. This spiritual thing is the soul, which has perception and causes motion. Above the soul there must exist something else that gives the soul the power of perception and motion, and that is also connected with it. Its essence should be pure perception and absolute intellection. This is the world of the angels. The soul, consequently, must be prepared to exchange humanity for angelicity, in order actually to become part of the angelic species at certain times in the flash of a moment. This happens after the spiritual essence of the soul has become perfect in actuality, as we shall mention later on.

(The soul) is connected with the stage next to it, as are all the orders of the *existentia*, as we have mentioned before. It is connected both upward and downward. Downward, it is connected with the body. Through (the body, the soul) acquires the sense perceptions by which it is prepared for actual intellection.²⁷¹ Upward, it is connected with the stage of the angels. There, it acquires scientific and supernatural perceptions, for knowledge of the things that come into being exists timelessly in the intellections of (the angels). This is in consequence of the well-constructed order of existence mentioned

²⁷⁰ Cf. Issawi, pp. 170-74. 195

²⁷¹ Cf. P. 215, below.

above, which requires that the essences and powers of (the world of existence) be connected with one another.

The human soul cannot be seen, but its influence is evident in the body. It is as if all (the body's) parts, in combination or separately, were organs of the soul and its powers. The powers of action are touching with the hand, walking with the foot, speaking with the tongue, and the total combined motion with the body.

The powers of sensual perception are graded and ascend to the highest power, that is, the power of thinking, for which there exists the term "rational power." Thus, the powers of external sense perception, with the organs of vision, hearing, and all the other (organs), lead up to inward (perception).

The first (inward sense) is the "common sense,"²⁷² that is, the power that simultaneously perceives all objects of sensual perception, whether they belong to hearing, seeing, touching, or anything else. In this respect, it differs from the power of external sense perception, as the objects of sensual perception do not all crowd upon external sense perception at one and the same time.

The common sense transfers (the perceptions) to the imagination, which is the power that pictures an object of sensual perception in the soul, as it is, abstracted from all external matter. The organ for the activity of these two powers (common sense and imagination) is the first cavity of the brain. The front part of that cavity is for the common sense, and the back part for the imagination.

Imagination leads up to the estimative power²⁷³ and the power of memory. The estimative power serves for perceiving (abstract) ideas that refer to individualities, such as the hostility of Zayd, the friendship of 'Amr, the

²⁷² *Al-Hiss al-mushtarik*: κοινή αἰσθησις. Cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Vocabulaires compares d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sina* (Paris, 1939), p. 7; S. van den Bergh (tr.), *Averroes' Tahafut al-Tahafut* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. No.19) (London, 1954), I, 333 ff.

²⁷³ Cf. A.-M. Goichon, p. 40, and F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology* (Oxford & London, 1952), pp. 79 ff.

compassion of the father, or the savagery of the wolf. The power of memory serves as a repository for all objects of perception, whether they are imagined or not. It is like a storehouse that preserves them for the time when they are needed. The organ for the activity of these two powers is the back cavity of the brain. The front part of that cavity is for the estimative power, and the back for the power of memory.

All these powers then lead up to the power of thinking. Its organ is the middle cavity of the brain. It is the power that causes reflection to be set in motion and leads toward intellection. The soul is constantly moved by it, as the result of its constitutional desire to (think). It wants to be free from the grip of power²⁷⁴ and the human kind of preparedness. It wants to proceed to active intellection by assimilating itself to the highest spiritual group (that of the angels), and to get into the first order of the *spiritualia* by perceiving them without the help of bodily organs. Therefore, the soul is constantly moving in that direction. It exchanges all humanity and human spirituality for angelicity of the highest stage, without the help of any acquired faculty but by virtue of a primary natural disposition that God has placed in it.

As far as this (process) is concerned, human souls are of three kinds. One is by nature too weak to arrive at spiritual perception. Therefore, it is satisfied to move downwards toward the perceptions of the senses and imagination and the formation of ideas with the help of the power of memory and the estimative power, according to limited rules and a special order. In this manner, people acquire perceptive and apperceptive²⁷⁵ knowledge, which is the product of thinking in the body. All this is (the result of the power of) imagination and limited in extent, since from the way it starts it can reach the primary (*intelligibilia*) but cannot go beyond them. Also, if

²⁷⁴ That is, the lower human powers.

²⁷⁵ *Tasawwur* and *tasdiq*. Cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina*, pp. 191 ff., 179 f.

they are corrupt, everything beyond them is also corrupt.²⁷⁶ This, as a rule, is the extent of human corporeal perception. It is the goal of the perceptions of scholars. It is in it that scholars are firmly grounded.

A (second) kind (of soul), through thinking, moves in the direction of spiritual intellection and (a type of) perception that does not need the organs of the body, because of its innate preparedness for it. The perceptions of this kind of soul extend beyond the primary (*intelligibilia*) to which primary human perception is restricted, and cover the ground of inward observations, which are all intuitive²⁷⁷ They are unlimited as to their beginning and their end. They are the perceptions of saints, of men of mystical learning and divine knowledge. The blessed obtain them after death, in Purgatory (*barzakh*).²⁷⁸

A (third) kind (of soul) is by nature suited to exchange humanity altogether, both corporeal 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 speech²⁷⁹ and divine address during that moment. (Individuals possessing

²⁷⁶ Cf. Bombaci, p. 444.

²⁷⁷ The term *wijdan*, with the adjective *wijdani*, is used repeatedly by Ibn Khaldun; see below, pp. 207, 230, 2:48, 3:71 f., 83, 85, 89, 101, 155, 252, 295, and 360. Basically, Ibn Khaldun's understanding of it corresponds to the one commonly found in philosophical literature. For instance, al-Iji in his commentary on the *Mukhtasar* of Ibn al-Hajib, one of the legal works that Ibn Khaldun studied in his boyhood, distinguishes five types of perceptions: (1) Internal observations, called *wijdaniyat*, i.e., those not requiring the services of the intellect, such as hunger, thirst, and pain; animals also possess this type of perception. (2) Primary (intellectual) observations. (3) Observations by means of the senses. (4) Observations by experience. And (5) continuous (traditional) knowledge. Cf. al-Iji, *Sharh 'ala Mukhtasaral-Muntaha li-Ibn al-Hajib* (Constantinople, 1307/1889-90), p. 19.

Ibn Khaldun thus uses the term for "intuition, observation by means of inner, emotional feeling." It should be noted, however, that he also uses *wijdan* parallel with *wujud* "existence" in *Ibar*, V, 437; VI, 7. The meaning of "existing" for *wijduni* may, for instance, apply below, n. 1027 to Ch. vi. Cf. also 2:340, below.

²⁷⁸ Cf. M. Schreck in *EI*, s.v. "Barzakh," and 3:69 ff., below.

²⁷⁹ Cf. 3:39, below.

this kind of soul) are prophets. God implanted and formed in them the natural ability to slough off humanity in that moment which is the state of revelation. God freed them from the lets and hindrances of the body, by which they were afflicted as human beings. He did this by means of *'ismah* (immunity from sin and error, infallibility) and straightforwardness, which He implanted in them and which gave them that particular outlook, and by means of a desire for divine worship which He centered in them and which converges from all sides toward that goal. They thus move toward the (angelic) stage, sloughing off humanity at will, by virtue of their natural constitution, and not with the help of any acquired faculty or craft.

(The prophets) move in that direction, slough off their humanity, and, once among the highest group (of angels), learn all that may there be learned. They then bring what they have learned back down to the level of the powers of human perception, as this is the way in which it can be transmitted to human beings. At times, this may happen in the form of a noise the prophet hears. It is like indistinct words from which he derives the idea conveyed to him. As soon as the noise has stopped, he retains and understands (the idea). At other times, the angel who conveys (the message) to the prophet appears to him in the form of a man who talks to him, and the prophet comprehends what he says. Learning the message from the angel, reverting to the level of human perception, and understanding the message conveyed to him - all this appears to take place in one moment, or rather, in a flash. It does not take place in time, but everything happens simultaneously. Therefore, it appears to happen very quickly. For this reason, it is called *wahy* ("revelation"), because the root *why* has the meaning "to hasten."²⁸⁰

It should be known that in the judgment of thorough scholars, the first (degree), the state of noise, is that of prophets who are not sent as messen-

²⁸⁰ Etymology is known to be one of the weakest spots in ancient and medieval scholarship. Actually, *why* appears to be related to Aramaic *hwy* "to show, inform" and to Palmyrenian words such as *mwh'* and *twhyt*.

gers. The second degree, the state when an angel appears in the form of a man who addresses the prophet, is that of prophets who are sent as messengers. Therefore, it is more perfect than the first (degree). This is the meaning of the tradition in which the Prophet explained revelation, in reply to a question by al-Harith b. Hisham.²⁸¹ Asked how the revelation came to him, Muhammad replied, "At times, it comes to me like the ringing of a bell. This affects me most. When it leaves me, I have retained what was said. At other times, the angel appears to me in the form of a man. He talks to me, and I retain the things he says." The first (case) affected him more, being the first attempt to advance from potential to actual contact (with the supernatural). Thus, it was somewhat difficult. When the Prophet returned, in this case, to the level of human perceptions, all he retained was auditory (impressions). All others were difficult. When the revelation was repeated and the messages became numerous, contact (with the supernatural) became easy. When the Prophet returned to the level of human perceptions, now all his senses-and especially the clearest sense, that of vision-conveyed (the revelation).

The use of the perfect tense "I have retained" in the first case, and of the present tense "I retain" in the second, is a meaningful stylistic distinction. In both cases, the words that were spoken (during the revelation) came in a disguise. In the first case, they appeared in the form of "noise," which, according to accepted usage, is something different from speech. Muhammad indicated that understanding and comprehension followed immediately upon it after it had stopped. He properly used the perfect tense, which is suitable (to signify) what has ended or stopped, in order to indicate comprehension at the moment he perceived that (the noise) had ended and stopped.²⁸² In

²⁸¹ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 161 f. Cf. also p. 185, above.

²⁸² Comprehension, in this case, was an action of the past that happened but once, hence the perfect. Whereas in the other case it was a continuous and repeated action in the past, hence the present. This distinction is, of course, based upon the supposed meaning of Arabic tenses, which do not correspond exactly with English tenses. The Arabic "perfect" is a completed action; the Arabic present/future, for which Arabists use the more correct term "imperfect," may refer to repeated action.

the second case, the angel appeared in the form of a man who addressed the Prophet and spoke to him. Comprehension (in this case) ran parallel with speech. Therefore, Muhammad properly used the present tense, which of necessity expresses renewed (repeated) activity.

It should be known that, in general, the state of revelation presents difficulties and pains throughout. This has been indicated in the Qur'an:²⁸³ "We shall lay upon you a heavy message." 'A'ishah said: "There was some anxiety in connection with the revelation, with which he had to struggle." She said: "The revelation would come to him on very cold days. Nevertheless, when it left him, there was sweat on his forehead." This is the reason for his well-known remoteness (from sensual perception) and the choking (feeling) when in that condition, of which the Prophet used to speak. The reason, as we have established, is that revelation means leaving one's humanity, in order to attain angelic perceptions and to hear the speech of the soul.²⁸⁴ This causes pain, since it means that an essence leaves its own essence and exchanges its own stage for the ultimate stage (of the angels). This is the meaning of the choking feeling which Muhammad referred to in connection with the beginning of revelation in his statement: "And he (Gabriel) choked me until it became too much for me; then he released me. Then he said, 'Read,' and I replied, 'I cannot read.'²⁸⁵ He did this a second and a third time, as the tradition tells.

Gradual habituation to (the process of revelation) brings some relief, as compared to how it was before. It is for this reason that the earliest passages, *surahs*, and verses of the Qur'an, revealed to Muhammad in Mecca, are briefer than those revealed to him in Medina. One may compare the tradition about how the ninth *surah* (*Surat al-Bara'ah*) was revealed, dur-

²⁸³ For this quotation from the Qur'an and the following two traditions, see p. 185, above. Cf. also 3:73, below.

²⁸⁴ Cf. 3:39, below.

²⁸⁵ Cf. also p. 261, below.

ing the expedition to Tabuk. The whole of this (*long surah*), or most of it, was revealed to Muhammad while he was riding his camel.²⁸⁶ Before this, when he was in Mecca, part of one of the shortest *surahs* in the latter part of the Qur'an²⁸⁷ was revealed on one occasion, and the rest on another occasion. Also, one of the last revelations received in Medina was the "Verse of the Religion,"²⁸⁸ which is very long. Before this, in Mecca, the verses revealed were short, like those of the *surahs ar-Rahman, adh-Dhariyat, al-Muddaththir, ad-Duha, and al-'Alaq*,²⁸⁹ and similar *surahs*. This may serve as criterion for distinguishing the Meccan *surahs* and verses from the Medinese. God leads to that which is correct. This is the quintessence of prophecy.

Soothsaying (*kahanah*) is also one of the particular qualities of the human soul. This is as follows.

In the previous discussion, we have always stated that the human soul is prepared to exchange its humanity for the spirituality that lies above (humanity). Human beings have an intimation of that (exchange) in prophets who are by nature fitted to achieve it. It has been established that they neither need acquired qualities for that (exchange), nor are they dependent on any help from perceptions, notions (*tasawwur*), bodily activities, be they speech or motion, or anything else. It is (with them) a natural change from humanity to angelicity in the flash of a moment.

If this is so and if such preparedness exists in human nature, logical classification requires that there must be another kind of human beings, as inferior to the first kind as anything that has something perfect as its opposite, must be inferior to that (perfect) opposite. Independence from all help

²⁸⁶ Cf. 3:73, below.

²⁸⁷ The term *al-mufassal* used by Ibn Khaldun refers to the *surahs* near the end of the Qur'an, beginning with *surah* 49 (or, according to certain other scholars, with some *surah* close to it). Cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan* (Cairo, 1317/1899), 1, 65 (Ch. 18).

²⁸⁸ Qur'an 5.3 (4-5).

²⁸⁹ *Surahs* 55, 51, 74, 93, and 96, respectively.

in (achieving contact with the supernatural) is the opposite of dependence on help in connection with it. They are two very different things.

Now, the classification of the world of existence requires that there must be a kind of human beings fitted by nature for the process of thinking voluntarily under the impulse of their rational power, whenever that power has a desire for it. (But the rational power) is not by nature capable of (the process of supernatural perception). Thus, when its weakness prevents (the rational power) from (contact with the supernatural), it is natural for (the rational power) to get involved with particulars, either of sensual perception or of the imagination, such as transparent bodies, animal bones, speech in rhymed prose, or whatever bird or animal may present itself. (A person whose rational power is thus engaged) attempts to retain such sensual or imaginary perceptions, since he depends on their help in attaining the supernatural perception he desires. They give him a sort of assistance.

The power which in (such persons) constitutes the starting point of supernatural perception is soothsaying. The souls of such persons are inferior by nature and unable to attain perfection. Therefore, they have a better perception of particulars than of universals. They get involved with the former and neglect the latter. Therefore, the power of imagination is²⁹⁰ most strongly developed in those persons, because it is the organ of the particulars. (The particulars) completely pervade (the power of the imagination),²⁹¹ both in the sleeping and the waking state. They are ever ready and present in it. The power of imagination brings (the particulars) to the attention of (those persons) and serves as a mirror in which they are seen constantly.

The soothsayer is not able to achieve perfection in his perception of the *intelligibilia*, because the revelation he receives is inspired by devils. The highest state this type of person can reach is to achieve disregard for the senses, with the help of rhymed prose and the use of words of an identi-

²⁹⁰ The MSS add "not." Bulaq applies the necessary correction.

²⁹¹ Cf. (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghayah*, ed. H. Ritter (Leipzig & Berlin, 1933), p. 84.

cal structure at the end of successive cola,²⁹² and (thereby) to attain an imperfect contact of the sort described (with supernatural things). From that motion and the foreign support that accompanies it, his heart receives some inspiration to express itself in words. The soothsayer, thus, often speaks the truth and agrees with reality. Often, however, what he says are falsehoods, because he supplements his deficiency with something foreign to, different from, and incompatible with, his perceptive essence. Thus, truth and falsehood are umbled together in him, and he is not trustworthy. He often takes refuge in guesses and hypotheses, because, in his self-deception, he desires to have (supernatural) perception and is willing to cheat those who ask him (for information).

Men who use such rhymed prose are distinguished by the name of soothsayers (*kahin*, pl. *kuhhan*). They rank highest among their kind. Muhammad said, regarding something of the sort, "This belongs to the rhymed prose of the soothsayers."²⁹³ The use of the genitive construction ("rhymed prose of") indicates that Muhammad considered rhymed prose a distinctive (mark of the soothsayer). He also questioned Ibn Sayyad,²⁹⁴ in order to find out about him, and he asked him how that thing came to him. Ibn Sayyid replied: "It comes to me in the form of both truth and falsehood." Whereupon Muhammad said, "You are confused with regard to the matter." He meant that prophecy is characterized by truthfulness and can in no way be affected by falsehood. For prophecy is a direct and independent contact of the essence of the prophet with the most high group (the angels). Because

²⁹² For *muwazanah*, a term of literary criticism, seen. 1576 to Ch. vi.

²⁹³ Ibn Khaldun seems to be thinking of Muhammad's statement about someone belonging to the brotherhood (*ikhwan*) of the soothsayers. Cf. *Concordance*, I, 35b. Since Muhammad himself used *saj* "rhymed prose" in the Qur'an, there was a tendency among Muslim scholars not to regard it as the exclusive property of soothsayers. See, for example, Majd-ad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah*, IV, 43.

²⁹⁴ The story of Ibn Sayyid is found in al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 261 f.; IV, 153. Cf. also *Concordance*, II, 61a, 11. 12 f. Nothing definite is known about Ibn Sayyid who is said to have become a Muslim and to have died in 63 [682]. Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, IV, 251, and G. Levi Della Vida, *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, XII (Algiers, 1954) p. 27 (n. 60).

of his weakness, the soothsayer depends on the help of foreign notions (*tasawwur*). (These foreign notions) enter into his perception and mingle with the perception toward which he aspires. He thus becomes confused by them. So it is that falsehood makes its way to his (door). It is, therefore, impossible (for his activity) to be prophecy.

We have stated that the highest rank of soothsaying is the state in which rhymed prose is used, because the support derived from rhymed prose is lighter than any other support, such as that derived from vision or hearing. Such light support (as is given by the use of rhymed prose) points to nearness of contact and perception and to a certain freedom from weakness.

Some people assume that soothsaying of this type stopped with the time of prophecy, as the result of the stoning of the devils with meteors, in view of the prophetic mission, which occurred in order to keep them away from heavenly information, as is mentioned in the Qur'in,²⁹⁵ The soothsayers had received heavenly information from the devils, and now, from the day on which the devils were stoned, soothsaying ceased to exist. There is no proof for this contention. Soothsayers obtain knowledge from their own souls as well as from the devils, as we have established. Furthermore, the verse of the Qur'an shows only that the devils were kept away from one particular kind of heavenly information, namely, that connected with the (prophetic) mission. They were not kept from other information. Also, soothsaying stopped only in view of the existence of prophecy. It may afterwards have returned to its former state. This would seem to be an obvious (fact), because all such (supernatural) perceptions are in abeyance at the time of prophecy, just as stars and lamps lose their brilliance beside the sun. Prophecy is the greatest light, in whose presence every other light is obscured or disappears.

Some philosophers think that (soothsaying) exists only in view of prophecy, and then stops.²⁹⁶ This happens at each occurrence of prophecy.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Qur'an 15.17 ff. (17 ff.); 37.7 ff. (7 ff.).

²⁹⁶ Cf. also p. 224, below.

They argue that the existence of prophecy needs a particular constellation that makes it necessary. The perfection of that constellation coincides with the perfection of the particular prophecy to which the constellation has reference. As long as the constellation is imperfect, it requires the existence of some imperfect related element. This is the meaning of "soothsayer," as we have established it. The perfect state of the constellation is preceded by an imperfect one, which requires the existence of one or more soothsayers. When the constellation reaches perfection, the prophet's existence reaches perfection. The constellations that point to the existence of a(n inferior) element such as soothsaying have passed by, and soothsaying ceases to exist.²⁹⁷ This (theory) is based upon the assumption that any part of a particular constellation must exercise part of the influence that the constellation (in its perfect state) would exercise. This assumption is not fully acceptable. It may be that a particular constellation exercises its influence only when it has taken on its proper form. If some aspects are missing, it may exercise no influence whatever, not even, as they say, a restricted influence.

Soothsayers who are a prophet's contemporaries are aware of the prophet's truthfulness and the significance of his miracle, since they derive some intuitive²⁹⁸ experience from prophecy, such as every human being derives from sleep. Intellectual awareness of this relationship is stronger in the soothsayer than in the sleeper. What prevents soothsayers from acknowledging the truthfulness of the prophet, and causes them to deny (him), is simply their misguided desire to be prophets themselves. This leads them to spiteful opposition. This happened to Umayyah b. Abi s-Salt, who desired to be a prophet. It also happened to Ibn Sayyid, Musaylimah, and others²⁹⁹ When faith gains the upper hand and they stop aspiring to become prophets

²⁹⁷Cf. Bombaci, p. 445.

²⁹⁸ Cf. n. 277 to this chapter, above.

²⁹⁹For Umayyah b. Abi s-Salt, a famous poet of Muhammad's time, cf. GAL, I, 27 f.; *Suppl.*, 1, 55 f. For Ibn Sayyad, cf. n. 294, above. For the pseudo-prophet Musaylimah, cf. F. Buhl in *EI*, s.v. "Musailima."

themselves, they make the most faithful of believers. This happened to Tulayhah al-Asadi and Qarib b. al-Aswad.³⁰⁰ The actions of these two men in the Muslim conquest show that they were faithful believers.

(Dream visions)

Real dream vision is an awareness on the part of the rational soul in its spiritual essence, of glimpse(s) of the forms of events. While the soul is spiritual, the forms of events have actual existence in it, as is the case with all spiritual essences. The soul becomes spiritual through freeing itself from bodily matters and corporeal perceptions. This happens to the soul (in the form of) glimpse(s) through the agency of sleep, as we shall mention. Through (these glimpses) (the soul) gains the knowledge of future events that it desires and by means of which it regains the perceptions that (properly) belong to it. When this process is weak and indistinct, the soul applies to it allegory and imaginary pictures, in order to gain (the desired knowledge). Such allegory, then, necessitates interpretation.³⁰¹ When, on the other hand, this process is strong, it can dispense with allegory. Then, no interpretation is necessary, because (the process) is then free from imaginary pictures.

The occurrence, in the soul, of such glimpse(s) is caused by the fact that the soul is potentially a spiritual essence, supplemented by the body and the perceptions of (the body). Its essence, thus, eventually becomes pure intellection, and its existence becomes perfect in actuality. The soul, now, is a spiritual essence having perception without the help of any of the bodily organs. However, among the *spiritualia*, it is of a lower species than the angels, who inhabit the highest stage, and who never had to supplement their essences with corporeal perceptions or anything else. The preparedness (for spirituality) comes to (the soul) as long as it is in the body. There is a

³⁰⁰For the pseudo-prophet Tulayhah, cf. V. Vacca in *El, s.v.* "Tulaihah." For Qarib, cf. Ibn Hajar, *Isabah* (Calcutta, 1856-73), III, 434 H., No. 1164.

³⁰¹*Ta'bir* specifically is the interpretation of dreams, of which a special discussion is devoted, 3:103 ff., below.

special kind (of preparedness), such as saints have, and there is a general kind common to all human beings. This is what "dream vision" means.

In the case of the prophets, this preparedness is a preparedness to exchange humanity for pure angelicality, which is the highest rank of *spiritualia*. It expresses itself repeatedly during revelations. It exists when (the prophet) returns to the level of corporeal perceptions. Whatever perception (the prophet) has at that moment is clearly similar to what happens in sleep, even though sleep is much inferior to (revelation).

Because of this similarity, the Lawgiver (Muhammad) defined dream vision as being the forty-sixth - or, according to other recensions, the forty-third, or the seventieth-part of prophecy.³⁰² None of these (fractions) is meant to be taken literally. They are to indicate the great degree of difference between the various stages (of supernatural perception). This is shown by the reference to "seventy" in one of the recensions. The number "seventy" is used by the Arabs to express (the idea of) a large number.

The reference to "forty-six" has been explained by some scholars as follows. In its beginning, the revelation took the form of dream visions for six months, that is, for half a year. The whole duration of (Muhammad's) prophecy in Mecca - and Medina was twenty-three years. Half a year, thus, is one forty-sixth (of the whole duration of prophecy). This theory cannot be verified. The given (figures) apply only to Muhammad. How can we know whether they also applied to other prophets? Moreover, this (theory) describes the relationship of prophecy to dream vision in point of time only, and does not consider the true character of dream visions in relation to the true character of prophecy. If our previous remarks were clear, it will be realized that the fraction refers to the relationship between the primary

³⁰² Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sabih*, IV, 348 ff.; *Concordance*, II, 409b, 11. 21 f.; I, 296b, last line. Cf. also, for instance, Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, pp. 322, 326. Fractions mentioned by Ibn Hazm, *Fasl*, V, 20, are one twenty-sixth, one forty-sixth, and one-seventieth. Cf. also 3:103 and 107, below.

preparedness general to all mankind, and the close preparedness limited to the (prophets) and natural to them.

The remote preparedness is commonly found among human beings. However, there are many obstacles and hindrances that prevent man from translating it into actuality. One of the greatest hindrances is the external senses. God, therefore, created man in such a way that the veil of the senses could be lifted through sleep, which is a natural function of man. When that veil is lifted, the soul is ready to learn the things it desires to know in the world of Truth (*haqq*). At times, it catches a glimpse of what it seeks. Therefore, the Lawgiver (Muhammad) classified dream visions among "the bearers of glad tidings" (*mubashshirat*). He said, "Nothing remains of prophecy except the bearers of glad tidings." Asked what they were, he said: "A good dream vision, beheld by - or shown to - a good man."³⁰³

The reason why the veil of the senses is lifted in sleep is as follows.³⁰⁴ The perceptions and actions of the rational soul are the result of the corporeal animal spirit. This spirit is a fine vapor which is concentrated in the left cavity of the heart, as stated in the anatomical works of Galen and others.³⁰⁵ It spreads with the blood in the veins and arteries, and makes sensual perception, motion, and all the other corporeal actions possible. Its finest part goes up to the brain. There, it is tempered by the coldness of (the brain), and it effects the actions of the powers located in the cavities of the brain. The rational soul perceives and acts only by means of that vaporous spirit. It is connected with it. (This connection is) the result of the wisdom of creation which requires that nothing fine can influence anything coarse. Of all the corporeal matters, only the animal spirit is fine. Therefore, it is receptive to the influence of the essence, which differs from it only in respect of corpo-

³⁰³ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 346. Cf. also 3:103, below.

³⁰⁴ For the following discussion, cf. 3:104 ff., below.

³⁰⁵ Cf. also p. 74, above.

reality, that is, the rational soul. Thus, through the medium of (the animal spirit), the influence of the rational soul reaches the body.

We have stated before³⁰⁶ that the perception of the rational soul is of two kinds. There is an external perception through the five senses, and an inward perception through the cerebral powers. All these perceptions divert the rational soul from the perception for which³⁰⁷ it is prepared by nature, (namely, that) of the essences of the *spiritualia*, which are higher than it.

Since the external senses are corporeal, they are subject to weakness and lassitude as the result of exertion and fatigue, and to spiritual exhaustion through too much activity. Therefore, God gave them the desire to rest, so that perfect perception may be renewed afterwards. Such (rest) is accomplished by the retirement of the animal spirit from all the external senses and its return to the inward sense. This process is supported by the cold that covers the body during the night. Under the influence of the cold of the night, the natural heat repairs to the innermost recesses of the body and turns from its exterior to the interior. It thus guides its vehicle, the animal spirit, into the interior of the body. This is the reason why human beings, as a rule, sleep only at night.

The spirit, thus, withdraws from the external senses and returns to the inward powers. The preoccupations and hindrances of sensual perception lessen their hold over the soul, and it now returns to the forms that exist in the power of memory. Then, through a process of synthesis and analysis, (these forms) are shaped into imaginary pictures. Most of these pictures are customary ones, because (the soul) has (only) shortly before withdrawn from the conventional objects of sensual perception. It now transmits them to the common sense, which combines all the five external senses, to be perceived in the manner of (those) five senses. Frequently, however, the soul turns to its spiritual essence in concert with the inward powers. It then accomplish-

³⁰⁶ Cf. p. 196, above.

³⁰⁷ *Leg. alladhi*.

es the spiritual kind of perception for which it is fitted by nature. It takes up some of the forms of things that have become inherent in its essence at that time. Imagination seizes on those perceived forms, and pictures them in the customary molds either realistically or allegorically. Pictured allegorically, they require interpretation. The synthetic and analytic activity which (the soul) applies to the forms in the power of memory, before it perceives its share of glimpses (of the supernatural), is (what is called in the Qur'an) "confused dreams."³⁰⁸

According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, the Prophet said, "There are three kinds of dream visions. There are dream visions from God, dream visions from the angels, and dream visions from Satan."³⁰⁹ This three-fold division agrees with our preceding statement. Clear dream visions are from God. Allegorical dream visions, which call for interpretation, are from the angels. And "confused dreams" are from Satan, because they are altogether futile, as Satan is the source of futility.

This is what "dream vision" really is, and how it is caused and encouraged by sleep. It is a particular quality of the human soul common to all mankind. Nobody is free from it. Every human being has, more than once, seen something in his sleep that turned out to be true when he awakened. He knows for certain that the soul must necessarily have supernatural perception in sleep. If this is possible in the realm of sleep, it is not impossible in other conditions, because the perceiving essence is one and its qualities are always present. God guides toward the truth.

³⁰⁸ *Adghath al-ahlam*. Qur'an 12:44 (44); 21:5 (5). Cf. also 2:420 and 3:105, below.

³⁰⁹ The references in the *Sahih of al-Bukhari* seem to mention only a twofold division of dreams, those from God and those from Satan. But Cf. *Concordance*, I, 296b, last line.

Polydore Virgil, who was born in the century in which Ibn Khaldun died, distinguished in his *De prodigiis* three varieties of dreams: divine, human, and daemonic. Cf. D. Hay, *Polydore Virgil* (Oxford, 1952), p. 41.

Dream words

Note: Most of the (afore-mentioned supernatural perception by means of dream visions) occurs to human beings unintentionally and without their having power over it. The soul occupies itself with a thing. As a result, it obtains that glimpse (of the supernatural) while it is asleep, and it sees that thing. It does not plan it that way.

In the *Ghayah*³¹⁰ and other books by practitioners of magic, reference is made to words that should be mentioned on falling asleep so as to cause the dream vision to be about the things one desires. These words are called by (the magicians) "dream words" (*al-halumah*). In the *Ghayah*, Maslamah mentioned a dream word that he called "the dream word of the perfect nature." It consists of saying, upon falling asleep and after obtaining freedom of the inner senses and finding one's way clear (for supernatural perception), the following non-Arabic words: *tamaghis ba'dan yaswadda waghads naw-fana ghadis*.³¹¹ The person should then mention what he wants, and the thing he asks for will be shown to him in his sleep.

A man is said to have done this after he had eaten but little and done *dhikre* exercises³¹² for several nights. A person appeared to him and said, "I am your perfect nature." A question was put to that person, and he gave the man the information he desired.

³¹⁰ The *Ghayat al-hakim* ascribed to the famous tenth-century Spanish scientist Maslamah b. Ahmad al-Majriti. Cf. GAL, I, 243; Suppl., I, 431 f. Modern scholarship has shown that the *Ghayah* (on sorcery) and the *Rutbat al-hakim* (on alchemy) are pseudepigraphical. Ibn Khaldun makes much use of these works later on in his discussion of the two sciences mentioned. The reference here is to *Ghayah*, ed. H. Ritter (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg) (Berlin, 1933), pp. 187 ff. The term *halumah* "dream word" as such is not mentioned there. It is derived from Aramaic *halomd* "dream" (rather than from the Hebrew form *haloma*). Cf. also M. Plessner in *Der Islam*, XVI (1927), 95.

³¹¹ These magical words seem to be Aramaic and may have sounded something like this: *Tmaggesh b'eddān swadh (?) waghdash nawmtha ghadhesh*, "You say your incantations at the time of conversation (?), and the accident of sleep happens." The "perfect nature" is also discussed at length by Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi, *as-Sirr al-makzum*; cf. 3:164, below. Cf. also H. Ritter, in *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg* 1921-1922, pp. 121 f.

³¹² Cf. n. 471 to Ch. vi, below.

With the help of these words, I have myself had remarkable dream visions, through which I learned things about myself that I wanted to know. However, (the existence of such dream words) is no proof that the intention to have a dream vision can produce it. The dream words produce a preparedness in the soul for the dream vision. If that preparedness is a strong one, (the soul)^{312a} will be more likely to obtain that for which it is prepared. A person may arrange for whatever preparedness he likes, but that is no assurance that the thing for which preparations have been made will actually happen. The power to prepare for a thing is not the same as power over the thing (itself). This should be known and considered in similar cases. God "is wise and knowing."³¹³

Other types of divination

In the human species we find individuals who foretell things before they take place. They have a special natural qualification for it. Through that qualification, they are distinguished from all other human beings. They do not have recourse to a craft for their predictions, nor do they get them with the help of astral influences or anything else. Their forecasts are the necessary result of their natural disposition. Among such people are diviners (*'arraf*); men who gaze into transparent bodies such as mirrors or bowls of water; men who examine the hearts, livers, and bones of animals; men who draw auguries from birds and wild animals; and men who cast pebbles, grains of wheat, or (date) pits.³¹⁴ All these things are found among mankind; no one can deny them or be ignorant of them. Statements concerning supernatural things are also placed upon the tongues of the insane, who are thus able to give information about (supernatural things). Sleeping and dying persons, being about to die or to fall asleep, likewise speak about super-

^{312a} Unless one reads *kanat*, instead of *kana*, the only possible antecedent would be "preparedness," but it ought to be "soul," as indicated above.

³¹³ Qur'an 6.18 (18), 73 (73); 34.1 (1).

³¹⁴ Cf. also 2:201, below.

natural things. Men who have followed Sufi training have, as is well known, as acts of divine grace, obtained perceptions of supernatural things.

The different kinds of supernatural perception

We are now going to discuss all these ways of (supernatural) perception. We are going to start with soothsaying. Then, we shall discuss all the other kinds, one by one. Before that, however, we want to discuss how the human soul, as it exists in all the types of human beings mentioned, is prepared for supernatural perception. This is as follows.

(The soul) is a spiritual essence which, as we have mentioned before, is the only spiritual being that exists potentially. It exchanges potentiality for actuality with the help of the body and (bodily) conditions. This is something everyone can attain to.

Now, everything that exists potentially has matter and form. The form of the soul, through which its existence materializes, is identical with perception and intellection. The soul at first exists potentially. It is prepared for perception and for the reception of the universal and particular forms. Its growth and actual existence then materialize through keeping company with the body, through the things to which (the body) accustoms (the soul) when (the former's) sensual perceptions are foisted upon (the latter), and through the universal ideas which (the soul itself) abstracts from the sensual perceptions of the body. It intellectualizes the forms time after time, until perception and intellection become the actual form of the soul. Thus, its essence materializes. The soul, then, is like matter, and, through perception, the forms come to it one after the other in an uninterrupted sequence.

This is why we find that a child in the earliest stages of his growth is unable to achieve the perception which comes to the soul from its essence, either in his sleep or through removal (of the veil of sense perception),³¹⁵ or anything else. For the form of the soul, which is its very essence, namely,

³¹⁵ Arabic *kashf*, a common term of mysticism (and metaphysics), for Ibn Khaldun a crucial concept in the discussion of these subjects.

perception and intellection, has not yet materialized (in the child). Nor has the power of the soul to abstract the universals materialized. Later on, when the essence of (the soul) has materialized in actuality, the soul has two kinds of perception, as long as it remains in the body: one through the organs of the body, for which the soul is enabled by the corporeal perceptions, and the other through its own essence, without any intermediary. The soul is prevented³¹⁶ from (the latter kind of perception) by its immersion in the body and the senses, and the preoccupations of (body and senses). By means of corporeal perception, for which the senses were originally created, they always draw the soul to the external. Frequently, however, the soul plunges from the external into the internal. Then, the veil of the body is lifted for a moment, either by means of a quality that belongs to every human being, such as sleep, or by means of a quality that is found only in certain human beings, such as soothsaying or casting (of pebbles, etc.), or by means of exercises such as those practiced by (certain) Sufis who practice the removal (of the veil of sense perception). At such moments, the soul turns to the essences of the highest group (the angels), which are higher than itself. (This is possible) because in (the order of) existence the stages of the soul and the angels are connected with each other, as we established earlier.³¹⁷ These essences are spiritual. They are pure perception and intellects in action. They contain the forms and realities of the *existentia*, as was (just) mentioned. Something of those forms is then disclosed in (the soul). It derives some knowledge from them. Frequently, it transmits the perceived forms to the imagination which, in turn, puts them into the customary molds. (The soul,) then, has recourse to sensual perception to explain the things it has perceived, either in their abstract form or in the molds into which (they were put by the imagination). In this way it gives information about them. This is how the preparedness of the soul for supernatural perception must be explained.

³¹⁶ Lit., "veiled." Cf. preceding note.

³¹⁷Cf. p. 196, above.

Let us now return to the explanation we promised, of the various kinds (of supernatural perception). Persons who gaze into transparent bodies, such as mirrors, bowls, or water, and (examine) the hearts, livers, and bones of animals, as well as those who cast pebbles and (date) pits, all belong to the class of soothsayers. Only, they are constitutionally less well fitted for supernatural perception than soothsayers. The soothsayer does not need to make much of an effort in order to lift the veil of sensual perception. They, however, expend much effort to concentrate all sensual perception in one particular sense, the noblest one, which is vision. It is applied exclusively to whatever plain visual object has been (selected for concentration), until the perception about which information is to be given appears. It is often thought that the place where those (who gaze into mirrors) see something, is the surface of the mirror. This is not so. They continue gazing at the surface of the mirror until it (the surface) disappears. Between their eyes and the mirror appears a veil like a white cloud. In it, forms are pictured, and (these pictures) are the objects they perceive. This gives them the facts of a negative or positive character they wanted to obtain, and they pass on (these facts) as they perceived them. Neither the mirror nor the forms perceived in it are now present to them. A different kind of perception originates in them in (that state). It is a psychic one that has nothing to do with vision. Through it, objects of psychic perception take on shape (for observation) by sensual perception, as is known. Something similar happens to those who examine the hearts and livers of animals, and to those who gaze into water, bowls, and similar things.

Among these people we have observed persons who keep their senses occupied only by means of incense, as well as incantations, in order to be prepared (for supernatural perception). Then, they tell what they have perceived. They think that they see the forms take on concrete shapes in the air, telling them what they want to know in the form of pictures and allusions.

These persons are less remote from sensual perception than the first group. The world is full of remarkable things.

Augury (*zajr*) is talk about supernatural things which originates in some people when a bird or animal appears, and they reflect about it after it has gone. It is a power in the soul that calls for sagacity and the ability to think about (the things of interest) which augurs see or hear. As we mentioned earlier,³¹⁸ the power of imagination is strong in augurs, and they exert that power in their researches, while depending on the help given by things they have seen or heard. This gives them some supernatural perception. The power of imagination acts here as it does in sleepers. When the senses are asleep, (the power of imagination) intervenes among the things seen in the waking state, and combines them with the products of its own thinking. Thus, the power of imagination brings about vision.

In the insane, the rational soul is but weakly connected with the body, because the humors, as a rule, are corrupt and have a weak animal spirit. Therefore, the soul belonging to (the body of an insane person) is not deeply immersed in the senses. The painful disease of deficiency that affects it keeps it too much occupied. Frequently, it was pushed into attaching itself to (the insane) by some other Satanic spirituality, which clings to them and which (the soul) itself is too weak to keep away. The insane thus become possessed.^{318a} When they have become possessed in this manner, either because of the corruption of their constitution as the result of the essential corruption of their soul, or because of the onslaught the Satanic souls make upon them when they are attached to (their bodies), they are totally removed from sensual perception. They perceive a glimpse of the world of their soul. (Their soul) receives the impress of forms which, in turn, are transformed

³¹⁸The reference appears to be to pp. 203 f., above.

^{318a}For *takhabbata* "to become possessed," cf. Qur'an 2.275 (276), and A. Spitaler, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XLVIII (1953), 535.

by the imagination. In this condition, they frequently speak without wanting to speak.

(Supernatural) perception in all these (groups) contains truth and falsehood mixed together. For although they may achieve the loss of sensual perception, it is only with the help of foreign notions (*tasawwur*) that they achieve contact (with the supernatural), as we have established. This leads to untruthfulness, (which is to be found) in these (ways of supernatural) perception.

The diviners (*'arrafa*) somehow enjoy this kind of perception, but they do not have the same contact (with the supernatural). They concentrate their thinking upon the matter in which they are interested and apply guesses and hypotheses to it. They base themselves upon an unfounded assumption as to what basically constitutes contact with, and perception of, (the supernatural). They claim acquaintance with the supernatural, but in reality (their procedure) has nothing to do with it.

This is the manner in which such (supernatural knowledge) is obtained. Al-Mas'udi discussed the subject in his *Muruj adh-dhahab*.³¹⁹ He did not hit upon the right explanation. It is evident from his discussion that he was not firmly grounded in the various kinds of (pertinent) knowledge. He merely reports what he learned from people experienced in the subject, and from others.

All the kinds of (supernatural) perception mentioned are found in man. The Arabs used to repair to soothsayers in order to learn about forthcoming events. They consulted them in their quarrels, to learn the truth by means of supernatural perception. Literature contains much information about this matter. In pre-Islamic times, Shiqq, of the tribe of Anmar b. Nizar, and Satih,

³¹⁹III, 347 ff.

of the tribe of Mazin b. Ghassan,³²⁰ were famous (soothsayers) (The latter) used to fold up like a garment, as he had no bones save for his skull.

A famous story is their interpretation of the dream vision of Rabi'ah b. Nasr, in which they informed him that the Abyssinians would take possession of the Yemen, that the Mudar would rule after them, and that the Muhammadan prophecy would make its appearance among the Quraysh.³²¹ Another famous story is that of the dream vision of the Mobedhan.³²² Satih interpreted it when the Persian emperor (Khosraw) sent 'Abd-al-Masih to him with (the dream). (On that occasion, Satih) informed him about the prophecy (of Muhammad) and the (future) destruction of the Persian realm. All this is well known.

There were also many diviners among the Arabs. They are mentioned by the Arabs in their poems. (One poet) said:

I said to the diviner of the Yamamah: Cure me,
For if you cure me, you are indeed a physician.³²³

Another poet said:

I promised to give the diviner of the Yamamah whatever
he would ask me for,
And (I promised the same) to the diviner of Najd, if they
would cure me (of my love).
But they said: Let God cure you. By God, we have no

³²⁰ For Shiqq and Satih, cf. G. Levi Della Vida in EI, *sm*. "Satih." The strange tribal connections of these mythological figures, which make Mazin a "son" of Ghassin, were found by Ibn Khaldun in al-Mas'udi, *op. cit.*, III, 364. For the dubious tribal genealogy of Shiqq, cf. also Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab*, pp. 365 f.

³²¹ Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, pp. 9 ff: Cf. also 2:202, below.

³²² Cf. al-Mas'udi, *op. cit.*, 1:217; 11, 228. For the Mobedhan, see n. 25 to p. 80, above.

³²³ The verse is by 'Urwah b. Hizam al-'Udhri (*GAL, Suppl.*, I, 81 f.), who is also the author of the following two verses. Cf. al-Mas'udi, *op. cit.*, III, 353, where the name of the poet is not given; Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitab ashshi'r wa-sh-shu'ara'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1904), pp. 396 f.; Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani* (Bulaq, 1285/1868), XX, 154 f.; *Lisan al-'Arab*, XI, 142; * Ibn al-Jawzi, *Dhamm al-hawa* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 408 ff.

Power over (the disease) that you carry around with you
in your body³²⁴

The "diviner of the Yamamah" is Riyah b. 'Ijlah,³²⁵ and the "diviner of Najd" is al-Abraq al-Asadi.

Some people have another way of supernatural perception. It occurs in the stage of transition from waking to sleeping, and is in (the form of unconsciously) speaking about the thing one wants to know and thereby obtaining supernatural knowledge of the matter as desired. This happens only during the transition from waking to sleeping, when one has lost the power to control one's words. Such a person talks as if by innate compulsion. The most he can do is to hear and understand what (he says).

Words of a similar nature come from those who are about to be killed, at the moment when their heads are being severed from their trunks. We have been informed that certain criminal tyrants used to kill their prisoners in order to learn their own future from the words the prisoners would utter when they were about to be killed. It was unpleasant information they received from them.

In the *Ghayah*,³²⁶ Maslamah similarly mentioned that when a human being is placed in a barrel of sesame oil and kept in it for forty days, is fed with figs and nuts until his flesh is gone and only the arteries and sutures³²⁷

³²⁴ Cf. the preceding note and T. Noldeke, *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), p. 8. Cf. further al-Mas'udi, *op. cit.*, VII, 353 f.; *Rasa'il lkhwan as-Safa'*, III, 261; as-Sarraj, *Masari' al-'ushshaq* (Constantinople, 1301), p. 209 f.; al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-Wafayat* (Cairo, 1961-53), II, 72 f.

³²⁵ This is the vocalization of MSS. B, C, and D. Ibn Khaldun derived the names from al-Mas'udi, *op. cit.*, III, 353.

³²⁶ Cf. (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghayah*, pp. 139 f. (See n. 310 to this chapter, above.) A similar magical practice is ascribed to the Sabians of Harran. Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, p. 321 (of the Flugel ed.); pp. 446 f. (of the Cairo ed.); A. Mez, *Abulkasim, ein bagdader Sittenbild* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. tvn; C. G. Jung, in *Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks* (Bollingen Series XXX), Vol. 2: *The Mysteries* (New York, 1955), pp. 306 f.

³²⁷ Cf. n. 1509 to Ch. vi, below.

of the skull remain, and is then taken out of the oil and exposed to the drying action of the air, he will answer all special and general questions regarding the future that may be asked. This is detestable sorcery. However, it shows what remarkable things exist in the world of man.

There are men who attempt to obtain supernatural perception through exercise. They attempt an artificial (state of) death through self-mortification.³²⁸ They kill all corporeal powers (in themselves), and wipe out all influences of those powers that color the soul in various ways.³²⁹ This is achieved by concentrated thinking, and doing without food for long (periods). It is definitely known that when death descends upon the body, sensual perception and the veil it constitutes disappear, and the soul beholds its essence and its world. (These men) attempt to produce, artificially before death, the experience they will have after death, and to have their soul behold the supernatural.

Other such people are the men who train themselves in sorcery. They train themselves in these things, in order to be able to behold the supernatural and to be active in the various worlds. Most such live in the intemperate zones of the north and the south, especially in India, where they are called yogis. They possess a large literature on how such exercises are to be done. The stories about them in this connection are remarkable.

The Sufi training is a religious one. It is free from any such reprehensible intentions. The Sufis aspire to total concentration upon God and upon the approach to Him, in order to obtain the mystical experiences³³⁰ of gnosis and Divine oneness. In addition to their training in concentration and hunger, the Sufis feed on *dhikr* exercises³³¹ by which their devotion to that training

³²⁸ *Mujahadah* "exertion."

³²⁹ Bulaq adds: "and nourish the soul with *dhikr* exercises, so that it may grow stronger." Ibn Khaldun probably omitted this statement, because it belonged rather to Sufism, mentioned below.

³³⁰ Lit., "taste." Cf. n. 463 to Ch. vi, below.

³³¹ Cf. n. 471 to Ch. vi, below.

can fully materialize. When the soul is reared on *dhikr* exercises, it comes closer to the gnosis of God, whereas, without it, it comes to be a Satanic one.

Whatever supernatural knowledge or activity is achieved by the Sufis is accidental, and was not originally intended. Had it been intentional, the devotion of the Sufis (who intended to have supernatural perception) would have been directed toward something other than God, namely, toward supernatural activity and vision. What a losing business that would have been! In reality, it would have been polytheism. A (Sufi) has said, "Whoever prefers gnosis for the sake of gnosis comes out for the second (stage of being)." Through their devotion, (Sufis) intend (to come near) the Master, and nothing else. If, meanwhile, some (supernatural perception) is obtained, it is accidental and unintentional. Many (Sufis) shun (supernatural perception) when it accidentally happens to them, and pay no attention to it.³³² They want God only for the sake of His essence, and nothing else. It is well known that (supernatural perception) occurs among the (Sufis). They call their supernatural experiences and mind reading "physiognomy" (*firasah*) and "removal" (of the veil of sense perception, *kashf*). Their experiences of (supernatural) activity they call "acts of divine grace" (*karamah*). None of these things is unworthy of them. However, Professor Abu Ishaq al-Isfarayini and Abu Muhammad b. Abi Zayd al-Maliki,³³³ among others, disapproved of it, in order to avoid any risk of (prophetic) miracles becoming confused with something else. However, the speculative theologians rely on the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*) as the distinguishing characteristic of the (prophetic) miracle. This is sufficient.

According to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, Muhammad said, "Among you, there are men who are spoken to, and 'Umar is one of them."³³⁴

³³² Cf. 8:102 and 179 f., below.

³³³ Abdallah ('Ubaydallah) b. Abi Zayd, 316-386 1928-9961. Cf. GAL, I, 177 f.; *Snppl.*, I, 301 f., one of Ibn Khaldun's famous and oft-quoted school authorities. Cf. p. 189, above.

³³⁴ Cf. the references in *Handbook*, p. 234b, where *muhaddath* "spoken to" is translated "inspired." Cf. also 2:203, below.

The men around Muhammad, as is well known, had experiences of a sort that confirms the fact (that mystics and pious persons may have some sort of supernatural perception). For instance, there is the story of 'Umar saying, "O Sariyah, beware of the mountain!" Sariyah is Sariyah b. Zunaym. He was the general of a Muslim army in the 'Iraq during the conquest. He had gotten into a battle with the polytheists. He thought of withdrawing. Near him, there was a mountain toward which he was directing himself (and where the enemy was lying in ambush). This came (supernaturally) to 'Umar's attention while he was preaching from the pulpit in Medina. He called out to him: "O Sariyah, beware of the mountain." Sariyah heard it, there where he was (in faraway 'Iraq), and he also saw ('Umar) there in person. This story is well known.³³⁵

Something similar happened to Abu Bakr in connection with his last will, addressed to his daughter 'A'ishah. He had given her a certain amount of dates from his orchard, as a gift, and then, (when he was near death), he suggested to her that she harvest them, so that the (other) heirs would not get them. Then he said, "They are your two brothers and your two sisters." Whereupon 'A'ishah said, "There is Asma', but who is the other?" Abu Bakr replied, "I see that the child in Bint Kharijah's womb is a girl," and so it was. This is mentioned in the *Muwatta'* in the chapter on gifts that are not permitted.³³⁶

(The men around Muhammad) and the pious and exemplary men after them had many similar experiences. However, the Sufis say that such experiences are rare in the time of prophecy, because, in the presence of the

This tradition, as well as the stories of Sariyah and 'A'ishah, were also mentioned by al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'*, p. 21.

³³⁵Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2701. Ibn Khaldun refers to the story again in the *Autobiography*, p. 165.

³³⁶Cf. Malik, *Muwatta'*, in the *Kittb al-aqdiyah* (Tunis, 1280/1863-64), p. 299. It is interesting to note how frankly Ibn Khaldun expresses himself in paraphrasing the case. In the text of the *Muwatta'*, Abu Bakr makes the suggestion in a very guarded form, and 'A'ishah, of course, refuses to take advantage of it.

prophet, the adept of mysticism cannot continue in his mystic state. They go so far as to say that the adept of mysticism who comes to Medina is deprived of his mystic state, so long as he remains there and until he leaves.

May God provide us with guidance, and may He lead us to the truth.

Among the adepts of mysticism are fools and imbeciles who are more like insane persons than like rational beings. Nonetheless, they deservedly attained stations of sainthood and the mystic states of the righteous. The persons with mystical experience who learn about them know that such is their condition, although they are not legally responsible. The information they give about the supernatural is remarkable. They are not bound by anything. They speak absolutely freely about it and tell remarkable things. When jurists see they are not legally responsible, they frequently deny that they have attained any mystical station, since sainthood can be obtained only through divine worship. This is an error. "God bestows His grace upon whomever He wants to."³³⁷ The attainment of sainthood is not restricted to (the correct performance of) divine worship, or anything else. When the human soul is firmly established as existent, God may single it out for whatever gifts of His He wants to give it. The rational souls of such people are not nonexistent, nor are they corrupt, as is the case with the insane. They (merely) lack the intellect that is the basis of legal responsibility. (That intellect) is a special attribute of the soul. It means various kinds of knowledge that are necessary to man and that guide his speculative ability and teach him how to make a living and organize his home. One may say that if he knows how to make a living, he has no excuse left not to accept legal responsibility, so that he may prepare for his life after death. Now, a person who lacks that (special) attribute (of the soul called intellect) still does not lack the soul itself, and has not forgotten his reality. He has reality, though he lacks the intellect entailing legal responsibility, that is, the knowledge of how to make a living.

³³⁷ Qur'an 5.54 (59); 57.21 (21); 62.4 (4).

This is not absurd. God does not select His servants for gnosis only on the basis of (the performance of) some legal duty.

If this is correct, it should be known that the state of these men is frequently confused with that of the insane, whose rational souls are corrupted and who belong to (the category of) animals. There are signs by which one can distinguish the two groups. One of them is that fools are found devoting themselves constantly to certain *dhikr* exercises and divine worship, though not in the way the religious law requires, since, as we have stated, they are not legally responsible. The insane, on the other hand, have no (particular) devotion whatever.

Another sign is that fools were created stupid, and were stupid from their earliest days. The insane, on the other hand, lose their minds after some portion of their life has passed, as the result of natural bodily accidents. When this happens to them and their rational souls become corrupt, they are lost.

A further sign is the great activity of fools among men. It may be good or bad. They do not have to have permission, because for them there is no legal responsibility. The insane, on the other hand, show no (such) activity.

The course of our discussion caused us to insert the preceding paragraph. God leads toward that which is correct.

Other alleged ways of supernatural perception

Some people think that there are ways of supernatural perception not involving remoteness from sensual perception. (Such) are the astrologers who believe in astrological indications, consequences of the positions of (stars) in the firmament, influences of (the stars) upon the elements, and results from the tempering of the natures of (the stars) when they look at each other,³³⁸ as well as effects of such tempers upon the air. Astrologers, (as a matter of fact,) have nothing to do with the supernatural. It is all guesswork

³³⁸ Cf. 3:259, below.

and conjectures based upon (the assumed existence of) astral influence, and a resulting conditioning of the air. (Such guesswork) is accompanied by an additional measure of sagacity enabling scholars to determine the distribution (of astral influence) upon particular individuals in the world, as Ptolemy said. We shall explain the futility of astrology in the proper place, if God wills.³³⁹ If it were established (as a fact), it would, at best, be guessing and conjecturing. It has nothing whatever to do with (the supernatural perception) we have mentioned.

Geomancy

Other such people include certain men of the common people who, to discover the supernatural and know the future, invented a craft they called "sand writing" (geomancy)³⁴⁰ after the material one uses for it. This craft consists in forming combinations of dots in four "ranks." (The resulting combinations) differ in that the (four) ranks are made up of different or identical (arrangements) of even or odd. This makes sixteen combinations. For if (all four ranks) hold evens or (all) odds, we have two combinations. If one rank only has an even, we have four combinations. If two ranks have an even, we have six combinations, and if three ranks have an even, we have four combinations. This makes altogether sixteen combinations.³⁴¹

³³⁹ Cf. 3:258 fl., below.

³⁴⁰ Arabic *khatt ar-raml*. Cf. E. Doutte, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1908), pp. 377 ff.; O. Rescher in *Der Islam*, IX (1919), 37; P. Tannery, "Le Rabolion," in his *Memoires scientifiques* (Toulouse & Paris, 1920), IV, 297-411. The section dealing with Arabic geomancy in Tannery's posthumous paper was compiled by B. Carra de Vaux.

³⁴¹ It follows that these are the figures used in geomancy:

•	••	••	•	•	•	••	••	••	•	•	•	••	••	••	•
•	••	•	••	•	•	••	•	•	••	•	••	••	••	•	••
•	••	•	•	••	•	•	••	•	••	••	•	••	•	••	••
•	••	•	•	•	••	•	•	••	•	••	••	•	••	••	••
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

The sand diviners have given different names to the different combinations and classified them as lucky or unlucky, as is done with the stars. For (the sixteen combinations), they have assumed (the existence of) sixteen "houses." They think that the "houses" are natural and that they correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac and the four cardines. They have attributed to each combination a "house," lucky (or unlucky) influences, and significance with regard to one particular group (of people) in the world of the elements. (The sand diviners) have thus invented a discipline that runs parallel to astrology and the system of astrological judgments. However, the astrological judgments are based upon natural indications, as Ptolemy assumes. The³⁴² indications of sand writing, on the other hand, are conventional.

Ptolemy discussed only nativities and conjunctions which, in his opinion, come within the influence of the stars and the positions of the spheres upon the world of the elements. Subsequent astrologers, however, discussed questions (*interrogationes*), in that they attempted to discover the innermost thoughts^{342a} by attributing them to the various houses of the firmament and drawing conclusions concerning them, according to the judgments governing each particular astral house. They are those mentioned by Ptolemy.

It should be known that the innermost thoughts concern psychic knowledge, which does not belong to the world of the elements. They do not come

Instead of the two dots, a line may be used. For the names of the figures in Arabic and the various European languages, see the comparative table in Tannery, op. cit., IV, 410 f.

³⁴² The following discussion, down to p. 132, l. 19, appears in B in the margin and on an inserted slip. It is inserted in the texts of C and D. The older texts, Bulaq, A, and E, and the original text of B, have the following sentence in place of the above sentence: "They are based upon arbitrary conventions and wishful thinking. Nothing about them is proven." Then the text found below, p. 229, II, 10-22, is given, followed by an explanation of the tradition which reads: " `And whoever concurs with the writing of that prophet-this is it.' He is right in view of the fact that the writing was supported by the revelation that came to that prophet whose custom it was to have the revelation come to him while he was writing. Were he to take it from the writing without the concurrence of revelation, he would not be right. This is the meaning of the tradition. And God knows better."

^{342a} *Dama'ir* "the unconscious."

within the influence of the stars or the positions of the spheres, nor do (the stars and the positions of the spheres) give any indications with regard to them. The branch of questions (*interrogationes*) has indeed been accepted in astrology as a way of making deductions from the stars and positions of the spheres. However, it is used where it is not natural for it to be used.

When the sand diviners came, they discontinued use of the stars and the positions of the spheres, because they found it difficult to establish the altitude of stars by means of instruments and to find the adjusted (positions of the) stars by means of calculations. Therefore, they invented their combinations of figures. They assumed that there were sixteen, according to the houses of the firmament and the cardines, and they specified that they were lucky, unlucky, or mixed, like the planets. They limited themselves to the sextile aspect. They made judgments in accordance with the combinations of figures, as is done in the interrogation (branch of astrology). In both cases, the use made (of the data) is not a natural one, as we stated before.

Many city dwellers who had no work, in order to make a living,³⁴³ tried sand divination. They composed works teaching the foundation and principles of sand divination. This was done by az-Zanati³⁴⁴ and others.

Some sand diviners attempt supernatural perception, in that they occupy their senses with study of the combinations of figures. They thus reach a state of preparedness, like those who are by nature fitted for preparedness, as we shall mention later on. These men are the noblest class of sand diviners.

³⁴³ The same argument is referred to below, 2:320 and 3:267.

³⁴⁴ Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad (b.'Uthman?) az-Zanati, whose dates appear to be uncertain. Cf. Tan-nery, op. cit., IV, 300; GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 1037 (No. 5), and 1041 (No. 40). He is the great authority on geomancy now as he was in the past, and his works are often reprinted under titles such as *al-Aqwal al-mardiyah fi l-ahkam ar-ramliyah* (Cairo, 1326/1908-9) and *Kitab al-Fasl fi usul'im ar-raml* (Cairo, 1280/1863-64), etc. Their genuineness remains to be investigated.

In general, they assume that sand writing originated with the prophets of old. They frequently ascribe its invention to Daniel or Idris,³⁴⁵ as is being done with all the crafts. They (also) frequently claim that (sand writing) is enjoined by the religious law. As a proof of this (contention of theirs), they quote the following tradition of Muhammad: "There was a prophet who wrote, and whoever concurs with his writing this is it."³⁴⁶ However, this tradition contains no evidence for the claim that sand writing is enjoined by the religious law, as some people assume. The meaning of the tradition is: "There was a prophet who wrote," that is, the revelation came to him while he was writing. It is not absurd to assume that such was the custom of some prophets, for prophets differ in their ways of perceiving the revelation. God said: "We distinguished the messengers (by giving the ones pre-eminence) over the others."³⁴⁷ When some of them received the revelation, the angel spoke first to them, without any request or motive (on their part). Others had a human motive, resulting from contact with human affairs, in that their people asked them to explain some difficult problem, some obligation of duty, or the like. Therefore, they directed their devotions to the Divine, and in that way God revealed to them what they wanted to know. (Logical) classification here suggests the existence of another division. Revelation may come to a person who is not prepared for it in any way, as in the afore-mentioned instance, or it may come to a person who is prepared for it in some way. In the Israelite stories, it is reported that a prophet was prepared for the coming

³⁴⁵ Like the Biblical Daniel, the Quranic Idris is among the most favored names for attributing authorship of magical works. He is probably correctly identified with the Biblical Enoch, and, incorrectly, with Hermes; cf. 2:367 f., below. Cf., for instance, 3:213 (n. 921), below. The following tradition is referred to Idris in Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, I, 99. The sequence "Daniel or Idris" is that found in C and D.

³⁴⁶ It may be possible to translate, "and whose writing agrees with (the writing of that prophet) But the above translation seems preferable, and the difference in meaning is not great. A variant of the tradition is quoted in Majd-ad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah*, I, 338. It reads: "and whoever agrees with his writing knows as much as he does."

³⁴⁷ Qur'an 2.253 (254).

of the revelation by hearing sweet melodious voices³⁴⁸ This report is not established as correct, but it is not improbable. God singles out His prophets and messengers for whatever (favours) He wishes. This³⁴⁹ was reported to us on the authority of a great Sufi, who attempts to attain remoteness from sensual perception by listening to music. By this means he becomes completely free for his (supernatural) perceptions, in the station he is in, which (it is true) is inferior to prophecy. "And there is nobody among us who does not have a known station."³⁵⁰

If this is established and if, as we have mentioned before, certain sand diviners attempt to remove (the veil of sense perception) by occupying their senses with the study of combinations of figures, they may attain intuitive supernatural revelation (*kashf*) through complete freedom from sense perception. They may exchange bodily perceptions for spiritual ones—both of which have been explained earlier. This is a kind of soothsaying, of the type of gazing at bones, water, and mirrors, and it distinguishes (these sand diviners) from those who restrict themselves to techniques that achieve supernatural perception by means of sagacity and conjecturing, but who do not relinquish corporeal perception and continue to wander in the realm of guesswork. Some prophets achieved preparedness for being addressed by the angel, in their prophetic station, by writing, exactly as people who are not prophets may achieve preparedness for spiritual perception and the relinquishment of human perception by the same means. In the case of (sand diviners), however, what they achieve is spiritual perception only, whereas prophets achieve an angelic perception by means of divine revelation.

³⁴⁸ Cf. also the tradition quoted below, 2:401. For the "Israelite Stories," see n. 47 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

³⁴⁹ The rest of the paragraph is found only in the MS. Ragib Pasa 978, fol. 56b (as well as in the Paris edition). The scribe of the MS again states that he derived the note from the MS of al-Qatari. Cf. p. 192, above, and n. 260 to this chapter. Though it did not enter the mainstream of the *Muqaddimah* tradition, it is undoubtedly by Ibn Khaldun.

³⁵⁰ Qur'an 37.164 (164).

The prophets have nothing to do with the stations of the sand diviners, whose perceptions are based on sagacity and conjecturing. They do not make it part of the religious law for any human being to speak about and discuss the supernatural. The statement in the tradition, "And whoever concurs with his writing - this is it,"³⁵¹ means: He is right, in view of the fact that the writing was supported by the revelation that came to that particular prophet, whose custom it was to have the revelation come to him while he was writing. Or, the tradition may be a compliment and indicate that the prophet had reached a high competence in the use of sand writing - without (implying) the existence of a connection between (revelation) and (sand writing) - because in this way the prophet was prepared for revelation, which, therefore, concurred with (the conclusions reached from sand writing). But were the prophet to take (those conclusions) from the writing alone, without the concurrence of revelation, they would not be right. This is the meaning of the tradition. And God knows better.

The tradition does not indicate that sand writing is enjoined by religious law, nor that it is permissible to practice sand writing to obtain supernatural perception, as sand diviners in the cities do. Some of them may be inclined to this opinion, on the basis that what (any) prophet did is accepted law, and that sand writing, therefore, is enjoined by the religious law according to the principle, held by some, that the religious law of those who came before us is religious law for us. This does not apply in this (case). Law only results when it is enjoined by messengers upon the various nations. This (particular) tradition, however, indicates no (thing of the sort). It indicates only that the particular condition was that of one of the prophets, and it is possible that it was not enjoined as a religious law. Therefore, it would not be a religious law, neither one restricted to the people of (that particular prophet), nor one common to his people and to others. (The tradition) merely indicates that it is a condition that may occur in the instance of a particular prophet, without

³⁵¹Cf. nn. 342 and 346 to this chapter, above.

being generally applicable to mankind. This is all we wanted to make clear here. God gives the correct inspiration.

If, in their self-deception, (sand diviners) want to discover something supernatural, they take paper, or sand, or flour, and form dots in (four) lines³⁵² in accordance with the number of the four ranks. This is repeated four times. They thus obtain sixteen lines. They then deduct (some) dots in pairs. The remainder, for each line, whether it is even or odd,³⁵³ is put into the rank to which it belongs according to order. This results in four combinations, which they arrange to form one continuous line. From them, they then form four other combinations through horizontal confrontation, by considering each rank, the corresponding combination next to it, and the evens or odds found in it.³⁵⁴ These, then, make eight combinations, placed along one line. From each pair of combinations, they then form one combination (to be placed) underneath the (eight), by considering the evens or odds found in each rank of two combinations. Thus, we have four others under (the eight). From these four combinations, they then form two more combinations, which are likewise placed underneath (the four). From these two, they again form one more combination and place it underneath (the two). They then combine this fifteenth combination with the first one and thus form one more combination, which completes the sixteen.³⁵⁵ Then,

³⁵² That is, heaps of grains.

³⁵³ That is, one or two dots.

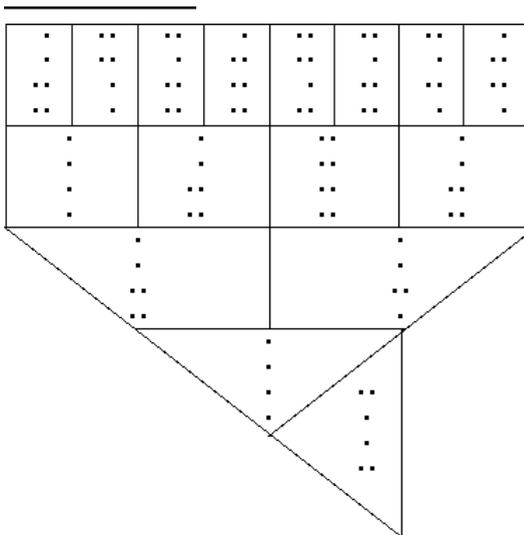
³⁵⁴ The rules governing this procedure vary. If there is one dot next to either one or two dots, it may result in one dot for the new combination, and so on, as explained by de Slane, *Les Prolegomenes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, (n. 1).

³⁵⁵ The procedure described leads to a figure such as we find reproduced (from Western texts) in Tannery, *Memoires scientifiques*, IV, 345 f. For instance:

they evaluate the whole "writing" in a curious manner, as to the good luck or misfortune required by the various combinations, taking them as they stand, speculating on them, analyzing them, combining them, making deductions as to the various kinds of *existentia*, and so on.

This craft is prevalent in (all) civilized (regions). There exists 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 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. The astrologers, therefore, called all people (able to perceive supernatural knowledge) "Venusians," with reference to Venus, because they assumed that the position of Venus in the nativities of these people indicates their ability to have supernatural perception.

If the person who takes up (sand) writing and similar (practices) is one of those distinguished beings, and if his study of dots, bones, and other things



Ibn Khaldun, however, does not say anything about triangular houses for the last two combinations.

is intended to occupy his senses in order that his soul may return momentarily to the world of the *spiritualia*, then (sand writing) occupies the same position as casting pebbles, examining the hearts of animals, and gazing into transparent mirrors, as we have mentioned.³⁵⁶ If this is not so, and if knowledge of the super natural is sought by means of (sand writing), (then) it is meaningless in theory and practice.³⁵⁷ "God guides whomever He wants to guide."³⁵⁸

The sign by which persons who are disposed by nature to supernatural perceptions can be recognized, is this: When these persons devote themselves to acquiring a knowledge of things, they suffer a departure from their natural condition. They yawn and stretch, and show symptoms of remoteness from sensual perception. These (symptoms) vary in intensity according to the different degrees to which they possess this natural disposition. Those in whom this sign is not found have nothing to do with supernatural perception. They are merely trying to spread the falsehoods to which they are committed.

(The *hisab an-nim*)

There are (other) groups that also lay down certain rules for the discovery of the supernatural. Their rules do not belong to the first category, that which has to do with the spiritual perceptions of the soul, and also differ from speculations based upon astral influences, as assumed by Ptolemy, as well as from the guesswork and conjecturing with which the diviners work. They are nothing but mistakes which (the people who work with them) throw out like snares for weakminded people. I shall mention only as much of (the subject) as is mentioned in literature and has aroused the interest of distinguished men.

³⁵⁶ Cf. p. 216, above.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Bombaci, p. 446.

³⁵⁸ Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

One such rule is the method called *hisab an-nim*.³⁵⁹ It is mentioned at the end of the *Politics* which is ascribed to Aristotle. It serves to predict the victor and the vanquished when kings go to war with each other. The procedure is to add up the numerical total of the letters in the name of each king, according to the system of calculation in which the letters of the alphabet in the sequence *alif, b, j . . .* are given the numerical values of units, tens, hundreds, and thousands from one to a thousand. When that has been done, each total should be divided by nine. The fractional remainder, in both cases, should be kept in mind. The two fractional remainders should be compared. If they are different and both are even or odd numbers, the (king) who has the smaller number will be the victor. If one of them is an even and the other

³⁵⁹ The meaning of the word *nim* (or whatever the consonants *n y-m* may signify) is not clear. There are many possibilities, none of them convincing. The MSS of the *Muqaddimah* practically never vocalize it (except D, in the passage below, p. 238). Ibn Khaldun was probably not sure of the pronunciation himself.

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Politics*, or *Secretum secretorum*, contains something quite similar. Cf. the edition of the Arabic text by 'Abd-ar-Rahman Badawi, pp. 152 ff., and the English tr. in Roger Bacon, *Opera*, ed. R. Steele, V, pp. LX f. and 250 f. However, no mention whatever is made in the *Secretum* of *hisab an-nim*. A description not identical with Ibn Khaldun's, but which comes rather close to it, appears after the *Secretum* in the Istanbul MS, Suleymaniye, 782, fols. 44b and 45b. There are two sets of letter arrangements in that MS. One, on fol. 45b, corresponds to that mentioned by Ibn Khaldun as going back to Ibn al-Banni' (p. 238, below). The other is different from that mentioned by Ibn Khaldun below, pp. 236 f. (De Slane states that he found a reference to the *hisab an-nim* in the margin of one of the Paris MSS of the *Secretum*.)

Greek texts dealing with the procedure are ascribed, not to Aristotle but to Pythagoras. Cf. P. Tannery, "Notices sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmetique," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, XXXI 2 (1886), 231-60, esp. pp. 248 ff. In Arabic tradition, Ptolemy is credited with a book on "Which of two adversaries will be successful"; cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, p. 268 (of the Flugel ed.); p. 375 (Cairo ed.).

For fifteenth-century Arabic monographs on the "Calculation of Victor and Vanquished," cf. GAL, Suppl., I, 536 (n. 2), and the *Durr al-matlub fi sirr al-ghalib wa-l-maghlub* by Yusuf b. Qorqmas Amir al-hajj al-Halabi, which deals with the Aq-Qoyunlu and Qara-Qoyunlu, MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 4901. On fol. 10b of the MS, the verses quoted by Ibn Khaldun are found. They are not found in the MS of the *Secretum* mentioned above. Numerous other manuscripts on the subject are listed, for instance, by G. Vajda, *Index general des manuscrits arabes musulmans de la Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1953), p. 359.

an odd number, the (king) who has the larger number will be the victor. If the two numbers are equal and both even, the object of the inquiry will be the victor. And if both numbers are odd, the (king) who made the inquiry will be the victor. He (Aristotle) reported two verses about this procedure which have wide currency. They are:

I think, in the case of even or odd numbers (for both),
the smaller number will gain the upper hand.

When the numbers differ (as to being even or odd), the
larger number will be the victor.

The object of the inquiry will be victorious, if the num-
bers are both equal and even.

And if they are both equal and odd, the one who made
the inquiry will be victorious.

In order to find out what the fractional remainder will be after dividing by nine, a rule has been laid down by (the persons who practice the *hisab an-nim*), which is well known among them for that purpose. They take the letters that refer to the number one in the four ranks, *alif* for the units, *y* for the tens, *q* for the hundreds, and *sh* for the thousands³⁶⁰ - there is no number higher than one thousand that can be indicated by letters, because *sh* is the last letter of the alphabet(ical arrangement for numerical purposes) - and arrange these four letters in sequence so as to form a word of four consonants: *'yash*. Then, they do the same with the letters that designate the number two in the (first) three ranks, omitting the thousands because there are no letters of the alphabet left for them. These three letters are *b* for two, *k* for twenty and *r* for two hundred. Arranged in sequence, they form the word *bkr*. The same is done with the letters that designate the number three, resulting in the word *jls*, and so on through all the letters of the alphabet.

³⁶⁰ The use of *sh* for 1,000 is characteristic of the Muslim West. In the East, *gh* is used. Cf. n. 809 to Ch. vi, below.

B says at the end of the sentence that "*gh* is the last letter of the numerical alphabet."

This results in nine words, (nine being) the highest unit. The words are: *'yash*, *bkr*, *jls*, *dmt*, *tenth*, *wskh*, *z'dh*, *hfz*, and *tdgh*, here arranged according to numerical sequence. Each of them has its own number, one for *'yash*, two for *bkr*, three for *jls*, and so on to nine, which belongs to *tdgh*. If they want to divide a name by nine, they note in which of these nine words each letter of the name appears, substituting the number (of the word) for each letter (of the name), and adding together all the numbers thus obtained. If the sum is greater than nine, they (deduct nine or a multiple of nine from it and) take the fractional remainder. Otherwise, they take (the sum) as it is. The same thing is then done with the other name, and the two results are compared in the manner indicated above.

The secret of this rule is clear. The fractional remainder in a division by nine is the same in any given multiple of the powers of ten.³⁶¹ In a way, (the person making the calculation) just sums up the (unit) number in any given multiple of the powers of ten. The numbers in multiples of higher powers of ten, thus, are like the (corresponding) units. There is no distinction between two, twenty, two hundred, or two thousand.³⁶² Likewise, three, thirty, three hundred, and three thousand, all are three. The numbers are arranged in such a sequence as to indicate nothing but the (unit) number in any given multiple of the powers of ten. The letters that indicate (the same number in) the different powers of ten, the units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, are combined each in one word. The number of the corresponding word is valid for all the letters it contains, whether they are units, tens, hundreds, or thousands. Thus, the number of the word can be used for all the letters it contains, and all of them are added up, as we have said. This procedure has been common among people for a long time.

³⁶¹The fractional remainder of 20, 200, or 2,000 divided by 9 is always two; of 30, 300, or 3,000 always three, and so on. Two is also the "(unit) number" of 20, 200, etc.; three of 30, 300, etc.

³⁶²The editor of Bulaq, Natr al-Huruni, calls attention to the fact that Ibn Khaldun had just said that there are no letters expressing numerals higher than 1,000.

Some *shaykhs* we knew personally were of the opinion that the correct thing is to use nine other words in place of those (mentioned). They too represent consecutive (numbers). The procedure of dividing by nine is the same. These words are: *'rb, ysqk, jzlt, mdws, hf, tkhdhn, ghsh, h', tdz*, nine words in all, in numerical sequence. They contain three, four, or two letters, respectively. As one can see, they follow no coherent principle. But our *shaykhs* are transmitting them on the authority of the leading Maghribi scholar in astrology as well as letter magic, Abu l-'Abbas b. al-Banna³⁶³. They state on his authority that the use of these words for the division of the *hisab an-nim* is more correct than that of the words *'yqsh, (etc.)*. And God knows better how it may be.

All these ways of perceiving the supernatural are based upon no proof, and are not verifiable. Thorough scholars do not attribute the book that contains the *hisab an-nim* to Aristotle, because it contains opinions that cannot be verified or proven. This confirms (its spuriousness). The reader should investigate this matter critically, if he is a wellgrounded scholar.

(The *Za'irajah*)³⁶⁴

Another technical rule for alleged discovery of the supernatural is the *za'irajah* which is called "*Za'irajah* of the world." It is attributed to Abul-'Abbas as-Sabti,³⁶⁵ a very prominent Maghribi Sufi. He lived at the

³⁶³ Ahmad b. Muhammad [ca. 1285-1321]. Cf. GAL, 11, 255; *Suppl.*, II, 363 f. As a mathematician he is quoted later on by Ibn Khaldun; cf. 3:121, 123, 137, below. His role as a magician was a legend developed after his death; cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 21.

³⁶⁴ Cf. 3:182 ff., below. Ibn Khaldun was initiated into the use of the *za'irajah* during his stay in Biskra in 1370/71, at least as far as the question that he discusses 3:197 ff., below, is concerned. He discussed it with Jamal-ad-din 'Abd-al-Malik b. 'Abdallah al-Marjani. Al-Marjani himself informs us of this in his work on the *za'irajah* which was discovered and discussed by H. P. J. Renaud, "Divination et histoire nord-africaine au temps d'Ibn Khaldun," *Hesperis*, XXX (1943), 213-21. The origin of the word *za'irajah* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It has been suggested correctly that it is related to Persian *zd'icha* "horoscope, astronomical tables," (cf. *zij*, 3:135 below), but the *r* seems to be an arbitrary addition, possibly by combination with *da'irah* "circle"?

³⁶⁵ His name was Muhammad (Ahmad) b. Masud. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 909. He is a rather shadowy figure, and GAL puts him in the late thirteenth century, whereas according to Ibn Khaldun he lived

end of the sixth [twelfth] century in Marrakech, during the rule of the Al-mohad ruler Ya'qub al-Mansur.³⁶⁶

The *za'irajah* is a remarkable technical procedure. Many distinguished people have shown great interest in using it for supernatural information, with the help of the well-known enigmatic operation that goes with it. For that (purpose), they have been desirous to solve its riddle and uncover its secret. The form of the *za'irajah*³⁶⁷ they use is a large circle that encloses other concentric circles for the spheres, the elements, the created things, the *spiritualia*, as well as other types of beings and sciences. Each circle is divided into sections, the areas of which represent the signs of the zodiac, or the elements, or other things. The lines dividing each section run to the center. They are called chords. Along each chord there are sets of letters that have a conventional (numerical value). Some are *zimam* ciphers, the same as those used for numerals by government officials and accountants in the contemporary Maghrib. Others are the ordinary *ghubar* ciphers.³⁶⁸ Inside the *za'irajah*, between the circles, are found the names of the sciences and of topics of the created (world).³⁶⁹ On the back of (the page containing) the circles, there is a table with many squares, fifty-five horizontally and one hundred and thirty-one vertically.³⁷⁰ Some of the squares are filled in, partly with numbers and partly with letters. Others are empty. The significance

at the end of the twelfth. Ibn Khaldun is possibly closer to the truth; cf. nn. 845, 846, to Ch. vi, below. Bulaq adds "Sidi Ahmad" to his name, thus confusing him with a famous saint, Ahmad b. Jafar, who lived from 540 to 601 [1145/46 to 1204/5]. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb in *EI*, s.v. "al-Sabti." (Cf. also GAL, 2d ed., I, 655.)

³⁶⁶ He ruled from 1184 to 1199. Cf. also nn. 845 and 846 to Ch. vi, below.

³⁶⁷ The table was reproduced by Ibn Khaldun below in connection with his extensive discussion of the *za'irajah*. See pls. *i* and *n* and chart in end pocket, Vol. 3.

³⁶⁸ Cf. n. 882 to Ch. vi, below.

³⁶⁹ This difficult expression seems to refer to the innermost circle, which contains references to such subjects as horses and warfare.

³⁷⁰ The tables published in the first volume of the *'Ibar* and in the Turkish translation of the *Muqad-dimah*, as well as those in A and E, have only 128.

of these numbers in their positions is not known, nor are the rules known that govern the distribution of filled and empty squares. The *zd'irajah* is surrounded by verses in the meter *at-tawil* and rhyming on *-la*.³⁷¹ They describe the procedure which must be followed to discover the answer to a particular inquiry from the *zd'irajah*. However, since the verses express their meaning in riddles, they lack clarity. On one side of the *za'irajah* is one verse from a poem ascribed to one of the great Western forecasters of future events, the Sevillian scholar, Malik b. Wuhayb,³⁷² who lived during the reign of the Lamtunah (Almoravids). This is the verse:

A weighty question you have got. Keep, then, to yourself

Remarkable doubts which have been raised and which can be straightened out with diligence.

This is the verse commonly used in attempting to obtain the answer to a question with the help of this or other *za'irajahs*. To obtain the answer to a question, the question is written down in unconnected letters and the ascendant as of that day is determined, that is, one of the signs of the zodiac and the degree (of the sign on the horizon). Then, the *za'irajah* is consulted, and the particular chord of the *za'irajah* that borders the sign of the zodiac of that (particular) ascendant is chosen. This is followed from where it starts to the center, and then on to the circumference of the circle oppo-

³⁷¹ The verses do not appear on the table, but they are quoted by Ibn Khaldun below, 3:183 ff.

³⁷² He lived in the early twelfth century (453-525) [1061-1131]. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 228; de Slane (tr.), II, 169. He was a friend of Ibn Bajjah (Avempace); cf. Ibn Abi Usayb'ah, *Uyan al-anba'*, II, 63. Cf. also at-Safadi, *Wafi*, ed. S. Dederling (Damascus, 1953), III, 325 f., and D. M. Dunlop, in *The Islamic Quarterly*, II(1955), 101-4.

B has a marginal note in this place by a Maghribi scholar, Abul-Fadl b. al-Imam, who calls attention to the fact that Malik lived before as-Sabti, the reputed inventor of the *za'irajah*. (There seems to be some confusion of *za'irajahs* in general, that existed long before, and the particular *Za'irajah of the World* discussed here.) The time interval between the two men makes it unlikely that as-Sabti was the inventor, and its invention should rather be ascribed to Idris. (Cf. n. 921 to Ch. vi, below.) The teacher of the writer of the note, a certain Abu l-Qasim b. Dawud as-Salawi (?), maintained this.

The verse is quoted again, 3:211, 214, and 224, below. It occurs also in *a za'irajah* ascribed to Ibn 'Arabi; cf. the Princeton MS, 5472 H, fol. 7b.

site the ascendant. One takes note of all the letters written upon that chord from beginning to end, and of all the numbers written in between. The latter are converted into letters according to their numerical values, transposing all units into tens and all tens into hundreds, and vice versa, as required by the rule governing use of (the *za'irajah*). The letters thus obtained are put alongside the letters of the question, and one also adds all the letters and numbers that are upon the chord bordering the sign, three signs from that of the ascendant. (In this case,) one follows it from where it starts to the center, but not beyond it to the circumference. The numbers are converted into letters as before, and added to the other letters. Then, the afore-mentioned verse by Malik b. Wuhayb, which is the basis and norm of the procedure, is written down in unconnected letters, and put aside. Then the number of the degree of the ascendant is multiplied by the "base" of the sign (of the zodiac). In the language (used here) the "base" is the sign's distance from the last rank, in contrast to the (meaning of) "base" in the language of astronomers [?], where it is the distance from the first rank.³⁷³ The degree is then multiplied by another number, called the "greatest base" and "principal cycle." The result of these (multiplications) is entered in the squares of the table, following well-known rules and familiar procedures and (using a certain) number of "cycles." Some letters are taken out, others dropped, and the rest matched with what is found among the letters of the verse. Some are transferred to the letters of the question and (the letters) that are with them. Then, these letters are divided by certain numbers called "cycles," and from each "cycle" the letter at which the "cycle" ends, is removed. The (op-

³⁷³ The word discussed here is *uss* "base." It has a specific meaning in algebra—cf. n. 627 to Ch. vi, below—but still it is difficult to assume that instead of to "astrologers," Ibn Khaldun refers here to "arithmeticians," even though the word he uses (*hussab*) might mean the latter rather than the former. For the use of *uss* in the *za'irajah*, cf. 3:203 ff., below. The only meaning the above definition of the term would seem to suggest is that, in the *za'irajah*, *uss* refers to the number of degrees counting back to the beginning of the sign of the ascendant (or to some earlier sign), whereas in astronomy *uss* means the number of degrees to the end of the sign. This, however, is so far mere speculation.

eration) is repeated with the (entire) number of "cycles" specified for that (purpose). The result, finally, is (a number of) unconnected letters which are put together consecutively to form the words of a verse of the same meter and rhyme as the aforementioned verse by Malik b. Wuhayb, which serves as the basis of the operation. We shall mention all this in the chapter on the sciences, in discussing how a *za'irajah* of this kind is used.

We have seen many distinguished people jump at (the opportunity for) supernatural discoveries through (the *za'irajah*) by means of operations of this kind. They think that correspondence (in form) between question and answer shows correspondence in actuality. This is not correct, because, as was mentioned before,³⁷⁴ perception of the supernatural cannot be attained by means of any technique whatever. It is not impossible that there might be a correspondence in meaning, and a stylistic agreement, between question and answer, such that the answer comes out straight and in agreement with the question. It is not impossible that this could be achieved by just such a technique of separating the letters of the question and those of the chord, entering the numbers that come together as the result of the multiplication of fixed numbers in the table, taking out letters from the table and discarding others, operating repeatedly with a given number of "cycles," and matching the whole thing with the letters of the verse arranged in sequence. Intelligent persons may have discovered the relationships among these things, and, as a result, have obtained information about the unknown through them. Finding out relationships between things is the secret (means) whereby the soul obtains knowledge of the unknown from the known. It is a way to obtain such knowledge, especially suited to people of (mystical) training. This (training) gives the intellect added power for analogical reasoning and thinking, as has been explained before several times.³⁷⁵ It is in this sense that *za'irajahs* are usually ascribed to people of (mystical) training. This particular *za'irajah*

³⁷⁴ Cf. p. 233, above.

³⁷⁵ It seems doubtful which passages Ibn Khaldun has in mind here.

is thus ascribed to as-Sabti. I have come across another one which is ascribed to Sahl b. 'Abdallah.³⁷⁶

It is, indeed, a remarkable operation and a wondrous procedure. As it appears to me, the secret of why the answer comes out in rhymed form is to be explained as the result of matching (the letters of the *za'irajah*) with the letters of the verse (by Malik b. Wuhayb). This is why the versified answer has the same meter and rhyme. This can be deduced from the fact that we have come across other similar operations in which the matching (of letters) with the verse was omitted. In those cases, the answer did not come out in the form of a verse. This will be shown when the matter is discussed in its proper place.³⁷⁷

Many people lack the understanding necessary for belief in the genuineness of the operation and its effectiveness in discovering the object of inquiry. They deny its soundness and believe that it is hocus-pocus. The practitioner, they believe, inserts the letters of a verse he (himself) composes as he wishes, from the letters of question and chord. He follows the described technique, which has no system or norm, and then he produces his verse, pretending that it was the result of an operation that followed an established procedure.

This reasoning is baseless and wrong. It is the result of such people's inability to understand the relations between the *existentia* and things that (can be) known, and the differences between the various kinds of perception and intellect. Anyone who has some perception naturally denies (the existence of) anything he is not capable of perceiving. In order to refute this (denial of the genuineness of the operation of the *za'irajah*), it is sufficient for us (to refer to the fact) that the technique has been observed in operation and that it has been definitely and intelligently established that the operation follows a coherent procedure and sound norms. No one who has much intelli-

³⁷⁶ At-Tustari, a Sufi of the ninth century. Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 333.

³⁷⁷ Cf. 3:213 f., below.

gence and sagacity and has had contact with the (operation of the *za'irajah*) would object to this statement. Many an operation with numbers, which are the clearest things in the world, is difficult to grasp, because the (existing) relations are difficult to establish and intricate. This is the case to a much greater degree here, where the relations are so intricate and strange.

Let us mention a problem that will to some degree illustrate the point just stated.

Take a number of dirhams and place beside each dirham three *fals*. Then, take all the *fals* and buy a fowl with them. Then, buy fowls with all the dirhams for the same price that the first bird cost. How many fowls will you have bought?

The answer is nine. As you know, a dirham has twentyfour *Pals*, three *Pals* are one-eighth of a dirham, one is eight times one-eighth. Adding up one-eighth of each dirham buys one fowl. This means eight fowls (for the dirhams), as one is eight times one-eighth.³⁷⁸ Add another fowl, the one that was bought originally for the additional *fals* and that determined the price of the fowls bought with the dirhams. This makes nine. It is clear how the unknown answer was implied in the relations that existed between the numerical data indicated in the problem. This and similar (things) are at first suspected as belonging to the realm of the supernatural, which cannot be known.

It is thus obvious that it is from the relations existing among the data that one finds out the unknown from the known. This, however, applies only to events occurring in (the world of) existence or in science. Things of the future belong to the supernatural and cannot be known unless the causes for their happening are known and we have trustworthy information about it.

³⁷⁸ In modern symbols, x being the number of fowls, y the number of dirhams:

$$y \cdot 1/8 = 1$$

$$y + y \cdot 1/8 = x$$

$$x = 8 + 1.$$

If this is clear, it follows that all the operations of the *za'irajah* serve merely to discover the words of the answer in the words of the question. As we have seen, it is a question of producing from a given arrangement of letters another arrangement of letters. The secret here lies in the existence of a relationship between the two (different arrangements of letters). Someone may be aware of it, whereas someone else may not be aware of it. Those who know the existing relationship can easily discover the answer with the help of the stated rules.

From the (conventional) meanings and the combinations of words, the answer may then also indicate a negative or positive (statement) regarding (the object of) the question. This, however, is on another level. It is not on the same level (as merely discovering the words of the answer). It implies a conformity of the words to the outside (world).³⁷⁹ Such knowledge cannot be acquired through those operations. It remains veiled to human beings.

God claims all His knowledge for Himself. "God knows and you do not know."³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ *Mutabaqah* "conformity, agreement," is an important concept in Ibn Khaldun's epistemology. Cf. also, for instance, 3:251, below.

In another application, the term also plays an important role in Ibn Khaldun's definition of rhetoric. Cf., for instance, 3:335, below.

³⁸⁰ Qur'an 2.216 (213), 232 (232); 3.66 (59); 24.19 (19).

Chapter II. BEDOUIN CIVILIZATION, SAVAGE NATIONS AND TRIBES AND THEIR CONDITIONS (OF LIFE), INCLUDING SEVERAL BASIC AND EXPLANATORY STATEMENTS.¹

[p.1:247]

II.1. Both Bedouins and sedentary people are natural groups.

[p.1:249]

IT² SHOULD BE KNOWN that differences of condition among people are the result of the different ways in which they make their living. Social organization enables them to cooperate toward that end and to start with the simple necessities of life, before they get to conveniences and luxuries.³

Some people adopt agriculture, the cultivation of vegetables and grains, (as their way of making a living). Others adopt animal husbandry, the use of sheep, cattle, goats, bees, and silkworms, for breeding and for their products. Those who live by agriculture or animal husbandry cannot avoid the call of the desert, because it alone offers the wide fields, acres, pastures for animals, and other things that the settled areas do not offer.⁴ It is therefore necessary for them to restrict themselves to the desert. 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).

¹ The whole chapter is translated in G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de textes de sociologie* (Algiers, 1951), pp. 7-57.

² Cf. Issawi, pp. 80 f.

³ Cf. pp. lxxxi and 85, above.

⁴ Cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, "as-Sakkaki on Milieu and Thought," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXV (1945), 62.

Subsequent improvement of their conditions and acquisition of more wealth and comfort than they need, cause them to rest and take it easy. Then, they co-operate for things beyond the (bare) necessities. They use more food and clothes, and take pride in them. They build large houses, and lay out towns and cities for protection. This is followed by an increase in comfort and 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 (fine 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 and mansions, provide them with running water,⁵ 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. Here, now, (we have) sedentary people. "Sedentary people" means the inhabitants of 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 wealth.

It has thus become clear that Bedouins and sedentary people are natural groups which exist by necessity, as we have stated.

II.2. The Arabs⁶ are a natural group in the world.

[p.1:250]

We have mentioned in the previous section that the inhabitants of the desert adopt the natural manner of making a living, namely, agriculture and animal husbandry. They restrict themselves to the necessary in food, cloth-

⁵ Cf. also p. 339, below.

⁶ As a sociological term, "Arab" is always synonymous with "Bedouin, nomad" to Ibn Khaldun, regardless of racial, national, or linguistic distinctions.

ing, and mode of dwelling, and to the other necessary conditions and customs. They do not possess conveniences and luxuries beyond (these bare necessities). They use tents of hair and wool, or houses of wood, or of clay and stone, which are not furnished (elaborately). The purpose is to have shade and shelter, and nothing beyond that. They also take shelter in caverns and caves. The food they take is either little prepared or not prepared at all, save that it may have been touched by fire.⁷

For those who make their living through the cultivation of grain and through agriculture, it is better to be stationary than to travel around. Such, therefore, are the inhabitants of small communities, villages, and mountain regions. These people make up the large mass of the Berbers and non-Arabs.

Those who make their living from animals requiring pasturage, such as sheep and cattle, usually travel around in order to find pasture and water for their animals, since it is better for them to move around in the land. They are called: "sheepmen" (*shawiyah*), that is, men who live on sheep and cattle. They do not go deep into the desert, because they would not find good pastures there. Such people include the Berbers, the Turks and their relatives, the Turkomans and the Slavs,⁸ for instance.

Those who make their living by raising camels move around more. They wander deeper into the desert, because the hilly⁹ pastures with their plants and shrubs do not furnish enough subsistence for camels. They must feed on the desert shrubs and drink the salty desert water. They must move

⁷ Ibn Khaldun was familiar with this phrase for "preparing food in the open fire" through the *hadith* literature. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 206.

⁸ Though the Arabic text need not be understood as saying that there exists a relationship between the Slavs and the Turks, it is the most natural construction to understand it that way. It has been shown that Muslim geographers did not always mean precisely Slavs when they spoke about the *Saqalibah*. (Cf. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*, pp. 295 ff.) However, the above statement should not be taken too literally, and the term used for "relatives" (*ikhwan* "brethren") may perhaps be translated as "companions" or the like, implying no real relationship.

⁹ *Tall*, pl. *tulul*"hills." The expression reflects the situation in north western Africa rather than in Arabia.

around the desert regions during the winter, in flight from the harmful cold to the warm desert air. In the desert sands, camels can find places to give birth to their young ones. Of all animals, camels have the hardest delivery and the greatest need for warmth in connection with it.¹⁰ (Camel nomads) are therefore forced to make excursions deep (into the desert). Frequently, too, they are driven from the hills by the militia, and they penetrate farther into the desert, because they do not want the militia¹¹ to mete out justice to them or to punish them for their hostile acts. As a result, they are the most savage human beings that exist. Compared with sedentary people, they are on a level with wild, untamable (animals) and dumb beasts of prey. Such people are the Arabs. In the West, the nomadic Berbers and the Zanatah are their counterparts, and in the East, the Kurds, the Turkomans, and the Turks. The Arabs, however, make deeper excursions into the desert and are more rooted in desert life (than the other groups), because they live exclusively on camels, while the other groups live on sheep and cattle, as well as camels.

It has thus become clear that the Arabs are a natural group which by necessity exists in civilization.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹²

II.3. Bedouins are prior to sedentary people. The desert is the basis and reservoir of civilization and cities.

[p.1:252]

We¹³ have mentioned that the Bedouins restrict them selves to the (bare) necessities in their conditions (of life) and are unable to go beyond them, while sedentary people concern themselves with conveniences and luxuries in their conditions and customs. The (bare) necessities are no doubt

¹⁰ Cf. p. 265 and 2:353, below, and *Ibar*;II, 336 f.

¹¹ Bulaq, apparently by mistake, has "to humiliate them" for the rest of the sentence.

¹² Qur'an 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

¹³ Cf. Issawi, pp. 81 f.

prior to the conveniences and luxuries. (Bare) necessities, in a way, are basic, and luxuries secondary and an outgrowth (of the necessities). Bedouins, 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. He aspires to (that goal) .¹⁴ Through his own efforts, he achieves what he proposes to achieve in this respect. When he has obtained enough to be ready for the conditions and customs of luxury, he enters upon a life of ease and submits himself to the yoke of the city. This is the case with all Bedouin tribes. Sedentary people, on the other hand, have no desire for desert conditions, unless they are motivated by some urgent necessity¹⁵ or they cannot keep up with their fellow city dwellers.

Evidence for the fact that Bedouins are the basis of, and prior to, sedentary people is furnished by investigating the inhabitants of any given city. We shall find that most of its inhabitants originated among Bedouins dwelling in the country and villages of the vicinity. Such Bedouins became wealthy, settled in the city, and adopted a life of ease and luxury, such as exists in the sedentary environment. This proves that sedentary conditions are secondary to desert conditions and that they are the basis of them.^{15a} This should be understood.

All Bedouins and sedentary people differ also among themselves in their conditions (of life). Many a clan is greater than another, many a tribe greater than another, many a city larger than another, and many a town more *populous* (*'umran*) than another.

¹⁴ But contrast below, p. 266.

¹⁵ Ibn Khaldun is probably thinking of political exile and retirement in the country such as he experienced himself when writing the *Muqaddimah*.

^{15a} The pronouns are as ambiguous in Arabic as they are in English, and, were it not for the context, would be understood to mean the opposite of what they are intended to mean.

It has thus become clear that the existence of Bedouins is prior to, and the basis of, the existence of towns and cities. Likewise, the existence of towns and cities results from luxury customs pertaining to luxury and ease, which are posterior to the customs that go with the bare necessities of life.

II.4. Bedouins are closer to being good than sedentary people.

[p.1:253]

The¹⁶ reason for it is that the soul in its first natural state of creation is ready to accept whatever good or evil may arrive and leave an imprint upon it. Muhammad said: "Every infant is born in the natural state. It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian."¹⁷ To the degree the soul is first affected by one of the two qualities, it moves away from the other and finds it difficult to acquire it. When customs proper to goodness have been first to enter the soul of a good 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 occupations and to indulgence in worldly desires. Therefore, their souls are colored with all kinds of blameworthy and evil qualities. The more of them they possess, the more remote do the ways and means of goodness become to them. Eventually they lose all sense of restraint. Many of them are found to use improper language in their gatherings as well as in the presence of their superiors and womenfolk. They are not deterred by any sense of restraint, because the bad custom of behaving openly in an improper manner in both words and deeds has taken hold of them. Bedouins may be as concerned with worldly affairs

¹⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 66 f.

¹⁷ Cf., for instance, al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 341; *Concordance*, I, 7b, 11. 5 f. Cf. also p. 306, below.

as (sedentary people are). However, such concern would touch only the necessities of life and not luxuries or anything causing, or calling for, desires and pleasures. The customs they follow in their mutual dealings are, therefore, appropriate. As compared with those of sedentary people, their evil ways and blame worthy qualities are much less numerous. They are closer to the first natural state and more remote from the evil habits that have been impressed upon the souls (of sedentary people) through numerous and ugly, blameworthy customs. Thus, they can more easily be cured than sedentary people. This is obvious. It will later on¹⁸ become clear that sedentary life constitutes the last stage of civilization and the point where it begins to decay. It also constitutes the last stage of evil and of remoteness from goodness. It has thus become clear that Bedouins are closer to being good than sedentary people. "God loves those who fear God."¹⁹

This is not contradicted by the statement of al-Hajjaj to Salamah b. al-Akwa', which is included among the traditions of al-Bukhari. When al-Hajjaj learned that Salamah was going to live in the desert, he asked him, "You have turned back and become an Arab?" Salamah replied, "No, but the Messenger of God permitted me to go (back) to the desert."²⁰

It should be known that at the beginning of Islam, the inhabitants of Mecca were enjoined to emigrate, so as to be with the Prophet wherever he might settle, in order to help him and to aid him in his affairs and to guard him. The Arab Bedouins of the desert were not enjoined to emigrate, because the Meccans were possessed of a strong group feeling for the Prophet to aid and guard him, such as did not exist among the desert Arabs. The emigrants, therefore, used to express an aversion to "becoming Arabs," that is, (to becoming) inhabitants of the desert upon whom emigration was not obligatory. According to the tradition of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Muhammad

¹⁸Cf. 2:291 ff., below.

¹⁹ Qur'an 3.76 (70); 9.4 (4), 7 (7).

²⁰ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 373; *Concordance*, II, 247a, 11. 32 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 150 ff.

said, when (Sa'd) was ill in Mecca: "O God, give success to the emigration of my companions and do not cause them to turn back."²¹ That means, God should enable them to stay in Medina and not to have to leave it, so that they would not have to discontinue the emigration they had begun, and return. It is the same meaning as is implied in the expression "turning back" in connection with any enterprise.

It is (also) said that the (prohibition against "turning back") was restricted to the time before the conquest of Mecca, when there was a need for emigration because of the small number of Muslims. After the conquest, when the Muslims had become numerous and strong, and God had guaranteed His Prophet inviolability (*'ismah*), emigration was no longer necessary. Muhammad said: "There is no emigration after the conquest."²² This has been interpreted as meaning that the injunction to emigrate was no longer valid for those who became Muslims after the conquest. It has also been interpreted (to mean) that emigration was no longer obligatory upon those who had become Muslims and had emigrated before the conquest. (At any rate,) all agree that emigration was no longer necessary after the Prophet's death, because the men around Muhammad had by then dispersed and spread in all directions. The only thing that remained was the merit of living in Medina, which constituted emigration.

Thus, al-Hajjaj's statement to Salamah, who went to live in the desert: "You have turned back and become an Arab?" is a reproach to Salamah for giving up his residence in Medina. It contains an allusion to the words of the aforementioned prayer of the Prophet: "Do not cause them to turn back." The words, "You have become an Arab?" are a reproach, as they imply that Salamah had become one of the Arabs who did not emigrate. In his reply, Salamah denied both insinuations. He said that the Prophet had permitted him to go to the desert. This was a special (permission) in Salamah's case,

²¹Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 326; *Concordance*, I, 245b, 11. 25 ff.

²²Cf. the references in *Handbook*, p. 98b.

exactly as, for instance, the testimony of Khuzaymah²³ and Abu Burdah's²⁴ lamb were special to the cases of Khuzaymah and Abu Burdah. Or, (it may be) al-Hajjaj reproached Salamah only because he was giving up his residence in Medina, as he was aware that emigration was no longer necessary after the Prophet's death. Salamah's reply was that it was more proper and better to avail himself of the Prophet's permission, who had distinguished him by this special permission only because (the Prophet) had some motive known to him(self) when he gave it.

In any event, the story does not imply that censure of desert (life) is meant by the expression "to become an Arab." It is known that the legal obligation to emigrate served the purposes of aiding and guarding the Prophet. It did not have the purpose of censuring desert (life). Use of the expression "to become an Arab," to condemn non-fulfillment of the duty (of emigration), is no indication that "becoming an Arab" is something blameworthy. And God knows better.

II.5. Bedouins are more disposed to courage than sedentary people.

[p.1:257]

The²⁵ reason for this is that sedentary people have become used to laziness and ease. They are sunk in well-being and luxury. They have entrusted defense of their property and their lives to the governor and ruler who rules them, and to the militia which has the task of guarding them. They find full assurance of safety in the walls that surround them, and the fortifications that protect them. No noise disturbs them, and no hunting occupies them.

²³ Khuzaymah b. Thabit's testimony was counted by the Prophet as that of two men. Cf. *Concordance*, III, 198b, 1. 4; al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, III, 188; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1905-40), IV 2, 90 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 140.

²⁴ The sacrificial animal should be slaughtered after prayer, but in the case of Abu Burdah Hini' b. Niyir, the animal he had slaughtered previously was accounted a valid sacrifice by the Prophet. This, however, is stated not to be a precedent. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 21; *Concordance*, I, 3296, 11, 52 ff.

²⁵ Cf. Issawi, pp. 67 f.

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 master of the house. Eventually, this has come to be a quality of character that replaces natural (disposition).

The Bedouins, on the other hand, live separate from the community. They are alone in the country and remote from militias. They have no walls and gates. Therefore, they provide their own defense and do not entrust it to, or rely upon others for it. They always carry weapons. They watch carefully all sides of the road. They take hurried naps only when they are together in company or when they are in the saddle. They pay attention to every faint barking and noise. They go alone into the desert, guided by their fortitude, putting their trust in themselves. Fortitude has become a character quality of theirs, and courage their nature. They use it whenever they are called upon or an alarm stirs them. When sedentary people mix with them in the desert or associate with them on a journey, they depend on them. They cannot do anything for themselves without them.. This is an observed fact. (Their dependence extends) even to knowledge of the country, the (right) directions, watering places, and crossroads. The reason for this is the thing we have explained. At the base of it is the fact that man is a child of the customs and the things he has become used to. He is not the product of his natural disposition and temperament.^{25a} The conditions to which he has become accustomed, until they have become for him a quality of character and matters of habit and custom, have replaced his natural disposition. If one studies this in human beings, one will find much of it, and it will be found to be a correct (observation).

"God creates whatever He wishes."²⁶

^{25a} CfC n. 21 to Ch. v, below.

²⁶Qur'an 3.47 (42); 5.17 (20); 24.45 (44); 28.68 (68); 30.54 (53); 39.4 (6); 42.49 (48).

II.6. The reliance of sedentary people upon laws destroys their fortitude and power of resistance.

[p.1:258]

Not everyone is master of his own affairs. Chiefs and leaders who are masters of the affairs of men are few in comparison with the rest. As a rule, man must by necessity be dominated by someone 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 any 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.

'Umar forbade Sa'd (b. Abi Waqqas) to exercise such (arbitrary power) when Zuhrah b. Hawiyah took the spoils of al-Jalinus. The value of the spoils was 75,000 gold pieces. (Zuhrah) had followed al-Jalinus on the day of al-Qadisiyah, killed him, and taken his spoils. Sa'd took them away from him and said, "Why did you not wait for my permission to follow him?" He wrote to 'Umar and asked 'Umar for permission (to confiscate the spoils). But 'Umar replied, "Would you want to proceed against a man like Zuhrah, who already has borne so much of the brunt (of battle),²⁷ and while there still remains so much of the war for you (to finish)? Would you want to break his strength and morale?" Thus, 'Umar confirmed (Zuhrah) in possession of the spoils.²⁸

When laws are (enforced) by means of punishment, they completely destroy fortitude, because. the use of punishment against someone who can-

²⁷ Or, more generally, "who has shown himself so courageous."

²⁸ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2346.

not defend himself generates in that person a feeling of humiliation that, no doubt, must break his fortitude.

When laws are (intended to serve the purposes of) education and instruction and are applied from childhood on, they have to some degree the same effect, because people then grow up in fear and docility and consequently do not rely on their own fortitude.

For this (reason), greater fortitude is found among the savage Arab Bedouins than among people who are subject to laws. Furthermore, 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. This is the case with students, whose occupation it is to study and to learn from teachers and religious leaders, and who constantly apply themselves to instruction and education in very dignified gatherings. This situation and the fact that it destroys the power of resistance and fortitude must be understood.

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, as a result of the encouragement and discouragement he gave them in the Qur'an.²⁹ 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 they 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. 'Umar said, "Those who are not educated (disciplined) by the religious law are not educated (disciplined) by God."³⁰ (This statement ex-

²⁹Told "he recited." Cf, the term *matluw*, p.192 (n. 261), above, and p. 437 and 3:113, 284, below.

³⁰Cf. 3:306, below.

presses) 'Umar's desire that everyone should have his restraining influence in himself. It also expresses his certainty that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) knew best what is good for mankind.

(The influence of) religion, then, decreased among men, and they came to use restraining laws. The religious law became a branch of learning and a craft to be acquired through instruction and education. People turned to sedentary life and assumed the character trait of submissiveness to law. This led to a decrease in their fortitude.

It has thus become clear that governmental and educational laws destroy fortitude, because their restraining influence is something that comes from outside. The religious laws, on the other hand, do not destroy fortitude, because their restraining influence is something inherent. Therefore, governmental and educational laws influence sedentary people, in that they weaken their souls and diminish their stamina, because they have to suffer (their authority) both as children and as adults. The Bedouins, on the other hand, are not in the same position, because they live far away from the laws of government, instruction, and education. Therefore, Abu Muhammad b. Abi Zayd,³¹ in his book on the laws governing teachers and students (*Ahkam al-mu'allimin wa-l-muta'allimin*), said: "The educator must not strike a boy more than three times (in one punishment) as an educational measure."³² (Ibn Abi Zayd) reported this remark on the authority of Judge Shurayh.³³ Certain scholar(s) argued in favor of the procedure mentioned, by referring to the three fold choking mentioned in the tradition concerned with the be-

³¹Cf. P. 223, above.

³²Cf. also 3:206, below. In the city of Ibn Khaldun's ancestors, it was prescribed ca. 1100 that "an older child should not be struck more than five times, nor a small one more than three, and the severity of the blows should be according to the strength of the individual children to stand them." Cf. E. Levi-Provengal, "Le Traite d'Ibn 'AbdGn," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 214; tr. by the same, *Seville musulmane au debut du XII e siecle* (Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, No. 2) (Paris, 1947), pp. 53 f.

³³ Shurayh lived in the seventh century and is said to have been appointed judge of al-Kufah by 'Umar. Cf. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 228 f.

gining of revelation.³⁴ This, however, is a weak argument. (The tradition about the) choking is not suitable proof, because it has nothing to do with ordinary instruction. God "is wise and knowing."³⁵

II.7. Only tribes held together by group feeling can live in the desert.

[p.1:261]

It should be known that God put good and evil into the nature of man. Thus, He said in the Qur'an: "We led him along the two paths."³⁶ He further said: "And inspired (the soul) with its wickedness as well as its fear of God."³⁷

Evil is the quality that is closest to man when he fails to improve his customs and (when) religion is not used as the model to improve, him. The great mass of mankind is in that condition, with the exception of those to whom God gives success. Evil³⁸ qualities in man are injustice and mutual aggression. He who casts his eye upon the property of his brother will lay his hand upon it to take it, unless there is a restraining influence to hold him back. The poet thus said:

Injustice is a human characteristic. If you find

A moral man,³⁹ there is some reason why he is not unjust.

Mutual aggression of people in towns and cities is averted by the authorities and the government, which hold back the masses under their con-

³⁴Cf. pp. 201 f., above. The story of the threefold choking is here understood as an educational measure, serving the purpose of teaching Muhammad how to read the writing revealed to him by Gabriel.

³⁵ Qur'an 6.18 (18), 73 (73); 34.1 (1).

³⁶ Qur'an 90.10 (10).

³⁷ Qur'an 91.8 (8).

³⁸ Cf. Issawi, pp. 105 f.

³⁹ *Iffah* is the term picked by translators of Greek texts into Arabic for *σωφροσύνη*.

The verse is by al-Mutanabbi'; cf. the appendix to the edition of his *Diwan* (Beirut, 1882), II, 690, and ar-Raghib al-Isfahini, *Muhddarat*, I, 140.

trol from attacks and aggression upon each other. They are thus prevented by the influence of force and governmental authority from mutual injustice, save such injustice as comes from the ruler himself.

Aggression against a city from outside may be averted by walls, in the event of negligence,⁴⁰ a surprise attack at night, or inability (of the inhabitants) to withstand the enemy during the day. (Or,) it may be averted with the help of a militia of government auxiliary troops, if (the inhabitants are otherwise) prepared and ready to offer resistance.

The⁴¹ restraining influence among Bedouin tribes comes from their *shaykhs* and leaders. It results from the great respect and veneration they generally enjoy among the people. The hamlets of the Bedouins are defended against outside enemies by a tribal militia composed of noble youths of the tribe

who are known for their courage. Their defense and protection are successful only if they are a closely-knit group⁴² of common descent. This strengthens their stamina and makes them feared, since everybody's affection for his family and his group is more important (than anything else). Compassion and affection for one's blood relations and relatives exist in human nature as something God put into the hearts of men. It makes for mutual support and aid, and increases the fear felt by the enemy.

This may be exemplified by the story in the Qur'an about Joseph's brothers. They said to their father: "If the wolf eats him, while we are a group, then, indeed, we have lost out."⁴³ This means that one cannot imagine any hostile act being undertaken against anyone who has his group feeling to support him.

⁴⁰ That is, a general state of unpreparedness.

⁴¹ The remainder of this section was translated by R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 181 f.

⁴² Here the text has *'asabiyah* "group feeling," though *'usbah* "group" would seem better.

⁴³ Qur'an 12.14 (14).

Those who have no one of their own lineage (to care for) 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, because he is afraid of being left without support⁴⁴ and dreads (that prospect). Such people, therefore, cannot live in the desert, because they would fall prey to any nation that might want to swallow them up.

If this is true with regard to the place where one lives, which is in constant need of defense and military protection, it is equally true with regard to every other human activity, such as prophecy, the establishment of royal authority, or propaganda (for a cause). Nothing can be achieved in these matters without fighting for it, since man has the natural urge to offer resistance. And for fighting one cannot do without group feeling, as we mentioned at the beginning. This should be taken as the guiding principle of our later exposition.

God gives success.

II.8. Group feeling results only from (blood) relationship or something corresponding to it.

[p.1:264]

(Respect for) blood⁴⁵ ties is something natural among men, with the rarest exceptions. It leads to affection for one's relations and blood relatives, (the feeling that) no harm ought to befall them nor any destruction come upon them. One feels shame when one's relatives are treated unjustly or attacked, and one wishes to intervene between them and whatever peril or destruction threatens them. This is a natural urge in man, for as long as there have been human beings. If the direct relationship between persons who help each other is very close, so that it leads to close contact and unity, the ties are obvious and clearly require the (existence of a feeling of solidarity)

⁴⁴ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 152 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Issawi*, pp. 103 f.

without any outside (prodding). If, however, the relationship is somewhat distant, it is often forgotten in part. However, some knowledge of it remains and this causes a person to help his relatives for the known motive, in order to escape the shame he would feel in his soul were a person to whom he is somehow related treated unjustly⁴⁶

Clients and allies belong in the same category. The affection everybody has for his clients and allies results from the feeling of shame that comes to a person when one of his neighbors, relatives, or a blood relation in any degree (of kinship) is humiliated. The reason for it is that a client(-master) relationship leads to close contact exactly, or approximately in the same way, as does common descent. It is in that sense that one must understand Muhammad's remark, "Learn as much of your pedigrees as is necessary to establish your ties of blood relationship."⁴⁷ It means that pedigrees are useful only in so far as they imply the close contact that is a consequence of blood ties and that eventually leads to mutual help and affection. Anything beyond that is superfluous.⁴⁸ For a pedigree is something imaginary and devoid of reality.⁴⁹ Its usefulness consists only in the resulting connection and close contact. If the fact of (common descent) is obvious and clear, it evokes in man a natural affection, as we have said. If, however, its existence is known only from remote history, it moves the imagination but faintly. Its usefulness is gone, and preoccupation with it becomes gratuitous, a kind of game, and as such is not permissible. In this sense, one must understand the remark, "Genealogy is something that is of no use to know and that it does no harm not to know."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 446 f.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Concordance*, II, 238b; Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, ed. L. Bercher (3d ed.), p. 326, where `Umar is credited with the saying; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 27 (n. s). The phrase *wasala ar-rahim (al arhdm)* has been understood to mean "to be kind and give presents to one's blood relatives." In the context where it occurs below, 2:145 (n. 761), one might think of such a translation, though it does not seem to be correct there. Here it would be impossible.

⁴⁸ The correct vocalization *mustaghnan* is indicated in C and D.

⁴⁹ Cf. p. 374, below.

⁵⁰ Cf. F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

This means that when common descent is no longer clear and has become a matter of scientific knowledge, it can no longer move the imagination and is denied the affection caused by group feeling. It has become useless.

And God knows better.

II.9. Purity of lineage is found only among the savage Arabs of the desert and other such people.

[p.1:265]

This⁵¹ is on account of the poor life, hard conditions, and bad habitats that are peculiar to the Arabs. They are the result of necessity that destined (these conditions) for (the Arabs), in as much as their subsistence depends on camels and camel breeding and pasturage. The camels are the cause of (the Arabs') savage life in the desert, since they feed on the shrubs of the desert and give birth (to their young ones) in the desert sands, as has been mentioned before.⁵² The desert is a place of hardship and starvation, but to them it has become familiar and accustomed. Generations of (Arabs) grew up in 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 of any other race felt attracted to them. But if one of them were to find ways and means of fleeing from these conditions, he would not (do so or) give them up.⁵³ Therefore, their pedigrees can be trusted not to have been mixed up and corrupted. They have been preserved pure in unbroken lines. This is the case, for instance, with Mudar tribes such as the Quraysh, the Kinanah, the Thaqif, the Banu Asad, the Hudhayl, and their Khuza'ah neighbors. They lived a hard life in places where there was no agriculture or animal husbandry. They lived far from the fertile fields of Syria and the 'Iraq, far from the sources of seasonings and grains. How

⁵¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 104 f.

⁵² Cf. p. 251, above.

⁵³ But see above, p. 252.

pure have they kept their lineages! These are unmixed in every way, and are known to be unsullied.

Other Arabs lived in the hills and at the sources of fertile pastures and plentiful living. Among these Arabs were the Himyar and the Kahlan, such as the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Tayy, the Quda'ah, and the Iyad. Their lineages were mixed up, and their groups intermingled. It is known that people (genealogists) differ with respect to each one of these families. This came about as the result of inter mixture with non-Arabs. They did not pay any attention to preserving the (purity of) lineage of their families and groups. This⁵⁴ was done only by (true) Arabs. 'Umar said: "Study genealogy, and be not like the Nabataeans of the Mesopotamian lowlands. When one of them is asked about his origin, he says: 'From such and such a village.'"⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Arabs of the fertile fields were affected by the general human trend toward competition for the fat soil and the good pastures. This resulted in intermingling and much mixture of lineages. Even at the beginning of Islam, people occasionally referred to themselves by their places of residence. They referred to the Districts of Qinnasrin, of Damascus, or of the 'Awisim (the border region of northern Syria). This custom was then transferred to Spain. It happened not because the Arabs rejected genealogical considerations, but because they acquired particular places of residence after the conquest. They eventually became known by their places of residence. These became a distinguishing mark, in addition to the pedigree, used by (the Arabs) to identify themselves in the presence of their amirs. Later on, sedentary (Arabs) mixed with Persians and other non-Arabs. Purity of lineage was completely lost, and its fruit, the group feeling, was lost and rejected. The tribes, then, disappeared and were wiped out, and with them, the

⁵⁴Cf. Issawi, pp. 106 f.

⁵⁵Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd*, II, 37; Ibn 'Abd-al-Barr, *al-Inbah'ald qaba'il ar-ruwdh* (Cairo, 1350/1931-32), p. 43.

group feeling was wiped out. But the (earlier situation) remained unchanged among the Bedouins.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

II.10. How lineages become confused.

[p.1:267]

It is clear that a person of a certain descent may become attached to people of another descent, either because he feels well-disposed toward them, or because there exists an (old) alliance or client(-master) relationship, or yet because he had to flee from his own people by reason of some crime he committed. Such a person comes to be known as having the same descent as those (to whom he has attached himself) and is counted one of them with respect to the things that result from (common descent), such as affection, the rights and obligations concerning talion and blood money, and so on. When the things which result from (common) descent are there, it is as if (common descent) itself were there, because the only meaning of belonging to one or another group is that one is subject to its laws and conditions, as if one had come into close contact with it. In the course of time, the original descent is almost forgotten. Those who knew about it have passed away, and it is no longer known to most people. Family lines in this manner continually changed from one tribal group to another, and some people developed close contact with others (of a different descent). This happened both in pre-Islamic and in Islamic times, and between both Arabs and non-Arabs. If one studies the different opinions concerning the pedigree of the family of al-Mundhir⁵⁶ and others, the matter will become somewhat clearer.

The affair of the Bajilah and 'Arfajah b. Harthamah is an(other) illustration. When 'Umar appointed 'Arfajah their governor, (the Bajilah) asked

⁵⁶The Lakhmids of al-Hirah on the Euphrates.

('Umar) to withdraw him, saying that he was *a nazif*⁵⁷ among them, that is, one who had come to them from outside and attached himself to them. They asked that he appoint Jarir (instead). 'Umar asked 'Arfajah about this, and he replied: "They are right, O Commander of the Faithful. I am from the Azd. I shed blood among my people, and joined (the Bajilah)."⁵⁸ This shows how 'Arfajah had come to mix with the Bajilah, had become of their skin, and was known as one having the same descent as they, to the extent that he could eventually become a candidate for leadership over them, (and would have) had someone not remembered the genealogical ramifications. Had they overlooked it and had (still) more time elapsed, (his foreign origin) would have been forgotten, and he would have been considered one of them in every respect.

This should be understood and pondered as one of God's ways with His creatures. Similar things occur frequently in our own times, and have always been frequent in former times.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Bulaq has the freehand correction *laziq*. *Nazif* has no meaning that would be suitable here, according to the Arabic dictionaries. R. Dozy, *op. cit.* (n. 44, above), and also in *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 658a, called attention to the fact that at-Tabari has *nazi'* in reporting this story. Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2186, l. 14, and glossary, p. DIX. It seems that Ibn Khaldun misread the word in at-Tabari or an intermediary source. The accusative *nazi'an* that appears in at-Tabari could easily be misread *nazifan*.

⁵⁸ The story was referred to above, p. 55. Cf. also 2:39, below.

⁵⁹ Bulaq adds here another section, which appears only in the Tunis MS used by the editor of Bulaq, and which was dropped in all later texts, although reference is made to it at the beginning of the next section. It reads:

Among all those who share in a given group feeling, leadership always remains vested in the particular family to which it belongs.

It should be known that although each tribe and subtribe forms but a single (uniform) group because of their common descent, there exist among them special kinds of group feeling because of special relationships that constitute a closer kind of contact than common (general) descent. These may be, for instance, (the members of) one family, or the members of one tent, or brothers who are sons of one father. (People related in this way) are different from close or remote cousins. They are more firmly established in their particular descent, (but they still) share with other groups the common (general) descent. They feel affection for the people of their particular descent as well as for those

II.11. Leadership over people who share in a given group feeling cannot be vested in those not of the same descent.⁶⁰

[p.1:269]

This is because leadership exists only through superiority, and superiority only through group feeling, as we have mentioned before.⁶¹ Leadership over people, therefore, must, of necessity, derive from a group feeling that is superior to each individual group feeling. Each individual group feeling that becomes aware of the superiority of the group feeling of the leader is ready to obey and follow (that leader).

Now, a person who has become attached to people of a common descent usually does not share the group feeling that derives from their common

of the common (general) descent. Their affection, however, is stronger in the case of the people of their particular descent because of the close contact.

Leadership is vested in one particular family among them, and not in the whole. Since leadership is the result of superiority, it (follows) necessarily that the group of the (particular) family in which (leadership is vested) must be stronger than that of all the other groups, in order to enable that (particular family) to gain superiority and, thus, full leadership for its members. If this is necessary, it is obligatory that leadership over (all others) always remain vested in the particular family having superiority over them. Were it to pass to outsiders and become vested in other groups of inferior power, they would not have full leadership.

Leadership is continuously transmitted within that (particular) family from one branch to another, but always to the strongest branch only, for reasons connected with the secret of superiority which we have mentioned. Social organization and group feeling may be compared to the (process of) mixture of the things that come into being. No mixture can come about in them if the elements are all equal to each other. One element must necessarily be superior. If not, the process of coming into being cannot materialize. [Cf. pp. 336 f., below.] This is the secret reason why superiority is a (necessary) condition in connection with (matters of) group feeling. It makes it obligatory for leadership to remain vested in a particular family, as we have established.

⁶⁰ In one of the comparatively rare references to the *Muqaddimah* in the *'Ibar*, Ibn Khaldun refers to this chapter as proof of the spuriousness of the alleged Sassanian genealogy of the Bayids; cf. *'Ibar*, III, 395. And again, in *'Ibar*, V, 436 f., and in VI, 7 f., he refers to it as an argument against the alleged descent of the Syrian tribe Al Fail and their chief, Muhanna', from 'Abbisah, the sister of ar-Rashid. Cf. pp. 28 ff, above, and p. 272, below.

⁶¹ In the deleted section which immediately preceded this one. Cf. n. 59.

descent. He is merely attached to them.⁶² The firmest connection he has with the group is as client and ally. This in no way guarantees him superiority over them. 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 forebears, have acquired leadership before that process had taken place, since leadership is transmitted in one particular branch that has been marked for superiority through group feeling? The fact that he was merely attached to the tribe was no doubt known at an earlier stage, and at that time prevented him (or rather, his forebears) from assuming leadership. Thus, it could not have been passed on by (a man) who was still merely attached (to the tribe). Leadership must of necessity be inherited from the person who is entitled to it, in accordance with the fact, which we have stated, that superiority results from group feeling.

Many leaders of tribes or groups are eager to acquire certain pedigrees. They desire them because persons of that particular descent possessed some special virtue, such as bravery, or nobility, or fame, however this may have come about. They go after such a family and involve themselves in claims to belong to a branch of it. They do not realize that they thus bring suspicion upon themselves with regard to their leadership and nobility.

Such things are frequently found among people at this time. Thus, the Zanatah in general claim to be Arabs. The Awlad Rabab, who are known as the Hijazis and who belong to the Banu 'Amir, one of the branches of the Zughbah, claim that they belong to the Banu Sulaym and, in particular, to the Sharid, a branch of the Bani Sulayin. Their ancestor is said to have joined the Banu 'Amir as a carpenter who made biers. He mixed with them and developed a close contact with them. Finally, he became their leader. He was called by them al-Hijazi.

⁶²Ibn Khaldun once more uses the word *nazif*

Similarly, the Banu 'Abd-al-Qawi b. al-'Abbas of the Tiljin claim to be descendants of al-'Abbas b. 'Abd-alMuttalib, because they want to have noble descent (from the family of the Prophet), and hold a mistaken opinion concerning the name of al-'Abbas b. 'Asiyah, the father of 'Abd-alQawi. It is not known that any 'Abbasid ever entered the Maghrib. From the beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty and thereafter, the Maghrib was under the influence of the Idrisids and the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), 'Alid enemies of the 'Abbasids. No 'Abbasid would have become attached to a Shi'ah.

Similarly, the Zayyanids, the 'Abd-al-Wadid rulers (of Tlemcen), claim to be descendants of al-Qasim b. Idris, basing their claim on the fact that their family is known to have descended from al-Qasim. In their own Zanitah dialect, they are called Ait al-Qasim⁶³ that is, Banu-l-Qasim. They claim that the Qasim (after whom they are named) was al-Qasim b. Idris, or al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. Idris. If that were true, all that can be said concerning that Qasim is that he fled his own realm and attached himself to (the Zanatah group of the 'Abd-al-Wad). How, then, could he have gained complete leadership over them in the desert? The story is an error resulting from the name of al-Qasim, which is very frequent among the Idrisids. (The Zayyanids), therefore, thought that their Qasim was an Idrisid. (But after all,) they hardly need so spurious a genealogy. They gained royal authority and power through their group feeling, not through claims to 'Alid, 'Abbasid, or other descent.

These things are invented by people to get into the good graces of rulers, through (sycophantic) behavior and through the opinions they express. Their (fabrications) eventually become so well known as to be irrefutable. I have heard that Yaghamrasin⁶⁴ b. Zayyan, the founder of the

⁶³Berber u, p1. *ait*, "*son*."

⁶⁴According to the vocalization in D, the name reads Yagh (a) mrasin. The *Autobiography* suggests the vocalizations Yagha/imrisa/in; cf. *Autobiography*, p. 453. Modern scholarship commonly uses the wrong form Yaghmu/orasa/in. It seems to have been influenced by the occurrence of the name of Yaghamir for the same man. But his name is also pronounced Ghamrasen, in modern Tlemcen,

Zayyanid rule, when he was asked about (the alleged Idrisid descent of his family), denied it. He expressed himself in the Zanatah dialect as follows: "We gained worldly power and royal authority with our swords, not through (noble) family connections. The usefulness of (our royal authority for us)^{64a} in the next world depends on God." And he turned away from the person who, in this way, had hoped to get into his good graces.

Another example is the claim of the Banu Sa'd, *shaykhs* of the Banu Yazid of the Zughbah, to be descendants of (the Caliph) Abu Bakr as-Siddiq. Then, there is the claim of the Banu Salimah, *shaykhs* of the Banu Yadraltin (Idlelten) of the Titjin, that they belong to the Sulaym, as well as the claim of the Dawawidah, *shaykhs* of the Riyah, that they are descendants of the Barmecides.⁶⁵ We also hear that the Banu Muhanna', amirs of the Tayy in the East, claim to be descendants of the Barmecides. There are many such examples. The fact that these groups are the leaders among their peoples speaks against their claims to such pedigrees, as we have mentioned. Their common descent (with their people) must be pure, and they must enjoy the strongest possible group feeling (in their own tribe, to have gained the leadership). Were this taken into consideration, errors in this matter would be avoided.

The connection of the Mahdi of the Almohads with the 'Alid family should not be considered a case of this type. The Mahdi did not belong to the leading family among his people, the Harghah. He became their leader after he had become famous for his knowledge and religion, and by virtue

according to A. Bel in his edition of Yabiy Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Beni 'Abd el-Wad* (Algiers, 1903/4), p. 157 (n.3).

^{64a}Cf. Surdon and Bercher, p. 26. Referring the Arabic pronoun to "the usefulness of (such a noble descent)" would imply that Yaghamrasin was skeptical as to the religious merit of 'Alid descent.

⁶⁵Cf. n. 60 to this chapter. A brief sketch of the history of the Fadl, down to the present, is given in M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), 1, 350 ff.

of the fact that the Masmudah tribe followed his call. Yet, he belonged to a (Harghah) family of medium rank.⁶⁶

God knows the unseen and the visible.

II.12. Only those who share in the group feeling (of a group) can have a "house" and nobility in the basic sense and in reality, while others have it only in a metaphorical and figurative sense.

[p.1:272]

This is because nobility and prestige are the result of (personal) qualities. A "house"⁶⁷ means that a man counts noble and famous men among his forebears. The fact that he is their progeny and descendant gives him great standing among his fellows, for his fellows respect the great standing and nobility that his ancestors acquired through their (personal) qualities.

With regard to their growth and propagation, human beings can be compared to minerals. Muhammad said: "Men are minerals. The best ones in pre-Islamic times are also the best ones in Islam, if they are understanding."⁶⁸ "Prestige" in its proper meaning refers to (family) descent.

We have explained that the advantage of (common) descent consists in the group feeling that derives from it and that leads to affection and mutual help. Wherever the group feeling is truly formidable and its soil kept pure, the advantage of a (common) descent is more evident (than elsewhere), and the (group feeling) is more effective. It is an additional advantage to have a number of noble ancestors. Thus, prestige and nobility become firmly grounded in those who share in the group feeling (of a tribe), because there

⁶⁶Cf. pp. 54 f., above.

⁶⁷ *Bayt* in this sense has the pl. *buyutat*. The word "house" was used in this sense in the ancient Near East. It was particularly well established in the 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.

⁶⁸Cf. *Concordance*, II, 110b, 11. 93 ff; *Handbook*, p. 58b.

exists (in them) the result of (common) descent. The nobility of a "house" is in direct proportion to the different degrees of group feeling, because (nobility) is the secret of (group feeling).

Isolated⁶⁹ inhabitants of cities can have a "house" only in a metaphorical sense. The assumption that they possess one is a specious claim. Seen in its proper light, prestige means to the inhabitants of cities that some of them count among their forefathers men who had good (personal) qualities and who mingled with good people, and (that, in addition, they) try to be as decent as possible. This is different from the real meaning of group feeling, as group feeling derives from (common) descent and a number of forefathers. The terms "prestige" and "house" are used metaphorically in this connection, because there exists in this case a number of successive ancestors who consistently performed good deeds. This is not true and unqualified prestige.⁷⁰

A "house" possesses an original nobility through group feeling and (personal) qualities. Later on, the people (who have a "house") divest themselves of that nobility when group feeling disappears as the result of sedentary life, as mentioned before,⁷¹ and they mingle with the common people. A certain delusion as to their former prestige remains in their souls and leads them to consider themselves members of the most noble houses.⁷² They are, however, far from that (status), because their group feeling has completely disappeared. Many inhabitants of cities who had their origins in (noble) Arab or non-Arab "houses" share such delusions.

The Israelites are the most firmly misled in this delusion. They originally had one of the greatest "houses" in the world, first, because of the great number of prophets and messengers born among their ancestors, ex-

⁶⁹That is, belonging to no tribe.

⁷⁰ Bulaq adds: "It is true that the term 'prestige' is correctly used in both cases according to conventional linguistic usage. It is an ambiguous term that is more appropriately used in some cases (than in others)."

⁷¹Cf., apparently, p. 267, above.

⁷²The earlier texts add: "who represent (closely knit) groups."

tending from Abraham to Moses, the founder of their religious group and law, and next, because of their group feeling and the royal authority that God had promised and granted them by means of that group feeling. Then, they were divested of all that, and they suffered humiliation and indigence. They were destined to live as exiles on earth. For thousands of years, they knew only enslavement and unbelief⁷³ Still, the delusion of (nobility) has not left them. They can be found saying: "He is an Aaronite"; "He is a descendant of Joshua"; "He is one of Caleb's progeny"; "He is from the tribe of Judah." This in spite of the fact that their group feeling has disappeared and that for many long years they have been exposed to humiliation.⁷⁴ Many other inhabitants of cities who hold (noble) pedigrees but no longer share in any group feeling, are inclined to (utter) similar nonsense.

Abul-Walid b. Rushd (Averroes) erred in this respect. He mentioned prestige in the *Rhetoric*, one of the abridgments of the books of the first science.⁷⁵ "Prestige," he states, "belongs to people who are ancient settlers in a town." He did not consider the things we have just mentioned. I should like to know how long residence in a town can help (anyone to gain prestige), if he does not belong to a group that makes him feared and causes others to obey him. (Averroes,) in a way, considers prestige as depending exclusively on the number of forefathers. Yet,⁷⁶ rhetoric means to sway the opinions of those whose opinions count, that is, the men in command. It takes no notice of those who have no power. They cannot sway anyone's opinions, and their own opinions are not sought. The sedentary inhabitants of cities fall into that

⁷³ Bulaq corrects the text to read: "subservience to unbelief."

⁷⁴ Cf. also p. 288 and 3:306, below.

⁷⁵ This strange expression seems to refer to the Aristotelian *Organon*. One is tempted to correct the text, with Bulaq, to "the First Teacher," the epithet by which Aristotle was commonly known; cf. 3:115, below. * Tile reference is to Averroes' *Talkhis al-Khitabah*, ed. 'Abd-ar-Rahman Badawi (Cairo, 1960), p. 41. Cf. also Badawi, *Dawr al-'Arab* (Beirut, 1965), pp. 115 ff.

⁷⁶ That is, Averroes should have done better, since he discussed the matter in connection with rhetoric. A rhetorician ought not to concern himself with "ancient settlers in cities," because they do not count, and therefore cannot be confused with "people of prestige."

category. It is true that Averroes grew up in a generation (group) and a place where people had no experience of group feeling and were not familiar with the conditions governing it. Therefore, (Averroes) did not progress beyond his well-known (definition of) "house" and prestige as something depending merely on the number of one's ancestors, and did not refer to the reality of group feeling and its influence among men.

"God knows everything."⁷⁷

II.13. "House" and nobility come to clients and followers only through their masters and not through their own descent.

[p.1:276]

This is because, as we have mentioned before, only those who share in a group feeling have basic and true nobility. When such people take people of another descent as followers, or when they take slaves⁷⁸ and clients into servitude, and enter into close contact with them, as we have said, the clients and followers share in the group feeling of their masters and take it on as if it were their own group feeling. By taking their special place within the group feeling, they participate to some extent in the (common) descent to which (that particular group feeling belongs). Muhammad thus said, "The client of people belongs to them, whether he is their client as a slave, or as a follower and ally."⁷⁹

His own descent and birth are of no help as regards the group feeling of (the master), since (that group feeling) has nothing to do with (his own) descent. The group feeling that belonged to (his own) family is lost, because its influence disappeared when he entered into close contact with that other family and lost contact with the men whose group feeling he had formerly

⁷⁷ Qur'an 2.29 (27), etc.

⁷⁸ The form *'ibidda* used here is considered to designate specifically persons born in slavery.

⁷⁹ This is an important maxim in financial legislation. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 290; *Handbook*, p. 148a, first entry under *mawla*.

shared. He thus becomes one of the others and takes his place among them. In the event a number of his ancestors also shared the group feeling of these people, he comes to enjoy among (these other people) a certain nobility and "house," in keeping with his position as their client and follower. However, he does not come to be as noble as they are, but remains inferior to them.

This is the case with clients of dynasties and with all servants. They acquire nobility by being firmly rooted in their client relationship, and by their service to their particular dynasty, and by having a large number of ancestors who had been under the protection of (that dynasty). One knows that the Turkish clients of the 'Abbasids and, before them, the Barmecides, as well as the Bane Nawbakht, thus achieved "house" and nobility and created glory and importance for themselves by being firmly rooted in their relationship to the ('Abbasid) dynasty. Ja'far b. Yahyi b. Khilid had the greatest possible "house" and nobility. This was the result of his position as a client of ar-Rashid and his family. It was not the result of his own (noble) descent among the Persians. The same is the case with clients and servants under any dynasty. They have "house" and prestige by being firmly rooted in their client relationship with a particular dynasty and by being its faithful followers. Their original descent disappears (and means nothing), if it is not that of (the dynasty). It remains under cover and is not considered in connection with their importance and glory. The thing that is considered is their position as clients and followers, because this accords with the secret of group feeling which (alone) produces "house" and nobility.

The nobility of (a client) is, in a way, derived from the nobility of his masters, and his "house" is derived from what (his masters) have built. His own descent and birth do not help him. His glory is built upon his relationship as client to a particular dynasty, and upon his close contact with it as a follower and product of its education. His own original descent may have implied close contact with some group feeling and dynasty. If that (close contact) is gone and the person in question has become a client and follower

of another (dynasty), his original (descent) is no longer of any use to him, because its group feeling has disappeared. The new (relationship) becomes useful to him, because (its group feeling) exists.

This applies to the Barmecides. It has been reported that they belonged to a Persian "house," the members of which had been guardians of the fire temples of (the Persians). When they became clients of the 'Abbasids, their original (descent) was not considered. Their nobility resulted from their position as clients and followers of the ('Abbasid) dynasty.

Everything else is unsupported and unrealistic delusions prompted⁸⁰ by undisciplined souls. (The facts of) existence confirm our remarks. "Most noble among you in God's (eyes) is he who fears God most."⁸¹

II.14. Prestige lasts at best four generations in one lineage.⁸²

[p.1:278]

It should be known that the world of the elements and all it contains comes into being and decays. This applies to both its essences and its conditions. Minerals, plants, all the animals including man, and the other created things come into being and decay, as one can see with one's own eyes. The same applies to the conditions that affect created things, and especially the conditions that affect man. Sciences grow up and then are wiped out. The same applies to crafts, and to similar things.

Prestige is an accident that affects human beings. It comes into being and decays inevitably. No human being exists who possesses an unbroken pedigree of nobility from Adam down to himself. The only exception was made for the Prophet, as a special act of divine grace to him, and as a measure designed to safeguard his true character.

⁸⁰ D correctly indicates the active *tuwaswisu*.

⁸¹ Qur'an 49.13 (19).

⁸²Cf. pp. 343 ff., below.

Nobility originates in the state of being outside, as has been said.⁸³ That is, being outside of⁸⁴ leadership and nobility and being in a vile, humble station, devoid of prestige. This means that all nobility and prestige is preceded by the nonexistence of nobility and prestige, as is the case with every created thing.

It reaches its end in a single family within four successive generations. This is as follows: The builder of the glory (of the family) knows what it cost him to do the work, and he keeps the qualities that created his glory and made it last. The son who comes after him had personal contact with his father and thus learned those things from him. However, he is inferior in this respect to (his father), in as much as a person who learns things through study is inferior to a person who knows them from practical application. The third generation must be content with imitation and, in particular, with reliance upon tradition. This member is inferior to him of the second generation, in as much as a person who relies (blindly) upon tradition is inferior to a person who exercises independent judgment.⁸⁵

The fourth generation, then, is inferior to the preceding ones in every respect. This member has lost the qualities that preserved the edifice of their glory. He (actually) despises(those qualities). He imagines that the edifice was not built through application and effort. He thinks that it was 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) and (individual) qualities. For he sees the great respect in which he is held by the people, but he does not know how that respect originated and what the rea-

⁸³This apparently refers to some statement by others, not to a previous statement by Ibn Khaldun.

⁸⁴The root *kharaja* means "to go outside" and also "to be outside." The form used here usually means "going outside" or "departure." B actually has "departure toward leadership and nobility from a vile, humble station devoid of prestige." However, the preceding *khrijyah* "state of being outside" or "an outsider" (cf. p. 976, l. 34, below), guarantees the accuracy of the above translation.

⁸⁵"Blind reliance upon tradition" and "exercise of independent judgment" are important terms of Muslim legal scholarship.

son for it was. He imagines that it is due to his descent and nothing else. He keeps away from those in whose group feeling 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 feelings. Therefore, he considers them despicable, and they, in turn, revolt against him and despise him. They transfer (political) leadership from him and his direct lineage to some other related branch (of his tribe), in obedience to their group feeling, as we have stated. (They do so) after they have convinced themselves that the qualities of the (new leader) are satisfactory to them. His family then grows, whereas the family of the original (leader) decays and the edifice of his "house" collapses.

This is the case with rulers who have royal authority. It also is the case with all the "houses" of tribes, of amirs, and of everybody else who shares in a group feeling, and then also with the "houses" among the urban population. When one "house" goes down, another one rises in (another group of) the same descent. "If He wants them to disappear, He causes them to do so, and brings forth a new creation. This is not difficult for God."⁸⁶

The rule of four (generations) with respect to prestige usually holds true. It may happen that a "house" is wiped out, disappears, and collapses in fewer than four (generations), or it may continue unto the fifth and sixth (generations), though in a state of decline and decay. The four generations can be explained as the builder, the one who has personal contact with the builder, the one who relies on tradition, and the destroyer. There could not be fewer.

The fact that prestige lasts four generations is considered (in statements discussed) under the subject of praise and glorification. Muhammad said: "The noble son of the noble (father) of the noble (grandfather) of the noble

⁸⁶ Qur'an 14.19 f. (22 f.); 35.16E (17 f.).

(great grandfather): Joseph, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham."⁸⁷ This indicates that (Joseph) had reached the limit in glory.

In the Torah, there is the following passage: "God, your Lord, is powerful⁸⁸ and jealous, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and the fourth (generations)." This shows that four generations in one lineage are the limit in extent of ancestral prestige.

The *Kitab al-Aghani*⁸⁹ reports, in the story of 'Uwayf al-Qawafi, that Khosraw asked an-Nu'man whether there was among the Arabs a tribe that was nobler than other tribes. And when the answer was yes, he asked: "In what respect (does such greater nobility show itself)?" An-Nu'man replied: "(In cases of men) with three successive ancestors who were leaders, and where the fourth generation, then, was perfect. The 'house' thus belongs to his tribe."⁹⁰ He looked for such people and found that the only ones that fulfilled the condition were the family of Hudhayfah b. Badr al-Fazari, the house of Qays; the family of Hajib b. Zurarah, the house of Tamim; the family of Dhu'l-Jaddayn, the house of Shayban; and the family of al-Ash'ath b. Qays, of the Kindah.⁹¹ He assembled those clans and the families attached to them, and appointed impartial judges. Hudhayfah b. Badr stood up; then al-Ash'ath b. Qays, because of his relationship to an-Nu'man; then Bistam b. Qays of the Shayban; then flajib b. Zurarah; and then Qays b. 'Asim. They made long speeches. Khosraw (finally) said: "Each one of them is a chieftain who occupies his proper place."

⁸⁷Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 352, and III, 262 f., and, for a very similar version of the same saying, 11, 438, etc.

⁸⁸De Slane here makes the important observation that the addition of "powerful" in Exod. 20:5 is found only in the Vulgate, which, therefore, must have been the ultimate source of Ibn Khaldun's quotation.

⁸⁹Cf. Abul-Faraj al-Aghfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, XVII, 106 f.

⁹⁰The text of the *Kitab al-Aghani* adds *fih*, which yields the better sense: "and the 'house' belonging to his tribe rests in him."

⁹¹ Butaq reads here: "the family of Hajib b. Zurarah; and the family of Qays b.'Aqim al-Minqari, of the Banu Tamim."

Those "houses" were the ones that enjoyed the greatest reputation among the Arabs after the Hashimites. To them belonged also the house of the Banu ad-Dayyan,⁹² of the Banu l-Harith b. Ka'b, the house of the Yemen.

All this shows that prestige lasts at best four generations. And God knows better.

II.15. Savage nations are better able to achieve superiority than others.

[p.1:282]

It should be known that since, as we have stated in the Third Prefatory Discussion,⁹³ desert life no doubt is the reason for bravery, savage groups are braver than others. They are, therefore, better able to achieve superiority and to take away the things that are in the hands of other nations. The situation of one and the same group changes, in this respect, with the change of time. Whenever people settle in the fertile plains and amass⁹⁴ luxuries and become accustomed to a life of abundance and luxury, their bravery decreases to the degree that their wildness and desert habits decrease.

This is exemplified by dumb animals, such as gazelles, wild buffaloes (cows), and donkeys, that are domesticated. When they cease to be wild as the result of contact with human beings, and when they have a life of abundance, their vigor and violence undergo change. This affects even their movements and the beauty of their coat.⁹⁵ The same applies to savage human beings who become sociable and friendly.

The reason is that familiar customs determine human nature and character. Superiority comes to nations through enterprise and courage. The

⁹²For the Band d-Dayyan, cf. Ibn IHazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab*, p. 391, where they are called the house of Madhhij (a Yemenite tribe) and maternal uncles of (the first 'Abbasid caliph) Abul-'Abbas as-Saffah. Cf. also *Kitab al-Aghani*, XVII, 105.

⁹³In the paragraph called thus (above, pp. 167 ff.), nothing of the sort is said. Ibn Khaldun mentions the subject in the fifth section of this chapter, pp. 257 f., above.

⁹⁴Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 153 f.

⁹⁵Cf. pp. 178 f., above.

more firmly rooted in desert habits and the wilder a group is, the closer does it come to achieving superiority over others, if both (parties are otherwise) approximately equal in number, strength, and group (feeling) .

In this connection, one may compare the Mudar with the Ijimyār and the Kahlan before them, who preceded them in royal authority and in the life of luxury, and also with the Rabi'ah who settled in the fertile fields of the 'Iraq. The Mudar retained their desert habits, and the others embarked upon a life of abundance and great luxury before they did. Desert life prepared the Mudar most effectively for achieving superiority. They took away and appropriated what the other groups had in their hands.

The same was the case also with the Banu Tayy, the Banu 'Amir b. Sa'sa'ah, and the Banu Sulaym b. Mansur⁹⁶ later on. They remained longer in the desert than the other Mudar and Yemenite tribes, and did not have any of their wealth. The desert habits thus preserved the power of their group feeling, and the habits of luxury did not wear it out. They thus eventually became the most powerful (group) among (the Arabs). Thus, wherever an Arab tribe leads a life of luxury and abundance, while another does not, the one holding fast to desert life the longer will be superior to and more powerful than the other, if both parties are (otherwise) equal in strength and number.

This is how God proceeds with His creatures.

II.16. The goal to which group feeling leads is royal authority.

[p.1:284]

This⁹⁷ is because, as we have mentioned before,⁹⁸ group feeling gives protection and makes possible mutual defense, the pressing of claims,⁹⁹ and

⁹⁶This refers to the Arab tribes that invaded northwestern Africa in the eleventh century.

⁹⁷Cf. Issawi, pp. 108 f.

⁹⁸Cf. p. 263, above.

every other kind of social activity. We have also mentioned before¹⁰⁰ that according to their nature, human beings need someone to act as a restraining influence and mediator in every social organization, in order to keep the members from (fighting) with each other. That person must, by necessity, have superiority over the others in the matter of group feeling. If not, his power to (exercise a restraining influence) could not materialize. Such superiority is royal authority (*mulk*). It is 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 force.

When a person sharing in the group feeling¹⁰¹ has reached the rank of chieftain and commands obedience, and when he then finds the way open toward superiority and (the use of) force, he follows that way, because it is something desirable. He cannot completely achieve his (goal) except with the help of the group feeling, which causes (the others) to obey him. Thus, royal superiority is a goal to which group feeling leads, as one can see.

Even if an individual tribe has different "houses" and many diverse group feelings, still, there must exist a group feeling that is stronger than all the other group feelings combined, that is superior to them all and makes them subservient, and in which all the diverse group feelings coalesce, as it were, to become one greater group feeling. Otherwise, splits would occur and lead to dissension and strife. "If God did not keep human beings apart, the earth would perish."¹⁰²

⁹⁹ *Muldabah* might be more simply translated "aggression," but it should be kept in mind that it is a legal term, translatable as "action." Cf. D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, II, 3, 554.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. pp. 91 f., above.

¹⁰¹ Bulaq adds: "has reached a certain rank, he aspires to the next higher one (and so on When he then...."

¹⁰² Qur'an 2.251 (252).

Once group feeling has established superiority over the people who share (in that particular group feeling), it will, by its very nature, seek superiority over people of other group feelings unrelated to the first. If the one (group feeling) is the equal of the other or is able to stave off (its challenge), the (competing people) are even with and equal to each other. (In this case,) each group feeling maintains its sway over its own domain and people, as is the case with tribes and nations all over the earth. However, if the one group feeling overpowers the other and makes it subservient to itself, the two group feelings enter into close contact, and the (defeated) group feeling gives added power to the (victorious) group feeling, which, as a result, sets its goal of superiority and domination higher than before. In this way, it goes on until the power of that particular group feeling equals the power of the ruling dynasty. Then, when the ruling dynasty grows senile and no defender arises from among its friends who share in its group feeling, the (new group feeling) takes over and deprives the ruling dynasty of its power, and, thus, obtains complete royal authority.

The power of (a given group feeling) may (also) reach its peak when the ruling dynasty has not yet reached senility. (This stage) may coincide with the stage at which (the ruling dynasty) needs to have recourse to the people who represent the various group feelings (in order to master the situation). In such a case, the ruling dynasty incorporates (the people who enjoy the powerful group feeling) among its clients whom it uses for the execution of its various projects. This, then, means (the formation of) another royal authority, inferior to that of the controlling royal authority. This was the case with the Turks under the 'Abbasids'¹⁰³ with the Sinhajah and the Zanatah in

¹⁰³ While the following two examples concern dynasties that made themselves independent, the first example is not quite of the same order. Ibn Khaldun himself considers the Turks usurpers of control over the 'Abbasid rulers. The reference to the 'Alids (Fatimids) in connection with the Hamdanids also does not appear to be exactly to the point.

their relation to the Kutamah, and with the Hamdanids in their relation to the (Fatimid) 'Alids and the 'Abbisids.

It is thus evident that royal authority is the goal of group feeling. When (group feeling) attains that goal, the tribe (representing that particular group feeling) obtains royal authority, either by seizing actual control or by giving assistance (to the ruling dynasty). It depends on the circumstances prevailing at a given time (which of the two alternatives applies). If the group feeling encounters obstacles on its way to the goal, as we shall explain, it stops where it is, until God decides what is going to happen to it.

II.17. Obstacles on the way toward royal authority are luxury and the submergence of the tribe in a life of prosperity.

[p.1:286]

The reason for this is that, when a tribe has achieved a certain measure of superiority with the help of its group feeling, it gains control over a corresponding amount of wealth and comes to share prosperity and abundance with those who have been in possession of these things (for a long time). It shares in them to the degree of its power and usefulness to the ruling dynasty. If the ruling dynasty is so strong that no one would think of depriving it of its power or sharing (its power) with it, the tribe in question submits to its rule and is satisfied with whatever share in the dynasty's wealth and tax revenue it is permitted to enjoy. Hopes would not go so high as to (think of) the royal prerogatives or ways to obtain the (royal authority. Members of the tribe) are merely concerned with prosperity, gain, and a life of abundance. (They are satisfied) to lead an easy, restful life in the shadow of the ruling dynasty, and to adopt royal habits in building and dress, a matter they stress and in which they take more and more pride, the more luxuries and plenty they obtain, as well as all the other things that go with luxury and plenty.

As a result, the toughness of desert life is lost. Group feeling and courage weaken. Members of the tribe revel in the well-being that God has given them. Their children and offspring grow up too proud 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 group feeling. This finally becomes a character trait and natural characteristic of theirs. Their group feeling and courage decrease in the next generations. Eventually, group feeling is altogether destroyed. They thus invite (their) own destruction. The greater their luxury and the easier the life they enjoy, the closer they are to extinction, not to mention (their lost chance of obtaining) royal authority. The things that go with luxury and submergence in a life of ease break the vigor of the group feeling, which alone produces superiority. When group feeling 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.

It has thus become clear that luxury is an obstacle on the way toward royal authority. "God gives His kingdom (royal authority) to-whomever He wants to give it."¹⁰⁴

II.18. Meekness and docility to outsiders that may come to be found in a tribe are obstacles on the way toward royal authority.

[p.1:287]

The¹⁰⁵ reason for this is that meekness and docility break the vigor and strength of group feeling. The (very fact) that people are meek and docile shows that (their group feeling) is lost. They do not become fond of meekness until they are 1, 256 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 claims.

¹⁰⁴ Qur'an 2.247 (248).

¹⁰⁵ Cf..Issawi, pp. 60 f.

The Israelites are a good example. Moses urged them to go and become rulers of Syria. He informed them that God had made this their destiny. But the Israelites were too weak for that. They said: "There are giants in that country, and we shall not enter it until the giants have departed."¹⁰⁶ That is, until God has driven them out by manifesting His power, without the application of our group feeling, and that will be one of your miracles, O Moses. And when Moses urged them on, they persisted and became rebellious, and said: "Go you yourself and your Lord, and fight."¹⁰⁷

The reason for (their attitude) was that they had become used to being too weak to offer opposition and to press claims.¹⁰⁸ (That is the meaning) required by the verse, and it must be interpreted in that manner. (This situation) was the result of the quality of docility and the longing to be subservient to the Egyptians, which the Israelites had acquired through many long years and which led eventually to the complete loss of their group feeling. In addition, they did not really believe what Moses told them, namely, that Syria would be theirs and that the Amalekites who were in Jericho would fall prey to them, by virtue of the divine decree that God had made in favor of the Israelites. They were unable to do (what they were asked to do) and felt too weak to do it. They realized that they were too weak to press any claims, because they had acquired the quality of meekness. They suspected the story their prophet told them and the command he gave them. For that, God punished them by obliging them to remain in the desert. They stayed in the desert between Syria and Egypt for forty years. They had no contact with civilization nor did they settle in any city,¹⁰⁹ as it is told in the Qur'an.¹¹⁰ This was because of the harshness the Amalekites in Syria and the Copts in Egypt had practiced against them. Thus, they thought themselves

¹⁰⁶ Qur'an 5.22 (25).

¹⁰⁷ Qur'an 5.24 (27).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also p. 275, above, and 3:306, below.

¹⁰⁹ Bulaq adds: "and they did not mix with any human beings."

¹¹⁰ Qur'an 5.26 (29). Cf. also p. 132, above, and p. 344, below.

too weak to oppose them. From the context and meaning of the verse, it is evident that (the verse) intends to refer to the implication of such a sojourn in the desert, namely, the disappearance of the generation whose character had been formed and whose group feeling had been destroyed by the humiliation, oppression, and force from which it had (just) escaped, and the eventual appearance in the desert of another powerful generation that knew neither laws nor oppression and did not have the stigma of meekness. Thus, a new group feeling could grow up (in the new generation), and that (new group feeling) enabled them to press their claims and to achieve superiority. This makes it evident that forty years is the shortest period in which one generation can disappear and a new generation can arise. Praised be the Wise, the Knowing One.

This shows most clearly what group feeling means. Group feeling produces the ability to defend oneself, to offer opposition, to protect oneself, and to press one's claims. Whoever loses (his group feeling) is too weak to do any of these things.

The subject of imposts and taxes belongs in this discussion of the things that force meekness upon a tribe.

A tribe paying imposts did not do that until it became resigned to meek submission with respect to (paying them). Imposts and taxes are a sign of oppression and meekness which proud souls do not tolerate, unless they consider (the payment of imposts and taxes) easier than being killed and destroyed. In such a case, the group feeling (of a tribe) is too weak for its own defense and protection. People whose group feeling cannot defend them against oppression certainly cannot offer any opposition or press any claims. They have submitted to humble (meekness), and, as we have mentioned before, meekness is an obstacle.

¹¹¹ "In the *Sahih*" is added in *C supra lineam*, and appears in the text of D. For the tradition, cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 67. Cf. also 2:335 f., below.

(An illustration of this fact) is Muhammad's statement in the *Sahih*,¹¹¹ on the subject of plowing. When he saw a plowshare in one of the houses of the Ansar (in Medina), he said: "Such a thing never entered anyone's house save accompanied by humbleness." This is sound proof for (the contention) that payment of imposts makes humbleness necessary. In addition, the humbleness that is the result of paying imposts is accompanied by character qualities of cunning and deceit, because force rules (under such circumstances). According to the *Sahih*¹¹² the Messenger of God used to decry the payment of imposts. When he was asked about it, he said: "A man who has to pay imposts talks and lies. He promises, and breaks his promise." When one sees a tribe humiliated by the payment of imposts, one cannot hope that it will ever achieve royal authority.

This makes clear that it is erroneous to assume that the Zanatah in the Maghrib were sheep-breeding Bedouins who paid imposts to the various rulers of their time. As one can see, this is a serious error. Had such been the case, the Zanatah would never have achieved royal authority and established a dynasty.

In this connection, one may compare the words of Shahr baraz, the ruler of Derbend.¹¹³ 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Rabi'ah came upon him, and Shahrbaraz asked him for his protection with the (promise) that he would belong to him. On that occasion, (Shahrbaraz) said: "Today, I am one of you. My hand is in your hands. I am your sincere friend. You are welcome. God bless us and you. The poll tax we shall pay you will consist in our helping you and doing what you will. But do not humiliate us by (imposing the) poll tax. (Otherwise,) you would weaken us to the point of (becoming the prey of) your enemies."¹¹⁴ This story sufficiently (supports) our preceding remarks.

¹¹² This tradition appears in the margin of C and in the text of D. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 214; *Concordance*, 11, 65b, 11. 18 ff.

¹¹³ Cf. n. 36 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

¹¹⁴ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2664. The event occurred in 22 [642/431. Cf. also D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 47 ff.

II.19. A sign of (the qualification of an individual for) royal authority is his eager desire to acquire praiseworthy qualities, and vice versa.

[p.1:291]

Royal authority is something natural to human beings, because of its social implications, as we have stated.¹¹⁵ In view of his natural disposition and his power of logical reasoning, man is more inclined toward good qualities than toward bad qualities, because the evil in him is the result of the animal powers in him, and in as much as he is a human being, he is more inclined toward goodness and good qualities. Now, royal and political authority come to man *qua* man, because it is something peculiar to man and is not found among animals. Thus, the good qualities in man are appropriate to political and royal authority, since goodness is appropriate to political authority.

We have already mentioned¹¹⁶ that glory has a basis upon which it is built and through which it achieves its reality. (That basis) is group feeling and the tribal group (to which an individual belongs).

Glory also depends upon a detail that completes and perfects its existence. (That detail) is (an individual's personal) qualities. Royal authority is a goal of group feeling. Thus, it is likewise a goal of the perfecting details, namely, the (personal) qualities. The existence of (royal authority) without the (simultaneous existence of) the perfecting details would be like the existence of a person with his limbs cut off, or it would be like appearing naked before people.

The existence of group feeling without the practice of praiseworthy qualities would be a defect among people who possess a "house" and prestige. All the more so would it be a defect in men who are invested with roy-

¹¹⁵Cf. p. 284, above.

¹¹⁶ Cf pp. 273 fl., above. 291

al authority, the greatest possible kind of glory and prestige. Furthermore, political and royal authority are (God's) guarantee to mankind and serve as a representation of God among men with respect to His laws. Now, divine laws affecting men are all for their good and envisage the interests (of men). This is attested by the religious law. Bad laws,¹¹⁷ on the other hand, all result from stupidity and from Satan, in opposition to the predestination and power of God. He makes both good and evil and predetermines them, for there is no maker except Him.

He who thus obtained group feeling guaranteeing power, and who is known to have good qualities appropriate for the execution of God's laws concerning His creatures, is ready to act as (God's) substitute and guarantor among mankind. He has the qualifications for that. This proof is more reliable and solid than the first one.

It has thus become clear that good qualities attest the (potential) existence of royal authority in a person who (in addition to his good qualities) possesses group feeling. Whenever we observe people who possess group feeling and who have gained control over many lands and nations, we find in them an eager desire for goodness and good qualities, such as generosity, the forgiveness of error, tolerance toward the weak, hospitality toward guests, the support of dependents, maintenance of the indigent, patience in adverse circumstances, faithful fulfillment of obligations, liberality with money for the preservation of honor, respect for the religious law and for the scholars who are learned in it, observation of the things to be done or not to be done that (those scholars) prescribe for them, thinking highly of (religious scholars), belief in and veneration for men of religion and a desire to receive their prayers, great respect for old men and teachers, acceptance of the truth in response to those who call to it, fairness to and care for those who are too weak to take care of themselves, humility toward the poor, attentiveness to the complaints of supplicants, fulfillment of the duties of the religious law

¹¹⁷In what seems to be an intentional correction, Bulaq reads "human laws."

and divine worship in all details, avoidance of fraud, cunning, deceit, and of not fulfilling obligations, and similar things. Thus, we know that these are the qualities of leadership, which (persons qualified for royal authority) have obtained and which have made them deserving of being the leaders of the people under their control, or to be leaders in general. It is something good that God has given them, corresponding to their group feeling and superiority. It is not something superfluous to them, or something that exists as a joke¹¹⁸ in connection with them. Royal authority is the good and the rank that most closely correspond to the group feeling they have. We thus know that God granted them royal authority and gave it to them.

Vice versa, when God wants a nation to be deprived of royal authority, He causes (its members) to commit blameworthy deeds and to practice all sorts of vices. This will lead to complete loss of the political virtues among them. (These virtues) continue to be destroyed, until they will no longer exercise royal authority. Someone else will exercise it in their stead. This is to constitute (in addition) an insult to them, in that the royal authority God has given them and the good things He has placed at their disposal are taken away from them. "When we want to destroy a village, we order those of its inhabitants who live in luxury to act wickedly therein. Thus, the word becomes true for it, and we do destroy it."¹¹⁹

Upon close investigation, many instances of what we have said and outlined will be found among the nations of the past. God "creates whatever He wishes, and His is the choice."¹²⁰

It should be known that a quality belonging to perfection, that tribes possessing group feeling are eager to cultivate and which attests to their (right to) royal authority, is respect for (religious) scholars, pious men, noble (relatives of the Prophet), well-born persons, and the different kinds of

¹¹⁸Cf. Qur'an 25.115 (117).

¹¹⁹ Qur'an 17.16 (17).

¹²⁰ Qur'an 28.68 (68).

merchants and foreigners, as well as the ability to assign everybody to his proper station. The respect shown by tribes and persons (in control) of group feelings and families, for men of comparable nobility, tribal position, group feeling, and rank, is something natural. It mostly results from the (human) desire for rank, or from fear of the people of the person to whom respect is paid, or from a wish for reciprocal treatment. However, in the case of people who have no group feeling to make themselves feared, and who have no rank (to bestow) for which one might hope, there can be no doubt as to why they are respected, and it is quite clear what one wants (to find) through them, namely, glory, perfection in personal qualities, and total progress toward (a position of) political leadership. Respect for one's rivals and equals must exist in connection with the special¹²¹ political leadership that concerns one's tribe and its competitors (and equals). Respect for excellent and particularly qualified strangers means perfection in general political leadership. The pious are thus respected for their religion; scholars, because they are needed for establishing the statutes of the religious law; merchants, in order to give encouragement (to their profession), so that (their) usefulness may be as widespread as possible. Strangers are respected out of generosity and in order to encourage (them) to undertake certain kinds (of activity). Assigning everybody to his proper station is done out of fairness, and fairness means justice. When people who possess group feeling have that, one knows that they are ready for general political leadership, which means (they are ready for) royal authority. God permits (political leadership) to exist among them, because the (characteristic) sign of (political leadership) exists among them. Therefore, the first thing to disappear in a tribe that exercises royal authority, when God wants to deprive the members of that tribe of their royal and governmental authority, is respect for these kinds of people. When a nation is observed to have lost (that respect), it should be realized that (all) the virtues have begun to go, and it can be expected that the royal authority will

¹²¹ For the meaning of "special-general" in this connection, cf. below, n. 1 to Ch.

cease to exist in it. "If God wants evil to happen to certain people, nothing can turn it back."¹²²

II.20. While a nation is savage, its royal authority extends farther.

[p.1:295]

This is because, as we have said,¹²³ such a nation is better able to achieve superiority and full control, and to subdue other groups. The members of such a nation have the strength to fight other nations, and they are among human beings what beasts of prey are among dumb animals. The Arabs and the Zanatah and similar groups, for instance, are such nations, as are the Kurds, the Turkomans, and the Veiled Sinhajah.

These savage peoples, furthermore, have no homelands that they might use as a fertile (pasture), 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 neighboring regions. They do not stop at the borders of their horizon. They swarm across distant zones and achieve superiority over faraway nations.

One might compare in this connection what `Umar is reported to have said when he received the oath of allegiance and arose to incite the people to the conquest of the 'Iraq. He said: "The Hijaz is your home only in as far as it is a pasturage. Those who dwell there have no power over it except in this respect. Where do (you) newcomers who emigrated (to Medina) stand with regard to God's promise, 'Travel about in the world'?"¹²⁴ God promised it to you in His book for your inheritance, when He said, 'In order to give (the true religion) victory over all religions, even if the polytheists dislike it.'¹²⁵

¹²² Qur'an 13.11 (12).

¹²³ Cf. pp. 282 f., above.

¹²⁴ Qur'an 6.11 (11); 27.69 (71); 29.20 (19); 30.42 (41).

¹²⁵ Qur'an 9.33 (33); 61.9 (9). Ibn Khaldun's source is at-Tabari, *Annales*, 1, 2160, *anno* 13. Cf. also 'Umar's speech in al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adhdhahah*, IV, 197.

Another example is the condition of the ancient (pre Islamic) Arabs, such as the Tubba's and the Himyar. They are reported¹²⁶ to have marched from the Yemen to the Maghrib at one time, and to the 'Iraq and India at another time. No other nation except the Arabs ever did anything like that.

The condition of the Veiled (Sinhajah) in the Maghrib is another example. When they aspired to royal authority, they swarmed out of their desert plains in the neighborhood of the Sudan, in the first zone, and overran the Spanish realm in the fourth and fifth zones, without any intermediate (stage).

Such is the case with savage nations. Their (dynasties), therefore, extend over a wider area and over regions farther from their (original) center (than do other nations).

God determines night and day.¹²⁷

II.21. As long as a nation retains its group feeling, royal authority that disappears in one branch will, of necessity, pass to some other branch of the same nation.

[p.1:296]

The reason for this is that (the members of a particular nation) obtain royal authority only after (proving their) forcefulness and finding other nations obedient to them. (Only a few) are then singled out to become the actual rulers and to be directly connected with the throne. It could not be all of them, because there is not enough room for all to compete (for leadership), and because the existence of jealousy cuts short the aspirations of many of those who aspire to high office.

Those who are singled out to support the dynasty indulge in a life of ease and sink into luxury and plenty. They make servants of their fellows and

¹²⁶n"Are reported" is added in *C supra lineam* and in the text of D. In adding it, Ibn Khaldun remembered the doubts he had expressed with regard to the historicity of the events, pp. 21 ff., above. Cf. also p. 360, below.

¹²⁷Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

contemporaries and use them to further the various interests and enterprises of the dynasty. Those who are far away from the government and who are thus prevented from having a share in it, remain in the shadow of the dynastic power. They share in it by virtue of their descent, (but) they are not affected by senility, because they remain far from the life of luxury and the things that produce luxury.

The (passing) days get the upper hand over the original group (in power). Their prowess disappears as the result of senility. (The duties of) the dynasty make them soft.¹²⁸ Time feasts on them, as their energy is exhausted by well-being and their vigor drained by the nature of luxury. They reach their limit, the limit that is set by the nature of human urbanization (*tamad-dun*) and political superiority.

Like the silkworm that spins and then, in turn,
Finds its end amidst the threads itself has spun.^{128a}

At that moment, the group feeling of other people (within the same nation) is strong. Their force cannot be broken. Their emblem is recognized to be victorious. As a result, their hopes of achieving royal authority, from which they had been kept until now by a superior power within their own group, are high. Their superiority is recognized, and, therefore, no one disputes (their claim to royal authority). They seize power. It becomes theirs. Then, they have the same experience (their predecessors had) at the hands of those other groups within the nation that remain away from (the government). Royal authority thus continues in a particular nation until the force of the group feeling of (that nation) is broken and gone, or until all its groups have ceased to exist. That is how God proceeds with regard to life in this

¹²⁸ Paris has "grinds them," which is more expressive but not supported by the MSS.

^{128a} Among related verses, the closest parallel is one by the famous poet Abul-Fath al-Busti. Cf. Yiqut, *Irshad*, ed. Margoliouth (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 6) (Leiden & London, 1907-27), 1, 65; (Cairo, 1955-57), 1, 163; al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'*, IV, 208.

world. "And the other world, according to your Lord, belongs to those who fear God."¹²⁹

This can be illustrated by what happened among the nations. When the royal authority of 'Ad was wiped out, their brethren, the Thamud, took over. They were succeeded, in turn, by their brethren, the Amalekites. The Amalekites were succeeded by their brethren, the Himyar. The Himyar were succeeded by their brethren, the Tubba's, who belonged to the Himyar. They, likewise, were succeeded, by the Adhwa'.¹³⁰ Then, the Mudar came to power.

The same was the case with the Persians. When the Kayyanid¹³¹ rule was wiped out, the Sassanians ruled after them. Eventually, God permitted them all to be destroyed by the Muslims.

The same was also the case with the Greeks. Their rule was wiped out and transferred to their brethren, the Rum (Romans).

The same was the case with the Berbers in the Maghrib. When the rule of their first rulers, the Maghrawah and the Kutimah, was wiped out, it went to the Sinhajah. Then it went to the Veiled (Sinhajah), then to the Masmudah, and then to the (still) remaining Zanatah groups.

This is how God proceeds with His servants and creatures.

All this has its origin in group feeling, which differs in the different groups. Luxury wears out the royal authority and overthrows it, as we shall mention later on.¹³² When a dynasty is wiped out, the power is taken (away) from (the members of that dynasty) by those people whose group feeling has a share in the (established) group feeling, since it is recognized that submission and subservience (by others) belong to (the established group feeling) and since people are used to the fact that (the established group feeling)

¹²⁹ Qur'an 49.95 (94).

¹³⁰ Like the Tubba's, the Adhwa' (pl. of *dhu*) are a group of South Arabian rulers referred to in Muslim historical literature.

¹³¹ Cf. n. 62 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

¹³² Cf. pp. 890 ff., below.

has superiority over all other group feelings. (The same group feeling,) now, exists only in those people who are closely related (to the outgoing dynasty), because group feeling is proportionate to the degree of relationship. (It goes on that way until,) eventually, a great change takes place in the world, such as the transformation of a religion, or the disappearance of a civilization, or something else willed by the power of God. Then, royal authority is transferred from one group to another-to the one that God permits to effect that change. This happened to the Mudar. They gained superiority over nations and dynasties, and took power away from all the people of the world, after having themselves been kept out of power for ages.

II.22. The vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive mark(s), his dress, his occupation, and all his other conditions and customs.

[p.1:299]

The¹³³ reason for this is that the soul always sees perfection in the person who is superior to it and to whom it is subservient. It considers him perfect, either because the respect it has for him impresses it, or because it erroneously assumes that its own subservience to him is not due to the nature of defeat but to the perfection of the victor. If that erroneous assumption fixes itself in the soul, it becomes a firm belief. The soul, then, adopts all the manners of the victor and assimilates itself to him. This, then, is imitation.

Or, the soul may possibly think that the superiority of the victor is not the result of his group feeling or great fortitude, but of his customs and manners. This also would be an erroneous concept of superiority, and (the consequence) would be the same as in the former case.

¹³³Cf. Issawi, pp. 53 f.

Therefore, the vanquished can always be observed to assimilate themselves to the victor in the use and style of dress, mounts, and weapons, indeed, in everything.

In this connection, one may compare how children constantly imitate their fathers. They do that only because they see perfection in them. One may also compare how almost everywhere people are dominated (in the matter of fashion) by the dress of the militia and the government forces, because they are ruled by them.

This goes so far that a nation dominated by another, neighboring nation will show a great deal of assimilation and imitation. At this time, this is the case in Spain. The Spaniards are found to assimilate themselves to the Galician nations in their dress, their emblems, and most of their customs and conditions. This goes so far that they even draw pictures on the walls and (have them) in buildings and houses. The intelligent observer will draw from this the conclusion that it is a sign of domination (by others). God has the power to command.¹³⁴

In this light, one should understand the secret of the saying, "The common people follow the religion of the ruler."¹³⁵ (This saying) belongs to the subject under discussion. The ruler dominates those under him. His subjects imitate him, because they see perfection in him, exactly as children imitate their parents, or students their teachers.

God is wise and knowing.

¹³⁴Cf. Qur'an 13.31(30); 30.4 (3); 82.19 (19).

¹³⁵Cf. p. 58, above, and 2:123 and 306, below.

II.23. A nation that has been defeated and come under the rule of another nation will quickly perish.

[p.1:300]

The¹³⁶ 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. Hope diminishes and weakens. Now, propagation and an increase in civilization (population) take place only as the result of strong hope and of the energy that hope creates in the animal powers (of man). When hope and the things it stimulates are gone through apathy, and when group feeling has disappeared under the impact of defeat, civilization decreases and business and other activities stop. With their strength dwindling under the impact of defeat, people become unable to defend themselves. They become the victims of anyone who tries to dominate them, and a prey to anyone who has the appetite. It makes no difference whether they have already reached the limit of their royal authority or not.

Here, we possibly learn another secret, namely, that man is a natural leader by virtue of the fact that he has been made a representative (of God on earth). When a leader is deprived of his leadership and prevented from exercising all his powers, he becomes apathetic, even down to such matters as food and drink. This is in the human character. A similar observation may be made with regard to beasts of prey. They do not cohabit when they are in human captivity. The group that has lost control of its own affairs thus continues to weaken and to disintegrate until it perishes. Duration be longs to God alone.

This may be illustrated by the Persian nation. In the past, the Persians filled the world with their great numbers. When their military force was

¹³⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 97 f.

annihilated in the days of the Arabs, they were still very numerous. It is said that Sa'd (b. Abi Waqqas) counted (the population) beyond Ctesiphon. It numbered 137,000 (individuals), with 37,000 heads of families. But when the Persians came under the rule of the Arabs and were made subject to (oppression by) force, they lasted only a short while and were wiped out as if they had never been. One should not think that this was the result of some (specific) persecution or aggression perpetrated against them. The rule of Islam is known for its justice. Such (disintegration as befell the Persians) is in human nature. It happens when people lose control of their own affairs and become the instrument of someone else.

Therefore, the Negro nations are, as a rule, submissive to slavery, because (Negroes) have little (that is essentially) human and have attributes that are quite similar to those of dumb animals, as we have stated.¹³⁷

Or,¹³⁸ there are those who by accepting slavery hope to obtain high rank or to get money or power. This was the case with the Turks in the East, and with the Galician infidels and European Christians in Spain. Such people are customarily claimed by the dynasty for itself. Thus, they are not ashamed to be slaves, because they hope to be chosen for high position by the dynasty. And God knows better.

II.24. Arabs can gain control only over flat territory.

[p.1:302]

This^{138a} is because, on account of their savage nature, (the Arabs) are people who plunder and cause damage. They plunder whatever they are able to lay their hands on without having to fight or to expose themselves to danger. They then retreat to their pastures in the desert. They do not attack or fight except in self-defense. Every stronghold or (locality) that seems diffi-

¹³⁷Cf. p. 168, above.

¹³⁸The rest of the section has little bearing upon the point Ibn Khaldun intends to make here.

^{138a}For this and the following chapter, cf. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, pp. 142-44.

cult (to attack), they bypass in favor of some less difficult (enterprise). They do not attack it. Tribes that are protected against (the Arabs) by inaccessible mountains are safe from their mischief and destructiveness. The Arabs would not cross hills or undergo hardship and danger in order to get to them.

Flat territory, on the other hand, falls victim to their looting and prey to their appetite whenever they (have the opportunity of) gaining power over it, when there is no militia, or when the dynasty is weak. Then they raid, plunder, and attack that territory repeatedly, because it is easily (accessible) to them. Eventually, its inhabitants succumb utterly to the Arabs and then they are pushed around by them in accordance with changes of control and shifts in leadership. Eventually, their civilization is wiped out. God has power over His creatures.

II.25. Places that succumb to the Arabs are quickly ruined.

[p.1:302]

The¹³⁹ reason for this is that (the Arabs) are a savage nation, fully accustomed to savagery and the things that cause it. Savagery has become their character and nature. They enjoy it, because it means freedom from authority and no subservience to leadership. Such a natural disposition is the negation and antithesis of civilization. All the customary activities of the Arabs lead to travel and movement. This is the antithesis and negation of stationariness, which produces civilization. For instance, the Arabs need stones to set them up as supports for their cooking pots. So, they take them from buildings which they tear down to get the stones, and use them for that purpose. Wood, too, is needed by them for props for their tents and for use as tent poles for their dwellings. So, they tear down roofs to get the wood for that purpose. The very nature of their existence is the negation of building, which is the basis of civilization. This is the case with them quite generally.

¹³⁹Cf. Issawi, pp. 55-58.

Furthermore, it is their nature to plunder whatever other people possess. Their sustenance lies wherever the shadow of their lances falls. They recognize no limit in taking the possessions of other people. Whenever their eyes fall upon some property, furnishings, or utensils, they take it. When they acquire superiority and royal authority, they have complete power to plunder (as they please). There no longer exists any political (power) to protect property, and civilization is ruined.

Furthermore, since they use force to make craftsmen and professional workers do their work, they do not see any value in it and do not pay them for it. Now, as we shall mention,¹⁴⁰ labor is the real basis of profit. When labor is not appreciated and is done for nothing, the hope for profit vanishes, and no (productive) work is done. The sedentary population disperses, and civilization decays.

Furthermore, (the Arabs) are not concerned with laws. (They are not concerned) to deter people from misdeeds or to protect some against the others. They care only for the property that they might take away from people through looting and imposts. When they have obtained that, they have no interest in anything further, such as taking care of (people), looking after their interests, or forcing them not to commit misdeeds. They often level fines on property, because they want to get some advantage, some tax, or profit out of it. This is their custom. It does not help to prevent misdeeds or to deter those who undertake to commit (mis deeds). On the contrary, it increases (misdeeds), because as compared to getting what one wants, the (possible financial) loss (through fines) is insignificant.¹⁴¹

Under the rule of (the Arabs), the subjects live as in a state of anarchy, without law. Anarchy destroys mankind and ruins civilization, since, as we have stated, the existence of royal authority is a natural quality of man.

¹⁴⁰Cf. 2:311 ff, below.

¹⁴¹Cf. p. 307, below.

It alone guarantees their existence and social organization. That was mentioned above at the beginning of the chapter.¹⁴²

Furthermore, (every Arab) is eager to be the leader. Scarcely a one of them would cede his power to another, even to his father, his brother, or the eldest (most important) member of his family. That happens only in rare cases and under pressure of considerations of decency. There are numerous authorities and amirs among them. The subjects have to obey many masters in connection with the control of taxation and law. Civilization, thus, decays and is wiped out.

'Abd-al-Malik asked one Arab who had come to him on an embassy about al-Hajjaj. He wanted him to praise al-Hajjaj for his good political leadership (for the benefit of) civilization. But the Arab said: "When I left him, he was acting unjustly all by himself."^{142a}

It is noteworthy how civilization always collapsed in places the Arabs took over and conquered, and how such settlements were depopulated and the (very) earth there turned into something that was no (longer) earth. The Yemen where (the Arabs) live is in ruins, except for a few cities. Persian civilization in the Arab 'Iraq is likewise completely ruined. The same applies to contemporary Syria. When the Banu Hilal and the Banu Sulaym pushed through (from their homeland) to Ifrigiyah and the Maghrib in (the beginning of) the fifth [eleventh] century and struggled there for three hundred and fifty years, they attached themselves to (the country), and the flat territory in (the Maghrib) was completely ruined. Formerly, the whole region between the Sudan and the Mediterranean had been settled. This (fact) is attested by the relics of civilization there, such as monuments, architectural sculpture, and the visible remains of villages and hamlets.

¹⁴²The reference possibly is to pp. 261 ff. and 284 ff., above.

^{142a}He was preventing the Arabs from practicing their cherished lawlessness, and he alone was responsible for the oppressive rule of law. A closely related story is found in Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd*, II, 77.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it. He is the best heir.¹⁴³

II.26. 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.

[p.1:305]

The¹⁴⁴ reason for this is that because of their savagery, the Arabs are the least willing of nations to subordinate themselves to each other, as they are rude, proud, ambitious, and eager to be the leader. Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion (among them) through prophecy or sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves. The qualities of haughtiness and jealousy leave them. It is, then, easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite (as a social organization). This is achieved by the common religion they now have. It causes rudeness and pride to disappear and exercises a restraining influence on their mutual envy and jealousy. 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 praiseworthy 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. Besides, no people are as quick (as the Arabs) to accept (religious) truth and right guidance, because their natures have been preserved free from distorted habits 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 (quali ties), as it has remained in its first natural state and remote from the ugly customs and bad habits that

¹⁴³Cf. Qur'an 21.89 (89).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 182 f. Cf. Issawi; p. 58.

leave their impress upon the soul. "Every infant is born in the natural state," as is stated in the tradition that was quoted above.¹⁴⁵

II.27. The Arabs are of all nations the one most remote from royal leadership.

[p.1:306]

The¹⁴⁶ reason for this is that the Arabs are more rooted in desert life and penetrate deeper into the desert than any other nation. They have less need of the products and grain of the hills, because they are used to a tough and hard life. Therefore, they can dispense with other people. 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. Their leader needs them mostly for the group spirit that is necessary for purposes of defense. He is, therefore, forced to rule them kindly and to avoid antagonizing them. Otherwise, he would have trouble with the group spirit, and (such trouble) would be his undoing and theirs. Royal leadership and government, on the other hand, require the leader to exercise a restraining influence by force. If not, his leadership would not last.

Furthermore, as we have stated before,¹⁴⁷ it is the nature of (the Arabs) not only to appropriate the possessions of other people but, beyond that, to refrain from exercising any (power of) arbitration among them and to fail to keep them from (fighting) each other. When they have taken possession of a nation, they make it the goal of their rule to profit (from their position) by taking away the property of the members of that nation. Beyond that, they do not care to exercise any (power of) arbitration among them. They often punish crimes by fines on property, in their desire to increase the tax revenues and to obtain some (pecuniary) advantage. That is no deterrent (to crime). (Rather,) it is often an incentive (to crime), in view of the fact

¹⁴⁵Cf. p. 254, above.

¹⁴⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 59 f., and J. Sauvaget, pp. 145 f.

¹⁴⁷For this paragraph, cf. pp. 303 f., above.

that incentives to commit misdeeds (may be very strong) and that, in the opinion of (the criminal), payment of a fine is insignificant, weighed against getting what he wants. Thus, misdeeds increase, and civilization is ruined. A nation dominated by the Arabs is in a state no different from anarchy, where everybody is set against the others. Such a civilization cannot last and goes quickly to ruins, as would be the case in a state of anarchy, as we have mentioned before.

For all these (reasons), the Arabs are by nature remote from royal leadership. They attain it (only) once their nature has undergone a complete transformation under the influence of some religious coloring that wipes out all such (qualities) and causes the Arabs to have a restraining influence on themselves and to keep people apart from each other, as we have mentioned.¹⁴⁸

This is illustrated by the Arab dynasty in Islam. Religion cemented their leadership with the religious law and its ordinances, which, explicitly and implicitly, are concerned with what is good for civilization. The caliphs followed one after another. As a result, the royal authority and government of the Arabs became great and strong. When Rustum saw the Muslims assemble for prayer, he said: " 'Umar eats my liver. He teaches the dogs how to behave."¹⁴⁹

Later on, the Arabs were cut off from the dynasty for generations. They neglected the religion. Thus, they forgot political leadership and returned to their desert. They were ignorant of the connection of their group feeling with the people of the ruling dynasty, because subservience and lawful (government) had (now) become strange to them. They became once again as savage as they had been before. The epithet "royal" was no longer applicable to them, except in so far as it (continued to) apply to the caliphs who were (Arabs) by race. When the caliphate disappeared and was wiped out,

¹⁴⁸Cf. pp. 305 f., above.

¹⁴⁹Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2291.

governmental power passed altogether out of their hands. Non-Arabs took over the power in their stead. They remained as Bedouins in the desert, ignorant of royal authority and political leadership. Most Arabs do not even know that they possessed royal authority in the past, or that no nation had ever exercised such (sweeping) royal authority as had their race. The dynasties of 'Ad and Thamild, the Amalekites, the Himyar, and the Tubba's testify to that statement, and then, there was the Mudar dynasty in Islam, the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. But when the Arabs forgot the religion, they no longer had any connection with political leadership, and they returned to their desert origins. At times, they achieve superiority over weak dynasties, as is the case in the contemporary Maghrib. But their domination leads only to the ruin of the civilization they conquer, as we have stated before.

God is the best heir.¹⁵⁰

II.28. Desert tribes and groups are dominated by the urban population.

[p.1:308]

It¹⁵¹ has been stated by us before¹⁵² that 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 carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, or other (craftsmen whose crafts) would provide them with the necessities required for making a living in agriculture and other things.

Likewise, they do not have (coined) money (dinars and dirhams). They have the equivalent of it in harvested grain, in animals, and in animal products such as milk, wool (of animals), (camel's) hair, and hides, which the urban population needs and pays the Arabs money for. However, while (the

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Qur'an 21.89 (89).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 82 f.

¹⁵² Cf. pp. 252 f., above.

Bedouins) need the cities for their necessities of life, the urban population needs (the Bedouins) for conveniences and luxuries. Thus, (the Bedouins) need the cities for the necessities of life by the 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 in behalf of their interests and obey them whenever (the latter) ask and demand obedience from them.

When there is a ruler in the city, the submissiveness and obedience of (the Bedouins) is the result of the superiority of the ruler. When there is no ruler in the city, some political leadership and control by some of the inhabitants over the remainder must, of necessity, exist in it. If not, the civilization of the city would be wiped out. Such a leader makes (the Bedouins) obey him and exert themselves in behalf of his interests. He does so either by persuasion, in that he distributes money among them and lets them have the necessities they need from his city, which enables their civilization to subsist; or, if he has the power to do so, he forces them to obey him, even if he has to cause discord among them so as to get the support of one party, with the help of which he will then be able to overcome the remainder and thus force the others to obey him, since they fear the decay of their civilization as the result of (the unstable situation). (These Bedouins) often cannot leave the particular districts (where they live and go) to other regions, because all of them are (already) inhabited by (other) Bedouins who took them away (from someone) and kept others out. They have, therefore, no hope of survival except by being obedient to the city. Thus, they are of necessity dominated by the urban population.

God "exercises forceful domination over His servants."¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Qur'an 6.18 (18), 61 (61).

Chapter III. ON DYNASTIES, ROYAL AUTHORITY, THE CALIPHATE, GOVERNMENT RANKS, AND ALL THAT GOES WITH THESE THINGS. THE CHAPTER CONTAINS BASIC AND SUPPLEMENTARY PROPOSITIONS.

[p.1:311]

III.1. Royal authority and large¹ dynastic (power) are attained only through a group and group feeling.

[p.1:313]

THIS² IS BECAUSE, as we established in the first chapter, aggressive and defensive strength is obtained only through group feeling which means (mutual) affection and willingness to fight and die for each other.

Now, royal authority is a noble and enjoyable position. It comprises all the good things of the world, the pleasures of the body, and the joys of the soul. Therefore, there is, as a rule, great competition for it. It rarely is handed over (voluntarily), but it may be taken away. Thus, discord ensues. It leads to war and fighting, and to attempts to gain superiority. Nothing of all this comes about except through group feeling, as we have also mentioned.

This situation is not at all understood by the great mass. They forget it, because they have forgotten the time when the dynasty first became established. They have grown up in settled areas for a long time. They have lived

¹ammah "general," here and elsewhere refers to governmental power that is not restricted to a small unit, such as a tribe.

²Cf. Issawi, p. 109.

there for successive generations. Thus, they know nothing about what took place with God's help at the beginning of the dynasty. They merely notice that the coloring of the men of the dynasty is determined, that people have submitted to them, and that group feeling is no longer needed to establish their power. They do not know how it was at the beginning and what difficulties had to be overcome by the founder of (the dynasty). The inhabitants of Spain especially have forgotten group feeling and its influence, because so long a time has passed, and because as a rule they have no need of the power of group feeling, since their country has been annihilated and is depleted of tribal groups.

God has power to do what He wishes.

III.2. When a dynasty is, firmly established, it can dispense with group feeling.

[p.1:314]

The³ reason for this is that people find it difficult to submit to large dynastic (power) at the beginning, unless they are forced into submission by strong superiority. (The new government) is something strange. People are not familiar with, or used to, its rule. But once leadership is firmly vested in the members of the family qualified to exercise royal authority in the dynasty, and once (royal authority) has been passed on by inheritance over many generations and through successive dynasties, the beginnings are forgotten, and the members of that family are clearly marked as leaders. It has become a firmly established article of faith that one must be subservient and submissive to them. People will fight with them in their behalf, as they would fight for the articles of faith. By this time, (the rulers) will not need much group (feeling to maintain) their power. It is as if obedience to the government were a divinely revealed book that cannot be changed or opposed.

³Cf. Issawi, pp. 109 f.

It is for some (good reason) that the discussion of the imamate is placed at the end of works dealing with the articles of faith, as if it were one of them⁴

(The rulers) maintain their hold over the government and their own dynasty with the help, then, either of clients and followers who grew up in the shadow and power⁵ of group feeling, or (with that) of tribal groups of a different descent who have become their clients.

Something of the sort happened to the 'Abbasids. The group feeling of the Arabs had been destroyed by the time of the reign of al-Mu'tasim and his son, al-Wathiq. They tried to maintain their hold over the government thereafter with the help of Persian, Turkish, Daylam, Saljuq, and other clients. Then, the Persians (non-Arabs) and clients gained power over the provinces (of the realm). The influence of the dynasty grew smaller, and no longer extended beyond the environs of Baghdad. Eventually, the Daylam closed in upon (that area) and took possession of it. The caliphs were ruled by them. Then (the Daylam), in turn, lost control. The Saljugs seized power after the Daylam, and the (caliphs) were ruled by them. Then (the Saljugs), in turn, lost control. Finally, the Tatars closed in. They killed the caliph and wiped out every vestige of the dynasty.

The same happened to the Sinhajah in the Maghrib. Their group feeling was destroyed in the fifth [eleventh] century, or before that. Dynastic (power), but of decreasing importance, was maintained by them in al-Mahdiyah, in Bougie, in al-Qal'ah,⁶ and in the other frontier cities of Ifriqiyah. Frequently, some rival aspirant to royal authority would attack these frontier cities and entrench himself in them. Yet, they retained government and royal authority until God permitted their dynasty to be wiped out. Then the Al-

⁴bn Khaldun refers to the numerous catechisms and creeds where the caliphate is discussed, usually near the end. Cf., for instance, al-Ash'ari's *Kitab al-Luma'*, ed. and tr. R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'ari* (Beirut, 1953).

⁵ *Wa-'izzī-ha*, as in A, B, and C.

⁶ The ancient capital of the Banu Hammad, northeast of Msila.

mohads came, fortified by the strong group feeling among the Masmudah, and obliterated all traces of the (Sinhajah dynasty).

The same happened to the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. When its Arab group feeling was destroyed, the *reyes de taifas* (small princes) seized power and divided the territory among themselves. In competition with each other, they distributed among themselves the realm of the (Umayyad) dynasty. Each one of them seized the territory under his control and aggrandized himself. (These rulers) learned of the relations that existed between the non-Arabs (in the East) and the 'Abbasids. (Imitating them,) they adopted royal surnames and used royal trappings. There was no danger that anyone would take (the prerogatives they claimed) away from them or alter (the situation in this respect), because Spain was no (longer the) home of groups and tribes, as we shall mention. They went on in this way, (and it was) as Ibn Sharaf⁷ described it:

What makes me feel humble in Spain

Is the use of the names Mu'tasim and Mu'tadid there.

Royal surnames not in their proper place:

Like a cat that by blowing itself up imitates the lion.

They tried to maintain their power with the help of clients and followers and with that of the Zanatah and other Berber tribes which infiltrated Spain from the (African) shore. They imitated the way the (Umayyad) dynasty in its last stages had tried to maintain its power with their help, when the Arab group feeling weakened and Ibn Abi 'Amir⁸ obtained control of

⁷ Muhammad b. Mubammad, d. 460 [1067/68]. Cf. GAL, I, 268; *Suppl.*, I, 473; C. Pellat in *Bulletin des etudes arabes*, VIII-IX (1948-49).

The verses, however, are not by Ibn Sharaf but by his contemporary Ibn Rashiq (see n. 23 to p. 10, above), who recited them in the presence of Ibn Sharaf. They are often quoted. Cf., for instance, Ibn Bassam, *Dhakhirah* (Cairo, 1364/1945), IV 1, 134; Ibn Sa'id, *El Libro de las Banderas de los Campeones*, ed. and tr. E. Garcla Gomez (Madrid, 1942), p. lot; Yaqut, *Irshad*, VII, 96; al-Maqqari, *Analectes*, I, 131 f. Cf. also p. 470, below.

⁸Cf. p. 61, above.

the dynasty. (These newcomers) founded large states. Each one of them had control over a section of Spain. They also had a large share of royal authority, corresponding to (that of) the dynasty they had divided up. They thus remained in power until the Almoravids, who shared in the strong Lamtunah group feeling, crossed the sea. The latter came and replaced and dislodged them from their centers. They obliterated (all) traces of (the *reyes de taifas*) who were unable to defend themselves because they had no (longer any) group feeling.

Such group feeling makes it possible for a dynasty to become established and protected from the beginning. At-Turtunshi thought that the military (strength) of a dynasty as such is identical with (the size of its) army that receives a fixed pay every month. He mentioned this in his *Siraj al-muluk*.⁹ His statement does not take into consideration the (conditions obtaining at the) original foundation of large dynasties. It applies only to the later stages, after the dynasty has been established and after royal authority has become firmly anchored in a given family and its people have adopted (their) definite coloring. (At-Turtushi) had personal contact only with a senile dynasty whose energy was exhausted and which had reverted to maintaining power with the help of clients and followers, then hired servants for (its) defense. He had contact only with the small dynasties (the *reyes de ta'ifas*), at a time when the Umayyad dynasty was already in the state of (complete) dissolution, when its Arab group feeling was wiped out, and when each amir had (independent) control over his particular region. He lived under the administration of the Saragossans al-Musta'in b. Hud and his son, al-Muzaffar. They had no longer any group feeling left, because, for three hundred years, the Arabs had been dominated by luxury and had perished. At-Turtushi thus saw only the kind of ruler who had (independent) control of royal authori-

⁹The reference apparently is to Ch. XLV of the *Siraj al-muluk*, which deals with the relationship between ruler and army. See p. 122 of the ed. (Cairo, 1289/1872). For criticism of at-Turtushi, cf. also 2:87, below.

ty to the exclusion of the families to which it belonged, and in whom the coloring of autocratic rule had been firmly established since the time of the dynasty('s power) and when a remnant of group feeling still existed. Therefore, his (royal authority) was not contested, and he could rely for maintenance of his power upon a soldiery with fixed pay. At-Turtushi generalized the condition (observed by him) when he made the statement mentioned. He did not realize how a dynasty originally comes to power, nor that only those who share in a group feeling are able to accomplish (the formation of a dynasty). But this should be realized. It should be understood how God intended these things to be.

"God gives His kingdom (royal authority) to whomever He wants to give it."¹⁰

III.3. Members of a royal family may be able to found a dynasty that can dispense with group feeling.

[p.1:318]

This is because the group feeling in which (a member of a royal family) shares may have much power over nations and races, and the inhabitants of remote regions who support his power may be obedient (to that family) and submissive. So, when such a person secedes, leaving the seat of his rule and the home of his might, and joins those inhabitants of remote regions, they adopt him. They support his rule and help him. They take care of establishing his dynasty on a firm basis. They hope that he will be confirmed in his family (rights) and take the power away from his kinsmen.¹¹ They do not desire to share in any way in his rule, as they subject themselves to his group feeling and submit to the coloring of material superiority firmly belonging to him and his people. They believe, as in an article of faith, in being obedient to

¹⁰ Qur'an 2.247 (248).

¹¹ Bulaq adds: "and reward them for helping him by choosing them for royal ranks and positions, such as the wazirate, the army command, or the governorship of a frontier district."

(him and his people). Were they to desire to share his rule with him or to rule without him, "the earth would be shaken."¹²

That is what happened to the Idrisids in Morocco and the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Ifriqiyah and Egypt. Abu Talib's descendants had left the East and removed themselves from the seat of the caliphate, to go to remote regions of the Muslim realm. They aspired to deprive the 'Abbasids of the caliphate whose coloring had (throughout the years) firmly established itself in the descendants of 'Abd-Manaf, first among the Umayyads and then among the Hashimites ('Abbasids). They seceded (from the ruling 'Abbasid dynasty) in the western part of Islam and made propaganda for them selves. The Berbers supported their rule time after time. The Awrabah and Maghilah (supported) the Idrisids, and the Kutamah, the Sinhajah, and the Hawwarah (supported) the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids). These (Berber tribes) cemented the dy nasties of (the Idrisids and 'Ubaydids) and firmly established their rule through the group support they gave them. They detached the whole Maghrib and then Ifriqiyah from the realm of the 'Abbasids. The influence of the 'Abbasid dynasty grew steadily smaller and that of the 'Ubaydid (-Fatimids) larger. Eventually, the latter took possession of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijiz, and shared the Muslim empire half and half with the 'Abbasids.^{12a} Nonetheless, the Berbers who supported the dynasty submitted their own affairs to the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) and obeyed their rule. They merely vied for positions under them. They subjected themselves to the royal authority that had become the established coloring of the Hashimites (the family of Muhammad, the 'AlidFatimids as well as the 'Abbasids), and to the superiority over all nations of the Quraysh and the Mudar. Royal authority, therefore, remained with their descendants down to (the time of) the complete destruction of Arab rule.

¹² Qur'an 99.1 (1).

^{12a}Cf. p. 45, above, and p. 331, below.

"God decides, and no one can change His decision."¹³

III.4. Dynasties of wide power and large royal authority have their origin in religion based either on prophecy or on truthful propaganda.

[p.1:319]

This¹⁴ is because royal authority results from superiority. Superiority results from group feeling. Only by God's help in establishing His religion do individual desires come together in agreement to press their claims, and hearts become united. God said: "If you had expended all the treasures on earth, you would have achieved no unity among them."¹⁵ The secret of (this) is that when the hearts succumb to false desires and are inclined toward the world, mutual jealousy and widespread differences arise. (But) when they are turned toward the truth and reject the world and whatever is false, and advance toward God, they become one in their outlook. Jealousy disappears. There are few differences. Mutual cooperation and support flourish. As a result, the extent of the state widens, and the dynasty grows, as we shall explain now.

III.5. Religious propaganda gives a dynasty at its beginning another power in addition to that of the group feeling it possessed as the result of the number of its (supporters).

[p.1:320]

As¹⁶ we have mentioned before, the reason for this is that religious coloring does away with mutual jealousy and envy among people who share

¹³ Qur'an 13.41 (41).

¹⁴ Cf. Issawi, p. 131.

¹⁵ Qur'an 8.63 (64).

¹⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 131-33, and above, pp. 305 f.

in a group feeling, and causes concentration upon the truth. When people (who have a religious coloring) come to have the (right) insight into their affairs, nothing can withstand them, because their outlook is one and their object one of common accord. They are willing to die for (their objectives). (On the other hand,) the members of the dynasty they attack may be many times as numerous as they. But their purposes differ, in as much as they are false¹⁷ purposes, and (the people of the worldly dynasty) come to abandon each other, since they are afraid of death. Therefore, they do not offer resistance to (the people with a religious coloring), even if they themselves are more numerous. They are overpowered by them and quickly wiped out, as a result of the luxury and humbleness existing among them, as we have mentioned before.¹⁸

This happened to the Arabs at the beginning of Islam during the Muslim conquests. The armies of the Muslims at al-Qadisiyah and at the Yarmuk numbered some 30,000 in each case, while the Persian troops at al-Qadisiyah numbered 120,000,¹⁹ and the troops of Heraclius, according to al-Waqidi, 400,000.²⁰ Neither of the two parties was able to withstand the Arabs. (The Arabs) routed them and seized what they possessed.

¹⁷ Whereas the truth is only one, and means unity of purpose. Cf., for instance, the saying attributed to Plato in al-Mubashshir b. Fitik, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, No. 227 (= ed. Madrid, 1958, p. 158); cf. H. Knust, *Mitteilungen aus den: Eskurial*, p. 229: "Justice in something is one form, whereas injustice is many forms. Therefore it is easy to commit an injustice, and difficult to pursue justice. Justice and injustice are like hitting and missing (the target) in shooting. Hitting (it) requires practice and experience, while it does not require anything of the sort to miss."

¹⁸Cf., for instance, pp. 296 ff., above.

¹⁹Cf., p. 17, above.

²⁰ The very high figures given here and in some of the historical examples mentioned on the following pages, are not usually found in the old sources, such as at-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, etc. This might have warned Ibn Khaldun against using them -had it been as easy for him to check the sources as it is for us. The *Futuh ash-Sha'm*, a novelistic elaboration of the conquest of Syria ascribed to al-Waqidi, speaks of four armies, the first three of which consisted of 100,000 knights each. This may have given rise to the figure of 400,000 mentioned by Ibn Khaldun. However, Pseudo-Waqidi also mentions 600,000 and 700,000 as the number of Heraclius' troops. Cf. *Futuh ash-Sha'm* (Cairo, 1354/1935), 1, 102 f.

Another illustration is the Lamtunah (Almoravid) and Almohad dynasties. In the Maghrib, there existed many tribes equaling or surpassing them in numbers and group feeling. However, their religious organization doubled the strength of their group feeling through (their) feeling of having (the right religious) insight²¹ and (their) willingness to die, as we have stated, and nothing could withstand them.

This can also be illustrated (by the situation existing at the time) when the religious coloring changes and is destroyed. The power (of the ruling dynasty) is then wiped out. Superiority exists then merely in proportion to (the existing) group feeling, without the additional (power of) religion. As a result, the dynasty is overpowered by those groups (up to this time) under its control, that are equal or superior to it in strength. It had formerly overpowered the groups that had a stronger group feeling and were more deeply rooted in desert life, with the help of the additional power that religion had given it.

An illustration of this is the relationship of the Almohads with the Zanatah. The Zanatah were deeply rooted in the desert and more savage than the Masmudah, but the Masmudah had the religious call to follow the Mahdi. They took on (his religious) coloring. As a result, the strength of their group feeling increased many times over. Therefore, they were at first able to overpower the Zanatah and to make them their followers, even though (the Zanatah) were more strongly rooted in the desert and had a stronger group feeling than they. But (later on) when the Masmudah lost their religious coloring, the Zanatah rose up against them from every side and took their power away from them. "God has the power to execute His commands."²²

²¹ *Istibsar*; as p. 320, above, and 2:134, below. The term, based on Qur'an 29.38 (37), is quite frequently used in religious literature. In this passage one might be tempted to read *bi-l-intisar* "through their willingness to win and die." However, in A, C, and D, where the word is provided with diacritical dots, it is *istibsar*.

²² Qur'an 12.21 (21).

III.6. Religious propaganda cannot materialize without group feeling.

[p.1:322]

This²³ is because, as we have mentioned before, every mass (political) undertaking by necessity requires group feeling. This is indicated in the afore-mentioned²⁴ tradition: "God sent no prophet who did not enjoy the protection of his people." If this was the case with the prophets, who are among human beings those most likely to perform wonders, one would (expect it to apply) all the more so to others. One cannot expect them to be able to work the wonder of achieving superiority without group feeling.

It happened to the Sufi *shaykh* Ibn Qasi,²⁵ the author of the *Kitab Khal'an-na'layn* on Sufism. He rose in revolt in Spain and made propaganda for the truth shortly before the time when the propaganda of the Mahdi (of the

²³Cf. Issawi, pp. 133 f.; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes de sociologie*, pp. 59-61.

²⁴Cf. p. 187, above, and p. 414, below. The earlier texts have "sound tradition." The word "sound" is deleted in C and does not appear in D at all.

²⁵ Ahmad b. Qasi died in 546 [1151]. He started his revolt about ten years earlier. Cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil de testes inedits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1929), pp. 102 f.; M. Asin Palacios, in his edition of Ibn al-'Arif, *Mahasin al-majalis* (Paris, 1933), p. 5; 'Ibar, VI, 233 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 184 f. He probably was a member of the Ibn Qasi family mentioned by Ibn Ijazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab*, pp. 467 f. Cf. also GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 776, where his name is said to be Ibn Qasyt.

The title of his work refers to the Moses story in the Qur'an 20.12 (12), which is given a mystical interpretation; cf. Ibn 'Arabi, *Futuhat* (Bulaq, 1293/1876), I, 250 f. The work is contained in the Istanbul MS, Sehîd Ali Pala 1174 (written in 741 [1340]), fols. 1a-88b, where it is followed by Ibn 'Arabi's commentary, fols. 89a-175b. Only the commentary is contained in Aya Sofya 1879. The name Qasi is vocalized alternately with each of the three vowels in these MSS. * 'Afifi in *Bull. Fac. Arts, Alexandria University*, XI (1957), 53-87.

The full title is *Kitab Khal'an-na'layn wa-qtibas al-anwar min mawtli' al-qadamayn*. The work should not be confused, as sometimes happens, with the *Kitab khal'an-na'layn fi wusul ild hadrat al jam'ayn* by 'Abdallah al-Bosnawli'Abdi, d. 1054 [1644]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 793. MSS of the latter work are preserved in Istanbul Universite, Arabic MS. 3164, and Nafiz (Suleymaniye) 503. Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf a;-zunun*, 111, 172, mentions 'Abdi's work as a commentary on Ibn Qasi's work (?).

Almohads) started. His followers were called *al-Murabitun*²⁶ (Ibn Qasi) had some success, because the Lamtunah (Almoravids) were preoccupied with their own difficulties with the Almohads. (But) there were no groups and tribes there to defend him. When the Almohads took over control of the Maghrib, he soon obeyed them and participated in their cause. He took the oath of allegiance to them at his stronghold, the fortress of Arcos (de la Frontera). He handed his frontier province over to them and became their first missionary in Spain. His revolt was called the revolt of the *Murabitun*.

To this chapter belong cases of revolutionaries from among the common people and of jurists who undertake to reform evil (practices). Many religious people who follow the ways of religion come to revolt against unjust amirs. They call for a change in, and prohibition of, evil (practices) and for good practices. They hope for a divine reward for what they do. They gain many followers and sympathizers among the great mass of the people, but they risk being killed, and most of them actually do perish in consequence of their activities as sinners and unrewarded, because God had not destined them for such (activities as they undertake). He commands such activities to be undertaken only where there-exists the power to bring them to a successful conclusion. Muhammad said: "Should one among you see evil activities, he should change them with his hand. If he cannot do that, he should change them with his tongue. And if he cannot do that, he should change them with his heart."^{26a}

Rulers and dynasties are strongly entrenched. Their foundations can be undermined and destroyed only through strong efforts backed by the group feeling of tribes and families, as we have mentioned before. Similarly, prophets in their religious propaganda depended on groups and families,

²⁶Ibn Khaldun has this word which is the same as the name of the Almoravids. However, Ibn Qasi's followers are said to have been called *Muridun* (mystic disciples).

^{26a}Cf. Muslim, *Sahih, Kitab al-iman*; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma`alim alqurbah*, ed. R. Levy (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. No. 12) (London, 1938), p. 18.

though they were the ones who could have been supported by God with anything in existence, if He had wished, but in His wisdom²⁷ He permitted matters to take their customary course.

If someone who is on the right path were to attempt (religious reforms) in this way, (his) isolation would keep him from (gaining the support of) group feeling,²⁸ and he would perish. If someone merely pretends to (achieve religious reforms) in order to gain (political) leadership, he deserves to be hampered by obstacles and to fall victim to perdition. (Religious reforms) are a divine matter that materializes only with God's pleasure and support, through sincere devotion for Him and in view of good intentions towards the Muslims. No Muslim, no person of insight, could doubt this (truth).

In Islam, the first person to start that sort of thing in Baghdad was a certain Khalid ad-Daryush.²⁹ Tahir had revolted. Al-Amin was killed. Al-Ma'mun in Khurasin was slowed down in his advance toward the 'Iraq, and he appointed 'Ali b. Musa ar-Rida, a descendant of al-Husayn, successor to the throne. The 'Abbasids showed their disapproval (of that move). They banded together in order to revolt and to renounce obedience to al-Ma'mun and to choose some one else in his stead. Allegiance was sworn to Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi. Trouble broke out in Baghdad. The troublesome elements among the underworld and the soldiery were given a free hand against the decent citizens. They robbed the people and filled their pockets with loot, which they sold openly in the markets. The inhabitants turned for protection to the authorities, but these did not help them. The religious and good citizens, thereupon, united in order to stop the criminals and to put an end to their

²⁷The words "in His wisdom" are substituted in C and D for the concluding phrase, "God is wise and knowing," which the earlier texts have.

²⁸ Other translators have suggested a different translation: "(his) isolation from group feeling would cut him short."

²⁹For the following events, cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1008 ff. The role of Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi (cf. p. 40, above, and pp. 430 f., below) is somewhat exaggerated by Ibn Khaldun in retelling the story.

misdeeds. At that moment, a man named Khalid ad-Daryush appeared in Baghdad. He appealed to the people to obey the law. Many responded to his call. They fought the troublesome elements and defeated them. Khalid had them beaten and punished. After him, there appeared another man from among the populace of Baghdad,³⁰ by name Abu Hatim Sahl b. Salamah al-Ansari. He hung a copy of the Qur'an around his neck, and appealed to the people to obey the law and to act in accordance with the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. High and low, Hashimites and others, all followed him. He established himself in the palace of Tahir and took over the government office(s). He went about Baghdad, kept out all those who were frightening wayfarers, and put an end to the payment of protection money³¹ to the underworld. When Khalid ad-Daryush said to him that he (Khalid) was not against the government, Sahl replied that he (for his part) was fighting all those who acted contrary to the Qur'an and the Sunnah, whoever they might be. This happened in the year 201 [817]. Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi sent an army against (Sahl). He was defeated and captured, and his power quickly dissolved. He barely escaped with his life.

Later on, many deluded individuals followed, that example. They took it upon themselves to establish the truth. They did not know that they would need group feeling for that. They did not realize how their enterprise must necessarily end and what they would come to. With respect to such people, it is necessary to adopt one of the following courses. One may either treat them, if they are insane, or one may punish them either by execution or

³⁰The reading of the text *min sawad ahl Baghdad* seems doubtful. Ibn Khaldun probably meant to say *min ahl Sawad Baghdad* "from the people of the Sawad (lower Mesopotamia) of Baghdad." However, at-Tabari states that the man came from Khurisin. In favor of the reading of the text, it may be noted that Ibn Khaldun uses *sawddin* in the meaning of "people" below, 2:103, l. 4, and 2:300, l. 4.

³¹At-Tabari graphically describes the procedure: "*Khafarah* means that someone goes to the owner of a garden and says to him: Your garden is under my protection (*khafar*). I shall keep away everyone who might want to do mischief there, and you are to pay me so much money each month."

beatings when they cause trouble, or one may ridicule them and treat them as buffoons.³²

Some of these people allied themselves with the Expected Fatimid.³³ They pretended to be, either he himself, or one of his missionaries, despite their ignorance of everything concerning the Fatimid. Most men who adopt such ideas will be found to be, either deluded and crazy, or to be swindlers who, with the help of such claims, seek to obtain (political) leadership - which they crave and would be unable to obtain in the natural manner. They believe that such claims will be instrumental in bringing to them the fulfillment of their hopes. They do not consider the disaster that will overtake them in consequence. The trouble they create will speedily cause their death and bring their trickery to a bitter end.

At the beginning of this century, a man of Sufi leanings, by name at-Tuwayziri, appeared in as-Sus. He went to the Mosque of Massah³⁴ on the shore of the Mediterranean and pretended to be the Expected Fatimid. He was taking advantage of the common people's firm belief in predictions to the effect that the Fatimid was about to appear and that his mission would originate at that Mosque. A number of ordinary Berber groups were attracted to him like moths (to the flame).³⁵ Their chiefs then feared that the revolt might spread. The leader of the Masmudah at that time, 'Umar as-Saksiwi,³⁶ secretly sent someone to him, who killed him in his bed.

Also at the beginning of this century, a man known as al-'Abbas appeared among the Ghumarah. He made a similar claim. The lowest among

³² Lit., "slapstick artists."

³³Cf. pp. 948, 414, and 2:166 ff., below.

³⁴Cf. p. 128, above.

³⁵The attraction of moths to the flame is interpreted by the Arabs as indicating stupidity rather than eagerness or self-sacrifice. Cf. ath-Tha'alibi, *Thimar al-qulub*(Cairo, 1326/1908), pp. 399 f. The latter interpretation, however, is that of Muslim mysticism.

³⁶Cf. de Slane (tr.), *Histoire des Berberes*, II, 270 f. The Arabic text is missing in the edition of the *Ibar*.

The story is repeated below, 2:197.

the stupid and imbecile members of those tribes followed his blethering. He marched on Badis, one of the (Ghumarah) cities, and entered it by force. He was then killed, forty days after the start of his mission. He perished like those before him.³⁷

There are many similar cases.³⁸ The mistake (they all make) is that they disregard the significance of group feeling (for success) in such matters. If deceit is involved, it is better that such a person should not succeed and be made to pay for his crime. "That is the sinners' reward."³⁹

III.7. Each dynasty has a certain amount of provinces and lands, and no more.

[p.1:327]

The⁴⁰ reason for this is that the group to which a given dynasty belongs and the people who support and establish it, must of necessity be distributed over the provinces and border regions which they reach and take into possession. Only thus is it possible to protect them against enemies and to enforce the laws of the dynasty relative to the collection of taxes, restrictions,⁴¹ and other things.

When the (various) groups have spread over the border regions and provinces, their numbers are necessarily exhausted. This, then, is the time when the territory (of the dynasty) has reached its farthest extension, where the border regions form a belt around the center of the realm. If the dynasty

³⁷This event, which took place at the end of the thirteenth century, is mentioned again, 2:197 f., below.

³⁸Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 302; de Slane (tr.), II, 388.

³⁹Qur'an 6.29 (32); 59.17 (17).

⁴⁰Cf. Issawi, pp. 127 f.

⁴¹The translators disagree as to who is to be restricted. De Slane: "to contain those who are defeated." Issawi: "to awe the population." Schimmel (p. 78): "to drive back enemies." The term used here is not common with Ibn Khaldun, but it appears to refer to the restraining influence which is to be exercised upon the native population. The word *rad'* used here occurs also elsewhere in the same sense in which Ibn Khaldun preferably uses *wz'*. Cf., for instance, Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'alim al-qurbah*, p. 195, l. 19, or al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, sayings of Socrates, Nos. 7 & 277 (= ed. Badawi [Madrid, 19581, pp. 92 and 117).

then undertakes to expand beyond its holdings, it(s widening territory) remains without military protection and is laid open to any chance attack by enemy or neighbor. This has the detrimental result for the dynasty of the creation of boldness toward it and of diminished respect for it. (On the other hand,) if the group is a very large one and its numbers are not exhausted when distributed over border regions and territories, the dynasty retains the strength to go beyond the limit (so far reached), until its expansion has gone as far as possible.

The natural reason for this (situation) lies in the fact that the power of group feeling is one of the natural powers. Any power resulting in any kind of action must proceed in its action in such manner.⁴²

A dynasty is stronger at its center than it is at its border regions. When it has reached its farthest expansion, it becomes too weak and incapable to go any farther. This may be compared to light rays that spread from their centers, or to circles that widen over the surface of the water when something strikes it.

When the dynasty becomes senile and weak, it begins to crumble at its extremities. The center remains intact until God permits the destruction of the whole (dynasty). Then, the center is destroyed. But when a dynasty is overrun from the center, it is of no avail to it that the outlying areas remain intact. It dissolves all at once. The center is like the heart from which the (vital) spirit⁴³ spreads. Were the heart to be overrun and captured, all the extremities would be routed.

This may be observed in the Persian dynasty. Its center was al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon). When the Muslims took over al-Mada'in, the whole Persian empire dissolved. Possession of the outlying provinces of the realm was of no avail to Yazdjard.

⁴²That is, it must follow its natural course. Each power can have only the effects depending on its inherent character.

⁴³Cf. p. 74 (n. 5), and p. 210, above.

Conversely, the center of the Byzantine dynasty in Syria was in Constantinople. When the Muslims took Syria away from the Byzantines, the latter repaired to their center in Constantinople. The loss of Syria did not harm them. Their rule continued there without interruption until God permitted it to be ended⁴⁴

Another example is the situation of the Arabs at the beginning of Islam. Since they were a very large group, they very quickly overran neighboring Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Then, they kept on going, into Western India (as-Sind), Abyssinia, Ifrigiyah, and the Maghrib, and later into Spain. They spread over many provinces and border regions, and settled in them as militiamen. Their numbers were exhausted by that expansion. No further conquests could be made by them, and the Muslim empire reached its farthest extension. Those borders were not passed, but the dynasty receded from them, until God permitted it to be destroyed.

The situation of later dynasties was the same. Each dynasty depended on the numerical strength of its supporters. When its numbers were exhausted through expansion, no further conquest or extension of power was possible. This is how God proceeds with His creatures.

III.8. The greatness of a dynasty, the extent of its territory, and the length of its duration depend upon the numerical strength of its supporters.

[p.1:330]

The reason for this is that royal authority exists only through group feeling. Representatives of group feeling are the militiamen who settle in the provinces and territories of the dynasty and are spread over them. The

⁴⁴The past tense is used here! The word "there" certainly does not refer to Syria, but to the Byzantine center in Constantinople. This anticipation of the fall of Constantinople may have something to do with traditions and predictions to that effect. Cf. 2:193, below.

more numerous the tribes and groups of a large dynasty are, the stronger and larger are its provinces and lands. Their royal authority, therefore, is wider.

An example of this was the Muslim dynasty when God united the power of the Arabs in Islam. The number of Muslims who participated in the raid against Tabuk, the Prophet's last raid, was 110,000,⁴⁵ (consisting of) Mudar and Qahtin horsemen and foot soldiers. That number was augmented by those who became Muslims after the (raid) and down to the time of the Prophet's death. When (all these people) then set out to seek for themselves the royal authority held by (other) nations, there was no protection against them or refuge. They were allowed (to take possession of) the realms of the Persians and the Byzantines who were the greatest dynasties in the world at that time, (as well as the realms) of the Turks in the East, of the European Christians and Berbers in the West (Maghrib), and of the Goths in Spain. They went from the Hijiz to as-Sus in the far west,⁴⁶ and from the Yemen to the Turks in the farthest north. They gained possession of all seven zones.

One may also look at the Sinhajah and Almohad dynasties and their relationship to the 'Ubaydid (-Fitimids) before them. The Kutimah, supporters of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty, were more numerous than the Sinhajah and the Masmudah. Consequently, their dynasty was larger. They took possession of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, as well as of Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz. One may also look at the later Zanatah dynasty. Since the number of the Zanatah was smaller than that of the Masmt dah, their royal authority fell short of that of the Almohads, because (the Zanatah) were numerically inferior to the MasmGdah from the very start. One may also consider the situation of the two Zanatah dynasties at this time, the Merinids and the 'Abd-al-Wadids. The Merinids were numerically stronger than the 'Abd-al-Wadids when they first seized power. Therefore, their dynasty was stronger

⁴⁵Cf. also p. 952, below. Lower figures are given, for example, by Ibn Sayyid-an-nis, *'Uyun al-athar*, II, 216, who has 90,000 men and 10,000 horses.

⁴⁶Cf. n. 11 o to Ch. I, above.

and larger than that of the 'Abd-alWadids. Time after time, (the Merinids) defeated (the 'Abdal-Wadids). It is said that the number of the Merinids at the beginning of their rule was three thousand and that of the 'Abd-al-Wadids one thousand. However, (possession of) dynastic power with (its) life of ease and the (great) number of (its) followers increased their numbers.

Thus, the expansion and power of a dynasty correspond to the numerical strength of those who obtain superiority at the beginning of the rule. The length of its duration also depends upon it. The life of anything that comes into being depends upon the strength of its temper. The temper of dynasties is based upon group feeling. If the group feeling is strong, the (dynasty's) temper likewise is strong, and its life of long duration. Group feeling, in turn, depends on numerical strength, as we have stated.⁴⁷

The real reason why (large dynasties last longer) is that when collapse comes it begins in the outlying regions, and the large dynasty has many such provinces far from its center. Each defection that occurs necessarily requires a certain time. The time required (for collapse of the dynasty) will be long in such cases, because there are many provinces, each of which collapses in its own good time. The duration of a large dynasty, therefore, is long.

This (fact) may be observed in the Arab Muslim dynasty. It lasted the longest of (all Muslim) dynasties, counting both the 'Abbasids in the center and the Umayyads far away in Spain. Their rule collapsed only after the fourth [tenth] century.⁴⁸ The 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) lasted about 280 years. The Sinhajah dynasty did not last as long as that of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), namely, from the time when Ma'add al-Mu'izz entrusted Ifrigiyah to Bulugin b. Zirt in the year 358 [969], up to the time when the Almohads took

⁴⁷ Apparently, no specific passage is referred to here.

⁴⁸The "Arab Muslim dynasty" comprises the 'Abbasids and the Umayyads. Since, for Ibn Khaldun, the 'Abbasid dynasty as an independent power ended in the ninth/tenth century (cf., for instance, p. 951, below), he had to include the Spanish Umayyads, in order to give the "Arab Muslim dynasty" the longest duration of all Muslim dynasties.

possession of al-Qal'ah⁴⁹ and Bougie in the year 557 [1162]. The contemporary Almohad (Hafsid) dynasty has lasted nearly 270 years.

Thus, the life of a dynasty depends upon (the number of) its supporters. "This is how God formerly proceeded with His servants."⁵⁰

III.9. A dynasty rarely establishes itself firmly in lands with many different tribes and groups.

[p.1:332]

The⁵¹ reason for this is the differences in opinions and desires. 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, even if the dynasty possesses group feeling, because each group feeling under the control of the ruling dynasty thinks that it has in itself (enough) strength and power.

One may compare what has happened in this connection in Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib from the beginning of Islam to the present time. The inhabitants of those lands are Berber tribes and groups. The first victory of Ibn Abi Sarh⁵² over them and the European Christians (in the Maghrib) was of no avail. They continued to rebel and apostatized time after time. The Muslims massacred many of them. After the Muslim religion had been established among them, they went on revolting and seceding, and they adopted dissident (Kharijite) religious opinions many times. Ibn Abi Zayd⁵³ said that the Berbers in the Maghrib revolted twelve times and that Islam became firmly established among them only during the governorship of Musib. Nusayr and thereafter. This is what is meant by the statement reported

⁴⁹Cf. p. 315, above.

⁵⁰ Qur'an 40.85 (85).

⁵¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 111-13.

⁵² Uthmins governor of Egypt, who tried to conquer Tripolitania shortly after 647.

⁵³ Cf. n. 939 to Ch. 1, above. The statement is repeatedly quoted in the *Ibar*; cf. VI, 12, 103, 110; de Slane (tr.), 1, 28, 198, 215.

on the authority of 'Umar, that "Ifriqiyah 'divides'⁵⁴ the hearts of its inhabitants." The statement refers to the great number of tribes and groups there, which causes them to be disobedient and unmanageable. The 'Iraq at that time was different, and so was Syria. The militia of the ('Iraq and Syria) consisted of Persians and Byzantines (respectively). All (the inhabitants) were a mixed lot of town and city dwellers. When the Muslims deprived them of their power, there remained no one capable of making a defense or of offering opposition.

The Berber tribes in the West are innumerable. All of them are Bedouins and members of groups and families. Whenever one tribe is destroyed, another takes its place and is as refractory and rebellious as the former one had been. Therefore, it has taken the Arabs a long time to establish their dynasty in the land of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib.

The same was the case in Syria in the age of the Israelites. At that time, there existed (there) a very large number of tribes with a great variety of group feelings, such as the tribes of Palestine and Canaan, the children of Esau, the Midyanites, the children of Lot, the Edomites, the Armenians[!], the Amalekites, Gergashites, and the Nabataeans from the Jazirah and Mosul⁵⁵ Therefore, it was difficult for the Israelites to establish their dynasty firmly. Time after time, their royal authority was endangered. The (spirit of) opposition (alive in the country) communicated itself to (the Israelites). They opposed their own government and revolted against it. They thus never had a continuous and firmly established royal authority. Eventually they were overpowered, first by the Persians, then by the Greeks, and finally by the Romans, when their power came to an end in the Diaspora. "God has the power to execute His commands."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ This is a play on words, connecting Ifriqiyah with the Arabic root *f-r-q* "to divide." Cf. also 3:474, below; al-Balidhuri, *Futuh al-buldan*, p. 226.

⁵⁵ Cf. p. 474, below.

⁵⁶ Qur'an 12.21 (21). 994

On the other hand, it is easy to establish a dynasty in lands that are free from group feelings. Government there will be a tranquil affair, because seditions and rebellions are few, and the dynasty there does not need much group feeling. This is the case in contemporary Egypt and Syria. They are (now) free from tribes and group feelings; indeed, one would never suspect that Syria had once been a mine of them, as we have (just) stated. Royal authority in Egypt is most peaceful and firmly rooted, because Egypt has few dissidents or people who represent tribal groups. Egypt has a sultan and subjects. (Egypt's) ruling dynasty consists of the Turkish rulers and their groups. They succeed each other in power, and the rule circulates among them, passing from one branch to another. The caliphate belongs in name to an 'Abbasid, a descendant of the 'Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad.

The same is the case in contemporary Spain. The group feeling of the ruler of (Spain), Ibn al-Ahmar (the Nasrids of Granada), was not strong or widespread to begin with. (The Nasrids) belonged to one of the Arab houses that had supported the Umayyad dynasty, a few survivors of which remained. This situation came about as follows: When the Spaniards were no longer ruled by the Arab dynasty (of the Umayyads) and the Lamtanah and Almohad Berbers became their rulers, they detested this domination. Their oppression weighed heavily upon them, and their hearts were full of hate and indignation against (the new rulers).

Near the end of the (Almohad) rule, the Almohad lords handed over many of their strongholds to the abominable (Christian ruler), in order to gain his support for their attempts to capture the capital city of Marrakech. That caused remnants of the people in Spain who represented the ancient group feeling to unite. These were descendants of Arab houses who had to some degree kept away from urban civilization and the cities, and who were firmly rooted in military life. They included Ibn Had (of Saragossa), Ibn al-Ahmar (of Granada), and Ibn Mardanish (of Valencia and Murcia), and others like them. Ibn Had seized power, made propaganda for the 'Abbasid

caliphate in the East, and caused the people to revolt against the Almohads. Allegiance to them was denounced, and they were driven out. Ibn Had thus became the independent ruler of Spain. Then, Ibn al-Ahmar rose to power and opposed Ibn Had's propaganda. He made propaganda for Ibn Abi Hafs, the Almohad ruler of Ifriqiyah, and seized power with the help of a group of relatives who were called "the chiefs." He needed no more people than these, because there were so few groups in Spain (at that time) possessing a government (*sultan*) and subjects. Ibn al-Ahmar then sought support against the abominable (Christian ruler) from Zanatah chieftains who came to him from across the sea. These Zanatah chieftains became his associates in defense of the frontier regions and the manning of the garrisons.

Now, the Zanatah (Merinid) ruler of the Maghrib had hopes of gaining power in Spain. But these Zanatah chieftains who were Ibn al-Ahmar's associates defended him. His power, eventually, was firmly established. The people became used to his rule and could do nothing against him. He bequeathed his power to his descendants, who have held it down to the present. One should not think that he was without group support. This was not so. He started out with a group, but it was a small one. However, it was sufficient for his needs, because there were few groups and tribes in (Spain) and, consequently, not much group feeling was needed there, in order to gain the upper hand over the Spaniards.

"God has no need of the worlds."⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Qur'an 3.97 (92).

III.10. By its very nature, the royal authority claims all glory for itself and goes in for luxury and prefers tranquility and quiet.⁵⁸

[p.1:336]

As⁵⁹ to claiming all glory for itself, this is because, as we have mentioned before, royal authority exists through group feeling. Group feeling (such as leads to royal authority) is something composite that results from (the amalgamation of) many groups, one of which is stronger than all the others. Thus, (a group feeling) is able to overcome and gain power over (all the others), and, eventually, brings them all under its sway. Thus, social organization and superiority over men and dynasties come about. The secret here is that a group feeling extending over the entire tribe corresponds to the temper in the things that come into being. Temper is the product (of the mixture) of the elements. It has been explained in the proper place⁶⁰ that, when the elements are combined in equal proportions, no mixture can take place. One (element) must be superior to the others, and when (it exercises) its superiority over them, mixture occurs. In the same way, one of the various tribal group feelings must be superior to all (others), in order to be able to bring them together, to unite them, and to weld them into one group feeling comprising all the various groups. All the various groups are then under the influence of the superior group feeling.

This highest group feeling can go only to people who have a "house" and leadership among (the tribe). One of those people must be the leader

⁵⁸This section is the consolidation of three sections, as the earlier texts presented the material. The second, entitled "Luxury belongs to royal authority by nature," begins on p. 338, 1. 1 and the third, entitled "Tranquility and quiet belong to royal authority by nature," begins on p. 328, 1.21. C still has the old division in the text but also contains corrections and slight changes made at the beginning of the original sections, and these are incorporated in the text of D.

⁵⁹Cf. Issawi, pp. 114 f.

⁶⁰This seems to be meant as a general reference to works on physics where the subject is treated. However, Ibn Khaldun had made the same statement above (n. 59 to Ch. II) in an early stage of the text later deleted.

who has superiority over them. He is singled out as leader of all the various group feelings, because he is superior to all the others by birth. When he is singled out for (the position of leadership), he is too proud to let others share in his leadership and control over (the people) or to let them participate in it, because the qualities of haughtiness and pride are innate in animal nature. Thus, he develops the quality of egotism (*ta'alluh*), which is innate in human beings.

Moreover, politics requires that only one person exercise control. Were various persons, liable to differ among each other, to exercise it, destruction of the whole could result. "If there were other gods except God in the two (heaven and earth), they (heaven and earth) would have been destroyed."⁶¹

Thus, the aspirations of the various group feelings are blunted. People become tame and do not aspire to share with the leader in the exercise of control. Their group feeling is forced to refrain (from such aspirations). The leader takes charge all by himself, as far as possible. Eventually, he leaves no part in the power to anyone else. He thus claims all the glory for himself and does not permit the people to share in it. This may come to pass already with the first ruler of a dynasty, or it may come to pass only with the second or the third, depending on the resistance and strength of the various group feelings, but it is something unavoidable in a dynasty. This is how God proceeds with His servants.

As⁶² to going in for luxury, this is because, when a nation has gained the upper hand and taken possession of the holdings of its predecessors who had royal authority, its prosperity and well-being grow. People become accustomed to a great number of things. From the necessities of life and a life of austerity, they progress to the luxuries and a life of comfort and beauty. They come to adopt the customs and (enjoy) the conditions of their predecessors. Luxuries require development of the customs necessary to produce

⁶¹ Qur'an 21.22 (22). 337

⁶²Cf. Issawi, p. 119.

them. People then also tend toward luxury in food, clothing, bedding (carpets), and household goods. They take pride in such things and vie with other nations in delicacies, gorgeous raiment, and fine mounts. Every new generation wants to surpass the preceding one in this respect, and so it goes right down to the end of the dynasty. The larger the realm ruled by a dynasty, the greater is the share of its people in these luxuries. The limit eventually to be reached is set for a particular dynasty by its own power and by the customs of its predecessors.

This is how God proceeds with His creatures.

As⁶³ to preferring tranquility and quiet, this is because a nation obtains royal authority only by pressing its claims, having in mind the purpose of obtaining superiority and royal authority. When this purpose is accomplished, all efforts cease.

I wondered at the busy efforts fate made in connection with my relationship with her.

Then, when our relationship had ended, fate became quiet.⁶⁴

When people have obtained the royal authority, they no (longer) do the tiresome chores they had been used to undertake while still in search of it. They prefer rest and quiet and tranquility. Now they seek to enjoy the fruits of royal authority, such as buildings, dwellings, and clothing. They build castles and install running water.⁶⁵ They plant gardens and enjoy life. They prefer rest to tiresome chores. They take pride in clothing, food, household goods, and bedding (carpets), as much as possible. They get used to this (attitude) and pass it on to later generations. It continues to grow in their midst, until God permits His command to be executed.

⁶³Cf. Issawi, pp. 120 f.

⁶⁴The verses are by the seventh-century poet Abu Sakhr 'Abdallah b. Saim al-Hudhali. Cf. Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, ed. R. Brunnow (Leiden, 1888), XXI, 143 f.; (Bulaq, 1285/1868), VIII, 172; (Cairo, 1945/1927), IX, 295. The poet bemoans his irrevocable separation from his beloved Layla.

⁶⁵ Cf. p. 250, above.

III.11. When the natural (tendencies) of the royal authority to claim all glory for itself and to obtain luxury and tranquility have been firmly established, the dynasty approaches senility.

[p.1:339]

This⁶⁶ can be explained in several ways.

First: As we have stated, the (royal authority), by its very nature, must claim all glory for itself. As long as glory was the common (property) of the group, and all members of the group made an identical effort (to obtain glory), their aspirations to gain the upper hand over others and to defend their own possessions were expressed in exemplary unruliness and lack of restraint. They all aimed at fame. Therefore, they considered death encountered in pursuit of glory, sweet, and they preferred annihilation to the loss of (glory). Now, however, when one of them claims all glory for himself, he treats the others severely and holds them in check. Further, he excludes them from possessing property and appropriates it for himself. People, thus, become too lazy to care for fame. They become dispirited and come to love humbleness and servitude.

The next generation (of members of the dynasty) grows up in this (condition). They consider their allowances the government's payment to them for military service and support. No other thought occurs to them. (But) a person would rarely hire himself out to sacrifice his life. This (situation) debilitates the dynasty and undermines its strength. Its group feeling decays because the people who represent the group feeling have lost their energy. As a result, the dynasty progresses toward weakness and senility.

Second: As we have said before, royal authority by its very nature requires luxury. People get accustomed to a great number of things. Their ex-

⁶⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 122-26. 339

penses are higher than their allowances and their income is not sufficient to pay for their expenditures. Those who are poor perish. Spendthrifts squander their income on luxuries. This (condition) becomes aggravated in the later generations. Eventually, all their income cannot pay for the luxuries and other things they have become used to. They grow needy. When their rulers urge them to defray the costs of raids and wars, they cannot get around it (but they have no money). Therefore, (the rulers) impose penalties on the (people) and deprive many of them of their property, either by appropriating it for themselves or by handing it over to their own children and supporters in the dynasty. In that way, they make the people too weak (financially) to keep their own affairs going, and their weakness (then reacts upon the ruler and) weakens him.

Also, when luxury increases in a dynasty and people's income becomes insufficient for their needs and expenses, the ruler, that is, the government, must increase their allowances in order to tide them over and remedy their unsound condition. The amount of tax revenue, however, is a fixed one. It neither increases nor decreases. When it is increased by new customs duties, the amount to be collected as a result of the increase has fixed limits (and cannot be increased again). And when the tax revenues must go to pay for recently increased allowances that had to be increased for everybody in view of new luxuries and great expenditures, the militia decreases in number from what it had been before the increase in allowances.⁶⁷

Luxury, meanwhile, is still on the increase. As a result, allowances become larger, and the militia decreases in number. This happens a third and a fourth time. Eventually, the army is reduced to the smallest possible size. The result is that the military defense of the dynasty is weakened and the power of the dynasty declines. Neighboring dynasties, or groups and tribes

⁶⁷That is, since the allowances to be paid are higher than before, and the tax income has not increased, fewer men can be hired. Cf., further, 2:91 f., below.

under the control of the dynasty itself, become bold and attack it, and God permits it to suffer the destruction that He has destined for (all) His creatures.

Furthermore, luxury corrupts the character. (Through luxury,) the soul acquires diverse kinds of evil and sophisticated customs, as will be mentioned in the section on sedentary culture.⁶⁸ People lose the good qualities that were a sign and indication of (their qualification for) royal authority.⁶⁹ They adopt the contrary bad qualities. This points toward retrogression and ruin, according to the way God has (planned it) for His creatures in this connection. The dynasty shows symptoms of dissolution and disintegration. It becomes affected by the chronic diseases of senility and finally dies.

Third: As we have mentioned,⁷⁰ royal authority, by its very nature, requires tranquility (and rest). When people become accustomed to tranquility and rest and adopt them as character traits, they become part of their nature. This is the case with all the things to which one grows used and accustomed.

The new generations grow up in comfort and the ease of luxury and tranquility. The trait of savagery (which former generations had possessed) undergoes transformation. They forget the customs of desert life that enabled them to achieve royal authority, such as great energy, the habit of rapacity, and the ability to travel in the wilderness and find one's way in waste regions. No difference remains between them and ordinary city dwellers, except for their (fighting) skill⁷¹ and emblems. Their military defense weakens, their energy is lost, and their strength is undermined. The evil effects of this situation on the dynasty show themselves in the form of senility.

People, meanwhile, continue to adopt ever newer forms of luxury and sedentary culture and of quiet, tranquility, and softness in all their conditions, and to sink ever deeper into them. They thus become estranged from

⁶⁸Cf. 2:293, below.

⁶⁹Cf. pp. 291 ff., above.

⁷⁰Cf. pp. 338 f., above.

⁷¹Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 155.

desert life and desert toughness. Gradually, they lose more and more of (the old virtues). They forget the quality of bravery that was their protection and defense. Eventually, they come to depend upon some other militia, if they have one.

An example of this is the nations whose history is available in the books you have. What I have said will be found to be correct and admitting of no doubt.

In a dynasty affected by senility as the result of luxury and rest, it sometimes happens that the ruler chooses helpers and partisans from groups not related to (the ruling dynasty but) used to toughness. He uses (these people) as an army which will be better able to suffer the hardships of wars, hunger, and privation. This could prove a cure for the senility of the dynasty when it comes, (but only) until God permits His command regarding (the dynasty) to be executed.

This is what happened to the Turkish dynasty in the East. Most members of its army were Turkish clients. The (Turkish) rulers then chose horsemen and soldiers from among the white slaves (Mamelukes) who were brought to them. They were more eager to fight and better able to suffer privations than the children of the earlier white slaves (Mamelukes) who had grown up in easy circumstances as a ruling class in the shadow of the government.

The same was the case with the Almohad (Hafsid) dynasty in Ifriqiyah. Their rulers often selected their armies from the Zanatah and the Arabs. They used many of them, and disregarded their own people who had become used to luxury. Thus, the dynasty obtained another, new life, unaffected by senility.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

III.12. Dynasties have a natural life span like individuals.

[p.1:343]

It⁷² should be known that in the opinion of physicians and astrologers, the natural life (span) of individuals is one hundred and twenty years, that is, the period astrologers call the great lunar year. Within the same generation, the duration of life differs according to the conjunctions. It may be either more or less than one hundred and twenty years. The life (span) of persons who are under some particular conjunction will be a full hundred years. Of others, it will be fifty, or eighty, or seventy years, accordingly as the indications of conjunctions noted by these observers may require. The life of a Muslim lasts between sixty and seventy years. This is stated in the *hadith*⁷³ The natural life span of one hundred and twenty years is surpassed only on the occasion of rare configurations and extraordinary positions on the firmament. Such was the case with Noah and with a few (individuals) among the peoples of 'Ad and Thamud.

The⁷⁴ same is the case with the life (span) of dynasties. Their durations may differ according to the conjunctions. However, as a rule no dynasty lasts beyond the life (span) of three generations.⁷⁵ A generation is identical 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. God said: "Until when he reaches his maturity and reaches the age of forty

⁷²Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 183-85.

⁷³Cf. *Concordance*, II, 398b, 11. 22 f.

⁷⁴Cf Issawi, pp. 117 f.

⁷⁵ Cf. pp. 278 ff., above. The following assumption of a period of forty years does not square with the remarks Ibn Khaldun makes here about the length of human life, whether one translates "the average duration of life" or "middle life"-the latter a barely possible rendering, seemingly supported by the quotation from the Qur'an and the discussion found 2:291 f., below.

years...."⁷⁶ Therefore, we have said that the (average) duration of the life of an individual is identical with the duration of a generation.

Our statement is confirmed by the significance of the (forty-year) sojourn of the children of Israel in the desert.⁷⁷ Those forty (years) were intended to bring about the disappearance of the generation then alive and the growth of another generation, (one) that had not witnessed and felt the humiliation (in Egypt). This is proof of the assumption that (a period of) forty years, which is identical with the (average) life of a single individual, must be considered the duration of a generation.

We have stated⁷⁸ that the duration of the life of a dynasty does not as a rule extend beyond three generations. The first generation retains the desert qualities, desert toughness, and desert savagery. (Its members are used to) privation and to sharing their glory (with each other); they are brave and rapacious. Therefore, the strength of group feeling continues to be preserved among them. They are sharp and greatly feared. People submit to them.

Under the influence of royal authority and a life of ease, the second generation changes from the desert attitude to sedentary culture, from privation to luxury and plenty, from a state in which everybody shared in the glory to one in which one man claims all the glory for himself while the others are too lazy to strive for (glory), and from proud superiority to humble subservience. Thus, the vigor of group feeling is broken to some extent. People become used to lowliness and obedience. But many of (the old virtues) remain in them, because they had had direct personal contact with the first generation and its conditions, and had observed with their own eyes its prowess and striving for glory and its intention to protect and defend (itself). They cannot give all of it up at once, although a good deal of it may go.

⁷⁶ Qur'an 46.15 (14).

⁷⁷Cf. pp. 132 and 288, above.

⁷⁸Cf. pp. 278 ff, above.

They live in hope that the conditions that existed in the first generation may come back, or they live under the illusion that those conditions still exist.

The third generation, then, has (completely) forgotten the period of desert life and toughness, as if it had never existed. They have lost (the taste for) the sweetness of fame and (for) group feeling, because they are dominated by force. Luxury reaches its peak among them, because they are so much given to a life of prosperity and ease. They become dependent on the dynasty and are like women and children who need to be defended (by someone else). Group feeling disappears completely. People forget to protect and defend themselves and to press their claims. With their emblems, apparel, horseback riding, and (fighting) skill,⁷⁹ they deceive people and give them the wrong impression. For the most part, they are more cowardly than women upon their backs. When someone comes and demands something from them, they cannot repel him. The ruler, then, has need of other, brave people for his support. He takes many clients and followers. They help the dynasty to some degree, until God permits it to be destroyed, and it goes with everything it stands for.

As one can see, we have there three generations. In the course of these three generations, the dynasty grows senile and is worn out. Therefore, it is in the fourth generation that (ancestral) prestige is destroyed. This was stated before in connection with (the subject) that glory and (ancestral) prestige are restricted to four generations.⁸⁰ We have proved it with natural and evident arguments based on premises that we established before. The reader should consider that. As an impartial person, he should not disregard the truth.

Three generations last one hundred and twenty years, as stated before. As a rule, dynasties do not last longer than that many years, a few more or a few less, save when, by chance, no one appears to attack (the dynasty). When senility becomes preponderant (in a dynasty), there may be no claimant (for

⁷⁹Cf. n. 71 to this chapter, above.

⁸⁰Cf, pp. 278 ff, above. 345

its power, and then nothing will happen), but if there should be one, he will encounter no one capable of repelling him. If the time is up, (the end of the dynasty) cannot be postponed for a single hour, no more than it can be accelerated.⁸¹

In this way, the life (span) of a dynasty corresponds to the life (span) of an individual; it grows up and passes into an age of stagnation and thence into retrogression. Therefore, people commonly say that the life (span) of a dynasty is one hundred years. The saying means the same as what (I have just explained).

One should consider this and derive from it a rule for finding the correct number of ancestors in a pedigree, if one is uncertain about it but knows the time interval that the pedigree covers. For each hundred years, one should figure three ancestors. If the result tallies with the total number of (ancestors indicated in the pedigree, it) is correct. If it is one generation short, there must be an error in the number of (ancestors indicated in the pedigree, and) there must be one (ancestor) too many in it. If (the result) indicates one generation too many, one (ancestor) must have been omitted (from the pedigree). In the same way, one may figure out the number of years, if one knows the correct number of ancestors⁸²

God determines night and day.⁸³

⁸¹Cf. 2:124, below.

⁸² Bulaq reads: "... if one knows the number of ancestors. If the reader considers (this rule), he will find it usually to be correct."

Ibn Khaldun applied this idea to his own pedigree and came to the conclusion that it omitted quite a number of links; cf. *Autobiography*, p. 1. Cf. also above, p. lxvi (n. 80).

⁸³Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

III.13. The transition of dynasties from desert life to sedentary culture.

[p.1:347]

It should be known that these stages are natural ones for dynasties. The superiority through which royal authority is achieved is the result of group feeling and of the great energy and rapacious habits which go with it. As a rule, these things are possible only in connection with desert life. The first stage of dynasties, 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 a refined knowledge of the crafts employed for the diverse aspects and ways of (luxury). This concerns, for instance, food, clothing, building, bedding (carpets), utensils, and other household needs. Each one of these things requires special interdependent crafts serving to refine and improve it. (These crafts) increase in number with the (growing) variety of pleasures and amusements and ways and means to enjoy the life of luxury the soul desires, and (with the growing number of) different things to which people get used.

The⁸⁴ sedentary stage of royal authority follows the stage of desert life. It does so of necessity, as a result of the fact that royal authority is of necessity accompanied by a life of ease. In the sedentary stage and under (sedentary) conditions, the people of a given dynasty always follow the traditions 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.

Something of the sort happened to the Arabs during the conquest by which they came to rule the Persians and Byzantines and made their daughters and sons their servants. At that time, the Arabs had no sedentary culture at all. The story goes that when they were given a pillow they supposed

⁸⁴ Cf. Issawi, pp. 118 f.

it was a bundle of rags.⁸⁵ The camphor they found in the treasuries of the Persian king was used by them as salt in their dough. There are many similar things. The Arabs, then, enslaved the people of the former dynasties and employed them in their occupations and their household needs. From among them, they selected skilled masters of the various (crafts), and were in turn taught by them to handle, master, and develop them for themselves. In addition, the circumstances of the Arabs' life widened and became more diversified. Thus, they reached the limit in this respect. They entered the stage of sedentary culture, of luxury and refinement in food, drink, clothing, building, weapons, bedding (carpets), household goods, music, and all other commodities and furnishings. The same (perfection they showed) on their gala days, banquets, and wedding nights. In this respect, they surpassed the limit.

Looking at the reports of al-Mas'udi, at-Tabari, and other (historians) concerning the wedding of al-Ma'mun to Burin, daughter of al-Hasan b. Sahl, one will be amazed.⁸⁶ They tell about the gifts Burin's father made to the retinue of al-Ma'mun when the caliph came by boat to (al-Hasan's) house in Fumm as-silk to ask for Bilran's hand. They tell about the expenditures for the marriage (settlement, *imlak*) and the wedding gifts al-Ma'mun gave her and the expenditures for the wedding. On the wedding day, al-Hasan b. Sahl gave a lavish banquet that was attended by al-Ma'mun's retinue. To members of the first class, al-Hasan distributed lumps of musk wrapped in

⁸⁵ This seems to refer to the treatment meted out by Bedouins to valuable cushions that belonged to the Persian commander, Rustum. According to the legend, they poked at them with their lances, thus ripping them open. Cf. Ibn at-Tiqtaqa, *Fakhri*, tr. C. E. J. Whitting (London, 1947), p. 77. C and D do not read *m-r-f-q*, but *m-r-q-q*; still, Issawi's suggestion that we read *muraqqaq* and translate "loaves of bread . . . parchment" is implausible.

The story about the camphor also appears in Ibn at-Tigtaga, p. 79.

⁸⁶ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1081 ff.; al-Mas'Odi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, VII, 66 f. However, Ibn Khaldun has many more details than at-Tabari and al-Mas'udi provide. For some further references to this often quoted story, cf. Jurjis'Awad's edition of ash-Shabushti, *Diyarat* (Baghdad, 1951), p. 101 (n. 3).

papers granting farms and estates to the holders. Each obtained what chance and luck gave him. To the second class, (al-Hasan) distributed bags each of which held 10,000 dinars. To the third class, he distributed bags with the same amount in dirhams. In addition to all this, he had already spent many times as much when al-Ma'mun had stayed in his house. Also, al-Ma'mun gave Burin a thousand hyacinths (rubies) as her wedding gift (*mahr*) on the wedding night. He burned candles of amber each of which weighed one hundred *mann*⁸⁷ -a *mann* being one and twothirds pounds (*rill*). He had put down for her carpets woven with threads of gold and adorned with pearls and hyacinths. When al-Ma'mun saw all this, he said, "That Abu Nuwas is admirable! It is as though he had had this (situation and these carpets) before his eyes when he said, describing wine:

As if its small and large shiny bubbles
Were little pearls upon a ground of gold."⁸⁸

One hundred and forty mule loads of wood had been brought three times a day for a whole year to the kitchen and were ready for the wedding night. All that wood was consumed that very night, Palm twigs were set alight by pouring oil on them. Boatmen were ordered to bring boats to transport the distinguished guests on the Tigris from Baghdad to the royal palaces in the city of al-Ma'mun⁸⁹ for the wedding banquet. The boats prepared for that purpose numbered 30,000, and they carried people back and forth all day long. There were many other such things.

⁸⁷ How these stories gained in the telling is illustrated by the fact that another source has *rill* (pounds) instead of *mann* here. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdidi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), VII, 321.

⁸⁸ Cf. AN *Nuwas, Diwan* (Cairo, 1898), p. 243. The verse is also quoted by grammarians. Cf. al-Hariri, *Durrat al-ghawwas*, ed. H. Thorbecke (Leipzig, 1871), p. 46; Ibn Hisham, *La Pluie de rose*, tr. A. Goguyer (Leiden, 1887), p. 374.

⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldun apparently has in mind the palace of al-Ma'mun which, before him, had belonged to Jafar al-Barmaki, and after him to al-Hasan b. Sahl. Cf. G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900), p. 246.

A similar occasion was the wedding of al-Ma'mun b. Dhi n-nun in Toledo. It was described by Ibn Bassam⁹⁰ in the *Kitab adh-Dhakhirah* and by Ibn Hayyan.

All these (people) had previously been in the first stage of desert life. They had been completely incapable of such things, because, in their low standard of life and their simplicity, they lacked both the means and people with technical ability. It has been said that al-Hajjaj gave a banquet on the occasion of the circumcision of one of his sons. He had one of the Persian landowners brought to him and asked him about the banquets the Persians had given (in former times). He asked him to tell him about the most lavish banquet he had ever attended. The reply was: "Yes, my Lord, I attended the banquet of one of the provincial governors (*marzbans*) of the Persian king, given for the inhabitants of Firs. He used golden plates on tables of silver, four (plates) to each (table). Each (table) was carried by four maidservants, and four persons were seated at each. After they had eaten, the four of them left with the table, the plates on it, and the maidservants." (When he heard that,) al-Hajjaj merely said, "Boy! Have some camels slaughtered and give the people to eat." He realized that he could not afford such sumptuousness as had once actually existed.

The allowances and gratuities the Umayyads gave (their followers) illustrate the point under discussion. In keeping with Arab desert custom, most of (their gratuities) consisted of camels. Then, in the 'Abbasid, the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid), and later dynasties, these gratuities, as one knows, came to be large sums of money, chests of clothes, and horses with their complete trappings.

⁹⁰ 'Ali b. Bassam, d. 542 [1147/481. Cf. *GAL*, I, 339; *Suppl.*, I, 579. Of the published portion of the *Dhakhirah*, one passage contains a long description of a splendid festival on the occasion of the circumcision of al-Ma'mun's grandson. Ibn Bassam's source is Ibn Hayyan; cf. *Dhakhirah* (Cairo, 1358-/1939-), IV 1, 99 ff. The wedding, however, does not seem to occur in the volumes published. The relevant section of Ibn Hayyan is not preserved; cf. n. 18 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

The same situation prevailed among the Kutamah in their relationship with the Aghlabids in Ifriqiyah and the Banil Tughsh (Ikhshidids) in Egypt, among the Lamtunah in their relationship with *the reyes de ta'ifas* in Spain and also with the Almohads, and among the Zanatah in their relationship with the Almohads, and so on.

Sedentary culture was always transferred from the preceding dynasty to the later one. The sedentary culture of the Persians was transferred to the Arab Umayyads and 'Ab basids. The sedentary culture of the Umayyads in Spain was transferred to the Almohad and Zanatah kings of the contemporary Maghrib. That of the 'Abbasids was transferred, successively, to the Daylam, to the Saljuq Turks, to the Turks⁹¹ in Egypt, and to the Tatars in the two 'Iraqs.

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 consequences of royal authority and related to the extent of (territorial) possessions 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. Upon close and careful examination this will be found to be a correct statement as regards civilization and dynasties.⁹²

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

III.14. Luxury will at first give additional strength to a dynasty.

[p.1:351]

The⁹³ reason for this is that a tribe that has obtained royal authority and luxury is prolific and produces many children, and the community grows.

⁹¹ The earlier texts have "Turkish Mamelukes," but the word "Mamelukes" appears to have been crossed out in C and does not occur in D.

⁹² "And dynasties" appears in the margin of C and in the text of D. 99 Cf. Issawi, pp. 119 f.

⁹³Cf. Issawi, pp. 119 f.

Thus, the group grows. Furthermore, a greater number of clients and followers is acquired. 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 result of the numerical increase. When the first and second generations are gone and the dynasty starts to become senile, its followers and clients cannot 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 dependent 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 retains its former strength.

This is exemplified by what happened to the Arab dynasty in Islam. As we have stated,⁹⁴ the Arabs at the time of the Prophet and the early caliphs numbered approximately 150,000 Mudar and Qahtan (tribesmen). The life of luxury reached its climax in the dynasty. The (population) grew rapidly with the growth of prosperity. The caliphs acquired many clients and followers. Thus, the (original) number increased many times. It is said that during the conquest of Amorium, al-Mu'tasim laid siege to the city with 900,000 men.⁹⁵ This number can hardly fail being correct, if one thinks of (the large size of) the Muslim militia of the border regions both far and near, in both the East and the West, and adds the soldiers directly in the service of the ruler, together with all the clients and followers.

Al-Mas'udi said:⁹⁶ "The descendants of al-'Abbas b. 'Abd-al-Muttalib were counted in the days of al-Ma'mun, in order to give them pensions. They were found to number 30,000 men and women." It should be noted how great the number had become in less than two hundred years. It should

⁹⁴Cf p. 330, above.

⁹⁵ Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, VII, 13.5 f., has estimates ranging from 200,000 to 500,000.

⁹⁶Cf. al-Mas'udi, VII, 59, where the figure is 33,000. Further references in A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 146.

be known that the increase was caused by the luxury and prosperity which the ('Abbasid) dynasty had achieved and in which the new generations had grown up. Otherwise, the number of Arabs, as it had been in the beginning of the conquest, would not even remotely have (permitted) such an increase.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."⁹⁷

III.15. The stages of dynasties. How the desert attitude differs among the people in the different stages.⁹⁸

[p.1:353]

It should be known that a dynasty goes through different stages and encounters new conditions. Through the conditions that are peculiar to a particular stage, the supporters of the dynasty acquire in that stage traits of character such as do not exist in any other stage. Traits of character are the natural result of the peculiar situations in which they are found.

The conditions and stages of a dynasty are as a rule no more than five (in number).

The first stage is that of success, the overthrow of all opposition, and the appropriation of royal authority from the preceding dynasty. In this stage, the ruler serves as model to his people by the manner in which he acquires glory, collects taxes, defends property, and provides military protection. He does not claim anything exclusively for himself to the exclusion of (his people), because (such an attitude) is what is required by group feeling, (and it was group feeling) that gave superiority (to the dynasty), and (group feeling) still continues to exist as before.

The second stage is the one in which the ruler gains complete control over his people, claims royal authority all for himself, excluding them, and

⁹⁷ Qur'an 15.86(86); 86.81 (81).

⁹⁸The earlier texts had a different title, namely, "The stages of a dynasty and its varying conditions. The desert attitude of the people in the different stages." The old title is replaced in C by the new one, which then occurs in D.

prevents them from trying to have a share in it. In this stage, the ruler of the dynasty is concerned with gaining adherents and acquiring clients and followers in great numbers, so as to be able to blunt the aspirations of the people who share in his group feeling and belong to his group, who are of the same descent as he himself and have the same claim to royal authority as he has. He keeps them from power and bars them from the sources of (power). He stops them from getting to it, and, eventually, all the power is in the hands of his family. He reserves all the glory that he is building up to the members of his own house. He spends as much, or more, care to keep (his people) at a distance and to subdue them, as the first members of the dynasty expended in the search for power. The first (members of the dynasty) kept strangers away, and all the people who shared in their group feeling supported them in this. He, on the other hand, keeps (his) relatives away, and he is supported in this effort only by a very small number of people, who are not related to him. Thus, he undertakes a very difficult task.

The third stage is one of leisure and tranquillity in which the fruits of royal authority are enjoyed. (These fruits are) the things that human nature desires, such as acquisition of property, creation of lasting monuments, and fame. All the ability (of the ruler) is expended on collecting taxes; regulating income and expenses, bookkeeping and planning⁹⁹ expenditures; erecting large buildings, big constructions, spacious cities, and lofty monuments;¹⁰⁰ presenting gifts to embassies of nobles from (foreign) nations and tribal dignitaries; and dispensing bounty to his own people. In addition, he supports the demands of his followers and retinue with money and positions. He inspects his soldiers, pays them well, and distributes fairly their allowances every month. Eventually, the result of this (liberality) shows itself in their dress, their fine equipment, and their armor on parade days. The ruler thus can impress friendly dynasties and frighten hostile ones with (his

⁹⁹Cf. p. 420 (n. 308), below.

¹⁰⁰For *haykal*, cf. n. 172 to Ch. 1, above.

soldiers). This stage is the last during which the ruler is in complete authority. Throughout this and the previous stages, the rulers are independent in their opinions. They build up their strength and show the way for those after them.

The fourth stage is one of contentment and peacefulness. The ruler is content with what his predecessors have built. He lives in peace with all his royal peers. He adopts the tradition of his predecessors and follows closely in their footsteps. He imitates their ways most carefully. He thinks that to depart from tradition would mean the destruction of his power and that they knew better (what is good for the preservation of) the glory they themselves had built.

The fifth stage is one of waste and squandering. In this stage, the ruler wastes on pleasures and amusements (the treasures) accumulated by his ancestors, through (excessive) generosity to his inner circle and at their parties. Also, he acquires bad, low-class followers to whom he entrusts the most important matters (of state), which they are not qualified to handle by themselves, not knowing which of them they should tackle and which they should leave alone. (In addition,) the ruler seeks to destroy the great clients of his people and followers of his predecessors. Thus, they come to hate him and conspire to refuse support to him. (Furthermore) he loses a number of soldiers by spending their allowances on his pleasures (instead of paying them) and by refusing them access to his person and not supervising them (properly). Thus, he ruins the foundations his ancestors had laid and tears down what they had built up. In this stage, the dynasty is seized by senility and the chronic disease from which it can hardly ever rid itself, for which it can find no cure, and, eventually, it is destroyed. We shall explain that in connection with conditions to be discussed later on.¹⁰¹

God is the best heir.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Below, pp. 372 ff., and elsewhere.

¹⁰² Cf. Qur'an 21.89 (89).

III.16. The monuments of a given dynasty are proportionate to its original power.¹⁰³

[p.1:356]

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).

The monuments of a dynasty are its buildings and large (edifices, *haykal*). They are proportionate to the original power of the dynasty. They can materialize only when there are many workers and united action and cooperation. 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, even the largest monument (*haykal*) can materialize.

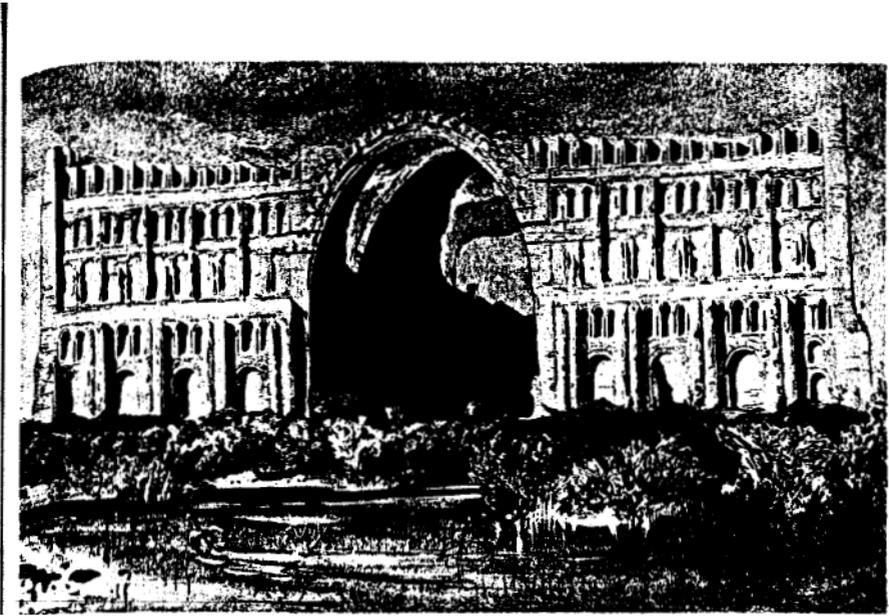
Think of the works of the people of 'Ad and Thamfid, about which the Qur'an tells.¹⁰⁴ Or, one should see with one's own eyes the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Iwan Kisra*), that powerful achievement of Persian (architecture). Ar-Rashid intended to tear it down and destroy it. He could not do so for all his trouble. He began the work, but then was not able to continue. The story of how he asked Yahya b. Khalid for advice in that affair is well known.¹⁰⁵ It is worth noting that one dynasty was able to construct a building that another dynasty was not able to tear down, even though destruction is much easier than construction.¹⁰⁶ That illustrates the great difference between the two dynasties.

¹⁰³The substance of this section is repeated below, 2:238 ff

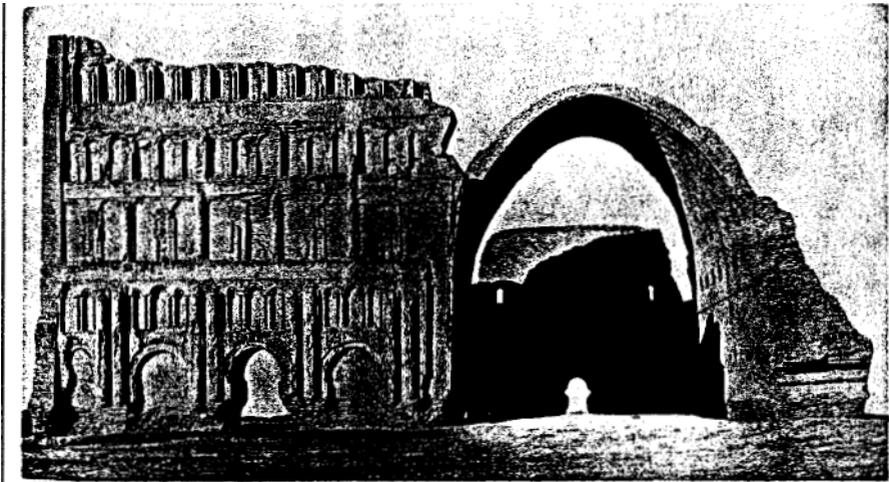
¹⁰⁴Cf. pp. 25 ff, above, and, for the ThamQd, cf., for instance, J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, pp. 103 ff

¹⁰⁵Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, 11, 187 f. Ibn Khaldun tells a similar story about al-Ma'mun and Khalid b. Barmak in *'Ibar*, III, 197. Cf. also 2:242 f., below.

¹⁰⁶Cf. also 2:242 and 3:278, below, and al-Mas'udi, 11, 154. According to Ibn Abi Hajalah at-Tilimsani, *Sukcardan as-sultan* (Cairo, 1317/1899, in the margin of al-'Amili, *Mikhlah*, and continued in the margin of p. 2 of the attached *Asrar al-balaghah*, by the same 'Amili), p. 228, a legendary in-

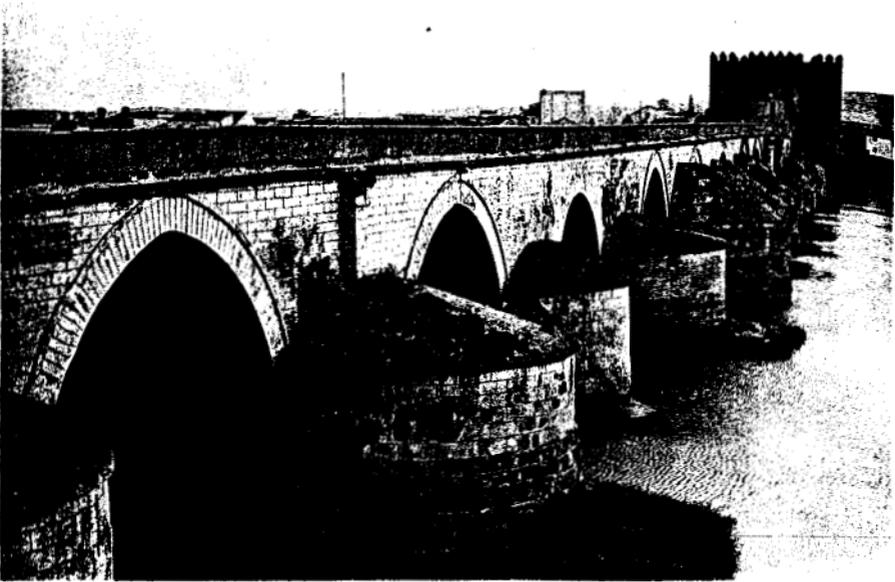


II a. *The Reception Hall of Khosrow in 1869*

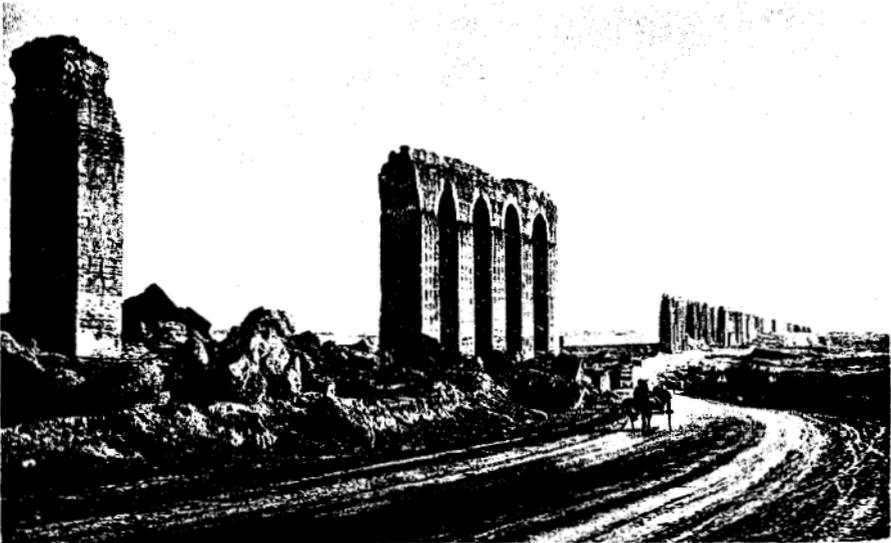


II b. *The Reception Hall of Khosrow at the beginning of this century*

scription on the pyramids read as follows: "We built them in sixty years. Let him who wishes, destroy them in six hundred years, for destruction is easier than construction."



III a. The Roman Bridge in Cordoba



III b. The Roman Aqueduct south of Carthage

One may also compare the Nave¹⁰⁷ of al-Walid in Damascus, the Umayyad Mosque in Cordoba, the bridge over the river at Cordoba, and, as well, the arches of the aqueduct over which water is brought into Carthage, the monuments of Cherchel in the Maghrib, the pyramids of Egypt, and many other such monuments that may still be seen. They illustrate differences in strength and weakness that have existed among the various dynasties.

It should be known that all these works of the ancients were possible only through engineering skill and the concerted labor of many workers. Only thus could these monuments (*haykal*) and works be constructed. One should not think, as the common people do, that it was because the ancients had bodies larger in size than our own.¹⁰⁸ Human beings do not differ in this respect as much as monuments (*haykal*) and relics differ. Storytellers have seized upon the subject and used it to make exaggerated (fables). They have written stories in this vein about the 'Ad and the Thami d and the Amalekites, which are complete lies. One of the strangest of these stories is about Og, the son of Anak, one of the Canaanites against whom the children of Israel fought in Syria. According to these storytellers, he was so tall that he took fish out of the ocean and held them up to the sun to be cooked.¹⁰⁹ To their ignorance of human affairs, the storytellers here add ignorance of astronomical matters. They believe that the sun is heat and that the heat of the sun is greatest close to it. They do not know that the heat of the sun is (its) light and that (its) light is stronger near the earth (than it is near the sun) because of the reflection of the rays from the surface of the earth when it is hit by the light.

¹⁰⁷The reference is apparently to the Mosque of al-Walid, but to refer to it by *balat* "nave" is unusual. "Palace" can hardly be meant here. Cf. also 2:262 f., below.

¹⁰⁸Cf. also 'Ibar, II, 23. Ibn al-Muqaffa' represents the opinion of the "common people" in the beginning of his *Durrah al yatimah*, in *Rasa'il atbulagha'* (Cairo, 1331/1913), p. 55.

¹⁰⁹Cf. ath-Tha'labi, *Qisas al-anbiya'*, in connection with the story of Moses and the sending out of spies to explore Palestine. (At p. 223 of a modern, undated Cairo text.) Cf. also B. Heller in EI, s.v. "Udj."

Therefore, the heat here is many times greater (than near the sun). When the zone in which the reflected rays are effective is passed, there will be no heat there, and it will be cold. (That is) where the clouds are. The sun itself is neither hot nor cold, but a simple uncomposed substance that gives light.

Also, (the storytellers) say that Og, the son of Anak, was one of the Amalekites or Canaanites¹¹⁰ who fell prey to the children of Israel when they conquered Syria. Now, even those of the children of Israel who at that time were the tallest in body, had bodies in size very like our own bodies. This is proven by the gates of Jerusalem. They were destroyed and have been restored, but their (original) shape and measurements have always been preserved. How, then, could there have been such a difference in size between Og and his contemporaries?

The error of (the storytellers) here results from the fact that they admired the vast proportions of the monuments left by nations (of the past), but did not understand the different situation in which dynasties may find themselves with respect to social organization and co-operation. They did not understand that (superior social organization) together with engineering skill, made the construction of large monuments possible. Therefore, they ascribed such monuments to a strength and energy derived by the peoples of the past from the large size of their bodies. But this is not so.

On the authority of the philosophers, al-Mas`udi expressed the following idea, whose only basis is in arbitrary (theorizing):¹¹¹ "When God created the world, the nature (element) that gives bodies their form was completely round [?]¹¹² and as strong and perfect as could be. Life lasted longer and bodies were stronger, because the nature (element) was then perfect. Death can come only through dissolution of the natural powers. When they

¹¹⁰Ibn Khaldun appears to have corrected this statement later on. In C, "Amalekites" is crossed out in the text and replaced, in the margin, by "Canaanites," whereas D has "Canaanite Amalekites." Cf. also below, 2:240.

¹¹¹Cf. al-Mas`udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, III, 376 f.

¹¹²Al-Mas`udi's text reads: "complete as to (its) large (numerical) size."

are strong, life lasts longer. Thus, in the beginning, the world had (people whose) lives had their full duration and whose bodies were perfect. Because of the deficiency of matter it steadily deteriorated to its present condition, and it will not stop deteriorating until the time of (complete) dissolution and the destruction of the world."

This is an opinion that, as one can see, has only arbitrary (theorizing) as its authority. There is no natural or logical reason for it. We can see with our own eyes the dwellings and doorways of the ancients and the (construction) methods employed by them in producing their buildings, their monuments (*haykal*), their houses, and (other) dwellings such as the houses of the Thamud, which were hewn out of solid rock, and they were small houses with narrow doors. Muhammad indicated that those (rock dwellings) were the houses (of the Thamud). He prohibited use of their water and (ordered that) the dough for which (the water) had been used be thrown out and (the water) poured on the ground. He said: "Do not enter the dwellings of those who wronged themselves. Only weep (in fear) lest the same misfortune that befell them befall you."¹¹³ The same (reasoning) applies to the land of `Ad, to Egypt, Syria, and all the other regions of the earth in the East and the West. The truth is what we have established.

Another (kind of) monument (to the greatness) of a dynasty is the way it handled weddings and (wedding) banquets, as we have mentioned in connection with the wedding of Burin and the banquets of al-Hajjaj and Ibn Dhi n-Nun. All that has been mentioned before.¹¹⁴

Another monument (to the greatness) of a dynasty is the gifts it made. Gifts are proportionate to (the importance of a dynasty). (This rule) is operating even when the dynasty is close to senility. The aspirations of the mem-

¹¹³Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 349; *Concordance*, I, 212a, 11. 11 f. Cf. also 2:240, below.

The argument against the larger bodies of the Thamud (although some exception is made for the 'Ad of South Arabia) was derived by Ibn Khaldun from al-Masudi, III, 84, 377.

¹¹⁴Cf. pp. 348 ff., above.

bers of the dynasty are proportionate to (the strength of) their royal authority and their superiority over the people. These aspirations remain with them until the final destruction of the dynasty.

One may compare the gifts Ibn Dhi Yazan presented to the Qurashite ambassadors. He gave each of them ten pounds (*ritl*) of gold and silver and ten slaves and maidservants and one flask of ambergris. To 'Abd-al-Muttalib, he gave ten times as much.¹¹⁵ Ibn Dhi Yazan's realm, as it was located in the Yemen, was under the complete control of the Persians at that time. His (generosity), however, was caused by his high-mindedness, which stemmed from the royal authority that his family, the Tubba's, had possessed in the Yemen, and from the superiority they had once exercised over the nations of the two 'Irag, India, and the Maghrib.¹¹⁶

Also, when the Sinhajah (Zirids) in Ifrigiyah presented gifts to an embassy sent them by the amirs of the Zanatah, they gave them large sums of money and full chests of clothes and many fine pack horses. The *History* of Ibn ar-Raqiq¹¹⁷ contains many stories of this kind.

The way the Barmecides gave allowances and gifts and spent their money was the same. Whenever they provided for a needy person, it meant property, high office, and prosperity for that person for ever after. It was not just an allowance that was spent in a day or sooner. There exist numerous stories in literature to this effect about (the Barmecides). All the (stories) reflect in the proper proportions the (power of the) dynasties (to which they relate).

When Jawhar al-Katib as-Saqlabi, the general of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) army, set out on his conquest of Egypt, he was provided by al-

¹¹⁵ Cf. (Pseudo-)Ibn Hisham, *Tijan*, pp. 306-310.

¹¹⁶ As to the extent of South Arabian domination, cf., however, pp. 21 ff, and 296, above.

¹¹⁷ Cf. p. 9 (n. 19), above.

Qayrawan with a thousand loads of money.¹¹⁸ No dynasty today would be able to approach that.¹¹⁹

There exists in the handwriting of Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Hamid a list showing the receipts of the treasury at Baghdad from all regions (of the realm) in al-Ma'mun's day. I copied it from the book of Jirab ad-dawlah.¹²⁰

The Saw ad (Southern Mesopotamia)

Crops: 27,780,000 dirhams¹²¹

Different kinds of revenue:¹²² 14,800,000 dirhams

¹¹⁸Cf. 2:283, below.

¹¹⁹None of the following documents, down to p. 368, 1. 20, are found in C. C has a mark in the text indicating that something is to be inserted there. Possibly inserted slips were lost from the MS.

¹²⁰*Jirab ad-dawlah* means something like "public purse." It would seem to be the title of a book. However, an artist and litterateur called Ahmad b. Muhammad is known to have lived *ca.* 900, and to have been known under the name of Jirab ad-dawlah. He wrote a book of jokes and anecdotes entitled *Tarwih al-arwah*. Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, p. 153 of the Flugel ed., p. 218 of the edition, Cairo, 1348/1929--30. The work is also quoted by Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, *'Uyun al-anba'*, I, 181, 1. 22, exactly as Ibn Khaldun quotes it. There can be little doubt that this is the work referred to here. Like Ibn Hamdun's *Tadhkirah*, it may have contained a large selection of interesting topics. A MS appears to be preserved in Paris, MS. Ar. 3527; cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, 1, 599. It can be expected to solve the problem. Ibn Khaldun certainly did not quote the work directly, but the exact source on which he drew cannot be named.

The list that follows is well known from a number of works. A comprehensive study of it was made by A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des orientes* (Vienna, 1875), 1, 263 ff; cf., in particular, I, 356-59. Related material may be found also in Ibn Hamdun, *Tadhkirah*, in the Topkapusaray MS. Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. XII, fols. 186 ff., as part of Ch. XLIX, which deals with history. The oldest and closest available parallel to Ibn Khaldun's text is found in al-Jahshiyari, *Wuzara'*, ed. H. von Mzik (Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, No. 1) (Leipzig, 1926), fols. 179a-182b.

Von Kremer proved that the list does not date from the time of al-Ma'mun but reflects a situation that existed *ca.* 785/86. The introductory remarks accompanying the list in al-Jahshiyari show that although it was finally written down under al-Ma'mun or later, its material goes back to the time of ar-Rashid or somewhat earlier.

The variants found in al-Jahshiyari are noted here only so far as they concern Ibn Khaldun's text. Additional data, as found in some places in al-Jahshiyari, are, as a rule, not indicated. In general, the few footnotes appended here are, of course, not meant to constitute a commentary on the text.

Cf. also R. Levy, *The Sociology of Islam* (London, 1931-33), I, 343-47, and B. Spuler, *Iran in fruh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), pp. 467 ff.

	Najrani cloaks: 200 Sealing clay: 240 pounds
Kaskar	11,600,000 dirhams
Tigris counties	20,800,000 dirhams
Hulwan	4,800,000 dirhams
Al-Ahwaz	25,000 dirhams ¹²³ Sugar: 30,000 pounds
Firs	27,000,000 dirhams Rose water: 30,000 bottles Black raisins: 20,000 pounds
Kirman	4,200,000 dirhams Yemenite garments: 500 Dates: 20,000 pounds Cumin seeds: 1,000 pounds ¹²⁴
Mukrin	400,000 dirhams
Western India (Sind) and neighboring Territories	11,500,000 dirhams Indian aloe wood: 150 pounds
Sijistin	4,000,000 dirhams ¹²⁵ Checkered ¹²⁶ garments: 300 Sugar-candy: ¹²⁷ 20,000 pounds
Khurasan	28,000,000 dirhams Silver ingots: 1,000 Pack animals: 4,000 Slaves: 1,000 head Garments: 27,000 Myrobalan: 30,000 pounds
Jurjan	12,000,000 dirhams Silk: 1,000 pieces ¹²⁸
Qumis	1,500,000 dirhams Silver ingots: 1,000
Tabaristan, ar-Ruyan and Nihawand ¹²⁹	6,300,000 dirhams Tabaristan carpets: 600 pieces Robes: 200 Garments: 500 Napkins: 300 Goblets: 300 ¹³⁰
ar-Rayy	12,000,000 dirhams Honey: 20,000 pounds ¹³¹
Hamadhan	11,800,000 dirhams Pomegranate marmalade: 1,000 pounds ¹³² Honey: 12,000 pounds
The region between [I] ¹³³ al-Basrah and al-Kufah	10,700,000 dirhams

Masabadhin and ar-Ray-yan ¹³⁴	4,000,000 dirhams
Shahrazur	6,000,000 dirhams ¹³⁵
Mosul and environs	24,000,000 dirhams White honey: 20,000 pounds
Azerbaijan	4,000,000 dirhams
The Jazirah and neighboring Euphrates districts	34,000,000 dirhams
Karaj ¹³⁶	300,000 dirhams
Jilan	5,000,000 dirhams Slaves: 1,000 head ¹³⁷ Honey: 12,000 bags Falcons: 10 Robes: 20
Armenia	13,000,000 dirhams Embroidered carpets: 20 Variegated cloth: 580 pounds ¹³⁸ Salted <i>Surmahi</i> fish: ¹³⁹ 10,000 pounds Herring: ¹⁴⁰ 10,000 pounds Mules: 200 Falcons: 30
Qinnasrin	400,000 dinars ¹⁴¹ Raisins: 1,000 loads
Damascus	420,000 dinars
Jordan	96,000 dinars
Palestine	310,000 dinars Raisins: 300,000 pounds ¹⁴²
Egypt	1,920,000 dinars
Barca (Barqah)	1,000,000 dirhams
Ifriqiyah	13,000,000 dirhams Carpets: 120
Yemen	370,000 dinars, ¹⁴³ excluding garments
Hija'z	300,000 dinars

¹²¹ Al-Jahshiyari: 80,780,000.

¹²² *Abwab al-mal* means "categories of income." Cf. A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 22,3) (Leipzig, 1937), p. 55.

¹²³ Von Kremer corrects the figure to 25,000,000.

¹²⁴ Al-Jahshiyari: 100.

¹²⁵ Al-Jahshiyari: 4,600,000.

¹²⁶The MSS have, indeed, the reading *al-m-'t-irh* that de Slane read *al-mu'attabah* and connected with a kind of silk called *al-'attabi*. However, Dozy, in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 155 f., preferred *al-mu'ayyanah*, which, appears in Bulaq and which means "variegated by squares (lozenges), decorated with eye- or lozenge-shaped designs." The fact that the text of al-Jahshiyari clearly has *al-mu'ayyanah* is definitely in favor of the latter reading.

¹²⁷A discussion of the possible meaning of *al fanidh*, a preparation of sugar cane, was undertaken by P. Schwarz, "*Fanid and Verwandtes*," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, LXXIV (1920), 238-46. Cf. also Ibn at-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'alim Al-qurbah*, p. 106.

¹²⁸Al-Jahshiyari: *mann*

¹²⁹Instead of *Nihawand*, one must read with al-Jahshiyari, as von Kremer already suggested, *Dunbawand*.

¹³⁰Al-Jahshiyari: 600.

¹³¹The honey item belongs to an entry dealing with Igfaḥin which follows but was omitted by Ibn Khaldun. For ar-Rayy, al-Jahshiyari has: Pomegranates: 100,000 Peaches (*khawkh*): 1,000 pounds.

¹³²Al-Jahshiyari: *mann*.

¹³³This is a bad but very understandable misreading in our text. Instead of *ma bayn*, al-Jahshiyari has the correct *mahay*. The region referred to is that of Mah-al-Bagrah and MA-al-Kufah, old Muslim names for Nihawand and Dinawar. Cf. V. Minorsky in EI, s.v. "Nihawand," and M. Streck in EI, s.v. "Dinawar."

¹³⁴The place is doubtful. There is a Rayy an in the district of Kaskar -cf. Ibn Khurradidhbih, *Kitdb al-Masalik wa-l-mamalik*, p. 12 (text), p. 8 (tr.) - but the name here may possibly be identical with 'r-b-j-n or the like, which appears as an important city belonging to Masabadhan in Ibn Khurradidhbih, p. 244 (text), p. 185 (tr.). There is also an ar-Radhhdh near Masabadhan (cf. Yigft, *Mu jam al-buldan*, II, 775) which, however, is hardly meant here.

¹³⁵Al-Jahshiyari "Shahrazfir and environs: 24,000,000."

¹³⁶Ibn Khaldun possibly read al-Karkh, but Persian Karaj and Muqan are meant.

¹³⁷Al-Jahshiyari has no money item, only 100 slaves and some other products.

¹³⁸Al-Jahshiyari has "pieces," which goes better with *raqm* "variegated cloth," apparently meant here.

¹³⁹The reading *sur* is uncertain, but *mahi*, in itself meaning "fish," is certainly correct. M. J. de Goeje considered *shurmahi* the correct reading. Cf. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1879), IV, 259 f.

¹⁴⁰Ibn Khaldun read something like *turnuj*, which makes one think of *turunj* "citrus fruit." However, the correct reading, as de Slane suggested, is *tarikh*, or *tirrikh*, some kind of salted fish. Cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 410.

¹⁴¹Paris has 420,000. Al-Jahshiyari gives the figure of 490,000 for both Qinnasrin and the 'Awalim (northern Syrian border towns). He also adds an entry concerning Emesa.

¹⁴²According to al-Jahshiyari, this amount came from all the districts of Syria together.

¹⁴³Al-Jahshiyari: 870,000.

(End of the list)

Regarding Spain, reliable historians of (that country) have reported that 'Abd-ar-Rahman an-Nasir¹⁴⁴ left 5,000,000 dinars weighing altogether 500 hundredweight, in his treasuries.

I have seen in one of the histories of ar-Rashid that in his day the income of the treasury was 7,500 hundred weight¹⁴⁵ each year.

Regarding¹⁴⁶ the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty, I have read in the *History* of Ibn Khallikan, with reference to the army commander¹⁴⁷ al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamali who controlled the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs in Egypt, that when al-Afdal was killed, 600,000 dinars and 250 *irdabbs* of dirhams were found in his treasury, as well as a correspondingly large amount of pre-

¹⁴⁴D adds: "the eighth (Spanish) Umayyad who was (the first to be) given the title of caliph."

¹⁴⁵D adds: "of gold dinars."

¹⁴⁶From here to p. 368, l. 20, the text is not found in Bulaq or A. It appears first on an inserted sheet in B and then in the text of D.

The first story appears in the texts of A and B in a shortened form: "Likewise, when the army commander al-Afdal who controlled the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Egypt was killed, 600,000,000 [!] dinars and 250 *irdabbs* of dirhams were found (in his possession), as well as a proportionate amount of fabrics, household goods, precious stones for rings, and pearls. This is mentioned by Ibn Khallikan in his *History*." Then the story is repeated, as it appears above, on the inserted sheet.

In D we find the same version as above, but at the end, after all the other documents have been quoted (below, p. 368, l. 20), we find the abrupt insertion of another version of the same story, which reads: "There was found (in the possession of) al-Afdal 600,000,000 [!] gold dinars, 250 *irdabbs* of dirhams, 50,000 garments of brocade, 20,000 garments of silk, 30 animal (loads) of boxes of 'Iraqi gold, a bejeweled golden inkstand weighing (in value) 12,000 dinars, 100 nails of gold, each weighing 100 dinars, 500 boxes with robes, and a very large number of horses, mules, camels, slaves, *gdmris* cows, other cows (*baqar*), sheep, and different kinds of victuals."

These later data are derived from Ibn Khallikan, *Wafaydt al-a'ydn*, tr. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1843-71), 1, 612 ff. (He was Abmad b. Mubammad, 608-681 [1211-1282]; cf. GAL, I, 326 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 561 f.) Apparently it was Ibn Khaldun, and not someone else, who later added a slip containing a more accurate and complete quotation from Ibn Khallikan, which was inserted in D in the wrong place. Ibn Khallikan, incidentally, derived his information from the *Duwal al-munqati'ah*, the historical work by 'All b. Zafir al-Azdi (GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 553 f.).

¹⁴⁷The title of "army commander" actually belonged to al-Afdal's father. Al-Afdal perished in 515 [1121].

cious stones for rings, pearls, fabrics, household goods^{147a} riding animals, and pack animals.

As for the dynasties of our own time, the greatest of them is that of the Turks in Egypt. It became important in the days of the Turkish ruler an-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'in. At the beginning of his rule, the two amirs, Baybars and Sallar, had gained power over him, and Baybars had deposed him and occupied his throne, with Sallar as his partner. Then, shortly after an-Nasir regained the rule, he seized (Bay bars') partner Sallar and cleaned out his treasury.¹⁴⁸ I have come across the inventory of that treasury and quote from it:

Yellow hyacinths ¹⁴⁹ and rubies ¹⁵⁰	4 ¹ / ₂ pounds
Emeralds	19 pounds
Diamonds and cat's-eyes for rings	900 large pieces
Assorted ring-stones	2 pounds
Round pearls, weighing from one <i>mithqal</i> (1 ¹ / ₂ dirhams) to one dirham ¹⁵¹	1,150 pieces
Coined gold	1,400,000 dinars
A pool full of pure gold	
Purses full of gold, discovered between two walls. It is not known how many there were.	
Dirhams	2,071,000
Jewelry	4 hundredweight

¹⁴⁹ *Al-yaqut al-bahraman* is described as the best quality of *yaqut* (hyacinth, ruby) and as yellow rather than red. Cf. al-Biruni, *al-Jamahir fi ma'rifat al-jawahir* (Hyderabad, 1355/1936-37), pp. 34 ff.

¹⁵⁰ For the "Badakhshani hyacinths" mentioned here, cf. al-Biruni, pp. 81 ff.

¹⁵¹ "Dirham" is the reading of the MSS and al-Birzali, against the implausible "grain" of the Paris edition. The standard of weight in the pearl trade was the *mithqal*. A pearl of the best quality, weighing one *mithqal*, cost 1,000 dinars in 'Abbasid times. Another quality brought half as much, and pearls

^{147a} Or, possibly, "garments."

¹⁴⁸ This refers to well-known events that took place in the years 1309-10. Ibn Taghribirdi, *an-Nujum az-zahirah* (Cairo, 1361/1942), IX, 17 f., 20 ff., quotes several authors in this connection. The list closest to Ibn Khaldun's is that by al-Birzali, 665-739 [1267-1339]; cf. GAL, II, 36; *Suppl.*, II, 34 f. Cf. also al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-Wafayat*, I, 371 f.

of ordinary quality weighing one *mithqal* cost ten dinars. Cf. alBiruni, pp. 129 ff. Needless to say, the prices of pearls varied greatly over the years

Also, a proportionately large amount of fabrics, household goods, riding animals, pack animals, (grain) crops,¹⁵² cattle, male and female slaves, and estates.

Still later, we have the Merinid dynasty in Morocco. In their treasury, I came across an inventory in the handwriting of the Merinid minister of finance, Hassun b. al-Bawwaq.¹⁵³ (The inventory states that) the property left by Sultan Abu Sa'id in his treasury was over 700 hundredweight of gold dinars. He also had other property of a proportionately large amount. His son and successor, Abu l-Hasan, had even more than that. When he took possession of Tlemcen¹⁵⁴ he found more than 300 hundredweight of gold in coins and (gold) jewelry, and a correspondingly large amount of other property in the treasuries of the Sultan of (Tlemcen), the 'Abd al-Wadud Abu Tashfin.

As to the Almohad (Hafsid) rulers of Ifriqiyah, I lived in the time of their¹⁵⁵ ninth ruler, Abu Bakr. He had seized¹⁵⁶ Muhammad b. al-Hakim, the commander of his armies, and had cleaned him out. He got forty hun-

¹⁵² *Sic* B. Cf. also p. 368, l. 20, below. D reads *bighal* "mules."

¹⁵³ MSS. B and D merely say ". . . in the handwriting of the Minister of Finance of the (Merinid) Sultan Abu Sa'id." The name is found in the Paris edition. Abu Sa'id reigned from 1310 to 1331, and Abu l-Uasan from 1331 to 1351, not long before Ibn Khaldun's arrival in Fez.

¹⁵⁴ In 1337.

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Khaldun was born during the reign of Abu Bakr (1318-46). It is not quite clear how he figured the succession of the various Hafsaids, but he probably followed local Tunisian tradition in calling him the ninth, even if later on (2:17, below) he calls him the twelfth, and again (2:222, below), the tenth. E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de genialogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hannover, 1927), p. 74 f., lists him as the eleventh ruler, but it is obvious from the rather turbulent Hafsaid family relations that there could be differences over who was to be counted a legitimate ruler. For the numbering of the Hafsaids, cf. also below, 2:72, 101, 116, and 222.

Muhammad b. al-Hakim was Ibn Khaldun's father-in-law; cf. p. xIv, above.

¹⁵⁶ *Nakaba is* a technical term for applying the *musadarah*, meaning the removal of an official from office for the purpose of confiscating his property.

dredweight of gold dinars and a bushel of precious stones for rings, as well as pearls. He took an amount close to that in carpets from his houses, and a correspondingly large amount of estates and other possessions.

I was in Egypt in the days of al-Malik az-Zahir Abu Sa'id Barquq, who had seized power from the descendants of Qala'un, when he arrested his minister of the interior, the amir Mahmud¹⁵⁷ and confiscated his property. The man charged with the confiscation informed me that the amount of gold he cleaned out was 1,600,000 dinars. There was in addition a proportionately large amount of fabrics, riding animals, pack animals, livestock, and (grain) crops.

A¹⁵⁸ person who looks at these (data) should bear in mind the relative (importance) of the various dynasties. He should not reject (data) for which he finds no observable parallels in his own time. Otherwise, many things that are possible would (be considered impossible by him and) escape his attention.¹⁵⁹ Many excellent men, hearing stories of this kind about past dynasties, have not believed them. This is not right. The conditions in the world and in civilization are not (always) the same. He who knows a low or medium (level of civilization) does not know all of them. When we consider our information about the 'Abbasids, the Umayyads, and the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) and when we compare what we know to be sound in it with our own observations of the less important dynasties (of today), then we find a great difference between them. That difference results from differences in the original strength of (those dynasties) and in the civilizations (of their realms). As we have stated before, all the monuments a dynasty (leaves be-

¹⁵⁷ This happened in 798 [1395/96], and the amir Mahmud died in 799 [1397]. Cf. Ibn Taghribirdi, *an-Nujum az-zahirah*, ed. W. Popper, in *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, V (1932-36), 568 f., 637. Ibn Taghribirdi speaks of about 1,400,000 dinars and 1,000,000 dirhams. Part of the money was deposited with Ibn Khaldun. Cf. W. J. Fischel in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), I, 294.

¹⁵⁸ Issawi, pp. 33 f.

¹⁵⁹ Lit., "your gullet would be too narrow to pick up things that are possible."

hind it) are proportionate to the original strength (of that dynasty). We are not entitled to reject any such (information) about them. Much of it deals with matters that are extremely well known and obvious. Part of it is traditional information known through a continuous tradition. Part of it is direct information based upon personal observation of architectural monuments and other such things.

One should think of the various degrees of strength and weakness, of bigness and smallness, in the various dynasties as they are known through tradition, and compare that (information) with the following interesting story. In the times of the Merinid Sultan, Abu 'Inan, *a shaykh* from Tangier, by name Ibn Battutah,¹⁶⁰ came (back) to the Maghrib. Twenty years before, he had left for the East and journeyed through the countries of the 'Iraq, the Yemen, and India. He had come to the city of Delhi, the seat of the ruler of India, the Sultan Muhammad Shah,¹⁶¹ (The ruler) esteemed Ibn Battutah highly and employed him as Malikite judge in his domain. He then returned to the Maghrib and made contact with the Sultan Abu 'Inan. He used to tell about experiences he had had on his travels and about the remarkable things he had seen in the different realms. He spoke mostly about the ruler of India. He reported things about him that his listeners considered strange. That, for instance, when the ruler of India went on a trip, he counted the inhabitants of

¹⁶⁰ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, 703-779 [1304-1377]. Cf. *GAL*, II, 256; *Suppl.*, II, 365 f. It would seem that Ibn Khaldun did not seek an opportunity to meet Ibn Battutah in person. In the story as he tells it, two different episodes were combined. In the *Travels*, Ibn Battutah speaks of celebrations and distribution of money in connection with the ruler's return from a journey, but it is in connection with a famine that he speaks of the gift of provisions to meet the population's needs for six months. Cf. *Les Voyages d'Ibn Battoutah*, ed. & tr. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti (2d ed.; Paris, 1874-79), III, 238 and 373.

¹⁶¹ Muhammad Shah ruled from 1325 to 1351, and it was during his reign that Ibn Battutah was in Delhi. The earlier texts add: "He had contact with its ruler at that time, and it is the capital, *wa-hiya* as in A and B, whereas Bulaq has *wa-huwa* "and he"] was Firuzguh." This does not refer to Muhammad Shah's successor Firuz Shah, but probably to the city which Firuz Shah built near Delhi, and which was called, not Firuzguh, but Firuzabad. The statement is not found in D. In C both names are found in the margin.

his city, men, women, and children, and ordered that their requirements for (the next) six months be paid them out of his own income. When he returned from his trip and entered (the city), it was a festive¹⁶² day. All the people went out into the open country and strolled about. In front of (the ruler), in the crowd, mangonels were set up on the backs of pack animals.¹⁶³ From the mangonels, bags of dirhams and dinars were shot out over the people, until the ruler entered his audience hall.

Ibn Battutah told other similar stories, and people in the dynasty (in official positions) whispered to each other that he must be a liar. During that time, one day I met the Sultan's famous wazir, Faris b. Wadrar. I talked to him about this matter and intimated to him that I did not believe that man's stories, because people in the dynasty were in general inclined to consider him a liar. Whereupon the wazir Faris said to me: "Be careful not to reject such information about the conditions of dynasties, because you have not seen such things yourself. You would then be like the son of the wazir who grew up in prison. The wazir had been imprisoned by his ruler and remained in prison several years. His son grew up in prison. When he reached the age of reason, he asked his father about the meat which he had been eating. (His father) told him that it was mutton, and he asked him what that was. When his father described a sheep to him in all details, (the son) said, 'Father, you mean, it looks like a rat?' His father was angry with him and said, 'What has a sheep to do with a rat?' The same happened later about beef and camel meat. The only animals he had seen in prison were rats, and so he believed that all animals were of the same species as rats."

It often happens that people are (incredulous) with regard to historical information, just as it also happens that they are tempted to exaggerate certain information, in order to be able to report something remarkable. We

¹⁶² For *yawm mashhud*, an expression derived from Qur'an 11.103 (105), cf. above, p. 46 (n. 139), and, for instance, Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam*, VII, 278, 1. 1. Cf. also p. 450, below.

¹⁶³ These, of course, were elephants.

stated this earlier at the beginning of the book.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, a person should look at his sources and rely upon himself. With a clear mind and straightforward, natural (common sense) he should distinguish between the nature of the possible and the impossible. Everything within the sphere of the possible should be accepted, and everything outside it should be rejected. (In using the word "possible") we do not have in mind "possible" in the absolute sense of what is intellectually possible. That covers a very wide range, so that it cannot be used to determine what is possible in actual fact. What we have in mind is the possibility inherent in the matter that belongs to a given thing. When we study the origin of a thing, its genus, (specific) difference,¹⁶⁵ size, and strength, we can draw conclusions as to (the possibility or impossibility) of the data (reported in connection with it). We adjudge to be impossible everything outside the sphere of (the possible, in this sense).

"Say: God, give me more knowledge."¹⁶⁶

III.17. The ruler seeks the help of clients and followers against the men of his own people and group feeling.

[p.1:372]

It¹⁶⁷ should be known that, as we have stated, a ruler can achieve power only with the help of his own people. They are his group and his helpers in his enterprise. He uses them to fight against those who revolt against his dynasty. It is they with whom he fills the administrative offices, whom he appoints as wazirs and tax collectors. They help him to achieve superiority. They participate in the government. They share in all his other important affairs.

¹⁶⁴Cf. p. 19, above.

¹⁶⁵Cf. p. 9 (n. 21), above.

¹⁶⁶ Qur'an 20.114 (113).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Issawi, pp. 121 f.; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de textes de sociologie*, pp. 62 f.

This applies as long as the first stage of a dynasty lasts, as we have stated.¹⁶⁸ With the approach of the second stage, the ruler shows himself independent of his people,¹⁶⁹ claims all the glory for himself, and pushes his people away from it with the palms (of his hands). As a result, his own people become, in fact, his enemies. In order to prevent them from seizing power, and in order to keep them away from participation (in power), the ruler needs other friends, not of his own skin, whom he can use against (his own people) and who will be his friends in their place. These (new friends) become closer to him than anyone else. They deserve better than anyone 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 own people from regaining the power that had been theirs and from occupying with him the rank to which they had been used.

In this (situation), the ruler cares only for his new followers. He singles them out for preference and many honors. He distributes among them as much (property) as (he does among) most of his own people. He confers upon them the most important administrative positions, such as the offices of wazir, general, and tax collector, as well as royal titles which are his own prerogative, and which he does not share (even) with his own people. (He does this) because they are now his closest friends and most sincere advisers. This, then, announces the destruction of the dynasty and indicates that chronic disease has befallen it, the result of the loss of the group feeling on which the (dynasty's) superiority had been built. The feelings of the people of the dynasty become diseased as a result of the contempt in which they are held and the hostility the ruler (shows against them). They hate him and await the opportunity of a change in his fortune. The great danger inherent in this situation reverts upon the dynasty. There can be no hope it will re-

¹⁶⁸Cf. pp. 353 ff, above.

¹⁶⁹ Above, p. 353, using a slightly different preposition, the text reads: "gains complete control over his people."

cover from that illness. The (mistakes of the) past grow stronger with each successive generation and lead eventually to loss of the (dynasty's) identity.

This is exemplified by the Umayyad dynasty. For their wars and for administrative purposes, they had recourse to the support of Arabs such as `Amr b. Sa'd b. Abi Waggas, 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, al-Haj-jaj b. Yusuf, al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufrah, Khalid b. `Abdallah al-Qasri, Ibn Hubayrah, Musa b. Nusayr, Bilal b. Abi Burdah b. Abi Musa al-Ash'ari, Nasr b. Sayyir, and other Arab personalities. For a while¹⁷⁰ the 'Abbasid dynasty, too, used the support of Arab personalities. But when the dynasty came to claim all the glory for itself and kept the Arabs from aspiring to administrative positions, the wazirate fell to non-Arabs and followers such as the Barmecides, the Banu Sahl b. Nawbakht,¹⁷¹ and, later, the Buyids, and Turkish clients such as Bughi, Wasif, Utamish, Bakiyik (Bayakbak), Ibn Tulun, and their descendants, among other non-Arab clients. Thus, the dynasty came to belong to people other than those who had established it. The power went to people other than those who had first won it.

This is how God proceeds with His servants.

III.18. The situation of clients and followers in dynasties.

[p.1:374]

It should be known that followers in a dynasty occupy different positions in (the) dynasty depending on whether their close contact with the ruler is of old or of recent date. The reason for this is that the purpose of group feeling, which is defense and aggression, can materialize only with the help of a common descent. For, as we have stated before,¹⁷² blood relations and other close relatives help each other, while strangers and outsiders do not.

¹⁷⁰For *sadrin* this meaning, cf. 3:53 and 171, below.

¹⁷¹A reference to the Tahirids is added in Bulaq, A, and Paris, but not in B or D. (This particular page is missing in my microfilm of C.)

¹⁷²Cf. pp. 263 ff., above.

Client relationships¹⁷³ and contacts with slaves or allies have the same effect as (common descent). The consequences of (common) descent, though natural, still are something imaginary.¹⁷⁴ The real thing to bring about the feeling of close contact is 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. If close contact is established in such a manner, the result will be affection and co-operation. Observation of people shows this to be so.

Something similar can be observed in connection with the relation between master and follower. Between the two, there develops a special closeness of relationship which has the same effect (as common descent) and strengthens the close contact. Even though there is no (common) descent, the fruits of (common) descent are there.

Whenever such a client relationship exists between a tribe and its clients before the tribe has obtained royal authority, the roots of the relationship are more firmly intertwined, the feelings and beliefs involved are more sincere, and the relationship itself is more clearly defined, for two reasons.

First: Before (people obtain) royal authority, they are a model in their ways.¹⁷⁵ Only in the rarest cases is a distinction made between (common) descent and the client relationship. The position (of clients) is the same as that of close or blood relatives. However, if they choose followers after they have obtained royal authority, their royal rank causes them to make a distinction between master and client, and (another) between close relatives and clients or followers. The conditions of leadership and royal authority require this in view of (existing) distinctions and differences in rank. The situation (of followers), therefore, is different. They are now on the same level as strangers. The close contact between (the ruler and his followers)

¹⁷³Cf. Issawi, p. 105.

¹⁷⁴Cf. p. 265, above.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. p. 353, above.

weakens, and co-operation, therefore, becomes less likely. This means that followers are now less (close to the ruler) than they were before (the ruler obtained) royal authority.

Second: Followers from before (the time the ruler obtained) royal authority had the status of followers long before the dynasty (came to power).¹⁷⁶ It is, thus, no longer clear (to contemporaries) how the close contact (originally) came about. As a rule, it is supposed to be a case of (common) descent, and in this case the group feeling is strengthened. On the other hand, (follower relationships formed) after (the ruler has obtained) royal authority are of recent date and equally well known to most people. (The origin of) the close contact is clear, and it is clearly distinguishable from (common) descent. The group feeling, in the latter case, is weak in comparison with the group feeling that results from the client relationship that existed before the dynasty (came to power).

A look at (known) dynasties and other cases of (political) leadership will show this to be so. Follower relationships formed before leadership and royal authority were obtained, will be found to show a stronger and closer contact between masters and followers. The latter occupy the same position with their master as do his children, his brothers, and other blood relatives. On the other hand, follower relationships formed after royal authority and (political) leadership were obtained do not show the same close connection that exists in the first (group). One may observe this with one's own eyes.

At the end of their power, dynasties eventually resort to employing strangers and accepting them as followers. These people, however, do not acquire any such glory as the men who had become followers of the dynasty before (it came to power) were able to build up for themselves. Their (status as followers) is too recent in origin. Also, the destruction of the dynasty is impending. Therefore, they occupy a very low and humble position. In tak-

¹⁷⁶ The text found in the MSS and Paris is meaningless. Instead of *ahluhu* one must read, with Bulaq, *'ahduhu*.

ing them on as followers and replacing his old clients and original followers by them, the ruler is motivated by the fact that (his old clients and followers) have become overbearing. They show little obedience to him. They look at him in the same way as his own tribe and relatives do. Close contact existed between him and them for a very long time. They had grown up together with him, had had connections with his ancestors and older members of his family, and were aligned with the great men of his house. (Thus, they are familiar with him) and, as a result (of their familiarity with him), they become proud and over bearing towards him. This is the reason why the ruler comes to shun them and use others in their place. It has been only for a short time that he has come to care for these others and to use them as followers. Therefore, they do not attain positions of glory, but retain their position as outsiders.¹⁷⁷

This is the case with dynasties at their end. As a rule, the words "followers" and "clients" are used for the first group. The more recent followers are called "servants" and "helpers."

"God is the friend of the believers."¹⁷⁸

III.19. Seclusion^{178a} of, and control over, the ruler (by others) may occur in dynasties.

[p.1:377]

When royal authority is firmly established in one particular family and branch of the tribe supporting the dynasty, and when that family claims all royal authority for itself and keeps the rest of the tribe away from it, and when the children of (that family) succeed to the royal authority in turn, by appointment, then it often happens that their wazirs and entourage gain power over the throne. This occurs most often when a little child or a weak

¹⁷⁷ For *kharijiyah*, cf. n. 84 to Ch. n, above.

¹⁷⁸ Qur'an 3.68 (61).

^{178a}In Muslim legal language, the Arabic term used refers to the guardianship of minors and incompetents.

member of the family is appointed successor by his father or made ruler by his creatures and servants. It becomes clear that he is unable to fulfill the functions of ruler. Therefore, they are fulfilled by his guardian, one of his father's wazirs, someone from his entourage, one of his clients, or a member of his tribe. (That person) gives the impression that he is guarding the power of the (child ruler) for him. Eventually, it becomes clear that he exercises the control, and he uses the fact as a tool to achieve royal authority. He keeps the child away from his people. He accustoms him to the pleasures of his life of luxury and gives him every possible opportunity to indulge in them. He causes him to forget to look at government affairs. Eventually, he gains full control over him. He accustoms the (child ruler) to believe that the ruler's share in royal authority consists merely in sitting on the throne, shaking hands,¹⁷⁹ being addressed as Sire (*mawla*), and sitting with the women in the seclusion of the harem. All (exercise of the) actual executive power, and the personal handling and supervision of matters that concern the ruler, such as inspection of the army, finances, and (defense of) the border regions, are believed (by the child ruler) to belong to the wazir. He defers to him in all these things. Eventually, the wazir definitely adopts the coloring of the leader, of the man in control. The royal authority comes to be his. He reserves it for his family and his children after him.

Such was the case with the Buyids and the Turks, with Kaffir al-Ikhshidi¹⁸⁰ and others in the East, and with al-Mansur b. Abi 'Amir in Spain.

It may happen that a ruler who is secluded and deprived of authority becomes aware of his situation and contrives to escape from it. He thus regains the royal authority for his family. He stops the person who has gained power over it, either by killing him or by merely deposing him. However, this happens very rarely. Once a dynasty has fallen into the hands of wazirs and clients, it remains in that situation. Rarely is it able to escape from it,

¹⁷⁹In confirmation of an appointment.

¹⁸⁰Kafur, who exercised control over Egypt in the last years of Ikshidid rule, died in 968.

because (such control by others) is mostly the result of living in luxury and of the fact that the royal princes have grown up immersed in prosperity. They have forgotten the ways of manliness and have become accustomed to the character traits of wet nurses, and they have grown up that way. They do not desire leadership. They are not used to exercising sole power, the prerogative of superiority. All their ambition requires is the satisfactions of pomp and having a great variety of pleasures and luxuries. Clients and followers gain superiority when the family of the ruler is in sole control over its people and claims all royal authority for itself to their exclusion. This is something that happens to dynasties of necessity, as we have stated before.¹⁸¹

These are two diseases of dynasties which cannot be cured, except in very rare cases.

"God gives His kingdom (royal authority) to whomever He wants to give it."¹⁸²

III.20. Those who gain power over the ruler do not share with him in the special title that goes with royal authority.

[p.1:379]

This is because the first men to achieve royal and governmental authority at the beginning of the dynasty do so with the help of the group feeling of their people and with the help of their own group feeling which causes their people to follow (them) until they and their people have definitely adopted the coloring of royal authority and superiority. (The coloring,) then, continues to exist. Through it, the identity and persistence of the dynasty are assured.

Now, the person who gains superiority (over the ruler) may have a share in the group feeling that belongs to the tribe which has obtained royal au-

¹⁸¹ Cf. pp. 336 ff., above.

¹⁸² Qur'in 2.247 (248).

thority or to its clients and followers. However, his group feeling still is comprised by, and subordinate to, the group feeling of the family of the ruler. He cannot (take on) the coloring of royal authority. Thus, in gaining control, he does not plan to appropriate royal authority for himself openly, but only to appropriate its fruits, that is, the exercise of administrative, executive, and all other power.¹⁸³ 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 curtain. He carefully refrains from using the attributes, emblems, or titles of royal authority. He avoids throwing any suspicion upon himself in this respect, even though he exercises full control. For, in his exercise of full control, he takes cover behind the curtain the ruler and his ancestors had set up to protect themselves from their own tribe when the dynasty came into being. He disguises his exercise of control under the form of acting as the ruler's representative.

Should he undertake to adopt (any of the royal prerogatives), the people who represent the group feeling and tribe of the ruler would resent it¹⁸⁴ and contrive to appropriate (the royal prerogatives) for themselves, to his exclusion. He has no definite coloring to (make him appear suited for the royal prerogatives) or cause others to submit to him and obey him. (Any attempt by him to appropriate the royal prerogatives) would, thus, instantly precipitate his doom.

Something of the sort happened to 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. al-Manslir b. Abi 'Amir.¹⁸⁵ He aspired to share the title of caliph with Hisham and his house. He was not satisfied with control of the executive power and the resulting forms (of honor) with which his father and brother had been satisfied. He sought to be entrusted with the caliphate by his caliph, Hisham. The Marwanids (Umayyads) and the other Qurashites were furious to see him

¹⁸³For *ibram* and *naqd*, cf. above, n. 145 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction.

¹⁸⁴ *La-nafisahu 'alayhi* (A, C, and D: *ghalabahu* "would resent his superiority"?).

¹⁸⁵ Called an-Nzgir, d. 399 [1009]. Al-Mangier had another son, 'Abd-alMalik al-Muzaffar.

do that. They took the oath of allegiance to a cousin of the caliph Hisham, Muhammad (b. Hisham) b. 'Abd-al-Jabbir b. an-Nasir, and revolted against (the party of Ibn Abi 'Amir). That caused the ruin of the 'Amirid dynasty and the destruction of their caliph (Hisham) al-Mu'ayyad. In (al-Mu'ayyad's) place, someone else from among the leaders of the dynasty was chosen, (and his house remained in power) down to the end of the dynasty and the dissolution of their pattern of royal authority.

God is the best heir.

III.21. The true character and different kinds of royal authority.

[p.1:380]

Royal¹⁸⁶ authority is an institution that is natural to mankind. We have explained before¹⁸⁷ that human beings cannot live and exist except through social organization and co operation for the purpose of obtaining their food and (other) necessities of life. When they have organized, necessity requires that they deal with each other and (thus) satisfy (their) needs. Each one will stretch out his hand for whatever he needs and (try simply to) take it,¹⁸⁸ since injustice and aggressiveness are in the animal nature. The others, in turn, will try to prevent him from taking it, motivated by wrathfulness¹⁸⁹ and spite and the strong human reaction when (one's own property is menaced). This causes dissension. (Dissension) leads to hostilities, and hostilities lead to trouble and bloodshed and loss of life, which (in turn) lead to the destruction of the (human) species. Now, (the human species) is one of the things the Creator has especially (told us) too preserve.

People, thus, cannot persist in a state of anarchy and without a ruler who keeps them apart. Therefore, they need a person to restrain them. He is

¹⁸⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 113 f.

¹⁸⁷Cf. pp. 89 ff., above.

¹⁸⁸ Bulaq adds: "away from his fellow men."

¹⁸⁹The θυμοειδής, one of the three parts of the soul according to Plato.

their ruler. As is required by human nature, he must be a forceful ruler, one who (actually) exercises authority. In this connection, group feeling is absolutely necessary, for as we have stated before,¹⁹⁰ aggressive and defensive enterprises can succeed only with the help of group feeling. As one can see, royal authority of this kind is a noble institution, toward which all claims are directed, and (one) that needs to be defended. Nothing of the sort can materialize except with the help of group feelings, as has been mentioned before.

Group feelings differ. Each group feeling exercises its own authority and superiority over the people and family adhering to it. Not every group feeling has royal authority. Royal authority, in reality, belongs only to those who dominate subjects, collect taxes, send out (military) expeditions,¹⁹¹ protect the frontier regions, and have no one over them who is stronger than they. This is generally accepted as the real meaning of royal authority.

There are people whose group feeling falls short of accomplishing (one or another of these things which constitute) part of (real royal authority), such as protecting the frontier regions, or collecting taxes, or sending out (military) expeditions. Such royal authority is defective and not royal authority in the real meaning of the term. This was the case with many of the Berber rulers of the Aghlabid dynasty in al-Qayrawan, and with the non-Arab (Persian) rulers at the beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty.

Then, there are people whose group feeling is not strong enough to gain control over all the other group feelings or to stop everyone, so that there exists an authority superior to theirs. Their royal authority is also defective, and not royal authority in the real meaning of the term. It is exercised, for instance, by provincial amirs and regional chieftains who are all under one dynasty. This situation is often found in farflung dynasties. I mean that there are rulers of provincial and remote regions who rule their own people but

¹⁹⁰Cf. pp. 89 ff. and 313, above.

¹⁹¹ This, rather than "embassies," is the meaning of *bu'uth*. Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 156.

also obey the central power of the dynasty. Such was the relationship of the Sinhajah with the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids); of the Zanatah with the (Spanish) Umayyads at one time and with the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) at another; of the non-Arab (Persian) rulers with the 'Abbasids; of the Berber amirs and rulers with the European Christians (in the Maghrib) prior to Islam; and of the rulers of the (old) Persian successor states with Alexander and his Greeks.

There are many such (examples), as, upon examination, will be found to be so. God "exercises forceful domination over His servants."¹⁹²

III.22. Exaggerated harshness is harmful to royal authority and in most cases causes its destruction.

[p.1:383]

It¹⁹³ should be known that the interest subjects have in their ruler is not interest in his person and body, for example, in his good figure, handsome face, large frame, wide knowledge, good handwriting, or acute mind. Their interest in him lies in his relation to them. Royal and governmental authority is something relative, a relationship between two things (ruler and subjects). Government becomes a reality when (there is a ruler who) rules over subjects and handles their affairs. A ruler is he who has subjects (*ra'aya*), and subjects are persons who have a ruler. The quality accruing to the ruler from the fact of his correlative relation with his subjects is called "rulership" (*malakah*).¹⁹⁴ That is, he rules them, and if such rulership and its concomitants are of good quality, the purpose of government is most perfectly achieved. If such rulership is good and beneficial, it will serve the interests of the subjects. If it is bad and unfair, it will be harmful to them and cause their destruction.

¹⁹² Qur'an 6.18 (18), 61 (61).

¹⁹³ Cf. Issawi, pp. 148-30. 382

¹⁹⁴ It may be noted that the same word is used also as a technical term of quite a different meaning, namely, "habit." Cf. p. lxxxiv, above.

Good rulership is equivalent to mildness. 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, (his subjects) become fearful and depressed and seek to protect themselves against him through lies, ruses, and deceit. This becomes a character trait of theirs. Their mind and character become corrupted. They often abandon (the ruler) on the battlefield and (fail to support his) defensive enterprises. The decay of (sincere) intentions causes the decay of (military) protection. The subjects often conspire to kill the ruler. Thus, the dynasty decays, and the fence (that protects it) lies in ruins. If the ruler continues to keep a forceful grip on his subjects, group feeling will be destroyed, for reasons stated at the beginning.¹⁹⁵ The fence (which protects the dynasty) is torn down, for the dynasty has become incapable of (military) protection. (On the other hand,) if the ruler is mild and overlooks the bad sides of his subjects, they will trust him and take refuge with him. They (then) love him heartily and are willing to die for him in battle against his enemies. Everything is then in order in the state.

The concomitants of good rulership are being kind to one's (subjects) and defending them. The true meaning of royal authority is realized when the ruler defends his subjects. To be kind and beneficent toward them is part of being mild to them and showing an interest in how they are living. These things are important for the ruler in gaining the love of his subjects.

It should be known that an alert and very shrewd person rarely has the habit of mildness. Mildness is usually found in careless and unconcerned persons. The least (of the many drawbacks) of alertness (in a ruler) is that he imposes tasks upon his subjects that are beyond their ability, because he is aware of things they do not perceive and, through his genius, foresees the outcome of things at the start. (The ruler's excessive demands) may lead to

¹⁹⁵ Cf. pp. 314 ff., above.

his subjects' ruin. Muhammad said: "Follow the pace of the weakest among you,"^{195a}

The Lawgiver (Muhammad), therefore, made it a condition that the ruler not be too shrewd. The source for (this statement) is a story about Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan.¹⁹⁶ When 'Umar deposed him (as governor) of the 'Iraq, he asked 'Umar why he had been deposed, whether it was because of his inability or his treachery. 'Umar replied that he had deposed him for neither of those reasons but because he disliked having people become the victim of his superior intelligence. This is (the source for the statement) that the ruler should not be too shrewd and clever, as were Ziyad b. Abu Sufyan and 'Amr b. al-'As. For such (qualities) are accompanied by tyrannical and bad rulership and by a tendency to make the people do things that it is not in their nature to do. This will be mentioned at the end of the book.¹⁹⁷ God is the best ruler.

The conclusion is that it is a drawback in a political leader to be (too) clever and shrewd. Cleverness and shrewdness imply that a person thinks too, much, just as stupidity implies that he is too rigid. In the case of all human qualities, the extremes are reprehensible, and the middle road is praise worthy. This is, for instance, the case with generosity in relation to waste

^{195a} "To follow the weakest among you" is the recommended procedure for the prayer leader. Cf. Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313/1895), IV, 217; al-Hakim, *Mustadrak*, I, 199, 201.

¹⁹⁶ Ziyad b. Abihi, who was Mu'awiyah's governor of the 'Iraq and is alleged to have been Mu'awiyah's half brother, was born in the first year of the Hijrah and died in 53 [673]. Though a very young man at the time, he had some official positions and is supposed somehow to have acted as governor in al-Bqrah in the last year of 'Umar's life. The historians report encounters between him and 'Umar in which he is depicted as a smart young man. However, our estimate of how accurate Ibn Khaldun's story is must await discovery of its source.

In the absence of an express statement by the Prophet, a statement by 'Umar may be considered to express adequately the intention of the "Law giver" himself. But cf. p. 398, below, and the fact that Ibn Khaldun, in using the term "lawgiver," occasionally thinks of it as a general term, not one restricted to the Lawgiver, Muhammad.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. the beginning of section 23 and 2:103 fl.; below?

and stinginess, or with bravery in relation to foolhardiness and cowardice,¹⁹⁸ And so it is with all the other human qualities. For this reason, the very clever person is said to have the qualities of devils. He is called a "satan" or, "a would-be satan," and the like.

"God creates whatever He wishes."¹⁹⁹

III.23. The meaning of caliphate and imamate.

[p.1:385]

(As²⁰⁰ explained,) the real meaning of royal authority is that it is a form of organization necessary to mankind. (Royal authority) requires superiority and force, which express the wrathfulness²⁰¹ and animality (of human nature). The decisions of the ruler will therefore, as a rule, deviate from what is right. They will be ruinous to the worldly affairs of the people under his control, since, as a rule, he forces them to execute his intentions and desires, which it may be beyond their ability (to do). This situation will differ according to the difference of intentions to be found in different generations. (But) it is for this reason difficult to be obedient to (the ruler). Disobedience²⁰² makes itself noticeable and leads to trouble and bloodshed.

Therefore, it is necessary to have reference to ordained political norms, which are accepted by the mass and to whose laws it submits. The Persians and other nations had such norms. The dynasty that does not have a policy based on such (norms), cannot fully succeed in establishing the supremacy of its rule. "This is how God proceeded with those who were before."²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ This theme dominates all Graeco-Muslim works on ethics. Cf., for instance, F. Rosenthal, "On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World," *Islamic Culture*, XIV (1940), 416 ff.

¹⁹⁹ Qur'an 3.47 (42), etc.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Issawi, pp. 134-36; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de textes de sociologie*, pp. 64 f.

²⁰¹ Cf. n. 189 to this chapter, above.

²⁰² D agrees with Bulaq in reading *al-'asabiyah* "group feeling," instead of *al-ma'siyah* "disobedience."

²⁰³ Qur'an 38.38 (38), 62 (62).

If these norms are ordained by the intelligent and leading personalities and (best) minds of the dynasty, the result will be a political (institution) on an intellectual (rational) basis. If they are ordained by God through a law-giver who establishes them as (religious) laws, the result will be a political (institution) on a religious basis, which will be useful for life in both this and the other world.

This is because the purpose of human beings is not only their worldly welfare. This entire world is trifling and futile. It ends in death and annihilation. God says: "Do you think that we created you triflingly?"²⁰⁴ The purpose (of human beings) is their religion, which leads them to happiness in the other world, "the path of God to whom belongs that which is in heaven and that which is on earth."²⁰⁵ 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. This (situation) also applies to royal authority, which is natural in human social organization. (The religious laws) guide it along the path of religion, so that everything will be under the supervision of the religious law. Anything (done by royal authority) that is dictated by force, superiority, or the free play of the power of wrathfulness, is tyranny and injustice 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 dictated (merely) by considerations of policy or political decisions without supervision of the religious law²⁰⁶ is also reprehensible, because it is vision lacking the divine light. "He for whom God makes no light has no light whatever."²⁰⁷ The Lawgiver (Muhammad) knows better than the mass itself what is good for them so far as the affairs of the other world, which are concealed from the mass itself,

²⁰⁴ Qur'an 23.16 (17).

²⁰⁵ Qur'an 42.53 (53).

²⁰⁶ "Without supervision of the religious law" is added by C in the margin.

²⁰⁷ Qur'an 24.40 (40).

are concerned. At the Resurrection, the actions of human beings, whether they had to do with royal authority or anything else, will all come back to them. Muhammad said: "It is your own actions that are brought back to you."

Political laws consider only worldly interests. "They know the outward life of this world."²⁰⁸ (On the other hand,) the intention the Lawgiver has concerning mankind is their welfare in the other world.²⁰⁹ Therefore, it is necessary, as required by the religious law, to cause the mass to act in accordance with the religious laws in all their affairs touching both this world and the other world. The authority to do so was possessed by the representatives of the religious law, the prophets. (Later on, it was possessed) by those who took their place, the caliphs.

This makes it clear what the caliphate means. (To exercise) natural royal authority means to cause the masses to act as required by purpose and desire. (To exercise) political (royal authority) means to cause the masses to act as required by intellectual (rational) insight into the means of furthering their worldly interests and avoiding anything that is harmful (in that respect). (And to exercise) the caliphate means to cause the masses to act as required by religious insight into their interests in the other world as well as in this world. (The worldly interests) have bearing upon (the interests in the other world), since according to the Lawgiver (Muhammad), all worldly conditions are to be considered in their relation to their value for the other world. Thus, (the caliphate) in reality substitutes for the Lawgiver (Muhammad), in as much as it serves, like him, to protect the religion and to exercise (political) leadership of the world.

This should be understood and be kept in mind in the following discussion. God is wise and knowing.

²⁰⁸ Qur'an 30.7 (6).

²⁰⁹ Cf. 2:138, below.

III.24. The differences of Muslim opinion concerning the laws and conditions governing the caliphate.²¹⁰

[p.1:388]

We have (just) explained the real meaning of the institution of (the caliphate). It substitutes for the Lawgiver (Muhammad) in as much as it serves, like him, to preserve the religion and to exercise (political) leadership of the world. (The institution) is called "the caliphate" or "the imamate." The person in charge of it is called "the caliph" or "the imam."

In²¹¹ later times, he has (also) been called "the sultan," when there were numerous (claimants to the position) or when, in view of the distances (separating the different regions) and in disregard of the conditions governing the institution, people were forced to render the oath of allegiance to anybody who seized power.

The name "*imam*" is derived from the comparison (of the caliph) with the leader (*imam*) of prayer, since (the caliph) is followed and taken as a model like the prayer leader. Therefore (the caliphate) is called the "great imamate."

The name "caliph" (*khalifah*) is given to the caliph, because he "represents" (*kh-l f*) the Prophet in Islam. One uses "caliph" alone, or "caliph of the Messenger of God." There is a difference of opinion concerning the use of "caliph of God." Some consider (this expression) permissible as derived from the general "caliphate" (representation of God) of all the descendants of Adam, implied in the verse of the Qur'an, "I am making on earth a caliph," and the verse, "He made you caliphs on earth."²¹² But, in general, it

²¹⁰Ibn Khaldun's legal view regarding the history of the institution of the caliphate is expressed in connection with the case of an 'Abbasid who claimed the caliphate before Timur in 1401. Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 374 ff.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, pp. 40 f.

²¹¹The following paragraph is found in the margin of C and in the text of D. It embodies a strange and noteworthy concession to actual circumstances in the matter of Muslim political theory.

²¹²Qur'an 2.30 (28); 6.165 (165); 35.39 (37).

is not considered permissible to use (the expression "caliph of God"), since the verse quoted has no reference to it (in connection with the caliphate in the specific sense of the term). Abu Bakr forbade the use (of the expression "caliph of God") when he was thus addressed. He said, "I am not the caliph of God, but the caliph (representative, successor) of the Messenger of God." Furthermore, one can have a "caliph" (representative, successor) of someone who is absent, but not of someone who is present (as God always is).

The position of imam is a necessary one. The consensus of the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation shows that (the imamate) is necessary according to the religious law. At the death of the Prophet, the men around him proceeded to render the oath of allegiance to Abu Bakr and to entrust him with the supervision of their affairs. And so it was at all subsequent periods. In no period were the people left in a state of anarchy. This was so by general consensus, which proves that the position of imam is a necessary one.

Some people have expressed the opinion that the necessity of the imamate is indicated by the intellect (rational reasons), and that the consensus which happens to exist merely confirms the authority of the intellect in this respect. As they say, what makes (the position of imam) intellectually (rationally) necessary is the need of human beings for social organization and the impossibility of their living and existing by themselves. One of the necessary consequences of social organization is disagreement, because of the pressure of cross-purposes. As long as there is no ruler who exercises a restraining influence, this (disagreement) leads to trouble which, in turn, may lead to the destruction and uprooting of mankind. Now, the preservation of the (human) species is one of the necessary intentions of the religious law.

This very idea is the one the philosophers had in mind when they considered prophecy as something (intellectually) necessary for mankind. We²¹³ have already shown the incorrectness of (their argumentation). One of

²¹³Cf. Issawi, pp. 102 f.; and pp. 92 f., above.

its premises is that the restraining influence comes into being only through a religious law from God, to which the mass submits as a matter of belief and religious creed. This premise is not acceptable. The restraining influence comes into being as the result of the impetus of royal authority and the forcefulness of the mighty, even if there is no religious law. This was the case among the Magians²¹⁴ and other nations who had no scriptures and had not been reached by a prophetic mission.

Or, we might say (against the alleged rational necessity of the caliphate): In order to remove disagreement, it is sufficient that every individual should know that injustice is forbidden him by the authority of the intellect. Then, their claim that the removal of disagreement takes place only through the existence of the religious law in one case, and the position of the imam in another case, is not correct. (Disagreement) may (be removed) as well through the existence of powerful leaders, or through the people refraining from disagreement and mutual injustice, as through the position of the imam. Thus, the intellectual proof based upon that premise does not stand up. This shows that the necessity of (the position of imam) is indicated by the religious law, that is, by general consensus, as we have stated before.

Some people have taken the exceptional position of stating that the position of imam is not necessary at all, neither according to the intellect nor according to the religious law. People who have held that opinion include the Mu'tazilah al-Asamm²¹⁵ and certain Kharijites, among others. They think that it is necessary only to observe the religious laws. When Muslims agree upon (the practice of) justice and observance of the divine laws, no imam is needed, and the position of imam is not necessary. Those (who so argue) are refuted by the general consensus. The reason why they adopted such an

²¹⁴Cf. n. 9 to Ch. 1, above.

²¹⁵Al-Agamm is a rather conspicuous figure among the early Mu'tazilah who lived *ca.* 800. His opinion on the caliphate is also referred to by al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, at the beginning of the work where the rational necessity of the caliphate is discussed. Cf. pp. 9 f. of the edition, Cairo, 1298/1881. For the Kharijite views, cf. T. W. Arnold in EI, s.v. "Khalifa."

opinion was that they (attempted to) escape the royal authority and its overbearing, domineering, and worldly ways. They had seen that the religious law was full of censure and blame for such things and for the people who practiced them, and that it encouraged the desire to abolish them.

It should be known that the religious law does not censure royal authority as such and does not forbid its exercise. It merely censures the evils resulting from it, such as tyranny, injustice, and pleasure-seeking. Here, no doubt, we have forbidden evils. They are the concomitants of royal authority. (On the other hand,) the religious law praises justice, fairness, the fulfillment of religious duties, and the defense of the religion. It states that these things will of necessity find their reward (in the other world). Now, all these things are concomitants of royal authority, too. Thus, censure attaches to royal authority only on account of some of its qualities and conditions, not others. (The religious law) does not censure royal authority as such, nor does it seek to suppress it entirely. It also censures concupiscence and wrathfulness²¹⁶ in responsible persons, but it does not want to see either of these qualities relinquished altogether, because necessity calls for their existence. It merely wants to see that proper use is made of them.²¹⁷ David and Solomon possessed royal authority such as no one else ever possessed, yet they were divine prophets and belonged, in God's eyes, among the noblest human beings (that ever existed).²¹⁸

Furthermore, we say to them: The (attempt to) dispense with royal authority by (assuming) that the institution (of the imamate) is not necessary, does not help you at all. You agree that observance of the religious laws is a necessary thing. Now, that is achieved only through group feeling and power, and group feeling, by its very nature, requires (the existence of) royal

²¹⁶Cf. n. 189 to this chapter, above.

²¹⁷Cf. p. 415, below.

²¹⁸Cf. pp. 417 and 422.

authority. Thus, there will be royal authority, even if no imam is set up. Now, that is just what you (wanted to) dispense with.

If it has been established that the institution (of the imamate) is necessary by general consensus, (it must be added that the institution of the imamate) is a community duty²¹⁹ and is left to the discretion of all competent Muslims.²²⁰ It is their obligation to see to it that (the imamate) is set up, and everybody has to obey (the imam) in accordance with the verse of the Qur'an, "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the people in authority among you."²²¹

It²²² is not possible to appoint two men to the position (of imam) at the same time. Religious scholars generally are of this opinion, on the basis of certain traditions. Those traditions are found in the book, "On Leadership (*imarah*)," in the *Sahih* by Muslim.²²³ They expressly indicate that this is so.

Others hold that (the prohibition against two imams) applies only to two imams in one locality, or where they would be close to each other. When there are great distances and the imam is unable to control the farther region, it is permissible to set up another imam there to take care of public interests.

Among the famous authorities who are reported to have held this opinion is Professor Abu Ishaq al-Isfariyini,²²⁴ the leading speculative theologian.

²¹⁹A "community duty" (*fard al-kifayah*) is fulfilled when some members of the Muslim community comply with it, in contrast to "individual duties" (*fard al-'ayn*), such as the daily prayers, which every responsible (*mukallaf*) Muslim must carry out.

²²⁰Cf. Bombaci, pp. 447 f. The "competent" Muslims are those having authority and "executive power," as the Arabic term used here is usually rendered in this translation.

²²¹Qur'an 4.59 (62).

²²²The text from here to p. 394, l. 26, did not exist in the earlier stages of the *Muqaddimah*. It appears on an inserted sheet in B and is found in the margin of C and in the text of D.

²²³Cf. Muslim, *Sahih* (Calcutta, 1265/1849), 11, 193 ff, and esp. 312 and 307, where we find traditions such as: "if the oath of allegiance has been rendered to two caliphs, kill one of them," or another saying that the oath of allegiance to caliphs should be rendered to one at a time.

²²⁴Cf. n. 256 to Ch. 1, above.

gian. The Imam al-Haramayn²²⁵ also showed himself inclined toward it in his *Kitab al-Irshad*. The opinions of the Spaniards and Maghribis often make it evident that they, too, were inclined toward it. The numerous religious scholars in Spain rendered the oath of allegiance to the Umayyads and gave the Umayyad 'Abd-ar-Rahman an Nasir and his descendants the title of Commander of the Faithful. This title is characteristic of the caliphate, as we shall mention²²⁶ Somewhat later, the Almohads in the Maghrib did the same thing.

Some scholars have rejected (the possibility of more than one imam) with reference to the general consensus. This is no evident (proof), for if there existed a general consensus on the point, neither Professor Abfi Ishaq nor the Imam al-Haramayn would have opposed it. They knew better (than any one else) what the consensus meant. Indeed, the imam al-Mazari²²⁷ and an-Nawawi²²⁸ have been refuted²²⁹ on the basis of the afore-mentioned evident sense of the traditions (in Muslim's *Sahih*).

Certain more recent scholars have occasionally argued in favor of (a single imam) with the argument of mutual antagonism²³⁰ referred to by the divine revelation in the verse, "If there were other gods except God in the two

²²⁵Abu l-Ma'ali'Abd-al-Malik b. 'Abdallah al-Juwayni, 419-478 [1028-1085]. Cf. GAL, I, 388 f.; Suppl., I, 671 ff. The reference is to *Kitab al-Irshad* (Cairo, 1369/1950), p. 425.

²²⁶Cf. pp. 465 ff., below.

²²⁷The Malikiite Mubammad b. 'All, who was born ca. 459 [10611 and died in 536 [1141]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 663.

²²⁸Muhyi-ad-din Yabya b. Sharaf, 631-676 [1233-1277]. Cf. GAL, I, 394 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 680 ff.

²²⁹ If the text is correct and I understand it correctly, Ibn Khaldun means to say that al-Mazari and an-Nawawi also were inclined to admit two imams under certain circumstances, and any argument against them did not refer to the alleged existence of a general consensus in this matter, but had merely Muslim's traditions to go on. However, the text should possibly be corrected to *radda 'alayhi* or *radda 'ald <Imam al-haramayn> al-Imam*, meaning that the imam al-Mazari and an-Nawawi refuted the Imam al-Haramayn (not with reference to a general consensus but) with reference to the traditions. The problem could easily be solved by finding out the opinions of al-Mizari and an-Nawawi in this matter from their works, but I have not had the opportunity to do so.

²³⁰Cf. 3:44, 63, and 144, below.

(heaven and earth), they (heaven and earth) would have been destroyed."²³¹ However, nothing of relevance in this connection can be deduced from the verse, because its (force as an) argument is in the field of the intellect. God called our attention to (the verse), so that we might have a rational proof of the oneness of God in which we are enjoined to believe, and so that, as a result, (this dogma) might be more firmly grounded. (On the other hand,) what we want to find out in connection with the imamate is why it is forbidden to set up two imams (at the same time), and that is something that belongs to the field of religious law and religious obligations (rather than to the field of the intellect). Thus, the (verse of the Qur'an quoted) cannot be used for any deduction (in this connection), unless we establish it as belonging to the field of the religious law by the addition of another premise, namely, that (quite generally) from an increase in number there results corruption, and we are to keep away from anything that may lead to corruption. Then, (the verse) can be used for deductions in the field of religious law. And God knows better.

The conditions governing the institution of (the imamate) are four: (1) knowledge, (2) probity, (3) competence, and (4) freedom of the senses and limbs from any defect that might affect judgment and action. There is a difference of opinion concerning a fifth condition, that is, (5) Qurashite descent.

(1) (The necessity of) knowledge as a condition is obvious. The imam can execute the divine laws only if he knows them. Those he does not know, he cannot properly present. (His) knowledge is satisfactory only if he is able to make independent decisions. Blind acceptance of tradition is a shortcoming, and the imamate requires perfection in (all) qualities and conditions.

(2) Probity (*'adalah*)²³² is required because (the imamate) is a religious institution and supervises all the other institutions that require (probity). Thus, it is all the more necessary that (probity) be a condition required of (the

²³¹Qur'an 21.22 (22).

²³²Cf. n. 107 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

imamate). There is no difference of opinion as to the fact that the (imam's) probity is nullified by the actual commission of forbidden acts and the like. But there is a difference of opinion on the question of whether it is nullified by innovations in dogma (made or adopted by the imam).

(3) Competence means that (the imam) is willing to carry out the punishments fixed by law and to go to war. He must understand (warfare) and be able to assume responsibility for getting the people to go (to war). He also must know about group feeling and the fine points (of diplomacy). He must be strong enough to take care of political duties. All of which is to enable him to fulfill his functions of protecting the religion, leading in the holy war against the enemy, maintaining the (religious) laws,²³³ and administering the (public) interests.

(4) Freedom of the senses and limbs from defects or incapacitations such as insanity, blindness, muteness, or deafness, and from any loss of limbs affecting (the imam's) ability to act, such as missing hands, feet, or testicles, is a condition of the imamate, because all such defects affect the (imam's) full ability to act and to fulfill his duties. Even in the case of a defect that merely disfigures the appearance, as, for instance, loss of one limb, the condition of freedom from defects (remains in force as a condition in the sense that it) aims at perfection (in the imam).

Lack of freedom of action is connected with loss of limbs. Such a lack may be of two kinds. One is forced (inaction) and complete inability to act through imprisonment or the like. (Absence of any restriction upon freedom of action) is as necessary a condition (of the imamate) as freedom from bodily defects. The other kind is in a different category. (This lack of freedom of action implies that) some of (the imam's) men gain power over him, although no disobedience or disagreement may be involved, and keep him in seclusion. Then, the problem is shifted to the person who has gained power.

²³³D has an addition referring to leadership in worldly affairs, which is also found in C but deleted there.

If he acts in accordance with Islam and justice and praiseworthy policies, it is permissible to acknowledge (the imam). If not, the Muslims must look for help. (They must look to) persons who will restrain him and eliminate the unhealthy situation created by him, until the caliph's power of action is re-established.

(5) The condition of Qurashite origin is based upon the general consensus on this point that obtained in the men around Muhammad on the day of the *Saqifah*.²³⁴ On that day, the Ansar intended to render the oath of allegiance to Sa'd b. 'Ubadah. They said: "One amir from among us, and another from among you."²³⁵ But the Qurashites argued against them with Muhammad's statement, "The imams are from among the Quraysh."²³⁶ They also argued that Muhammad had exhorted them "to do good to (those of the Ansar) who do good, and leave unpunished those of them who do evil."²³⁷ Now, (the Qurashites) said, if the leadership were to be given to (the Ansar), the latter would not have been recommended (to their care as indicated in Muhammad's statement). The Ansar bowed to these arguments and retracted their statement (just quoted), "One amir from among us, and another from among you." They gave up their intention to render the oath of allegiance to Sa'd. It is also well established by sound tradition that "this thing (the Muslim state) will always remain with this Qurashite tribe."²³⁸ There are many other similar proofs.

However, the power of the Quraysh weakened. Their group feeling vanished in consequence of the life of luxury and prosperity they led, and in consequence of the fact that the dynasty expended them all over the earth. (The Qurashites) thus became too weak to fulfill the duties of the

²³⁴The "hall" (*saqifah*) of the Banu Sa'idah, in which Abu Bakr's elevation to the caliphate was decided. Cf. also below, p. 403. For Sa'd b. 'Ubadah, cf. K. V. Zettersteen in EI, s.v.

²³⁵In addition to the historians, cf. also *Concordance*, I, 103a, 11. 6 f.

²³⁶Cf. *Handbook*, p. 109a.

²³⁷Cf. *Concordance*, I, 401a, III, 13a, 11. 6 fl.; Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 1007.

²³⁸Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 382; *Handbook*, pp. 128 f.

caliphate. The non-Arabs gained superiority over them, and the executive power fell into their hands. This caused much confusion among thorough scholars (with regard to Qurashite origin as a condition of the caliphate). They eventually went so far as to deny that Qurashite descent was a condition (of the imamate). They based themselves upon the evident sense (of certain statements), such as Muhammad's statement, "Listen and obey, even should an Abyssinian slave, with (a head as black as) a raisin, be your governor."²³⁹ This (statement), however, is no valid proof in connection with (the problem in question). It is just a hypothetical parable which, in an exaggerated form, is meant to stress the duty of obedience.

There²⁴⁰ is also 'Umar's statement, "If Salim, the client of Abu Hudhayfah, were alive, I would appoint him,"-or: "... I would not have had any objection against him."²⁴¹ This statement also has nothing to do (with the problem in question). It is known that the opinion of one of the men around Muhammad (such as 'Umar, in this particular case) does not constitute a proof. Furthermore, people's clients belong to them.²⁴² Salim's group feeling in his capacity as client was that of the Qurashites. And it is (group feeling) that is important when specific descent is made a condition (of the imamate). 'Umar had a high opinion of the caliphate. He thought, as he looked at it, that the conditions governing it were (all but) disregarded. Thus, he turned to Salim, because, in his opinion, the latter abundantly fulfilled the

²³⁹This statement represents Kharijite doctrine. It is enumerated, together with a great number of related statements, by al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, *Kanz al-'ummal* (Hyderabad, 1312/1894-95), III, 197, No. 2990.

²⁴⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 448.

²⁴¹ According to the historians, 'Umar is supposed to have made this statement on his deathbed. Cf. at-Tabari, *Innales*, I, 2776 f.

Cf. al-Baqillani, *Tamhid*, p. 179, where the objection is understood to refer to accepting Salim's advice. The biographers report that Salim acted as prayer leader in the first days of Muslim settlement in Medina, but do not mention 'Umar's statement. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, II, 108; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, III, 60-62; Ibn Hajar, *Isabah*, II, 108 ff., No. 3049.

²⁴²Cf. n. 79 to Ch. ii, above.

conditions governing the caliphate, including his client relationship which provided for group feeling, as we shall mention.²⁴³ Only, a pure (Qurashite) descent was not there. ('Umar) considered it unnecessary, because the importance of descent lies solely in group feeling, and (group feeling) may result from a client relationship (such as that of Salim, as well as from common descent). The reason for 'Umar's (statement) was his desire to look after (the best interests of) the Muslims and to entrust their government to a man beyond reproach who (would not commit acts for which he, 'Umar,) would be held responsible.

Among those who deny that Qurashite descent is a condition (of the imamate) is Judge Abu Bakr al-Bagillani.²⁴⁴ The Qurashite group feeling had come to disappear and dissolve (in his day), and non-Arab rulers controlled the caliphs. Therefore, when he saw what the condition of the caliphs was in his day, he dropped the condition of Qurashite origin (for the imamate), even though it meant agreeing with the Kharijites.

Scholars in general, however, retain Qurashite descent as a condition (of the imamate). (They maintain that) the imamate rightly belongs to a Qurashite, even if he is too weak to handle the affairs of the Muslims. Against them is the fact that this involves dropping the condition of competence, which requires that (the imam must) have the power to discharge his duties. If (his) strength has gone with the disappearance of group feeling, (his) competence, too, is gone. And if the condition of competence be eliminated, that will reflect further upon knowledge and religion. (In this case, then, all) the conditions governing the institution (of the imamate) would no longer be considered, and this would be contrary to the general consensus.

We shall now discuss the wisdom of making descent a condition of the imamate, so that the correct facts underlying all those opinions will be recognized. We say:

²⁴³This refers to the discussion that follows, of the importance of group feeling for the caliphate.

²⁴⁴Al-Baqillani, *Tamhid*, pp. 181 f., definitely considers Qurashite origin a condition of the caliphate.

All religious laws must have (specific) purposes and significant meanings of their own, on account of which they were made. If we, now, investigate the wisdom of Qurashite descent as a condition (of the imamate) and the purpose which the Lawgiver (Muhammad) had in mind, (we shall find that) in this connection he did not only think of the blessing that lies in direct relationship with the Prophet, as is generally (assumed). Such direct relationship exists (in the case of Qurashite descent), and it is a blessing. However, it is known that the religious law has not as its purpose to provide blessings. Therefore, if (a specific) descent be made a condition (of the imamate), there must be a (public) interest which was the purpose behind making it into law. If we probe into the matter and analyze it, we find that the (public) interest is nothing else but regard for group feeling. (Group feeling) gives protection and helps people to press their claims. The existence of (group feeling) frees the incumbent in the position (of imam) from opposition and division. The Muslim community accepts him and his family, and he can establish friendly terms with them.

Now, the Quraysh were the outstanding, original, and superior leaders of the Mudar. Their number, their group feeling, and their nobility gave them power over all the other Mudar. All other Arabs acknowledged that fact and bowed to their superiority. Had the rule been entrusted to anybody else, it may be expected that their opposition and refusal to submit would have broken the whole thing up. No other Mudar tribe would have been able to sway them from their attitude of opposition and to carry them along against their will. The community would have been broken up. The whole thing would have been torn by dissension. The Lawgiver (Muhammad) warned against that. He showed himself desirous to have them agree and to remove dissension and confusion from among them, for the sake of establishing close contact and group feeling and improved protection. (No dissension or confusion but rather) the opposite (could be expected to be the case), were the Quraysh to be in power. They were able, through superior force, to drive

people into doing what was expected of them. There was no fear that anybody would oppose them. There was no fear of division. The Quraysh were able to assume the responsibility of doing away with (division) and of preventing people from (splitting up). Therefore, Qurashite descent was made a condition of the institution of (the imamate). The Quraysh represented the strongest (available) group feeling. (Qurashite descent of the imam,) it was thus (hoped), would be more effective (than anything else) in organizing the Muslim community and bringing harmony into it. When Qurashite affairs were well organized, all Mudar affairs were likewise well organized. Thus, all the other Arabs obeyed them. Nations other than the Arabs submitted to the laws of the Muslim community. Muslim armies entered the most remote countries. That happened in the days of the conquests. It remained that way later on in the (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) dynasties, until the power of the caliphate dissolved and the Arab group feeling vanished. The great number of the Quraysh and their superiority over the Mudar subtribes is known to all diligent students of, and experts in, Arab history, biography, and relevant conditions. Ibn Ishaq mentioned this in the *Kitab as-siyar*; and (so did) other (authors).²⁴⁵

If it is established that Qurashite (descent) as a condition (of the imamate) was intended to remove dissension with the help of (Qurashite) group feeling and superiority, and if we know that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) does not make special laws for any one generation, period, or nation, we also know that (Qurashite descent) falls under (the heading of) competence. Thus, we have linked it up with (the condition of competence) and have established the overall purpose of (the condition of) Qurashite (descent), which is the existence of group feeling. Therefore, we consider it a (neces-

²⁴⁵Normally; the Arabic text would suggest the translation "*Kitab as-siyar* and other (books)," which does not make much sense. The above translation is also suggested by C, which vocalizes *waghayruhu*. Cf. p. 7 (n. so), above. Ibn Ishaq's work is usually referred to as the *Sirah* (Biography of Mubammad), but cf. also n. 1015 to this chapter, below.

sary) condition for the person in charge of the affairs of the Muslims that he belong to people who possess a strong group feeling, superior to that of their contemporaries, so that they can force the others to follow them and the whole thing can be united for effective protection. (Such group feeling as a rule) does not comprise all areas and regions. Qurashite (group feeling), however, was all-comprehensive, since the mission of Islam, which the Quraysh represented, was allcomprehensive, and the group feeling of the Arabs was adequate to that mission. Therefore, (the Arabs) overpowered all the other nations. At the present time, however, each region has people of its own who represent the superior group feeling (there).

When one considers what God meant the caliphate to be, nothing more needs (to be said) about it. (God) made the caliph his substitute to handle the affairs of His servants. He is to make them do the things that are good for them and not do those that are harmful. He has been directly told so. A person who lacks the power to do a thing is never told directly to do it. The religious leader, Ibn al-Khatib,²⁴⁶ said that most religious laws apply to women as they do to men. However, women are not directly told (to follow the religious laws) by express reference to them in the text, but, in (Ibn al-Khatib's) opinion, they are included only by way of analogical reasoning. That is because women have no power whatever. Men control their (actions), except in as far as the duties of divine worship are concerned, where everyone controls his own (actions). Therefore, women are directly told (to fulfill the duties of divine worship) by express reference to them in the text, and not (merely) by way of analogical reasoning.

Furthermore, (the world of) existence attests to (the necessity of group feeling for the caliphate). Only he who has gained superiority over a nation or a race is able to handle its affairs. The religious law would hardly ever make a requirement in contradiction to the requirements of existence.

²⁴⁶Muhammad b. 'Umar, 543 or 544 to 606 [1148/49 or 1149/50 to 1209/101. He is more generally referred to as Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi. Cf. GAL, I, 506 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 920 ff.

And God, He is exalted, knows better.

III.25. Shi'ah tenets concerning the question of the imamate.

[p.1:402]

It should be known that, linguistically, *Shi'ah* means "companions and followers." In the customary usage of old and modern jurists and speculative theologians, the word is used for the followers and descendants of 'All. The tenet on which they all agree is that the imamate is not a general (public) interest to be delegated to the Muslim nation for consideration and appointment of a person to fill it. (To the Shi'ah,) it is a pillar and fundamental article of Islam. No prophet²⁴⁷ is permitted to neglect it or to delegate (the appointment of an imam) to the Muslim nation. It is incumbent upon him to appoint an imam for the (Muslims). The imam cannot commit²⁴⁸ sins either great or small. 'Ali is the one whom Muhammad appointed. The (Shi'ah) transmit texts (of traditions) in support of (this belief), which they interpret so as to suit their tenets. The authorities on the Sunnah and the transmitters of the religious law do not know these texts. Most of them are supposititious, or some of their transmitters are suspect, or their (true) interpretation is very different from the wicked interpretation that (the Shi'ah) give to them.

According to (the Shi'ah), these texts fall into the two categories of express and implied statements.²⁴⁹ An express statement, for instance, is the following statement (by Muhammad): "Ali is master of those whose master I am."²⁵⁰ As they say, such a position of master (mentioned in the tradition)

²⁴⁷Ibn Khaldun speaks here of prophets in general (whether one reads *li-nabi* as in Bulaq or *li-n-nabi* as in the MSS), although it is Muhammad who is primarily meant.

²⁴⁸Lit., "He is ma'sum, has *'ismah*, against . . . ; cf. p. 185, above.

²⁴⁹Ibn Khaldun found all this material in the relevant chapter of the heresiographers he mentions below, p. 414. Cf., for instance, ash-Shahraṣṭani, *Kitab al-milal wa-n-nihal*, ed. Cureton (London, 1842-46) p. 122 f.; tr. T. Haarbrilcker (Halle, 1850-51), 1, 184 ff.

²⁵⁰For the famous *hadith* of Ghadir Khumm, cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888-90), II, 116.

applies only to 'Ali. 'Umar thus said to him: "You have become the master of all believers, men and women."

Another tradition of this sort is the following statement of (Muhammad): "Your best judge is 'Ali." Imamate means exclusively the activity of judging in accordance with the divine laws. (The activity of) judging and being a judge is (what is) meant by "the people in authority" whom God requires us to obey in the verse of the Qur'an: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the people in authority among you."²⁵¹ Therefore, 'All and no other was arbitrator in the question of the imamate on the day of the Saqifah.²⁵²

Another statement of this sort is the following statement by (Muhammad): "He who renders the oath of allegiance to me upon his life is my legatee and the man who will be in charge of this authority here after me." Only 'Ali rendered the oath of allegiance to him (in this manner).

An implied (argument), according to the Shi'ah, is the fact that the Prophet sent 'All to recite the *surat al-Bara'ah*²⁵³ at the festival (in Meca) when it had (just) been revealed. He first sent Abu Bakr with it. Then it was revealed to Muhammad that "a man from you,"-or: ". . . from your people"- "should transmit it." Therefore, he sent 'Ali to transmit it. As they say, this proves that 'Ali was preferred (by Muhammad). Furthermore, it is not known that Muhammad ever preferred anyone to 'All, while he preferred Usamah b. Zayd²⁵⁴ and 'Amr b. al-' As²⁵⁵ to both Abu Bakr and 'Umar

²⁵¹ Qur'an 4.59 (62).

²⁵² Cf. p. 396, above. The decisive role Ali in this matter is, of course, a Shi'ah view. Cf., for instance, al-Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 138, where 'Ali himself stopped the movement in his favor, or the *Risalat as-Saqifah* of Abu Hayyan at-Tawhidi, ed. I. al-Kaylani, *Trois Epitres* (Damascus, 1951).

²⁵³ *Surah* 9. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 921.

²⁵⁴ Just before the Prophet's death, Usamah prepared an expedition to Syria, for which many of the old guard of Islam, including Abu Bakr and 'Umar, volunteered, but it did not come off. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 999, and, with more detail, Ibn Sawayid-an-nas, *Uydn al-athar*, II, 281 ff.

during two different raids. According to (the Shi'ah), all these things prove that 'Ali and no one else was appointed (by Muhammad) to the caliphate. However, some of the statements quoted are little known, and others require an interpretation very different from that which (the Shi'ah) give.

Some (Shi'ah) hold the opinion that these texts prove both the personal appointment of 'All and the fact that the imamate is transmitted from him to his successors. They are the Imamiyah. They renounce the two *shaykhs* (Abu Bakr and 'Umar), because they did not give precedence to 'Ali and did not render the oath of allegiance to him, as required by the texts quoted. The Imamiyah do not take the imamates (of Abu Bakr and 'Umar) seriously. But we do not want to bother with transmitting the slanderous things said about (Abfi Bakr and 'Umar) by (Imamiyah) extremists. They are objectionable in our opinion and (should be) in theirs.

Other (Shi'ah) say that these proofs require the appointment of 'All not in person but as far as (his) qualities are concerned. They say that people commit an error when they do not give the qualities their proper place. They are the Zaydiyyah. They do not renounce the two *shaykhs* (Abu Bakr and 'Umar). They do take their imamates seriously, but they say that 'All was superior to them. They permit an inferior person to be the imam, even though a superior person may be alive (at the same time).²⁵⁶

The Shi'ah²⁵⁷ differ in opinion concerning the succession to the caliphate after 'Ali. Some have it passed on among the descendants of Fatimah in succession, through testamentary determination (*nass*). We shall mention that later on. They (who believe this) are called the Imamiyah, with reference to their statement that knowledge of the imam and the fact of his being appointed are an article of the faith. That is their fundamental tenet.

²⁵⁵The occasion was the raid of Dhrit as-salisil, in 629. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 984; at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 1604.

²⁵⁶The Isma'liyah, on the other hand, were of the opinion that an inferior person could not be imam. Cf. W. Ivanow, *A Creed of the Fatimids* (Bombay, 1936), p. 41. Cf. also below, p. 432.

²⁵⁷On the Shi'ah sects, cf. also, briefly, *Ibar*, III, 360 f.

Others consider the descendants of Fatimah the (proper) successors to the imamate, but through selection (of an imam) from among the Shi'ah. The conditions governing (selection of) that imam are that he have knowledge, be ascetic, generous, and brave, and that he go out to make propaganda for his imamate. They (who believe this) are the Zaydiyyah, so named after the founder of the sect, Zayd b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn, the grandson of Muhammad. He had a dispute with his brother Muhammad al-Bagir concerning the condition that the imam has to come out openly. Al-Bagir charged him with implying that, in the way Zayd looked at it, their father Zayn-al-'abidin would not be an imam, because he had not come out openly and had made no preparations to do so. He also accused him of holding Mu'tazilah tenets which he had learned from Wasil b. 'Ata. When the Imimiyah discussed the question of the imamates of the two *shaykhs* (Abu Bakr and 'Umar) with Zayd, and noticed that he admitted their imamates and did not renounce them, they disavowed him and did not make him one of the imams. On account of that fact, they are called "Disavowers" (*Rafidah*).

Some (Shi'ah) consider as successors to the imamate, after 'All-or after his two sons, Muhammad's grandsons (al-Hasan and al-Husayn), though they disagree in this respect-(al-Hasan's and al-Husayn's) brother, Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah, and then the latter's children. They are the Kaysiniyah, so named after Kaysin, a client of ('Ali's).²⁵⁸

There are many differences among these sects which we have omitted here for the sake of brevity.

There are also (Shi'ah) sects that are called "Extremists" (*ghulah*). They transgress the bounds of reason and the faith of Islam when they speak of the divinity of the imams. They either assume that the imam is a human being with divine qualities, or they assume that he is God in human incarnation. This is a dogma of incarnation that agrees with the Christian tenets concerning Jesus. 'Ali himself had these (Shi'ah) who said such things

²⁵⁸ Cf. C. van Arendonk in *El*, s.v. "Kaisiniya."

about him burned to death. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah was very angry with al-Mukhtir b. Abi 'Ubayd when he learned that al-Mukhtar had suggested something along these lines concerning him. He cursed and renounced al-Mukhtir openly. Ja'far as-Sidiq did the same thing with people about whom he had learned something of the sort.

Some (Shi'ah) extremists say that the perfection the imam possesses is possessed by nobody else. When he dies, his spirit passes over to another imam, so that this perfection may be in him. This is the doctrine of metempsychosis.

Some extremists stop (*w-q-f*) with one of the imams and do not go on. (They stop with the imam) whom they consider (to have been) appointed as the (last one). They (who believe this) are the Wiqifiyah. Some of them say that the (last imam) is alive and did not die, but is removed from the eyes of the people. As a proof for that (theory), they adduce the problem of al-Khidr.²⁵⁹

Something of that sort has been stated with regard to 'Ali himself. He is said to be in the clouds. The thunder is his voice, and lightning his whip.²⁶⁰ Something similar has also been stated with regard to Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah. He is said to be in the Mountain of Radwi in the Hijiz. The poet of (the sect holding that belief), Kuthayyir,²⁶¹ says:

²⁵⁹ The word "problem, proposition" (*gadiyah*) is simplified in Bulaq to "story" (*gissah*). For the legend of al-Khidr, who gained eternal life, cf. A. J. Wensinck in *EL*, s.v. "al-Khadir." In connection with this passage, cf. also I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1899), II, LXIV.

²⁶⁰ These opinions are ascribed to an alleged sect called as-Saba'iyah, after a certain 'Abdallah b. Saba'. Cf., for instance, ash-Shahraṣṭani, *Kitab al-milal wa-n-nihal*, pp. 132 f.; tr. Haarbrucker, I, 200. Cf. also below, 2:175.

²⁶¹ Cf. GAL, I, 48; *Suppl.*, I, 79; and 3:383 and 404, below. The verses are found in his *Diwan*, ed. H. Peres (Algiers & Paris, 1930), II, 185 ff. They are quoted not only in the heresiographers but also by many other authors with whose works Ibn Khaldun was familiar, such as al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, V, 182; Abu t-Faraj al-Isfahini, *Kitab al-Aghani*, VIII, 32 (Bulaq ed.); (Cairo, 1345/1927), IX, 14f.; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, 'Iqd, I, 203; II, 234. Cf. the references in the *Mukhtavar* of al-Baghdadi's *Kitab al-farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. P. K. Hitti (Cairo, 1924), p. 38.

Indeed, the Qurashite imams,

The champions of the Truth, are four, all alike: 'Ali and his three sons,
They are the grandsons of Muhammad. To them, no
obscurity is attached.

One grandson is the grandson of faith and piety. Another was
"removed" through Kerbela.

And there is a grandson who will not taste death, until He shall lead an
army preceded by the flag.

He is "removed," and has not been seen among them for a time,
In Radwi, having with him honey and water.

The extremist Imimiyah, in particular the Twelvers, hold a similar opinion. They think that the twelfth of their imams, Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-'Askari, to whom they give the epithet of al-Mahdi, entered the cellar of their house in al-Hillah and was "removed" when he was imprisoned (there) with his mother. He has remained there "removed."²⁶² He will come forth at the end of time and will fill the earth with justice. The Twelver Shi'ah refer in this connection to the tradition found in the collection of at-Tirmidhi regarding the Mahdi.²⁶³ The Twelver Shi'ah are still expecting him to this day. Therefore, they call him "the Expected One." Each night after the evening prayer, they bring a mount and stand at the entrance to the cellar where (the Mahdi is "removed"). They call his name and ask him to come forth openly. They do so until all the stars are out.²⁶⁴ Then, they disperse and postpone the matter to the following night. They have continued that custom to this time.

The "grandsons" of the Prophet are al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah, according to the generally accepted interpretation. However, the last-mentioned was not a grandson of Mubammad's. It is possible that the verses actually did not refer to Ibn al-Hanafiyah but to the alleged third son of Mubammad's daughter Fatimah, al-Muhsin, who died very young, and that they were later transferred to the historical personality of Ibn al-Hanafiyah.

²⁶²Cf. pp. 412 ff, below.

²⁶³Cf. 2:159 ff., below.

²⁶⁴Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 156 f.

Some of the Wigifiyah say that the imam who died will return to actual life in this world. They adduce as a proof (for the possibility of this assumption) the story of the Seven Sleepers, the one about the person who passed by a village, and the one about the murdered Israelite who was beaten with the bones of the cow that (his people) had been ordered to slaughter, all of them stories included in the Qur'in.²⁶⁵ They further adduce similar wonders that occurred in the manner of (prophetical) miracles. However, it is not right to use those things as proof for anything except where they properly apply.

The (extremist Shi'ah) poet, as-Sayyid al-Himyari²⁶⁶ has the following verses on this subject:

When a man's head has become gray
 And the barbers urge him to dye his hair, His cheerfulness is gone and
 no longer there.
 Arise, O companion, and let us weep for (our lost) youth.
 What is gone of it will not return
 To anyone until the Day of the Return,
 Until the day on which people will return
 To their life in this world before the Reckoning.
 I believe that this is a true belief.
 I do not doubt the Resurrection.
 In fact, God has spoken about people
 Who lived after they had decomposed and become dust.

The religious authorities (*imams*) of the Shi'ah have themselves made it superfluous for us to bother with the arguments of the extremists, for they do not refer to them and thus invalidate the use (the extremists) make of their (arguments).

The Kaysiniyah consider (Muhammad's) son Abu Hisham successor to the imamate after Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah. They are therefore called

²⁶⁵Cf. *surah* 18 and Qur'an 2.259 (261) and 2.67 ff. (63 ff).

²⁶⁶ Isma'il b. Mubammad, d. 178 or 179 [794/95 or 795/961. Cf. GAL, I, 83; Suppl., I, 133.

the Hishimiyah. Then, they split. Some of them transferred the imamate after Abu Hisham to his brother 'Ali and then to 'Ali's son al-Hasan. Others thought that when Abu Hisham died in the land of ash-Sharih²⁶⁷ upon his return from Syria, he appointed as his heir Muhammad b. 'Ali b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abbis, who, in turn, appointed as his heir his son Ibrihim who is known as the Imam. Ibrihim appointed as his heir his brother 'Abdallah b. al-Harithiyah who got the surname of as-Saffah, who, in turn, appointed as his heir his brother Abu Ja'far'Abdallah, who got the surname of al-Mansur. (The imamate) was then passed on to his children in succession through testamentary determination (*nass*) and appointment ('ahd), right down to the last of them. Such is the tenet of the Hashimiyah who support the 'Abbasid dynasty. Among them were Abu Muslim, Sulayman b. Kathir, Abu Salimah al-Khallal, and other members of the (early) 'Abbasid Shi'ah²⁶⁸ Their right to the power is often supported by the argument that their right goes back to al-'Abbas. He was alive at the time of Muhammad's death, and he had the best title to become Muhammad's heir because of the group feeling attaching to paternal uncles (al-'Abbas being the paternal uncle of Muhammad).

The Zaydiyyah consider the succession to the imamate in the light of their view concerning (the institution). (The imam) is chosen by competent^{268a} Muslims and not appointed by testamentary determination (*nass*). They acknowledge as imams, 'Ali, his son al-Hasan, (al-Hasan's) brother al Husayn, (al-Husayn's) son 'Ali Zayn-al-'abidin, and ('Ali's) son, the head of the Zaydiyyah, Zayd b. 'All. Zayd came forth in al-Kufah and made propaganda for the imamate. He was killed and his body exhibited in al-Kunasah.²⁶⁹ The Zaydiyyah acknowledge the imamate of (Zayd's) son Yahya, as his (father's) successor. Yahya went to al-Khurasan and was killed

²⁶⁷ Cf. p. 133, above, and p. 420, below. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, V, 25, *anno* 100, adds that this region belongs to the Belga' in Syria.

²⁶⁸Cf. also *'Ibar*, III, 100 ff.

^{268a}Cf. n. 220 to this chapter, above.

²⁶⁹This happened in 122 [7401]. Cf. also *'Ibar*, III, 98 ff. Al-Kunasah is a part of al-Kufah.

in al-Juzajan²⁷⁰ after he had appointed Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan b. al-Hasan, (Muhammad's) grandson, as his heir. Muhammad is called "the Pure Soul" (*an-Nafs as-zakiyah*). He came forth in the Hijaz and took the surname of al-Mahdi. Al-Mansur's armies went against him. He was routed and killed. His brother Ibrahim was appointed his successor. He appeared in al-Basrah. With him was 'Isa b. Zayd b. 'Ali. Al-Mansur himself, or his generals, went against him with the army. Both Ibrahim and Isa were routed and killed²⁷¹ Ja'far as-Sadiq had told them all that (in advance). (His prediction) was considered one of Ja'far's acts of divine grace.²⁷²

Other (Zaydis) assumed that the imam after Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, the Pure Soul, was Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. 'Ali b. 'Umar,²⁷³ 'Umar being the brother of Zayd b. 'Ali. Muhammad b. al-Qasim came forth in at-Taliqin. He was captured and brought to al-Mu'tasim, who imprisoned him. He died in prison.

Other Zaydis say that the imam after Yahya b. Zayd was his brother 'Isa, who had participated with Ibrahim b. 'Abdallah in his fight against al-Mansur. They consider his descendants the successors to the imamate. The impostor who appeared among the Negroes (Zanj during their revolt) considered him his ancestor. We shall mention that in connection with the history of the Zanj.²⁷⁴

Other Zaydis say that the imam after Muhammad b. 'Abdallah was his brother Idris who fled to the Maghrib and died there. His son Idris b. Idris seized power and laid out the city of Fez. His descendants succeeded him

²⁷⁰ Cf. also 2:210, below, and *Ibar*, III, 104 f.

²⁷¹ Ibrahim was killed at Bakhamra in 145 [763]. Cf. Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Maqatil al-Talibiyin* (Cairo, 1368/1949), pp. 315-80.

²⁷² Cf. 2:203 and 209 f., below.

²⁷³ Another "b. 'Ali" appears in A and B (apparently specifically marked in B as correct) and in C. In D it is deleted. The event mentioned happened in 219 [894]. Cf. Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Maqatil ai-Talibiyin*, pp. 577 ff. Cf. also *Ibar*, III, 257.

²⁷⁴ Cf. *Ibar*, III, so l f.

as rulers in the Maghrib, until they were destroyed, as we shall mention in connection with Idrisid history.²⁷⁵ Thereafter, the Zaydi power became disorganized and remained so.

The missionary who ruled Tabaristan, al-Hasan b. Zayd b. Muhammad b. Isma'il b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan, Muhammad's grandson, as well as his brother, Muhammad b. Zayd, also were Zaydis. Zaydi propaganda was then continued among the Daylam by the (Husaynid) an Nasir al-Utrush. The Daylam accepted Islam from him. He was al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. 'Umar, the brother of Zayd b. 'Ali. His descendants founded a dynasty in Tabaristan. They made it possible for the Daylam to obtain royal authority and control over the caliphs in Baghdad. We shall mention this in connection with the history of the Daylam.²⁷⁶

The Imamiyah considered (the following) as successors to the imamate after 'All al-Wasi (the "Legatee") by appointment as heirs. 'Ali's son al-Hasan, (al-Hasan's) brother al-Husayn, (al-Husayn's) son 'Ali Zayn-al-'abidin, ('Ali's) son Muhammad al-Baqir, and (Muhammad's) son Ja'far as-Sadiq. From there on, they split into two sects. One of them considers (Ja'far's) son Ismail as Ja'far's successor to the imamate. They recognize Ismail as their imam. They are called the Isma'iliyah. The other considers (Ja'far's) son, Musa al-Kazim, as Ja'far's successor to the imamate. They are the Twelvers, because they stop with the twelfth imam. They say that he remains "removed" until the end of time, as has been mentioned before.²⁷⁷

The Isma'ilis say that the imam Ismail became imam because his father Ja'far appointed him (through *nasr*) to be his successor. (Isma'il) died before his father, but according to (the Isma'ilis) the fact that he was determined by his father as his successor means that the imamate should continue among

²⁷⁵Cf. *Ibar*, IV, 12 ff. Cf. also above, pp. 47 ff.

²⁷⁶Cf. *Ibar*, III, 285, 366 f. Al-Utrush died in 304 [917].

²⁷⁷Cf. p. 408, above.

his successors. This is analogous to the story of Moses and Aaron.²⁷⁸ As they say, Isma'il's successor as imam was his son Muhammad, the Concealed One (*al Maktum*).²⁷⁹ He is the first of the hidden imams. According to the Isma'ilis, an imam who has no power goes into hiding. His missionaries remain in the open, in order to establish proof (of the hidden imam's existence) among mankind.

When the imam has actual power, he comes out into the open and makes his propaganda openly. As they say, after Muhammad, the Concealed One, the hidden imams were: his son Jafar al-Musaddiq, Ja'far's son Muhammad al-Habib, the last of the hidden imams, and Muhammad's son 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdi. For him, open propaganda was made among the Kutamah by Abu 'Abdallah ash-Shi'i. People followed his call, and he brought al-Mahdi out of his confinement in Sijilmasah. Al-Mahdi became the ruler of al-Qayrawan and the Maghrib. His descendants and successors ruled over Egypt, as is well known from their history.

The Isma'ilis are called "Isma'ilis" with reference to their recognition of the imamate of Isma'il. They are also called "Batinis" with reference to their speaking about the *batin*, that is, the hidden, imam. They further are called "heretics," because of the heretical character of their beliefs. They have an old and a new persuasion. Neo-Isma'ili propaganda was made at the end of the fifth [eleventh] century by al-Hasan b. Muhammad as-Sabbah. He ruled over certain fortresses in Syria and the 'Iraq.²⁸⁰ His propaganda persisted there until the Turkish rulers in Egypt and the Tatar rulers in the 'Iraq destroyed it in their respective territories. The persuasion for which as-

²⁷⁸ Moses' vocation was continued by the descendants of Aaron, although Aaron died before Moses. Cf. also pp. 473 f., below.

²⁷⁹Cf. p. 45, above.

²⁸⁰That is, the non-Arab 'Iraq, or western Persia.

Sabbah made propaganda is mentioned in ash-Shahrastani's *Kitab al-milal wa-n-nihal*.²⁸¹

Among recent Shi'ah, the name of Imamiyah is often restricted to the Twelvers. They acknowledge the imamate of Musa al-Kazim b. Ja'far because his elder brother, the imam Ismail, had died while their father Ja'far was still alive. Jafar then appointed Musa (through *nasr*) as imam. The imams after Musa were 'Ali ar-Rida, who was appointed by al-Ma'mun as his successor (to the caliphate),²⁸² but died before al-Ma'mun, so that nothing came of it. The imams after 'Ali, then, were ('Ali's) son Muhammad at-Taqi, (Muhammad's) son 'Ali al-Hadi, ('Ali's) son al-Hasan al-'Askari, and (al-Hasan's) son Muhammad, the Expected Mahdi, whom we have mentioned before.²⁸³

There are many divergences within each of these Shi'ah persuasions. However, the sects mentioned are the most prominent ones. For an exhaustive study of Shi'ah sects, one should consult the books on religions and sects (*al-milal wa-n-nihal*) by Ibn Hazm,²⁸⁴ ash-Shahrastani, and others. They contain additional information.

"God leads astray whomever He wants to lead astray, and He guides whomever He wants to guide."²⁸⁵

III.26. The transformation of the caliphate into royal authority.

[p.1:414]

It²⁸⁶ should be known that royal authority is the natural goal of group feeling. It results from group feeling, not by choice but through (inherent)

²⁸¹ Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Karim, d. 548 11153]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 428 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 762 f. Cf. his *Kitab al-milal wa-n-nihal*, pp. 150 ff.; (tr.) I, 225 ft.

²⁸²Cf. pp. 434 f., below.

²⁸³ Cf. p. 408, above.

²⁸⁴Ali b. Mutiammad, 384-456 (993-10641. Cf. *GAL*, I, 399 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 692 ff.

²⁸⁵ Qur'an 16.93 (95); 35.8 (9); 74.31 (34).

²⁸⁶ Cf. Issawi, p. 137; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes de sociologie*, pp. 66-73.

necessity and the order of existence, as we have stated before.²⁸⁷ All religious laws and practices and everything that the masses are expected to do requires group feeling. Only with the help of group feeling can a claim be successfully pressed, as we have stated before.²⁸⁸

Group feeling 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."²⁸⁹ Still, we find that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) censured group feeling 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."²⁹⁰ God said: "Most noble among you in God's (eyes) is he who fears God most."²⁹¹

We also find that (the Lawgiver Muhammad) censured royal authority and its representatives. He blamed them because of their enjoyment of good fortune, their senseless waste, and their deviations 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

²⁸⁷Cf. pp. 284 ff, above.

²⁸⁸Cf. p. 284, above.

²⁸⁹Cf. pp. 187 and 322, above.

²⁹⁰Cf. *Concordance*, I, 7b, 1. 32, and II, 190b,1. 28.

²⁹¹Qur'an 49.13 (Is).

right aims.²⁹² Every intention should thus eventually become the right one and the direction (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."²⁹³

The Lawgiver (Muhammad) did not censure wrathfulness²⁹⁴ 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,²⁹⁵ 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 desires, 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 group feeling and says: "Neither your blood relatives nor your children will be of use to you (on the Day of Resurrection),"²⁹⁶ (such a statement) is directed against a group feeling that is used for worthless purposes, as was the case in pre-Islamic times. It is also directed against a group feeling 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 eter-

²⁹²Cf. p. 391, above.

²⁹³Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 23; *Concordance*, II, 557a, 11. 7 ff.

²⁹⁴Cf. pp. 381 and 391, above.

²⁹⁵Bulaq adds: "When wrathfulness is for that purpose, it is reprehensible, ..."

²⁹⁶Qur'an 60.3 (3).

nity. On the other hand, a group feeling 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 group feeling, as we have stated before.²⁹⁷

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 beings for indulgence in (selfish) purposes and desires, as we have stated. If royal authority would sincerely exercise its superiority over men for the sake of God and so as to cause those men to worship God and to wage war against His enemies, there would not be anything reprehensible in it. Solomon said: "O my Lord . . . give me royal authority, such as will not fit anyone after me."²⁹⁸ He was sure of himself. (He knew) that, as prophet and king, he would have nothing to do with anything worthless.²⁹⁹

When 'Umar b. al-Khattib went to Syria and was met by Mu'awiyah in full royal splendor as exhibited both in the number (of Mu'awiyah's retinue) and his equipment, he disapproved of it and said: "Are these royal Persian manners (*kisrawiyah*), O Mu'awiyah?" Mu'awiyah replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, I am in a border region facing the enemy. It is necessary for us to vie with (the enemy) in military equipment." 'Umar was silent and did not consider Mu'awiyah to be wrong.³⁰⁰ He had used an argument that was in agreement with the intentions of the truth and of Islam. If the

²⁹⁷Cf. pp. 322 ff, above.

²⁹⁸Qur'an 38.35 (34).

²⁹⁹Cf. pp. 391 f., above, and p. 422, below.

³⁰⁰The two basic stories from which the above version was evolved are contained in al-Baladhurti's *Ansab*. Cf. O. Pinto and G. Levi Della Vida, *It Califfo Mu'awiya I secondo il "Kitab Ansab al-Asiraf"* (Rome, 1938), p. 159. Cf. also Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Igd*, 11, 236. For the use of the term *kisrawl*, cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Islam* (Menasha, Wis., 1955), p. 36.

intention (implied in 'Umar's remark) had been to eradicate royal authority as such, 'Umar would not have been silenced by the answer with which Mu'awiyah (excused) his assumption of royal Persian manners. He would have insisted that Mu'awiyah give them up altogether. 'Umar meant by "royal Persian manners" the attitude of the Persian rulers, which consisted in doing worthless things, constantly practicing oppression, and neglecting God. Mu'awiyah replied that he was not interested in royal Persian manners as such, or in the worthlessness connected with them, but his intention was to serve God. Therefore, ('Umar) was silent.

The same applies to the attitude of the men around Muhammad towards abolishing royal authority and its conditions, and forgetting its customs. (The men around Mubammad) were wary of the admixture of worthless things that might be found in (royal customs).

When the Messenger of God was about to die, he appointed Abu Bakr as his representative to (lead the) prayers, since (praying) was the most important religious activity. People were, thus, content to accept (Abu Bakr) as caliph, that is, as the person who causes the great mass to act according to the religious laws. No mention was made of royal authority, because royal authority was suspected of being worthless, and because at that time it was the prerogative of unbelievers and enemies of Islam. Abu Bakr discharged the duties of his office in a manner pleasing to God, following the Sunnah of his master (Muhammad). He fought against apostates until all the Arabs were united in Islam. He then appointed 'Umar his successor. 'Umar followed Abu Bakr's example and fought against (foreign) nations. He defeated them and permitted the Arabs to appropriate the worldly possessions of (those nations) and their royal authority, and the Arabs did that.

(The caliphate), then, went to 'Uthman b. 'Affan and 'Ali. All (these caliphs) renounced royal authority and kept apart from its ways. They were strengthened in this attitude by the low standard of living in Islam and the desert outlook of the Arabs. The world and its luxuries were more alien to

them than to any other nation, on account of their religion, which inspired asceticism where the good things of life were concerned, and on account of the desert outlook and habitat and the rude, severe life to which they were accustomed. No nation was more used to a life of hunger than the Mudar. In the Hijaz, the Mudar inhabited a country without agricultural or animal products. They were kept from the fertile plains, rich in grain, because the latter were too far away and were monopolized by the Rabi'ah and Yemenites who controlled them.³⁰¹ They had no envy of the abundance of (those regions). They often ate scorpions and beetles. They were proud to eat *'ilhiz*, that is, camel hair ground with stones, mixed with blood, and then cooked. The Quraysh were in a similar situation with regard to food and housing.

Finally, the group feeling of the Arabs was consolidated in Islam through the prophecy of Muhammad with which God honored them. They then advanced against the Persians and Byzantines, and they looked for the land that God had truthfully promised and destined to them. They took away the royal authority of (the Persians and the Byzantines) and confiscated their worldly possessions. They amassed enormous fortunes. It went so far that one horseman obtained, as his share in one of the raids, about 30,000 gold pieces. The amounts they got were enormous. Still, they kept to their rude way of life. 'Umar used to patch his (sole) garment with pieces of leather.³⁰² 'Ali used to say: "Gold and silver! Go and lure others, not me!"³⁰³ Abu Musa³⁰⁴ refrained from eating chicken, because chickens were very rare among the Arabs of that time and not (generally) known to them. Sieves were altogether non-existent among (the Arabs), and they ate wheat (ker-

³⁰¹ Cf. pp. 266 and 283, above. 418

³⁰² Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 193; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, VII, 134.

³⁰³ Cf. al-Mas'udi, IV, 336.

³⁰⁴ Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, 'Abdallah b. Qays, one of the most famous early Muslim politicians. Cf. below, p. 453.

nels) with the bran.^{304a} Yet, the gains they made were greater than any ever made by other human beings.

Al-Mas'udi³⁰⁵ says: "In the days of 'Uthman, the men around Muhammad acquired estates and money. On the day 'Uthman was killed, 150,000 dinars and 1,000,000 dirhams were in the hands of his treasurer. The value of his estates in Wadi I-Qura and Hunayn and other places was 200,000 dinars. He also left many camels and horses. The eighth part of the estate of az-Zubayr after his death amounted to 50,000 dinars. He also left 1,000 horses and 1,000 female servants. Talhah's income from the 'Iraq was 1,000 dinars a day, and his income from the region of ash-Sharah³⁰⁶ was more than that. The stable of 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. 'Awf contained 1,000 horses. He also had 1,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. One fourth of his estate after his death amounted to 84,000. Zayd b. Thabit left silver and gold that was broken into pieces with pickaxes, in addition to the (other) property and estates that he left, in the value of 100,000 dinars. Az Zubayr built himself a residence in al-Basrah and other residences in Egypt and al-Kufah and Alexandria. Talhah built one in al-Kufah and had his residence in Medina improved. He used plaster, bricks, and teakwood. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas built himself a residence in al-'Aqiq, (a suburb of Medina). He made it high and spacious, and had balustrades put on top of it. Al-Miqdad^{306a} built his residence in Medina and had it plastered inside and out. Ya'la b. Munyah³⁰⁷ left 50,000

^{304a}An innovation shortly after the death of the Prophet allegedly was the use of sieves. Cf. al-Ghazali, *Ihya'*, I, 112; II, 3. Cf. also at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 3032; * I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 25.

³⁰⁵Cf. his *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 253-55. The quotation in Ibn Khaldun is accurate but not literal. For the subject, cf. also Ibn Hamdan, *Tadhkirah*, Ch. XLIX, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. XII, fol. 185a.

³⁰⁶Cf. pp. 133 and 409, above.

^{306a}Miqdad b. al-Aswad ('Amr), who is much less prominent than the preceding personalities, was an old Muslim. He died in 33 [653/54].

³⁰⁷Munyah is said to have been the name of Ya'la's mother, or of his grandmother (or a more remote female ancestor). The correct form is found fully vocalized in C. D has Munabbih, and A and B also suggest this wrong name. Ya'la's father was Umayyah.

dinars and estates and other things the value of which amounted to 300,000 dirhams." End of the quotation from al-Mas'udi.

Such were the gains people made. Their religion did not blame them for (amassing so much), because, as booty, it was lawful property. They did not employ their property wastefully but in a planned³⁰⁸ way in (all) their conditions, as we have stated. Amassing worldly property is reprehensible, but it did not reflect upon them, because blame attaches only to waste and lack of planning, as we have indicated. Since their expenditures followed a plan and served the truth and its ways, the amassing (of so much property) helped them along on the path of truth and served the purpose of attaining the other world.

Soon, the desert attitude of the Arabs and their low standard of living approached its end. The nature of royal authority-which is the necessary consequence of group feeling as we have stated³⁰⁹ showed itself, and with it, there came (the use of) superiority and force. Royal authority, as (the early Muslims) saw it, belonged in the same category as luxury and amassed property. (Still,) they did not apply their superiority to worthless things, and they did not abandon the intentions of the religion or the ways of truth.

When trouble arose between 'All and Mu'awiyah as a necessary consequence of group feeling, they were guided in (their dissensions) by the truth and by independent judgment. They did not fight for any worldly purpose or over preferences of no value, or for reasons of personal enmity. This might be suspected, and heretics might like to think so. However, what caused their difference was their independent judgment as to where the truth lay. It was on this matter that each side opposed the point of view of the other. It was for this that they fought. Even though 'Ali was in the right, Mu'awiyah's intentions were not bad ones. He wanted the truth, but he missed (it). Each was

³⁰⁸Qad, from the meaning of "purposefulness" acquires the meaning of "moderation." Both meanings apply here. Cf. p. 354 (n. 99), above.

³⁰⁹Cf. pp. 284 ff., above.

right in so far as his intentions were concerned. Now, the nature of royal authority requires that one person claim all the glory for himself and appropriate it to himself. It was not for Mu'awiyah to deny (the natural requirement of royal authority) to himself and his people. (Royal authority) was a natural thing that group feeling, by its very nature, brought in its train. Even the Umayyads and those of their followers who were not after the truth like Mu'awiyah felt that.³¹⁰ They banded together around him and were willing to die for him. Had Mu'awiyah tried to lead them on another course of action, had he opposed them and not claimed all the power for (himself and them), it would have meant the dissolution of the whole thing that he had consolidated. It was more important to him to keep it together than to bother about (a course of action) that could not entail much criticism.

'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz used to say when(ever) he saw al-Qasim b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr:³¹¹ "If I had anything to say about it, I would appoint him caliph." Had he (really) wanted to appoint him as his successor, he could have done it, but he was afraid of the Umayyads who held the executive authority, for reasons mentioned by us. He was not able to take the power away from them, because to do so would have caused a split. All this was the consequence of the tendencies inherent in royal authority, as the necessary consequence of group feeling.

When royal authority is obtained and we assume that one person has it all for himself, no objection can be raised if he uses it for the various ways and aspects of the truth. Solomon and his father David had the royal authority of the Israelites for themselves, as the nature of royal authority requires, and it is well known how great a share in prophecy and truth they possessed.³¹²

³¹⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 448.

³¹¹A grandson of the caliph Abu Bakr, who died between 720 and 730. For 'Umar's remark, cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, V, 140,1. 12.

³¹²Cf. pp. 392 f. and 417, above.

Likewise, Mu'awiyah appointed Yazid as his successor, because he was afraid of the dissolution of the whole thing, in as much as the Umayyads did not like to see the power handed over to any outsider. Had Mu'awiyah appointed anyone else his successor, the Umayyads would have been against him. Moreover, they had a good opinion of (Yazid). No one could have doubts in this respect, or suspect that it was different with Mu'awiyah.³¹³ He would not have been the man to appoint Yazid his successor, had he believed him to be (really) so wicked. Such an assumption must be absolutely excluded in Mu'awiyah's case.

The same applies to Marwan b. al-Hakam and his son(s). Even though they were kings, their royal ways were not those of worthless men and oppressors. They complied with the intentions of the truth with all their energy, except when necessity caused them to do something (that was worthless). Such (a necessity existed) when there was fear that the whole thing might face dissolution. (To avoid that) was more important to them than any (other) intention. That this was (their attitude) is attested by the fact that they followed and imitated (the early Muslims). It is further attested by the information that the ancients had about their conditions. Malik used the precedent of 'Abd-al-Malik (b. Marwan) as argument in the *Muwatta*.³¹⁴ Marwan belonged to the first class of the men of the second generation, and his excellence is well known.³¹⁵ The sons of 'Abd-al-Malik, then, came into power one after the other. Their outstanding religious attitude is well known.

³¹³The element of Mu'awiyah's opinion concerning Yazid is considered also below, pp. 431 and 434, though it makes the argument here nearly pointless. This fact would remain, were one to translate: ". . . the Umayyads would have been against him, even though they (might have) had a good opinion of him (personally). No one could have doubts in this respect or suspect that Mu'awiyah had other (motives when he appointed Yazid, but the preservation of harmony)." In favor of this translation, one may point to p. 432, I. 15, below, but there are reasons against it.

³¹⁴Cf. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 167 f., but more can be said about Marwan in this connection. Cf. Schacht, pp. 114, 193, 195, 197, 200, and 221. Cf. also Ibn al-'Arabi, *Qawasim (al-'Awasim min al-gawasim)* (Cairo, 1371/1952), pp. 249 f.

³¹⁵Bulaq reads: "who are known for their probity."

'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz reigned in between them. He eagerly and relentlessly aspired to (follow) the ways of the first four caliphs and the men around Muhammad.

Then came the later Umayyads. As far as their worldly purposes and intentions were concerned, they acted as the nature of royal authority required. They forgot the deliberate planning and the reliance upon the truth that had guided the activities of their predecessors. This caused the people to censure their actions and to accept the 'Abbasid propaganda in the place of (the Umayyads'). Thus, the 'Abbasids took over the government. The probity of the 'Abbasids was outstanding. They used their royal authority to further, as far as possible, the different aspects and ways of the truth. (The early 'Abbasids,) eventually, were succeeded by the descendants of ar-Rashid. Among them there were good and bad men. Later on, when the power passed to their descendants, they gave royal authority and luxury their due. They became enmeshed in worldly affairs of no value and turned their backs on Islam. Therefore, God permitted them to be ruined, and (He permitted) the Arabs to be completely deprived of their power, which He gave to others. "God does not do an atom of injustice."³¹⁶ Whoever considers the biographies of these caliphs and their different approaches to truth and worthlessness knows that what we have stated is correct.

Al-Mas'udi³¹⁷ reports a similar judgment concerning the Umayyads on the authority of Abu Ja'far al-Mansur. "When al-Mansur's paternal uncles mentioned the Umayyads in his presence, he said, "Abd-al-Malik was a tyrant who did not care what he did. Sulayman was concerned only with his stomach and with sexual pleasure. 'Umar was a one-eyed man among the blind. Hisham was their man." He continued: "The Umayyads continued to

³¹⁶Qur'an 4.40 (44).

³¹⁷ Cf. *Muruj adh-dhahab*, VI, 161-65. There are some omissions in the quotation but basically it is fairly literal. Cf. also Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd*, II, 276. The story was also cited by Abu Ijammu of Tlemcen, in his *Wasilat as-suluk* (Tunis, 1279/1862-63), p. 128.

hold on to the power that had been established for them and to preserve it, and to protect the power that God had given them. They aspired to lofty matters and rejected base ones. Eventually, the power passed to their wasteful descendants who were only concerned with the gratification of their desires and with sinful pleasures. They were ignorant of God's attitude to sinners, and they felt safe from His punishment. At the same time, they prostituted the caliphate. They made light of the privileges of leadership and showed themselves too weak for political leadership. Therefore, God stripped them of their power. He humiliated them and deprived them of their prosperity."

"Then, 'Abdallah b. Marwan was brought into the presence (of al-Mansur). He had fled from the 'Abbasids and gone to the country of the Nubian king. He now told al-Mansur about an experience he had had with that ruler. He said: I had been staying there a little while when their ruler came to me. He sat down on the ground, although I had valuable carpets spread out (to sit on).³¹⁸ I asked him what it was that prevented him from sitting upon our garments, and he replied, 'I am a ruler, and it behooves every ruler to humble himself before the greatness of God, since God has raised him (to his exalted position).' Then, he asked me why we drank wine, though it is forbidden in our Scripture. I replied: 'Our slaves and followers made bold to do that.' Then he asked why we permitted our animals to ride down the green crops, although destruction is forbidden us in our Scripture. I replied: 'Our slaves and followers did that in their ignorance.' Then, he asked why we wore brocade and gold and silk, although this was forbidden us in our Scripture. I replied: 'We lost our royal authority and accepted the help of non-Arab peoples who adopted our religion. They wore these things against our will.' The Nubian ruler, thereupon, reflected a while. He drew figures on the ground with his hand and said (to himself), 'Our slaves and followers

³¹⁸*Busitat li*, as in Bulaq and A (*busita li*), B, and C. D has *busitat lahu* which means "Valuable carpets had been spread out for him (to sit on)." This agrees with the printed text of al-Mas'udi, but is certainly a mistake as far as the Ibn Khaldun tradition is concerned.

and non-Arabs who adopted our religion ...' Then he raised his head to me and said, 'It is not as you say. No, you are people who have declared (to be) permitted that which had been forbidden you by God. You committed deeds you had been forbidden to do. And you used your royal authority unjustly. Therefore, God stripped you of your power. He humiliated you because of your sins. God is taking a revenge which has not yet finished its full course. I am afraid that you will be punished while you are staying in my country, and that the punishment will then affect me, too. Hospitality lasts three (nights). Therefore, get yourself the provisions you need and leave my country.' Al-Mansur wondered (at that story) and reflected (some time about it)."

It has thus become clear how the caliphate is transformed into royal authority. The form of government in the beginning was a caliphate. Everybody had his restraining influence in himself, that is, (the restraining influence of) Islam. They preferred (Islam) to their worldly affairs, even if (the neglect of worldly affairs) led to their own destruction, while the mass (of the people, at least,) escaped.

When 'Uthman was besieged in his house, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, 'Abdallah b. 'Umar, Ibn Ja'far,³¹⁹ and others came and offered to defend him. But he refused and did not permit swords to be drawn among Muslims. He feared a split and wanted to preserve the harmony that keeps the whole thing intact, even if it could be done only at the cost of his own destruction.

At the beginning of his (term of) office, 'Ali himself was advised by al-Mughirah to leave az-Zubayr, Mu'awiyah, and Talhah in their positions, until the people had agreed to render the oath of allegiance to him and the whole thing was consolidated. After that, he might do what he wanted. That was good power politics. 'Ali, however, refused. He wanted to avoid deceit, because deceit is forbidden by Islam. Al-Mughirah came back to him the

³¹⁹This was one of the three sons of 'Ali's brother, Ja'far b. Abi Tilib, presumably Muhammad, who was implicated in 'Uthmin's death, according to at-Tabari. Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, VII, 176, mentions 'Abdallah b. az-Zubayr in this connection, but makes no reference to Ibn Ja'far.

following morning and said: "I gave you that advice yesterday, but then I reconsidered and realized that it was not right and was not good advice. You were right." 'Ali replied: "Indeed, no. I know that the advice you gave me yesterday was good advice and that you are deceiving me today. However, regard for the truth prevented me from following your good advice (of yesterday)." ³²⁰ To such a degree were these early Muslims concerned with improving their religion at the expense of their worldly affairs, while we patch our worldly affairs by tearing our religion to pieces. Thus, neither our religion lasts nor (the worldly affairs) we have been patching. ^{320a}

It ³²¹ has thus been shown how the form of government came to be royal authority. However, there remained the traits that are characteristic of the caliphate, namely, preference for Islam and its ways, and adherence to the path of truth. A change became apparent only in the restraining influence that had been Islam and now came to be group feeling and the sword. That was the situation in the time of Mu'awiyah, Marwan, his son 'Abd-al-Malik, and the first 'Abbasid caliphs down to ar-Rashid and some of his sons. Then, the characteristic traits of the caliphate disappeared, and only its name remained. The form of government came to be royal authority pure and simple. Superiority attained the limits of its nature and was employed for particular (worthless) purposes, such as the use of force and the arbitrary gratification of desires and for pleasure.

This was the case with the successors of the sons of 'Abd-al-Malik and the 'Abbasids after al-Mu'tasim and al-Mutawakkil. They remained caliphs in name, because the Arab group feeling continued to exist. In these two stages caliphate and royal authority existed side by side. Then, with the dis-

³²⁰Cf. al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 299 ft.

^{320a}The verse is ascribed to Abu l-'Atihyah by Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd.* III, 285, and by ar-Righib al-Ilfahini, *Muhadarat*, I, 325. Other sources introduce it as a verse recited by the famous saint and mystic Ibrhim b. Adham. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun*, II, 330; al-Bayhaqi, *Malasin*, ed. F. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), p. 390; al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'*, III, 155.

³²¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 137 f.

appearance of Arab group feeling and the annihilation of the (Arab) race and complete destruction of (Arabism), the caliphate lost its identity. The form of government remained royal authority pure and simple.

This was the case, for instance, with the non-Arab rulers in the East. They showed obedience to the caliph in order to enjoy the blessings (involved in that), but the royal authority belonged to them with all its titles and attributes. The caliph had no share in it. The same was done by the Zanatah rulers in the Maghrib. The Sinhajah, for instance, had such a relationship with the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), and the Maghrawah and also the Banu Yafran (Ifren) with the Utnayyad caliphs in Spain and the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in al-Qayrawan.

It is thus clear that the caliphate at first existed without royal authority. Then, the characteristic traits of the caliphate became mixed up and confused. Finally, when its group feeling had separated from the group feeling of the caliphate, royal authority came to exist alone.

God determines night and day.³²²

III.27. The meaning of the oath of allegiance.

[p.1:428]

It³²³ should be known that the *bay'ah* (oath of allegiance) is a contract to render obedience. It is as though the person who renders the oath of allegiance made a contract with his amir, to the effect that he surrenders supervision of his own affairs and those of the Muslims to him and that he will not contest his authority in any of (those affairs) and that he will obey him by (executing) all the duties with which he might be charged, whether agreeable or disagreeable.

When people rendered the oath of allegiance to the amir and concluded the contract, they put their hands into his hand to confirm the contract. This

³²²Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

³²³G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes de sociologie*, pp. 74 f.

was considered to be something like the action of buyer and seller (after concluding a sale). Therefore, the oath of allegiance was called *bay'ah*, the infinitive of *ba'a* "to sell (or buy)." The *bay'ah* was a handshake. Such is its meaning in customary linguistic terminology and the accepted usage of the religious law. It also is the meaning of *bay'ahin* the traditions concerning the oath of allegiance rendered to the Prophet on the night of al-'Aqabah and at the Tree,³²⁴ and wherever else the word occurs.

The word is used for "oath of allegiance to the caliphs" and in *ayman al-bay'ah* "declarations (of loyalty) in connection with the oath of allegiance." The caliphs used to exact an oath when the contract was made and collected the declarations (of loyalty) from all Muslims. This then was called *ayman al-bay'ah* "declarations (of loyalty) in connection with the oath of allegiance." It was as a rule obtained by compulsion. Therefore, when Malik pronounced the legal decision that a declaration obtained by compulsion was invalid, the men in power (at the time) disliked (the decision) and considered it an attack upon the declarations (of loyalty) made in connection with the oath of allegiance. The imam (Malik), as a result, suffered his well-known tribulations.³²⁵

The oath of allegiance that is common at present is the royal Persian custom of greeting kings by kissing the earth (in front of them), or their hand, their foot, or the lower hem of their garment. The term *bay'ah*, which means a contract to render obedience, was used metaphorically to denote this (custom), since such an abject form of greeting and politeness is one of the consequences and concomitants of obedience. (The usage) has become so general that it has become customary and has replaced the handshake which was originally used, because shaking hands with everybody meant that the

³²⁴The 'Aqabah was the place where Muhammad met with the Medinese in preparation for his departure from Mecca. The so-called *Bay'at ar-ridwan*, under the tree, took place in 627. Cf. Ibn Hishim, *Sirah*, p. 746.

³²⁵Cf. J. Schacht in *EI*, s.v. "Malik b. Anas."

ruler lowered himself and made himself cheap, things that are detrimental to leadership and the dignity of the royal position. However, (the handshake is practiced) by a very few rulers who want to show themselves humble and who, therefore, themselves shake hands with their nobles and with famous divines among their subjects.

This customary meaning of the oath of allegiance should be understood. A person must know it, because it imposes upon him certain duties toward his ruler and imam. His actions will thus not be frivolous or gratuitous. This should be taken into consideration in one's dealings with rulers.

God "is strong and mighty."³²⁶

III.28. The succession.

[p.1:430]

It should be known that we have been discussing the imamate and mentioned the fact that it is part of the religious law because it serves the (public) interest. (We have stated) that its real meaning is the supervision of the interests of the (Muslim) nation in both their worldly and their religious affairs.³²⁷ (The caliph) is the guardian and trustee of (the Muslims). He looks after their (affairs) as long as he lives. It follows that he should also look after their (affairs) after his death, and, therefore, should appoint someone to take charge of their affairs as he had done (while alive), whom they can trust to look after them as they had trusted him then.

(Such appointment of a successor) is recognized as part of the religious law through the consensus of the (Muslim) nation, (which says) that it is permissible and binding when it occurs. Thus, Abu Bakr appointed 'Umar as his successor in the presence of the men around Muhammad. They considered (this appointment) permissible and considered themselves obliged by it to render obedience to 'Umar. Likewise, 'Umar appointed six persons,

³²⁶ Qur'an 11.66 (69); 42.19 (18).

³²⁷ Cf., for instance, pp. 387 and 399, above.

the remnant of the ten (men to whom Paradise had been guaranteed),³²⁸ to be members of (an electoral) council (*shura*), and he put it up to them to make the choice for the Muslims. Each one deferred to (the judgment) of the next man, until it was the turn of 'Abd-arRahman b. 'Awf. He applied his independent judgment and discussed the matter with the Muslims. He found that they agreed upon 'Uthman and 'Ali. He (himself) preferred 'Uthman as the person to receive the oath of allegiance, because ('Uthman) agreed with him concerning the obligation to follow the example of the two *shaykhs* (Abu Bakr and 'Umar) in every case, without making use of his independent judgment. Thus, 'Uthman was confirmed, and it was considered necessary to obey him. A great number of the men around Muhammad were present on the first and on the second (occasion).³²⁹ None of them expressed the slightest disapproval. This shows that they were agreed upon the correctness of the procedure and recognized its legality. It is recognized that consensus constitutes proof.

No suspicion of the imam is justified in this connection, even if he appoints his father or his son his successor. He is trusted to look after the affairs of the Muslims as long as he lives. He is all the more responsible for not tolerating while he is (alive the possibility that there might arise evil) developments after his death. This is against those who say that (the imam) is suspect with regard to (the appointment of) his son or father, and also against those who consider him suspect with regard to (appointment of) his son only, not his father. In fact, he could hardly be suspected in this respect in any way. Especially if there exists some reason for (the appointment of a successor), such as desire to promote the (public) interest or fear that some

³²⁸ The men of the *shura* were 'Uthman, 'All, Talhah, az-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, and 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. 'Awf. Of the ten men to whom Paradise was guaranteed (cf. n. 165 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above), Sa'id b. Zayd, usually considered to have been one of them, was also still alive when 'Uthman became caliph.

³²⁹ That is, when the appointments of 'Umar and of 'Uthman were decided.

harm might arise (if no successor were appointed), suspicion of the imam is out of the question.

This, for instance, was the case with Mu'awiyah's appointment of his son Yazid.³³⁰ The action met with agreement of the people, and, therefore, is in itself an argument for the problem under discussion (namely, that the imam is not suspect with regard to whomever he might appoint). But Mu'awiyah himself preferred his son Yazid to any other successor, because he was concerned with the (public) interest of preserving unity and harmony among the people, (and realized that he could achieve this purpose only by appointing Yazid), since the men who possessed executive authority, that is, the Umayyads, agreed at that time upon Yazid. The Umayyads were then agreeable to no one except (Yazid). The Umayyads constituted the core (group) of the Quraysh and of all the Muslims, and possessed superiority (Mu'awiyah,) therefore, preferred (Yazid) to anyone else who might have been considered more suited for the caliphate. He passed over the superior person in favor of the inferior one,³³¹ because he desired to preserve agreement and harmony, which is the more important thing in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muhammad). No other motive could be expected of Mu'awiyah. His probity and the fact that he was one of the men around Muhammad preclude any other explanation. The presence of the men around Muhammad on that occasion and their silence are the best argument against doubt in this matter. They were not persons to tolerate the slightest negligence in matters of the truth, nor was Mu'awiyah one of those who are too proud to accept the truth. They were all above that, and their probity precludes it. The fact that 'Abdallah b. 'Umar avoided the issue must be ascribed to his general avoidance of participation in any business, whether permissible or forbidden. He is well known for this (kind of attitude). Ibn az-Zubayr was the only one left to oppose (Mu'awiyah's) appointment, upon which the great mass had

³³⁰ Cf. pp. 422 f., above, and pp. 434 f., below.

³³¹ Cf. p. 405, above.

agreed. Small minorities of persons holding divergent opinions, it is well known, (are treated by jurists as not authoritative).

After Mu'awiyah, caliphs who were used to choose the truth and to act in accordance with it, acted similarly. Such caliphs included the Umayyads 'Abd-al-Malik and Sulayman and the 'Abbasids as-Saffah, al-Mansur, al-Mahdi, and ar-Rashid, and others like them whose probity, and whose care and concern for the Muslims are well known. They cannot be blamed because they gave preference to their own sons and brothers, in that respect departing from the Sunnah of the first four caliphs. Their situation 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 religious. Thus, everybody had his restraining influence in himself. Consequently, they appointed the person who was acceptable to Islam, and preferred him over all others. They trusted everybody who aspired to (the caliphate) to have his own restraining influence.

After them, from Mu'awiyah on, the group feeling (of the Arabs) approached its final goal, royal authority. The restraining influence of religion had weakened. The restraining influence of government and group was needed. If, under those circumstances, someone not acceptable to the group had been appointed as successor (to the caliphate), such an appointment would have been rejected by it. The (chances of the appointee) would have been quickly demolished, and the community would have been split and torn by dissension.

Someone asked 'Ali: "Why do the people disagree concerning you, and why did they not disagree concerning Abu Bakr and 'Umar?" 'Ali replied: "Because Abu Bakr and 'Umar were in charge of men like me, and I today

am in charge of men like you."^{331a} He referred to the restraining influence of Islam.

When al-Ma'mun appointed 'Ali b. Mitsa b. Ja'far as-Sadiq his successor and called him ar-Rida, the 'Abbasids greatly disapproved of the action. They declared invalid the oath of allegiance that had been rendered to al-Ma'mun, and took the oath of allegiance to his uncle Ibrahim b, al-Mahdi. There was so much trouble, dissension, and interruption of communications, and there were so many rebels and seceders, that the state almost collapsed,³³² Eventually, al-Ma'mlin went from Khurasan to Baghdad and brought matters back to their former conditions.

Such (differences as the one just cited between caliphate and royal authority) must be taken into consideration in connection with (the problem of) succession. Times differ according to differences in affairs, tribes, and group feelings, which come into being during those (times). Differences in this respect produce, differences in (public) interests, and each (public interest) has its own particular laws. This is a kindness shown by God to His servants.

However, Islam does not consider preservation of (the ruler's) inheritance for his children the proper purpose in appointing a successor. The (succession to the rule) is something that comes from God who distinguishes by it whomsoever He wishes.

It is necessary in (appointing a successor) to be as wellintentioned as possible. Otherwise, there is danger that one may trifle with religious institutions.

God's is the kingdom (royal authority).³³³ He gives it to those of His servants to whom He wants to give it.

^{331a} Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun*, I, 9, ascribes a similar remark to the caliph 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwin, who said: "Be fair to me, O my subjects. You want me to act like Abu Bakr and 'Umar, while you do not act like the subjects of Abu Bakr and 'Umar...."

³³² Cf. pp. 324 ff, above.

³³³ Cf., for instance, Qur'an 22.56 (55).

There are some matters in this connection which need explanation.

First: There is the wickedness Yazid displayed when he was caliph. One should beware of thinking that Mu'awiyah could have known about it. Mu'awiyah's probity and virtue were too great. While he lived, he censured Yazid for listening to music and forbade him to do it, and (listening to music) is a lesser sin than (Yazid's later wickedness) and is judged differently by the different schools.

When Yazid's well-known wickedness showed itself, the men around Muhammad disagreed about what to do with him. Some were of the opinion that they should revolt against him and declare the oath of allegiance that had been rendered to him invalid on account of (his wickedness). This was the attitude taken by al-Husayn, 'Abdallah b. az-Zubayr, and others. Others rejected that (course of action), because it threatened to stir up a revolt and to cause much bloodshed. In addition, (they knew that) they would be too weak to achieve success. Yazid's strength at that time lay in the Umayyad group feeling and in the Qurashite majority who exercised all executive authority. It was they who controlled the group feeling of all the Mudar. Thus, they possessed greater strength than anyone else, and no resistance to them was possible. Therefore, (the above-mentioned persons knew that they) were not in a position to do anything against Yazid. They prayed that he might find guidance or that they might be relieved of him. This was the course the majority of the Muslims followed. Both parties (of the opposition to Yazid) used their independent judgment. Neither of them may be considered at fault. It is well known that all their intentions were determined by piety and championship of the truth. May God enable us to follow their model.

Second: There is the matter of the appointment of a successor by the Prophet. The Shi'ah claim that Muhammad appointed 'Ali his heir. This is not correct. No leading transmitter of traditions has reported such a thing. It is stated in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih* that Muhammad asked for

³³⁴ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 41; *Handbook*, p. 161a.

ink and paper in order to write his will, and that 'Umar prevented it.³³⁴ This clearly shows that (the appointment of 'Ali as successor) did not take place.

There also is the following statement by 'Umar, made after he had been stabbed and when he was asked about appointing a successor: "Were I to appoint a successor, it would be because someone who is better than I appointed a successor"-meaning Abu Bakr-"and were I not to appoint a successor, it would be because someone who is better than I did not" -meaning the Prophet.³³⁵ And the men around Muhammad were present and agreed with him that the Prophet³³⁶ had not appointed a successor.

There is also the statement of 'Ali to al-'Abbas. Al 'Abbas invited 'All to go in to the Prophet (with him), and they both were to ask the Prophet how they stood with regard to being appointed as his successor. 'All, however, refused and said: "If he keeps us from (the caliphate), we cannot hope ever to get it."³³⁷ This shows that 'All knew that Muhammad had not made a will and had not appointed anyone his successor.

The doubt of the Imamiyah in this matter is caused by the fact that they assume the imamate to be one of the pillars of the faith.³³⁸ This is not so. It is one of the general (public) interests. The people are delegated to take care of it. If it were one of the pillars of the faith, it would be something like prayer, and (Muhammad) would have appointed a representative (caliph), exactly as he appointed Abu Bakr to represent him at prayer. (Had he done so,) it would have become generally known, as was the case with the matter of prayer. That the men around Muhammad considered the caliphate as something analogous to prayer and on the strength of that attitude argued in favor of Abu Bakr's caliphate, saying, "The Messenger of God found him acceptable for our religion. So, why should we not accept him for our

³³⁵As reported in all the historians. Cf., for instance, at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2777; Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 1010.

³³⁶The beginning of this sentence is not found in Bulaq and B, but appears in A, C, and D.

³³⁷ Cf. *Handbook*, p. 1b.

³³⁸ Cf. p. 402, above.

worldly affairs?"³³⁹ is merely another proof of the fact that no appointment of an heir had taken place. It also shows that the question of the imamate and succession to it was not as important then as it is today. Group feeling, which determines unity and disunity in the customary course of affairs, was not of the same significance then (as it was later on). (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 disrupted the customary course of affairs. That happened because people observed with their own eyes the presence of angels to help them, the repeated appearance of heavenly messages among them, and the constant (Qur'anic) recitation of divine pronouncements to them in connection with every happening. Thus, it was not necessary to pay any attention to group feeling. Men generally had the coloring of submissiveness and obedience. They were thoroughly frightened and perturbed by a sequence of extraordinary miracles and other divine happenings, and by frequent visitations of angels.³⁴⁰ Such questions as that of the caliphate, of royal authority, succession, group feeling, and other such matters, were submerged in this turmoil the way it happened.

These helpful (circumstances) passed with the disappearance of miracles and the death of the generations that had witnessed them with their own eyes. The coloring mentioned changed little by little. The impression the wonders had made passed, and affairs took again their ordinary course. The influence of group feeling and of the ordinary course of affairs manifested itself in the resulting good and bad institutions. The (questions of) caliphate and royal authority and that of the succession to both became very important affairs in the opinion of the people. It had not been this way before. It should be noted how unimportant the caliphate was in the time of the Prophet, (so unimportant that) he did not appoint a successor to it. Its importance then increased somewhat during the time of the (early) caliphs because there arose

³³⁹ Cf. also p. 450, below.

³⁴⁰ Cf. p. 444, below.

certain needs in connection with military protection, the holy war, the apostasy (of Arab tribes after Muhammad's death), and the conquests. The (first caliphs) could decide whether they would (appoint successors) or not. We mentioned this on the authority of 'Umar. Subsequently, as at the present time, the matter has become most important in connection with harmony in (military) protection and the administration of public interests. Group feeling has come to play a role in it. (Group feeling is) the secret divine (factor that) restrains people from splitting up and abandoning each other. It is the source of unity and agreement, and the guarantor of the intentions and laws of Islam. When this is understood, God's wise plans with regard to His creation and His creatures will become clear.³⁴¹

Third: There are the wars that took place in Islam among the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation. It should be known that their differences concerned religious matters only, and arose from independent interpretation of proper arguments and considered insights. Differences may well arise among people who use independent judgment. Now, we may say that in the case of problems that are open to independent judgment, the truth can lie only on one side, and that he who does not hit upon it is in error. But, since it has not been clearly indicated by general consensus on which side (the truth lies), every side may be assumed to be right. The side that is in error is not clearly indicated, either. To declare all sides to be at fault is not acceptable according to the general consensus. Again, we may say that all sides have the true answer and that "everybody who uses independent judgment is right."³⁴² Then, it is all the more necessary to deny that any one side was in error or ought to be considered at fault.

The differences between the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation were no more than differences in the independent in-

³⁴¹ The last sentence is not found in Bulaq or Paris.

³⁴²This is a well-known legal maxim. Cf. also J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muslim Jurisprudence*, p. 128.

terpretation of equivocal religious problems, and they have to be considered in this light. Differences of the sort that have arisen in Islam include those (1) between 'All on the one hand, and Mu'awiyah, as well as az-Zubayr, Talhah, and 'A'ishah on the other, (2) between al-Husayn and Yazid, and (3) between Ibn az-Zubayr and 'Abd-al-Malik.

(1) As for the case of 'Ali, (the following may be said:) When 'Uthman was killed, the (important Muslims) were dispersed over the various cities. Thus, they were not present when the oath of allegiance was rendered to 'Ali. Of those who were present, some rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Others, however, waited until the people should come together and agree upon an imam. Among those who waited were, for instance, Sa'd (b. Abi Waggas), Sa'id (b. Zayd), ('Abdallah) b. 'Umar, Usamah b. Zayd, al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah, 'Abdallah b. Salim, Qudamah b. Maz'un, Abu Sa'id (Sa'd b. Malik) al-Khudri, Ka'b b. 'Ujrah, Ka'b b. Malik, an-Nu'man b. Bashir, Hassan b. Thabit, Maslamah b. Makh lad,³⁴³ Fudalah b. 'Ubayd, and other important personalities from among the men around Muhammad. Those who were in the various cities also refrained from rendering the oath of allegiance to 'Ali and were in favor of seeking revenge for 'Uthman, and so they left matters in a state of anarchy. Eventually, the Muslims formed an (electoral) council (shard) to determine whom they should appoint. They suspected 'Ali of negligence when he kept silent and did not help 'Uthman against his murderers, but they did not suspect him of having actually conspired against 'Uthman. That would be unthinkable. When Mu'awiyah openly reproached 'Ali, his accusation was directed exclusively against his keeping silent.

Later on, they had differences. 'Ali was of the opinion that the oath of allegiance that had been rendered to him was binding and obligatory upon those who had not yet rendered it, because the people had agreed upon (rendering the oath) in Medina, the residence of the Prophet and the home of the men around Muhammad. He thought of postponing 'Uthman's revenge

³⁴³Or Mukhallad (?). Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 148.

until unity was established among the people and the whole thing was well organized. Then it would be feasible. Others were of the opinion that the oath of allegiance rendered to 'All was not binding, because the men around Muhammad who controlled the executive power were dispersed all over the world and only a few had been present (when the oath to 'All was rendered). (They thought that) an oath of allegiance requires the agreement of all the men who control the executive power and that there was no obligation to confirm a person who had received it from others or merely from a minority of those men. (Thus, they thought that) the Muslims were at the time in a state of anarchy and should first seek revenge for 'Uthman and then agree upon an imam. This opinion was held by Mu'awiyah, by 'Amr b. al-'As, by the Mother of the Muslims, 'A'ishah, by az-Zubayr and his son 'Abdallah, by Talhah and his son Muhammad, by Sa'd, by Sa'id, by an-Nu'man b. Bashir, by Mu'awiyah b. Hudayj, and by others among the men around Muhammad who followed the opinion of those mentioned and who hesitated, as we have mentioned, to render the oath of allegiance to 'Ali in Medina.

However, the men of the second period after them agreed that the oath of allegiance rendered to 'All had been binding and obligatory upon all Muslims. They considered ('Ali's) opinion the correct one and clearly indicated that the error was on Mu'awiyah's side and on that of those who were of his opinion, especially Talhah and az-Zubayr, who broke with 'Ali after having rendered the oath of allegiance to him, as has been reported. Still, it was not considered acceptable to declare both parties at fault, for such a thing is not done in cases of independent judgment. It is well known that such became the general consensus among the men of the second period as to one of the two opinions held by the men of the first period. 'Ali (himself), when asked about those who had died in the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin, replied: "By God, all of them who die with pure heart will be admitted by

³⁴⁴Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 3167.

God to paradise." He referred to both parties. This remark was reported by at-Tabari and by others.³⁴⁴

The probity of none of these men should be doubted. No aspersion should be cast on them in this connection. It is well known who they were. Their words and deeds are models to be followed. Their probity is perfect, in the view of orthodox Muslim opinion. The only exception would be a statement by the Mu'tazilah with regard to those who fought 'Ali,³⁴⁵ but no true believer pays attention to this statement or stoops to consider it seriously. He who looks at the matter impartially will find excusable, not only the differences among all the people (the Muslims) with regard to the affair of 'Uthman, but also all the subsequent differences among the men around Muhammad. He will realize that (these quarrels) were temptations inflicted by God upon the Muslim nation, while He vanquished the enemies of the Muslims and made the Muslims rulers of the lands and country of their enemies, and while they established cities in the border territories, in al-Basrah and al-Kufah (the 'Iraq), in Syria, and in Egypt.

Most of the Arabs who settled in those cities were uncivilized. They had made little use of the Prophet's company and had not been improved by his way of life and manners, nor had they been trained in his qualities of character. Moreover, they had been uncivilized in pre-Islamic times, had been possessed by group feeling and overbearing pride, and had been remote from the soothing influence of the faith. When the (Muslim) dynasty came to be powerful, (these Arabs) were dominated by (Meccan) emigrants and (Medinese) Ansar, belonging to the Quraysh, the Kinanah, the Thaqif, the Hudhayl, and the inhabitants of the Hijaz and Yathrib (Medina), who had been first to adopt the faith of Islam. They were scornful and disliked the situation. They saw that they themselves possessed the older pedigree and the greater numerical strength, and that they had beaten the Persians and

³⁴⁵In general, the Mu'tazilah held to the theory that both parties were wrong. Cf. H. S. Nyberg in EI, s.v. "al-Mu'tazila."

Byzantines. They belonged to such tribes as the Bakr b. Wa'il, the 'Abd-al-Qays b. Rabi'ah, the Kindah and the Azd of the Yemen, the Tamim and the Qays of the Mudar, among others. They grew scornful of the Quraysh and overbearing against them. They weakened in their obedience to them. They gave as the reason for their (attitude) the unjust treatment they received from them. They sought protection against them. They accused them (the Quraysh, etc.) of being too weak for military expeditions and of being unfair in distributing (the booty).

These complaints spread and reached the Medinese with their well-known attitude. They considered the matter important and informed 'Uthman about it. He sent to the cities to get reliable information. He sent ('Abdallah) b. 'Umar, Muhammad b. Maslamah, Usamah b. Zayd, and others. They noticed nothing in the (conduct of the) amirs (of the cities) that might call for disapproval, and found no fault with them. They reported the situation (to 'Uthman) as they saw it. But the accusations on the part of the inhabitants of the cities did not stop. The slanderous stories and rumors grew continually. Al-Walid b. 'Uqbah, the governor of al-Kufah, was accused of drinking wine. A large number of Kufians testified against him, and 'Uthman punished him (as required by the religious law) and deposed him. Then, some of the people of those cities came to Medina to ask for the removal of the governors. They complained to 'All, 'A'ishah, az-Zubayr, and Talhah. 'Uthman deposed some of the governors, but the people still continued their criticisms. Then, Sa'id b. al-'As, the governor of al-Kufah, went on a mission (to 'Uthman). When he returned, he was intercepted by (the Kufians) on the road and sent back deposed. Then differences broke out between 'Uthman and the men around Muhammad who were with him in Medina. They resented his refusal to depose (his officials), but he did not want to (depose them) except for cause.

They then shifted their disapproval to other actions of ('Uthman's). He followed his own independent judgment, and they did the same. Then, a

mob banded together and went to Medina, ostensibly in order to obtain redress of their grievances from 'Uthman. In fact, they thought of killing him. There were people from al-Basrah, al-Kufah, and Egypt among them. `Ali, 'A'ishah, az-Zubayr, Talhah, and others took their side, attempting to quiet things down and to get 'Uthman to accept their view of the situation. He deposed the governor of Egypt, and the people who had come to Medina left, but then, after having gone only a short distance, they came back. They had been deceived, they believed, by a forged letter which they had found in the hand of a messenger who was carrying it to the governor of Egypt. (The letter stated) that they were to be killed (upon their return to Egypt). 'Uthman swore that (the letter was not genuine), but they said: "Let us have your secretary Marwan." Marwan, too, swore (that he had not written the letter). Then 'Uthman said: "No more evidence is needed." Thereupon, however, they besieged 'Uthman in his house. They fell upon him in the night when (his defenders) were not careful, and killed him. That opened the door to the (ensuing) trouble.

All the (persons involved in the affair of 'Uthman) can be excused in connection with the occurrence. All of them were concerned with Islam and were not neglectful with regard to any aspect connected with the Muslim religion. After the event, they considered the matter and applied their independent judgment. God observes their circumstances. He knows these men. We can only think the best of them. What we know about their conditions, as well as the statements of the Speaker of the Truth (Muhammad praising those men), require us to do so.

(2) As to (the case of) al-Husayn, (the following may be said:) When the great mass of Yazid's contemporaries saw his wickedness, the Shi'ah in al-Kufah invited al-Husayn to come to them, saying that they would take his side. Al-Husayn was of the opinion that a revolt against Yazid was clearly indicated as a duty, because of his wickedness. (That duty, he felt,) was especially incumbent upon those who had the power to execute it. He felt that

he had (that power) in view of his qualifications and strength. His qualifications were as good as he thought, and better. But, regrettably enough, he was mistaken with regard to his strength. The group feeling of the Mudar was in the Quraysh, that of the Quraysh in `Abd-Manaf, and that of 'Abd-Manaf in the Umayyads. The Quraysh and all the others conceded this fact and were not ignorant of it. At the beginning of Islam, it had been forgotten. People were diverted by fearful wonders and by the Revelation, and by frequent visitations of angels in aid of the Muslims.³⁴⁶ Thus, they had neglected their customary affairs, and the group feeling and aspirations of pre-Islamic times had disappeared and were forgotten. Only the natural group feeling, serving the purpose of military protection and defense, had remained and was used to advantage in the establishment of Islam and the fight against the polytheists. The religion became well established in (this situation). The customary course of affairs was inoperative, until prophecy and the terrifying wonders stopped. Then, the customary course of affairs resumed to some degree. Group feeling reverted to its former status and came back to those to whom it had formerly belonged. In consequence of their previous state of obedience, the Mudar became more obedient to the Umayyads than to others.

Thus, al-Husayn's error has become clear. It was, however, an error with respect to a worldly matter, where an error does not do any harm.³⁴⁷ From the point of view of the religious law, he did not err, because here everything depended on what he thought, which was that he had the power to (revolt against Yazid). Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn az-Zubayr, Ibn 'Umar, (al-Husayn's) brother Ibn al-Hanafiyah, and others, criticized (al-Husayn) because of his trip to al-Kufah. They realized his mistake, but he did not desist from the enterprise he had begun, because God wanted it to be so.

The men around Muhammad other than al-Husayn, in the Hijaz and with Yazid in Syria and in the 'Iraq, and their followers, were of the opin-

³⁴⁶ Cf. p. 437, above.

³⁴⁷ And has no consequence upon one's welfare in the other world.

ion that a revolt against Yazid, even though he was wicked, would not be permissible, because such a revolt would result in trouble and bloodshed. They refrained from it and did not follow al-Husayn (in his opinion), but they also did not disapprove of him and did not consider him at fault. For he had independent judgment, being the model of all who ever had independent judgment. One should not fall into the error of declaring these people to be at fault because they opposed al-Husayn and did not come to his aid. They constituted the majority of the men around Muhammad. They were with Yazid, and they were of the opinion that they should not revolt against him. Al-Husayn, fighting at Kerbela', asked them to attest to his excellence and the correctness of his position. He said: "Ask Jabir b. 'Abdallah, Abu Sa'id (al-Khudri), Anas b. Malik, Sahl b. Sa'd, Zayd b. Arqam, and others."³⁴⁸ Thus, he did not disapprove of their not coming to his help. He did not interfere in this matter, because he knew that they were acting according to their own independent judgment. For his part, he also acted according to independent judgment.

Likewise, one should not fall into the error of declaring that his murder was justified because (it also) was the result of independent judgment, even if (one grants that) he (on his part) exercised the (correct)³⁴⁹ independent judgment. This, then, would be a situation comparable to that of Shafi'ites and Malikites applying their legal punishment for drinking date liquor (*nabhdh*)³⁵⁰ to Hanafites. It should be known that the matter is not so. The independent judgment of those men did not involve fighting against al-Husayn, even if it involved opposition to his revolt. Yazid and the men around him³⁵¹ were the only ones who (actually) fought against (al-Husayn). It should not

³⁴⁸ Cf. at-Tabarī, *Annales*, II, 329. The argument is that if al-Husayn had disapproved of the attitude of these men, he would not have referred to their opinion of him as authoritative.

³⁴⁹ The word "correct" is found in C but deleted there. It appears in D.

³⁵⁰ Cf. n. 98 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

³⁵¹ That is, Yazid's henchmen, who are to be distinguished from the men around Muhammad who were with Yazid.

be said that if Yazid was wicked and yet these (men around Muhammad) did not consider it permissible to revolt against him, his actions were in their opinion binding and right. It should be known that only those actions of the wicked are binding that are legal. The (authorities) consider it a condition of fighting evildoers that any such fighting be undertaken with a just ('*adil*) imam. This does not apply to the question under consideration. Thus, it was not permissible to fight against al-Husayn with Yazid or on Yazid's behalf. In matter of fact, (Yazid's fight against al-Husayn) was one of the actions that confirmed his wickedness. Al-Husayn, therefore, was a martyr who will receive his reward. He was right, and he exercised independent judgment. The men around Muhammad who were with Yazid³⁵² were also right, and they exercised independent judgment. Judge Abu Bakr b. al-'Arabi al-Maliki³⁵³ erred when he made the following statement in his book *al-Qawasim wa-l-'Awasim*: "Al-Husayn was killed according to the law of his grandfather (Muhammad)." Ibn al-'Arabi fell into that error because he overlooked the condition of the "just ('*adil*) imam" which governs the fighting against sectarians.

(3) Ibn az-Zubayr felt about his revolt as al-Husayn had (about his). He was under the same impression (as al-Husayn regarding his qualifications). But his error with regard to his power was greater (than that of al-Husayn). The Bane Asad were no match for the Umayyads in either pre-Islamic or Islamic times. It does not apply in the case of Ibn Zubayr, as it does in the case of Mu'awiyah against 'Ali, that the error is expressly indicated to lie on his opponent's side. In (the case of Mu'awiyah against 'Ali),

³⁵²Who did not help al-Husayn but did not do the actual fighting, the guilt for which rests only upon Yazid and his henchmen.

³⁵³Mubammad b. 'Abdallah, 469-546 [1076/77-1148]. Cf. GAL, I, 412 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 632 f., 792 f. Cf. also below, n. 1123 to Ch. vi, and 3:303. The statement shocked some later scholars; cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 299. It is contained in the selection from Ibn al-'Arabi's work published under the title of *al-'Awalim min al-gawasim* (Cairo, 1971/1952), p. 292.

the general consensus has decided the question for us.³⁵⁴ In (the case of Ibn az-Zubayr), we do not have (a general consensus). The fact that Yazid was in error was expressly indicated by the fact of Yazid's wickedness, but 'Abd-al-Malik, who had to deal with Ibn az-Zubayr, possessed greater probity than anybody else. It is sufficient proof of his probity that Malik used 'Abd-al-Malik's actions as proof,³⁵⁵ and that Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn 'Umar rendered the oath of allegiance to 'Abd-al-Malik and left Ibn az-Zubayr with whom they had been together in the Hijaz. Furthermore, many of the men around Muhammad were of the opinion that the oath of allegiance rendered to Ibn az-Zubayr was not binding, because the men who held the executive power were not present, as (they had been) when it was rendered to ('Abd-al-Malik's father) Marwan. Ibn az-Zubayr held the opposite opinion. However, all of them were using independent judgment and were evidently motivated by the truth, even though it is not expressly indicated to have been on one side. Our discussion shows that the killing of Ibn az-Zubayr did not conflict with the basic principles and norms of jurisprudence. Nonetheless, he is a martyr and will receive his reward, because of his (good) intentions and the fact that he chose the truth.

This is the manner in which the actions of the ancient Muslims, the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, have to be judged. They were the best Muslims. If we permitted them to be the target of slander, who could claim probity! The Prophet said: "The best men are those of my generation, then those who follow them," repeating the latter sentence two or three times-"Then, falsehood will spread."³⁵⁶ Thus, he considered goodness, that is, probity, a quality peculiar to the first period and to the one that followed it.

³⁵⁴Cf. p. 440, above.

³⁵⁵Cf. p. 423, above.

³⁵⁶Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 416; IV, 124. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 256.33, Cf. G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes ...*, pp. 76-85.

One should beware of letting one's mind or tongue become used to criticizing any of (the ancient Muslims). One's heart should not be tempted by doubts concerning anything that happened in connection with them. One should be as truthful as possible in their behalf. They deserve it most. They never differed among themselves except for good reasons. They never killed or were killed except in a holy war, or in helping to make some truth victorious.

It should further be believed that their differences were a source of divine mercy for later Muslims, so that every (later Muslim) can take as his model the old Muslim of his choice and make him his imam, guide, and leader. If this is understood, God's wise plans with regard to His creation and creatures will become clear.

III.29. The functions of the religious institution of the caliphate.

[p.1:448]

It³⁵⁷ has become clear that to be caliph in reality means acting as substitute for the Lawgiver (Muhammad) with regard to the preservation of the religion and the political leadership of the world.³⁵⁸ The Lawgiver was concerned with both things, with religion in his capacity as the person commanded to transmit the duties imposed by the religious laws to the people and to cause them to act in accordance with them, and with worldly political leadership in his capacity as the person in charge of the (public) interests of human civilization.

We have mentioned before that civilization is necessary to human beings and that care for the (public) interests connected with it is likewise (something necessary), if mankind is not to perish of neglect.³⁵⁹ We have also mentioned before that royal authority and its impetus suffice to create

³⁵⁷ Cf. G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes ...*, pp. 76-85.

³⁵⁸ Cf. p. 588, above.

³⁵⁹ Cf. pp. 89 ff., above.

(the institutions serving) the (public) interest,³⁶⁰ although they would be more perfect if they were established through religious laws, because (the religious law) has a better understanding of the (public) interests.

Royal authority, if it be Muslim, falls under the caliphate and is one of its concomitants. (The royal authority) of a non-Muslim nation stands alone. But in any case, it has its subordinate ranks and dependent positions which relate to particular functions. The people of the dynasty are given (particular) positions, and each one of them discharges (the duties of) his position as directed by the ruler who controls them all. Thus, the power of the ruler fully materializes, and he is well able to discharge his governmental (duties).

Even though the institution of the caliphate includes royal authority in the sense mentioned, its religious character brings with it special functions and ranks peculiar to the Muslim caliphs. We are going to mention the religious functions peculiar to the caliphate, and we shall come back later on to the functions of royal government.³⁶¹

It should be known that all the religious functions of the religious law, such as prayer, the office of judge, the office of mufti, the holy war, and market supervision (*hisbah*) fall under the "great imamate,"³⁶² which is the caliphate. (The caliphate) is a kind of great mainspring and comprehensive basis, and all these (functions) are branches of it and fall under it because of the wide scope of the caliphate, its active interest in all conditions of the Muslim community, both religious and worldly, and its general power to execute the religious laws relative to both (religious and worldly affairs).

(The leadership of prayer)

The leadership of prayer is the highest of (all) these functions and higher than royal authority as such, which, like (prayer), falls under the caliphate. This is attested by the (circumstance) that the men around Muhammad de-

³⁶⁰ Cf., for instance, pp. 886 ff., above.

³⁶¹ Cf. 2:1 ff., below.

³⁶² Cf. p. 388, above.

duced from the fact that Abu Bakr had been appointed (Muhammad's) representative as prayer leader, the fact that he had also been appointed his representative in political leadership. They said: "The Messenger of God found him acceptable for our religion. So, why should we not accept him for our worldly affairs?"³⁶³ If prayer did not rank higher than political leadership, the analogical reasoning would not have been sound.

If this is established, it should be known that city mosques are of two kinds, great spacious ones which are prepared for holiday³⁶⁴ prayers; and other, minor ones which are restricted to one section of the population or one quarter of the city and which are not for the generally attended prayers. Care of the great mosques rests with the caliph or with those authorities, wazirs, or judges, to whom he delegates it. A prayer leader for each mosque is appointed for the five daily prayers, the Friday service, the two festivals, the eclipses of (the sun and the moon), and the prayer for rain. This (arrangement) is obligatory only in the sense that it is preferable and better. It also serves the purpose of preventing the subjects from usurping one of the duties of the caliphs connected with the supervision of the general (public) interests. The (arrangement) is considered necessary by those who consider the Friday service necessary, and who, therefore, consider it necessary to have a prayer leader appointed.

Administration of the mosques that are restricted to one section of the population or to one quarter of the city rests with those who live nearby. These mosques do not require the supervision of a caliph or ruler.

The laws and conditions governing the office of (prayer leader) and the person entrusted with it are known from the law books. They are well explained in the books on administration (*al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*) by al-Mawardi³⁶⁵ and other authors. We shall not, therefore, mention them at any

³⁶³ Cf. p. 436, above.

³⁶⁴ For *mashhud*, cf. n. 139 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, and n. 162 to this chapter, above.

³⁶⁵ `Ali b. Muhammad, ca. 985-1068. Cf. GAL, I, 386; *Suppl.*, I, 668 f.

length. The first caliphs did not delegate the leadership of prayer. The fact that certain of the caliphs were stabbed in the mosque during the call to prayer, being expected (by the assassins to be there) at the prayer times, shows that the caliphs personally led the prayer and were not represented by others. This custom was continued by the Umayyads later on. They considered it their exclusive privilege and a high office to lead the prayer. The story goes that 'Abd-alMalik said to his doorkeeper (*hajib*): "I have given you the office of keeper of my door, (and you are entitled to turn away anyone) save these three persons: the person in charge of food, because it might spoil if kept back; the person in charge of the call to prayer, because he calls the people to God; and the person in charge of the mails, because delaying the mail might mean the ruin of the remote provinces."³⁶⁶

Later, when the nature of royal authority, with its qualities of harshness and unequal treatment of the people in their religious and worldly affairs, made itself felt, (the rulers) chose men to represent them as prayer leaders. They reserved for themselves the leadership of prayer at certain times and on general (festive) occasions, such as the two holidays and the Friday service. This was for purposes of display and ostentation. Many of the 'Abbasid and 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) (caliphs) did this at the beginning of their respective dynasties.

(The office of mufti)

As to the office of mufti, the caliph must examine the religious scholars and teachers and entrust it only to those who are qualified for it. He must help them in their task, and he must prevent those who are not qualified for the office from (becoming muftis). (The office of mufti) is one of the

³⁶⁶ Cf. also 2:9, below. A related story is told about Ziyad b. Abihi, governor of the 'Iraq under Mu'awiyah, by al-Jahiz; cf. *Fi l-hijab*, ed. H. as-Sandubi, in *Rasa'il al-Jahiz*; (Cairo, 1352/1933), p. 158. "The person in charge of the mails" is replaced there by the one in charge of a frontier region, and a fourth category is added, the person who comes at night and can, therefore, be expected to bring urgent news. Cf. also al-'Askari, *Awa'il*, Paris, MS. Ar. 5986, fol. 121b, and ar-Righib al-Isfahani, *Muhadarat*, I, 130.

(public) interests of the Muslim religious community. (The caliph) has to take care, lest unqualified persons undertake to act as (mufti) and so lead the people astray.

Teachers have the task of teaching and spreading religious knowledge and of holding classes for that purpose in the mosques. If the mosque is one of the great mosques under the administration of the ruler, where the ruler looks after the prayer leaders, as mentioned before, teachers must ask the ruler for permission to (teach there). If it is one of the general mosques, no permission is needed. However, teachers and muftis must have some restraining influence in themselves that tells them not to undertake something for which they are not qualified, so that they may not lead astray those who ask for the right way or cause to stumble those who want to be guided. A tradition says: "Those of you who most boldly approach the task of giving *fatwas* are most directly heading toward hell."³⁶⁷ The ruler, therefore, has supervision over (muftis and teachers) and can give, or deny, them permission to exercise their functions, as may be required by the public interest.

(The office of judge)

The office of judge is one of the positions that come under the caliphate. It is an institution that serves the purpose of settling suits and breaking off disputes and dissensions. It proceeds, however, along the lines of the religious laws laid down by the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Therefore, it is one of the positions that belongs to the caliphate and falls under it generally.

At the beginning of Islam, the caliphs exercised the office of judge personally. They did not permit anyone else to function as judge in any matter. The first caliph to charge someone else with exercise of (the office of judge)

³⁶⁷ Cf. *Concordance*, I, 333b, I. 16. For the quotation and the preceding remarks, cf. also the last section of the sixteenth chapter of al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, p. 180. Cf., further, ar-Righib al-Igfahani, *Muhadarat*, I, 80.

was 'Umar. He appointed Abu d-Darda³⁶⁸ to be judge with him in Medina, he appointed Shurayh as judge in al-Basrah, and Abu Musa al-Ash'ari as judge in al-Kufah. On appointing (Abu Musa), he wrote him the famous letter that contains all the laws that govern the office of judge, and is the basis of them. He says in it:³⁶⁹

Now, the office of judge is a definite religious duty and a generally followed practice.

Understand the depositions that are made before you, for it is useless to consider a plea that is not valid.

Consider all the people equal before you in your court and in your attention, so that the noble will not expect you to be partial and the humble will not despair of justice from you.

The claimant must produce evidence; from the defendant, an oath may be exacted.

Compromise is permissible among Muslims, but not any agreement through which something forbidden would be permitted, or something permitted forbidden.

If you gave judgment yesterday, and today upon reconsideration come to the correct opinion, you should not feel prevented by your first judgment from retracting; for justice is primeval, and it is better to retract than to persist in worthlessness.

³⁶⁸ His name is said to have been 'Uwaymir b. Zayd. For Shurayb, cf. n. 33 to Ch. n, above, and for Abu Musa, n. 304 to this chapter, above. For the three judges mentioned here, see also R. J. H. Gottheil's edition of al-Kindi, *The History of the Egyptian Judges* (Paris, etc., 1908), p. vi. Other sources give other names in this connection.

³⁶⁹ For the document, which has been shown to be pseudepigraphical, cf. Gottheil, pp. vii f.; D. S. Margoliouth in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1910), pp. 307-26; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, 11, 569; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, I, 23 f., 106-113. It is also quoted in Ibn Hamdun, *Tadhkirah*, Topkapusaray, MS. Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. I, fols. 125b-126a; and Ibn Ukhuwwah, *Ma'alim al-qurbah*, pp. 202 f. Cf., further, C. Pellat, *Le Milieu balrien et la formation de Gahiz*; (Paris, 1953), pp. 283 f.

Use your brain about matters that perplex you and to which neither Qur'an nor Sunnah seem to apply. Study similar cases and evaluate the situation through analogy with those similar cases.

If a person brings a claim, which he may or may not be able to prove, set a time limit for him. If he brings proof within the time limit, you should allow his claim, otherwise you are permitted to give judgment against him. This is the better way to forestall or clear up any possible doubt.

All Muslims are acceptable as witnesses against each other, except such as have received a punishment³⁷⁰ provided for by the religious law, such as are proved to have given false witness, and such as are suspected (of partiality) on (the ground of) client status or relationship, for God, praised be He, forgives because of oaths [?] ³⁷¹ and postpones (punishment) in face of the evidence.

Avoid fatigue and weariness and annoyance at the litigants.

For establishing justice in the courts of justice, God will grant you a rich reward and give you a good reputation. Farewell.

End of 'Umar's letter.

Although the personal exercise of the office of judge was to have been the task of (the caliphs), they entrusted others with it because they were too busy with general politics and too occupied with the holy war, conquests, defense of the border regions, and protection of the center. These were things which could not be undertaken by anyone else because of their great importance. They considered it an easy matter to act as judge in litigation among the people and, therefore, had themselves represented by others in the exercise of (the office of judge), so as to lighten their own (burden). Still, they

³⁷⁰ Lit., "received stripes as ..."

³⁷¹This translation is similar to the one given by Surdon and Bercher: "God forgives when sworn testimony is rendered." That is, oaths and evidence should be treated with the greatest respect, because they are considered decisive in God's eyes. However, we would expect the preposition *min* in this case, instead of *an*. The other translators follow the simpler text of the other sources, reading "God alone knows the hidden thoughts."

always entrusted the office only to people who shared in their group feeling either through (common) descent or their status as clients. They did not entrust it to men who were not close to them in this sense.

The laws and conditions that govern the institution (of the judiciary) are known from works on jurisprudence and, especially, from books on administration (*al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*). In the period of the caliphs, the duty of the judge was merely to settle suits between litigants. Gradually, later on, other matters were referred to them more and more often as the preoccupation of the caliphs and rulers with high policy grew. Finally, the office of judge came to include, in addition to the settling of suits, certain general concerns of the Muslims, such as supervision of the property of insane persons, orphans, bankrupts, and incompetents who are under the care of guardians; supervision of wills and mortmain donations and of the marrying of marriageable women without guardians (*wall*) to give them away³⁷² according to the opinion of some authorities; supervision of (public) roads and buildings; examination of witnesses, attorneys, and court substitutes,³⁷³ to acquire complete knowledge and full acquaintance relative to their reliability or unreliability. All these things have become part of the position and duties of a judge.

Former caliphs had entrusted the judge with the supervision of torts.³⁷⁴ This is a position that combines elements both of government power and judicial discretion. It needs a strong hand and much authority to subdue the evildoer and restrain the aggressor among two litigants. In a way, it serves to do what the judges and others are unable to do. It is concerned with the examination of evidence, with punishments not foreseen by the religious law,

³⁷²One of the fundamental requirements for marriage in Islamic law is that the bride must have a wall, usually the father or another close relative, to give her away. D adds another phrase before this, namely, "the marrying of marriageable Muslim girls," apparently because the word translated above as "marriageable women" (*ayama*) was understood in its usual meaning of "widows."

³⁷³These are three classes of court officials, for whose appointment the judge is responsible.

³⁷⁴For the *mazalim*, cases for which the religious law does not provide, cf. p. xlviiii, above.

with the use of indirect and circumstantial evidence, with the postponement of judgment until the legal situation has been clarified, with attempts to bring about reconciliation between litigants, and with the swearing in of witnesses. This is a wider field than that with which the judges are concerned.

The first caliphs exercised that function personally until the days of the 'Abbasid al-Muhtadi. Often, they also delegated it to their judges. 'All,³⁷⁵ for instance, (delegated torts) to his judge, Abu Idris al-Khawlani;³⁷⁶ al-Ma'mun to Yahya b. Aktham;³⁷⁷ and al-Mu'tasim to Ibn Abi Du'id.³⁷⁸ They also often entrusted the judges with leadership of the holy war in summer campaigns. Yahyi b. Aktham thus went on a summer campaign against the Byzantines in the days of al-Ma'mun. The same was done by Mundhir b. Sa'id,³⁷⁹ judge under the Spanish Umayyad 'Abd-ar-Rahman an-Nasir. Making appointments to these functions was the task of the caliphs or of those to whom they entrusted it, such as a minister to whom full powers were delegated, or a ruler who had gained superiority.

(The police)

In the 'Abbasid dynasty and in the dynasties of the Umayyads in Spain and under the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Egypt and the Maghrib, the control of crimes and imposition of punishments required by the religious law was also a special (task) and was delegated to the chief of police (*sahib ash shur-tah*).³⁸⁰ The police is another religious function that under these dynasties belonged to the positions connected with the religious law. Its field is some-

³⁷⁵Bulaq: 'Umar.

³⁷⁶His name is supposed to have been 'A'idh-Allah b. 'Abdallah. Cf., for instance, Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 85 ff.

³⁷⁷Cf. n. 101 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above. The campaign referred to is probably the one mentioned by at-Tabari, *Annales*, II, 1104, *anno*216 [831].

³⁷⁸Ahmad b. Abi Du'ad died in 240 [854]. Cf. at-Tabari, III, 1421.

³⁷⁹Born in 273 [886/87], Mundhir died in 355 [966]. Cf. Ibn al-Faraj, *Ta'rikh'ulama' al-Andalus* (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 8) (Madrid, 1890-92), II, 17 f.

³⁸⁰Cf. 2:35 ff., below.

what wider than that of the office of judge. It makes it possible for suspects to be brought into court. It decides upon preventive punishments before crimes have been committed. It imposes the punishments required by the religious law where they are due, and determines compensation in cases of bodily injury where the law of talion applies. It imposes punishments not provided for by the religious law, and provides for corrective measures against those who did not execute the crimes (they planned).

The proper functions of the police and of torts were forgotten during the dynasties in which the nature of the caliphate was no longer remembered. Torts were transferred to the ruler whether he had been delegated by the caliph to take care of them or not. The police function was split into two parts. One of them was that of taking care of suspects, imposing the punishments required by the religious law, and amputating (criminals condemned for crimes punished by the amputation of a limb), and seeing to it that the laws of talion were applied where appropriate. For these duties, the dynasties appointed an official who exercised his office in the service of the political (establishment) without reference to the religious laws. (That official) was sometimes called *wall* (governor), and sometimes *shurtah* (police). The remaining (former police functions dealt with) punishments not provided for by the religious law and the imposition of punishments for crimes fixed by the religious law. They were combined with the functions of judge previously mentioned. They became part of the official duties of the office (of judge), and have so remained down to this time.

This position was taken away from the people who shared in the group feeling of the dynasty. When there was a religious caliphate, the caliph entrusted the function, since it was a religious office, only to Arabs or to clients-allies, slaves, or followers-who shared in their group feeling and upon whose ability and competence to execute the tasks they could rely.

When the character and appearance of the caliphate changed and royal and government authority took over, the religious functions lost to some

degree their connection with (the powers in control), in as much as they did not belong among the titles and honors of royal authority. The Arabs later on lost all control of the government. Royal authority fell to Turkish and Berber nations. These caliphal functions, as far as their character and the group feeling that belonged to them was concerned, were even more remote from them (than from their predecessors). This was because the Arabs had been of the opinion that the religious law was their religion and that the Prophet was one of them and that his religious laws distinguished them in their thought and action from the (other) nations. The non-Arabs did not think that way. If they had some respect for (these functions) it was merely because they had become Muslims. Therefore, they came to entrust them to men outside their own group who had become familiar with (these functions) in the dynasties of former caliphs. Under the influence of the luxury of the dynasties to which they had been accustomed for hundreds of years, these people had forgotten the old desert period and desert toughness. They had acquired (the habits of) sedentary culture, luxurious customs, tranquility, and lack of ability to take care of themselves. In the kingdoms that succeeded the (rule of the) caliphs, the functions of the caliphate became the prerogative of this kind of urban weakling. They were no longer exercised by people of prestige, but by persons whose qualifications were limited, both by their descent (which was different from that of the men in power) and by the (habits of) sedentary culture to which they had become accustomed. They were despised as sedentary people are, who live submerged in luxury and tranquility, who have no connection with the group feeling of the ruler, and who depend on being protected (by others). Their position in the dynasty derives from the fact that (the dynasty) takes care of the Muslim religious community and follows the religious laws, and that these persons know the laws and can interpret them through legal decisions (*fatwa*). They have no standing in the dynasty because they are honored as personalities. Their standing merely reflects an affectation of respect for their position in

the royal councils, where it is desired to make a show of reverence for the religious ranks. They do not have executive authority to make decisions in (these councils). If they participate in (the making of decisions), it is just as a matter of form, with no reality behind it. Executive authority in reality belongs to those who have the power to enforce (their decisions). Those who do not have the power (to enforce their decisions) have no executive authority. They are merely used as authorities on religious law, and their legal decisions (*fatwa*) are accepted. This is indeed the fact. God gives success.

Some scholars think that this is not right, and that rulers who keep jurists and judges out of (their) councils act wrongly, since Muhammad said, "The scholars are the heirs of the prophets."³⁸¹ However, it should be known that it is not as (such scholars) thinks³⁸² Royal and governmental authority is conditioned by the natural requirements of civilization; were such not the case, it would have nothing to do with politics. The nature of civilization does not require that (jurists and scholars) have any share (in authority). Advisory and executive authority belongs only to the person who controls the group feeling and is by it enabled to exercise authority, to do things or not do them. Those who do not have group feeling, who have no control over their own affairs, and who cannot protect themselves, are dependent upon others. How, then, could they participate in councils, and why should their advice be taken into consideration? Their advice as derived from their knowledge of the religious laws (is taken into consideration) only in so far as they are consulted for legal decisions (*fatwa*). Advice on political matters is not their province, because they have no group feeling and do not know the conditions and laws which govern (group feeling). To pay honor to (jurists and scholars) is an act of kindness on the part of rulers and amirs. It

³⁸¹Cf. *Handbook*, p. 234a. One ought not to be surprised to find this tradition constantly quoted in scholarly works.

³⁸²Cf. 5:314 f., below.

testifies to their high regard for Islam and to their respect for men who are in any way concerned with it.

To understand Muhammad's statement, "The scholars are the heirs of the prophets," it should be realized that the jurists of this time and of the recent past have represented the religious law mainly by ruling on ritual practices and questions of mutual dealings (among Muslims). They make (such rulings) for those who need them to be able to act in accordance with them. This has been the goal of (even) the greatest among (them). They are identified with (the religious law) only to a limited extent (and are known to be experts in it only) under certain conditions. The early Muslims, as well as pious and austere Muslims, on the other hand, represented the religious law in (all its aspects) and were identified with (all of) it and known to have had a thorough (practical) knowledge of its ways. People who represent the religious law without (recourse to the process of) transmission, may (be called) "heirs." Such, for instance, were the men mentioned in al-Qushayri's *Risalah*.³⁸³ People who combine the two things³⁸⁴ are religious scholars, the real "heirs," such as the jurists among the men of the second generation, the ancient Muslims, and the four imams,³⁸⁵ as well as those who took them as models and followed in their steps. In the case of a Muslim who has only one of the two things, the better claim to be called an "heir" goes to a pious person rather than to a jurist who is not pious. The pious man has inherited a quality. The jurist who is not pious, on the other hand, has not inherited anything. He merely makes rulings for us as to how to act. This applies to the majority of contemporary (jurists)³⁸⁶ "except those who believe and do good, and they are few."³⁸⁷

³⁸³Cf. n. 456 to Ch. vi, and 3 :82, 85, and 102, below.

³⁸⁴That is, theoretical and practical knowledge.

³⁸⁵ That is, the heads of the four juridical schools, not the first four caliphs.

³⁸⁶Ergo, the jurists among our scholars cannot be called "heirs." Muhammad's statement does not apply to them, and the rulers, therefore, are not acting wrongly if they do not consult them.

³⁸⁷Qur'an 38.24 (23).

The position of official witness (*`adalah*)³⁸⁸

(The position of official witness) is a religious position depending on the office of judge and connected with court practice. The men who hold it give testimony-with the judge's permission-for or against people's (claims). They serve as witnesses when testimony is to be taken, testify during a lawsuit, and fill in the registers which record the rights, possessions, and debts of people and other (legal) transactions. This is the significance of the position.

We³⁸⁹ have mentioned "the judge's permission" because people may have become confused, and (then) only the judge knows who is reliable and who not. Thus, in a way, he gives permission (and he does so only) to those of whose probity he is sure, so that people's affairs and transactions will be properly safeguarded.

The prerequisite governing this position is the incumbent's possession of the quality of probity (*`adalah*) according to the religious law, his freedom from unreliability. Furthermore, he must be able to fill in the (court) records and make out contracts in the right form and proper order and correctly, (observing) the conditions and stipulations governing them from the point of view of the religious law. Thus, he must have such knowledge of jurisprudence as is necessary for the purpose. Because of these conditions and the experience and practice required, (the office) came to be restricted to persons of probity. Probity came to be (considered) the particular quality of persons who exercise this function. But this is not so. Probity is one of the prerequisites qualifying them for the office.

The judge must examine their conditions and look into their way of life, to make sure that they fulfill the condition of probity. He must not neglect

³⁸⁸In order to understand much of the discussion in this section, one must keep in mind the fact mentioned by Ibn Khaldun only at the end, that *'adalah* has come to mean two things. The one is "probity," considered as one of the conditions of the caliphate or other high office; cf. n. 107 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above, and n. 232 to this chapter. In that sense, *'adalah* also means a person's reliability as a transmitter of traditions and as a religious scholar. The other usage is to designate the office of official witness, originally a "fair" (*'adil*) man, one who possessed "probity" (*'addlah*).

³⁸⁹This paragraph was added in the margin of C and is incorporated in the text of D.

to do so, because it is his duty to safeguard the rights of the people. The responsibility for everything rests with him, and he is accountable for the outcome.

Once (official witnesses) have been shown clearly to be qualified for the position, they become (more) generally useful (to the judges). (They can be used) to find out about the reliability of other men whose probity is not known to the judges, because of the large size of cities and the confused conditions (of city life). (It is necessary to know their reliability) because it is necessary for judges to settle quarrels among litigants with the help of reliable evidence. In assessing the reliability of (the evidence), they usually count upon these professional witnesses. In every city, they have their own shops and benches where they always sit, so that people who have transactions to make can engage them to function as witnesses and register the (testimony) in writing.

The term "probity" (*adalah*) thus came to be used both for the position whose significance has just been explained and for "probity (reliability)" as required by the religious law, which is used paired with "unreliability." The two are the same, but still, they are different. And God knows better.

Market supervision (bisbah) and mint

The office of market supervisor (*hisbah*) is a religious position. It falls under the religious obligation "to command to do good and forbid to do evil," which rests with the person in charge of the affairs of the Muslims. He appoints to the position men whom he considers qualified for it. The obligation thus devolves upon the appointee. He may use other men to help him in his job. He investigates abuses and applies the appropriate punishments and corrective measures. He sees to it that the people act in accord with the public interest in the town (under his supervision). For instance, he prohibits the obstruction of roads. He forbids porters and boatmen to carry too heavy loads. He orders the owners of buildings threatening to collapse, to tear them down and thus remove the possibility of danger to passersby.

He prevents teachers in schools and other places from beating the young pupils too much.³⁹⁰ His authority is not restricted to cases of quarrels or complaints, but he (has to) look after, and rule on, everything of the sort that comes to his knowledge or is reported to him. He has no authority over legal claims in general but he has authority over everything relating to fraud and deception in connection with food and other things and in connection with weights and measures. Among his duties is that of making dilatory debtors pay what they owe, and similar things that do not require hearing of evidence or a legal verdict, in other words, cases with which a judge would have nothing to do because they are so common and simple. (Such cases,) therefore, are referred to the person who holds the office of market supervisor to take care of them.

The position of (market supervisor), consequently, is subordinate to the office of judge. In many Muslim dynasties, such as the dynasties of the `Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Egypt and the Maghrib and that of the Umayyads in Spain, (the office of market supervisor) fell under the general jurisdiction of the judge, who could appoint anyone to the office at discretion. Then, when the position of ruler became separated from the caliphate and when (the ruler) took general charge of all political matters, the office of market supervisor became one of the royal positions and a separate office.

The mint³⁹¹

The office of the mint is concerned with the coins used by Muslims in (commercial) transactions, with guarding against possible falsification or substandard quality (clipping) when the number of coins (and not the weight of their metal) is used in transactions, and with all else relating to (monetary matters.) Further, the office is concerned with putting the ruler's mark upon the coins, thus indicating their good quality and purity. The mark is impressed upon the coins with an iron seal that is especially used for the

³⁹⁰ Cf. n. 32 to Ch. ii, above.

³⁹¹ Cf. also 2:54 ff., below.

purpose and that has special designs (legends) on it. It is placed upon the dinar and the dirham after their proper weight has been established, and is then beaten with a hammer until the designs have been impressed upon the coin. This then indicates the good quality of the coin according to the best methods of melting and purification customary among the inhabitants of a particular region under the ruling dynasty. (The metal standard) is not something rigidly fixed but depends upon independent judgment. Once the inhabitants of a particular part or region have decided upon a standard of purity, they hold to it and call it the "guide" (*imam*) or "standard" (*'iyar*). They use it to test their coins. If they are substandard, they are bad.

Supervision of all these things is the duty of the holder of the office (of the mint). In this respect, it is a religious office and falls under the caliphate. It used to belong to the general jurisdiction of the judge, but now has become a separate office, as is the case with that of market supervision.

This is all that is to be said about caliphal positions. There were other positions that disappeared when the things that were their concern disappeared. Further, there are positions that became positions of rulers other than the caliph. Such are the positions of amir and wazir, and those concerned with warfare and taxation. They will be discussed later on in their proper places.

The position concerned with (prosecution of) the holy war ceased to exist when the holy war was no longer waged, save in a few dynasties which, as a rule, classify the laws governing it under the governmental (and not the caliphal) authority. Likewise, the office of marshal of the nobility consisting of relatives of the caliphs, whose descent gives them a claim to the caliphate or to an official pension, disappeared when the caliphate ceased.

In' general, the honors and positions of the caliphate merged with those of royal authority and political leadership. This is the present situation in all dynasties.

God governs all affairs in His wisdom.

III.30. The title of "Commander of the Faithful," which is characteristic of the caliph.

[p.1:465]

It was created in the period of the first four caliphs. This is because the men around Muhammad and all the other early Muslims called Abu Bakr, when he received the oath of allegiance, "representative" (*khalifah*, caliph) of the Messenger of God. This form (of address) was used until he died. Then, the oath of allegiance was rendered to 'Umar who was appointed by (Abu Bakr), and people called 'Umar "Representative of the Representative of the Messenger of God." However, they considered the title somewhat cumbersome. It was long and had a succession of genitives. (With successive caliphs,) that (style) would become longer and longer and end up as a tongue twister, and (the title) would no longer be distinct and recognizable because of the great number of dependent genitives. Therefore, they tried to replace the title by some other one appropriate to a (caliph).

The leaders of (military) missions used to be called "*amirs*," a *fail* (formation) connected with *imarah* (commandership). Before becoming Muslims, people used to call the Prophet "Amir of Mecca" and "Amir of the Hijaz." The men around Muhammad also used to call Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas "Commander (*amir*) of the Muslims," because he commanded the army at al-Qadisiyah. (The army there) at that time was the largest agglomeration of Muslims (that existed).

Now, it so happened that one of the men around Muhammad addressed 'Umar as "Commander of the Faithful" (*amir al-mu'minin*). People liked (this form of address) and approved it. Thus, they called 'Umar by (this title). It is said that the first to call him by this title was 'Abdallah b. Jahsh.³⁹² Ac-

³⁹² Actually, Ibn Jabsh—who died at Uhud in 625—is said to have himself been addressed as "Commander of the Faithful" during a raid he made in the year preceding his death. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, III, 63, II. 15 f. The stories about the introduction of the title vary greatly. It is even said that Muhammad addressed 'Umar as "Commander of the Faithful." Cf. Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, VII, 137.

According to others, it was 'Amr b. al-'As and al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah. Again, according to others, it was a messenger [?]³⁹³ who brought (the news) of victory from a (military) mission. He entered Medina and asked for 'Umar with the words, "Where is the Commander of the Faithful?" The men around ('Umar) heard this and liked it. They said: "Indeed, you give him the right title. He is truly the Commander of the Faithful." Thus, they called 'Umar (Commander of the Faithful), and this became his title among the people. The caliphs who succeeded him inherited the title as a characteristic which no other person shared with them. This was the case with all the Umayyads.

The Shi'ah used the title of Imam for 'Ali, ascribing to him the "imamate," which is a related expression for caliphate. (They called him Imam,) in order to display the novel theory that 'Ali was more entitled to lead the prayer (*imamah*) than Abu Bakr. They restricted the title (of Imam) to ('Ali) and to those after him whom they considered his successors to the caliphate. All these men were called Imam as long as their propaganda for them was clandestine. But when they eventually seized power (openly), they changed the title of their successors to that of Commander of the Faithful. This was done by the 'Abbasid Shi'ah. They had always called their leaders Imam down to Ibrahim, for whom they came out into the open and unfurled the banner of war. When (Ibrahim) died, his brother as-Saffah was called Commander of the Faithful. The same was the case with the extremist Shi'ah in Ifriqiyah. They always called their leaders, who were descendants of Ismail, Imam, until 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdi came to power. They continued to call him, and also his son and successor Abul-Qasim, Imam. But when their power was secure, their successors were called Commander of the Faithful. The same was the case with the Idrisids in the Maghrib. They called Idris,

³⁹³ Possibly *barid*. I do not know of any Burayd in this context. However, according to al-'Askari, *Awd'il*, Paris, MS. Ar. 5986, fols. 75b-76a, one of two messengers involved in this story was Labid b. Rabi'ah (apparently, the famous poet). Ibn Khaldun's source may have had Labid or some other proper name in this place.

and also his son and successor Idris the Younger, Imam. This is (Shi'ah) procedure.

The caliphs inherited the title of Commander of the Faithful from each other. It became a characteristic of the ruler of the Hijaz, Syria, and the 'Iraq, the regions that were the home of the Arabs and the center of the Muslim dynasty and the base³⁹⁴ of Islam and Muslim conquest. Therefore, (it was no longer distinctive) when the ('Abbasid) dynasty reached its flowering and prime, (and) another style of address gained currency, one that served to distinguish them from each other, in as much as the title of Commander *of* the Faithful was one they all had. The 'Abbasids took surnames such as as-Saffah, al-Mansur, al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, ar-Rashid, and so on, and thus created a sort *of* cover to guard their proper names against abuse by the tongues *of* the common people and protect them against profanation. (They continued with that custom) down to the end *of* the dynasty. The 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Ifriqiyah and Egypt followed their example.

The Umayyads refrained from that (for a long time). The earlier Umayyads in the East had done so, in keeping with their austerity and simplicity. Arab manners and aspirations had not yet been abandoned in their time, and (the Umayyads) had not yet exchanged Bedouin characteristics for those of sedentary culture. The Umayyads in Spain also refrained from such titles, because they followed the tradition of their ancestors. Moreover, they were conscious of their inferior position, since they did not control the caliphate which the 'Abbasids had appropriated, and had no power over³⁹⁵ the Hijaz, the base of the Arabs and Islam, and were remote from the seat of the caliphate around which the group feeling (of the Arabs) centered. By being rulers of a remote region, they merely protected themselves against the persecution of the 'Abbasids. Finally, however, at the beginning of the

³⁹⁴ *Asl*, as in A, C, and D. Bulaq and B have *ahl* "people."

³⁹⁵ "The caliphate . . . power over" appears in the margin of C and in the text of D.

fourth [tenth] century, the (Umayyad) 'Abd-ar Rahman the Last³⁹⁶ (III) an-Nasir (b. Muhammad) b. al-amir 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman II, appeared on the scene. It became known how greatly the liberty of the caliphate in the East had been curtailed and how the clients of the 'Abbasids had taken control of the dynasty and had achieved complete power to depose, replace, kill, or blind the caliphs. 'Abd-ar-Rahman III, therefore, adopted the ways of the caliphs in the East and in Ifriqiyah: He had himself called Commander of the Faithful and assumed the surname of an-Nasir-li-din-Allah. This custom, which he had been the first to practice, was followed and became an established one. His ancestors and the early (Umayyads) had not had it.

This situation prevailed down to the time when Arab group feeling was completely destroyed and the caliphate lost its identity. Non-Arab clients gained power over the 'Abbasids; followers (of their own making) gained power over the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Cairo; the Sinhajah gained power over the realm of Ifriqiyah; the Zanitah gained power over the Maghrib; and the *reyes de taifas* in Spain gained power over the Umayyads. (Each of) these (groups) took over part of (the caliphate). The Muslim empire dissolved. The rulers in the West and the East adopted different titles. Formerly, they had all been called by the name of *Sultan*.

The non-Arab rulers in the East were distinguished by the caliphs with special honorific surnames indicating their subservience and obedience and their good status as officials. (Such surnames included) Sharaf-ad-dawlah, 'Adud-ad dawlah, Rukn-ad-dawlah, Mu'izz-ad-dawlah, Nasir-ad-daw lah, Nizam-al-mulk, Bahi'-al-mulk, Dhakhirat-al-mulk, and so on.^{396a} The 'Ubaydid (-Fatimids) used also to distinguish the Sinhajah amirs in that

³⁹⁶ There were, however, other Umayyads called 'Abd-ar-Rabman after an-Na,ir.

^{396a} These surnames may be translated as follows: Honor of the Dynasty, Strong Arm of the Dynasty, Pillar of the Dynasty, Champion of the Dynasty, Defender of the Dynasty, Order of the Kingdom, Splendor of the Kingdom, Treasure of the Kingdom, etc.

manner. When these men gained control over the caliphs, they were satisfied to keep these surnames and did not adopt caliphal titles out of deference to the institution and in order to avoid any usurpation of its peculiar characteristics, as is customary among those who gain power and control (over an existing institution), as we have stated before.³⁹⁷ However, later on, the non-Arabs in the East strengthened their grip on royal authority and became more and more prominent in state and government. The group feeling of the caliphate vanished and dissolved completely. At that time, these non-Arabs were inclined to adopt titles that were characteristic of royal authority, such as an-Nasir and al-Mansur. This was in addition to the titles they had previously held and which indicated that they were no longer clients and followers through the fact that they were simply combinations with *din*(religion), such as Salah-ad-din, Asad-ad-din, and Nur-ad-din.^{397a}

The *reyes de taifas* in Spain, who had a powerful grip on (the caliphate) by virtue of the fact that they shared in its tribal group feeling, divided up and distributed among themselves the caliphal titles. They had themselves called an-Nasir, al-Mansur, al-Mu'tamid, al-Muzaffar, and so on. Ibn Sharaf criticized them for this in these verses:

What makes me feel humble in Spain
Is the use of the names Mu'tasim and Mu'tadid there.
Royal surnames not in their proper place:

Like a cat that by blowing itself up imitates the lion.³⁹⁸

The Sinhajah restricted themselves to the display titles that the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs had given them, such as Nasir-ad-dawlah, Sayf ad-dawlah,³⁹⁹ and Mu'izz-ad-dawlah. They kept to this (even) when they exchanged the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) propaganda for that of the 'Abbasids. Lat-

³⁹⁷Cf. p. 379, above, and 2:11, below.

^{397a}That is, Welfare of the Religion, Lion of the Religion, and Light of the Religion.

³⁹⁸ Cf. p. 316, above.

³⁹⁹ Sayf-ad-dawlah is added in C and D.

er on, as the distance between them and the caliphate grew, they forgot the period of (the caliphate). They forgot these titles and restricted themselves to the name of Sultan. The same was the case with the Maghrawah rulers in the Maghrib. The only title they adopted was that of Sultan, in accordance with Bedouin custom and desert austerity.

At the time when the name of the caliphate had become extinct and its influence non-existent, the Lamtunah (Almoravid) ruler Yusuf b. Tashfin made his appearance among the Berber tribes in the Maghrib. He became the ruler of both shores. He was a good and conservative man who, consequently, in order to comply with all the formalities of his religion, wished to submit to the caliphal authority. He addressed himself to the 'Abbasid al-Mustazhir and sent to him two *shaykhs* from Sevilla as his ambassadors, 'Abdallah b. al-'Arabi and ('Abdallah's) son, Judge Abu Bakr.⁴⁰⁰ They were to transmit the oath of allegiance to (al-Mustazhir) and were to ask him to appoint and invest Ibn Tashfin as ruler over the Maghrib. They returned with the caliphal appointment of Ibn Tashfin as ruler over the Maghrib and with (permission to) use the caliphal style in dress and flag. In (the document, the caliph) addressed (Ibn Tashfin) as "Commander of the Muslims,"⁴⁰¹ in order to honor and distinguish him. Ibn Tashfin, therefore, took that as his title. Others say that he had been called "Commander of the Muslims" before that, out of deference to the high rank of the caliphate, because he and his people, the Almoravids, practiced Islam and followed the Sunnah.

The Mahdi (of the Almohads) followed upon the (Almoravids). He made propaganda for the truth. He adopted the tenets of the Ash'arites and

⁴⁰⁰For Abu Bakr, cf. n. 353 to this chapter, above. He and his father, 'Abdallah b. Mubammad, left on the pilgrimage in 485 [1092], and visited Baghdad twice, once before the pilgrimage and once afterwards; they performed the pilgrimage in 489 [1096]. It must have been in 1097/98, during their second stay in Baghdad, that Ibn Tashfin commissioned them to act as his ambassadors to al-Mustazhir (1094-1118). 'Abdallah died on their return trip in 493 [1099]. Cf. Ibn Farbut, *Dibaj*, pp. 281 f. For the embassy, cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 188; de Slane (tr.), II, 82.

⁴⁰¹And not the caliphal title "Commander of the Faithful," which the Almoravids did not use.

criticized the Maghribis for having deviated from them by returning to the ancestral tradition of rejecting allegorical interpretation of explicit statements of the religious law, a rejection that leads to (anthropomorphism),⁴⁰² as is known from the Ash'arite school. He called his followers Almohads (champions of the strict oneness of God), displaying (by the choice of that name) his disapproval (of anthropomorphism). He followed the opinion of the 'Alids with regard to "the Infallible Imam"⁴⁰³ who must exist in every age and whose existence preserves the order of the world. (Al-Mahdi) was at first called Imam, in accordance with the afore-mentioned Shi'ah practice with regard to the title of their caliphs. The word *al-ma'sum* (in fallible) was linked (with Imam) to indicate his tenet concerning the infallibility of the Imam. In the opinion of his followers, he was above the title of Commander of the Faithful. (To avoid this title) was in accordance with the tenets of the old Shi'ah, and (he also avoided it), because to use it meant sharing it with the foolish young descendants of the caliphs who were alive in the East and the West at that time. 'Abd-al-Mu'min, who was appointed successor to (the Mahdi), did adopt the title of Commander of the Faithful. His successors, the caliphs of the Banu 'Abd-al-Mu'min, followed his example, and so did their successors, the Hafsids in Ifriqiyah.⁴⁰⁴ They appropriated it exclusively as their own, since their *shaykh*, the Mahdi, had made (religious) propaganda (justifying the use of) that (title) and since the power belonged to him and to his friends (clients) who succeeded him and to nobody else, because Qurashite group feeling had completely ceased to exist. Thus, (the use of the title) came to be their custom.

When governmental (authority) in the Maghrib lapsed and the Zanatah took power, their first rulers continued the ways of desert life and simplicity and followed the Lamtunah (Almoravids) in using the title of Commander

⁴⁰²The word "anthropomorphism" is expressly added in Bulaq.

⁴⁰³For *ma'sum*, *'ismah*, cf. pp. 185 and 403, above.

⁴⁰⁴In Ifriqiyah" is added in the margin of C and is in the text of D.

of the Muslims, out of deference to the high rank of the caliphate. They rendered obedience, first to the caliphate of the Banu 'Abd al-Mu'min, and afterwards to that of the Hafsids. The later (Zanatah) rulers aspired to the title of Commander of the Faithful, and are using it at this time to comply fully with royal aspirations and the ways and characteristics of royal authority. "God has the power to execute His commands."⁴⁰⁵

III.31. Remarks on the words "Pope" and "Patriarch" in the Christian religion and on the word "Kohen" used by the Jews.

[p.1:472]

It⁴⁰⁶ should be known that after the removal of its prophet, a religious group must have someone to take care of it. (Such a person) must cause the people to act according to the religious laws. In a way, he stands to them in the place (*khalifah*, caliph) of their prophet, in as much as (he urges) the obligations which (the prophet) had imposed upon them. Furthermore, in accordance with the aforementioned⁴⁰⁷ need for political leadership in social organization, the human species must have a person who will cause them to act in accordance with what is good for them and who will prevent them by force from doing things harmful to them. Such a person is the one who is called ruler.

In the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty, because of the universalism of the (Muslim) mission and (the obligation to) convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force. Therefore, caliphate and royal authority are united in (Islam), so that the person in charge can devote the available strength to both of them⁴⁰⁸ at the same time.

⁴⁰⁵ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

⁴⁰⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 136 f.

⁴⁰⁷Cf. pp. 92 and 380 f., above.

⁴⁰⁸That is, toward religion (caliphate) and politics (royal authority).

The other religious groups did not have a universal mission, and the holy war was not a religious duty to them, save only for purposes of defense. It has thus come about that the person in charge of religious affairs in (other religious groups) is not concerned with power politics at all. (Among them,) royal authority comes to those who have it, by accident and in some way that has nothing to do with religion. It comes to them as the necessary result of group feeling, which by its very nature seeks to obtain royal authority, as we have mentioned before,⁴⁰⁹ and not because they are under obligation to gain power over other nations, as is the case with Islam. They are merely required to establish their religion among their own (people).

This is why the Israelites after Moses and Joshua remained unconcerned with royal authority for about four hundred years⁴¹⁰ Their only concern was to establish their religion. The person from among them who was in charge of their religion was called the Kohen. He was in a way the representative (caliph) of Moses. He regulated the prayers and sacrifices of the Israelites. They made it a condition for (the Kohen) to be a descendant of Aaron, as it had been destined for him and his children by divine revelation.⁴¹¹ For (supervision of the) political matters which naturally arise among human beings, the Israelites selected seventy elders who were entrusted with a general legal authority. The Kohen was higher in religious rank than they and more remote from the turbulent legal authority. This continued to be (the situation among the Israelites) until the nature of group feeling made itself fully felt and all power became political. The Israelites dispossessed the Canaanites of the land that God had given them as their heritage in Jerusalem and the surrounding region, as it had been explained to them through Moses. The nations of the Philistines, the Canaanites, the

⁴⁰⁹Cf. pp. 284 ff., above.

⁴¹⁰Ibar, II, 88, has "three hundred."

⁴¹¹ Bulaq: "since Moses left no offspring." Cf. also p. 412, above.

Armenians [!],⁴¹² the Edomites, the Ammonites, and the Moabites fought against them. During that (time), political leadership was entrusted to the elders among them. The Israelites remained in that condition for about four hundred years. They did not have any royal power and were annoyed by attacks from foreign nations. Therefore, they asked God through Samuel, one of their prophets, that He permit them to make someone king over them. Thus, Saul became their king. He defeated the foreign nations and killed⁴¹³ Goliath, the ruler of the Philistines. After Saul, David became king, and then Solomon. His kingdom flourished and extended to the borders of the Hijaz and further to the borders of the Yemen and to the borders of the land of the Romans (Byzantines). After Solomon, the tribes split into two dynasties. This was in accordance with the necessary consequence of group feeling in dynasties, as we have mentioned before. One of the dynasties was that of the ten tribes in the region of Nablus, the capital of which is Samaria (Sabastiyah),⁴¹⁴ and the other that of the children of Judah and Benjamin in Jerusalem⁴¹⁵ Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, then deprived them of their royal authority. He first (dealt with) the ten tribes in Samaria (Sabastiyah),⁴¹⁶ and then with the children of Judah in Jerusalem. Their royal authority had had an uninterrupted duration of a thousand years. Now he destroyed their temple, burnt their Torah, and killed their religion. He deported the people to Isfahan⁴¹⁷ and the 'Iraq. Eventually, one of the Per-

⁴¹²Cf. p. 334, above.

⁴¹³The subject of the active verb is Saul, though Ibn Khaldun was aware that Saul did not kill Goliath personally, but "had him killed." Cf. *Ibar*; II, 95.

⁴¹⁴As indicated in this and the following two notes, Ibn Khaldun originally had some rather incorrect geographical information in his earlier text, which he corrected later. In C the corrections are applied in the text or in the margin. In D they appear incorporated in the text. Originally the text here had "the Jazirah and Mosul." The Arabic form of Samaria, Sebaste, is vocalized *Subustiyah* in C.

⁴¹⁵The earlier text added: "and Syria."

⁴¹⁶"In Samaria" is an addition of C and D.

⁴¹⁷For this legend concerning the origin of the Jewish settlement in Isfahan, cf. W. J. Fischel in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, pp. 112 f.

sian Kayyanid (Achaemenid) rulers brought them back to Jerusalem, seventy years after they had left it. They rebuilt the temple and reestablished their religion in its original form with priests only. The royal authority belonged to the Persians.

Alexander and the Greeks then defeated the Persians, and the Jews came under Greek domination. The Greek rule then weakened, and, with the help of (their) natural group feeling, the Jews rose against the Greeks and made an end to their domination over them. (Jewish) royal authority was in charge of their Hasmonean priests. (The Hasmoneans) fought the Greeks. Eventually, their power was destroyed. The Romans defeated them, and (the Jews) came under Roman domination. (The Romans) advanced toward Jerusalem, the seat of the children of Herod, relatives by marriage of the Hasmoneans and the last remnant of the Hasmonean dynasty. They laid siege to them for a time, finally conquering (Jerusalem) by force in an orgy of murder, destruction, and arson. They laid Jerusalem in ruins and exiled (the Jews) to Rome and the regions beyond. This was the second destruction of the temple. The Jews call it "the Great Exile." After that, they had no royal authority, because they had lost their group feeling. They remained afterwards under the domination of the Romans and their successors. Their religious affairs were taken care of by their head, called the Kohen.

The Messiah (Jesus) brought (the Jews) his religion, as is known. He abolished some of the laws of the Torah. He performed marvelous wonders, such as healing the insane⁴¹⁸ and reviving the dead. Many people joined him and believed in him. The largest group among his following were his companions, the Apostles. There were twelve of them. He sent some of them as messengers (Apostles) to all parts of the world. They made propaganda for his religious group. That was in the days of Augustus, the first of the Ro-

⁴¹⁸ Bulaq has "the blind and the lepers," which looks very much like a correction by the editor of Bulaq, because Qur'an 3.49 (43) and 5.110 (110) mentions the blind and the lepers, whereas no mention is made in it of the insane.

man emperors, and during the time of Herod, the king of the Jews, who had taken away royal authority from the Hasmoneans, his relatives by marriage. The Jews envied (Jesus) and declared him a liar. Their king, Herod, wrote to the Roman Emperor, Augustus, and incited him against (Jesus). The Roman Emperor gave (the Jews) permission to kill him, and the story of Jesus as recited in the Qur'an occurred⁴¹⁹

The Apostles divided into different groups. Most of them went to the country of the Romans and made propaganda for the Christian religion. Peter was the greatest of them. He settled in Rome, the seat of the Roman emperors. They⁴²⁰ then wrote down the Gospel that had been revealed to Jesus, in four recensions according to their different traditions. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Jerusalem in Hebrew. It was translated into Latin by John, the son of Zebedee, one of (the Apostles). (The Apostle) Luke wrote his Gospel in Latin for a Roman dignitary. (The Apostle) John, the son of Zebedee, wrote his Gospel in Rome. Peter wrote his Gospel in Latin and ascribed it to his pupil Mark. These four recensions of the Gospel differ from each other. Not all of it is pure revelation, but (the Gospels) have an admixture of the words of Jesus and of the Apostles. Most⁴²¹ of (their contents) consists of sermons and stories. There are very few laws in them.

The Apostles came together at that time in Rome and laid down the rules of the Christian community. They entrusted them to Clement, a pupil of Peter, noting in them the list of books that are to be accepted and in accordance with which one must act.

(The books which) belong to the old religious law of the Jews are the following:

The Torah, which consists of five volumes.

⁴¹⁹This refers to the docetist idea of Jesus' death, as expressed in Qur'an 4.157 (156).

⁴²⁰For the following discussion of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, cf. *Ibar*, II, 148.

⁴²¹ Originally, Ibn Khaldun had said "all." He corrected "all" to "most" in C, and "most" is found in the text of D.

The Book of Joshua.

The Book of Judges.

The Book of Ruth.

The Book of Judith.⁴²²

The four Books of Kings.

The Book of Chronicles.⁴²³

The three Books of Maccabees, by Ibn Gorion.⁴²⁴

The Book of Ezra, the religious leader.

The Book of Esther⁴²⁵ and the story of Haman.

The Book of Job the Righteous. The Psalms of David.

The five Books of David's son, Solomon.

The sixteen Prophecies of the major and minor prophets.

The Book of Jesus, the son of Sira, the minister of Solomon.

(The books of) the religious law of Jesus that was received by the Apostles are the following:

The four recensions of the Gospel.

The Book of Paul which consists of fourteen epistles.

The Katholika (General Epistles) which consist of seven epistles, the eighth being the Praxeis (Acts), stories of the Apostles.

The Book of Clement which contains the laws.

⁴²²The MSS have *Yahudha* "Judah," but there can be no doubt that the Book of Judith is meant.

⁴²³The MSS do not agree about the name of Chronicles. It seems that the original text in C was *b-r-y-w-m y-n*, while A has *-r-y-'-m-w-my-n*. This is easily explained as a corruption of *b-r-< l y >-b-w-m y-n* Paraleipomena.

⁴²⁴The reference to the alleged authorship of the Books of the Maccabees by Joseph b. Gorion (Pseudo-Josippon), is not found in *Ibar*, II, 148, and, incidentally, appears in C only in the margin. It should be noted that the Arabic text of the *History of the Jews* by Pseudo-Josippon is occasionally called "Book of the Maccabees." Cf. the edition of the Ethiopic version by Murad Kamil, *Zind Ayhud* (New York, 1937), pp. xvi ff., and J. Wellhausen, "Der arabische Josippus" in *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen*, philol.-his. Kl., N.F., 14 (1897), S. Cf. now W. J. Fischel, "Ibn Khaldun and Josippon," in *Homenaje a Millbs-Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 1954), I, 596.

⁴²⁵The MSS read *Ushir*. This may represent a misreading *Osther* for Esther.

The Book of the Apocalypse (Revelation) which contains the vision of John, the son of Zebedee.

The attitude of the Roman emperors toward Christianity varied. At times, they adopted it and honored its adherents. At other times, they did not recognize it and persecuted its adherents and killed and exiled them. Finally, Constantine appeared and adopted Christianity. From then on, all (the Roman emperors) were Christians.⁴²⁶

The head of the Christian (community) and the person in charge of (Christian religious) institutions is called Patriarch. He is their religious head and the representative (caliph) of the Messiah among them. He sends his delegates and representatives to the remote Christian nations. They are called "bishop," that is, delegate of the Patriarch. The man who leads the prayers and makes decisions in religious matters is called "priest." The person who withdraws from society and retires into solitude for worship is called "monk." The latter usually seek solitude in (monastic) cells.

The Apostle Peter, the chief Apostle and oldest of the disciples, was in Rome and established the Christian religion there. Nero, the fifth Roman emperor, killed him⁴²⁷ Successor to Peter at the Roman see was Arius.

Mark the Evangelist spent seven years in Alexandria and Egypt and the Maghrib making propaganda. After him came Ananias, who was called Patriarch. He was the first Patriarch there. He appointed twelve priests to be with him, and it was arranged that when the Patriarch died, one of the twelve should take his place, and one of the faithful⁴²⁸ be elected to take his place as the twelfth priest. Thus, the patriarchate fell to the priests.

⁴²⁶Cf. also 2:261, below.

⁴²⁷ Bulaq adds: "together with other patriarchs and bishops." This may have been the old text, and Ibn Khaldun later took the words out, because he remembered that patriarchs and bishops did not yet exist at that time.

⁴²⁸ *Wahidun*, as in the MSS.

Later on, dissension broke out among the Christians with regard to the basic principles and articles of their religion. They assembled in Nicea in the days of Constantine, in order to lay down (the doctrine of) true Christianity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops agreed upon one and the same doctrine of Christianity. They wrote it down and called it "the Creed." They made it the fundamental principle to which they would all have reference. Among the things they set down in writing was that with respect to the appointment of the Patriarch as the head of Christianity, no reference should be made to the independent judgment of the priests, as Ananias, the disciple of Mark, had prescribed. That point of view was abolished. The Patriarch was to come from a large group and to be elected by the leaders and chiefs of the believers. It has been so ever since. Later on, other dissensions arose concerning the basic principles of Christianity. Synods concerned with regulating (the religion), were assembled, but there was no dissension with regard to the basic principles (of the method of selecting the Patriarch). It has remained the same ever since.

The Patriarchs always appointed bishops as their delegates. The bishops used to call the Patriarch "Father," as a sign of respect. The priests similarly came to call the bishop "Father," when he was not together with the Patriarch, as a sign of respect. This caused confusion in the use of the title over a long period, ending, it is said, with the Patriarchate of Heraclius in Alexandria. It was considered desirable to distinguish the Patriarch from the bishop in the matter of respect (shown to him by style of address). Therefore, the Patriarch was called "Pope," that is, "Father of fathers." The name (of "Pope") first appeared in Egypt, according to the theory expressed by Jirjis b. al-'Amid⁴²⁹ in his *History*. It was then transferred to the occupant

⁴²⁹ Al-Makin, ca. 1205-1273. Cf. GAL, I, 348; *Suppl.*, I, 590. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi No. 139) (Citta del Vatican, 1947), II, 848 N. Although the second part of al-Makin's *History* (which contains the Muslim period) has been known since the seventeenth century, the first part of the work, where the above quotation may be expected to occur, has not yet been published.

of the most important see in (Christianity), the see of Rome, which was the see of the Apostle Peter, as we have mentioned before. The title of Pope has remained characteristic of the see of Rome down to this day.

Thereafter, there were dissensions among the Christians with regard to their religion and to Christology. They split into groups and sects, which secured the support of the various Christian rulers against each other. At different times there appeared different sects. Finally, these sects crystallized into three groups, which constitute the (Christian) sects. Others have no significance. These are the Melchites, the Jacobites, and the Nestorians. We do not think that we should blacken the pages of this book with discussion of their dogmas of unbelief. In general, they are well known. All of them are unbelief. This is clearly stated in the noble Qur'an. (To) discuss or argue those things with them is not up to us. It is (for them to choose between) conversion to Islam, payment of the poll tax, or death.

Later on, each sect had its own Patriarch. The Patriarch of Rome is today called "Pope." He is of the Melchite persuasion. Rome belongs to the European Christians. Their royal authority is established in that region.

The Patriarch of the (Christian) subjects⁴³⁰ in Egypt is of the Jacobite persuasion. He resides among them. The Abyssinians follow the religion of (the Egyptian Christians). The Patriarch of Egypt delegates bishops to the Abyssinians, and these bishops arrange religious affairs in Abyssinia. The name of "Pope" is specially reserved for the patriarch of Rome at this time. The Jacobites do not call their patriarch "Pope." The word (Pope) is pronounced *Pappa*.

It is the custom of the Pope with respect to the European Christians to urge them to submit to one ruler and have recourse to him in their disagreements and agreements, in order to avoid the dissolution of the whole

⁴³⁰ Lit., "those who have entered the covenant ('ahd)." This word is used as a technical term for Christians (and Jews) who have accepted the restrictions placed upon them by the so-called "covenant of 'Umar."

thing. His purpose is to have the group feeling that is the strongest among them (concentrated upon one ruler), so that (this ruler) has power over all of them. The ruler is called "Emperor" (*Emperador*), with the middle letter⁴³¹ (pronounced somehow) between *dh* and *z*. (The Pope) personally places the crown upon the head of (the emperor), in order to let him have the blessing implied (in that ceremony). The emperor, therefore, is called "the crowned one." Perhaps that is the meaning of the word "emperor."

This, briefly, is our comment on the two words Pope and Kohen.

"God leads astray whomever He wants to lead astray, and He guides whomever He wants to guide."⁴³²

III.32. The ranks of royal and governmental authority and the titles that go with those ranks.

[p.2:3]

It⁴³³ should be known that, by himself, the ruler is weak, and he carries a heavy load. He must look for help from his fellow men. He needs their help for the necessities of life and for all his other requirements. How much more, then, does he need it to exercise political leadership over his own species, over the creatures and servants of God whom God entrusted to him as subjects. He must defend and protect the community from its enemies. He must enforce restraining laws among the people, in order to prevent mutual hostility and attacks upon property. This includes improving the safety of the roads⁴³⁴ He must cause the people to act in their own best interests, and he

⁴³¹The reference is to the *d/t*. The Arabic text here is not quite clear. Perhaps we should translate: "with the (foreign) letter (pronounced somehow) in the middle between *dh* and *x*." Cf. also as-Silafi, *Mujam*, MS (photograph), Cairo, *ta'rikh* 3932, p. 379, who refers to the name *Zunuh*, also spelled *Zunuh* or *Dhunuh*, and explains it as meaning "master in "Roman."

⁴³² Qur'an 16.93 (95); 35.8 (9); 74.31 (34).

⁴³³ Cf. Issawi, p. 115; G. Surdon and L. Bercher, *Recueil de testes de sociologie*(Algiers, 1951), pp. 86-96, translating our pp. 3-19 and 35-37.

⁴³⁴ Cf. also p. 199, below.

must supervise such general matters involving their livelihood and mutual dealings as food stuffs and weights and measures, in order to prevent cheating.⁴³⁵ He must look after the mint, in order to protect the currency used by the people in their mutual dealings, against fraud.⁴³⁶ He must exercise political leadership and get people to submit to him to the degree he desires and be satisfied, both with his intentions regarding them and with the fact that he alone has all the glory and they have none. This requires an extraordinary measure of psychology.⁴³⁷ A noble sage has said: "Moving mountains from their places is easier for me than to influence people psychologically."^{437a}

It is better that such help be sought from persons close to the ruler through common descent, common upbringing, or old attachment to the dynasty. This makes such persons and the ruler work together in the same spirit. God said: "Give me my brother Aaron as helper (wazir) from my family. Give me strength through him and let him participate in my business."⁴³⁸

The person from whom the ruler seeks help may help him with the sword, or with the pen, or with advice and knowledge, or by keeping the people from crowding upon him and diverting him from the supervision of their affairs. (The ruler may) also entrust the supervision of the whole realm to him and rely upon his competence and ability for the task. Therefore, the help the ruler seeks may be given by one man, or it may be distributed among several individuals.

Each of the different (instruments) through which help may be given has many different subdivisions. "The pen" has such subdivisions, for in-

⁴³⁵ Cf 1:463, above.

⁴³⁶ Cf. 1:464, above.

⁴³⁷ Lit., "caring for (influencing) the hearts . . .,"

^{437a} Cf. the similar saying ascribed to Lugman in al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, Spanish tr. H. Knust, *Mitteilungen aus dem Eskurial* (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, No. 141) (Tdbingen, 1879), pp. 339 f. Cf. also al-Jahiz, *Kitab Kitman as-sirr*, in *Majma' Rasa'il al-Jazi*, ed. P. Kraus and M. T. al-Hajiri (Cairo, 1943), p. 41.

⁴³⁸ Qur'an 20.28-32 (30-33).

stance, as "the pen of letters and correspondence," "the pen of diplomas"⁴³⁹ and fiefs," and "the pen of bookkeeping," which means the offices of chief of tax collections and allowances and of minister of the army. "The sword" includes such subdivisions, for instance, as the offices of chief of military operations, chief of police, chief of the postal service,⁴⁴⁰ and administration of the border regions.

It should further be known that governmental positions in Islam fell under the caliphate, because the institution of the caliphate was both religious and worldly, as we have mentioned before.⁴⁴¹ The religious laws govern all (governmental positions) and apply to each one of them in all its aspects, because the religious law governs all the actions of human beings. Jurists⁴⁴² therefore, are concerned with the rank of ruler or sultan and with the conditions under which it is assumed, whether by gaining control over the caliphate⁴⁴³ -this is what is meant by sultan-⁴⁴⁴ or by the caliph delegating (power) -that is what they mean by wazir, as will be mentioned. (They are also concerned with) the extent of (the ruler's) jurisdiction over legal, financial, and other political matters, which may be either absolute or circumscribed. Furthermore, (they are concerned with the causes) that necessitate (the ruler's) removal, should (such causes) present themselves, and with other things connected with the ruler or sultan. Jurists are likewise concerned with all the positions under the ruler and sultan, such as the wazirate, the tax

⁴³⁹ *Sakk* means both diplomas conferring privileges and checks, i.e., notes entitling the bearer to some kind of payment.

⁴⁴⁰ The postal service (band) includes the intelligence service.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. 1:387, above.

⁴⁴² The function of the *faqih* belongs to the religious law, but, in view of the preceding remarks, Ibn Khaldun argues that he is legitimately concerned with the laws and conditions of worldly politics, both theoretically and practically.

⁴⁴³ Surdon and Bercher: "independently of the caliphate." Ibn Khaldun has in the mind the situation in which the Sultan usurps some power that belongs *de iure* to the caliphate.

⁴⁴⁴ The parenthesis is found in the older texts, but appears in the margin of C and is omitted in D.

collector's office, and the administrative functions.⁴⁴⁵ Jurists must concern themselves with all these things, because, as we have mentioned before, in Islam the caliphate is an institution of the Muslim religious law, and as such determines the position of the ruler or sultan.

However, when we discuss royal and governmental positions, it will be as something required by the nature of civilization and human existence. It will not be under the aspect of particular religious laws. This, one knows, is not our intention in this book. There is no need to go into details with regard to the religious laws governing these positions. The subject is fully treated in the books on administration (*al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*), such as the work (of that title) by Judge Abul-Hasan al-Mawardi and the works of other distinguished jurists. Those who want to know the details should look them up there. If we discuss the caliphal positions and treat them individually, it is only in order to make the distinction between them and the governmental (*sultan*) positions clear, and not in order to make a thorough study of their legal status. This is not the purpose of our book. Thus, we shall discuss those matters only as the necessary result of the nature of civilization in human existence.

God gives success.

The wazirate

The wazirate is the mother of governmental functions and royal ranks. The name itself simply means "help." *Wizarah* (wazirate) is derived either from *mu'azarah* "help," or from *wizr* "load," as if the wazir were helping the person whom he supports to carry his burdens and charges. Thus, the meaning comes down to no more than "help."⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ *Wilayah* may mean the appointive power, like *tawliyah*. Cf. below, p. 16, l. 4, and p. 19, l. 9. It may also refer to provincial administration. Here, however, it must be understood in the sense in which it is employed in the chapter headings of al-Mawardi's *Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, as "taking charge of" various administrative functions.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. S. D. Goitein, "The Origin of the Vizierate and Its True Character," in *Islamic Culture*, XVI (1942), 380-92.

We mentioned before, at the beginning of this section,⁴⁴⁷ that the conditions and activities of the ruler are restricted to four fields:

(1) (His activities) may concern ways and means of protecting the community, such as the supervision of soldiers, armaments, war operations, and other matters concerned with military protection and aggression. The person in charge is the wazir, as the term was customarily used in the old dynasties in the East, and as it is still used at this time in the West.

(2) Or, they may concern correspondence with persons far away from the ruler in place or in time,⁴⁴⁸ and the execution of orders concerning persons with whom the ruler has no direct contact. The man in charge is the secretary (*katib*).

(3) Or, they may concern matters of tax collection and expenditures, and the safe handling of these things in all their aspects. The man in charge is the chief of tax and financial matters. In the contemporary East, he is called the wazir.

(4) Or, they may concern ways to keep petitioners away from the ruler, so that they do not crowd upon him and divert him from his affairs. This task reverts to the doorkeeper (*hajib*), who guards the door.

The (ruler's) activities do not extend beyond these four fields. Each royal and governmental function belongs to one of them. However, the most important field is the one that requires giving general assistance in connection with everything under the ruler's direct control. This means constant contact with the ruler and participation in all his governmental activities. (All the activities) that concern some particular group of people or some particular department are of lower rank. (Among such activities are) the (military) leadership of a border region, the administration of some special tax,

⁴⁴⁷Ibn Khaldun presumably refers here to his remarks on p. 3, above.

⁴⁴⁸Writing is always praised in Arabic literature as a means of bridging distances in space and time. This explains the rather inappropriate reference to time in this context. Cf. also, pp. 356 and 377, below.

or the supervision of some particular matter, such as surveillance (*hisbah*) of foodstuffs, or supervision of the mint.⁴⁴⁹ All these activities are concerned with particular conditions. The persons in charge are, therefore, subordinate to those in general supervision, and the latter outrank them.

It was this way throughout the whole pre-Islamic period. When Islam appeared on the scene and power was vested in the caliph, the forms of royal authority no longer existed, and all its functions disappeared, except for some advisory and consultative ones that were natural and continued to exist because they were unavoidable. The Prophet used to ask the men around him for advice and to consult them on both general and special (private) matters. In addition, he discussed other very special affairs with Abu Bakr. Certain Arabs familiar with the situation in the Persian, Byzantine, and Abyssinian dynasties, called Abu Bakr, therefore, Muhammad's "wazir." The word *wazir* was not known (originally) among the Muslims, because the simplicity of Islam had done away with royal ranks. The same relationship (as that between Muhammad and Abu Bakr) existed between 'Umar and Abu Bakr, and between 'Ali and 'Umar, and 'Uthmin and 'Umar.

No specific ranks existed among the (early Muslims) in the fields of tax collection, expenditures, and bookkeeping. The Muslims were illiterate Arabs who did not know how to write and keep books. For bookkeeping they employed Jews, Christians, or certain non-Arab clients versed in it. (Bookkeeping) was little known among them. Their nobles did not know it well, because illiteracy was their distinctive characteristic.

Likewise, no specific rank existed among (the early Muslims) in the field of (official) correspondence and (the transmission in writing) of orders to be executed. They were illiterate, and everyone could be trusted to keep a statement secret and to forward it safely (to its destination). Also, there were no political matters that would have required the use of (confidential secretaries), because the caliphate was a religious matter and had nothing

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. 1:462 ff., above.

to do with power politics. Furthermore, secretarial skill had not yet become a craft, its best (products or representatives) recommended to the caliph. Every individual was capable of explaining what he wanted in the most eloquent manner. The only thing lacking was the (technical ability to) write. (For this,) the caliph always appointed someone who knew how to write well, to do such writing as there was occasion for.

Keeping petitioners away from the gates (of the caliph's court) was something that the religious law forbade (the caliphs) to do, and they did not do it. However, when the caliphate changed to royal authority and when royal forms and titles made their appearance, the first thing the dynasty did was to bar the masses from access (to the ruler). The rulers feared that their lives were in danger from attacks by rebels and others, such as had happened to 'Umar, to 'Ali, to Mu'awiyah, to 'Amr b. al-'As, and to others. Furthermore, were the people given free access (to the ruler), they would crowd upon him and divert him from state affairs. Therefore, the ruler appointed some person to take care of this for him and called him "doorkeeper" (*utjib*). It has already been mentioned that 'Abd-al-Malik said to a door keeper whom he was appointing: "I have given you the office of keeper of my door, (and you are entitled to turn away anyone) save these three persons: the muezzin, because he is the missionary of God; the person in charge of the mails, for it (always) is something (important) that he brings; and the person in charge of food, lest it spoil."⁴⁵⁰

Afterwards, royal authority flourished. The (official) councilor and assistant for tribal and group affairs and good relations (with the various tribes and groups) made his appearance. For him, the name of wazir was used. Book keeping remained in the hands of clients, Jews, and Christians. For (official) documents, a special secretary was appointed, as a precaution against possible publication of the ruler's secrets, something that would be disastrous to his role as political leader. This secretary was not as important as the

⁴⁵⁰Cf. 1:451, above.

wazir, because he was needed only for written matters, and not for matters that could be discussed orally. At that time, speech still preserved its old position and was uncorrupted.⁴⁵¹ Therefore, the wazirate was the highest rank throughout the Umayyad dynasty. The wazir had general supervision of all matters delegated to him⁴⁵² and in which he acted in a consultative capacity, as well as all other matters of a defensive or offensive nature. This also entailed the supervision of the ministry (*diwan*) of the army,⁴⁵³ the assignment of military allowances at the beginning of each month, and other matters.

Then the 'Abbasid dynasty made its appearance. Royal authority flourished. The royal ranks were many and high ones. At that time, the position of wazir assumed an added importance. He became the delegate (of the caliph) as executive authority. His rank in the dynasty became conspicuous. Everyone looked toward the wazirate and submitted to it. Supervision of the bookkeeping office was entrusted to (the wazir), because his function required him to distribute the military allowances. Thus, he had to supervise the collection and distribution of (the money), and the supervision of (that task) was added to his (duties). Furthermore, supervision of "the pen" and (official) correspondence was entrusted to him, in order to protect the ruler's secrets and to preserve good style, since the language of the great mass had (by that time) become corrupt. A seal was made to be placed upon the documents of the ruler, in order to preserve them from becoming public. (That seal) was entrusted to (the wazir).

Thus, the name of wazir came to include the functions of both "the sword" and "the pen," in addition to all the other things for which the wazirate stood and in addition to its function of giving assistance (to the ruler). In the days of ar-Rashid, Jafar b. Yahya was actually called "sultan," an in-

⁴⁵¹Cf. p. 11, below.

⁴⁵²Bulaq: "matters of administration."

⁴⁵³It should be kept in mind that actual direction of military operations did not come under the jurisdiction of the *dtwdn al jaysh*, which was mainly concerned with fiscal matters concerning the army. It might be called "bureau of army rolls." Cf. pp. 20 ff, below.

dication of the general extent of his supervising power and control of the dynasty. The only governmental rank that he did not hold was the office of doorkeeper, and he did not hold it because he disdained to accept such an office.

Then the 'Abbasid dynasty entered the period when control over the caliphs⁴⁵⁴ was exercised (by others). That control was at times in the hands of the wazir. At other times, it was in the hands of the ruler. When the wazir gained control, it was necessary for him to be appointed the caliph's delegate to comply fully with the religious laws, as mentioned before.⁴⁵⁵ At that time, the wazirate was divided into an "executive wazirate"-this happened when the ruler was in control of his affairs and the wazir executed his decisions and a "delegated wazirate" -which happened when the wazir controlled the ruler and the caliph⁴⁵⁶ delegated all the affairs of the caliphate, leaving them to his supervision and independent judgment. This has caused a difference of opinion as to whether two wazirs could be appointed at the same time to the "delegated wazirate." The same difference of opinion has existed with regard to the appointment of two imams at the same time, as was mentioned before in connection with the laws governing the caliphate.

(The ruler) continued to be controlled in this way. Non Arab rulers seized power. The identity of the caliphate was lost. The usurpers were not interested in adopting the caliphal titles,⁴⁵⁷ and they disdained to share the same title with the wazirs, because the wazirs were their servants. Therefore, they used the names "amir" and "sultan." Those in control of the dy-

⁴⁵⁴ Sic C and D. The earlier text had "ruler."

⁴⁵⁵Cf., for instance, 1:470 f., above.

⁴⁵⁶ The passage from here to the end of the paragraph is not found in the earlier text of the *Muqaddimah*. It appears in the margin of B and C and in the text of D. The reference to an earlier passage (above, 1:893 f.) is to one of the later additions which were not yet found in the earlier text.

The problem of the possibility of appointing two men to the *wizdrat at-tafwid* is discussed by al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah* (Cairo, 1298/ 1881), p. 27.

⁴⁵⁷Cf. 1:379 and 469, above.

nasty were called *amir al-umara'* or *sultan*, in addition to the ornamental titles which the caliph used to give them, as can be seen in their surnames.⁴⁵⁸ They left the name wazir to those who held the office (of wazir) in the private retinue of the caliph. So remained the case down to the end of the ('Abbasid) dynasty.

In the course of this long period, language had become corrupt⁴⁵⁹ It became a craft practiced by certain people. Thus, it came to occupy an inferior position, and the wazirs were too proud to bother with it. Also, the wazirs were non-Arab, and neither eloquence (nor good style) could be expected of their language. People from other classes were chosen for (matters requiring Arabic eloquence and a good style). It was their specialty, and it came to be something that was at the service of (and subordinate to) the wazir.

The name *amir* was restricted to the men in charge of war operations and the army and related matters, although (the amir) had power over the other ranks and exercised control over everything, either as (the ruler's) delegate or through being in control (of the government). This remained the situation.

Very recently, the Turkish dynasty has made its appearance in Egypt. (The Turkish rulers) noticed that the wazirate had lost its identity, because the (amirs) had been too proud to accept it and had left it to men who were inclined to hold it in the service of the secluded (and powerless) caliph. The authority of the wazir had become secondary to that of the amir. (The wazirate) had become a subordinate, ineffectual office. Consequently, the persons who held high rank in the (Turkish) dynasty (as, for example, the amirs), disdained to use the name of wazir. The person in charge of legal decisions and supervision of the army at the present time, they call "deputy" (*na'ib*).⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸Cf. 1:469 f., above.

⁴⁵⁹Cf. esp., 8:346, below.

⁴⁶⁰Bulaq adds: "The name doorkeeper continued to be used in its original meaning."

They used the name wazir to designate (the person in charge of) tax collection.

The Umayyads in Spain at first continued to use the name wazir in its original meaning. Later, they subdivided the functions of the wazir into several parts. For each function, they appointed a special wazir. They appointed a wazir to furnish an accounting of (government) finances; another to for (official) correspondence; another to take care of the needs of those who had suffered wrongs; and another to supervise the situation of people in the border regions. A (special) house was prepared for (all these wazirs). There, they sat upon carpets spread out for them and executed the orders of the ruler, each in the field entrusted to him. One of the wazirs was appointed liaison officer between the wazirs and the caliph. He had a higher position than the others, because he had constant contact with the ruler. His seat was higher than that of the other wazirs. He was distinguished by the title of "doorkeeper" (*hajib*). So it continued down to the end of the (Umayyad) dynasty. The function and rank of *hajib* took precedence over the other ranks. Eventually, the *reyes de taifas* came to adopt the title. The most important among them at that time was called "doorkeeper" (*hajib*), as we shall mention.⁴⁶¹

Then, the Shi'ah dynasty (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids) made its appearance in Ifriqiyah and al-Qayrawan. The people who supported it were firmly rooted in desert life. Therefore, they at first neglected such functions and did not use the proper names for them. Eventually, however, the dynasty reached the stage of sedentary culture, and (people) came to follow the tradition of the two preceding dynasties (the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids) with regard to the use of titles, as the history of the ('Ubaydid-Fatimid dynasty) reveals.

When, later on, the Almohad dynasty made its appearance, it at first neglected the matter because of its desert attitude, but eventually it, too, adopted names and titles. The name wazir was used in its original meaning. Later the tradition of the (Spanish) Umayyad dynasty was followed with

⁴⁶¹Cf. p. 14, below.

regard to government matters and the name wazir was used for the person who guarded the ruler in his court and saw to it that embassies and visitors to the ruler used the proper forms of greeting and address, and that the requisite manners were observed in his presence. The office of doorkeeper was considered by (the later Almohads) a much higher one.⁴⁶² It has continued to be this way down to the present time.

In the Turkish dynasty in the East, the (official) who sees to it that people use the proper modes of address and greeting at court and when embassies are presented to the ruler, is called the *dawadar*.⁴⁶³ His office includes control of the "private secretary" (*katib as-sirr*) and of the postmasters (intelligence agents) who are active in the ruler's interest both far and near. Such is the condition of the Turkish dynasty at this time.

God takes charge of affairs.

The office of doorkeeper (*hijibah*)⁴⁶⁴

We have already mentioned⁴⁶⁵ that in the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties the title of doorkeeper (*hajib*) was restricted to the person who guarded the ruler from the common people and would not give them access to him, or only in such ways, and at such times, as he determined. (The office of doorkeeper) was lower in rank at that time than the other functions and subordinate to them, because the wazir could intervene whenever he saw fit. This was the situation during the whole 'Abbasid period, and the situation still persists at this time. In Egypt, (the office of doorkeeper) is subordinate to the person in charge of the highest function there, who is called "deputy" (*na'ib*).

⁴⁶²This seems to be the meaning of the Arabic words which usually signify "was taken away from him ..."

⁴⁶³Or *dawidar*; cf. p. 28, below.

⁴⁶⁴Cf. also pp. III ff., below.

⁴⁶⁵Cf. pp. 8 f., above.

In the Umayyad dynasty in Spain, the office of doorkeeper was that of the person who guarded the ruler from his entourage and from the common people. He was the liaison officer between the ruler and the wazirs and lower (officials). In the (Umayyad) dynasty, the office of doorkeeper was an extremely high position, as (Umayyad) history shows. Men like Ibn Hudayr⁴⁶⁶ and others held the office of doorkeeper in (the Umayyad dynasty).

Later, when the (Umayyad) dynasty came under the control of others, the person in control was called doorkeeper (*hajib*), because the office of doorkeeper had been such a distinguished one. Al-Mansilr b. Abi 'Amir, as well as his two sons,⁴⁶⁷ were *hajibs*. After they had openly adopted the external forms of royal authority, they were succeeded by the *reyes de taifas*. The latter, also, did not fail to use the title of *.jib*. It was considered an honor to possess it. The most powerful of (the *reyes de taifas*) used the royal style and titles, and then inevitably mentioned the titles *hajib* and *dul l-wizaratayn* (Holder of the Two Wazirates), meaning the wazirates of "the sword" and "the pen." The title of *hajib* referred to the office that guarded the ruler from the common people and from his entourage. *Dhu l-wizaratayn* referred to the fact that (the holder of the title) combined the functions of "the sword" and "the pen."

In the dynasties of the Maghrib and Ifrigiyah, no mention was made of the title of (doorkeeper), on account of their Bedouin attitude. Occasionally, but rarely, it is found in the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty in Egypt. That was at the time when (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids) had become powerful and used to sedentary culture.

In the Almohad dynasty which made its appearance (subsequently), sedentary culture, which calls for the use of titles and the separation of government functions with distinctive names, only became firmly established

⁴⁶⁶ Abul-Agbagh b. Muhammad, d. 320 [A.D. 932]. Cf. also R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 158.

⁴⁶⁷Cf. 1:380, above.

late (in the dynasty). The only rank they had at first was that of wazir, which they used for the secretary who participated with the ruler in the administration of his special (private) affairs. Men such as

Ibn 'Atiyah⁴⁶⁸ and 'Abd-as-Salam al-Kumi⁴⁶⁹ held the position. (Such a wazir) had, in addition to his main duty, to take care of bookkeeping and all the financial business. Later on, the name of wazir was given to relatives of the (Almohad) dynasty, such as Ibn Jami'⁴⁷⁰ and others. The name of door-keeper (*hajib*) was not known at that time in the (Almohad) dynasty.

In the Hafsīd dynasty of Ifriqiyah, the top position was at first in the hands of a wazir who gave advice and counsel. He was called "*Shaykh* of the Almohads." He had to take care of appointments and dismissals, the leadership of the army, and war operations. Bookkeeping and the ministry (*diwan* of tax collection) were another, separate rank. The person in charge of it was called *Sahib al-ashghal* (Manager of Financial Affairs)⁴⁷¹ He had complete charge of income and expenditures. He audited the finances, collected payments, and punished defaulters. One condition was that he be an Almohad. "The pen" was also a separate office under (the Almohads). It was only entrusted to a person with good knowledge of (official) correspondence and who could be trusted with secrets. Since people (of consequence in the dynasty) had no professional knowledge of writing and the proper use of their language for (official) correspondence, a particular descent was not a condition of appointment to that office.

The royal authority of the (Hafsīd) ruler was very farflung, and a great number of dependents lived in his house. Therefore, he needed a steward to be in charge of his house. (That steward had the duty) properly to appor-

⁴⁶⁸He died in 559 [1158]. Cf. H. Peres in *Hesperis*, XVIII (1934), 25 ff.

⁴⁶⁹He was active in the latter part of the twelfth century. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 237; de Slane (tr.), II, 193.

⁴⁷⁰He was active in the early thirteenth century. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 250 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 225, 227 ff.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. i:xxxvii, above, and p. 24, below; R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsidés* (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger, Vols. VIII and XI) (Paris, 1940-47), II, 56 ff., 66.

tion and fix the salaries, allowances, garments, kitchen and stable expenditures, and other things. He was in control of the stores (in the treasuries) and had the duty of telling the tax collectors to provide for (the quantities and amounts of money) needed. He was called doorkeeper (*hajib*). Occasionally, the function of signing (official) documents⁴⁷² was added to his duties, if he happened to have a good knowledge of writing. However, that function was occasionally given to somebody else. It continued to be this way. The ruler stayed in seclusion,⁴⁷³ and the doorkeeper (*hajib*) became the liaison officer between the people and all the officials. In the later (years) of the dynasty, the offices of "the sword" and of war operations were added to his duties. At this time it also became his duty to give advice and counsel. Thus, his office became the highest in rank and included all government functions. For some time after (the reign of) the twelfth ruler⁴⁷⁴ of the (Hafsids), the government was controlled by others, and the ruler kept in seclusion. Afterwards, his grandson Sultan Abul-'Abbas, regained control of his affairs. He removed the vestiges of seclusion and (outside) control by abolishing the office of doorkeeper (*hajib*), which had been the stepping stone toward (control of the government)⁴⁷⁵ He handled all his affairs himself without asking anyone else for help. This is the situation at the present time.

There is no trace of the title of doorkeeper (*hajib*) among the Zanatah dynasties in the Maghrib, of which the most important is the dynasty of the Merinids. Leadership of war operations and of the army belongs to the wazir. The rank of "the pen," as far as it is concerned with bookkeeping and (official) correspondence, goes to the person who knows these things well, even though it may be in the private possession of certain houses among

⁴⁷² On the office of the *'alamah*, cf. i: xli, above.

⁴⁷³ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 158.

⁴⁷⁴ Abu Bakr, A.D. 1918-1946. Cf. n. 155 to this chapter, above.

⁴⁷⁵ However, the title was retained for an honorary office. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, II, 55.

followers of the dynasty. Sometimes, (the office) is kept in (the same family), sometimes it is shared with others.

They have a separate rank for the office (whose function it is to) guard the ruler's door and to protect the ruler himself from the common people. The person who holds that office is called by them *mizwar*,⁴⁷⁶ that is, commandant of the elite troops (*jindar*) who are employed at the court of the ruler and responsible for executing his orders, enforcing the punishments he metes out, executing the severe measures he takes, and guarding the inmates of his prisons. Their chief (the *mizwar*) has charge of the court. He has to see to it that people behave properly in the (reception) hall where the common people (are received). His office is something like a minor wazirate.

The dynasty of the 'Abd-al-Wadids shows no trace of any of these titles, nor does it have separate (government) functions, because of its Bedouin character and insufficient (power). (The 'Abd-al-Wadids) occasionally use the name doorkeeper (*hajib*) for the person in charge of the ruler's personal household affairs, as was also the case in the Hafsid dynasty. He is given combined charge of bookkeeping and (official) documents, as also was the case among (the Hafsids). The reason for this is that (the 'Abd-al-Wadids) simply followed the tradition of the dynasty to which they had been subservient and whose propaganda they had been supporting when they started their career.

Present-day Spaniards call the person in charge of bookkeeping and of the ruler's activities and of all the other financial matters, *wakil* (manager). The wazir (there) has the same duties as the wazir (usually has), but he is also in charge of (official) correspondence. The ruler (himself) puts his signature to all documents. Thus, the Spaniards do not have a separate office of signer of documents (*'alamah*) as other dynasties have.

⁴⁷⁶ A Berber word meaning "first." R. Brunschvig, II, 59, vocalizes *Mazwar*. Berber forms, for instance, are *amecwar* (cf. E. Ibanez, *Diccionario rifeno-español* [Madrid, 1949], p. 28a) and *amzuwar* (? according to G. Mercier in *Journal asiatique*, CCV [1924], 316).

In the Turkish dynasty in Egypt, the name of doorkeeper (*hajib*) is used for persons of authority (*hakim*) among the men who hold power, that is, the Turks. These persons have to enforce the law among the people in the town. There are numerous (*hajibs*). The office of (*hajib*) among (the Turks) is lower than that of *na'ib*, which has general jurisdiction over both the ruling class and the common people. The *na'ib* has the authority to appoint and remove certain officials at the proper times. He may grant and fix small salaries. His orders and decrees are executed as those of the ruler. He is the ruler's delegate in every respect. The doorkeepers (*hajib*), on the other hand, have jurisdiction over the various classes of common people and over the soldiers only when a complaint (against them) is lodged with them. They can use force against those who do not want to submit to (their) judgment. They rank below the *na'ib*.

In the Turkish dynasty, the wazir is the person in charge of collecting all the different kinds of taxes: the land tax, customs duties, and the poll tax. He also (is in charge of) the disposition of (the tax revenue) for government expenditures and the fixed stipends (for soldiers and government employees). In addition, he can appoint or remove all officials, whatever their rank and description, who are concerned with tax collection and disbursement.⁴⁷⁷ It is a custom of (the Turks) that the wazir be appointed from among the Copts in charge of the office of bookkeeping and tax collection, because in Egypt they have been familiar with these matters since ancient times. Occasionally, the ruler appoints to that office a member of the ruling group, one of the Turkish grandees or one of their descendants, as occasion may arise.

God administers and governs all affairs in His wisdom. There is no God but Him.

⁴⁷⁷ *Tanfidh* in this sense occurs again, p. 24, l. 3, below.

The ministry (*diwan*) of (financial) operations and taxation

The ministry of taxation is an office that is necessary to the royal authority. It is concerned with tax operations. It guards the rights of the dynasty in the matters of income and expenditures. It takes a census of the names of all soldiers, fixes their salaries, and pays out their allowances at the proper times. In this connection recourse is had to rules set up by the chiefs of (tax) operations and the stewards of the dynasty. They are all written down in a book which gives all the details concerning income and expenditures. It is based upon a good deal of accounting, which is mastered only by those who have considerable skill in (tax) operations. The book is called the *diwan*. At the same time, (the word *diwan*) designates the place where the officials who are concerned with these matters have their offices.

The name is said to have had the following origin. One day, Khosraw looked at the secretaries in his ministry (*diwan*). They were all engaged in their separate calculations, and it looked as if they were talking to themselves. The king exclaimed: "Dewaneh"-which is Persian for "crazy."⁴⁷⁸ As a result, the place where they were working was called by that name. The ending *-eh* was dropped, because the word was so much used, and dropping the *-eh* made it easier to pronounce. The word thus became *diwan*. Later, it came to signify the (tax) book which contained the rules and computations.

Another story is that *diwanis* the Persian name for the devils. The secretaries were called "devils" because of their quick comprehension, their understanding of both the obvious and the difficult, and their ability to combine random and disparate facts. The name was then extended to designate the offices where they worked. In this sense, the name *diwan* was taken over by the secretaries in charge of (official) correspondence and used to desig-

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. also p. 407, below. For the popular etymologies of the word *diwdn* mentioned here, cf. the beginning of the eighth chapter of al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, p. 189. They are often cited; cf., for instance, the old *Kitab al-Kuttab* by 'Abdallah al-Baghdadi, ed. D. Sourdel in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* (Damascus), XIV (1954), 137.

nate the place where their offices were located in the ruler's court, as will be mentioned later on.⁴⁷⁹

One person is in charge of this office. He supervises all the operations of this kind. Each branch has its own supervisor. In some dynasties supervision of the army, of military fiefs, of keeping count of allowances, and of other (such) things, is constituted as separate offices. (Whether this is done or not) depends on the organization of a given dynasty and the arrangements made by its first rulers.

It should be known that the office of (tax collections) originates in dynasties only when their power and superiority and their interest in the different aspects of royal authority and in the ways of efficient administration have become firmly established. The first to set up the *diwan* in the Muslim dynasty was 'Umar.⁴⁸⁰ The reason is said to have been the arrival of Abu Hurayrah with money from al-Bahrayn. (The Muslims) thought that it was a very large sum, and they had trouble with its distribution. They tried to count the money and to establish how it should be paid out for allowances and claims. On that occasion, Khalid b. al-Walid advised the use of the *diwan*. He said: "I have seen the rulers of Syria keeping *a diwan*." 'Umar accepted the idea from Khalid.

It has also been said that the person who advised 'Umar to introduce the *diwan* was al-Hurmuzan.⁴⁸¹ He noticed that (military) missions were dispatched without a *diwan* (a muster roll). He asked ('Umar): "Who would know if some of (the soldiers) disappeared? Those who remain behind might leave their places and abscond with the money that had been given to them

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. pp. 26 f. and 64, below.

⁴⁸⁰ The following stories about the introduction of the *diwan* were also derived from al-Mawardi, *loc. cit.* Ibn Khaldun conflated the stories concerning Abu Hurayrah (cf. I. Goldziher in *El*, s.v. "Abu Huraira") and Khalid b. al-Walid (cf. K. V. Zettersteen in *El*, s.v.) and also the stories concerning al-Hurmuzan and the appointment of 'Aqil, etc. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), p. 312.

⁴⁸¹ The ruler of al-Ahwaz, who was captured during the conquest of the 'Iraq.

for their services (if they could assume that their desertion would not be noticed). Such things should be noted down exactly in a book. Therefore, establish a *diwdn* for them." 'Umar asked what the word *diwdn* meant, and it was explained to him. When he agreed to (have a *diwdn*), he ordered 'Aqil b. Abi Talib,⁴⁸² Makhramah b. Nawfal,⁴⁸³ and Jubayr b. Mut'im,⁴⁸⁴ all of them secretaries of the Quraysh, to write down the *diwan* of the Muslim army.

(The *diwan* was arranged) according to family relationships and began with the relatives of the Prophet and continued according to the degree of relationship. This was the beginning of the ministry (*diwan*) of the army.

Az-Zuhri⁴⁸⁵ reported on the authority of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab⁴⁸⁶ that this took place in al-Mubarram of the year twenty [December, 640/January, 641].

After the advent of Islam, the ministry (*diwan*) of the land tax and tax collections remained as it had been. The⁴⁸⁷ (*diwan*) of the 'Iraq used Persian, and that of Syria Byzantine Greek. The secretaries of the *diwans* were Muslim subjects of the two groups. Then, with the appearance of 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwan, the form of the state became that of royal authority. People turned from the low standard of desert life to the splendor of sedentary culture and from the simplicity of illiteracy to the sophistication of literacy. Experts in writing and bookkeeping made their appearance among the Arabs and their clients. Thus, 'Abd-al-Malik ordered Sulayman b. Sa'd, then governor of the Jordan (province), to introduce the use of Arabic in the *di-*

⁴⁸² Agil, an older brother of 'Ali, died ca. 680. Cf., for instance, Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* (Hyderabad, 1325-27/1907-9), VII, 254.

⁴⁸³ He died in 54 [674]. Cf. an-Nawawi, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. F. Wustenfeld (Göttingen, 1842-47), pp. 543 f.

⁴⁸⁴ He died between 56 and 59 [675/76 and 678/79]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 63 f. The correct vocalization Mut'im is indicated in MSS. B, C, and D.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. n. 88 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

⁴⁸⁶ He died around 100 [718/191]. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 244 (n. 1).

⁴⁸⁷ The following two paragraphs are derived from al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, pp. 192 f. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 840 (n. 2).

wanof Syria. Sulayman completed the task in exactly one year to the day. Sarhitn,⁴⁸⁸ 'Abd-al-Malik's secretary, looked at (the situation) and said to the Byzantine secretaries: "Seek you a living in another craft, because God has taken this one from you."

Al-Hajjaj ordered his secretary Salih b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman to introduce the use of Arabic, instead of Persian, in the *diwan* of the 'Iraq. Salih knew how to write both Arabic and Persian. He had learned it from Zadanfarrfikh, his predecessor as secretary to al-Hajjaj. When Zadan was killed in the war against 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. al-Ash'ath,⁴⁸⁹ al-Hajjaj appointed Salih as his successor. (Salih now carried out alHajjaj's order and introduced the use of Arabic in the *diwan*). He succeeded in doing that and in overcoming the reluctance of the Persian secretaries. 'Abd-al-Hamid b. Yahya⁴⁹⁰ used to say: "Salih was an excellent man. He was a great boon to the secretaries."

Later on, in the 'Abbasid dynasty, the office was added to the duties of (the wazir) who supervised the man in charge of it. This was the case under the Barmecides and the Banu Sahl b. Nawbakht and other 'Abbasid wazirs.

Certain religious laws attach to the office. They concern the army, the income and expenditures of the treasury, and it, is the differing tax situations of the different regions, which depend on whether they had surrendered (peacefully) to the Muslim conquerors or had been conquered by force. Then, there is the question as to who makes appointment to the office. There are also the conditions governing the person in charge and the secretaries, as well as the rules according to which the accounts are to be kept. All (these legal problems) belong to the books on administration (*al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*) and are written down in them. It is not the purpose of this book to

⁴⁸⁸ The name was read in this form by Ibn Khaldun. It is thought originally to have been Sarjun, from Greek Sergios.

⁴⁸⁹ In 85 [704]. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York, 1947), pp. 88 f.

⁴⁹⁰ The great secretary, author of the famous *Epistle* quoted below, pp. 29 ff.

deal with them. We discuss the subject only as it has to do with the nature of royal authority, in the discussion of which we are presently engaged.

This office constitutes a large part of all royal authority. In fact, it is the third of its basic pillars. Royal authority requires soldiers, money, and the means to communicate with those who are absent. The ruler, therefore, needs persons to help him in the matters concerned with "the sword," "the pen," and finances. Thus, the person who holds the office (of tax collections) has (a good) part of the royal authority for himself.

This was the case under the Umayyad dynasty in Spain and under its successors, the *reyes de ta'ifas*. In the Almohad dynasty, the man in charge of (the office) was an Almohad.

He had complete freedom to levy, collect, and handle money, to control the activities of officials and agents in this connection, and then to make disbursements in the proper amounts and at the proper times. He was known as *Sahib al-ashghal* (financial affairs manager). Occasionally, in some places, the office was held by persons who had a good understanding of it, but were not Almohads.⁴⁹¹

The Hafsids gained control over Ifrigiyah at the time when the exodus from Spain took place. Exiled (Spanish) notables came to (the Hafsids).⁴⁹² Among them, there were some who had been employed in this (type of work) in Spain, such as the Banu Sa'id,⁴⁹³ the lords of Alcala near Granada, who were known as the Banu Abi l-Husayn. (The Hafsids) liked to have them for this (type of work). They entrusted them with the supervision of (tax) affairs, which was what they had been doing in Spain. They employed them and the Almohads alternately for this purpose. Later on, the accountants and secretaries took the office over for themselves, and the Almohads lost

⁴⁹¹ Cf. I: xxxvii, and p. 16, above.

⁴⁹² Cf. I: xxxvi, above.

⁴⁹³ The family of the famous historian. Cf. n. 80 to Ch. i, above, and 8:445, below. Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 294f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 369 ff.

it. As the position of doorkeeper (*hajib*) became more and more important, and as his executive power came to extend over all government affairs, the institution of the *Sahib al-ashghal* ceased to be influential⁴⁹⁴ The person in charge of it was dominated by the doorkeeper (*hajib*) and became (no more than) a mere tax collector. He lost the authority he had formerly had in the dynasty.

In the contemporary Merinid dynasty, the accounting of the land tax and (military) allowances is in the hands of one man. He audits all accounts. Recourse is had to his *diwan*, and his authority is second (only) to the authority of the ruler or wazir. His signature attests to the correctness of the accounts dealing with the land tax and (military) allowances.

These are the principal governmental ranks and functions. They are high ranks, involving the exercise of general authority and (requiring) direct contact with the ruler.

In the Turkish dynasty, the functions (under discussion) are divided. The person in charge of the *diwan* of (military) allowances is known as inspector of the army (*nazir aljaysh*). The person in charge of finances is called the wazir. He has supervision over the dynasty's *diwan* of general tax collection. This is the highest rank among the men who are in charge of financial matters. Among (the Turks), supervision of financial matters is spread over many ranks, because the dynasty rules a large (territory) and exercises great powers, and its finances and taxes are too vast to be handled by one man all by himself, however competent. Therefore, for the general supervision of (financial affairs), the man known as wazir is appointed. In spite of his (important position), he is second to one of the clients of the ruler who shares in the ruler's group feeling and belongs to the military (caste) and who is called *Ustadh-ad-dar*.⁴⁹⁵ This official outranks the wazir, who

⁴⁹⁴Cf. also p. 16, above.

⁴⁹⁵ Or *Ustadar*.

does all he can to do his bidding. He is one of the great amirs of the dynasty and belongs to the army and the military (caste).

Other functions are subordinate to that of (the wazir) among (the Turks). All of them have reference to financial matters and bookkeeping, and are restricted in their authority to particular matters. There is, for instance, the inspector of the privy purse (*nazir al-khass*)-that is, the person who handles the ruler's private finances, such as concern his fiefs or his shares in the land tax and taxable lands that are not part of the general Muslim fist⁴⁹⁶ He is under the control of the amir, the *Ustadh-ad-dar*, but if the wazir is an army man, the *Ustadh-ad-dar* has no authority over him. The inspector of the privy purse also is under the control of the treasurer of the finances of the ruler, one of the latter's mamelukes, who is called *Khazindar*(treasurer), because his office is concerned with the private property of the ruler. Such is the nomenclature⁴⁹⁷ used in connection with the function of (financial administration) in the Turkish dynasty in the East. We have mentioned how it was handled in the Maghrib.

God governs all affairs. There is no Lord except Him.

The ministry (*diwan*) of (official) correspondence and writing

This office is not required by the nature of royal authority. Many dynasties were able to dispense with it completely, as, for example, the dynasties rooted in the desert and which were not affected by the refinements of sedentary culture and high development of the crafts.

In the Muslim dynasty, the Arabic language situation and (the custom of) expressing what one wanted to express in good form intensified the need for the office. Thus, writing came to convey, as a rule, the essence of a matter in better stylistic form than was possible in oral expression. The secretary to an (Arab) amir was customarily a relative and one of the great of his tribe. This was the case with the caliphs and leading personalities among the men

⁴⁹⁶ D, and possibly C, add: "which is <not?> under his supervision."

⁴⁹⁷ *Sic* C and D. The older text (and C before correction) had: "This clarifies the function ..."

around Muhammad in Syria and the 'Iraq, because of the great reliability and genuine discretion (of relatives and tribesmen).

When the language became corrupt and a craft (that had to be learned),⁴⁹⁸ (the office) was entrusted to those who knew (Arabic) well. Under the 'Abbasids, it was a high office. The secretary issued documents freely, and signed his own name to them at the end. He sealed them with the seal of the ruler, which was a signet upon which the name of the ruler or his emblem was engraved. It was impressed on a red clay mixed with water and called sealing clay. The document was folded and glued, and then both sides was sealed with (the seal). Later on, the documents were issued in the name of the ruler, and the secretary (merely) affixed his signature (*'alamah*)⁴⁹⁹ to them at the beginning or end. He could choose where he wanted to put it as well as its wording.

The office then lost standing through the fact that officials of other government ranks gained in the ruler's esteem or because the wazir gained control over (the ruler). The signature of a secretary became ineffective (as a sign of authority) and was replaced by the signature of his superior, and this was now considered decisive. (The secretary) affixed his official signature, but the signature of his superior made the document valid. This happened in the later (years) of the Hafsid dynasty, when the office of doorkeeper (*hajib*) gained in esteem and the doorkeeper became the delegate of the ruler and then came to control him. The signature of the secretary became ineffective (as a sign of authority) but was still affixed to documents, in acknowledgment of its former importance. The doorkeeper (*hajib*) made it the rule for the secretary to sign letters of his by affixing a handwritten (note) for which he⁵⁰⁰ could choose any formula of ratification he wished. The secretary obeyed him and affixed the usual mark. So long as the ruler was in

⁴⁹⁸Cf. p. ii, above, and 9:34.6, below.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. 1: xli, and p. 16, above.

⁵⁰⁰ Le., the secretary rather than the *hajib*.

control of his own affairs, he saw to the matter himself (and made it the rule for the secretary) to affix the signature.

One of the functions of the secretary's office is the *tawqi*. It means that the secretary sits in front of the ruler during his public audiences and notes down (*yuwaqqi'*), in the most concise and stylistically most perfect manner, the decisions he receives from the ruler concerning the petitions presented to him. These decisions are then issued as they are, or they are copied in a document which must be in the possession of the petitioner. The person who formulates a *tawqi'* needs a great deal of stylistic skill, so that the *tawqi'* has the correct form. Ja'far b. Yahya used to write *tawqi's* on petitions for ar-Rashid and to hand the petition (with the *tawqi'*) back to the petitioner. Stylists vied with each other to obtain his *tawqi's*, in order to learn the different devices and kinds of good style from them. It has even been said that such petitions (with Ja'far's *tawqi'* on them) were sold for a dinar.⁵⁰¹ Things were handled in this manner in (various) dynasties.

It should be known that the person in charge of this function must be selected from among the upper classes and be a refined gentleman of great knowledge and with a good deal of stylistic ability. He will have to concern himself with the principal branches of scholarship, because such things may come up in the gatherings and audiences of the ruler. In addition, to be a companion of kings calls for good manners and the possession of good qualities of character. And he must know all the secrets of good style, to be able to write letters and find the words that conform to the meaning intended.

In some dynasties, the rank (of secretary) is entrusted to military men, since (some) dynasties, by their very nature, have no regard for scholarship, on account of the simplicity of group feeling (prevailing in them). The ruler gives his government offices and ranks to men who share in his group feeling. Appointments to the financial administration, to "the sword," and to the office of secretary, are made from among them. "The sword" requires

⁵⁰¹ A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 71, quotes this statement.

no learning. But the financial administration and the secretaryship need it, for the latter requires a good style and the former requires accounting skill. Therefore, (rulers) select people from the (learned) class for the office of secretary, when there is need for it, and entrust it to them. However, the secretary is subordinate to the higher authority exercised by the men who share in the ruler's group feeling, and his authority derives from that of his superior. This is the case with the Turkish dynasty in the East at this time. The office of chief secretary belongs to the "secretary of state" (*Sahib al-insha*). However, the secretary of state is under the control of an amir from among the men who share in the group feeling of the ruler. This man is known as the *Dawidar*.⁵⁰² The ruler usually relies upon him, trusts him, and confides in him, whereas he relies upon the (secretary) for matters that have to do with good style and the conformity (of the expression) to what one wants to express,⁵⁰³ and other, related matters.

The ruler who selects and picks a (secretary) from the rank and file has many conditions to consider. (These conditions governing the secretary) are best and most completely presented in the *Epistle* that the secretary 'Abd-al-Hamid addressed to his fellow secretaries. It runs as follows;⁵⁰⁴

And now: May God guard you who practice the craft of secretaryship, and may He keep you and give you success and guidance. There are prophets

⁵⁰² Cf. p. 14, above.

⁵⁰³ Bulaq adds: "and the concealing of secrets."

⁵⁰⁴ Abd-al-Hamid b. Yahyi perished in the debacle of his Umayyad masters in 132 [750]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 105. His *Epistle* is found in al-Jahshiyiri, *Wuzara'*, ed. H. von Mzik (Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, No. 1) (Leipzig, 1926), fols. 35b-39b, and in Ibn I;amdun, *Tadhkirah*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2948, Vol. 1, fols. 123a-125b. In both cases the text differs slightly in some passages from what we find in Ibn Khaldun. The text in al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha* (Cairo, 1331-38/1913-19), 1, 85-89, is identical with that in Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun and al-Qalqashandi may have used a common source, but it seems rather that al-Qalqashandi copied his text from the *Muqaddimah*, as he also quotes Ibn Khaldun on another occasion without mentioning his name (cf. n. 546 to this chapter, below). This text was also published, with some unexplained rearrangement, by M. Kurd 'Ali, *Rasa'il al-bulagha'* (2d ed.; Cairo, 1331/1913), pp. 172-75. A separate edition of the *Epistle* (Tunis, 1318), is known to me only from the GAL reference, *loc. cit.*

and messengers and highly honored kings. After them come different kinds of men, all of them made by God. They are of different kinds, even if they are all alike in fact. God occupied them with different kinds of crafts and various sorts of businesses, so that they might be able to make a living and earn their sustenance. He gave to you, assembled secretaries, the great opportunity to be men of education and gentlemen, to have knowledge and (good) judgment.⁵⁰⁵ You bring out whatever is good in the caliphate and straighten out its affairs. Through your advice, God improves the government for the benefit of human beings and makes their countries civilized. The ruler cannot dispense with you. You alone make him a competent ruler. Your position with regard to rulers is that (you are) the ears through which they hear, the eyes through which they see, the tongues through which they speak, and the hands through which they touch. May God give you, therefore, enjoyment of the excellent craft with which He has distinguished you, and may He not deprive you of the great favors that He has shown unto you.

No craftsman needs more than you to combine all praiseworthy good traits and all memorable and highly regarded excellent qualities, O secretaries, if you aspire to fit the description given of you in this letter. The secretary needs on his own account, and his master, who trusts him with his important affairs, expects him, to be mild where mildness is needed, to be understanding where judgment is needed, to be enterprising where enterprise is needed, to be hesitant where hesitation is needed. He must prefer modesty, justice, and fairness. He must keep secrets. He must be faithful in difficult circumstances. He must know (beforehand) about the calamities that may come. He must be able to put things in their proper places and misfortunes into their proper categories. He must have studied every branch of learning and know it well, and if he does not know it well, he must at least

⁵⁰⁵ The MSS have *riwayah*, which is meaningless in the context. Bulaq, therefore, appears to have corrected *riwdyah* to *razanah* "good judgment." The original text, as in al-Jahshiyari, was *rawiyah* "reflection, (good) judgment."

have acquired an adequate amount of it. By virtue of his natural intelligence, good education, and outstanding experience, he must know what is going to happen to him before it happens, and he must know the result of his actions before action starts. He must make the proper preparations for everything, and he must set up everything in its proper, customary form.

Therefore, assembled secretaries, vie with each other to acquire the different kinds of education and to gain an understanding of religious matters. Start with knowledge of the Book of God and religious duties. Then, study the Arabic language, as that will give you a cultivated form of speech. Then, learn to write well, as that will be an ornament to your letters. Transmit poetry and acquaint yourselves with the rare expressions and ideas that poems contain. Acquaint yourselves also with both Arab and non Arab political events, and with the tales of (both groups) and the biographies describing them, as that will be helpful to you in your endeavors. Do not neglect to study accounting, for it is the mainstay of the land tax register.⁵⁰⁶ Detest prejudices with all your heart, lofty ones as well as low ones, and all idle and contemptible things, for they bring humility and are the ruin of secretaryship. Do not let your craft be a low one. Guard against backbiting and calumny and the actions of stupid people. Beware of haughtiness, foolishness, and pride, for they mean acquiring hostility without (even the excuse of) hatred. Love each other in God in your craft. Advise your colleagues to practice it in a way befitting your virtuous, fair, and gifted predecessors.

If times go hard for one of you, be kind to him and console him, until everything be well with him again. Should old age make one of you unable to get around and pursue his livelihood and meet his friends, visit him and honor him and consult him, and profit from his outstanding experience and mature knowledge. Every one of you should be more concerned for his assistants, who may be useful when needed, than for his own children or

⁵⁰⁶ The edition of al-Qalqashandi here, and three lines below, vocalizes *al-kuttdb* "secretaries," instead of *al-kitab*. Though seemingly possible, the reading *al-kuttāb* is certainly not correct here.

brothers. Should some praise come (to one of you) in the course of his work, he should ascribe the merit to his colleague; any blame he should bear all by himself. He should be ware of mistakes and slips and of being annoyed when conditions change. For you, assembled secretaries, are more prompt to be blamed than Qur'an readers,⁵⁰⁷ and blame is more detrimental to you than to them. You know that everyone of you has a master, one who gives from his own as much as can be expected, and (every one of you) has the obligation to repay him, since he deserves it, with fidelity, gratefulness, tolerance, patience, good counsel, discretion, and active interest in his affairs, and to show (his good intentions) by his actions whenever his master needs him and his resources. Be conscious of (your obligations) - God give you success - in good and bad circumstances, in privation as in munificence and kindness, in happiness as in misfortune. Any member of this noble craft who has all these qualities has good qualities indeed.

If any one of you be appointed to an office, or if some matter that concerns God's children be turned over to one of you, he should think of God and choose obedience to Him. He should be kind to the weak and fair to those who have been wronged. All creatures are God's children. He loves most those who are kindest to His children. Furthermore, he should judge with justice, he should honor the noble (descendants of Muhammad), augment the booty (gained in wars against infidels), and bring civilization to the country. He should be friendly to the subjects, and refrain from harming them. He should be humble and mild in his office. He should be kind in handling the land tax registers⁵⁰⁸ and in calling in outstanding claims.

⁵⁰⁷ This is how Ibn Khaldun read and understood the word used here. The vocalization *al-qurra'* is expressly indicated in C. He might have had in mind the fact that, since everybody knows the Qur'an, mistakes made by Qur'an readers are easily spotted and blame assigned. However, the correct text is certainly that of al-Jahshiyiri and Ibn Ilandun, who have *al-mar'ah* "a woman." The feminine singular also agrees better with the following *laha* "to her."

⁵⁰⁸ Instead of *sijllat*, al-Jahshiyari has what is certainly the more original text: *istihlab* (*sic*, not *istijlab*) "in milking his land tax."

You should explore the character of him with whom you associate. When his good and bad sides are known, you will be able to help him to do the good things that agree with him, and be able to contrive to keep him from the bad things he desires. You must be able to do that in the subtlest and best manner. You know that a person who is in charge of an animal and understands his job, endeavors to know the character of the animal. If it is inclined to gallop,⁵⁰⁹ he does not goad it when he is riding it. If it is inclined to kick, he takes precautions with its forelegs. If he fears that it will shy, he takes precautions with its head. If it is restive, he gently subdues its desire to go where it wants to go. If it still continues, he pulls it slightly to the side, then has its halter loosened. This description of how to take care of an animal contains good points for those who want to lead human beings and deal with them, serve them, and have intimate contact with them. The secretary, with his excellent education, his noble craft, his subtlety, his frequent dealings with people who confer with him and discuss things with him and learn from him or fear his severity, needs to be kind to his associates,^{509a} to flatter them, and to supply their wants, even more than the person in charge of an animal which cannot answer, does not know what is right, does not understand what is said to it, and goes only where its master who rides upon it makes it go. Be kind - God show mercy unto you-when you look after things. Use as much reflection and thought as possible. God permitting, you will thus escape harshness, annoyance, and rudeness on the part of your associates. They will be in agreement with you, and you will have their friendship and protection, if God wills.

⁵⁰⁹ D has *jamuhan* "ungovernable," instead of *ramuhan*. Though this seems to be a freehand correction or mistake of D, it may be noted that the text of al-Jahshiyari and Ibn Hamdun reads: "If it is inclined to gallop (*ramuhan*), he takes precautions with the hind legs. If it is ungovernable (*jamuhan*), he does not goad it when he is riding it. If it is inclined to kick [?], he takes precautions with the forelegs. If he fears that it will bite, he takes precautions with its head...."

^{509a} As becomes clear from this point on, the secretary's "associates," referred to in this paragraph, are his masters. He must know how to handle them, as a rider handles his horse.

None of you should have too sumptuous an office or go beyond the proper limits in his dress, his mount, his food, his drink, his house, his servants, or in the other things pertaining to his station, for, despite the nobility of the craft by which God has distinguished you, you are servants who are not permitted to fall short in their service. You are caretakers whom one does not permit to be wasteful or spendthrift. Try to preserve your modesty by planned moderation in all the things I have mentioned and told you. Beware of the wastefulness of prodigality and the bad results of luxury. They engender poverty and bring about humiliation. People who (are prodigal and live in luxury) are put to shame, especially if they be secretaries and men of education.

Things repeat themselves. One thing contains the clue to another. Let yourselves be guided in your future undertakings-by your previous experience. Then, choose the method of doing things that is most definite, most accurate, and that promises the best result. You should know that there is something that defeats accomplishment, namely, talking about things. The person who does it is prevented from using his knowledge and his ability to think. Therefore, everyone of you, while he is in his office, should endeavor to talk no more than is sufficient; he should be concise in the matters he brings up and in the answers he gives; and he should give thought to all the arguments he advances. His work will profit from that. It will prevent too much preoccupation with other things. He should implore God to grant him success and to support him with His guidance, for he must fear making mistakes that might hurt his body and (cast doubt upon) his intelligence and education. When any one of you says or thinks that the high quality and efficiency of his work is obviously the result of his own cleverness and knowledge of how to do things, he provokes God. God will let him depend upon himself alone, and then he will find that he is not adequate to his task. This is no secret to those who reflect.

None of you should say that he has a better understanding of affairs, or knows better how to handle difficult matters, than other members of his craft, than those who serve together with him. Of two persons, discerning people consider him the more intelligent who throws off conceit and thinks his colleagues more intelligent and more skillful than he. But at any rate, both parties should acknowledge the excellence of God's favors. No one should let himself be deceived by his own opinions and consider himself free from mistakes. Nor should he strive to outdo his friends, equals, colleagues, or his family. Everybody must give praise to God, in humility in the face of His greatness, in meekness in the face of His might, and in fulfillment of the command to speak of God's favors.⁵¹⁰

In this letter of mine, let me refer to the old proverb: "He who accepts good advice⁵¹¹ all is successful." This is the essence of this letter and the best that is said in it, after the references to God it contains. Therefore, I have placed it at the end, and I close the letter with it. May God take care of us and of you, assembled students and secretaries, in the same way He takes care of those whom, as He knows in His prescience, He will make happy and guide aright. He can do it. It is in His hand.

Farewell, and God's mercy and blessings upon you.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Qur'an 93.11 (11): "And as to the favors of your Lord, speak (of them)!"

⁵¹¹ The correctness of this translation is borne out by the variant readings found in connection with this proverb. Instead of Ibn Khaldun's *talzamuhu an-nasihah*, al-Jahshiyari (cf. also the text of al-Qalqashandi) reads: *yalzamu as-sihhah* "he who (speaks or acts) soundly is successful." Similarly, ar-Raghib al-Isfahani, *Muhdaardt* (Cairo, 1287/1870), I, 181, who, however, understands the proverb to refer to sincerity and the avoidance of deceit. Al-Mubashshir, finally, ascribes the following version of the proverb to Aristotle (No. 59 of the sayings of Aristotle in the *Mukhtar al-hikam*, ed. Badawi [Madrid, 1958], p. 195): *Ilzam as-sihhah yalzamka an-nasr* "If you (speak or act) soundly, you will be successful," where *an-nasr* takes the place of *al-'amal* in the other versions and clarifies the meaning of *al-'amal*. Cf. also al-Jahiz, *Baydn* (Cairo 1332/1914), II, 46.

The police⁵¹²

In Ifriqiyah, the holder (of the office of chief of police) is at this time called the "magistrate" (*hakim*). In Spain, he is called the "town chief" (*sahib al-madinah*). In the Turkish dynasty (in Egypt), he is called the "governor" (*wali*). It is an office that is subordinate to the person in charge of "the sword" in the dynasty, who at times uses the (chief of police) to execute his orders.

The office of (chief of) police was originally created by the 'Abbasid dynasty. The person who held it had (a twofold duty. He had,) firstly, to concern himself with crimes in the investigating stage, and, secondly, to execute the legal punishments. The religious law cannot concern itself with suspicions of possible criminal acts. It can concern itself only with executing the legal punishments. Political leadership, on the other hand, has to concern itself with the investigating stage, in which is (ascertained the commission of crimes) necessitating (legal punishments). It does this through the magistrate, who, being in the possession of all the circumstantial evidence, forces (the criminal) to confess, as is required by the general (public) interest. The person in charge of the investigating stage and of executing afterwards the legal punishments due, when the judge has no (longer) anything to do with (the case), was called "chief of police." Occasionally, he was given sole jurisdiction over capital crimes and legal punishments, and those matters were taken away from the judge's jurisdiction. This rank was considered one of great reputation, and was entrusted to high military leaders and important clients of the court entourage. It implied no general executive power over all classes, its jurisdiction extending only over low and suspect elements and (involving) the restraining of turbulent and criminal people.

Among the Spanish Umayyads, the (office of chief of police) acquired great celebrity. It was divided into a "great police" and a "small police." The jurisdiction of the "great police" was made to extend over both the upper and

⁵¹² Cf. 1:456 f., above.

the lower classes. It had jurisdiction over government dignitaries, and, in cases of wrongdoing, could restrain them, their relatives, and other persons of rank who were connected with them as clients. The chief of the "small police" was concerned only with the common people. The chief of the "great police" had his seat at the gate of the palace of the ruler. He had footmen (*raji*) who occupied places near him,⁵¹³ which they did not leave except to go about his business. (The office) was entrusted only to great personalities of the dynasty. It even became a stepping stone to the wazirate and to the office of doorkeeper (*hajib*).

In the Almohad dynasty in the Maghrib, (the office) enjoyed a certain reputation, even though it did not have general (jurisdiction). It was entrusted only to important Almohad personalities. It did not have authority over government dignitaries. Nowadays, its importance has greatly decreased. It no longer is the preserve of Almohad personalities, and may be entrusted to any follower (of the dynasty) who (is able to) take charge of it.

In the Merinid dynasty at this time in the West, (the office) is vested in the houses of Merinid clients and followers.

In the Turkish dynasty in the East, (the office is entrusted) to Turkish personalities or to descendants of the people of the preceding Kurdish dynasty. (Incumbents) are chosen for (the office) in both regions⁵¹⁴ according to the energy and resolution they show in enforcing the law. The purpose is to cut down corruption, to stamp out criminality, to destroy and dissolve the homes and centers of criminal activity, and to enforce the punishments imposed by the religious law and by the political authorities, as concern for the general (public) interests in a town requires.

God causes the change of night and day.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 159 f., who argues that *maq'ad* here means "separate houses." But cf. also the phrase which always reoccurs in connection with certain traditions: *fa-l yatabawwa' maq'adahtu (fi n-nar)*.

⁵¹⁴ Apparently, in the East and the West.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Qur'an 24.44 (44).

The admiralty

(The admiralty) is one of the ranks and functions of the dynasty in the realm of the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah. It is subordinate to the person in charge of "the sword" and comes under his authority in many respects. In customary usage, the person in charge of the admiralty is called *Almiland*,⁵¹⁶ with an emphatic *l*. (The word) is derived from the language of the European Christians. It is the technical term for the office in their language.

The rank (of admiral) is restricted to the realm of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, because both Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib are on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Along its southern shore the lands of the Berbers extend from Ceuta to Alexandria and on to Syria. Along its northern shore are the countries of Spain and of the European Christians (Franks), the Slavs, and the Byzantines, also extending to Syria. It is called the Byzantine Sea or the Syrian Sea,⁵¹⁷ according to the people who inhabit its shores. Those who live along the coast and on the shores of both sides of the Mediterranean are more concerned with (maritime) conditions than any other maritime nation.

The Byzantines, the European Christians, and the Goths lived on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Most of their wars and most of their commerce was by sea. They were skilled in navigating (the Mediterranean) and in naval war. When these people coveted the possession of the southern shore, as the Byzantines (coveted) Ifriqiyah and as the Goths (coveted) the Maghrib, they crossed over in their fleets and took possession of it. Thus, they achieved superiority over the Berbers and deprived them of their power. They had populous cities there, such as Carthage, Sbeitla, Jalula,⁵¹⁸ Mur-naq,⁵¹⁹ Cherchel, and Tangier. The ancient master of Carthage used to fight

⁵¹⁶ Catalan *almirant*, Castilian *almirante*, which, in turn, is a loan word from the Arabic. R. Brun-schvig, *La Berberie orientale*, II, 94 (n. 3), doubts the general usage of the term in northwestern Africa. It may, however, have been common in the spoken language rather than in literature.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. 1:139, above.

⁵¹⁸ Situated a day's journey west of al-Qayrawan. Cf. R. Brun-schvig, 1, 304.

⁵¹⁹ Near Tunis

the master of Rome and to send fleets loaded with armies and equipment to wage war against him. Thus, (seafaring) is a custom of the inhabitants of both shores of the Mediterranean, which was known in ancient as in modern times.

When the Muslims took possession of Egypt, `Umar b. al-Khattab wrote to 'Amr b. al-'As and asked him to describe the sea to him. 'Amr replied: "The sea is a great creature upon which weak creatures ride -like worms upon a piece of wood."⁵²⁰ Thus, he recommended at that time that the Muslims be kept away from seafaring. No Arab traveled by sea save those who did so without 'Umar's knowledge and were punished by him for it. 'Umar thus punished 'Arfajah b. Harthamah al-Azdi, the chief of the Bajilah.⁵²¹ He sent him on a raid against Oman, and he learned (later that he had raided it by sea).⁵²² He disapproved of his having made the raid by sea, and told him so in no uncertain terms. Thus it remained until Mu'awiyah's reign. He permitted the Muslims to go by sea and to wage the holy war in ships. The reason for this was that on account of their Bedouin attitude, the Arabs were at first not skilled in navigation and seafaring, whereas the Byzantines and the European Christians, on account of their experience of the sea and the fact that they had grown up traveling in ships, were used to the sea and well trained in navigation.

The royal and governmental authority of the Arabs became firmly established and powerful at that time. The non Arab nations became servants of the Arabs and were under their control. Every craftsman offered them his best services. They employed seagoing nations for their maritime needs. Their own experience of the sea and of navigation grew, and they turned out to be very expert. They wished to wage the holy war by sea. They construct-

⁵²⁰Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales* ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879-1901), I, 2821, *anno* 28 [648/49]. Cf. also G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton Oriental Studies, No. 15) (Princeton, 1951), pp. 54 f.

⁵²¹Cf. I: 55 and 268, above. Ibn Khaldun probably refers to the events reported by at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2546-48. There, however, `Arfajah by no means plays the role ascribed to him here.

⁵²²The text in parenthesis is found in Bulaq.

ed ships and galleys and loaded the fleet with men and weapons. They embarked the army and fighters to fight against the unbelievers across the sea. This was the special concern of the provinces and border regions closest to the shores of the Mediterranean, such as Syria, Ifriqiyah, the Maghrib, and Spain. The caliph 'Abd al-Malik recommended to Hassan b. an-Nu'man,⁵²³ the governor of Ifriqiyah, that a shipyard⁵²⁴ be set up in Tunis for the production of maritime implements, as he was desirous of waging the holy war. From there, the conquest of Sicily was achieved in the days of Ziyadat-Al-lah I b. Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab under the leadership of the chief mufti, Asad b. al-Furat⁵²⁵ Pantelleria⁵²⁶ also was conquered in his day. Mu'awiyah b. IIudayj⁵²⁷ had been sent on a raid against Sicily in the days of Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyan, but God had not enabled him to conquer it. It was conquered by the Aghlabid ruler and his general, Asad b. al-Furat.

Thereafter, under the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) and the (Spanish) Umayyads, the fleets of Ifriqiyah and Spain constantly attacked each other's countries in civil war operations, and they thoroughly devastated the coastal regions. In the days of 'Abd-ar-Rahman an-Nasir, the Spanish fleet had grown to about two hundred vessels, and the African fleet to the same number, or close to it. The fleet admiral in Spain was Ibn Rumahis. The port used by (the Spanish fleet) for docking and hoisting sail was Pechina and Almeria. The fleet was assembled from all the provinces. Each region where ships were used contributed one fleet (unit) under the supervision of a commander in charge of everything connected with fighting, weapons and com-

⁵²³ He is said to have died in 80 [699/700]. Adh-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al Islam*(Cairo, 1367-/1947-), III, 244 f., on the other hand, also reports that it was 'Abd-al-Malik's successor, al-Walid, who ordered the shipbuilding program stepped up, and that Hassan was still alive at that time.

⁵²⁴ *Dar as-sina'ah*, from which "arsenal" is derived.

⁵²⁵ For Asad, who was born in 142 [759/60] and died in 213 [818], the year after the conquest of Sicily had been initiated, cf. M. Amari and C. A. Nallino, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*(Catania, 1933-39), I, 382 ff.

⁵²⁶ The Arabic form *Qawsarah* represents the ancient name of the island, Cossyra.

⁵²⁷ He died in 52 [672]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 203 f.; Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, I, 195 ff.

batants alike. There also was a captain who directed the movement of the fleet, using either the wind or oars. He also directed its anchoring in port. When the whole fleet was assembled for a large-scale raid or for important government business, it was manned in its home port. The ruler loaded it with men (drawn from) his best troops and clients, and placed them under the supervision of one commander, who belonged to the highest class of the people of his realm and to whom all were responsible. He then sent them off, and awaited their victorious return with booty.

During the time of the Muslim dynasty, the Muslims gained control over the whole Mediterranean. Their power and domination over it was vast. The Christian nations could do nothing against the Muslim fleets, anywhere in the Mediterranean. All the time, the Muslims rode its wave for conquest. There occurred then many well-known episodes of conquest and plunder. The Muslims took possession of all the islands that lie off its shores, such as Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza, Sardinia, Sicily, Pantelleria, Malta, Crete, Cyprus, and of all the other provinces of the Byzantines and the European Christians (on its shores). Abu l-Qasim ash-Shi'i⁵²⁸ and his descendants sent their fleets on raids against the island of Genoa from al-Mahdtyah. They returned victorious with booty. Mujahid al-'Amiri, the master of Denia, one of the *reyes de taifas*, conquered the island of Sardinia with his fleet in the year 405 [1014/15].⁵²⁹ The Christians reconquered it in due course.

During all that (time), the Muslims were gaining control over the largest part of the high sea. Their fleets kept coming and going, and the Muslim armies crossed the sea in ships from Sicily to the great mainland opposite Sicily, on the northern shore. They fell upon the European Christian rulers and made massacres in their realms. This happened in the days of the Banu

⁵²⁸ Al-Qa'im, the second Fatimid, who ruled from 934 to 946. The raids involving Genoa took place in 934/35.

⁵²⁹ E. Levi-Provencal in *EI*, s.v. "Mudjahid," has 406.

Abul-Husayn,⁵³⁰ the rulers of Sicily, who supported the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) propaganda there. The Christian nations withdrew with their fleets to the north eastern side of the Mediterranean, to the coastal regions inhabited by the European Christians and the Slavs, and to the Aegean islands,⁵³¹ and did not go beyond them. The Muslim fleet had pounced upon them as eagerly as lions upon their prey. They covered most of the surface of the Mediterranean with their equipment and numbers and traveled its lanes (on missions both peaceful and warlike. Not a single Christian board floated on it.

Eventually, however, the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) and Umayyad dynasties weakened and softened and were affected by infirmity. Then, the Christians reached out for the eastern islands of the Mediterranean, such as Sicily, Crete, and Malta, and took possession of them. They pressed on against the shores of Syria during this interval, and took possession of Tripoli, Ascalon, Tyre, and Acco. They gained control over all the seaports of Syria. They conquered Jerusalem and built there a church as an outward manifestation of their religion and worship. They deprived the Banu Khazrun of Tripolitania⁵³² and (they conquered) Gabes and Sfax, and imposed a poll tax upon their inhabitants. Then they took possession of al-Mahdtyah, the (original) seat of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), and took it away from the descendants of Buluggtn b. Zirt. In the fifth [eleventh] century, they had the lead in the Mediterranean. In Egypt and Syria, interest in the fleet weakened and eventually ceased to exist. Since then, they have shown no concern for the naval matters with which they had been so exceedingly concerned under the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty, as is known from 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) history. In consequence, the identity of the office of the admiralty was lost in those countries. It remained in Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, but only there. At the

⁵³⁰ The Kalbite governors of Sicily in the latter part of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. Cf. Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, II, 886 ff.

⁵³¹ Lit., "islands of ar-Rumaniyah." The latter term seems to represent *Romania*, the Byzantine Empire.

⁵³² Cf. also *Ibar*, VII, 39 ff.; de Slane (tr.), III, 258 ff.

present time, the western Mediterranean has large fleets and is very powerful. No enemy has trespassed on it or been able to do anything there.

In Lamtunah (Almoravid) times, the admirals of the fleet in (the West) were the Banu Maymun, chieftains from the peninsula of Cadiz,⁵³³ which they (later on) handed over to (the Almohad) 'Abd-al-Mu'min, to whom they paid obedience. Their fleets, (assembled) from the countries on both shores, reached the number of one hundred.

In the sixth [twelfth] century, the Almohad dynasty flourished and had possession of both shores. The Almohads organized their fleet in the most perfect manner ever known and on the largest scale ever observed. Their admiral was Ahmad as-Siqilli, who belonged to the Sadghiyan, a branch of the Sadwikhish,⁵³⁴ who lived on the island of Jerba. The Christians had captured him there, and he had grown up among them. The ruler of Sicily (Roger II) selected him for his service and employed him in it, but he died and was succeeded by his son, whose anger (Ahmad) somehow aroused. He feared for his life and went to Tunis, where he stayed with the chief of Tunis, one of the Banu 'Abd-al-Mu'min. He went on to Marrakech, and was received there by the caliph Yusuf al-'Ashrt b. 'Abd-al-Mu'min⁵³⁵ with great kindness and honor. (The caliph) gave him many presents and entrusted him with command of his fleet. (As commander of the fleet) he went to wage the holy war against the Christian nations. He did noteworthy and memorable deeds during the Almohad dynasty.

In his period, the Muslim fleet was of a size and quality never, to our knowledge, attained before or since. When Salah-ad-din Yusuf b. Ayyub, the ruler of Egypt and Syria at this time, set out to recover the border cities (ports) of Syria from the Christian nations and to cleanse Jerusalem of the abomination of unbelief and to rebuild it, one fleet of unbelievers after an-

⁵³³ Cf. Amari and Nallino, *op. cit.*, III, 884.

⁵³⁴ They were supposed to be branches of the Kutamah Berbers.

⁵³⁵ He ruled from 1163 to 1184.

other came to the relief of the border cities (ports), from all the regions near Jerusalem which they controlled. They supported them with equipment and food. The fleet of Alexandria could not stand up against them. (The Christians) had had the upper hand in the eastern Mediterranean for so long, and they had numerous fleets there. The Muslims, on the other hand, had for a long time been too weak to offer them any resistance there, as we have mentioned. In this situation, Salah-ad-din sent 'Abd-al Karim b. Munqidh, a member of the family of the Banu Munqidh, the rulers of Shayzar, as his ambassador to Ya'qub al-Mansur, the Almohad ruler of the Maghrib at that time.⁵³⁶ Salahaddin had taken Shayzar away from the Banu Munqidh but had spared them to use them in his government. Now, he sent 'Abd-al-Karim, a member of that (family), to the ruler of the Maghrib to ask for the support of his fleets, to prevent the fleets of the unbelievers from achieving their desire of bringing relief to the Christians in the Syrian border cities (ports). ('Abd-al-Karim) carried a letter from (Salah-ad din) to that effect. The letter had been composed by (al-Qadi) al-Fadil al-Baysani.⁵³⁷ It began with these words: "May God open to our Lord the gates of success and good fortune." The letter is quoted by the 'Imad al-Isfahani in the *Fath al-Qudsi*.⁵³⁸ Al-

⁵³⁶ Ibn Khaldun again refers to this famous event in the *Autobiography*, pp. 335 f., and in *'Ibar*, VI, 246; de Slane (tr.), II, 216. In *'Ibar*, the name of the ambassador is Abul-Harith 'Abd-ar-Rahman, and this is the correct name, as shown by other sources. Abu l-Harith 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Munqidh lived from 523 to 600 [1129-1203/4]. Cf. also M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdaniides de Jazira et de Syrie* (Algiers, 1961), I, 24.

According to *'Ibar*, the event took place in 585 [1189/90], but a date later in 1190 (and even as late as January, 1192) is considered probable. Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Milanges R. Basset* (Paris, 1925), II, 203, and Sa'd Zaghul'Abd-al-Hamid, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Alexandria University*, VI-VII (1952-53), 84-100. Sir Hamilton Gibb kindly called my attention to the article by Gaudefroy-Demombynes and informed me that the embassy is not mentioned in the extant portion of the *Barq*, the great historical work by the 'Imad al-Isfahani. For the naval situation in Saladin's time in general, cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXV (1955), 100-116.

⁵³⁷ Abd-ar-Rahim b. 'Ali, 629-596 [1135-1200]. Cf. GAL, I, 316 (n. 1); *Suppl.*, I, 549 (n. 1).

⁵³⁸ The great historian, Muhammad b. Muhammad, 619-597 [1125-1201]. Cf. GAL, I, 314 T.; *Suppl.*, I, 548 f. Bulaq has *al-Qussi*. The complete title is *al-Fath al-Qussi fi l fath al-Qudsi*, and the

Mansur was greatly annoyed with the (members of the embassy),⁵³⁹ because they did not address him as Commander of the Faithful; but he concealed his annoyance and treated them with great kindness and honor. He sent them back to (Salah-ad-din) who had sent them, and did not comply with his request.

This (story) is evidence (for the facts that) the ruler of the Maghrib alone possessed a fleet, that the Christians controlled the eastern Mediterranean, and that the dynasties in Egypt and Syria at that time and later were not interested in naval matters or in building up government fleets.

Ya'qub al-Mansur then died, and the Almohad dynasty became infirm. The Galician nations seized control of most of Spain. The Muslims took refuge in the coastal region and took possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean. They regained their former strength, and their power on the surface of the Mediterranean grew. Their fleets increased, and the strength of the Muslims became again equal to that of (the Christians). This happened in the time of (the Merinid) Sultan, Abul-Hasan,⁵⁴⁰ the Zanatah ruler in the Maghrib. When he desired to wage the holy war, his fleet was as well equipped and numerous as that of the Christians.

Then, the naval strength of the Muslims declined once more, because of the weakness of the ruling dynasty. Maritime habits were forgotten under the impact of the strong Bedouin attitude prevailing in the Maghrib, and as the result of the discontinuance of Spanish habits. The Christians resumed their former, famous maritime training, and (renewed) their constant activity

work is quoted as *al-Fath al-Qussi* or *al-Fath al-Qudsi*. The letter is not mentioned in the edition by C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888). Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, refers to a similar letter in al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha*, VI, 526-30. In this letter, al-Mansur is addressed as Commander of the Faithful. See following note

⁵³⁹ The plural suffix can hardly be understood differently, but, as stated in the *Autobiography*, pp. 335 f., the failure to address al-Mansur as Commander of the Faithful was that of the Qadl al-Fadil, the writer of the letter, who had acted deliberately. However, cf. the reference to the letter quoted by al-Qalqashandi, in the preceding note.

⁵⁴⁰ Abul-Hasan ruled from 1331 to 1351.

in (the Mediterranean) and their experience with conditions there. (They again showed) their former superiority over others on the high seas of (the Mediterranean) and in (Mediterranean) shipping. The Muslims came to be strangers to the Mediterranean. The only exceptions are a few inhabitants of the coastal regions, who are active on (the sea). They ought to have many assistants and supporters, or they ought to have support from the dynasties to enable them to recruit help and to work toward the goal of (increased seafaring activities).

The rank (of admiral) has been preserved to this day in the dynasties of the Maghrib. There, the identity (of the admiralty is still preserved), and how to take care of a fleet, how to build ships and navigate them, is known. Perhaps some political opportunity will arise in the coastal countries, and the Muslims will (once again) ask the wind to blow against unbelief and unbelievers. The inhabitants of the Maghrib have it on the authority of the books of predictions that the Muslims will yet have to make a successful attack against the Christians and conquer the lands of the European Christians beyond the sea. This, it is said, will take place by sea.

"God is the friend of the believers."⁵⁴¹

III.33. The different importance of the ranks of "the sword" and "the pen" in the (various) dynasties.

[p.2:46]

It⁵⁴² should be known that both "the sword" and "the pen" are instruments for the ruler to use in his affairs. However, at the beginning of the dynasty, so long as its people are occupied in establishing power, the need for "the sword" is greater than that for "the pen." In that situation, "the pen"

⁵⁴¹ Qur'an 3.68 (61).

⁵⁴²Cf. Issawi, pp. 116 f

is merely a servant and agent of the ruler's authority, whereas "the sword" contributes active assistance.

The same is the case at the end of the dynasty when its group feeling weakens, as we have mentioned, and its people decrease in number under the influence of senility, as we have stated before.⁵⁴³ The dynasty then needs the support of the military. The dynasty's need of the military for the purpose of protection and defense is as strong then as it was at the beginning of (the dynasty) for the purpose of getting established. In these two situations, "the sword," thus, has the advantage over "the pen." At that time, the military have the higher rank. They enjoy more benefits and more splendid fiefs.

In mid-term of the dynasty, the ruler can to some degree dispense with "the sword." His power is firmly established. His only remaining desire is to obtain the fruits of royal authority, such as collecting taxes, holding (property), excelling other dynasties, and enforcing the law. "The pen" is helpful for (all) that. Therefore, the need for using it increases. The swords stay unused in their scabbards, unless something happens and they are called upon to repair a breach. For (purposes) other than that, (swords) are not needed. In this situation, the men of the pen have more authority. They occupy a higher rank. They enjoy more benefits and greater wealth and have a closer and more frequent and intimate contact with the ruler. At such times, (the pen) is the instrument the ruler uses to obtain the fruits of his royal authority. He uses it to supervise and administer his realm and to display its (excellent) condition. At such a time, the wazirs and the military can be dispensed with. They are kept away from the intimate circle of the ruler and have to beware of his moods.

It is in this sense that Abu Muslim wrote the following reply to al-Mansur when he ordered him to come (to him): "And now: We remember

⁵⁴³Cf., for instance, 1:328 f. and 341 f., above 47

the following admonition of the Persians: 'The most fear-ridden thing there is, is the wazirs when the mob has calmed down.' "⁵⁴⁴

This is how God proceeds with his servants.

III.34. The characteristic emblems of royal and government authority.

[p.2:48]

It should be known that the ruler has emblems and arrangements that are the necessary result of pomp and ostentation. They are restricted to him, and by their use he is distinguished from his subjects, his intimates, and all other leaders in his dynasty.

We shall mention the best-known emblems as well as (our) knowledge permits. "And He knows more than any scholar."⁵⁴⁵

The "out" (alah)

One of the emblems of royal authority is the "outfit" (*alah*), that is, the display of banners and flags and the beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets and horns. In the *Book on Politics* ascribed to Aristotle, Aristotle mentioned that its real significance is to frighten the enemy in war.⁵⁴⁶ Frightful sounds do have the psychological effect of causing terror. Indeed, as everyone knows from his own (experience), this is an emotional⁵⁴⁷ element that plays a role on battlefields. The explanation given by Aristotle - if it was he who gave it - is correct in some respects. But the truth is that listening to music and sounds no doubt causes pleasure and emotion in the

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 103, 1. 20.

⁵⁴⁵ Qur'an 12.76 (76).

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. the Arabic edition of the *Sirr al-asrar* in 'Abd-ar-Rahman Badawt, *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum* (Cairo, 1964), p. 150, and the English tr. of the work in Roger Bacon, *Opera*, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920), V, 248. See also 1:81 and 210, above. The passage by Pseudo-Aristotle, and Ibn Khaldun's comment on it, are referred to by al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha*, IV, 9. No name is mentioned there, and the author of the quotation is introduced as a "thorough scholar." Cf. also n. 504 to this chapter, above.

⁵⁴⁷ For *wijdani*, cf. n. 277 to Ch. 1, above.

soul. The spiritual temper of man is thereby affected by a kind of drunkenness, which causes him to make light of difficulties and to be willing to die in the very condition in which he finds himself. This (state of affairs) exists even in dumb animals. Camels are influenced by the driver's call, and horses are influenced by whistling and shouting, as everyone knows. The effect is greater when the sounds are harmonious ones, as in the instance of music.⁵⁴⁸ It is known what happens to people who listen to music. The non-Arabs, therefore, take musical instruments, drums or trumpets, onto the battlefield with them. Singers with instruments surround the cavalcade of the ruler and sing. Thus, they move the souls of brave men emotionally and cause them to be willing to die.

In the wars of the Arabs (in northwestern Africa), we have seen persons in front of the cavalcade sing poetical songs and make music. The minds of heroes were stirred by the contents of the songs. They hurried to the battleground, and everybody went forth eagerly to meet his rival. The same was the case with the Zanatah, one of the nations of the Maghrib. A poet went in advance of the battle lines and sang. His music was such as to move firmly anchored mountains and to cause men who would otherwise not think of it, to seek death. That music is called *tazugait*⁵⁴⁹ by (the Zanatah).

The origin of it all is the cheerfulness created in the soul (through music). It leads to bravery, just as drunkenness leads to (bravery), as the result of the cheerfulness which it produces. And God knows better.

⁵⁴⁸Cf. pp. 397 ff., below.

⁵⁴⁹ The word is spelled with the transcription signs for Berber ; and g (cf. above, 1:67 (nn. 183, 185) and below, 3:129), and fully vocalized in C. It seems to be a genuine Berber word, though I have not succeeded in finding any discussion of it in the literature. De Slane's derivation from Arabic *zawaqi is* unlikely, not so much for phonetic reasons (the Arabic sounds might have been Berberized, as it happens) as in view of the fact that *zawaqi* means "crowing roosters" in Arabic, and is by no means a commonly used word. Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab* (Bulaq, 1300-1308/1882-90), XIX, 76.

A Berber word *tazouggit* "soufflet (coup donne sur la joue avec la main ouverte)" is mentioned by C. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français* (Paris, 1951-52), IV, 1937, but it could hardly be connected with the word mentioned by Ibn Khaldun.

The great number of flags, their manifold colors, and their length, are intended to cause fright, nothing more. (Fright) produces greater aggressiveness in the soul. Psychological conditions and reactions are strange. God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."⁵⁵⁰

The various rulers and dynasties differ in their use of such emblems. Some of them use a great many, others few, according to the extent and importance of the given dynasty.

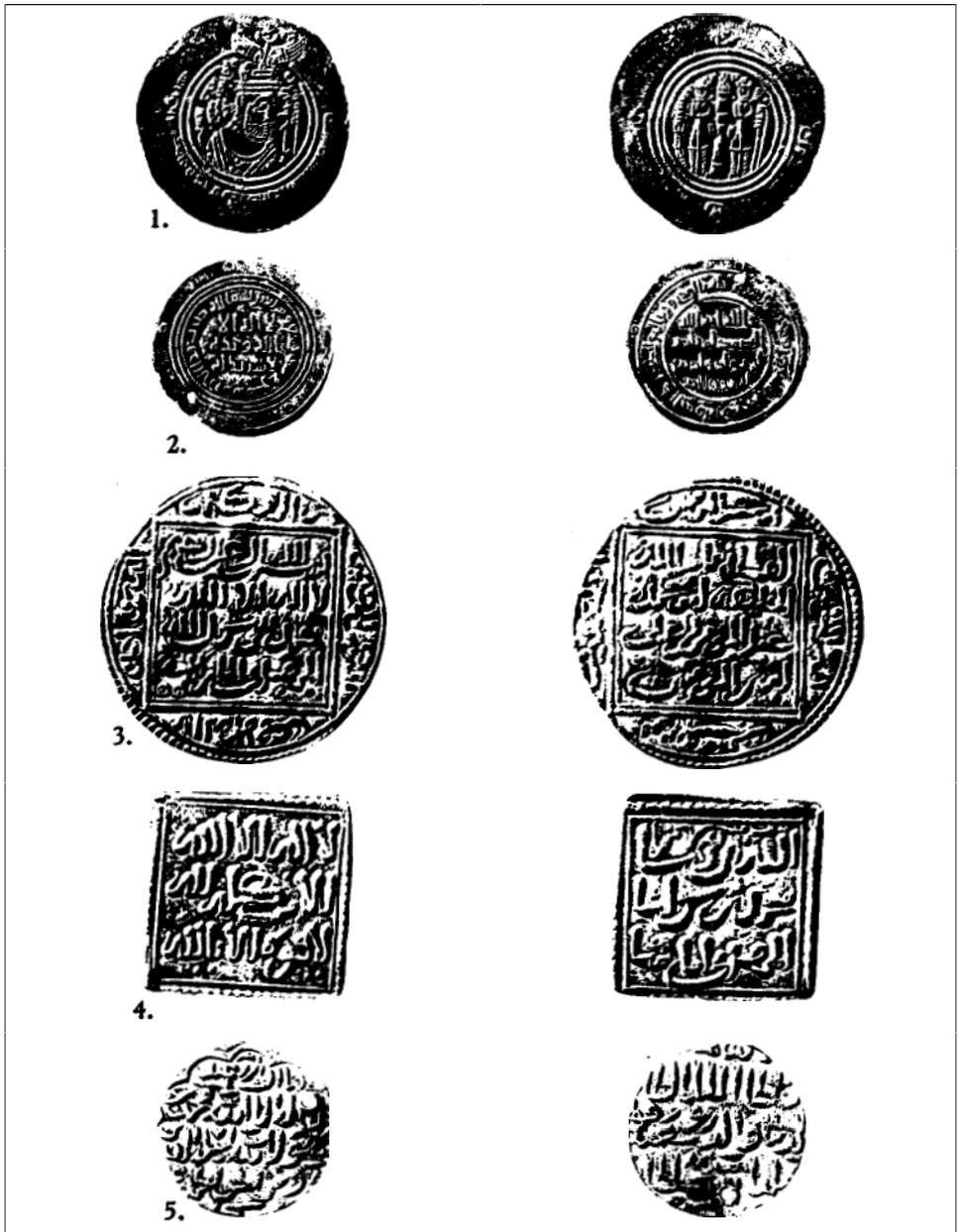
Flags have been the insignia of war since the creation of the world.⁵⁵¹ The nations have always displayed them on battlefields and during raids. This was also the case in the time of the Prophet and that of the caliphs who succeeded him.

The Muslims, however, refrained from beating drums and blowing trumpets at the beginning of Islam. They wanted to avoid the coarseness of royal authority and do without royal customs. They also despised pomp, which has nothing whatever to do with the truth. The caliphate then came to be royal authority, and the Muslims learned to esteem the splendor and luxury of this world. Persian and Byzantine clients, subjects of the preceding (pre-Islamic) dynasties, mixed with them and showed them their ways of ostentation and luxury. Among the things the Muslims came to like was the "outfit" (*alah*). Therefore, they used it and permitted their officials to use it, to increase the prestige of royal authority and its representatives. 'Abbasid or 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs would often grant permission to display their flags to officials such as the master of a border region or the commander of an army. Such officials then, setting out on a mission or going from the house of the caliph or from their own houses to their offices, were accompanied by a cavalcade of people carrying flags and the attributes of the "outfit" (*alah*). The only distinction between the cavalcade of an official and that of the caliph was the number of flags, or the use of particular colors for the

⁵⁵⁰Qur'an 15.86 (86); 96.81 (81).

⁵⁵¹Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 160.

caliph's flag. Thus, black was used for the flags of the 'Abbasids. Their flags were black as a sign of mourning for the martyrs of their family, the



I. Muslim Coins

1. Arab-Sassanian dirham issued by al-Hajjaj, struck at Bishapur in the year 78 [697/981]
2. Umayyad dirham of the reformed type, dated 79 [698/991], struck at Damascus
3. Dinar of the Almohad Abu Ya'qub Yusuf I, without date or name of mint
4. Anonymous Almohad dirham, without date or name of mint
5. Triple dinar of Sultan Barquq, struck at Cairo

Hashimites, and as a sign of reproach directed against the Umayyads who had killed them. Therefore, the 'Abbasids were called "the black ones" (*al-musawwidah*).

When the Hashimites divided into factions and the 'Alids (descendants of Abu Talib) went against the 'Abbasids on every possible occasion, they wanted to differ from them in the color of their flag, and so they used white flags. Therefore, they were called "the white ones" (*al-mubayyidah*). White was used by the 'Alids throughout the reign of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids). It was also used by the 'Alids who seceded at that time in the East, such as the (Zaydi) missionaries in Tabaristan and in Sa'dah (in the Yemen), and those other ('Alids) who made propaganda for the extremist (Shi'ah), such as the Qarmatians. When al-Ma'mun gave up wearing black and using the (black) insignia of his dynasty, he turned to green and used green flags.

(The details of the "outfit") could be increased ad infinitum. When al-'Aziz Nizar set out to conquer Syria,⁵⁵² the "outfit" (*alah*) of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) was composed of five hundred banners and five hundred trumpets. The Sinhajah and the other Berber rulers in the Maghrib did not affect special colors, but they embroidered their flags in gold and made them of pure colored silk. They always permitted their officials to use these flags. But when the Almohads and, later on, the Zanatah (Merinids) made their appearance, they restricted the use of the "outfit" (*alah*) of drums and banners to the ruler, and forbade all other officials to use it. It formed a special cavalcade in the procession which followed immediately behind the ruler. It was called the "rear guard" (*sagah*). They used a larger or smaller number

⁵⁵²In 367 [977].

(of instruments), according to the different customs of the various dynasties. Some of them restricted themselves to seven, as a lucky number. This was the case in the dynasties of the Almohads and the Banu al-Ahmar (Nasrids) in Spain. Others went up to ten or twenty, as was the case with the Zanatah. In the days of Sultan Abul-Hasan, as we learned personally,⁵⁵³ it went up to one hundred drums and one hundred banners of colored silk interwoven with gold, both large and small. They permit their governors, officials, and generals to use one small flag of white linen and a small drum in wartime. They do not permit them any more.

The contemporary Turkish dynasty in the East uses, in the first place, one large flag, surmounted by a big tuft of hair. It is called the *chalış* or *chatr*.⁵⁵⁴ (It⁵⁵⁵ is used) with the army in general. Then, there is another flag (carried) over the ruler and called the '*isabah* or *shatfah*.⁵⁵⁶ It is the ruler's insignia. There are many other flags which they call *sanjaq*,⁵⁵⁷ which means "flag" in (Turkish). They use an excessively large number of drums, which they call. k6s They permit any amir or general to use whatever (insignia) he desires, with the exception of the '*isabah*,⁵⁵⁸ which is reserved to the ruler.

The contemporary Galicians, a European Christian nation in Spain, use only a few flags, which fly high in the air. In addition, they make a kind of music with string and wind instruments on the battlefields. This is (all) the information we have about them and the non-Arab rulers who live beyond them.

⁵⁵³ That is, when Ibn Khaldun was in Fez under Abu l-Hasan's successor, Abu 'Inan.

⁵⁵⁴ C vocalizes *chitr*. Both, as well as the following *kos*, are Persian words.

⁵⁵⁵ The following reference to the '*isbah* was added in the margin of C. It is found in the text of D.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. J. Sauvaget in *Melanges Asiatiques publiés par la Sociéti Asiatique*, (1940-41), p. 40. According to al-Qalgashandi, *Subh al-a'sha*, IV, 8, the '*isabah* (apparently the same as the Arabic word for "turban") was a flag of yellow silk, embroidered in gold.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibn Khaldun mentions that Sayf-ad-din Ghazi of Mosul, d. 544 [1149], was the first to have a *sanjaq* carried over his head. Cf. *Ibar*, V, 239, following Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* (Cairo, 1302/1885), XI, 62, anno 544.

⁵⁵⁸ The original text had *chatr*. The correction to '*isabah* is found in C, and then in D.

"In the creation of the heavens and the earth and in the difference of your tongues and colors, there are, indeed, signs for those who know."⁵⁵⁹

Throne, dais, couch, chair-(they all mean) pieces of wood or ottomans set up for the ruler, so that he may have a higher seat than the other people at court and so that he will not be on the same level with them. This has always been a royal custom, even before Islam and in the non-Arab dynasties. (The pre-Islamic rulers) sat upon thrones of gold. Solomon, the son of David, had a throne of ivory overlaid with gold. However, dynasties use a throne only after they have become flourishing and luxurious, as is the case with all pomp, as we have stated.⁵⁶⁰ Dynasties that are in the beginning stage and still keep the Bedouin attitude do not desire it.

The first to use a throne in Islam was Mu'awiyah. He asked the people for permission to use one, saying that he had become corpulent.^{560a} So they permitted him to use one, and he did. His example was followed by (all the later) Muslim rulers. (The use of an ornate throne) came to indicate a tendency toward pomp.

One day 'Amr b. al-'As was in his castle in Egypt, sitting on the ground with the Arabs. The Muqawqis⁵⁶¹ came to the castle. He had men carry out a throne of gold, so that he could sit upon it like a king. He sat on it in front of the Arabs. They were not jealous of him, because they felt that they had to give him the protection upon which they had agreed, and because they rejected royal pomp. Later on, the 'Abbasids, the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), and all the other Muslim rulers in both the East and the West, had thrones, dais-

⁵⁵⁹Ibn Khaldun conflated Qur'an 30.22 (21) with passages like Qur'an 3.190 (187). The Bulaq edition corrects the author and gives the exact text of Qur'an 30.22 (21).

⁵⁶⁰Cf. 1:347 ff., above.

^{560a}Cf. al-'Askari, *Awa'il*, Paris, MS. Ar. 5986, fol. 123b.

⁵⁶¹For the celebrated, though still rather enigmatic personality who corresponds to the historical Cyrus, governor of Egypt at the end of the Byzantine domination, cf. A. Grohmann in *El*, s.v. "al-Mukawkas." The form might be the Coptic article *p* plus *Caucas(ios)*, the Caucasian.

es, and couches that eclipsed (in splendor those of) the Persian and Roman Emperors.

God causes the change of night and day.⁵⁶²

The mint⁵⁶³

(The mint) is concerned with the stamping of the dinars and dirhams used in (commercial) transactions. This is done with a die of iron, upon which pictures or words are engraved in reverse. The stamp is pressed upon the dinar or the dirham, and the designs (legends) of those engravings appear on the coin clearly and correctly. Before this is done, the standard of purity of the particular coin, the result of repeated refinings, is taken into consideration, and the individual dinars and dirhams are given the proper, fixed weight that has been agreed upon. Then, the number of coins (and not their weight only) can be made use of in transactions. If the individual pieces have not been given the weight fixed upon, then the weight of the coins must be taken into consideration.

The word *sikkah* (mint) refers to the stamp, that is, the piece of iron used for the purpose (of stamping the coins). The word was then used to designate the result of (the application of the stamp), that is, the engravings that appear upon dinars and dirhams. The word was further used to designate control of (the process of engraving) and supervision of the whole operation, of everything dealing with coinage and all the conditions that govern it. Such (control and supervision) is (exercised by) the office (of the mint). The word has thus come to designate (that office), and is customarily so used in governmental usage. It is an office that is necessary to the royal authori-

⁵⁶²Cf. Qur'an 24.44 (44).

⁵⁶³ Cf. also 1:484 above. In Islam the subject of standards of coinage and the history of Muslim coinage belonged to political and legal science and were treated by al-Mawardi at the end of the thirteenth chapter of the *Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, pp. 146 ff. There, Ibn Khaldun found his material for the older period. The subject also entered general historiography. For instance, Ibn al-Khatib deals with the subject in his *History of Granada*, in so far as it concerns the period and locality treated by him; cf. *al-Ihatah fi akhbdr Gharnatah* (Cairo, 1319/1901), I, 37.

ty, for it enables people to distinguish between good and bad coins in their transactions. That (the coins) are not bad is guaranteed by the engravings known to have been stamped upon them by the ruler.

The non-Arabs used (coins) and engraved special pictures on them, for example, a picture of the ruler at the time of issue, a fortress,⁵⁶⁴ some animal or product, or something else. This remained the practice of the non-Arabs down to the end of their power. When Islam appeared, the practice was discontinued, because of the simplicity of Islam and the Bedouin attitude of the Arabs. In their transactions, they used gold and silver according to weight. They also had Persian dinars and dirhams. They used them, too, according to weight and employed them as their medium of exchange. The government paid no attention to the matter. As a result, the frauds practiced with dinars and dirhams eventually became very serious. According to the reports of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab and Abu z-Zinad,⁵⁶⁵ Abd-al-Malik ordered al-Hajjaj to coin dirhams, and bad coins (began to) be distinguished from good ones. This took place in 74 [699/94], or, according to al-Mada'ini,⁵⁶⁶ in 75 [694/95]. In the year 76 [695/96], ('Abd-al-Malik) ordered that dirhams be coined in all the other regions. The legend upon them was: "God is one, God is the *samad*."⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴The Persian fire altar represented on Sassanian coins used by the early Muslims, was interpreted as a fortress.

⁵⁶⁵Abdallah b. Dhakwan, d. between 130 and 132 [747/48 and 749/50]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 203 ff. For Ibn al-Musayyab, cf. n. 486 to this chapter, above.

⁵⁶⁶The famous early historian, 'Ali b. Muhammad, *ca.* 132 [749/50] to 224 or 225 [839 or 839/40]. Cf. GAL, I, 140 f.; *suppl.*, I, 214 f.

⁵⁶⁷Qur'an 112.1-2 (1-2). For the meaning of *as-samad*, cf. F. Rosenthal in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (Jewish Social Studies, Publication No. 5) (New York, 1953), pp. 72 ff.

A coin of the reformed type from the year 77, which, however, has a much longer inscription, is reproduced in S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875), I, 1 and pl. I, 1

Later on, in the days of Yazid b. 'Abd-al-Malik, Ibn Hubayrah became governor of the 'Iraq and improved the mint. Then Khalid al-Qasrt, and after him Yusuf b. 'Umar, made great efforts to improve it.

It is also said that the first to coin dinars and dirhams (in Islam) was Mus'ab b. az-Zubayr.⁵⁶⁸ He did it in the year 70 [689/90] in the 'Iraq, upon the order of his brother 'Abdallah, who was then in charge in the Hijaz. The legend on his coins was, on the one side, "blessing," and on the other (there was) the name of God. A year later, al-Hajjaj changed the legend, and the new legend was: "In the name of God-al-Hajjaj."⁵⁶⁹

The weight of the dirhams was fixed at what it had been in the days of 'Umar. At the beginning of Islam, the weight of the dirham had been six *danaqs*. The weight of the *mithqal* was one dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham, so that ten dirhams made seven *mithqals*. The reason for this was that the weight of the dirham had varied in the days of the Persians. A dirham corresponding to the weight of a *mithqal* might weigh twenty, or twelve, or ten carats. When it was necessary to determine the weight (of the dirham) for the charity tax, the average of the three values was taken, that is fourteen carats. Thus, the *mithqal* (of twenty carats) was one dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham (of fourteen carats). It is said that the *baghli* (dirham) had eight *danaqs*, the *tabari* (dirham) four, the *maghribi* (dirham) three, and the *yaman* (dirham) one.⁵⁷⁰ 'Umar gave orders to investigate and determine which dirham was most commonly used in transactions. It turned out to be the *baghli*" and the *tabari* (dirhams). Together they weighed twelve *danaqs*. Thus, the (weight of the) dirham was (fixed at) six *danaqs*. When

⁵⁶⁸I The date of a coin allegedly from the year 71 is discussed and rejected by J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), p. 117.

⁵⁶⁹This information is not quite accurate, nor is it completely clear.

⁵⁷⁰With the exception of the name *baghli*, which Muslim sources derive from the name of a legendary Jew, Baghl or Ra's al-Baghl ("Mule Head"), the dirhams are named after the areas where they were in use.

three-sevenths of that weight was added, it was a *mithqal*, and when three-tenths of a *mithqal* were taken away, it was a dirham.

When 'Abd-al-Malik saw fit to use the mint to protect against fraud the two coins (the gold dinar and the silver dirham) that were current in Muslim transactions, he determined their values as what they had been in the time of 'Umar. He used the iron stamp, but engraved words on it, rather than pictures, because eloquent words were obviously more congenial to the Arabs. Moreover, the religious law forbids pictures.

After ('Abd-al-Malik), the coinage remained the same for the whole Muslim period. Both the dinar and the dirham were round. The inscription on them was written in concentric circles. On one side, the legend included the names of God with the formulas: "There is no God but God" and "Praised be God," and the prayer for the Prophet and his family; on the other side, it included the date and the name of the caliph. (Coins were of) this type during the period of the 'Abbasids, the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), and the (Spanish) Umayyads. The Sinhajah had no mint except at the end of their rule when al-Mansur, the master of Bougie, used one. This has been mentioned by Ibn Hammad in his *History*.⁵⁷¹

For the Almohads, al-Mahdi set the precedent of coining square dirhams and engraving a square on the round dinar.⁵⁷² He covered one side of the coins with the formulas: "There is no God but God" and "Praised be God," and the other with a legend of several lines containing his name, (which was replaced by) his successors with their names. This became the practice of the Almohads. Their coinage has kept that shape down to this time. It has been reported that before al-Mahdi came forth, he was described

⁵⁷¹ According to *Ibar*, VI, 177; de Slane (tr.), 11, 57, a reform of the coinage was undertaken by the last Hammidid, Yahya [1122-52, d. 1163], grandson of al-Mansur [1088/89-1104/5], resident at Bougie from 1090/91. Muhammad b. 'All Ibn Hammad wrote around 617 [1220]. Cf. *GAL Suppl.*, I, 555.

⁵⁷² Cf., in particular, A. Bel, "Contributio(1933), 1 ff

as "master of the square dirham" by the practitioners of magic who predicted the coming of his dynasty.

The present day inhabitants of the East have no coinage of fixed value. For their transactions, they use dinars and dirhams by weight, and their value is determined through standard weights corresponding to so-and-so many (dirhams, or dinars). The mint engraves⁵⁷³ on them the formula "There is no God but God" and the prayer for the Prophet, as well as the ruler's name, as is also the practice of the Maghribis.

"This is the decision of the Mighty, the Knowing One."⁵⁷⁴

Note:⁵⁷⁵ We shall conclude our discussion of the mint by explaining the meaning of "the legal dirham" and "the legal dinar" and their value.

The dirham and the dinar differ in value and weight in different regions, cities, and provinces. The religious law has had occasion to refer to these (coins) and has mentioned them in connection with many laws concerning the charity tax, marriage (fees), fixed legal fines, and other things. Therefore, the religious law must have its own (dirham and dinar) with a specific value given to them by (the religious law itself) and agreeing with the intention of (the religious law). These coins are then the ones to which the laws refer. They are different from the non-legal (coins).

It should be known that since the beginning of Islam and the time of the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, the legal dirham is by general consensus the one, ten of which are equal to seven *mithqal* of gold, and an ounce of gold is forty dirhams. Thus, the legal dirham is seven-tenths of a dinar. A gold *mithqal* weighs seventy-two average-sized grains of wheat. Consequently, the dirham, which is seven-tenths of a *mithqal*, has a weight of fifty and two-fifths grains. All these values are accepted by general consensus. The pre-Islamic dirham was of several

⁵⁷³Bulaq: "does not engrave."

⁵⁷⁴Qur'an 6.96 (96); 36.38 (38); 41.12 (11).

⁵⁷⁵The text of the additional note is found in C on an inserted sheet.

kinds. The best was the *tabari*, a dirham of eight *danaqs*, and the *baghli*, a dirham of four *danaqs*.⁵⁷⁶ For the legal dirham, they took the mean, that is, six *danaqs*. The charity tax on one hundred *baghli* dirhams or one hundred *tabari* dirhams was fixed at five such "mean" dirhams.

People do not agree, however, that (the value of legal dirhams) was established (only) by 'Abd-al-Malik and by general consensus later on, as we have reported and as was mentioned by al-Khattabi⁵⁷⁷ in the *Kitab Ma'alim as-sunan* and by al-Mawardi in the *Kitab al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*.⁵⁷⁸ Thorough scholars of recent times do not think so, because it would imply that legal dirhams and dinars were not known in the time of the man around Muhammad and subsequently, even though legal tariffs such as the charity tax, marriage (fees), fixed legal fines, and other such things are based on them, as we have (just) mentioned. The truth is that the value of (legal dirhams and dinars) was known at the (earliest) times (of Islam) for the implementation of laws involving tariffs based on (legal dirhams and dinars), but their value was not individually specified outside. It was an internal custom of the Muslims, which had become accepted under the influence of the religious law, and which used a fixed value and weight for (dirhams and dinars).

The Muslim dynasty thereafter became great and flourishing. Conditions called for individual specification of the value and the weight of dirhams and dinars, in accordance with the religious law, in order to obviate the (constant) obligation to determine their value. This (situation) developed in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik. He specified the individual value of (the dinar and the dirham) outside (in real money), as it had been in theory.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶Cf. p. 56, above.

⁵⁷⁷Hamd (Ahmad) b. Muhammad, 319 [931] to 386 or 388 [996 or 998]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 161, 165; *Suppl.*, I, 267, 275. *His Ma'alim* is a commentary on the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud.

⁵⁷⁸Loc. cit., p. 54 (n. 563), above.

⁵⁷⁹All this means simply that according to the opinion here expressed, the currency mentioned in the law was not originally represented by actual coins.

On the coins, he engraved his name and date after the two confessions of faith: ("I confess there is no God but God" and "I confess that Muhammad is the Messenger of God"). 'Abd-al-Malik withdrew the pre-Islamic coins altogether. They were eventually purified (melted down) and (re-)engraved with a legend, so that (in their original form) they became non-existent. This is the inescapable truth.

Later on, officials of the mint in the various dynasties deliberately disregarded the legal value of dinar and dirham. Their value became different in the different regions. The people reverted to a theoretical knowledge of (the legal dinar and dirham), as had been the case at the beginning of Islam. The inhabitants of every region calculated the legal tariffs in their own coinage, according to the relationship that they knew existed between the (actual) value of (dirhams and dinars in their coinage) and the legal value.

The weight (in gold) of the dinar is seventy-two average sized grains of wheat. This is reported by thorough scholars and is the general consensus from which only Ibn Hazm deviates. Ibn Hazm thought that the weight of the dinar is eighty-four grains. This was reported as Ibn Hazm's opinion by Judge 'Abd-al-Haqq.⁵⁸⁰ Thorough scholars have refuted (Ibn Hazm's opinion). They considered it an unfounded assumption or an error, and rightly so. "God causes the truth to come true in His words."⁵⁸¹

It is also known that the legal ounce is not the one which is commonly used among the people, because the commonly used (ounce) differs according to the various regions, while the legal ounce is a theoretical unit which admits of no differences.

God "created everything. Then, He determined it."⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰Apparently, 'Abd-al-Haqq b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman al-Ishbili, 510-581 [1116-1185]. Cf. GAL, 1, 371; *Suppl.*, I, 634.

⁵⁸¹Qur'an 8.7 (7); 10.82 (82); 42.24 (23).

⁵⁸²Qur'an 25.2 (2).

The seal⁵⁸³

(Use of) the seal is one of the government functions and a royal office. The sealing of letters and diplomas was known to rulers before and after Islam. It has been established in the two *Sahih*s that when the Prophet wanted to write to the Byzantine Emperor, he was told that the non-Arabs accepted only sealed letters. Thus, he took a silver seal (ring) and had the following legend engraved upon it: "Muhammad, the Messenger of God." Al-Bukhari said that he had the three words⁵⁸⁴ written in three lines and that he used that ring for sealing. (Muhammad) said: "No one else should use a similar legend." He continued: "Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman used that ring for sealing. Then, it fell from 'Uthman's hand into the well of Arts. There was much⁵⁸⁵ water in it, and its bottom could never be reached later on. 'Uthman was worried about the happening and considered it a (bad) omen. He had another ring made like it."⁵⁸⁶

The way of engraving the seal, as well as its use for sealing, have different aspects. This is because the word "seal" is used for the instrument that is placed on the finger. From it, (the verbal form) *takhattama* "He puts the seal on" is derived. (Or, the word) is used to designate "end" or "completion." In this meaning, one says *khatamtu al-amra* "I reached the end of the matter," or *khatamtu al-Qur'ana* "I finished reading the Qur'an"; also *khatam an-nabiyin* "the last of the prophets,"⁵⁸⁷ and *khatimat al-amr* "the end of the matter." The word is also used for the stopper with which bottles or barrels are closed. In this sense, one uses (the form) *khitam*. Thus it is said

⁵⁸³ The original text in C was much shorter. It has been crossed out, and the full text is found on an inserted sheet that also includes the remarks on the *tiraz*.

⁵⁸⁴ I.e., *Muhammad rasul Allah*.

⁵⁸⁵ The original story had "little," and Bulaq has this in its text.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, ed. Krehl (Leiden, 1862-1908), IV, 90, 92 f.; Muslim, *Sahih* (Calcutta, 1265/1849), II, 328 f.; *Handbook*, p. 212a. The last two or three sentences are, I believe, found neither in al-Bukhari nor in Muslim, but occur in a similar form in, for instance, at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2856.

⁵⁸⁷ Qur'an 93.40 (40). Cf. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1927), pp. 53 f.

in the Qur'an: *wa-khitamuhu miskun*"its stopper is musk."⁵⁸⁸ Those who interpret the word here to mean "end" or "completion" are wrong. (Their interpretation is based on the assumption) that the last impression they have of their drink is the smell of musk. However, this is not the intended meaning. It is derived here from *khitam* in the meaning of "stopper." A stopper of clay or pitch is put upon the wine in the barrel. This preserves (the wine) and gives it a good smell and taste. In an exaggerated manner, the wine of paradise was thus described (in the Qur'an) as being closed with a stopper of musk, which is better smelling and tasting than clay or pitch, which are customarily used (for the purpose) in this world.

If (the word) "seal" is correctly used in all these meanings, it is (also) correctly used for designating the result that comes from (the application of sealing in all these meanings). This is as follows: When words or shapes are engraved upon (a seal) and it is then put into a paste of clay or an ink solution and placed upon a paper surface, those words (or shapes) will be reproduced on that surface. The same is the case if (the seal) is impressed on some soft material such as wax. The engraved legend remains impressed on it. If the legend consists of words, they are to be read from the left, if the engraving started correctly from the right, and from the right if the engraving started from the left, because the process of sealing reverses the direction of the writing on the (paper) surface and appears on it as the opposite of what it had been on the engraving, with right and left transposed. It is (also) possible to use the seal by putting it in ink and clay and placing it upon the (paper) surface. The words then appear engraved on it. This (process of sealing) expresses the idea of "end" or "completion," in the sense that a writing thus (sealed) is correct and valid. A particular letter somehow becomes effective through the use of such a signature (*'alamah*)⁵⁸⁹ Without it, it would be invalid and imperfect. The sealing may (also) be (effected)

⁵⁸⁸Qur'an 83.26 (26), referring to the wine of Paradise.

⁵⁸⁹Cf. I.:xli, and p. 26, above.

through something written by hand at the end or the beginning of a letter, some well-chosen words of praise and glory (the formulas "Praised be God" and "Glory to God"), or the name of the ruler or amir, or of the writer of the letter, whoever he may have been, or through terms descriptive of the writer. Such (formulas) written by hand indicate the correctness and validity of the letter. They are commonly known under the name of "signature" (*'alamah*), but are also called "seal" because they are compared to the impression of the seal ring.

The "seal" the judge sends to litigants is connected with this usage. That "seal" is his signature and hand, validating his decisions. The "seal" of the ruler or caliph, that is, his signature, is also connected with the usage referred to. When ar-Rashid wanted to make Jafar wazir in the place of his brother al-Fadl, he said to their father Yahya b. Khilid: "Father, I want to change my 'seal' from my right hand to my left hand." He thus used the word "seal" for the wazirate, since it was one of the duties of the wazir in ('Abbasid) times to put his signature on letters and diplomas. The correctness of the use (of "seal") in this meaning is confirmed by at-Tabari's report on Mu'awiyah's negotiations with al-Hasan. When Mu'awiyah wanted to persuade al-Hasan to enter into an armistice, he sent him a blank sheet of paper, which he "sealed" at the bottom, and he wrote to him: "(Write down) on this sheet of paper, which I have sealed at the bottom, whatever conditions you want to make. They are granted."⁵⁹⁰ "Sealing" here means a handwritten or other signature at the end of a sheet of paper.

It is also possible to impress a seal upon some soft substance, so that the letters of the legend appear on that substance, and to place the substance (with the seal impression) on the knots of the strings with which letters are tied,^{590a} and upon places for deposits (such as storehouses, strong boxes,

⁵⁹⁰Cf at-Tabari, *Annales*, II, 5 f.

^{590a}But cf. the description of the various procedures by which letters may be sealed, below. Any one of them may be meant **here**.

etc.). This (use of the root *khtm*) is derived from the meaning of "stopper" mentioned before. In both cases, (we are dealing with) the result of (the application of) the seal, and, therefore, (the word) "seal" can be used in this sense.

The first to introduce the sealing of letters, that is, the use of the signature, was Mu'awiyah. He ordered 'Amr b. az-Zubayr to be given 100,000 (dirhams) by Ziyad (b. Abthi) in al-Kufah. The letter (containing the order) was opened, and the figure was changed from 100,000 to 200,000. When Ziyad presented his account (and the excess payment was noticed), Mu'awiyah disavowed it. He held 'Amr responsible for the money and kept him in prison until ('Amr's) brother 'Abdallah paid (the sum) for him. On that occasion, Mu'awiyah introduced the ministry (*diwan*) of the seal. This was mentioned by at-Tabari⁵⁹¹ who finished his statement by saying that "he tied the letters with strings. Formerly, they had not been tied." It means, he closed them.

The ministry (*diwan*) of the seal is composed of the secretaries who see to it that the letters of the ruler are expedited and sealed, either by means of a signature, or by tying them. The word *diwan* is used for the place where these secretaries had their office, as we mentioned in connection with the ministry (*diwan*) of taxation.⁵⁹²

Letters are tied either by piercing the paper and tacking (the letter) together (with a string), as is the custom of the secretaries of the Maghrib, or by gluing the top of the sheet to the part of the letter over which the top is folded, as is the custom of the people in the East. Over the place where the letter is pierced and tacked, or where it is glued, a signature is placed. It guarantees that the letter has not been opened and that its contents have not been read. The people of the Maghrib place a piece of wax where the letter is pierced and tacked, and seal it with a seal upon which some signa-

⁵⁹¹ Op. cit., II, 206. It was 'Amr himself who changed the figures in the draft.

⁵⁹²Cf. p. 20, above

ture is engraved for use in sealing, and the engraving is impressed upon the wax. In the old dynasties of the East, the place where the letter was glued was also sealed with an engraved seal that was put into a red paste of clay prepared for that (purpose). The engraving of the seal was impressed upon the clay. Under the 'Abbasid dynasty, this clay was called "sealing clay." It was imported from Siraf.⁵⁹³ It seems that this clay was restricted to the purpose of sealing.

(The use of) the seal, which is the (hand)written signature or engraving used for closing and tying letters, was peculiar to the ministry of correspondence (*diwan ar-rasa'il*). In the 'Abbasid dynasty, it belonged to the wazir. Later on, custom differed. It went to those who were in charge of (official) correspondence and the office of the secretaries in the (various) dynasties. In the dynasties of the Maghrib, people came to consider the seal ring as one of the royal marks and emblems. They made artistic seal rings of gold inlaid with gems of hyacinth (ruby), turquoise, and emerald. The ruler according to their custom wore the seal ring as an insignia, exactly as the Prophet's cloak and stick⁵⁹⁴ were used in the 'Abbasid dynasty and an umbrella in the 'Ubaydid (-Fatimid) dynasty.

God governs all affairs in His wisdom.

The *tiraz*⁵⁹⁵

It is part of royal and governmental pomp and dynastic custom to have the names of rulers or their peculiar marks embroidered on the silk, brocade, or pure silk garments that are prepared for their wearing. The writing is brought out by weaving a gold thread or some other colored thread of a color different from that of the fabric itself into it. (Its execution) depends upon

⁵⁹³Sealing clay constituted part of the tax income of southern Mesopotamia. Cf. 0962, above.

⁵⁹⁴Cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 130.

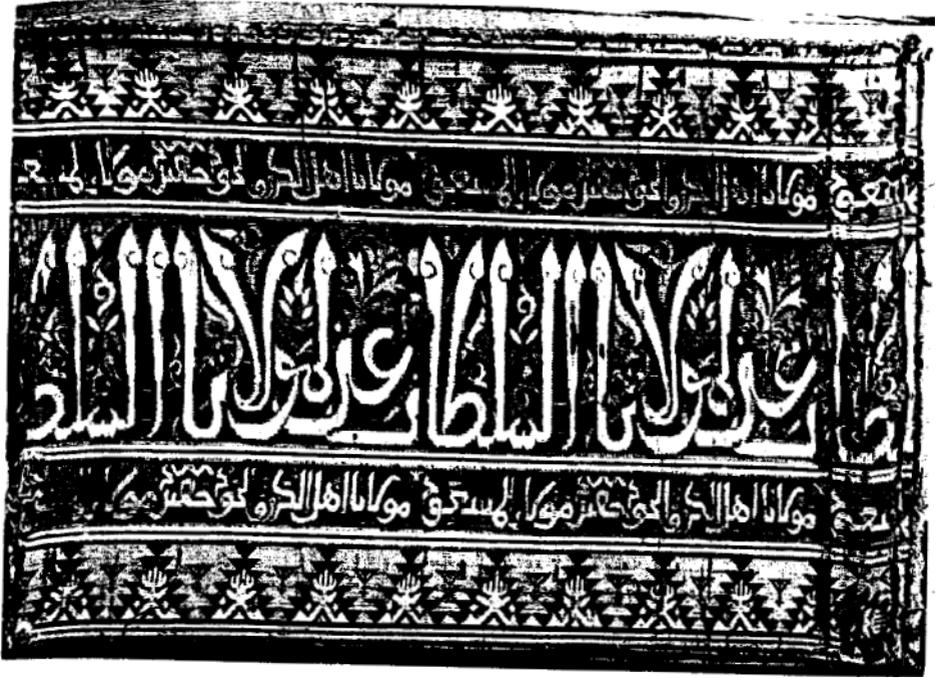
⁵⁹⁵Numerous specimens of tiraz have been preserved and extensively studied by modern scholars. Cf. A. Grohmann in *EI* and *EI Supplement*, s.v. "Tiraz."

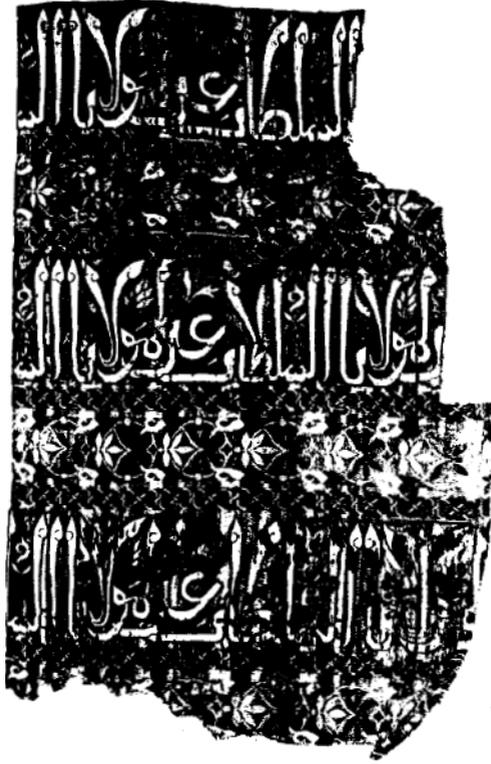
Some kind of *tiraz* manufacture has continued to the present day in the Yemen. Cf. R. B. Serjeant in *Ars Islamica*, XIII-XIV (1948), 81 f.

the skill of the weavers in designing and weaving it. Royal garments are embroidered with such a *tiraz*, in order to increase the prestige of the ruler or the person of lower rank who wears such a garment, or in order to increase the prestige of those whom the ruler distinguishes by bestowing upon them his own garment when he wants to honor them or appoint them to one of the offices of the dynasty.

The pre-Islamic non-Arab rulers used to make a *tiraz* of pictures and figures of kings, or (other) figures and pictures specifically (designed) for it. The Muslim rulers later on changed that and had their own names embroidered together with other words of good omen or prayer. In the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties, the *tiraz* was one of the most splendid things and honors. The houses within the palaces in which such garments were woven were called "*tiraz* houses." The person who supervised them was called "*tiraz* master." He was in charge of the craftsmen, the implements, and the weavers in (the *tiraz* houses), the payment of their wages, the care of their implements, and the control of their work. (The office of *tiraz* master) was entrusted by the 'Abbasids to their intimates and their most trusted clients. The same was the case with the Umayyads in Spain and their successors, the *reyes de taifas*, as well as with the 'Ubaydid (-Fatimids) in Egypt and the eastern non-Arab rulers contemporary with them. When luxury and cultural diversity receded with the receding power of the (great) dynasties, and when the number of (small) dynasties grew, the office and its administration completely ceased to exist in most dynasties. When, at the beginning of the sixth [twelfth] century, the Almohads succeeded the Umayyads, they did not have the *tiraz* at the beginning of their dynasty, because they had been taught by their imam Muhammad b. Tumart al-Mahdi the ways of religion and simplicity. They were too austere to wear garments of silk and gold. The office (of the *tiraz*), therefore, had no place in their dynasty. Their descendants in the later (years) of the dynasty, however, re-established it in part, but it was not nearly as splendid (as before).

At the present time, we have personally seen quite a lot of (*tiraz* manufacture) in the flourishing and proud Merinid dynasty in the Maghrib. The Merinids had learned it from the contemporary dynasty of the Ibn al-Ahmar (Nasrids) in Spain. They (in turn) followed the *tiraz* customs of the *reyes*





a
II. *Tiraz*

a. Probably from Northwestern Africa

b. Hispano-Moresque (Granada?), 15th century

de taifas and achieved in this respect something that speaks for itself.

In the contemporary Turkish dynasty of Egypt and Syria, the *tiraz* is very much cultivated in accordance with the importance of the realm (of that dynasty) and the civilization of its country. However, the *tiraz* is not produced within the houses and palaces of the dynasty, and it is not an office of the dynasty. (The *tiraz*) which is required by the dynasty is woven by craftsmen familiar with the craft, from silk and pure gold. They call it *zarkash*, a Persian word. The name of the ruler or amir is embroidered on it.

It is made by craftsmen for the dynasty, together with other fine products, such as are fitting for (the dynasty) and are produced for it.

God determines night and day. He is the best heir.⁵⁹⁶

Large tents and tent walls

It should be known that one of the emblems of royal authority and luxury is small and large tents and canopies of linen, wool, and cotton, with linen and cotton ropes. They are used for display on journeys. They are of different kinds, large or small, according to the wealth and affluence of the dynasty. At the beginning of the dynasty, the same type of housing used by the people of the dynasty before they have achieved royal authority, continues to be used. At the time of the first Umayyad caliphs, the Arabs continued to use the dwellings they had, tents of leather and wool. Only a very few of the Arabs had at that date ceased to live in the Bedouin manner. When they went on raids or went to war, they traveled with all their camels, their nomad households (*hilal*), and their dependent women and children, as is still the case with the Arabs at this time. Their armies, therefore, consisted of many nomad households, and the distance between the encampments was great. The groups were widely separated, and each group was too far away to see the other, as is still the case with the Arabs.

That was why 'Abd-al-Malik used to need "drivers" (*saqah* "rear guard") to keep the people together and make them follow him, in the event they did not move after he had started to move. It is reported that 'Abd-al-Malik employed al-Hajjaj for that purpose upon Rawh b. Zinba's⁵⁹⁷ recommendation. The story of how al-Hajjaj, as soon as he was appointed to that office, had the large and ordinary tents of Rawh burned when he discovered they were not on the move the day 'Abd-al-Malik had begun to move, is well known. The fact that al-Hajjaj was entrusted with the office shows what rank

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. *Qur'an* 73.20 (20) and 21.89 (89).

⁵⁹⁷ Rawh, described by the historians as one of the principal advisers to 'Abd-al-Malik, is said to have died in 84 [709]. Cf adh-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al-Islam*, III, 248. For the story cf. also pp. 76 f., below.

he held among the Arabs.⁵⁹⁸ The task of getting them to move was entrusted only to a person in no danger of being attacked by stupid Arab groups, one who possessed a group feeling sufficient to forestall such attacks. Therefore, 'Abd-al-Malik singled out al-Hajjaj for the rank, because he was confident that al-Hajjaj possessed enough group feeling and energy for it.

The Arab dynasty then adopted diverse ways of sedentary culture and ostentation. People settled in towns and cities. They were transformed from tent dwellers into palace dwellers. They exchanged the camel for the horse and the donkey as riding animals. Now, they used linen fabrics for their dwellings on their journeys, fashioning them into houses (tents) of various shapes and sizes, round,⁵⁹⁹ oblong, or square. In this connection, they displayed the greatest possible pomp and art.

Amirs and army leaders surrounded their large tents and canopies with a tent wall of linen. In the language of the Berbers of the Maghrib, the tent wall is called *afrag*.⁶⁰⁰ It is restricted to the ruler there. No one else has it. In the East, it is used by every amir, whether he is the ruler or not.

(The habits of) luxurious living then caused women and children to stay behind in their palaces and mansions. People, therefore, traveled light. The spaces between the encampments of the army became less far apart. Army and ruler encamped in one and the same camp, which was completely within the field of vision (of a single observer). It was a pretty sight because of the various colors. This remained the way dynasties displayed their luxury.

It has also been this way in the Almohad and Zanatah dynasties whose shadow extends over us. At the beginning of their power, when they traveled they used the ordinary sleeping tents they had used before they achieved royal authority. However, eventually, the dynasty adopted the ways of lux-

⁵⁹⁸Cf. 1:58 ff., above.

⁵⁹⁹Lit., "tents that cover a circular piece of ground when pitched."

⁶⁰⁰Cf., for instance, E. Ibañez, *Diccionario español-rifésio* (Madrid, 1944), p. 407a, and *idem*, *Diccionario rife-o-español* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 13a (aferag), 14a. Cf. also E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1929), p. 22, where the word occurs as a "dry hedge of jujubes."

ury, and people began to dwell in palaces. Then, they turned to using tents both large and small to a greater extent than they had intended (when they started using them).

It is a great luxury. However, armies become more vulnerable to night attacks when they are assembled in one place, where a sudden attack may involve them all. Furthermore, they do not have their families and children with them, and it is for their families and children they would be willing to die. Therefore, other protective measures are needed in this connection, as we shall mention.⁶⁰¹

God "is strong and mighty."⁶⁰²

The prayer enclosure (*magsurah*) and the prayer during the (Friday) sermon

These two things are caliphal prerogatives and royal emblems in Islam. They are not known in non-Muslim dynasties.

The enclosure for the ruler to pray in is a latticed screen around the prayer niche (*mihrab*), and the space immediately adjacent. The first to use one was Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyan, after a Kharijite had stabbed him. The story is well known.

It is also said that the first to use one was Marwan b. al-Hakam, after a Yemenite had stabbed him.⁶⁰³ Afterwards, all the caliphs used it. It became a custom distinguishing the ruler from the rest of the people during prayer. It arises only when dynasties are luxurious and flourishing, as is the case with all pomp.

⁶⁰¹Cf. pp. 78 ff., below.

⁶⁰²Qur'an 11.66 (69); 42.19 (18).

⁶⁰³Cf. the references given by J. Pedersen in EI, s.v. "Masjdjid" (Sec. D, pt. 2, b). The Yemenite attacked Marwan when he was governor of Medina, in 44 [664/65]. The Kharijite attack upon Mu'awiyah presumably refers to the three-pronged conspiracy against 'Ali, 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ, and Mu'awiyah in the year 40 [661], which was successful only against 'Ali. Of course, all this is rather legendary, and the sources do not agree on the date of the introduction of the *maglarah*.

It remained this way in all Muslim dynasties when the 'Abbasid dynasty dissolved and the number of different dynasties in the East grew. It also remained so in Spain when the Umayyad dynasty was destroyed and the *reyes de ta'ifas* became numerous. As for the Maghrib, the Aghlabids used it in al-Qayrawan. It was used later on by the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs and by their Sinhajah governors of the Maghrib, by the Banu Badis in al-Qayrawan and by the Banu Hammad in al-Qal'ah.⁶⁰⁴ When the Almohads then took possession of all the Maghrib and Spain, they abolished the institution of (the prayer enclosure) in accordance with the desert attitude that characterized them. But then the dynasty flourished and acquired its share of luxury. When the third Almohad ruler, Ya'qub al-Mansur, appeared, he used a prayer enclosure. Afterwards, its use remained a custom of the rulers of the Maghrib and of Spain. The same was the case with all other dynasties. This is how God proceeds with His servants.

As to the prayer from the pulpit (*minbar*) during the (Friday) sermon, it should be said that the caliphs at first directed the prayers themselves. Therefore, they used to say a prayer (for themselves), after the obligatory prayer for the Prophet and the blessings for the men around him had been spoken.

The first to use a pulpit was 'Amr b. al-'As when he built his mosque in Egypt. 'Umar (b. al-Khattab) wrote to him: "And now: I have heard that you use a pulpit and thus raise yourself above the necks of the Muslims. Is it not sufficient for you that you are standing while the Muslims are at your heels? Therefore, I urge you to smash it to bits."⁶⁰⁵

When pomp came into being and the caliphs came to be prevented from (personally delivering) the sermon and leading the prayer, they appointed

⁶⁰⁴Cf. n. 6 to this chapter, above.

⁶⁰⁵Cf. Ibn 'Abd-al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, ed. C. C. Torrey (Yale Oriental Series, Researches No. 3) (New Haven, 1922), p. 92, and all the Egyptian historians. Cf. the references given by J. Pedersen in *EI*, s.v. "Masjid" (Sec. D, pt. 2, d).

delegates for both (tasks). The preacher mentioned the caliph from the pulpit. He mentioned his name in praise and prayed for him, because God had appointed him in the interest of the world, and because a prayer at such an hour was thought likely to be heard. Also, the ancients had said: "He who has a good prayer shall say it for the ruler."

The first to pray for the caliph during the sermon was Ibn 'Abbas. As 'Ali's governor in al-Basrah, he prayed for 'Ali during his sermon. He said: "O God, help 'Ali, (who represents) the truth."⁶⁰⁶ This practice was continued afterwards.⁶⁰⁷

Only the caliph was (mentioned). But when the time came that the caliphs were secluded and under the control of others, the men who were in control of the (various) dynasties often shared the (prayer) with the caliph, and their names were mentioned after his.

When these dynasties disappeared, (the custom) also disappeared. Only the ruler was privileged to be mentioned in the prayer from the pulpit, and no one else. No one was permitted to share that privilege with the ruler or to aspire to do so.

The founders of dynasties often neglected this institution when the dynasty still had a low standard of living and preserved the negligent and coarse Bedouin attitude. They were satisfied with a summary, anonymous reference to the one entrusted with the affairs of the Muslims. Such a sermon was called an "Abbasid sermon." This meant that the summary prayer could refer only to the 'Abbasid caliph, following the ancient tradition. They did not think of going beyond that, of clearly indicating the ruler and pronouncing his name.

⁶⁰⁶ *Al-haqq* is Ibn Khaldun's text. Bulaq reads: '*ala l-haqq* "toward the truth." D has *bi-l-haqq* "with the truth." One may compare a tradition such as the one quoted by al-liakim, *Mustadrak* (Hyderabad, 1324/1906), III, 124 f.: "O God, let the truth go wherever 'Ali goes."

⁶⁰⁷ Bulaq has the preceding paragraph in an earlier place, after the introductory sentence of the story by 'Amr b. al-'As. According to C, which has both stories in the margin, they would be a later addition to the text.

The story goes that the amir Abu Zakariya' Yahya b. Abi Hafs took Tlemcen away from the founder of the 'Abd al-Wadid dynasty, Yaghamrasin b. Zayyan.⁶⁰⁸ He then decided upon returning him to power under certain conditions, which he stipulated. Among them was the condition that his (Abu Zakariya's) name should be mentioned from the pulpits of (Yaghamrasin's) province. On that occasion, Yaghamrasin said: "They (the pulpits) are those pieces of wood⁶⁰⁹ of theirs from which they mention whomever they like."

Also, the ambassador of al-Mustansir, the third⁶¹⁰ Hafsid caliph in Tunis, was at the court of the founder of the Merinid dynasty, Ya'qub b. 'Abd-al-Haqq. One day, he was late in attending the Friday service. Ya'qub was informed that the ambassador did not attend the service because the sermon did not include mention of his ruler. Thereupon, Ya'qub gave permission to pray for him. This was one of the reasons why the Merinids took up the (Hafsid) propaganda.

Such was the attitude of dynasties at the beginning, when they still had a low standard of living and preserved the Bedouin outlook. But when their political eyes were opened and they looked toward (all) the aspects of royal authority and perfected the details⁶¹¹ of sedentary culture and the ideas of ostentation and pomp, they adopted all the external attributes (of royal

⁶⁰⁸For the form of his name, which is further confirmed by the vocalization of the MSS, cf. 1:272 (n. 64), above. For the event, which belongs in the year 1242, cf. *Ibar*, VI, 287; VII, 79 ff.; de Slane (tr.), II, 817 f.; III, 942 ff.; R. Brunshvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 91.

⁶⁰⁹This is apparently intended as a derisive designation; however, the Prophet's *minbar* is also called *a'wad* "pieces of wood."

Instead of "they are," A reads *dh-k-r*, probably to be translated "he refers to." However, the reading of A seems to be a simple mistake.

⁶¹⁰We should count al-Mustansir [1249-1277] as the second Hafsid of Tunis. For the numbering of Hafsids by Ibn Khaldun, cf. n. 155 to this chapter and p. 17, above, as well as 101, 116, and 222, below. In 2:116, al-Mustansir's brother and second successor, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, is called the fourth. Ya'qub ruled from 1258 to 1277. For the historical circumstances, cf. R. Brunshvig, op. cit., I, 45.

⁶¹¹Cf. 1:371, I, 10, above, and 3:374 (n. 1441), below, as one should read, with Bulaq, *shiyat*. *Shi'ah* "will" could hardly be meant here.

authority) and exhausted all the possibilities in this respect. They disliked the idea that anyone else might share in them, and they were afraid that they might lose them and that their dynasty would be deprived of the effect of them.

The world is a garden,⁶¹² and God watches over everything.⁶¹³

III.35. Wars and the methods of waging war practiced by the various nations.

[p.2:73]

Wars and different kinds of fighting have always occurred in the world since God created it. The origin of war is the desire of certain human beings to take revenge on others. Each (party) is supported by the people sharing in its group feeling. When they have sufficiently excited each other for the purpose and the two parties confront each other, one seeking revenge and the other trying to defend itself, there is war. It is something natural among human beings. No nation and no race (generation) is free from it.

The reason for such revenge is as a rule either jealousy and envy, or hostility, or zeal in behalf of God and His religion, or zeal in behalf of royal authority and the effort to found a kingdom.

The first (kind of war) usually occurs between neighboring tribes and competing families.

The second (kind of war) - war caused by hostility - is usually found among savage nations living in the desert, such as the Arabs, the Turks, the Turkomans, the Kurds, and similar peoples. They earn their sustenance with their lances and their livelihood by depriving other people of their possessions. They declare war against those who defend their property against them. They have no further desire for rank and royal authority. Their minds and eyes are set only upon depriving other people of their possessions.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹²Cf 1:81 f., above.

⁶¹³ Cf. Qur'an 33.52 (52).

⁶¹⁴ Cf. 1:303 and 306, above.

The third (kind of war) is the one the religious law calls "the holy war."

The fourth (kind of war), finally, is dynastic war against seceders and those who refuse obedience.

These are the four kinds of war^{614a} The first two are unjust and lawless, the other two are holy and just wars.

Since the beginning of men's existence, war has been waged in the world in two ways. One is by advance in closed formation. The other is the technique of attack and withdrawal.

The advance in closed formation has been the technique of all the non-Arabs throughout their entire existence. The technique of attack and withdrawal has been that of the Arabs and of the Berbers of the Maghrib.

Fighting in closed formation is more steady and fierce than fighting with the technique of attack and withdrawal. That is because in fighting in closed formation, the lines are orderly and evenly arranged, like arrows or like rows of worshipers at prayer. People advance in closed lines against the enemy. This makes for greater steadiness in assault and for better use of the proper tactics. It frightens the enemy more. A closed formation is like a long wall or a well-built castle which no one could hope to move. In the divine revelation, it is said: "God loves those who fight in His behalf in a line, as if they were a strongly constructed building."⁶¹⁵ That means, they steady each other. A tradition says: "One believer is to another believer like a building of which every part supports the rest."⁶¹⁶

This makes it obvious what great wisdom there is in requiring that the lines be kept steady and in forbidding anyone to fall back during an attack. Battle lines are intended to preserve order, as we have stated. Those who

^{614a} One may compare the three reasons for war admitted by the tenth-century philosopher Abu I-hasan al-'Amiri (cf. F. Rosenthal in *The Islamic Quarterly*, III [1956], 49), and the seven causes of war enumerated in the early fourteenth century by al-'Abbas in his *Athar al-uwal fi tartib ad-duwal* (Cairo, 1295/1878), p. 168 (Sec. 4, Ch. vii).

⁶¹⁵ Qur'an 61.4 (4).

⁶¹⁶ Cf. *Concordance*, I, 223a, II, 51f.

turn their backs to the enemy bring disorder into the line formation. They are guilty of the crime of causing a rout. They somehow cause the Muslims to be routed and enable the enemy to gain power over them. This is a great sin, because the resulting damage is general and affects Islam, in that it makes a breach in the protecting fence. Therefore, it is considered one of the great sins.⁶¹⁷ All this evidence shows that fighting in close formation is more important (than any other kind) in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muhammad).

Fighting with the technique of attack and withdrawal is not as fierce or as secure against the possibility of rout, as is fighting in closed formation, unless there is set up a steady line formation to the rear, to which the fighting men may fall back in attack and withdrawal throughout the fighting. Such a line formation would take the place of the closed formation, as we shall mention later on.⁶¹⁸

The ancient dynasties had many soldiers and a vast realm. They subdivided their armies into smaller units.⁶¹⁹ The reason for this was that their soldiers grew exceedingly numerous and were assembled from the most remote regions. This made it unavoidable that some of the soldiers would not know others, when they mingled on the field of battle and engaged the enemy in shooting and close fighting. It was feared lest, on such occasions, they would fall to fighting each other because of the existing confusion and their ignorance of each other. Therefore, they divided the armies into smaller units and put men who knew each other together. They arranged the units in an arrangement resembling the natural one of the four directions (of the compass). The chief of all the armies, either the ruler himself or a general, was in the center.⁶²⁰ This arrangement was called "the battle order" (*ta'biyah*). It

⁶¹⁷ Cf., for instance, Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, ed. L. Bercher (sd ed.; Algiers, 1949), pp. 162 f.: "Fleeing in the face of the enemy is a great sin, be they twice the number of the Muslims or less. If they be more than that, it is not wrong to (flee)."

⁶¹⁸ Cf. p. 77, below.

⁶¹⁹ Bulaq adds: "which they called 'regiments.' Each regiment had its own lines."

⁶²⁰ Lit., "heart."

is mentioned in the history of the Persians, that of the Byzantines, and that of the (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) dynasties at the beginning of Islam. In front of the ruler stood one army with its own battle lines, its own general and its own flag⁶²¹ It was called "the advance guard." Then, to the right of the⁶²² place where the ruler was, stood another army. It was called "the right flank." There was another army to the left, called "the left flank." Then, there was another army behind the army, called "the rear guard." The ruler and his entourage stood at the middle of these four (armies). The place where he was, was called the center. When this ingenious arrangement was completed - covering an area within the field of vision (of a single observer) or extending over a wider area but with at most one or two days' (journey) between each of the two armies, and utilizing the possibilities suggested by the greater or smaller number of soldiers then, when the battle order was thus set up, the advance in closed formation could begin. This may be exemplified by the history of the (Muslim) conquests and the history of the (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) dynasties. There also is the well known story mentioned above from the history of 'Abd-al Malik, of how his armies fell back while he was on the move because (the elements of) the battle order were so widely separated, and how someone was needed to drive them from behind and al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf was appointed for that purpose.⁶²³

Much the same sort of arrangement was also to be found among the Spanish Umayyads. It is not known among us now, because we live in a time when dynasties possess small armies which cannot mistake each other on the field of battle.⁶²⁴ Most of the soldiers of both parties together could nowa-days be assembled in a hamlet or a town. Everyone of them knows

⁶²¹ Bulaq adds: "and insignia."

⁶²² Bulaq adds: "and parallel to."

⁶²³ Cf. p. 68, above.

⁶²⁴ However, according to European historians, the Muslim army that fought before al-Mahdiyah in 1990 comprised between 40,000 and 60,000 men. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, II, 90 f.

his comrade and calls him by his name and surname in the thick of battle. Therefore, this particular battle order can be dispensed with.

One of the techniques of the people who use the technique of attack and withdrawal, is to set up, behind their armies, a line formation (barricade) of solid objects and dumb animals to serve as a refuge for the cavalry during attack and withdrawal. It is intended to steady the fighters, so that they will fight more persistently and have a better chance of winning.

Those who fight in closed formation do the same, in order to increase their steadfastness and power. The Persians who fought in closed formation used to employ elephants in their wars. They made them carry wooden towers like castles, loaded with combatants, weapons, and flags. They disposed them in successive lines behind them in the thick of battle, as if they were fortresses. This fortified them psychologically and gave them added confidence.

In this connection, one may compare what happened at al-Qadisiyah. On the third day, the Persians pressed the Muslims hard with (the elephants),⁶²⁵ Eventually, some outstanding Arabs counterattacked, infiltrated among the elephants, and struck them on the trunk with their swords. (The elephants) fled and turned back to their stables in al-Mada'in. This paralyzed the Persian camp, and they fled on the fourth day.

The Rum (Byzantines), the Gothic rulers in Spain, and most other non-Arab peoples used to employ thrones for the purpose of steadying the battle lines. A throne would be set up for the ruler in the thick of battle and surrounded by those of the ruler's servants, entourage, and soldiers who were thought to be willing to die for him. Flags were run up at the corners of the throne. A further wall of sharpshooters and foot soldiers was put around it. The throne thus assumed considerable dimensions. It became, for the fighters, a place to fall back upon and a refuge in attack and withdrawal. This was what the Persians did in the battle of al-Qadisiyah. Rustum sat upon a

⁶²⁵ *Leg. biha* instead of *bihim*?

throne that had been set up for him there. Finally, the Persian lines became disordered, and the Arabs penetrated to (Rustum's) throne. He abandoned it and went to the Euphrates, where he was killed.

The Arabs and most other Bedouin nations that move about and employ the technique of attack and withdrawal, dispose their camels and the pack animals carrying their litters in lines to steady the fighting men. (Such lines) become for them a place to fall back upon. They call it *al-majbudah*.⁶²⁶ Every nation that follows this technique can be observed to be more steady in battle and to be better protected against being surprised and routed. This is a well attested fact, but it has been altogether neglected by the contemporary dynasties. Instead, they dispose the pack animals carrying their baggage and large tents behind them, as a rear guard. These animals cannot take the place of elephants and camels. Therefore, the armies are exposed to the danger of being routed, and they are always ready to flee in combat.

At the beginning of Islam, all battles were fought in closed formation, although the Arabs knew only the technique of attack and withdrawal. Two things at the beginning of Islam caused them to (fight in closed formation). First, their enemies fought in closed formation, and they were thus forced to fight them in the same way. Second, they were willing to die in the holy war, because they wished to prove their endurance and were very firm in their belief. Now, the closed formation is the fighting technique most suitable for one willing to die.

The first to abandon the line in war and to use the battle order by regiments was Marwan b. al-Hakam⁶²⁷ in fighting the Kharijite ad-Dahhak and,

⁶²⁶ The origin and use of the term are not clear to me. It seems to be a Northwest African usage. It might be derived from the vulgar root *j-b-dh* (*j-b-d*) "to draw."

⁶²⁷ The caliph in question is not the one mentioned, but his grandson, Marwan II, the last of the Umayyads. Ibn Khaldun's error may have been caused by the fact that another ad-Dahhak fought against Marwan b. al-Hakam and fell at Marj Rihit in 64 [684]. Or, it may have been a psychological slip by Ibn Khaldun, out of unwillingness to admit that the last Umayyad could still have introduced important innovations. The events referred to in the text. took place in 128/29 [745/47], during which

after him, al-Khaybari. At-Tabari said in connection with the killing of al-Khaybari: "The Kharijites appointed as their leader Shayban b. 'Abdal-'Aziz al-Yashkuri, who had the surname of Abu d-Dalfa'. Marwan, thereafter, fought them in regiments and abandoned the line from that day on."

When the line was discontinued, the practice of fighting in closed formation was forgotten. Then, when luxury penetrated the various dynasties, the use of the (rally) line behind the fighters was forgotten. This was because when they were Bedouins and lived in tents, they had many camels, and the women and children lived in camp with them. Then they achieved royal luxury and became used to living in palaces and in a sedentary environment and they abandoned the ways of the desert and waste regions. At that time, they forgot the period of camels and litters, and it was difficult for them to use them. When they traveled, they left their women behind. Royal authority and luxury caused them to use tents both large and small. They restricted themselves to pack animals carrying baggage and tents. They used these things to form their (protective) line in war. It was by no means sufficient. These things, unlike one's own family and property, do not inspire any willingness to die.⁶²⁸ People, therefore, have little endurance. The turmoil of the battle frightens them, and their lines crumble.

We have mentioned the strength that a line formation behind the army gives to the fighters who use the technique of attack and withdrawal. Because of (this fact), the Maghribi rulers have come to employ groups of European Christians in their army, and they are the only ones to have done that, for their compatriots know only the technique of attack and withdrawal. The position of the ruler is strengthened by establishing a line formation in support of the fighting men ahead of it. The men in such a line formation must be people who are used to hold firm in closed formation. If not, they will

year all three of the Kharijites, ad-Ijahlak b. Qays, al-Khaybari, and Shayban, were killed in that order. The source is at-Tabari, *Annales*, 1, 1941, 11. 14 f., anno 128.

⁶²⁸Cf. p. 69, above.

run away like the men who use the technique of attack and withdrawal, and, when they run away, the ruler and the army will be routed. Therefore, the rulers of the Maghrib had to use soldiers from a nation used to hold firm in closed formation. That nation was the European Christians. The line formation around their (army) is formed by European Christians. The Maghribi rulers do that despite the fact that it means utilizing the aid of unbelievers. They do not think much of it, because the necessity (of using such men) exists, as we have shown. They fear that their own line formation might run away, and (they know that) the European Christians know only how to hold firm, because it is their custom to fight in closed formation. They are, therefore, more suitable for the purpose than others. However, the Maghribi rulers employ (such European Christians) only in wars against Arab and Berber nations, in order to force them into submission. They do not use them for the holy war, because they are afraid that they might take sides against the Muslims. Such is the situation in the Maghrib at this time. We have shown the reason for it. "God knows everything."⁶²⁹

We hear that the fighting (technique) of the contemporary Turkish nations is the shooting of arrows. Their battle order consists of a line formation. They divide their army into three lines, one placed behind the other. They dismount from their horses, empty their quivers on the ground in front of them, and then shoot from a sitting position. Each line protects the one ahead of it against being overrun by the enemy, until victory is assured for one party. This is a very good and remarkable battle order.

In war, the ancients followed the method of digging trenches around their camps when they were about to attack. (They did that) because they were afraid of treacherous night attacks and assaults by night upon the camp, since darkness and wildness multiply fear. Under such conditions, the soldiers might seek refuge in flight and would find in the darkness a psychological protection against the shame of (fleeing). If all the soldiers were to

⁶²⁹ Qur'an 2.29 (27), 231 (231), etc.

have the same (idea), the camp would be disorganized, and there would be a rout. Therefore, they were accustomed to dig trenches around the camp, when they encamped. They set up their tents and made trenches all around them on every side, lest the enemy be able to get through them in a night attack, in which case they would abandon each other.

The dynasties used to have the strength and power to do such things involving large concentrations of manpower, wherever they settled, because civilization was prosperous and royal authority impressive. But when civilization was ruined and (the strong dynasties) were succeeded by weak dynasties with few soldiers and no workers, the thing was altogether forgotten, as if it had never been.

God is the best of those who have power.

One should think of the admonitions and encouragement that 'Ali gave his men on the day of Siffin. One will find in them a good deal of military knowledge. No one had better insight into military matters than 'Ali. He said in one of his speeches: "Straighten out your lines like a strongly constructed building."⁶³⁰

"Place the armed men in front, and those who are not armed in the rear.

"Bite on your molars. This makes it harder for sword blows to harm the head.

"Keep (something) wrapped around [?] the tips of the spears. This preserves the sharpness of points.

"Keep the eyes down. This keeps the soul more concentrated and gives greater peace to the heart.

"Kill (all) noises. This drives vacillation away more effectively and is more becoming to dignity.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Qur'an 61.4 (4). 'Ali's words are found in at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 8290 f., and in Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, III, 150. A comparison of Ibn Khaldun's text with at-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir shows that Ibn Khaldun used Ibn al-Athir.

"Do not hold your flags inclined and do not remove them. Place them in the hands only of those among you who are brave.

"Call upon truth and endurance for aid, for 'after endurance there is victory.' "

Al-Ashtar⁶³¹ on that day, to encourage the Azd, said: "Bite on your molars and meet the people (enemy) head on. Be violent like men who, long frustrated from their revenge, are now out to revenge their fathers and their brothers, who are full of wrath against the enemy, and who have prepared themselves for death, so that they shall not be prevented from taking revenge and not be disgraced in this world."

Abu Bakr as-Sayrafī, the poet of the Lamtunah (Almora vids) and the Spaniards, has referred to many such things in a poem in which he praises Tashfin b. 'Ali b. Yusuf and describes his steadfastness during a battle in which he participated.⁶³² He refers to his military affairs in words of admonition and warning that make a great deal of knowledge concerning warfare available to (the reader). He says in (the poem):

O you veiled⁶³³ people!
 Who among you is the high-minded, inspiring ruler?
 Who is the one whom the enemy surprised in the dark,
 And everyone dispersed, but he was not discouraged?
 And the knights came, but fighting with spears kept them
 From him. The loyalty (of his troops) confounded them,
 and they turned back.

⁶³¹ All's well-known general who died soon after the battle of Siffin, in 37 [657/581]. His names are said to have been Malik b. al-Harith. His remarks were derived by Ibn Khaldun from at-Tabari, I, 3298.

⁶³²The military operations of Tashfin, who was later on ruler of the Almoravid realm for three years, are described in *Ibar*, VI, 229 f.; de Slane (tr.), II, 174 ff., starting with the year 538 [1138/99]. For as-Sayrafī, about whom little seems to be known, cf. S. M. Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes* (Palermo, 1953), p. 57.

⁶³³I.e., the veiled Sinhajah Almoravids.

And the gleam of helmets made the night appear
 Like the morn sparkling over the heads of the soldiers.
 Where⁶³⁴ have you taken refuge (now), O Banu Sinhajah?
 You (who) were the refuge in fear.
 You have turned away from Tashfin.
 If he wished, he could punish you.
 A pupil that no eyelid of yours has ever protected,
 And a heart that the ribs have betrayed.
 You are nothing but lions of the thicket,⁶³⁵
 Each one (of you) watching for every (possible) unpleasantness (that
 might befall).
 O Tashfin, make the night an excuse for your soldiers,
 And irresistible destiny not to be repelled.

The following verses of the poem are about warfare:

I shall give you the political education that
 The Persian kings before you were desirous to obtain.
 Not that I am experienced in it, but it is
 A memento that spurs on the believers, and is useful.
 Put on the double coat of mail that
 A Tubba' exhorted skillful craftsmen to make,⁶³⁶
 And the fine Indian dagger, because it is
 More effective against thick armor and pierces it better.
 Use a number of fast horses (and horsemen) -
 A strong fortress that cannot be repelled!
 Dig a trench for yourself when you encamp,
 Regardless of whether you are in victorious pursuit or being pursued.

⁶³⁴The situation is changed now, for in the battle the poem is about, Tashfin was not supported as vigorously as before by his Sinhajah Almoravid troops.

⁶³⁵"Lions of the thicket" is used for people who are courageous and feared in their own habitat, but despised outside it. Cf. ath-Tha'alibi, *Thimar al-qulab* (Cairo, 1326/1908), p. 306.

⁶³⁶For the Tubba' as the legendary producer of strong armor, cf. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 102.

Do not cross a river. Encamp on its bank.
 It separates your soldiers from the enemy.
 Go into battle in the afternoon,
 Having behind you a mountain pass⁶³⁷ that is unapproachable.
 When the soldiers are in straits on a narrow
 Battlefield, the points of their spears will give them (elbow) room.
 Attack the enemy right away, do not hesitate
 A moment, for to show signs of hesitation is disastrous.
 Take for your patrols men of energy,
 In whom truthfulness is an unmistakable characteristic.
 Do not listen to the liar who comes to you with alarming news.
 A person under the influence of a lie (acts) senselessly⁶³⁸ whatever he
 may do.

The statement, "Attack the enemy right away, do not hesitate, etc," is contrary to the general practice of warfare. 'Umar said to Abu 'Ubayd b. Masud ath-Thaqafi, when he entrusted him with the war against Firs and the 'Iraq:⁶³⁹ "Listen to the men around Muhammad and let them participate in the command. Do not answer hastily, (answer) only when everything is clear to you. It is war, and only the calm man, who knows when there is an opportunity and when he has to restrain himself, is suited for warfare." According to another (report), he said to him: "The only thing that prevents me from putting Salit in command is his rashness in war. Rashness in war, unless everything is clear, is disastrous. By God, if it were not for that, I should have made him commander, but only a calm man is suited for warfare." This is what 'Umar said. It is proof that in war it is better to go slow than to be hasty, until the situation in a particular battle is clear. This is the contrary of what as-Sayrafi said, unless he means attacking after. everything is clear.

⁶³⁷ *As-sadaf*, as in the MSS.

⁶³⁸ This is quoted as a proverb in *Lisan al-'Arab*, II, 199.

⁶³⁹ The following two statements ascribed to 'Umar are quoted from at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2161, *annois*. Both Abu 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafi and Salit b. Qays were killed in the early stages of the campaign.

This is a possible explanation. And God knows better. There is no certainty of victory in war, even when the equipment and the numerical (strength) that cause victory (under normal circumstances), exist. Victory and superiority in war come from luck and chance. This is explained by the fact that the causes of superiority are, as a rule, a combination of several factors. There are external factors, such as the number of soldiers, the perfection and good quality of weapons, the number of brave men, (skillful) arrangement of the line formation, the proper tactics, and similar things. Then, there are hidden factors. (These hidden factors) may be the result of human ruse and trickery, such as spreading alarming news and rumors to cause defections (in the ranks of the enemy) occupying high points, so that one is able to attack from above, which surprises those below and causes them to abandon each other; hiding in thickets or depressions and concealing oneself from the enemy in rocky terrain, so that the armies (of one's own side) suddenly appear when (the enemy) is in a precarious situation and he must then flee to safety (instead of defending himself), and similar things. These hidden factors may also be celestial matters, which man has no power to produce for himself. They affect people psychologically, and thus generate fear in (them). They cause confusion in the centers of (armies), and there are routs. Rout very often are the result of hidden causes, because both parties make much use of (the opportunities offered by) them in their desire for victory. One of them must by necessity be successful in their use. Wherefore, Muhammad said: "War is trickery."⁶⁴⁰ An Arab proverb says: "Many a trick is worth more than a tribe."^{640a}

It is thus clear that superiority in war is, as a rule, the result of hidden causes, not of external ones. The occurrence of opportunities as the result of

⁶⁴⁰ *Handbook*, p. 248a; below, p. 131

^{640a} Cf. Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah* (Cairo, 1351-58/1932-40), XIII, 175, quoting the *Nata'ij at-afkar* by 'Ali b. Yabya al-Mabrami, d.-646 [1248/49]. Maskawayh, *Jawidhan Khiradh* (Cairo, 1952), p. 206, and ar-Raghib al-Isfahani, *Muhdaardt*, I, 10, have *ghilah* "treachery" instead of "tribe."

hidden causes is what is meant by the word "luck," as has been established in the proper place. Considering the fact that superiority may be the result of celestial factors, as we have explained, one understands Muhammad's statement: "I was helped through the terror (that befell the enemy) for the length of one month's journey."⁶⁴¹ (The same fact explains) Muhammad's victory with small numbers over the polytheists during his lifetime, and the victories of the Muslims during the Muslim conquests after (Muhammad's death). God took care of His Prophet. He threw terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. (That terror,) eventually, seized control over their hearts, and they fled. (This, then, was) a miracle wrought by God's Messenger. Terror in the hearts of their enemies was why there were so many routs during the Muslim conquests, but it was a factor concealed from the eyes.

At-Turtushi⁶⁴² mentions that one of the reasons for victory in war is that one side may have a larger 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. He states this very emphatically. He is referring to the external causes we have mentioned before, but he is not right. What is the fact proven to make for superiority is the situation with regard to group feeling. If one side has a (single) group feeling comprising all, while the other side is made up of numerous different groups, and if both sides are approximately the same in numbers, then the side that has a single (comprehensive) group feeling is stronger than, and superior to, the side that is made up of several different groups. These different groups are likely to abandon each other, as is the case with separate individuals who have no group feeling at all, each of the groups being in the same position as an individual. Thus, the side composed of several different groups cannot stand up to the side whose group feeling is one. This should be understood. It should be realized

⁶⁴¹Cf. *Concordance*, II 271b, R. 5 ff. Cf. also, below, p. 179.

⁶⁴²The reference apparently is to Ch. xn of the *Siraj*. Cf. the stories mentioned there on p. 176.

that this is a better explanation than the one attempted by at-Turtushi. At-Turtushi's (explanation) was suggested by the fact that the importance of group feeling was no longer known in his generation and in the place where he lived.⁶⁴³ (People in this situation) think of defense, military protection, and the pressing of claims, in terms of individuals and masses of individuals. They do not consider group feeling or common descent in this connection. We explained this at the beginning of the book.⁶⁴⁴

Moreover, such and similar things, if correct, still belong among the external causes (of victory), such as the existence of an identical number of soldiers on both sides, the proper tactics, the quantity of weapons, and similar things. How could such things guarantee victory, considering that we have just established that none of them is a match for the hidden causes, such as ruse and trickery, or for the celestial factors, such as divine terror and defection? This should be known, and the conditions of the world should be understood. God determines night and day.⁶⁴⁵

The idea of victory in war as depending on hidden and unnatural causes (reminds us) of the related situation that exists with regard to fame and renown. Fame and renown are rarely to be found in their proper places anywhere in any class of people, whether they be rulers, scholars, pious men, or the virtuous in general. Many people are famous and renowned, yet do not deserve it. Many are reputed villains, yet they are just the opposite. Many have been passed over by fame, and yet they may deserve it and be more entitled to it (than others). Sometimes, fame and renown are to be found in their proper places and do conform to the actual merit of the person who enjoys them.

⁶⁴³Cf. 1:316 f., above.

⁶⁴⁴The reference is apparently to the beginning of Ch. m (1:313, above). De Slane thought it was to 1:941 f., above.

⁶⁴⁵Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

The reason for this is that fame and renown are the result of (historical) information. In the process of transmission, the (original) intentions are forgotten, and bias and partisanship affect the information, as do unfounded assumptions as well as ignorance of the conformity of the stories to (actual) conditions,⁶⁴⁶ resulting from the fact that they have become obscured by falsification and artifice, or from the ignorance of the transmitter. (The information is also) affected by the desire to insinuate oneself into the good graces of great men of the world and other persons of high rank through eulogizing and praising (them), embellishing the facts and spreading fame in this manner⁶⁴⁷ The (human) soul is ardently in love with praise, and people go all out for this world and for the rank or wealth that belong (to this world). As a rule, they have no desire for virtue, and they do not care for those who have it. In view of all this, how could (we expect) there to be any conformity with the truth? Thus, renown results from hidden causes and does not conform (to reality). Things that result from hidden causes are what we express by the word "luck," as has been established.

III.36. Taxation and the reason for low and high (tax revenues).

[p.2:89]

It⁶⁴⁸ should be known that at the beginning of the dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields a small revenue from large assessments.

The reason for this is that when the dynasty follows the ways (*sunan*) of the religion, it imposes only such taxes as are stipulated by the religious law, such as charity taxes, the land tax, and the poll tax. They mean small assessments, because, as everyone knows, the charity tax on property⁶⁴⁹ is

⁶⁴⁶Cf. 1:72, above.

⁶⁴⁷Cf. 1:72, above.

⁶⁴⁸Cf. Issawi, pp. 87 f.; [H. Peres], in *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 10 ff.

⁶⁴⁹That is, on holdings of gold and silver and goods.

low. The same applies to the charity tax on grain and cattle, and also to the poll tax, the land tax, and all other taxes required by the religious law. They have fixed limits that cannot be overstepped.

When the dynasty follows the ways of group feeling and (political) superiority, it necessarily has at first a desert attitude, as has been mentioned before. The desert attitude requires kindness, reverence, humility, respect for the property of other people, and disinclination to appropriate it,⁶⁵⁰ except in rare instances. Therefore, the individual imposts and assessments, which together constitute the tax revenue, are low. When tax assessments and imposts upon the subjects are low, the latter have the energy and desire to do things. Cultural enterprises grow and increase, because the low taxes bring satisfaction. When cultural enterprises grow, the number of individual imposts and assessments mounts. In consequence, the tax revenue, which is the sum total of (the individual assessments), increases.

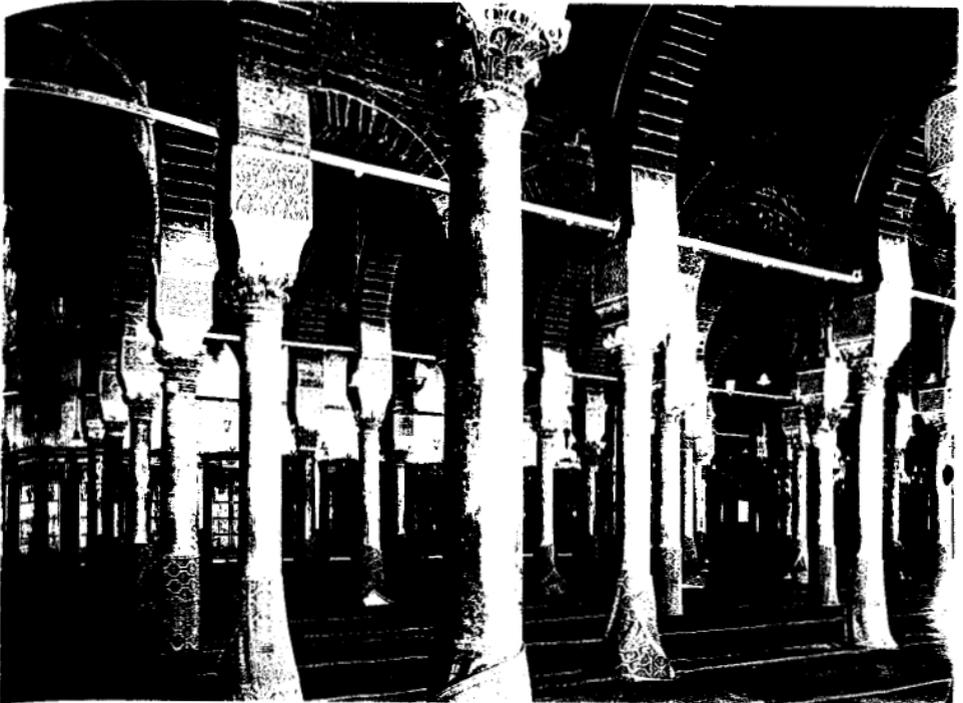
When the dynasty continues in power and their rulers follow each other in succession, they become sophisticated. The Bedouin attitude and simplicity lose their significance, and the Bedouin qualities of moderation and restraint disappear. Royal authority with its tyranny, and sedentary culture that stimulates sophistication, make their appearance. The people of the dynasty then acquire qualities of character related to cleverness. Their customs and needs become more varied because of the prosperity and luxury in which they are immersed. As a result, the individual imposts and assessments upon the subjects, agricultural laborers, farmers, and all the other taxpayers, increase. Every individual impost and assessment is greatly increased, in order to obtain a higher tax revenue. Customs duties are placed upon articles of commerce and (levied) at the city gates, as we shall mention later on.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁵⁰This would seem to be in contradiction with what was said earlier about the rapacity of "the Arabs." Cf. 1:302 ff., above. However, to Ibn Khaldun "desert attitude" rather signifies the good side of nomadism. Cf. also p. 122, below.

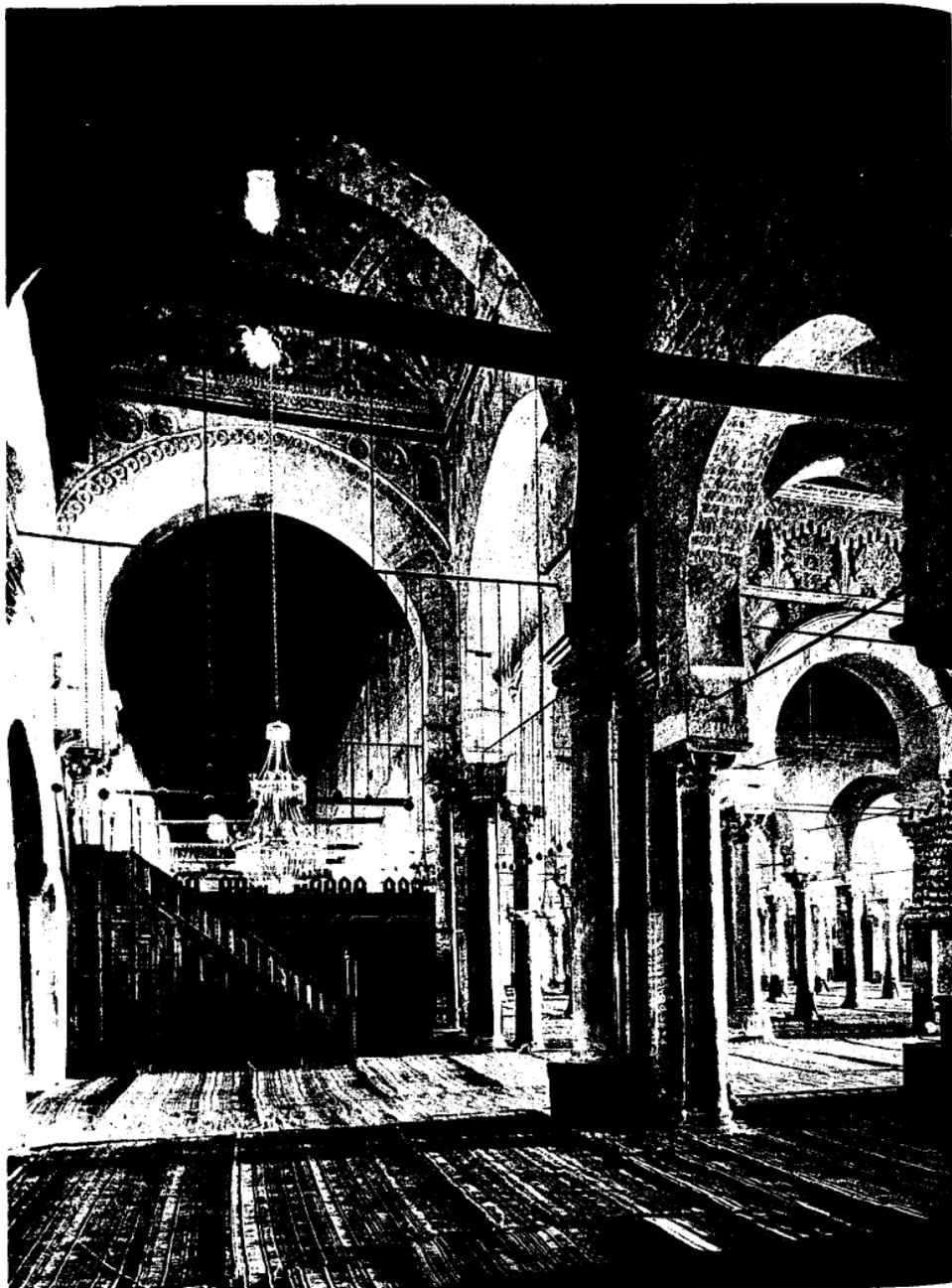
⁶⁵¹In the following section.

Then, gradual increases in the amount of the assessments succeed each other regularly, in correspondence with the gradual increase in the luxury customs and many needs of the dynasty and the spending required in connection with them. Eventually, the taxes will weigh heavily upon the subjects and overburden them. Heavy taxes become an obligation and tradition, because the increases took place gradually, and no one knows specifically who increased them or levied them. They lie upon the subjects like an obligation and tradition.

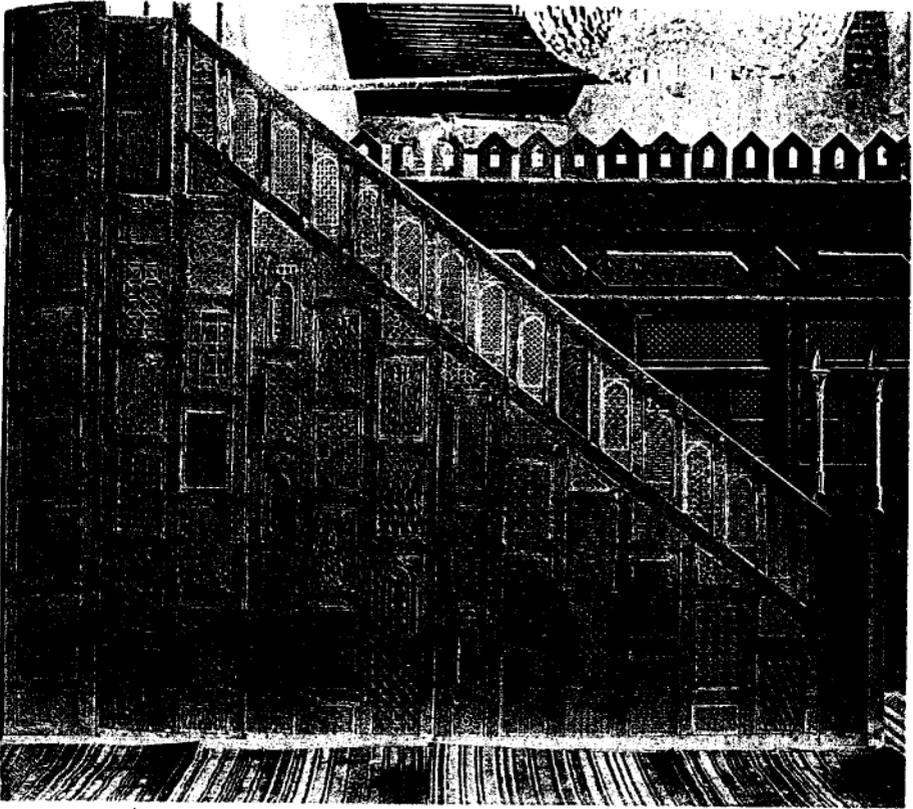
The assessments increase beyond the limits of equity. The result is that the interest of the subjects in cultural enterprises disappears, since when they compare expenditures and taxes with their income and gain and see the little profit they make, they lose all hope. Therefore, many of them refrain from all cultural activity. The result is that the total tax



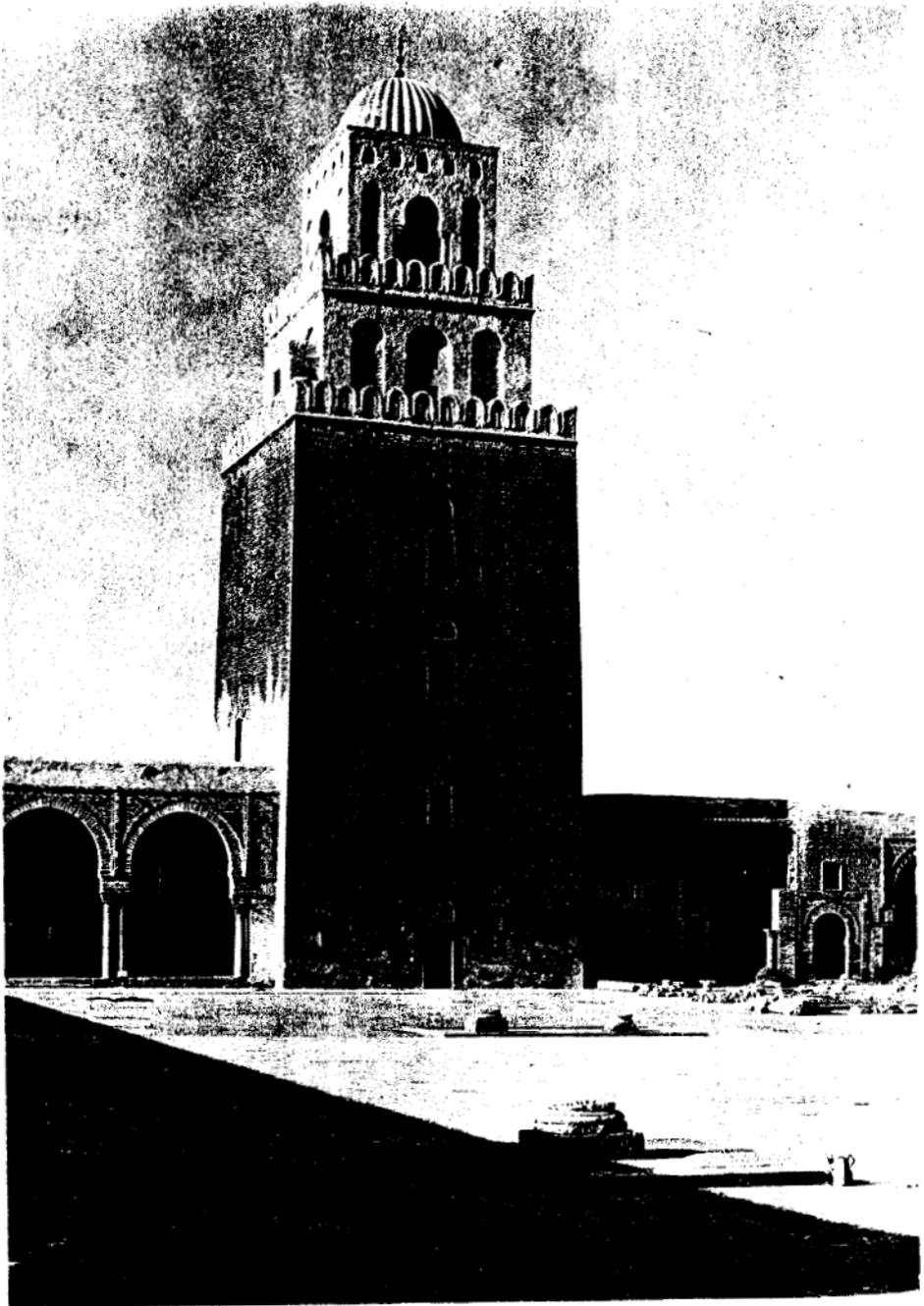
III. The Great Mosque of Tunis



IV. *Minbar and Maqsurah* of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawan



V. *Minbar* and *Maqsurah* of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawan: detail



V1. The Minaret of the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawan

revenue goes down, as (the number of) the individual assessments goes down. Often, when the decrease is noticed, the amounts of individual imposts are increased. This is considered a means of compensating for the decrease. Finally, individual imposts and assessments reach their limit. It would be of no avail to increase them further. The costs of all cultural enterprise are now too high, the taxes are too heavy, and the profits anticipated fail to materialize. Thus, the total revenue continues to decrease, while the amounts of individual imposts and assessments continue to increase, because it is believed that such an increase will compensate (for the drop in revenue) in the end. Finally, civilization is destroyed, because the incentive for cultural activity is gone. It is the dynasty that suffers from the situation, because it (is the dynasty that) profits from cultural activity.

If (the reader) understands this, he will realize that the strongest incentive for cultural activity is to lower as much as possible the amounts of individual imposts levied upon persons capable of undertaking cultural enterprises. In this manner, such persons will be psychologically disposed to undertake them, because they can be confident of making a profit from them.

God owns all things.

III.37. In the later (years) of dynasties, customs duties are levied.

[p.2:91]

It should be known that at the beginning, dynasties maintain the Bedouin attitude, as we have stated⁶⁵² Therefore, they have few needs, since luxury and the habits that go with it do not (yet) exist. Expenses and expenditures are small. At that time, revenue from taxes pays for much more than the necessary expenditures, and there is a large surplus.

The dynasty, then, soon starts to adopt the luxury and luxury customs of sedentary culture, and follows the course that had been taken by previous

⁶⁵² Cf. p. 89, above.

dynasties. The result is that the expenses of the people of the dynasty grow. Especially do the expenses of the ruler mount excessively, on account of his expenditures for his entourage and the great number of allowances he has to grant. The (available) revenue from taxes cannot pay for all that. Therefore, the dynasty must increase its revenues, because the militia needs (ever) larger allowances and the ruler needs (ever) more money to meet his expenditures.⁶⁵³ At first, the amounts of individual imposts and assessments are increased, as we have stated. Then, as expenses and needs increase under the influence of the gradual growth of luxury customs and additional allowances for the militia, the dynasty is affected by senility. Its people are too weak to collect the taxes from the provinces and remote areas. Thus, the revenue from taxes decreases, while the habits (requiring money) increase. As they increase, salaries and allowances to the soldiers also increase. Therefore, the ruler must invent new kinds of taxes. He levies them on commerce. He imposes taxes of a certain amount on prices realized in the markets and on the various (imported) goods at the city gates.^{653a} (The ruler) is, after all, forced to this because people have become spoiled by generous allowances, and because of the growing numbers of soldiers and militiamen. In the later (years) of the dynasty, (taxation) may become excessive. Business falls off, because all hopes (of profit) are destroyed, permitting the dissolution of civilization and reflecting upon (the status of) the dynasty. This (situation) becomes more and more aggravated, until (the dynasty) disintegrates.

Much of this sort happened in the Eastern cities during the later days of the 'Abbasid and 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasties. Taxes were levied even upon pilgrims making the pilgrimage. Salah-ad-din Ibn Ayyub abolished all such institutions and replaced them with good works. The same also happened in Spain at the time of the *reyes de ta'ifas*. Yusuf b. Tashfin, the Almoravid

⁶⁵³Cf. also 1:340 f., above.

^{653a}The first part of the sentence refers to a sales tax, the second to a levy on imported merchandise.

amir, put an end to it. The same has also been happening in the cities of the Jarid in Ifrigiyah, ever since their chiefs gained control over them.⁶⁵⁴

God "is kind to His servants."⁶⁵⁵

III.38. Commercial activity on the part of the ruler is harmful to his subjects and ruinous to the tax revenue.⁶⁵⁶

[p.2:93]

It should be known that a dynasty may find itself in financial straits, as we have mentioned before, on account of its luxury and the number of (its luxurious) habits and on account of its expenditures and the insufficiency of the tax revenue to pay for its needs and expenditures. It may need more money and higher revenues. Then, it sometimes imposes customs duties on the commercial activities of (its) subjects, as we have mentioned in the previous section. Sometimes, it increases the kinds of customs duties, if (customs duties as such) had been introduced before. Sometimes, it applies torture to its officials and tax collectors and sucks their bones dry (of a part of their fortune). (This happens) when officials and tax collectors are observed to have appropriated a good deal of tax money, which their accounts do not show.⁶⁵⁷

Sometimes, the ruler himself may engage in commerce and agriculture, from desire to increase (his) revenues. He sees that merchants and farmers make (great) profits and have plenty of property. (He sees) that their gains correspond to the capital they invest. Therefore, he starts to acquire livestock and fields in order to cultivate them for profit, purchase goods, and (enter

⁶⁵⁴This refers to the reign of the Hafid Abu Bakr, down to the time of the restoration of Hafsid power under Abul-'Abbas, Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 387; de Slane (tr.), III, 91. Cf. also pp. 116 and 304, below.

⁶⁵⁵Qur'an 42.19 (18).

⁶⁵⁶Cf. Jafar ad-Dimashqi, *al-Isharah ila mahasin at-tijarah* (Cairo, 1318/1900), p. 41; tr. H. Ritter, "Ein arabischen Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft," *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 59.

⁶⁵⁷Cf. pp. 123 f., below.

business and) expose himself to fluctuations of the market. He thinks that this will improve (his) revenues and increase (his) profits.

However, this is a great error. It causes harm to the subjects in many ways. First, farmers and merchants will find it difficult to buy livestock and merchandise and to procure cheaply the things that belong to (farming and commerce). The subjects have (all) the same or approximately the same amount of wealth. Competition between them already exhausts, or comes close to exhausting, their financial resources. 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, and everybody will become worried and unhappy.

Furthermore, the ruler can appropriate much of (the agricultural products and the available merchandise), if it occurs to him. (He can do it) by force, or by buying things up at the cheapest possible price. Further, there may be no one who would dare to bid against him. Thus, he will be able to force the seller to lower his price. Further, when agricultural products such as corn, silk, honey, sugar, and other kinds of agricultural products, or goods of any kind, become available, the ruler cannot wait for a (favorable) market and a boom, because he has to take care of government (needs). Therefore, he forces the merchants or farmers who deal in these particular products to buy from him. He will be satisfied only with the highest prices and more. (The merchants and farmers, on the other hand), will exhaust their liquid capital in such transactions. The merchandise they thus acquire will remain useless on their hands. They themselves will no longer be able to trade, which is what enables them to earn something and make their living. Often, they need money. Then, they have to sell the goods (that they were forced to buy from the ruler), at the lowest prices, during a slump in the market. Often, the merchant or farmer has to do the same thing over again. He thus exhausts his capital and has to go out of business.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. also pp. 109 f., below.

This becomes an often repeated process. The trouble and financial difficulties and the loss of profit which it causes the subjects, takes away from them all incentives to effort, thus ruining the fiscal (structure). Most of the revenue from taxes comes from farmers and merchants, especially once customs duties have been introduced and the tax revenue has been augmented by means of them. Thus, when the farmer gives up agriculture and the merchant goes out of business, the revenue from taxes vanishes altogether or becomes dangerously low.

Were the ruler to compare the revenue from taxes with the small profits (he reaps from trading himself), he would find the latter negligible in comparison with the former. Even if (his trading) were profitable, it would still deprive him of a good deal of his revenue from taxes, so far as commerce is concerned. It is unlikely that customs duties might be levied on (the ruler's commercial activities). If, however, the same deals were made by others (and not by the ruler), the customs duties (levied in connection with them) would be included in the tax total.

Furthermore, (the trading of the ruler) may cause the destruction of civilization and, through the destruction and decrease of (civilization), the disintegration of the dynasty. When the subjects can no longer make their capital larger through agriculture and commerce, it will decrease and disappear as the result of expenditures. This will ruin their situation. This should be understood.

The Persians made no one king except members of the royal house. Further, they chose him from among those (members of the royal house) who possessed virtue, religion, education, liberality, bravery, and nobility. Then, they stipulated in addition that he should be just. Also, he was not to take a farm, as this would harm his neighbors. He was not to engage in trade, as this would of necessity raise the prices of all goods. And he was not to use slaves as servants, since they would not give good and beneficial advice.

It should be known that the finances of a ruler can be increased, and his financial resources improved, only through the revenue from taxes. (The revenue from taxes) can be improved only through the equitable treatment of people with property and regard for them. This makes their hopes rise, and they have the incentive to start making their capital bear fruit and grow. This, in turn, increases the ruler's revenues in taxes. Other (measures) taken by the ruler, such as engaging in commerce or agriculture, soon turn out to be harmful to the subjects, to be ruinous to the revenues, and to decrease cultural activity.

Amirs and other men in power in a country who engage in commerce and agriculture, reach a point where they undertake to buy agricultural products and goods from their owners who come to them, at prices fixed by themselves as they see fit. Then, they resell these things to the subjects under their control, at the proper times, at prices fixed by themselves. This is even more dangerous, harmful, and ruinous for the subjects than the afore-mentioned (procedure). The ruler is often influenced to choose such a (course) by that sort of people - I mean, merchants and farmers - who bring him into contact with the profession in which they have been reared. They influence the ruler to choose this (course). They work with him, but for their own profit, to garner quickly as much money as they may wish, especially through profits reaped from doing business without having to pay taxes and customs duties. Exemption from taxes and customs duties is more likely than anything else to cause one's capital to grow, and it brings quick profits. These people do not understand how much damage is caused the ruler by each decrease in the revenue from taxes. The ruler, therefore, must guard against such persons, and not pay any attention to suggestions that are harmful to his revenues and his rule.

May God inspire us to choose the right course for ourselves, and may He make us profit from our beneficial actions. There is no Lord except Him.

III.39. The ruler and his entourage are wealthy only in the middle (period) of the dynasty.

[p.2:97]

The reason for this is that at the beginning of the dynasty, the revenues are distributed among the tribe⁶⁵⁹ and the people who share in the ruler's group feeling, in accordance with their usefulness and group feeling and because they are needed to establish the dynasty, as we have stated before.⁶⁶⁰ Under these circumstances, their leader refrains in their favor from (claiming) the revenues which they would like to have. He feels compensated for (his restraint) by the control over them that he hopes to establish. They can put pressure on him, and he needs them. His share of the revenues is restricted to the very small (amounts) he needs. Consequently, the members of his entourage and company, his wazirs, secretaries, and clients, usually can be observed to be destitute. Their position is restricted, because it depends on the position of their master, and the authority of (his position) is narrowed down by the competition of the people who share in his group feeling.

Then, when royal authority has come into its own and the ruler has obtained control over his people, he prevents them from getting (any part of) the revenues, beyond their official shares. Their portions shrink, because their usefulness to the dynasty has diminished. Their influence has been checked, and clients and followers have come to share with them in the support of the dynasty and the establishment of its power. At this time, the ruler disposes alone of the whole income from taxes, or the greater part of it. He keeps this money, and holds it for spending on important projects. His wealth grows. His treasuries are filled. The authority of his position expands, and he dominates all his people. As a consequence, the men of his entourage and retinue, the wazir, the secretary, the doorkeeper (*hajib*), the client, and

⁶⁵⁹ Bulaq; "the members of the tribe."

⁶⁶⁰ Cf., for instance, 1;353, above.

the policeman, all become more important, and their positions expand. They acquire property and enrich themselves.

Then, when the dynasty starts to become senile, as the result of the dissolution of group feeling and the disappearance of the tribe that founded it, the ruler needs supporters and helpers, because there are then many seceders, rivals, and rebels, and there is the fear of (complete) destruction. His revenues then go to his allies and supporters, military men who have their own group feelings. He spends his treasures and revenues on attempts to restore (the power of) the dynasty⁶⁶¹ Moreover, the revenue from taxes decreases, as we have stated before⁶⁶² because there are many allowances to be paid and expenditures to be made. The revenues from the land tax decrease. The dynasty's need for money becomes more urgent. The intimates, the doorkeepers (*hajib*), and the secretaries no longer live under the shadow of prosperity and luxury, as their positions lose importance and the authority of the ruler's (position) shrinks.

The ruler's need for money at this time becomes even more urgent. The new generation within his inner circle and entourage spend the money with which their fathers had enriched themselves, for a purpose for which it was not intended, namely, that of helping the ruler. They begin to be no longer as sincerely loyal as their fathers and ancestors had been. The ruler, in turn, becomes of the opinion that he is more entitled than they to the wealth that was acquired (by their fathers) during the reign of his predecessors and with the help of their position. He takes it and appropriates it for himself, gradually (and) according to their ranks. (As a result,) the dynasty becomes detestable⁶⁶³ to them, and, in turn, it is the dynasty that suffers therefrom. It loses its entourage and great personalities and its rich and wealthy intimates.

⁶⁶¹ The idea of "restoration" is not found in the text of Bulaq.

⁶⁶² Cf, p. 92, above.

⁶⁶³ A. Schimmel, *Ibn Chaldun* (Tubingen, 1951), p. 134: "is unfriendly ..."

A great part of the edifice of glory crumbles, after having been supported and built up to a great height by those who shared in it.

One may compare what happened in this regard to the 'Abbasid wazirs, such as the Banu Qahtabah, the Barmecides, the Banu Sahl, the Banu Tahir, and others. One may further (compare) what happened at the time of the dissolution of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain in the days of the *reyes de taifas*, to the Banu Shuhayd, the Banu Abi 'Abdah, the Banu Hudayr, the Banu Burd, and others. The same is happening in the dynasty we have lived to see in our own time. "This is how God proceeds. . . . And verily, you will not be able to change God's way."⁶⁶⁴

Anticipating such dangerous situations, most of the people in the dynasty try to avoid holding any government position. They try to escape from government control and go to some other region with the government property they have acquired. They are of the opinion that (to do) this will be more wholesome for them and give them the opportunity to spend and enjoy (their money) in greater safety. This assumption is a great mistake and a self-deception that will ruin them materially.

It should be known that it is difficult and impossible to escape (from official life) after having once been in it. When the person who has such intentions is the ruler himself, his subjects and the people who share in his group feeling and crowd around him will not for a moment permit him to escape. If any such (intention) on his part becomes visible, it means the destruction of his realm and the ruin of himself. (This would be) the usual result in such a case, for it is difficult to escape from the servitude of royal authority, especially when the dynasty has reached its peak and its authority is shrinking, and it is becoming more remote from glory and good qualities, and acquiring bad qualities.

If the person who intends to escape is one of the ruler's inner circle and entourage or one of the dignitaries in his dynasty, he rarely is given the

⁶⁶⁴ Qur'an 33.62 (62); 35.43 (41); 48.23 (23).

opportunity to do so. The reason is, in the first place, that rulers consider their people and entourage and, indeed, all their subjects as slaves familiar with their thoughts and sentiments. Therefore, they are not disposed to loosen the bonds of servitude binding the person (who may have the desire to escape). They want to avoid the chance that someone (outside) might come to know (their secrets) and their circumstances (through that person), and they are averse to letting him become the servant of others.

The Spanish Umayyads thus prevented their people from going abroad to fulfill the duty of the pilgrimage. They were afraid they might fall into the hands of the 'Abbasids. During all their days, none of their people made the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage was (again) permitted to (Spaniards) who belonged to the (various) dynasties in Spain, only after the Umayyad rule had come to an end and (Spain) had reverted to control of the *reyes de ta'ifas*.

In the second place, even if rulers were kind enough to loosen the bonds (of a person who intended to escape from their control), their kindness would not extend to leaving his property alone. They consider it part of their own wealth - in the same way that its owner has been part of their dynasty in as much as it was obtained only through the dynasty and under the shadow of its authority. Therefore, they are most eager to take his property and to let it remain as it is, as something belonging to the dynasty that they (are entitled to) use.

Furthermore, assuming that he gets away with his property to some other region, which happens in very rare cases, (he is not safe there either, because) the eyes of the rulers in that region fall on him, and they deprive him of (his property) by indirect threats and intimidation or by open force. They consider (his property) as revenue or as government property, which should be spent in the public interest. If the eyes of (rulers) can fall upon rich and wealthy people who have acquired their money in the exercise of a profession, as we have mentioned,⁶⁶⁵ it is all the more understandable that

⁶⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldun probably refers to what he said on pp. 93 f.

their eyes can fall upon tax monies and government property, to which they have access by law and custom.

One may compare what happened to the Judge of Jabalah.⁶⁶⁶ He had revolted against Ibn 'Ammar, the master of Tripoli. The European Christians took Jabalah away from him. He fled to Damascus and then to Baghdad, which was under the rule of Sultan Barkiyaruq b. Malikshah. That was at the end of the fifth [eleventh] century. The wazir of the Sultan went to the Judge of Jabalah and borrowed most of his money from him. Then, they cleaned him out completely. It was an inestimable amount.

Sultan Abu Yahya Zakariya' b. Ahmad al-Lihyani, the ninth or the tenth of the Hafsid rulers in Ifrigiyah,⁶⁶⁷ intended to get away from the responsibility of royal authority and to go to Egypt. He wanted to escape the ruler of the western border regions when (the latter) prepared for a raid on Tunis. (Ibn) al-Lihyani, therefore, pretended to make a trip to the border region of Tripoli, in order to conceal the preparations (for his escape). There, he boarded ship and escaped to Alexandria. He had taken with him all the property and treasures he found in the treasury, and he had sold all the furniture, real property, and jewelry in the Hafsid treasuries, even including the books. He took all that along with him to Egypt. He took up residence with al-Malik an-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un in the year 719 [1319].⁶⁶⁸ (Al-Malik an-Nasir) treated him hospitably and gave him a place of honor. But he did not cease to deprive him of his treasure, gradually, by indirect

⁶⁶⁶ The name of the Judge of Jabalah (south of Lattakiyah; cf. 1:143, above) was 'Ubaydallah b. Mangur Ibn Sulaybah, and the events referred to took place in 494 [1101] according to Ibn Khaldun's source, Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, X, 128 f., quoted again in *Ibar*, V, 185 f. The name of the wazir was al-A'azz Abul-Mabasin 'Abd-al-Jalil b. Muhammad, who died shortly afterwards, in 495 [1101].

⁶⁶⁷ On the numbering of the Hafsids, see n. 155 to this chapter, and pp. 17, 72, above; pp. 116, 222, below. Abu Yahya reigned from 1311 until 1317, when his rule began to crumble under the onslaught of Abu Bakr [1318-1346], and he left the country in 718 [1318]. His death is usually assumed to have occurred in 727 [1326], a year earlier than Ibn Khaldun puts it. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 142 f.

⁶⁶⁸ Wrongly, Bulaq has 717.

demands, until he had gotten it all. The only livelihood remaining to Ibn al-Lihyani was the salary that al-Malik an-Nasir granted him until his death in 728 [1327/28], as we shall mention in his history.⁶⁶⁹

This and similar things belong among the delusions to which the people of dynasties fall prey, when they suspect that the ruler is a danger to them. They may indeed escape with their lives, if they succeed in escaping. But to imagine that it is a necessity is an erroneous and baseless assumption. The renown they obtain in government service suffices for them to find livelihoods for themselves, either in the form of a salary paid by a ruler or in the form of a position in the profitable exercise of commerce and agriculture. Dynasties are (inter) related,⁶⁷⁰ but The soul is ambitious, if it is given the opportunity.⁶⁷¹ But if it is reduced to little, it is satisfied.

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."⁶⁷²

III.40. Curtailment of the allowances given by the ruler implies curtailment of the tax revenue.

[p.2:102]

The⁶⁷³ reason for this is that dynasty and government serve as the world's greatest market place,⁶⁷⁴ providing the substance of civilization. Now, if the ruler holds on to property and revenue, or they are lost or not properly used by him, then the property in the possession of the ruler's en-

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 330 f.; de Slane (tr.), 11, 452 f.

⁶⁷⁰ Therefore, they always take care of their people.

⁶⁷¹ *Raghhabtaha*, as required by the meter. B wrongly vocalizes *raghibtaha*. This is a verse often quoted, by the seventh-century poet Abu Dhu'ayb. Cf. J. Hell, *Der Diwan des Abu Du 'aib* (Hannover, 1926), No. 1, verse 14. Cf. also, for instance, *Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uydn al-akhbdr* (Cairo, 1343-49/1925-so), II, 191; 111, 185; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd* (Cairo, 1305/1887), I, 315; II, IS; III, 94; Usamah b. Munqidh, *Lubdb al-adab* (Cairo, 1354/1935), p. 425.

⁶⁷² Qur'an 51.58 (58).

⁶⁷³ Cf. Issawi, p. 91.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. 1:46 f., above, and pp. 287 and 352, below.

tourage⁶⁷⁵ will be small. The gifts which they, in their turn, had been used to give to their entourage and people, stop, and all their expenditures are cut down. They constitute the greatest number of people (who make expenditures), and their expenditures provide more of the substance of trade than (the expenditures of) any other (group of people). Thus (when they stop spending), business slumps and commercial profits decline because of the shortage of capital. Revenues from the land tax decrease, because the land tax and taxation (in general) depend on cultural activity, commercial transactions, business prosperity, and the people's demand for gain and profit. 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 the decrease in revenues from the land tax. As we have stated, the dynasty is the greatest market, the mother and base of all trade. (It is the market that provides) the substance of income and expenditures (for trade). If government business slumps and the volume of trade is small, the dependent markets will naturally show the same symptoms, and to a greater degree. Furthermore, money circulates between subjects and ruler, moving back and forth. Now, if the ruler keeps it to himself, it is lost to the subjects.

This is how God proceeds with His servants.

III.41. Injustice brings about the ruin of civilization

[p.2:103]

It⁶⁷⁶ should be known that attacks on people's property remove the incentive to acquire and gain property. People, then, become of the opinion that the purpose and ultimate destiny of (acquiring property) is to have it taken away from them. When the incentive to acquire and obtain property is gone, people no longer make efforts to acquire any. The extent and degree

⁶⁷⁵ Bulaq adds: "and militia." ⁶⁷⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 84 f.

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. Issawi, pp. 84 f.

to which property rights are infringed upon determines the extent and degree to which the efforts of the subjects to acquire property slacken. When attacks (on property) are extensive and general, extending to all means of making a livelihood, business inactivity, too, becomes (general), because the general extent of (such attacks upon property) means a general destruction of the incentive (to do business). If the attacks upon property are but light, the stoppage of gainful activity is correspondingly slight. Civilization and its well-being as well as business prosperity depend on productivity and people's efforts in all directions in their own interest and profit. When people no longer do business in order to make a living, and when they cease all gainful activity, the business of civilization slumps, and everything decays. People scatter everywhere in search of sustenance, to places outside the jurisdiction of their present government. The population of the particular region becomes light. The settlements there become empty. The cities lie in ruins. The disintegration of (civilization) causes the disintegration of the status of dynasty and ruler, because (their peculiar status) constitutes the *form* of civilization and the form necessarily decays when its *matter* (in this case, civilization) decays.^{676a}

One may compare (here) the story which al-Mas'udi tells in connection with the history of the Persians.⁶⁷⁷ In the days of King Bahram b. Bahram, the Mobedhan, the chief religious dignitary among the Persians, expressed to the King his disapproval of the latter's injustice and neglect for the consequences that his injustice must bring upon the dynasty. He did this through a parable, which he placed in the mouth of an owl. The King, hearing the cry of (an owl), asked (the Mobedhan) whether he understood what it was saying. (The Mobedhan) replied: "A male owl wanted to marry a female owl. The female owl, as a condition prior to consent, asked the male owl for

^{676a}Cf. pp. 107 and 291 (n. 139), below.

⁶⁷⁷Cf. 1:80, above. Cf. also the English translation of this story from the Persian of Nizami by E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1902-24), II, 404.

the gift of twenty villages ruined in the days of Bahram, that she might hoot in them. (The male owl) accepted her condition and said to her: 'If the King continues to rule, I shall give you a thousand ruined villages. This is of all wishes the easiest to fulfill.' "

The King was stirred out of his negligence by that story. He had a private (talk) with the Mobedhan and asked him what he had in mind. (The Mobedhan) replied: "O King, the might of royal authority materializes only through the religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is achieved only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation. The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer of it, and that is the ruler. You, O King, went after the farms and took them away from their owners and cultivators. They are the people who pay the land tax and from whom one gets money. You gave their farms as fiefs to (your) entourage and servants and to sluggards. They did not cultivate (the farms) and did not heed the consequences. (They did not look for the things) that would be good for the farms. They were leniently treated with regard to the land tax (and were not asked to pay it), because they were close to the king. The remaining landowners who did pay the land tax and cultivated their farms had to carry an unjust burden. Therefore, they left their farms and abandoned their settlements. They took refuge in farms that were far away or difficult (of access), and lived on them. Thus, cultivation slackened, and the farms were ruined. There was little money, and soldiers and subjects perished. Neighboring rulers coveted the Persian realm, because they were aware of the fact that the basic materials that alone maintain the foundation of a realm had been cut off."

When the King heard that, he proceeded to look into (the affairs of) his realm. The farms were taken away from the intimates of the ruler and

restored to their owners. They were again treated, as they had formerly been treated. They began again to cultivate (their farms). Those who had been weak gained in strength. The land was cultivated, and the country became prosperous. There was much money for the collectors of the land tax. The army was strengthened. The enemies' sources of (strength) were cut off. The frontier garrisons were manned. The ruler proceeded to take personal charge of his affairs. His days were prosperous, and his realm was well organized.

The lesson this (story) teaches is that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin (of civilization) has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty. In this connection, one should disregard the fact that dynasties (centered) in great cities often infringe upon justice and still are not ruined. It should be known that this is the result of a relationship that exists between such infringements and the situation of the urban population. When a city is large and densely populated and unlimited in the variety of its conditions, the loss it suffers from hostile acts and injustice is small, because such losses take place gradually. Because of the great variety of conditions and the manifold productivity of a particular city, any loss may remain concealed. Its consequences will become visible only after some time. Thus, the dynasty which committed the infringements (of justice) may be replaced before the city is ruined. Another dynasty may make its appearance and restore the city with the help of its wealth. Thus, the (previous) loss which had remained concealed, is made up and is scarcely noticed. This, however, happens only rarely. The proven fact is that civilization inevitably suffers losses through injustice and hostile acts, as we have mentioned, and it is the dynasty that suffers therefrom.

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 someone's property, or uses him for forced labor, or presses an unjustified claim against him, or imposes upon him a

duty not required by the religious law, does an injustice to that particular person. People who collect unjustified taxes commit an injustice. Those who in fringe upon property (rights) commit an injustice. Those who take away property commit an injustice. Those who deny people their rights commit an injustice. Those who, in general, take property by force, commit an injustice. It is the dynasty that suffers from all these acts, in as much as civilization, which is the substance of the dynasty,^{677a} is ruined when people have lost all incentive.

It should be known that this is what the Lawgiver (Muhammad) actually had in mind when he forbade injustice. He meant the resulting destruction and ruin of civilization, which ultimately permits the eradication of the human species. This is what the religious law quite generally and wisely aims at in emphasizing five things as necessary: the preservation of (1) the religion, (2) the soul (life), (3) the intellect, (4) progeny, and (5) property.

Since, as we have seen, injustice calls for the eradication of the (human) species by leading to the ruin of civilization, it contains in itself a good reason for being prohibited. Consequently, it is important that it be forbidden. There is ample evidence for that in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. It is much too ample to have it accurately or fully presented here.

If injustice were to be committed by every individual, the list of deterring punishments that would then have been given for it (in the religious law) would be as large as that given for the other (crimes) which lead to the destruction of the human species and which everybody is capable of committing, such as adultery, murder, and drunkenness. However, injustice can be committed only by persons who cannot be touched, only by persons who have power and authority. Therefore, injustice has been very much censured, and repeated threats against it have been expressed in the hope that perhaps the persons who are able to commit injustice will find a restraining influence in themselves.

^{677a} Cf. n. 676a, above.

"Your Lord does not do injustice to His servants."⁶⁷⁸

It should not be objected that punishment for highway robbery is provided for in the religious law,⁶⁷⁹ and that (highway robbery) is an injustice that can be committed only by someone who has the ability to commit it, in as much as the highway robber, when he commits the robbery, must have the ability to do it. The reply to that would be twofold:

First, it may be said that the punishment laid down for (highway robbery) is for crimes against life or property that (the highway robber) commits. This is an opinion held by many. The (punishment applies) only after one has gained power over him and brought him to account for his crime.⁶⁸⁰ Highway robbery itself has no fixed legal punishment.

Second, it may be said that the highway robber cannot be described as having the ability (to commit injustice), because we understand by ability to commit injustice that the person has a free hand and there is no rival power, which means that he has (a power to) bring about (complete) ruin. The ability of the highway robber is merely an ability to cause fear. (This fear) then enables the highway robber to take away the property of others. Everyone may defend himself against it, according to both the religious and the political law. It is not, then, an ability that could bring about (complete) ruin.

God has power to do what He wishes.

One of the greatest injustices and one which contributes most to the destruction of civilization is the unjustified imposition of tasks and the use of the subjects for forced labor. This is so because labor belongs to the things that constitute capital, as we shall explain in the chapter on sustenance.⁶⁸¹ Gain and sustenance represent the value realized from labor among civilized

⁶⁷⁸ Qur'an 41.46 (46). Cf. also Qur'an 3.182 (178); 8.51 (53); 22.10(10); 50.29 (28).

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. for instance, Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, ed. L. Bercher (3d ed.), pp. 250 ff.

⁶⁸⁰ Ergo, it cannot be said that the highway robber still has the special ability to commit his crime, at the time the punishment becomes applicable.

⁶⁸¹ Cf. pp. 311 ff., below.

people. All their efforts and all their labors are (means) for them (to acquire) capital and (to make a) profit. They have no other way to make a profit except (through labor). Subjects employed in cultural enterprises gain their livelihood and profit from such activities. Now, if they are obliged to work outside their own field and are used for forced labor unrelated to their (ordinary ways of) making a living, they no longer have any profit and are thus deprived of the price of their labor, which is their capital (asset). They suffer, and a good deal of their livelihood is gone, or even all of it. If this occurs repeatedly, all incentive to cultural enterprise is destroyed, and they cease utterly to make an effort. This leads to the destruction and ruin of civilization.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting."⁶⁸²

An injustice even greater and more destructive of civilization and the dynasty than (the one just mentioned) 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 purchases. Often, people have to accept (high) prices with the privilege of later payment. They console (themselves) for the loss they suffer (at the moment) with the hope that the market will fluctuate in favor of the merchandise that had been sold to them at such a high price, and that their loss will be canceled later on. But then, they are required to make payment at once, and they are forced to sell the merchandise at the lowest possible price. The loss involved in the two transactions affects their capital.⁶⁸³

This (situation) affects all kinds of merchants, those resident in town and those who import merchandise from elsewhere. (It also affects) the peddlers and shopkeepers who deal in food and fruit, as well as the craftsmen who deal in the instruments and implements that are in general use. The loss affects all professions and classes quite generally. This goes on from

⁶⁸² Qur'an 2.212 (208); 3.37 (32); 24.38 (38).

⁶⁸³Cf. also p. 94, above.

hour to hour.⁶⁸⁴ It causes (all) capital funds to dwindle. The only possibility that remains is for the merchants to go out of business, because their capital is gone, as it can no longer be restored by the profits. Merchants who come from elsewhere for the purchase and sale of merchandise are slow to come, because of that situation. Business declines, and the subjects lose their livelihood, which, generally, comes from trading. Therefore, if no (trading) is being done in the markets, they have no livelihood, and the tax revenue of the ruler decreases or deteriorates, since, in the middle (period) of a dynasty and later on, most of the tax revenue comes from customs duties on commerce, as we have stated before.⁶⁸⁵ This leads to the dissolution of the dynasty and the decay of urban civilization. The disintegration comes about gradually and imperceptibly.

This happens whenever the ways and means of seizing property described above are used. On the other hand, if (the property) is taken outright and if the hostile acts are extended to affect the property, the wives, the lives, the skins,^{685a} and the honor of people, it will lead to sudden disintegration and decay and the quick destruction of the dynasty. It will result in disturbances leading to complete destruction.

On account of these evil (consequences), all such (unfair activities) are prohibited by the religious law. The religious law legalizes the use of cunning in trading, but forbids depriving people of their property illegally. The purpose is to prevent such evil (consequences), which would lead to the destruction of civilization through disturbances or the lack of opportunity to make a living.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ala s-sa'at*, as in Bulaq and MSS. A, B, and D. (C is supplied by a later hand in this section, indistinctly.) Paris has '*ala l-baya'at*' affects the trading."

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 90 f., above, where it is said that in the later years of a dynasty, customs duties are levied. Cf. also pp. 97 ff., where it is said that only in the middle period of a dynasty are the ruler and his entourage wealthy.

^{685a} This refers to corporal punishment, torture, and the like.

It should be known that all these (practices) are caused by the need for more money on the part of dynasty and ruler, because they have become accustomed to luxurious living. Their expenditures increase, and much spending is done. The ordinary income does not meet (the expenditures). Therefore, the ruler invents new sorts and kinds of taxes, in order to increase the revenues and to be able to balance the budget. But luxury continues to grow, and spending increases on account of it. The need for (appropriating) people's property becomes stronger and stronger. In this way, the authority of the dynasty shrinks until its influence is wiped out and its identity lost and it is defeated by an attacker.

God determines all affairs. There is no Lord except Him.

III.42. How it happens that access to the ruler becomes restricted⁶⁸⁶ in the dynasty. (Such restriction) becomes important when the dynasty grows senile.

[p.2:111]

It should be known that at the beginning, as we have mentioned before,⁶⁸⁷ the dynasty is remote from royal aspirations. It needs group feeling through which its power and domination can materialize, and the desert attitude is characteristic of group feeling.

A dynasty based upon religion is remote from royal aspirations. In one based exclusively upon superior (political) power, the desert attitude, through which superiority is achieved, likewise is remote from royal aspirations and ways.

Now, if a dynasty at the beginning of its rule is a Bedouin one, the ruler possesses austerity and the desert attitude. He is close to the people

⁶⁸⁶*Hajib*, the verbal noun, not *hujjab* "doorkeepers," or *hijabah* "office of doorkeeper," though the same idea is meant. For the *hajib* and his office, see pp. 14 ff., above. Here, the theoretical significance of the office is discussed.

⁶⁸⁷Cf., for instance, 1:558, above.

and easily accessible. Then, when his power is firmly established, he comes to claim all the glory for himself. He needs to keep away from the people and to remain aloof with his friends, in order to be able to talk with them about his special (private) affairs, since his following has by then become large. Therefore, he seeks to keep away from the common people as much as possible. He employs someone at his door to admit (only) those of his friends and of the people of the dynasty whom he cannot avoid, and to prevent people (in general) from having access to him. (That person) is stationed at the (ruler's) door to exercise his function.

Then, when royal authority flourishes and royal ways and aspirations make their appearance, the ruler adopts royal character qualities. They are strange, peculiar qualities. They must be carefully handled in the proper way by those who are in contact with them. Persons in contact with (rulers) often do not know about these qualities and may do something that (rulers) do not like. He may become displeased with them and get into the mood of punishing them. Thus, knowledge of manners to be used in intercourse with (rulers) became the sole property of their special friends. (The rulers) kept all except their intimates from meeting them at all times, so as to protect themselves against noticing anything that might displease them and in order to protect the people against exposing themselves to punishment. Thus, (rulers) introduced another entrance restriction even more selective than the first. (The first) concerns special friends of the ruler and prevents everyone else's admission. The second restriction concerns the meetings with those friends (of the rulers), and prevents admission of everyone else from among the common people.

The first entrance restriction is in existence at the beginning of a dynasty, as we have said. It originated in the days of Mu'awiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik and the Umayyad caliphs. The person in charge of entrance restrictions was called by them "doorkeeper" (*hajib*), a word properly derived from the same root (as the word "entrance restriction").

Then, the 'Abbasid dynasty made its appearance. Its famous luxury and power came into being, and the royal qualities reached their proper perfection in it. This called for the second entrance restriction. The name of "door-keeper" (*hajib*) was restricted to it. The court of the caliphs contained two buildings to house their retinue, one for the special group and another for the common people. This is stated in 'Abbasid history.

In the later dynasties, a third entrance restriction came into being. It was even more selective than the two previous ones. This occurred at the period when the attempt was made to seclude the ruler. It resulted from the fact that the first step taken by the men of the dynasty and intimates of the ruler who set up the young princes and attempted to gain control over them, was to keep the inner circle and the special friends of (the young ruler's) father away from him. The person who attempted to gain control over the young ruler suggested to him that it would diminish respect for him and would destroy the rules of etiquette if these men were to be in contact with him. His purpose was to keep the young ruler from meeting anybody else and see to it that he would become so used to him that he would not want to replace him with anybody else until he securely dominated him. An entrance restriction such as (the third) was obviously required under these circumstances. As a rule, it comes into existence only in the later (years) of a dynasty, as we have mentioned before in connection with the seclusion of the ruler.⁶⁸⁸ It indicates the senility and decline of the dynasty. It is one of the things that the members of dynasties are afraid of. Those who support the dynasty will naturally attempt such a thing when the dynasty reaches senility and later-born members of the ruling family lose control. Human beings love very much to gain control over royal authority,⁶⁸⁹ especially when the soil is prepared and all the requirements and symptoms are there.

⁶⁸⁸Cf. 1:377 f., above.

⁶⁸⁹Cf. 1:313, above.

"God has the power to execute His commands."⁶⁹⁰

III.43. The division of one dynasty into two.

[p.2:114]

It should be known that the first (perceptible) consequence of a dynasty's senility is that it splits. This is because, when royal authority comes into its own and achieves the utmost luxury and prosperity and when the ruler controls all the glory and has it all for himself, he is too proud to let anyone share in it. As far as possible, he eliminates all claims in this direction by destroying those of his relatives who are possible candidates for his position and whom he suspects.

Those who participate with the ruler in this (activity) often have fears for their own (safety) and take refuge in remote parts of the realm. People who are in the same situation as they of running a risk⁶⁹¹ and becoming suspect, join them there and gather around them. (At that time,) the authority of the dynasty has already begun to shrink and to withdraw from the remote parts of the realm. Thus, the refugee who is related (to the dynasty) gains control there. His power grows continually, while the authority of the dynasty shrinks. Eventually he becomes, or almost becomes, an equal partner in the dynasty.

This may be observed in the Arab Muslim dynasty. Its power was great and concentrated, its authority far-flung, and the group feeling of the Banu 'Abd-Manaf was one and supreme over all the Mudar. Therefore, no dissension made itself felt over the whole period of (the Arab Muslim dynasty), except for the disturbances caused by the Kharijites, who were willing to die for their heresy. That (however) had nothing to do with royal authority and (political) leadership, and they were not successful, because they were up against a strong group feeling. Then, the Umayyads lost control, and the

⁶⁹⁰ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

⁶⁹¹ Possibly *ightirar*, to be connected with *gharar* "risk." *I'tizaz*, as in A, "showing their strength, being arrogant," is perhaps not impossible. D reads *i'tirdf*. One might also think of *ightirab* "being exiled."

'Abbasids took over. The Arab dynasty had, by then, achieved the utmost superiority and luxury, and was beginning to shrink. (At that time,) 'Abd-ar-Rahman I ad-Dakhil took refuge in Spain, the most remote region of the Muslim dynasty. He founded a realm there and severed it from the 'Abbasid cause. Thus, he made two dynasties out of one. Then, Idris took refuge in the Maghrib and seceded and seized power there. His son and successor commanded the Awrabah, the Maghilah, and the Zanitah Berbers, and took possession of both the Maghribs (Morocco and Algeria).

Later on, the 'Abbasid dynasty shrank more and more. The Aghlabids were stirred up to resist (the 'Abbasids). Then, the Shi'ah (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids) seceded. The Kutimah and the Sinhajah supported them, and they took possession of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, and then conquered Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. They defeated the Idrisids and divided the ('Abbasid) dynasty into two more, so that the Arab ('Abbasid) dynasty now consisted of three (independent) dynasties: the 'Abbasids at the center and base of the Arab world and at the source of Islam; the Umayyads, who had renewed their old royal authority and caliphate of the East in Spain; and the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Ifriqiyah, Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. These dynasties continued to exist until their destruction was imminent or complete.

In the same way, the 'Abbasid dynasty also split into other dynasties. There were the Hamdinids and their successors, the Banu 'Uqayl, in the Jazirah and Mosul. There were the Tulunids and their successors, the Banu Tughsh (Ikhshidids), in Egypt and Syria. In the remote (East), there were the Siminids in Transoxania and Khurisin, and the 'Alawids (Zaydis) among the Daylam and in Tabaristan. This, finally, led to Daylam domination of Firs and the two 'Iraqs, including Baghdad and the caliphs. Then, there came the Saljuqs. They took possession of all that (area). Later on, their dynasty, too, split after having flourished, as is known from their history.

The same thing may also be observed of the Sinhajah dynasty in the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah. When it reached its zenith in the days of Badis b.

al-Mansur,⁶⁹² Badis' uncle Hammad revolted against him and cut off the Maghrib provinces between Mount Awras and Tlemcen and the Moulouya (Malwiyah River) and took them for himself. He founded al-Qal'ah⁶⁹³ in the Mountain of the Kutamah near Msila (al-Masilah). He settled there and took possession of their center Ashir on Mount Titteri. He thus founded another realm split off from that of the family of Badis. The family of Badis remained in al-Qayrawan and environs. This remained this way, until the power of both of them was completely destroyed.

The same was the case with the Almohad dynasty. When the shadow it cast began to shrink, the Hafsids revolted in Ifrigiyah. They made themselves independent there and founded their own realm for their descendants in that region. Their power flourished and reached the limit, but then, one of their descendants, the amir Abu Zakariya' Yahya, the son of Sultan Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, the fourth Hafsid caliph, seceded in the western provinces and founded a new realm in Bougie and Constantine and environs. He passed it on to his children. (Abu Zakariya' and his children) thus split the dynasty in two. Then (his children) took possession of the capital in Tunis. Later on the realm was again divided, among their descendants, and then they regained full power.

The process of splitting may lead to the formation of more than two or three dynasties that are not controlled by members of the (original) ruling family. This was the case with the *reyes de taifasin* Spain and with the non-Arab rulers in the East. It also was the case in the Sinhajah (Zirid) realm in Ifriqiyah. In the later (years) of the Sinhajah dynasty, every castle in Ifriqiyah was in the possession of an independent rebel, as we shall mention.⁶⁹⁴ The

⁶⁹² He died fighting Hammad in 406 [1016].

⁶⁹³ Cf. n. 6 to this chapter, above.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. p. so5, below, and *Ibar*, VI, 163 ff.; de Slane (tr.), II, 29 ff. Bulaq has: "as we have mentioned," which might have been said in connection with the following example; see the next note.

same was the case with the Jarid and the Zab in Ifriqiyah shortly before the present time, as we shall also mention.⁶⁹⁵

This is the case with every dynasty. Inevitably, luxury, ease, and a 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 where (there had been one).

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

III.44. Once senility has come upon a dynasty, it cannot be made to disappear.

[p.2:117]

We have already cited the symptoms and causes of senility, one by one.⁶⁹⁶ We have explained that it is natural for the causes of senility to affect the dynasty. All of them are natural in (a dynasty). If, then, senility is something natural in (the life of) the dynasty, it must come about in the same way natural things come about, exactly as senility affects the temper of living beings. Senility is a chronic disease that cannot be cured or made to disappear because it is something natural, and natural things do not change.

Many a politically conscious person among the people of the dynasty becomes alert to it and notices the symptoms and causes of senility that have affected his dynasty. He considers it possible to make that senility disappear. Therefore, he takes it upon himself to repair the dynasty and relieve its temper of senility. He supposes that (senility) resulted from shortcomings or negligence on the part of former people of the dynasty. This is not so. These things are natural to the dynasty. Customs (that have developed in the dynasty) prevent him from repairing it. Customs are like a second nature.

⁶⁹⁵Ibn Khaldun apparently refers to the period preceding the Haffid restoration under Abul-'Abbas, mentioned above, p. 93. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 387, 392 ff.; de Slane (tr.), III, 91, 124 ff. But cf. also p. 304, below.

⁶⁹⁶Cf. 1:339 ff., above.

A person who, for instance, has seen his father and the older members of his family wear silk and brocade and use gold ornaments for weapons and mounts and be inaccessible to the people in their salons and at prayer, will not be able to diverge from the customs of his forebears in this respect. He will not be able to use coarse dress and apparel and mingle with the people. Custom would prevent him (from doing that) and expose him if he were to do it. Were he to do it, he would be accused of craziness and insanity for his brusque disregard of custom. There is the danger that it would have bad consequences for his government.

One might contrast (this with) the disregard for custom and opposition to it shown by the prophets. However, the prophets had divine support and celestial help.

Group feeling has often disappeared (at the time the dynasty grows senile), and pomp has taken the place it occupied in the souls of men. Now, when in addition to the weakening of group feeling, pomp, too, is discontinued, the subjects grow audacious vis-a-vis the dynasty, because the presumption of pomp remains.⁶⁹⁷ Therefore, the dynasty shields itself by holding on to pomp as much as possible, until everything is finished.

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, like a burning wick the flame of which leaps up brilliantly a moment before it goes out, giving the impression it is just starting to burn, when in fact it is going out.

This should be considered, and one should not disregard the wise planning that God employs in having His creation follow its course toward the destiny He has determined for it. "Each term has a book."⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷This is the reading of MSS. A, B, C, and D. However, Bulaq and E have *bi-dhahab "is gone,"* which seems better, even if Ibn Khaldun corrected it later on.

⁶⁹⁸ Qur'an 13.38 (38).

III.45. How disintegration befalls dynasties.

[p.2:118]

It should be known that any royal authority must be built upon two foundations. The first is might and group feeling, which finds its expression in soldiers. The second is money, which supports the soldiers and provides the whole structure needed by royal authority. Disintegration befalls the dynasty at these two foundations.

We shall mention first the disintegration that comes about through might and group feeling, and then, we shall come back and discuss the one that comes about through money and taxation.

It should be known that, as we have stated, the dynasty can be founded and established only with the help of group feeling.⁶⁹⁹ There must be a major group feeling uniting all the group feelings subordinate to it. This (major group feeling) is the family and tribal group feeling peculiar to the ruler.

When the natural luxury of royal authority makes its appearance in the dynasty, and when the people who share in the group feeling of the dynasty are humiliated, the first to be humiliated are the members of the ruler's family and his relatives who share with him in the royal name. They are much more humiliated than anyone else. Moreover, luxury has a greater hold on them than on anyone else, because they have a share in royal authority, power, and superiority. Thus, two agents of destruction surround them,

luxury and force. (The use of) force eventually leads to their being killed. They become sick at heart⁷⁰⁰ when they see the ruler firmly established in royal authority. His envy of them then changes to fear for his royal authority. Therefore, he starts to kill and humiliate them and to deprive them of the prosperity and luxury to which they had become in large measure accustomed. They perish, and become few in number⁷⁰¹ The group feeling that

⁶⁹⁹Cf. 1:284 f., above.

⁷⁰⁰That is, they become unreliable and rebellious.

⁷⁰¹*Sic* Bulaq, C, and D. B has a meaningless *w-y-t-l-w-n*.

the ruler had through them is destroyed. (That group feeling) was the major group feeling, which united all the other groups and subordinated them to itself. It dissolves and its grip weakens. Its place is taken by the inner circle of clients and followers who enjoy the favors and benefactions of the ruler. A (new) group feeling is derived from them. However, (this new group feeling) does not have anything like the powerful grip (of the other group feeling), because it lacks direct and close blood relationships. We have mentioned before that the importance and strength of a group feeling results from close and direct blood relationships,⁷⁰² because God made it that way.

The ruler thus isolates himself from his family and helpers, those who have natural affection (for him). This (in turn) is sensed by the people of other groups. Very naturally, they become audacious vis-a-vis the ruler and his inner circle. Therefore, the ruler destroys them and persecutes and kills them, one after the other. The later people of the dynasty follow the tradition of the former in that respect. In addition, they are exposed to the detrimental effect of luxury that we have mentioned before. Thus, destruction comes upon them through luxury and through being killed. Eventually, they no longer have the coloring of (their) group feeling. They forget the affection and strength that (used to) go with it. They become hirelings for the military protection (of the dynasty). They thus become few in number. As a consequence, the militia settled in the remote and frontier regions becomes numerically weak. This, then, emboldens the subjects in the remote regions to abandon the cause (of the dynasty) there. Rebels who are members of the ruling family and other (types of rebels) go out to these remote regions. They hope that under these circumstances, they will be able to reach their goal by obtaining a following among the inhabitants of the remote regions of the realm. (They hope that) they will be secure from capture by the (government) militia. This (process) keeps on and the authority of the ruling dynasty continues gradually to shrink until the rebels reach places extreme-

⁷⁰²Cf., however, 1:264 f., above.

ly close to the center of the dynasty. The dynasty then often splits into two or three dynasties, depending on its original strength, as we have stated.⁷⁰³ People who do not share in the group feeling of (the dynasty) take charge of its affairs, though they obey the people who do share in the group feeling of (the dynasty) and accept their acknowledged superiority.

This may be exemplified by the Arab Muslim dynasty. At the beginning it reached as far as Spain, India, and China. The Umayyads had complete control of all the Arabs through the group feeling of 'Abd-Manaf. It was even possible for Sulayman b. 'Abd-al-Malik in Damascus to order the killing of 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. Musa b. Nusayr in Cordoba. He was killed, and (Sulayman's) order was not disobeyed.⁷⁰⁴ Then, luxury came to the Umayyads, and their group feeling was wiped out. (The Umayyads) were destroyed, and the 'Abbasids made their appearance. They curbed⁷⁰⁵ the Hashimites. They killed all the 'Alids (descendants of Abu Talib) and exiled them. In consequence, the group feeling of 'AbdManaf dissolved and was wiped out. The Arabs grew audacious vis-a-vis (the 'Abbasids). People in the remote regions of the realm, such as the Aghlabids in Ifriqiyah and the inhabitants of Spain and others, gained control over them, and the dynasty split. Then, the Idrisids seceded in the Maghrib. The Berbers supported them, in obedience to their group feeling. Also, they were secure from capture by the soldiers or militiamen of the dynasty.

Men with a cause, for which they make propaganda, eventually secede. They gain control over border areas and remote regions. There, they are able to make propaganda for their cause and achieve royal authority. As a result, the dynasty splits. As the dynasty shrinks more and more, this process often continues until the center is reached. The inner circle, thereafter, weakens,

⁷⁰³Cf pp. 114 ff., above.

⁷⁰⁴This happened in 97 [716]. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, V, 10.

⁷⁰⁵Lit., "lowered the reins," a phrase which is explained to mean gentling a horse. Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, IX, 62, 1. 1; Lane, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 2264a. Here Ibn Khaldun was apparently thinking of his theory that a dynasty tends to repress the members of its own family.

because luxury undermines it. It perishes and dissolves. The whole divided dynasty weakens. Occasionally, it lingers on long after that. (The dynasty) can dispense with group feeling now, because it has colored the souls of its subject people with the habit of subservience and submission for so many long years that no one alive can think back to its beginning and origin. They cannot think of anything except being submissive to the ruler. Therefore, he can dispense with group strength. In order to establish his power, hired soldiers and mercenaries are sufficient. The submissiveness generally found in the human soul helps in this respect. Should anyone think of disobedience or secession - which hardly ever happens - the great mass would disapprove of him and oppose him. Thus, he would not be able to attempt such a thing, even if he should try very hard. In this situation, the dynasty is often more secure (than ever), as far as rebels and rivals are concerned, because the coloring of submissiveness and subservience is firmly established. Individuals would scarcely admit to them selves the least thought of opposition, and the idea of straying from obedience would not enter anybody's mind. (The dynasty,) therefore, is safer (than ever) so far as the trouble and destruction that comes from groups and tribes are concerned. The dynasty may continue in this condition, but its substance dwindles, like natural heat in a body that lacks nourishment. Eventually, (the dynasty) reaches its destined time. "Each term has a book,"⁷⁰⁶ and each dynasty has an end. God determines night and day.⁷⁰⁷

As for the disintegration that comes through money, it should be known that at the beginning the dynasty has a desert attitude, as was mentioned before⁷⁰⁸ It has the qualities of kindness to subjects, planned moderation in expenditures, and respect for other people's property. It avoids onerous taxation and the display of cunning or shrewdness in the collection of mon-

⁷⁰⁶ Qur'an 13.98 (38).

⁷⁰⁷Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

⁷⁰⁸Cf., for instance, 1:344, and p. 89, above.

ey and the accounting (required) from officials. Nothing at this time calls for extravagant expenditures. Therefore, the dynasty does not need much money.

Later comes domination and expansion. Royal authority flourishes. This calls for luxury. (Luxury) causes increased spending. The expenditures of the ruler, and of the people of the dynasty in general, grow. This (tendency) spreads to the urban population. It calls for increases in soldiers' allowances and in the salaries of the people of the dynasty⁷⁰⁹ Extravagant expenditures mount. It spreads to the subjects, because people follow the religion (ways) and customs of the dynasty.⁷¹⁰

The ruler, then, must impose duties on articles sold in the markets, in order to improve his revenues. (He does so,) because he sees the luxury of the urban population testifying to their prosperity, and because he needs the money for the expenditures of his government and the salaries of his soldiers. Habits of luxury, then, further increase. The customs duties no longer pay for them. The dynasty, by this time, is flourishing in its power and its forceful hold over the subjects under its control. Its hand reaches out to seize some of the property of the subjects, either through customs duties, or through commercial transactions, or, in some cases, merely by hostile acts directed against (property holdings), on some pretext or even with none.

At this stage, the soldiers have already grown bold against the dynasty, because it has become weak and senile it, as far as its group feeling is concerned. (The dynasty) expects that from them, and attempts to remedy and smooth over the situation through generous allowances and much spending for (the soldiers). It cannot get around that.

At this stage, the tax collectors in the dynasty have acquired much wealth, because vast revenues are in their hands and their position has widened in importance for this reason. Suspicions of having appropriated

⁷⁰⁹ Bulaq adds: "Luxury then grows more and more."

⁷¹⁰ Cf. 1:58, 300, above, and p. 306, below.

tax money, therefore, attach to them. It becomes common for one tax collector to denounce another, because of their mutual jealousy and envy. One after another is deprived of his money by confiscation and torture.⁷¹¹ Eventually, their wealth is gone, and they are ruined. The dynasty loses the pomp and magnificence it had possessed through them.

After their prosperity is destroyed, the dynasty goes farther afield and approaches its other wealthy subjects. At this stage, feebleness has already afflicted its (former) might. (The dynasty) has become too weak to retain its power and forceful hold. The policy of the ruler, at this time, is to handle matters diplomatically by spending money. He considers this more advantageous than the sword, which is of little use. His need for money grows beyond what is needed for expenditures and soldiers' salaries. He never gets enough. Senility affects the dynasty more and more. The people of (other) regions grow bold against it.

At each of these stages, the strength of the dynasty crumbles. Eventually, it reaches complete ruin. It is open to domination by (any) aggressor. Anyone who wants to attack it can take it away from those who support it. If this does not occur, it will continue to dwindle and finally disappear⁷¹² - like the wick of a lamp when the oil is exhausted, and it goes out.

God owns all things and governs the whole creation. There is no God but Him.

⁷¹¹ For *nakbah* and its synonym *musadarah*, cf. 1:368 (n. 156), above.

⁷¹²Cf. 1:346, above.

III.46. The authority of the dynasty at first expands to its limit and then is narrowed down in successive stages, until the dynasty dissolves and disappears⁷¹³

[p.2:124]

Above, in the third (chapter) of this *Muqqadimah*,⁷¹⁴ in the chapter on the caliphate and royal authority, we stated that each dynasty has its specific share of provinces and districts and no more.⁷¹⁵ (Its expansion) depends⁷¹⁶ on the distribution of the dynasty's group (strength) for the (military) protection of its territory and regions. Wherever its numbers go, their advance (eventually) comes to a stop at (what is called) the "border region." This surrounds the dynasty on all sides like a belt. Its farthest extension may coincide with the original "belt" of authority of the (preceding) dynasty. (Or) it may be still wider, if the numerical (strength) of the (new) group is greater than that of the preceding dynasty.

All this takes place while the dynasty has the characteristics of desert life and rude courage.

Subsequently, power and superiority come into their own. Bounties and salaries become abundant as a result of improved revenues. Luxury and sedentary culture abound. New generations grow up accustomed to this situation. (At this time,) the character of the militia softens, and they lose their toughness. This makes them cowards and lazy fellows. They are caught up in the effeminacy⁷¹⁷ of sedentary culture. It causes them to shed the characteristics of courage and manliness. They give up the desert attitude and

⁷¹³ This section is found only in D. C has merely a sign in the text, indicating an intended addition. It may have been written on an inserted sheet, now lost. Ibn Khaldun is almost certainly the author of this section, admittedly full of rather unusual words and usages not elsewhere found in the *Mugaddimah*. This, of course, is easily explained by the fact that the section is a later addition.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. I:lxviii, above.

⁷¹⁵ Cf. 1:327 ff., above.

⁷¹⁶ D: *wa-ti'bar*.

⁷¹⁷ D: *khanath*.

desert toughness and seek power through assiduous competition for leadership. This causes some of them to kill others. The ruler prevents them from doing that, by killing their great men and destroying their leaders. Thus, amirs and great men no longer exist, and the number of followers and subordinates grows. This blunts the sharp edges of the dynasty and decreases its strength. The first element of disintegration afflicts the dynasty, that which comes through the soldiers and militia, as has been mentioned.⁷¹⁸

This is paralleled by extravagance in expenditures. (The people of the dynasty) suffer from the pomp of power and limitless ostentation as they compete with each other in matters of food, clothing, large palaces, good weapons, and the horses in their stables.⁷¹⁹ At this time, the income of the dynasty is too small to pay for such expenditures, and thus the second element of disintegration afflicts the dynasty, that which comes through money and taxation. Weakness and destruction are the results of these two elements of disintegration.

The leaders of (the dynasty) often compete with each other. They quarrel, and are too weak to stand up and defend themselves against rivals and neighbors. The people of the border and remote regions often sense the weakness of the dynasty at their backs, and they show their strength. They eventually gain independent control over the districts in their possession. The ruler is too weak to force them back on the (right) path. Thus, the authority of the dynasty becomes narrower than it had been at the beginning. The administration of (the dynasty)⁷²⁰ restricts itself to a smaller area. Eventually, the same weakness, laziness with regard to group strength, and the shortage of money and revenue that had come about in the first, larger, area also comes about in the second, smaller, area.

⁷¹⁸ In the preceding section to which he refers, Ibn Khaldun merely alludes to the facts mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, pp. 118 f., above.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. 1:538 and 548, above.

⁷²⁰ *D: tadbirihd.*

The⁷²¹ person in charge of the dynasty now undertakes to change the norms the dynasty had, adopted as its policy with regard to soldiers, money, and administrative functions.⁷²² The purpose is to have norms suitable for balancing the budget, satisfying the militia, safeguarding the administrative districts, distributing the tax revenue for the (soldiers') salaries in the proper manner, and readjusting (the new conditions) to those that had existed at the beginning of the dynasty. However, evil happenings can still be expected from every quarter.

At this later stage, what had happened before in the first stage happens again. The ruler now considers the same (measures) that the first ruler had considered, and applies the old yardstick to the new conditions of the dynasty. He intends to repel the evil consequences of disintegration,⁷²³ which reappears at every stage and affects every part of the realm until the area of the dynasty is again narrower than it had been (before), and what had happened before happens again.

Each of the persons who changes the previous norms (of the dynasty) is in a way the builder of a new dynasty and the founder of a new realm. However, the dynasty is eventually destroyed. The nations around it push on to gain superiority over it. They then found a new dynasty of their own. And thus befalls what God has destined to befall.

This may be exemplified by the Muslim dynasty. Through its conquests and victories over (foreign) nations, its authority expanded. Its militia then increased, and the numerical (strength of the militia) grew as the result of the bounties and salaries granted to (the soldiers). Eventually, the power of the Umayyads was destroyed. The 'Abbasids gained the upper hand. Luxury, then, increased. Sedentary culture emerged, and disintegration made its appearance. The creation of the Marwanid (Umayyad Spanish) and 'Alid

⁷²¹ Cf. Issawi, p. 126.

⁷²² For *wilayat*, cf. p. 5 (n. 445), above.

⁷²³ D has a wrong *al-hal*, instead of *al-khalal*.

(Idrisid) dynasties cut down the authority of the 'Abbasids in Spain and the Maghrib. These two border regions were cut off from ('Abbasid) authority.

Then, dissension arose among the sons of ar-Rashid. 'Alid propagandists appeared in every region, and ('Alid) dynasties were founded. Then, after the death of al-Mutawakkil, the amirs gained control over the caliphs and kept them in seclusion. Provincial governors in the outlying regions became independent, and the land tax from there did not come in any longer. Luxury (however) still increased. Al-Mu'tadid appeared. He changed the norms of the dynasty and adopted another policy⁷²⁴ He gave the outlying regions, over which the governors had won control, to them as fiefs. Thus, for instance, the Samanids (were given) Transoxania, the Tahirids the 'Iraq and Khurasin, the Saffirids Western India (Sind) and Firs, the Tulunids Egypt, and the Aghlabids Ifriqiyah. Then, the power of the Arabs was broken up. The non-Arabs achieved superiority. The Buyids and the Daylam gained control of the Muslim dynasty. They kept the caliphs in seclusion. The Samanids remained in control of Transoxania. The Fatimids⁷²⁵ pushed out of the Maghrib into Egypt and Syria and gained possession of (those countries). Then arose the dynasty of the Saljuq Turks. The Saljugs gained domination over the Muslim empire. They kept the caliphs in seclusion, until their dynasties were destroyed. From the time of an-Nasir⁷²⁶ on, the caliphs were in control of an area smaller than the ring around the moon, namely, the Arab 'Iraq up to Isfahan, Firs, and al-Bahrayn. For some (time), the dynasty continued in that manner, until the power of the caliphs was destroyed by Hulagu b. Tuli b. Dushi Khan, the ruler of the Tatars and Mongols. They defeated the Saljugs and took possession of the part of the Muslim empire that had been theirs.

⁷²⁴ D: *ila ma'thar dkhar*.

⁷²⁵ Elsewhere in the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun consistently uses 'Ubayd ids.

⁷²⁶ The 'Abbasid who reigned from 1180 to 1226.

Thus, the authority of the dynasty (at each stage) becomes successively narrower than it had been at the beginning. (This process) continues, stage by stage, until the dynasty is destroyed. (The fact) can be exemplified by examination of any dynasty, large or small. This is how God proceeds with dynasties, until the dissolution destined by Him comes upon His creatures. "Everything perishes except His face (person)."⁷²⁷

III.47. How a new dynasty originates.

[p.2:128]

It should be known that when the ruling dynasty starts on the road to senility and destruction, the rise and beginning of the new dynasty takes place in two ways:

(The one way is) for provincial governors in the dynasty to gain control over remote regions when (the dynasty) loses its influence there. Each one of them founds a new dynasty for his people and a realm to be perpetuated in his family. His children or clients inherit it from him. Gradually, they have a flourishing realm. They often compete bitterly with each other and aspire to gain sole possession of it. The one who is stronger than his rival will gain the upper hand and take away what the other had.

This happened in the 'Abbasid dynasty when it started on the road to senility and its shadow receded from the remote regions. The Samanids gained control over Transoxania, the Hamdinids over Mosul and Syria, and the Tulunids over Egypt. The same thing happened in the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. Their realm was divided among the *reyes de taifas* who had been their provincial governors. It was divided into several dynasties with several rulers, who passed their realms on after their death to their relatives or clients. This way of forming a new dynasty avoids the possibility of war between the (new rulers) and the ruling dynasty. (These new rulers) are already firmly established in their leadership and do not want to gain domination

⁷²⁷ Qur'an 28.88 (88).

over the ruling dynasty. The latter is affected by senility, and its shadow recedes from the remote regions of the realm and can no (longer) reach them.

The other way is for some rebel from among the neighboring nations and tribes to revolt against the dynasty. He either makes propaganda for some particular cause to which he intends to win the people, as we have indicated,⁷²⁸ or he possesses great power and a great group feeling among his people. His power is already flourishing among them, and now he aspires with the help of (his people) to gain royal authority. (His people) are convinced that they will obtain it, because they feel that they are superior to the ruling dynasty, which is affected by senility. Thus, to (the rebel) and his people, it is a fact that they will gain domination over it. They constantly attack it, until they defeat it and inherit its power.

This was the case with the Saljugs in relation to the descendants of Sebuktigin, and with the Merinids in the Maghrib in relation to the Almohads.

"God has the power to execute His commands."⁷²⁹

III.48. A new dynasty gains domination over the ruling dynasty through perseverance, and not through sudden action.

[p.2:130]

We have (just) mentioned that new dynasties originate in two ways. The one way (is for them to originate) with the governors of outlying regions when the shadow of the ruling dynasty recedes from those regions and its waves are rolled back. As a rule, such (governors) do not attack the (ruling) dynasty, as we have mentioned before, because all they have to do is to be satisfied with what they already have. That is as far as their power goes. The other way is that of men who make propaganda for some cause and of rebels who rebel against the (ruling) dynasty. It is inevitable that they attack (the

⁷²⁸ Cf. p. 121, above.

⁷²⁹ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

ruling dynasty), because their power warrants such (a course). They (revolt) only when they have a family with sufficient group feeling and strength to give them success. Indecisive battles take place between them and the ruling dynasty. (Such battles) are repeated and continued (all the time), until by perseverance they achieve domination and victory. As a rule, they do not gain victory through sudden action.

The reason for this is that victory in war, as we have mentioned before,⁷³⁰ as a rule is the result of imaginary psychological factors. Numbers, weapons, and proper tactics may guarantee (victory). However, as has been mentioned above, (all these things) are less effective than the imaginary (psychological) factors, as has been mentioned above. Trickery is one of the most useful things employed in warfare. It is the thing most likely to bring victory. A tradition says: "War is trickery."⁷³¹

Accepted custom has made obedience to the ruling dynasty a necessity and an obligation, as has been mentioned before in more than one place.⁷³² This puts many hindrances in the way of the founder of a new dynasty. It discourages his followers and 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.

⁷³⁰ Cf. pp. 85 H., above.

⁷³¹ Cf. p. 86, above.

⁷³² Cf., for instance, p. 122, above.

Furthermore, the ruling dynasty has many luxuries. The royal authority of (the people of the ruling dynasty) had been firmly established. They had enjoyed prosperity and pleasures. To the exclusion of others, they had appropriated a good deal of the revenues from taxes. Thus, they have many horses in their stables and good weapons. There is much royal pomp among them. Gifts from their rulers, given either voluntarily or under constraint, have been showered upon them.⁷³³ With all this, they frighten their enemies.

The people of the new dynasty do not have (such things). They have the desert attitude and are poor and indigent. This leaves them unprepared for such (things). What they hear about the conditions 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 group feeling and fiscal (structure) are disintegrating. Then, the founder of the new dynasty seizes the opportunity to gain the upper hand, quite some time after his attack (had begun). This is how God proceeds with His servants.

The men of the new dynasty differ from the men of the ruling dynasty with regard to descent, customs, and all other things. The (persistent) attacks and their desire to gain the upper hand estrange the men of the new dynasty more and more from the men of the ruling dynasty. Consequently, the people of the two dynasties become thoroughly estranged from each other, inwardly and outwardly. No information about the men of the ruling dynasty, either secretly or openly, reaches the men of the new dynasty, such as might enable them to find some unpreparedness among them, because all connection and intercourse between the two dynasties has been cut off. They thus continue to exert pressure,⁷³⁴ (but) they are in a state of fear and shy away from sudden action.

⁷³³ Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

⁷³⁴ Ibn Khaldun has *al-mutalabah*, but perhaps he had intended to write *al-mutawalah* "to wait...." The same reading may also be appropriate in the third line of this paragraph.

Eventually, God permits the ruling dynasty to end, its life to stop, and disintegration to afflict it from all sides. The senility and decay of (the ruling dynasty), which had been concealed from the people of the new dynasty, now become clear to them. (In the meantime,) their strength has grown, because they had cut off and taken away districts and outlying regions from (the ruling dynasty). Thus, they become spirited enough (to attempt) sudden action. The apprehensions that had hitherto weakened their resolution disappear. The long wait comes to an end, and sudden action finally brings domination.

This may be exemplified by the emergence and beginnings of the 'Abbasid dynasty. The ('Abbasid) Shi'ah remained in Khurasan for ten years or more after the ('Abbasid) propaganda had consolidated and (the 'Abbasids) had gathered for attack. Then, their victory materialized, and they gained the upper hand over the Umayyads.

The same was the case with the 'Alids (Zaydis) in Tabaristan at the time their propaganda appeared among the Daylam. They had to wait a long time before they gained domination over that region. The 'Alid rule then ended, and the Daylam aspired to rule over Firs and the two 'Irigs. They waited (patiently) for many years, until they were able to cut off Isfahan and Firs (and take it for themselves). Then, they gained domination over the caliph in Baghdad.

The same was the case with the 'Ubaydid(-Fitimids). Their missionary in the Maghrib, Abu 'Abdallah ash-Shi'i,⁷³⁵ stayed for more than ten years among the Kutimah Berbers waiting to gain victory over the Aghlabids in Ifrigiyah. (The 'Ubaydid-Fitimids) then took possession of the Maghrib, and, later on, aspired to become rulers of Egypt. They spent about thirty years waiting for their chance, constantly sending armies and fleets against Egypt. Support for Egypt's defense against (the 'Ubaydid-Fatimids) came from Baghdad and Syria, by land and by sea. They took possession

⁷³⁵ Cf. 1:41, above.

of Alexandria, the Fayyum, and Upper Egypt. Their propaganda progressed from there to the Hijiz and found a home in Mecca and Medina. Then, their general, Jawhar al-Kitib,⁷³⁶ moved against the (capital) city of Egypt with his armies and took possession of it. He uprooted the dynasty of the Banu Tughsh (Ikhshidids) and founded Cairo. His caliph, Ma'add al-Mu'izz-lidin-Allih, came to (Cairo) and chose it as his residence. This was about sixty years after the (Ubaydid-Fitimids) had (for the first time) gained domination over Alexandria.

The same was the case with the Saljuq Turk rulers. They gained the upper hand over the Siminids and went beyond Transoxania, but then they had to spend about thirty years waiting to gain the upper hand over the (dynasty of) Ibn Sebuktigin in Khurasin⁷³⁷ After some time, they advanced against Baghdad and took possession of it and of the caliph there.

The same was the case with the Tatars who succeeded the Saljugs. They came out of the steppe in 617 [1220/21], but it took them forty years thereafter to gain domination.

The same was also the case with the inhabitants of the Maghrib. The Lamtunah Almoravids declared themselves against their Maghrawah rulers. They waited for years to gain the upper hand over them. Then, the Almohads came forth with their propaganda against the Lamtunah. They spent about thirty years fighting them, until they gained domination over their capital in Marrakech. The same was the case with the Zanatah Merinids. They declared themselves against the Almohads and spent about thirty years waiting to gain possession of Fez. They cut off (Fez) and environs from the Almohad realm. Then, they spent another thirty years fighting (the Almohads) until they gained domination over their capital in Marrakech. All this is mentioned in the histories of these dynasties.

⁷³⁶ Cf. also 1:360, above.

⁷³⁷ The decisive event was the defeat of Masud I, the son of Mahmud of Ghaznah, by the Saljugs in 431 [1040].

A struggle of this sort, marked by (constant) attacks and long perseverance, is characteristic of the relationship between new and ruling dynasties. This is how God proceeds with his servants. "And verily, you will not be able to change God's way."⁷³⁸

The events of the Muslim conquests cannot be used as an argument against (the preceding remarks). (The Muslims) gained the upper hand over the Persians and the Byzantines in the three or four years that followed the death of the Prophet, and there was no long waiting period. It should be realized that this was one of the miracles of our Prophet. The secret of it lay in the willingness of the Muslims to die in the holy war against their enemies because of their feeling that they had the right religious insight,⁷³⁹ and in the corresponding⁷⁴⁰ fear and defeatism that God put into the hearts of their enemies. All these (miraculous facts) broke through the known custom of a long wait (governing the relationship) between new and ruling dynasties. Thus, (the rapid conquest) was one of the miracles of our Prophet. The fact of the appearance of (such miracles) in Islam is generally acknowledged. Miracles cannot be used as analogies for ordinary affairs and constitute no argument against (them).

III.49. There is an abundant civilization (large population) at the end of dynasties, and pestilences and famines frequently occur then.

[p.2:135]

In the previous (discussion)⁷⁴¹ it has been established that, at the beginning, dynasties are inevitably kind in the exercise of their power and just in their administration. The reason is either their religion, when (the dynasty) is based upon religious propaganda, or their noble and benevolent attitude

⁷³⁸ Qur'an 33.62 (62); 35.43 (41); 48.23 (23).

⁷³⁹ *Istibsrān bi-l-īman*. Cf. 1:321 (n. 21), above.

⁷⁴⁰ The words *kifa' dhalika* did not yet appear in the early text of Bulaq

⁷⁴¹ Cf. pp. 89 and 122, above.

toward others, which is required by the desert attitude that is natural to dynasties (at the beginning).

A⁷⁴² kind and benevolent rule serves as an incentive to the subjects and gives them energy for cultural activities. (Civilization) will be abundant, and procreation will be vigorous. All this takes place gradually. The effects will become noticeable after one or two generations at best. At the end of two generations, the dynasty approaches the limit of its natural life⁷⁴³ At that time, civilization has reached the limit of its abundance and growth.

It should not be objected here that it was stated before⁷⁴⁴ that in the later (years) of a dynasty, there will be coercion of the subjects and bad government. This is correct, but it does not contradict what we have (just) said. Even though coercion makes its appearance at that time and the revenues decrease, the destructive influences of this situation on civilization will become noticeable only after some time, because things in nature all have a gradual development.

In the later (years) of dynasties, famines and pestilences become numerous. As far as famines are concerned, the reason is that most people at that time refrain from cultivating the soil. For, in the later (years) of dynasties, there occur attacks on property and tax revenue and, through customs duties, on trading.⁷⁴⁵ Or, trouble occurs as the result of the unrest of the subjects and the great number of rebels (who are provoked) by the senility of the dynasty to rebel. Therefore, as a rule, little grain is stored. The grain and harvest situation is not always good and stable from year to year. The amount of rainfall in the world differs by nature. The rainfall may be strong or weak, little or much. Grain, fruits, and (the amount of) milk given by animals varies correspondingly. Still, for their food requirements, people put

⁷⁴²Cf. Issawi, pp. 96 f.

⁷⁴³Cf. 1:343 ff., above.

⁷⁴⁴Cf. p. 123, above.

⁷⁴⁵The reference to customs duties is added in the margin of C and taken over into the text of D.

their trust in what it is possible to store. If nothing is stored, people must expect famines. The price of grain rises. Indigent people are unable to buy any and perish. If for some years nothing is stored, hunger will be general.

The large number of pestilences has its reason in the large number of famines just mentioned. Or, it has its reason in the many disturbances that result from the disintegration of the dynasty. There is much unrest and bloodshed, and plagues occur. The principal reason for the latter is the corruption of the air (climate) through (too) large a civilization (population).⁷⁴⁶ It results from the putrefaction and the many evil moistures with which (the air) has contact (in a dense civilization). Now, air nourishes the animal spirit⁷⁴⁷ and is constantly with it. When it is corrupted, corruption affects the temper of (the spirit). If the corruption is strong, the lung is afflicted with disease. This results in epidemics, which affect the lung in particular. (Even) if the corruption is not strong or great, - putrefaction grows and multiplies under (its influence), resulting in many fevers that affect the tempers, and the bodies become sick and perish. The reason for the growth of putrefaction and evil moistures is invariably a dense and abundant civilization such as exists in the later (years) of a dynasty. (Such civilization) is the result of the good government, the kindness, the safety, and the light taxation that existed at the beginning of the dynasty. This is obvious. Therefore, it has been clarified by science⁷⁴⁸ in the proper place that it is necessary to have empty spaces and waste regions interspersed between civilized areas. This makes circulation of the air possible. It removes the corruption and putrefaction affecting the air after contact with living beings, and brings healthy air. This also is the reason why pestilences occur much more frequently in densely settled cities than elsewhere, as, for instance, in Cairo in the East and Fez in the Maghrib.

⁷⁴⁶But cf. p. 245, below, where the commotion within a large population is said to keep the air circulating and, thus, to prevent putrefaction.

⁷⁴⁷Cf. 1:74 (n. 5), above.

⁷⁴⁸Cf. also p. 376, below.

God determines whatever He wishes.

III.50. Human civilization requires political leadership for its organization.

[p.2:137]

We have mentioned before in more than one place that human social organization is something necessary. It is the thing that is meant by "the civilization" which we have been discussing. (People) in any social organization must have someone who exercises a restraining influence and rules them and to whom recourse may be had. His rule over them is sometimes based upon a divinely revealed religious law. They are obliged to submit to it in view of their belief in reward and punishment in the other world, (things that were indicated) by the person who brought them (their religious law). Sometimes, (his rule is based) upon rational politics. People are obliged to submit to it in view of the reward they expect from the ruler after he has become acquainted with what is good for them.

The first (type of rule) 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.⁷⁴⁹

We do not mean here that which is known as "political utopianism" (*siyasaḥ madaniyah*).⁷⁵⁰ By that, the philosophers mean the disposition of soul and character which each member of a social organization must have, if, eventually, people are completely to dispense with rulers. They call the social organization that fulfills these requirements the "ideal city." The

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. 1:385 ff., above.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. the well-known works by al-Farabi, *Der Musterstaat*, ed. and tr. F. Dieterici (Leiden, 1895-1900), and by Ibn Bajjah (Avempace), *El regimen del solitario*, ed. and tr. M. Asin Palacios (Madrid & Granada, 1946). Cf. also D. M. Dunlop, "Al-Firibi's Aphorisms of the Statesman," in *Iraq*, XIV (1952), 93-117. In connection with Ibn Khaldun, a recent article by E. I. J. Rosenthal, "The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, XV (1953), 246-78, is illuminating.

norms observed in this connection are called "political utopias" (*siyasaḥ madaniyah*). They do not mean the kind of politics (*siyasaḥ*) that the members of a social organization are led to adopt through laws for the common interest. That is something different. The "ideal city" (of the philosophers) is something rare and remote. They discuss it as a hypothesis.

Now, the afore-mentioned rational politics may be of two types. The first type of rational politics may concern itself with the (public) interest in general, and with the ruler's interest in connection with the administration of his realm, in particular. This was the politics of the Persians. It is something related to philosophy. God made this type of politics superfluous for us in Islam at the time of the caliphate. The religious laws take its place in connection with both general and special interests, for they also include the maxims (of the philosophers) and the rules of royal authority.

The second type (of rational politics) is the one concerned with the interest of the ruler and how he can maintain his rule through the forceful use of power. The general (public) interest is, here, secondary. This is the type of politics practiced by all rulers, whether they are Muslims or unbelievers. Muslim rulers, however, practice this type of politics in accordance with the requirements of the Muslim religious law, as much as they are able to. Therefore, the political norms here are a mixture of religious laws and ethical rules, norms that are natural in social organization together with a certain necessary concern for strength and group feeling. Examples to be followed in (the practice of) this (kind of politics) are, in the first place, the religious law, and then, the maxims of the philosophers and the way of life of rulers (of the past).

The best and most comprehensive written exposition of this subject is the letter of Tahir b. al-Husayn, al-Ma'mun's general, to his son 'Abdallah b. Tahir when (al-Ma'mun) appointed him governor of ar-Raqqah, Egypt, and the inter vening territories. On that occasion, his father Tahir wrote him the famous letter. In it, he exhorted him and gave him his advice concern-

ing all religious and ethical matters. (He discussed) all (important) political problems as handled by the religious law and all problems of power politics that he would have to know in his government and administration. He urged him to strive for virtue and good qualities, in a manner so exemplary that no king or commoner can do without (these exhortations). This is the text of the letter, as copied from at-Tabari's work:⁷⁵¹

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

And now: It is your duty to fear the one and only God, to be afraid of Him, to watch Him, to keep away from His wrath, and to guard your subjects night and day. With the help of the good health with which God has clothed

⁷⁵¹ The composition of this document must have fallen into the year 205/6 [821], according to G. Richter, *Zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, N.F. 3) (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 80 ff.

The oldest available text is found in the ninth-century *History of Baghdad* by Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur. Cf. H. Keller (ed. and tr.), *Sechster Band des Kitab Bagdad* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 36-53 (text); pp. 17-25 (tr.); cf. also *idem*, *Das Kitab Bagdad* (Bern diss.) (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 38 ff. However, Ibn Khaldun certainly was not acquainted with Ibn Abi Tahir's work.

The text is further to be found in at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1046-61, whose source was apparently Ibn Abi Tahir, and in Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, VI, 149-56, *anno* 206. The latter's source was at-Tabari.

There are more than the usual number of divergencies between the versions of this document given in the earlier and later texts of the *Muqaddimah*. If this seems strange, since Ibn Khaldun was dealing with a quotation, the explanation is not difficult to find. Originally, he used Ibn al-Athir's text, and revised this later with the help of at-Tabari's. He also added a few conjectures of his own as to the correct text.

The introductory statement that the text was copied from at-Tabari is not found in Bulaq or E. C, which has the earlier version and all later corrections in the margin, shows that the reference to at-Tabari was inserted into the text by a later hand, apparently the same person who added all the other additions and corrections.

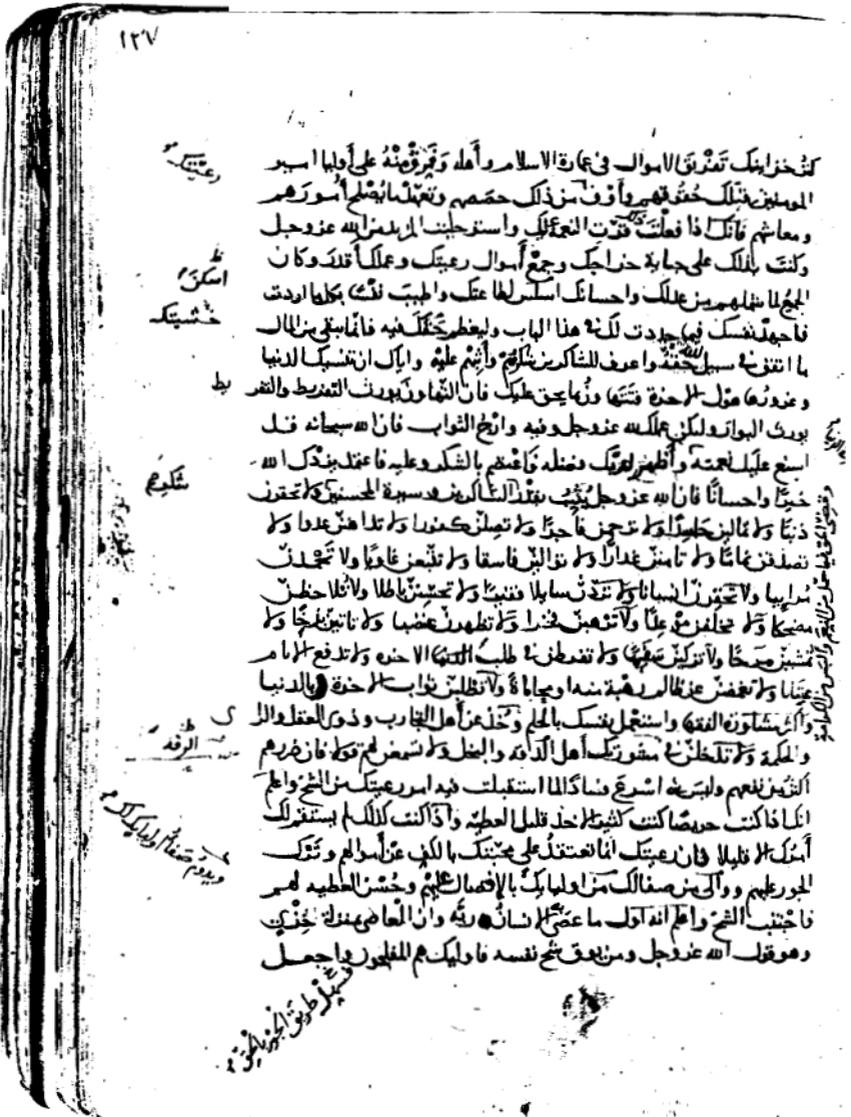
Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun breaks off his quotation at the same place as Ibn al-Athir, while at-Tabari goes on for a few more lines. These lines did not seem very important and were for that reason not added when Ibn Khaldun checked his first version against the text of at-Tabari. There are some passages, noted below, where Ibn Khaldun left the original wording as he had first copied it from Ibn al-Athir, not bothering to correct all the minor details in accordance with at-Tabari.

One or two cases of correction by Ibn Khaldun are found in the margin of C, marked *z* (for *zann*, "conjecture"). They entered the text of the *Muqaddimah* through the other MSS. The following notes mention only the more important of these variant readings.

you, apply yourself to thinking of your resurrection and the place where you will be going, as well as to the things that will be your concern and for which you will be held responsible. Also, apply yourself to working in that sense in such a way that on the Day of Resurrection, God will protect you and save you from His retribution and painful punishment.

God has been benevolent to you. He has made it obligatory for you to show kindness to those of His servants whom He has made your subjects. He has made it your duty to be just to them, to see to it that His rights and punishments are observed in connection with them, to defend them and protect their families and women, to prevent bloodshed, to make their roads⁷⁵² safe, and to

⁷⁵² Ibn Khaldun read *li-salabihim*, which he apparently understood to mean: "to make them safe against being plundered." However, the correct reading *li-subulihim* had to be used for the translation.



VII. Tahir's Letter to his Son, 'Abdallaht Text showing corrections From MS. C (Atif Effendi 1936)

enable them to live in peace. God will punish you in connection with the duties He has placed upon you (if you do not take care of them properly). He will make them your concern and hold you responsible for them and

reward you for (the good deeds) you have done or (the evil deeds you have) not done.

Keep your mind, brain, and eye free for that. Let nothing draw your attention from it. It is your principal and crucial task. It is the first thing through which God will give you successful guidance. Let the first thing to which you apply yourself and on which you work, be unfailing fulfillment of the duty of the five daily prayers that God has imposed upon you. Let people come to you to pray together with you, and perform (the prayers at the proper times)⁷⁵³ with all their rites. (That is,) perform the ablutions before the prayers. Begin the prayers with the mention of God. Use the proper chant when you recite the Qur'an. Perform the requisite bows and prostrations and pronounce your profession of the faith properly. Let your intention in prayer be sincere in the presence of your Lord. Urge and instigate those who are with you and under your control to (perform the prayers). Prayer, as God said in the Qur'an, "restrains from sin and evil."⁷⁵⁴

Then, let this be followed by adopting the ways of the Messenger of God, by constant application of his qualities, and by imitation of the pious ancient Muslims after him. If you have a task before you, let yourself be helped in doing it by asking God whether you should do it or not, by fearing Him, by applying what God has revealed in His Book with regard to things to be done and things not to be done, the things that are permitted and the things that are forbidden, and by taking as your guide the directions contained in the traditions of the Messenger of God. Act, then, as you owe it to God to act.

Do not be swayed from justice according to your likes and dislikes, either on behalf of a person close to you or on behalf of one remote from you. Favor jurisprudence and the jurists, the religion (Islam) and theologians, the Book of God and those who live by it. For the best ornament of a man is ju-

⁷⁵³ Again, this is the original text. Ibn Khaldun's early reading was *wa-tawdqu'uhu*. In C and D we find *wa-tawaqqu'uhu*. Both forms would yield only a rather artificial meaning.

⁷⁵⁴ Qur'an 29.45 (44).

ditional interpretation of the faith, search for it, admonition to others to follow it, and knowledge of how one can get close to God. Religion (Islam) is the leader and guide to everything that is good. It commands the doing of good and prohibits the committing of sins and crimes. Through (religion), man's knowledge of God and respect for Him grows with God's help, and he will attain the highest rank in the other world. In addition, when people notice your (religious attitude) they will have respect for your rule and reverence for your government. They will be friendly to you and trust in your justice.

Be moderate in everything. There is nothing more clearly useful, safer, and in every way better, than (moderation). Planned moderation calls for right guidance. Right guidance leads to success. Success leads to happiness. The preservation of Islam and of the model ways (of the Prophet) is accomplished through moderation. Give preference to it in all your worldly affairs.

Do not fall behind in your pursuit of the other world,⁷⁵⁵ of good deeds, of kind behavior, of the right path. One cannot do enough pious deeds, if they are to help one to find God's face and satisfaction and the company of God's saints in His noble abode.

You should know that planned moderation in worldly matters gives strength and protects against sins. You have nothing that is better than (moderation) to guard your person and your rank⁷⁵⁶ and to try to improve your affairs. Therefore, use it and be guided by it. Then, your affairs will succeed. Your power will increase. Your private and public affairs will be in order.

Have a good opinion of God, and your subjects will cause you no trouble. In all your affairs, try to get in touch with Him, and you will always enjoy His favor.

⁷⁵⁵ Bulaq and E, as well as Ibn al-Athir, add: "for reward." The word, which at-Tabari does not have, is deleted in C and no longer found in A, B, or D.

⁷⁵⁶ Instead of "and your rank," at-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir read: "and those close to you." The same words seem to be at the base of the corrupt text in Bulaq and E.

Do not suspect anyone who works for you with regard to the work with which you have entrusted him, before you have discovered what is the matter with him. For it is a crime to suspect innocent persons and to have a bad opinion of them. Therefore, make it your duty to have a good opinion of the men around you. Drive away bad opinions of them, and do not harbor any such opinions. That will help you to gain their following and to train them. Do not let Satan, the enemy of God, gain entry to your affairs. Just a little weakness on your part is sufficient for him. He will cause you so much grief through your having a bad opinion of the men around you, that it will disturb the pleasure of your life. You should know that having a good opinion (of others) gives you strength and rest, and you will be competent to handle your affairs to your satisfaction. It will enable you to cause people to love you and to be straightforward in everything.

Do not let your good opinion of the men around you and your kindness to your subjects prevent you from making inquiries, from investigating your affairs, from taking personal charge of the business of (your) officials, from protecting (your) subjects, or from looking⁷⁵⁷ after the things that sustain and benefit them. On the contrary, consider it your most important task to take personal charge of the affairs of (your) officials and to protect your subjects by looking after their needs and providing for their requirements. This, more than anything else, helps to preserve the religion (of Islam) and gives life to the Sunnah (of the Prophet).

In all these things, have pure intentions. Pay special attention to improving yourself as a person, one who realizes that he will be held responsible for his deeds, that he will be rewarded for his good deeds, and punished for his evil deeds. For God made the religion a refuge and a power. He lifts up those who follow it and honor it.

⁷⁵⁷ The following thirty-odd words (down to "looking") were originally left out of Ibn Khaldun's text, by homoeoteleutic omission. They were supplied in the margin of C and are found in A, B, and D.

Therefore, lead those whom you govern and rule along the path of religion and the way of right guidance.⁷⁵⁸ Apply the punishments that God has ordained for criminals, according to their station and according to what they deserve. Do not disregard it and do not make light of it. Do not postpone the punishment of those who must be punished. If you fall short in this respect, it will help spoil the good opinion (people have) of you. In this regard, let your actions be guided by the well-known traditions (*sunan*). Keep away from innovations and doubts. Your religion will then be healthy and your manliness unimpaired.

If you enter into an agreement, fulfill it. If you have promised to do a certain good deed, keep your (promise). Accept favors and repay them. Close your eyes to the defects of those of your subjects who may have them. Refrain from lies and falsehoods. Despise (liars and keep)⁷⁵⁹ away calumniators. Your affairs will begin to fail, so far as their effects both in this world and the other world are concerned, as soon as you give access to a liar or boldly use lies yourself. Lying is the beginning of crimes and falsehood, and calumny their end. The calumniator is not safe himself. No friend of a man who listens to (calumny) is safe.⁷⁶⁰ Nothing works out well for a person who is governed by (calumny).

Love good and righteous people. Be honestly helpful to noble men. Be friendly to the weak. Keep in touch with your blood relatives.⁷⁶¹ Desire thus to see the face of God and to strengthen His cause, and wish (thus) for His reward and the other world. Keep away from evil desires and injustice. Pay them no notice and show your subjects that you are free of (them). Be just in

⁷⁵⁸ Like at-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, C and D have *al-huda* in the text. C, however, notes in the margin that the "manuscript" (*kh*, for *nuskah*) - may we suppose at-Tabari's, used for collation? - had *al-'hdy*. This is the reading found in the other MSS, as well as in Bulaq.

⁷⁵⁹ The words in parenthesis are in at-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir. They are necessary for the context.

⁷⁶⁰ The reading *wa-qabiluhu* is clearly indicated in C. 761 Cf. n. 47

⁷⁶¹ Cf. n. 47 to Ch. II, above.

governing your subjects. Treat them honestly and with the kindness through which you will reach the path of right guidance.

Control yourself and do not get angry. Prefer dignity and mildness. Beware of sharpness, levity, and deceitfulness in any (enterprise) you engage in.

Beware of saying: "I am in authority. I may do what I want to do." This soon reveals a lack of sense on your part and little certainty of the one and only God. Let your intention with regard to (God) and your certainty of Him be sincere. You should know that royal authority belongs to God. He gives it to whomever He wants to give it and takes it away from whomever He wants to take it away.⁷⁶²

The change from (divine) favor to (divine) vengeance occurs nowhere faster than with men in authority who do not acknowledge⁷⁶³ (divine) favors, and with people enjoying good positions in the government, who are ungrateful for the favors and benefactions of God and consider themselves superior beings because of the bounty that God has given them.

Do not be greedy. Let the treasures and riches you gather and hoard up be piety, the fear of God, justice, the improvement of your subjects, the cultivation of their country, the supervision of their affairs, the protection of the mass of them,⁷⁶⁴ and support of the unfortunates. You⁷⁶⁵ should know that property, once it is gathered and stored in treasuries, does not bear fruit, but if it is invested in the welfare of the subjects and used for giving them what is due to them and to prevent them from need, then it grows and thrives. The common people prosper. (The proper use of money) is an ornament to high officials, and it means a time of prosperity. It brings strength and protection. Therefore, let it be your way of gathering up treasures to spend money on

⁷⁶²Cf. Qur'an 8.26 (25).

⁷⁶³At-Tabari and Ibn al-Ateir have the original text: "who enjoy , .."

⁷⁶⁴*Li-dahma'ihim*, as all the witnesses of the text have.

⁷⁶⁵Cf. Issawi, pp. 89 f.

building up Islam and the Muslims. Distribute to the officials of the Commander of the Faithful who preceded you⁷⁶⁶ that which is due them. Give your subjects their share. Pay attention to the things that might improve their situation and livelihood. If you do that, the (divine) favor will always be with you. You will make it obligatory for God to increase (His favors to you). In this way, you will also be better able to levy the land tax and to collect the property of your subjects and your provinces. Because everybody experiences justice and kindness from you, everybody will be more amenable⁷⁶⁷ to obeying you and more favorably disposed towards everything you want. Therefore, exert yourself in the way that I have outlined to you in this chapter. Be very much concerned⁷⁶⁸ in this respect. Of (all) your money, there will remain only what was honestly spent in behalf of God.⁷⁶⁹

Acknowledge the gratefulness of those who express their thanks, and reward them for it.

Beware of forgetting the terror of the other world on account of this world and its temptations, so that you become neglectful of your duties. Neglect causes short comings, and shortcomings cause ruin. Whatever you do, you should do for God and in God, and hope for a reward. God has poured His favors upon you in this world and showed you His bounty. Therefore, take refuge in giving thanks to God. Rely upon Him, and He will give you more good things and benefactions. God gives His reward according to the gratefulness of those who express their thanks, and the way of life of those

⁷⁶⁶ *Qablaka* (and not *qibalaka*) seems to be the correct reading. The *awliyd'* are officials (not "friends" or the like) who are no longer in office when the administration comes in.

⁷⁶⁷ The original text is *aslas*. In the margin of C, the (unnecessary) correction to *askan is* is suggested, and *askan is* is the reading we find in A, B, and D.

⁷⁶⁸ Almost the whole textual tradition of the *Muqaddimah* has a meaningless *haqquka*. However, C has in the margin the apparently correct *khashyatuka* which is adopted by A. It also appears in the text of Ibn Abi Tahir. The edition of at-Tabari reads *hisbatuka*.

⁷⁶⁹ Remain useful, that is, in the other world.

who do good deeds. He bestows His favors and shows His grace where they are deserved.⁷⁷⁰

Do not consider (any) sin lightly. Do not support an envious person. Do not pity a sinner. Do not be friendly with an ungrateful person. Do not connive with an enemy. Do not trust a calumniator. Do not rely upon a deceiver. Do not conclude a friendship with an immoral person. Do not follow a seducer. Do not praise a hypocrite. Have contempt for nobody. Do not refuse a poor petitioner. Do not (try to) improve a worthless person. Pay no attention to buffoons. Do not break a promise. Do not fear pride.⁷⁷¹ Show no anger. Do not be ostentatious. Do not walk arrogantly. Do not justify a stupidity⁷⁷² Do not neglect your search for the other world. Do not waste your days in finding fault. Do not close your eyes to an evildoer, because you are afraid of him or because you have a prejudice (in his favor). Do not seek the reward of the other world in this world.

Consult frequently with jurists. Accustom yourself to being mild and prudent. Learn from men of experience and intelligence who are understanding and wise. Do not permit extravagant⁷⁷³ or stingy people to give you advice. Do not listen to what they say, because the damage they can cause is greater than their usefulness. Nothing can ruin your projects on behalf of your subjects more quickly than avarice. You should realize that if you are greedy, you take much and give little. If you are this way, you will have little success, for your subjects will be willing to like you only if (you) keep away from their property and do not treat them unjustly. You will keep the sincere

⁷⁷⁰This sentence is not found in the earlier text, or in Ibn al-Athir. It was added from at-Tabari in the margin of C, and is found in the text of A, B, and D.

⁷⁷¹That is, of others. However, although *tarhabanna* is the unanimous reading of all texts, one might suggest tentatively the reading *tuzhiyanna* "do not be proud."

⁷⁷²*Safahan* is the reading in C and in at-Tabari. The other MSS have *safhan* "a stupid person," and this seems also to have been the original reading in C.

⁷⁷³Originally, Ibn Khaldun had *diqqah* here, which in this context might perhaps mean "pedantic." *Ar-rafh* is a conjecture proposed in the margin of C and adopted in the texts of B and D.

friendship of your friends⁷⁷⁴ by being generous to them and giving them fine gifts. Shun avarice. You should know that avarice is the first sin that man commits against His Lord and that the sinner is disgraced. Thus, God says in the Qur'an: "Those who are preserved from their own avarice are, indeed, generous."⁷⁷⁵ Therefore, be really generous⁷⁷⁶ Give all the Muslims shares and portions in the booty you take. Be assured that generosity is one of the best things for a human being to practice. Make generosity one of your character qualities. [Be really generous.] Accept (generosity) as your constant practice.

Supervise the registers and contracts of the soldiers. Augment their salaries. Give them a good livelihood, and God will thus remove their indigence. They will be a strong (support) for you, and their hearts will be readily and gladly willing to obey you and serve you. It is sufficient happiness for a man in authority that his soldiers and subjects find mercy in his justice, protection, fairness, attentiveness, kindness, piety, and largesse. Therefore, avoid the unpleasantness of one of the two alternatives⁷⁷⁷ by being conscious of the excellence of the other alternative and by always acting

⁷⁷⁴Ibn Khaldun's original text read with Ibn al-Athir: "Be obliging to your sincere friends ..." C adds the above text from at-Tabari, in the margin. Apparently the marginal correction was overlooked in the text from which D was copied, because D still preserves the earlier text. B, on the other hand, follows the corrected text.

⁷⁷⁵ Qur'an 59.9 (9); 64.16 (16). "Avarice" and "stinginess" are represented by the same Arabic word in this paragraph.

⁷⁷⁶ Lit., "Make the road of generosity smooth and level." The MSS. A, B, C, and D have *al jawr*, instead of *al-jud*, which could hardly mean anything but "Be really unjust."

The phrase is repeated a few lines below. This is explained by the fact that Ibn al-Athir has it later on, whereas at-Tabari has it here. C adds it here, in the margin, but does not delete it at the later occurrence. In E it preserves its old position, but Bulaq, remarkably enough, has it here and omits it later on. The other MSS have it twice.

⁷⁷⁷E still has *ihda l-baliyatayni* "of the two temptations (to be either too harsh or too mild)," as in at-Tabari. The corruption to *al-babayn*, which is easily understandable, appears in the other MSS and also in Bulaq.

in accordance with it. Then, you will find success, well-being, and prosperity, if God wills.

You should know that the office of judge holds a place with God to which nothing else compares. It is God's scales in which the conditions of men on earth are equalized. Making decisions⁷⁷⁸ and dispensing justice in judicial procedure and in all actions brings well-being to the subjects. The roads, then, are safe. The person who was treated unjustly finds justice. Everyone obtains his right. The livelihood of all is safeguarded. Proper obedience is paid. God gives good health and well-being. The religion can endure. The Sunnah and the religious laws function properly. Right and justice are applied in judicial procedure.⁷⁷⁹

(As a judge) be firm in behalf of God. Abstain from corruption.⁷⁸⁰ Go and apply the legal punishments. Do not make haste. Stay away from anger and unrest. Be satisfied with an oath. Let your breath be calm and your cheek cool.⁷⁸¹ Make use of your experience. Be attentive when you are silent, and precise when you speak. Treat the plaintiff fairly. Hesitate when there is a doubt. Have much evidence produced. Do not show prejudice in favor of any of your subjects. Do not give anyone preferred treatment. Do not expose yourself to censure. Be steadfast and slow. Observe. Look out. Reflect. Think things over. Consider them. Be humble in the presence of your Lord. Be kind to all (your) subjects. Let the truth govern you. Do not shed blood

⁷⁷⁸C and D apparently indicate the reading *al fasl*, and not *al fadl* "excellence, superiority." The word itself is not found in Bulaq or Ibn al-Athir, and seems an addition derived from at-Tabari. The text and apparatus of the Tabari edition is not quite clear in this passage.

⁷⁷⁹This sentence is not found in Bulaq, E, or Ibn al-Athir. It was added in the margin of C from at-Tabari, and taken over by A, B, and D.

⁷⁸⁰*an-nataf*, as in the MSS.

⁷⁸¹The same applies to this sentence as to the one above, n. 779. C clearly indicates that it should be inserted in this place. However, it was written so closely together with the earlier addition that the scribe of the archetype from which A and D were ultimately copied, thought that it belonged with it. Therefore, A and D have this sentence after "procedure," p. 149 (n. 779), above.

hastily, for God considers the unlawful and violent shedding of blood as something very grave.

Consider the land tax. It maintains the subjects. Through it, God has strengthened and exalted Islam, helped and protected the Muslims, confounded and annoyed the enemies of Islam and the Muslims, and humbled and humiliated the unbelievers who are their subjects.⁷⁸² Therefore, distribute (the land tax) among those to whom it belongs, and do it justly, fairly, equitably, and generally. Do not make a noble man (*sharif*) pay less because of his nobility, or a rich man because of his wealth, or one of your secretaries, or one of your intimates and entourage. Do not ask for more than is tolerable. Do not charge anyone too much. Treat all the people justly. This makes it easier to gain their friendship and is more certain to achieve general satisfaction.

You should know that by your appointment, you were made treasurer, guardian, and shepherd. The people under your jurisdiction are called subjects (*ra'iyah* "flock"), because you are their shepherd and overseer. (Therefore,) accept from them what they give you of their affluence, and use it for the administration of their affairs, for their welfare, and for providing for their needs. Employ for them understanding, skilled, and experienced men, who have theoretical knowledge of, and are able to act with, political wisdom and moderation. Give them good salaries. This is one of the duties incumbent upon you in connection with the task with which you have been entrusted. Let nothing divert your attention or distract you from it. When you give preference to this matter and take charge of it properly, you will cause an increase in the favors your Lord bestows upon you, and favorable comment on your activities. You will also gain through it the love of your subjects and promote the (general) welfare. The (general) well-being of your country will be improved. Cultural activity will expand in your region. The

⁷⁸²Cf. n. 430 to this chapter, above. These are the Muslim subjects who have agreed to the covenant governing the status of Christians, Jews, and members of certain other religions.

fertility of your districts will be evident. Your income from the land tax will be large. Your property will be extensive. You will have the attachment⁷⁸³ of your soldiers and be able to satisfy everybody through generous gifts from you. Your political leadership will be praised. Your justice will be approved by the enemy. In all your affairs, you will be just, capable in deed, powerful, and well equipped.⁷⁸⁴ Therefore, strive for this (goal). Do not give anything else preference over it. Then, the results of your rule will find praise, if God wills.

Appoint a trusted (official) in every district under your jurisdiction, to inform you about your officials and to write you concerning their manner of life and activities. Thus, you will have eventually something like personal contact with every official in his area of jurisdiction and personally observe all his affairs.

If you want to order (your official to do) something, consider what the result of the thing you want done will be. If you see that the result will be healthy and sound, and if you hope for a good return from it and good council⁷⁸⁵ and benefit, send (your order) out. If not, refrain from (any immediate action) and consult people of insight and knowledge about (the matter). Then, prepare for action. A man often looks at something he wants to do and finds it to be as he desires. This pleases and deceives him. Failure to consider what the result may be, could be his ruin and destruction.

Whatever you want to do, do it resolutely and address yourself to it forcefully after (having asked) God's help. Always ask your Lord whether you should do a particular thing. Finish the work you have to do today and do not postpone it until tomorrow. Do much of it yourself. For every tomorrow has its own business and events that will keep you from doing the work you

⁷⁸³ *Irtibat*, as in at-Tabari and in Ibn Khaldun's original text. The word was corrupted to a meaningless *irtiyad*, for which C, in the margin, suggested the reading *irtida'* "satisfaction." This reading was accepted in A and B, while D still retained *irtiyad*.

⁷⁸⁴ *Uddah*, as also in the margin of C.

⁷⁸⁵ The word "council" is an addition from at-Tabari, found in A, B, C, and D.

should have done today but postponed. You should know that when a day is gone, it is gone with all there was in it. If you postponed the work that you should have done (yesterday), you will have to do two days' work (today). That will be difficult for you and will eventually make you ill. (On the other hand,) if you do each day the work that you should do, you will give rest to your body and soul and discharge your tasks as ruler well.

Consider the free (noble) people who are advanced in age and of whose sincere intentions you can be certain, and whose love for you, whose helpfulness as advisers, whose active interest in your affairs you have observed. Select them for your service and be benevolent toward them.

Have regard for the descendants of great houses who have become needy. Provide for their requirements and improve their condition, so that indigence will no longer be able to touch them.

Devote yourself to looking after the affairs of the poor and indigent, those who are not able to bring before you complaints about injustices they have suffered,⁷⁸⁶ and other lowly persons who do not know that they may ask for their rights. Inquire about these people in all secrecy, and put good men from among your subjects in charge of them. Command them to report to you their needs and conditions, so that you will be able to look into the measures through which God might improve their affairs.

Have regard also for people who have suffered accidents, and for their widows and orphans. Give them stipends from the treasury, following the example of the Commander of the Faithful - God give him power! - in being kind to them and giving them presents, so that God may thereby improve their livelihood and give you a blessing and increased (favours).

Give the blind stipends from the treasury. Give to those of them who know the Qur'an and know most of it by heart a higher salary than to others.

⁷⁸⁶ *Mazlamah* in most MSS, with the exception of C, where the word is corrected in the text to the original *mazlamatiht*.

Set up houses for Muslims who are ill, to shelter them. (Appoint) attendants in these houses who will handle them kindly, and (appoint) physicians who will treat their diseases. Comply with their desires so long as it does not lead to waste in the treasury.

You should know that when people are given their rights and when their dearest wishes are fulfilled, they are still not satisfied and are not quiet, but want to bring their needs to the attention of those in charge of them, because they desire to receive more and to get (additional) kindnesses from them. Often, the person who looks after the affairs of the people is annoyed by the great number of matters referred to him, which occupy his thought and mind, and cause him embarrassment and difficulties.

The person who desires justice, knowing what is good for him in this world and how excellent the reward in the other world will be, is not like the person who advances⁷⁸⁷ toward the things that bring him close to God and who seeks (God's) mercy.

Let people frequently come to see you and show them your face. Let not your guards hinder them. Be humble toward them. Show them your smiling countenance. Be lenient with them when (you put) questions and speak to them. Be benevolent to them in your generosity and bounty.

If you give, do it kindly and pleasantly. (Do it) for the sake of doing a good deed and of receiving the reward (for it in the other world). Do it without causing trouble, and do not remind (the person to whom you give something) of your gift (in the expectation of a gift in return). Such a gift will be a profitable transaction, if God wills.

⁷⁸⁷*Yastaqbilu*, as in A and C. B and D have *yastaqillu*. The text and translation of this sentence seem certain, though the intended contrast is not quite clear at first glance. In later Islam, at least, both persons would be considered ideal types. However, the contrast intended is between the judge or worldly ruler, who dispenses justice in the interest of both this-worldly and eternal well-being, and the pious person who devotes himself exclusively to divine worship. In the writer's opinion the former is the more meritorious person, with more duties to take care of, as described in the following sentences.

Learn from the affairs of the world that you are able to observe personally, and from the persons in authority and in positions of leadership who lived before your time in past centuries and among nations that disappeared. Then, in all your conditions, seek God's protection and love, act in accordance with His religious law and Sunnah, and establish His religion and Scripture. Keep away from the things that are different from that, or in opposition to it, and that provoke the wrath of God.

Be acquainted with the property that your officials collect and use for their expenditures. Do not take any forbidden property, and do not be a wasteful spender.

Sit down often with scholars and seek their advice and company.

Let it be your desire to follow and establish the Sunnah (of the Prophet) and to prefer noble and lofty character qualities.

Consider those the most honorable of your proteges and intimates who, when they notice a fault (in you), are not deterred by their respect for you from informing you about it in secret or from calling your attention to the shortcoming that lies in that fault. People of that sort are your most sincere friends and helpers.

Look at those of your officials who are present at your residence, and at your secretaries. Appoint for each one of them a time of the day in which he may come to you with his documents and orders and (also present to you) the needs of your officials and the affairs of your districts and subjects with which he is concerned. Lend your ear and your eye, your mind and your intellect, to the things of that sort which he presents to you. Go over it again and think it over. If it is reasonable and appears effective, order it to be done and ask God about it. If not, have it checked and investigated.

Do not remind your subjects or anyone else to whom you show a favor, of it (in the expectation of a gift). Accept from no one anything except faithfulness, straightforwardness, and support for the affairs of the Muslims. Do not do any favors for anyone except under these (conditions).

Understand this letter of mine that I am addressing to you. Study it carefully and always act in accordance with it. Ask God for help in all your affairs. Ask Him whether or not you should do a thing. God is with goodness and with good people. Let your most important activity and greatest desire be what is pleasing to God and means order in his religion, might and steadfastness in His people, and justice and welfare in the Muslim group and the protected religions. I am asking God to give you help and success and right guidance and shelter. Farewell!

The historians report that people liked the letter when it appeared, and it found wide circulation. Al-Ma'mun heard about it. When it had been read to him, he said: "Abu t-Tayyib-that is, Tahir-did not omit any of the matters that concern this world, the religion, administration, (the formation of) opinion, politics, the improvement of the realm and the subjects, the preservation of the government, obedience to the caliphs, and maintenance of the caliphate. He has dealt very well with all these matters, and has given directions (how to handle) them." Al-Ma'mun then ordered the letter to be sent to all officials in the various regions, so that they might use it as a model and act accordingly.

This is the best treatment of this type of politics that I have found. God inspires whomever of His servants He wants to inspire.

III.51. The Fatimid. The opinions of the people about him. The truth about the matter.

[p.2:156]

It has been well known (and generally accepted) by all Muslims in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family (of the Prophet) will without fail make his appearance, one who will strengthen the religion and make justice triumph. The Muslims will follow him, and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called the Mahdi. Following him, the Antichrist will appear, together with all the subsequent signs of the

Hour (the Day of Judgment), as established in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*. After (the Mahdi), Isa (Jesus) will descend and kill the Antichrist. Or, Jesus will descend together with the Mahdi, and help him kill (the Antichrist), and have him as the leader in his prayers.

Evidence for this matter has been found in the traditions that religious leaders have published. They have been (critically) discussed by those who disapprove of (the matter), and have often been refuted by means of certain (other) traditions.⁷⁸⁸

The more recent Sufis have another theory and a sort of argument concerning the Fatimid. They like to base themselves upon the removal (of the veil, *kashf*), which is the basis of their various (mystical) paths.

We are now going to mention here the various traditions concerning (this matter). (We are also going to mention) the attacks upon these traditions by those who disapprove (of the matter), and the evidence upon which they base their disapproval. This, then, will be followed by a report on the statements and opinions of the Sufis. Thus, the true situation will become clear, if God wills.

We say: A number of religious leaders have published traditions concerning the Mahdi, among them at-Tirmidhi,⁷⁸⁹ Abu Dawud,⁷⁹⁰ al-Bazzar,⁷⁹¹ Ibn Majah,⁷⁹² al-Hakim,⁷⁹³ at-Tabarani,⁷⁹⁴ and Abu Ya'la al-

⁷⁸⁸Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 160 f. Dozy prefers "information" to "traditions." For the modern literature dealing with the Mahdi traditions, cf., for instance, D. B. Macdonald in *EI*, s.v. "al-Mahdi," and, for some of the additional Shi'ah material, W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (Islamic Research Association Series, No. 10) (Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 95 ff.

⁷⁸⁹ See n. 105 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above. The relevant material appears in at-Tirmidhi's *Sahih* (Bulaq, 1292/1875), 11, 23-44, and esp. p. 36.

It should be noted that the chief authorities, al-Bukhari and Muslim, do not have the traditions concerning the Mahdi as Ibn Khaldun quotes them.

⁷⁹⁰Sulayman b. al-Ash'ath, ca. 202-275 [817/18-889]. Cf. GAL, 1, 161; *Suppl.*, 1, 266 f. Cf. his *Sunan* (Cairo, 1310/1892-93, in the margin of az-Zurqani, *Sharh al-Muwatta'*), IV, 86-89.

⁷⁹¹ Ahmad b. 'Amr, d. 292 [904/5]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 258. His *Musnad* has not yet been published. The form al-Bazzar is indicated in A, C, and D. B has al-Bazzaz.

Mawsill.⁷⁹⁵ They mention a number of the men around Muhammad as transmitters of these traditions: 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn 'Umar, Talhah, Ibn Mas'ud,⁷⁹⁶ Abu Hurayrah, Anas, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri,⁷⁹⁷ Umm Habibah,⁷⁹⁸ Umm Salimah,⁷⁹⁹ Thawban,⁸⁰⁰ Qurrah b. Iyas,⁸⁰¹ 'Ali al-Hilali,⁸⁰² and 'Abdallah b. al-Harith b. Jaz⁸⁰³ among others. (They also mention) their chains of transmitters, which have often been found objectionable by those who disapprove (of the matter). We shall mention this now, because *hadith* scholars acknowledge negative criticism to have precedence over positive criticism. If we find that some person in the chain of transmitters is accused of negligence, poor memory, weakness, or poor judgment, it affects and weakens the soundness of the tradition. It should not be said that the same faults often affect the persons (mentioned as authorities in) the two *Sahihs*. The general consensus of *hadith* transmitters confirms the soundness of the contents of (the two *Sahihs*) as presented by al-Bukhari and Muslim. The uninterrupted general consensus in Islam also confirms the acceptability of (the two *Sahihs*) and the necessity of acting in accordance with their contents. General consensus is the best protection and defense. Works other than the

⁷⁹²Muhammad b. Yazid, 209-273 [824/25-887]. Cf. GAL, I,163; *Suppl.*, I, 270. His *Sunan* have a chapter on the appearance of the Mahdi; cf. the ed. (Cairo, 1313/1896), II, 269 f.

⁷⁹³See n. 250 to Ch. I, above. His *Mustadrak* deals with the traditions in question at IV, 418 ff, of the Hyderabad ed.

⁷⁹⁴Sulayman b. Ahmad, 260-360 [873-971]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 279. His relevant works have not yet been published.

⁷⁹⁵Ahmad b. 'Ali, d. 307 [919/20]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 258. His *Musnad* has not yet been published.

⁷⁹⁶Abdallah b. Masud. Cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an* (Leiden, 1937), pp. 20 ff.

⁷⁹⁷Sa'd b. Malik. Cf. I:439, above. He died ca. 63-65 [682-685]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 479 f.

⁷⁹⁸One of Muhammad's wives. Cf. Ibn Hajar, XII, 411 f.

⁷⁹⁹One of Muhammad's wives. Cf. Ibn Hajar, XII, 455 ff.

⁸⁰⁰Thawbin b. Bujdud, d. ca. 54 [674]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, II, 31.

⁸⁰¹He died ca. 64 [683/84]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 370.

⁸⁰²Ibn Hajar, *Isabah* (Calcutta, 1856-73), II, 1217, No. 10062, mentions him and his son 'Ali after at-Tabarani, but nothing else is known about him.

⁸⁰³He died between 85 and 88 [704-707]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 178 f.

two *Sahihs* are not on the same level with them in this respect. How we have to proceed in discussing the transmitters mentioned in (the two *Sahihs*) is indicated in the statements of authoritative *hadith* scholars on that (subject).

As-Suhayli⁸⁰⁴ reports with reference to Abu Bakr b. Abi Khaythamah⁸⁰⁵ that the latter did a thorough job of collecting the traditions of the Mahdi. (As-Suhayli) said: "The tradition with the strangest chain of transmitters is the one mentioned by Abu Bakr al-Iskaf⁸⁰⁶ in the *Fawa'id al-akhbar*. It goes back to Malik b. Anas, who had it on the authority of Muhammad b. al-Munkadir,⁸⁰⁷ who had it on the authority of Jabir,⁸⁰⁸ who said that the Messenger of God said: 'He who does not believe in the Mahdi is an unbeliever, and he who does not believe in the Antichrist is a liar.' He said something similar with regard to the rising of the sun in the west, I think." One could not find a more extremist statement. The soundness of his chain of transmitters between (Abu Bakr) and Malik b. Anas (also) is problematic. Abu Bakr al-Iskaf is considered by (*hadith* scholars) as suspect and as a forger of traditions.

With their chain of transmitters going back to Ibn Mas'ud, at-Tirmidhi and Abu Dawild have published the following tradition through 'Asim b. Abi n-Najid,⁸⁰⁹ one of the seven authoritative Qur'an readers, on the author-

⁸⁰⁴ Abd-ar-Rahman b. 'Abdallah, 508-581 [1114/15-1185]. Cf. GAL, I, 413; *Suppl.*, I, 739 f. The work referred to is his commentary on Ibn Hisham's *Sirah*, entitled *ar-Rawd al-unuf* (Cairo, 1332/1914), I, 160.

⁸⁰⁵ Ahmad b. Zuhayr, 185-279 [801-893]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 272.

⁸⁰⁶ There is a well-known scholar Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Malik al-Iskafi, 263-352 [876/77-963]. Cf. as-Sam'ini, *Ansab* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 20) (Leiden & London, 1912), fol. 35a; al-Khattab al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), III, 219 f. However, he is generally praised as a reliable scholar, and the person mentioned may be someone else.

⁸⁰⁷ Born in 60 [679/80], he died in 130 [747/48] or 131 [748/49]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 473 ff.

⁸⁰⁸ Apparently, Jabir b. 'Abdallah, who died between 73 [692/93] and 77 [696/97]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 42 f. The Jabir mentioned below, p. 169, is expressly called Jabir b. 'Abdallah by Muslim. Otherwise, this could be his contemporary, Jabir b. Samurah; cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 39 f.

⁸⁰⁹ One of the seven readers of the Qur'an, d. between 127 and 128 [744 and 746]. Cf. Ibn Ujar, *Tahdhib*, V, 38 ff. His father's name was Bahdalah.

ity of Zirr b. Hubaysh,⁸¹⁰ on the authority of 'Abdallah b. Masud, on the authority of the Prophet: "If no more than one day remained of the world-said Za'idah⁸¹¹ -God would cause that day to last until there be sent a man from me -or: from my family whose name will tally with my name, and the name of whose father will tally with the name of my father."

This is the recension of Abu Dawud. Abu Dawud did not add any remarks critical of it, and he said in his well-known *Epistle*⁸¹² that everything to which he did not append critical remarks in his book was all right.

The recension of at-Tirmidhi has: "The world will not be destroyed until the Arabs shall be ruled by a man from my family, whose name will tally with my name."

Another recension has: "... until a man from my family takes charge."

He (at-Tirmidhi) states in connection with both recensions that it is a good and sound tradition. He also transmitted the tradition through 'Asim, with a chain of transmitters that stops with Abu Hurayrah.

Al-Hakim said that the tradition was transmitted by ath-Thawri,⁸¹³ Shu'bah,⁸¹⁴ Za'idah, and other Muslim religious leaders, on the authority of 'Asim. He said: "Everything transmitted by 'Asim, on the authority of Zirr, on the authority of 'Abdallah, is sound, according to the rules I have laid down for using information derived from 'Asim as evidence, for he is an

⁸¹⁰He died between 80 and 83 [699 and 703]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh* (Hyderabad, 1360-/1941-), II¹, 409; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 331 f.

⁸¹¹In connection with this tradition, Abu Dawud mentions different chains of transmitters from 'Asim down. In one of them, the transmitter on the authority of 'Asim is this Za'idah b. Qudamah, who died between 160 and 163 [776 and 780]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 306 f.

Here, and in some of the subsequent citations of traditions, it has proved impossible always to follow the involved course of quotations within quotations by using sequences of double and single quotation marks, in the conventional way; so that quotations are sometimes presented without the use of quotation marks at all. But no loss of clarity can possibly result from this.

⁸¹²Cf. p. 208, below. The *Risalah* apparently is not preserved.

⁸¹³Sufyan b. Sa'id, who was born ca. A.D. 718 and died in 161 [777/78]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IX, 151.

⁸¹⁴Shu'bah b. al-Hajjaj, d. 160 [776/77]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, IX, 255 ff.

authoritative Muslim religious leader." How ever,⁸¹⁵ Ahmad b. Hanbal said about 'Asim that he was a pious man, a reader of the Qur'an, and a good and reliable person, but that al-A'mash⁸¹⁶ had a better memory than he. Shu'bah used to prefer al-A'mash to him for establishing (the soundness of) traditions. Al-'Ijli⁸¹⁷ said: "There was some difference of opinion about his (reliability) with regard to Zirr and Abu Wa'il."⁸¹⁸ In this way, he alluded to the weakness of the material he transmitted on their authority. Muhammad b. Sa'd said: "He was reliable; however, he made many errors in his traditions."⁸¹⁹ Ya'qub b. Sufyan⁸²⁰ said: "There is some confusion in his traditions." 'Abd-ar Rahman b. Abi Hatim⁸²¹ said: "I said to my father.⁸²² 'Abu Zur'ah⁸²³ says that 'Asim is reliable.' My father replied: 'He does not fall into

⁸¹⁵ Here and repeatedly in the pages following we have typical examples of the important traditional discipline of "personality criticism," concerned with evaluating the reliability of *hadith* transmitters. (Cf. 1:72 [n. 2], above.) Ibn Khaldun did not, of course, collect all his statements from primary sources, but relied upon one of the large dictionaries compiled by *hadith* scholars. Practically all the material he mentions can be found under the relevant entries of Ibn Hajar's *Tahdhib*. Since that work is based upon the *Tahdhib* of al-Mizzi, which, in turn, is based upon the *Kamal fi ma'rifat ar-rijal* by al-Jammi'ili (cf. GAL, I, 357; *suppl.*, I, 606), the inference is that Ibn Khaldun used al-Jammi'ili or one of the works depending on him. Most of these works are available only in MS, and were not at hand for the close checking that would be necessary to ascertain the exact provenience of Ibn Khaldun's remarks.

⁸¹⁶ Sulayman b. Mihran, d. 147/48 [764/65]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IX, 3 ff.

⁸¹⁷ Ahmad b. 'Abdallah b. Sahih, whose dates extend from 182 [798/99] to after 260 [873/74], rather than his less famous father.- Cf. al-Khalib al-Baghdadi, IV, 214 f.

⁸¹⁸ Shaqiq b. Salimah. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 361 ff.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat* ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1905-40), VI, 224.

⁸²⁰ He died in 277 [891]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, III, 1195.; 2d ed., II, 662; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 320 (n. 4).

⁸²¹ Born in 240 [854/55], he died in 327 [939]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 278 f. Comparison with Ibn Abi Hatim's *Kitab al-Jarh wa-t-ta'dil* (Hyderabad, 1360-73/1941-53), III 1, 341, shows that the following quotations, down to the one marked by n. 825, were originally derived from it.

⁸²² Muhammad b. Idris ar-Razi, who is repeatedly quoted here as Abu Hatim, d. 277 [890]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, II, 73 ff.

⁸²³ In this case, the reference seems to be to the compatriot of the afore mentioned Abu Hatim, namely, Abu Zur'ah ar-Razi, 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abd al-Karim, 200-264 [815/16-878]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, X, 326 ff.

that category. Ibn 'Ulayyah⁸²⁴ discussed 'Asim (adversely) and said: "Everyone named 'Asim has a bad memory." " Abu Hatim said: "So far as I am concerned, he falls into the category of truthful transmitters whose traditions are all right. But he was not a (great) *hadith* expert."⁸²⁵ An-Nasa'i⁸²⁶ expressed a different opinion about him. Ibn Khirash⁸²⁷ said: "His traditions contain things that are unknown." Abu Ja'far al-'Ugayli⁸²⁸ said: "There was nothing the matter with him except a bad memory." Ad-Daraqutni⁸²⁹ said: "There was something the matter with his memory." Yahya al-Qattan⁸³⁰ said: "I have never found a man named 'Asim who did not have a bad memory." He further said: "I heard Shu'bah say: 'We were told by 'Asim b. Abi n-Najud' "-reporting the identical tradition. Adh-Dhahabi⁸³¹ said: "He is reliable in his reading of the Qur'an, but not quite reliable in his traditions. He is a truthful person who commits errors in judgment. He is 'good' in his traditions." Were someone to argue that (al-Bukhari and Muslim) published traditions of his, (we should reply that) they published them when there were also other (authorities for the same tradition), and that they did not use him as their basic authority. And God knows better.

Abu Dawud published a tradition relating to 'All in the chapter (on the Mahdi), as transmitted. by Fitr b. Khalifah,⁸³² on the authority of al-Qasim

⁸²⁴Isma'il b. Ibrahim, 110-193 [728/29-809]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, VI, 229 f.

⁸²⁵This is one of the phrases used to express disapproval in the terminology of the science of personality criticism. Cf. p. 168 (n. 867), below.

⁸²⁶Ahmad b. 'Ali, 215-303 [830-915]. Cf. GAL, I, 162 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 269 f.

⁸²⁷Ahmad b. al-Hasan, 183-243 [799/800-857/58]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, II, 78 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 24.

⁸²⁸Muhammad b. 'Amr, d. s22 [934]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 278.

⁸²⁹Ali b. 'Umar, 306-385 [918/19-995]. Cf. GAL, I, 165; *Suppl.*, I, 275.

⁸³⁰Yahya b. Sa'id, 120-198 [737/38-813/14]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIV, 135 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 216 ff.

⁸³¹Muhammad b. 'Ali, 673-748 [1274-1348]. Cf. GAL, II, 46 ff; *Suppl.*, II, 45 ff. The statement is derived from his *Mizan* (Lucknow, 1301/1884), II, 5.

⁸³²He died in 153 [770]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 300 ff.

b. Abi Bazzah,⁸³³ on the authority of Abu t-Tufayl,⁸³⁴ on the authority of 'Ali, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "If only one day of the whole duration of the world remained, God would send a man of my family who will fill the world with justice, as it had been filled with injustice."⁸³⁵

Fitr b. Khalifah was considered reliable by Ahmad (b. Hanbal), Yahya b. al-Qattan, Ibn Ma'in,⁸³⁶ an-Nasa'i, and others, but al 'Ijli said: "He is 'good' in his traditions, (but) he has some pro-Shi'ah bias." Ibn Ma'in once said: "He is a reliable person and a Shi'ah." Ahmad b. 'Abdallah b. Yunus⁸³⁷ said: "We used to go and see Fitr, but he is rejected, and we did not write down (traditions) on his authority." Another time, he said: "I used to go and see him but always left him like a dog." Ad-Daraqutni said: "He is not utilized as evidence." Abu Bakr b. 'Ayyash⁸³⁸ said: "I gave up transmitting traditions on his authority only because of his bad dogmatic opinions." Al-Juzajani⁸³⁹ said: "He is wayward and not reliable." End of the quotation.

With a chain of transmitters going back to 'Ali, Abu Dawud also published the following tradition, on the authority of Harun b. al-Mughirah,⁸⁴⁰ on the authority of 'Amr b. Abi Qays,⁸⁴¹ on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Khalid,⁸⁴² on the authority of Abu Ishaq as-Sabi'i,⁸⁴³ who said that 'All, looking at his son al-Hasan, said: "This son of mine is a lord, as he was

⁸³³ He died between 114 and 125 [732/33 and 742/431]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 310.

⁸³⁴ Amir b. Wihlah, who died ca. 100 [718/19]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 82 ff.

⁸³⁵ Ibn Khaldun mentions another, slightly different version of this tradition, used by a pseudo-Messiah as credentials, in *Ibar*, VI, 250; de Slane (tr.), II, 226 f.

⁸³⁶ Yahya b. Main, 158-233 [774/75-848]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 258; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 271 (n. 7).

⁸³⁷ Born in 143 [760/61], he died in 227 [842]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 50 f.

⁸³⁸ Born ca. A.D. 718, he died between 192 and 194 [807-810]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XII, 34 ff.

⁸³⁹ Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, d. 259 [873]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 181 ff.

⁸⁴⁰ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 12 f. The same man already appears in al-Bukhari's *Ta'rikh*, IV, 2, 225.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 93 f.

⁸⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 352.

⁸⁴³ Amr b. 'Abdallah, d. 126-29 [743-47]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 63 ff. C seems to have a wrong as-Subay'i.

called by the Messenger of God. From his spine, there will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet and who will resemble him physically, but will not resemble him in character." He then mentioned the story, "He will fill the earth with justice...."

Harun said:⁸⁴⁴ We were told by 'Amr b. Abi Qays, on the authority of Mutarrif b. Tarif,⁸⁴⁵ on the authority of Abu l-Hasan⁸⁴⁶ on the authority of Hilal b. 'Amr.⁸⁴⁷ I heard 'Ali say: The Prophet said: "A man will come forth from Beyond the River (Transoxania) whose name will be al-Harith b. llarrath. In his *avant-garde*, there will be a man whose name will be Mansur. He will pave the way -or: prepare the way -for the family of Muhammad, as the Quraysh prepared the way for the Messenger of God. Every believer must help him-or, he said, respond to his call."

Abu Dawud made no critical remarks about this (tradition). In another passage, he said: "Harun is a Shi'ah." As Sulaymani⁸⁴⁸ said: "He is disputed." Concerning 'Amr b. Abi Qays, Abu Dawud said: "There is nothing wrong with him, but his traditions contain errors." Adh-Dhahabi said: "He is trustworthy, but there are doubts concerning him." As to Abu Ishaq as-Sabi'i, even though traditions on his authority are published in the two *Sahihs*, it is well established that he became confused at the end of his life. His transmission on the authority of 'Ali is not continuous. The same applies to Abu Dawud's transmission on the authority of Harun b. al-Mughirah.

Abul-Hasan and Hilal b. 'Amr, (mentioned) in the second chain of transmitters, are little known. Abul-Hasan is known only from the fact that Mutarrif b. Tarif transmits (material) on his authority. End of the quotation.

⁸⁴⁴The following is also derived from Abu Dawud.

⁸⁴⁵He died 140-43 [757-611]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 172 f.

⁸⁴⁶Cf. *ibid.*, XII, 74, where it is stated that the man is known only through this tradition.

⁸⁴⁷Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 83, where it is stated that he is known only through this tradition. Perhaps, he is thought to be identical with the person mentioned by al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, IV 2, 202 f.

⁸⁴⁸Abmad b. 'Ali b. 'Amr, 311-404 [923/24-1014]. Cf. as-Sam'ani, *Ansab*, fol. 305a; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat adh-dhahab* (Cairo, 1350-51/1931-33), III, 172.

The following tradition, furthermore, was published by Abu Dawud, as well as by Ibn Majah and al-Hakim in the *Mustadrak*, through 'Ali b. Nufayl,⁸⁴⁹ on the authority of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, on the authority of Umm Salimah, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'The Mahdi is one of my family, one of the descendants of Fatimah.' " This is Abu Dawud's recension. He did not make any critical remarks concerning it. Ibn Majah's recension has: "The Mahdi is one of Fatimah's descendants." Al-Hakim's recension has: "I heard the Messenger of God mention the Mahdi. He said: 'Yes, he is a fact, and he will be one of the children of Fatimah.' " Neither (Hakim) nor anyone else discussed the soundness of the tradition (critically). Abu Ja'far al-'Ugayli declared it to be weak. He said: "'Ali b. Nufayl has not been followed in this tradition, and it is known only through him."

Abu Dawud also published the following tradition of Umm Salimah, which was transmitted by Abul-Khalil Salih,⁸⁵⁰ on the authority of one of his colleagues, on the authority of Umm Salimah, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "There will be a difference of opinion at the death of a caliph. A man from Medina will leave and flee to Mecca. People from Mecca will come to him and will drive him out.⁸⁵¹ He will be unwilling. They will render the oath of allegiance to him between the Corner (*rukn*) of the Ka'bah and the *Maqam Ibrahim*. A mission will be sent to him from Syria. He will disappear with them into the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see that, the saints⁸⁵² from Syria will come to him, and groups of 'Iraqis, and they will render the oath of allegiance to him. Then, a man from the Quraysh will arise, whose maternal uncles are from the Kalb. He will send a (military) mission to them, and it will defeat them. This is the mission of the Kalb. No success will come to those who did not witness (the seizing

⁸⁴⁹He died in 125 [742/43]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 391 f.

⁸⁵⁰Salih b. Abi Maryam. Cf. Ibn Hajar, IV, 402 f.

⁸⁵¹Cf. p. 183, below.

⁸⁵²Cf. pp. 175, 187, and 3:93, below.

of) booty by the Kalb. He will distribute the money and act among the people according to the Sunnah of their Prophet. He will plant Islam firmly upon earth. He will last seven years. Then, he will die, and the Muslims will pray for him." Abu Dawud said: "Someone said on the authority of Hisham:⁸⁵³ 'Nine years.' Others said: 'Seven years.' "

Abu Dawud also transmitted the same tradition according to Abul-Khalil's recension, on the authority of 'Abdallah b. al-Harith,⁸⁵⁴ on the authority of Umm Salimah. This clears up the identity of the transmitter, whose name was not mentioned in the first chain of transmitters. The persons in it are persons mentioned in the two *Sahihs*. One could not attack them or find fault with them.

(The tradition,) furthermore, is stated (by Abu Dawud) to have been transmitted by Qatadah⁸⁵⁵ on the authority of Abul-Khalil. Qatadah did not actually hear the traditions he transmits, from his authorities. He says: "on the authority of," but does not say: "I heard from . . ." In cases of transmitters about whom there is doubt whether they actually heard their traditions from their authorities, a tradition is accepted only when it expressly states that they actually heard it. In this case, moreover, the tradition does not expressly state that it is concerned with the Mahdi, although Abu Dawud did, it is true, mention it in his chapters dealing with the Mahdi.

Abu Dawud, followed by al-Hakim, also published the following tradition of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri through 'Imran al-Qattan,⁸⁵⁶ on the authority of Qatadah, on the authority of Abu Nadrah,⁸⁵⁷ on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, who said: The Messenger of God said: "The Mahdi is from me. He has a bald forehead and an aquiline nose. He will fill the earth with eq-

⁸⁵³ Apparently, Hisham b. 'Urwah, who died 145-47 [762-65]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 48 ff.

⁸⁵⁴ He died between 79 and 84 [698-703]. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 180 f.

⁸⁵⁵ Qatadah b. Di'amah, d. 117 [735]. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 351 ff.

⁸⁵⁶ Imran b. Dawar. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 130-32.

⁸⁵⁷ Al-Mundhir b. Malik, d. 108/9 [726-281]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 302 f.

uity and justice, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. He will rule seven years."

This is Abu Dawud's recension. He did not make any remarks critical of it. Al-Hakim's recension has: "The Mahdi is from us, the people of the House. He has a well formed, aquiline nose, and a bald (forehead). He will fill the earth with equity and justice, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. He will live this long-and he opened out his left hand and two fingers of his right hand, the thumb and index finger, bending (the other) three down." Al-Hakim said: "This is a sound tradition, according to the rules laid down by Muslim (for sound traditions), but neither (al-Bukhari nor Muslim) published it." End of the quotation.

Scholars differ as to whether 'Imran al-Qattan can be used as evidence. Al-Bukhari published traditions of his only as additional evidence, and not as the sole basis. Yahya al-Qattan used not to transmit any traditions on his authority. Yahya b. Main said: "He is not strong." Once he said: "He is nothing." Ahmad b. Hanbal said: "I hope that he is sound in his traditions." Yazid b. Zuray⁸⁵⁸ said: "He was a Kharijite and considered it permissible to put the people of the Qiblah⁸⁵⁹ to the sword." An-Nasa'i said: "He is weak." Abu 'Ubayd al-Ajurri⁸⁶⁰ said: "I asked Abu Dawud about him, and he replied that he was a transmitter of 'good' traditions and that he had heard only good things (about him). Another time, I heard him mention him and say that he was weak." In the days of Ibrahim b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan,⁸⁶¹ he gave an unfortunate legal opinion that led to bloodshed.

At-Tirmidhi, Ibn Majah, and al-Hakim published the following tradition of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri through Zayd al-'Ammi,⁸⁶² on the authority of

⁸⁵⁸ Born in 101 [719/20], he died in 182 [798/99]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 325 ff.

⁸⁵⁹ That is, the Muslims who were not Kharijites.

⁸⁶⁰ Muhammad b. 'Ali. Cf. GAL, I, 161.

⁸⁶¹ Cf. 1:411 (n. 271), above. 'Imran is mentioned in connection with him in Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Maqatil al-Talibiyin* (Cairo, 1368/1949), p. 371.

⁸⁶² Zayd b. al-Hawari. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 358; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 407 ff.

Abus-Siddiq an-Naji,⁸⁶³ on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, who said: "We feared that something might happen after our Prophet (had died). Therefore we asked him, and he said: 'In my nation, there will come forth the Mahdi. He will live five, or seven, or nine'-increasing the number, as if in doubt." He said: "We asked what (the numbers meant). He replied: 'Years.' Then he continued: 'Someone will come to the Mahdi and say to him: 'O Mahdi, give me something.' ' He said: 'And (the Madhi) will pour into his garment as much as he can carry.' "

This is the recension of at-Tirmidhi, who said: "It is a 'good' tradition. It was transmitted in more than one way, on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, on the authority of the Prophet."

The recension of Ibn Majah and al-Hakim has: "There will be in my nation the Mahdi. If he lives (among you) a short time, it will be seven years; if not, it will be nine. My nation will experience a prosperity the like of which they have never experienced before. The earth will bring forth its food and will not hoard any of it. There will be piles of money. A man will get up and say: 'O Mahdi, give me something,' and he will reply: 'Just take.' "⁸⁶⁴

Ad-Daraqutni, Ahmad b. Hanbal, and Yahya b. Main said that Zayd al-'Ammi was all right. Ahmad added that he was superior to Yazid ar-Raqashi⁸⁶⁵ and Fadl b. 'Isa.⁸⁶⁶ However, Abu Hatim said concerning him that he was weak, and that his traditions may be written down but not used as evidence. Yahya b. Main said of him in connection with another tradition: "(He is) nothing." He once also said: "His traditions may be written down, but he is weak." Al-Juzajani said: "He is just holding on (*mutamasik*)." Abu Zur'ah said: "He is not strong, his traditions are futile, and he is weak." Abu

⁸⁶³Bakr b. 'Amr, d. 108 [726/27]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 486. The vocalization Siddiq is indicated in C. Instead of 'Amr, the name of his father is also given as Qays; cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, 12, 93.

⁸⁶⁴Cf. also p. 181, below.

⁸⁶⁵Yazid b. Aban, d. between 110 and 120 [728-738]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 309 ff.

⁸⁶⁶A nephew of Yazid. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 283 ff.

Hatim said: "He is not such (a good man).⁸⁶⁷ Shu'bah transmitted traditions on his authority." An-Nasa'i said: "He is weak." Ibn 'Adi⁸⁶⁸ said: "Most of his traditions and authorities are weak, even though Shu'bah transmitted traditions on his authority. Shu'bah possibly did not transmit traditions on the authority of anyone weaker than he."

It has been said that at-Tirmidhi's tradition is an interpretation of Jabir's, and Abu Sa'id's traditions, which are transmitted by Muslim in the *Sahih*.⁸⁶⁹ Jabir said: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of my nation, there will be a caliph who will not count money, but just throw it around.' " Abu Sa'id's tradition reads: ". . . among your caliphs a caliph who will throw the money around." As transmitted by another chain of transmitters, the tradition on the authority of (Jabir and Abu Sa'id) reads: "At the end of time, there will be a caliph who will distribute money without counting it." End of the quotation.

Muslim's traditions do not mention the Mahdi, and there is nothing in them to show that the Mahdi is meant in them.

Another tradition was transmitted by al-Hakim through 'Awf al-A'rabi,⁸⁷⁰ on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq an-Naji, on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The Hour will not arise before the earth is filled with injustice, crime, and transgression. Then there will come forth from my family one who will fill it with equity and justice, as it had been filled with crime and transgression.' "

⁸⁶⁷This is a phrase expressing disapproval of a transmitter's reliability. It is equivalent to "He is nothing." Cf. Ibn as-Salah, *Muqaddimah* (Aleppo, 1350/1931), p. 137 (end of Ch. XXIII). Such circumlocutions were used as a cautious way of judging fellow scholars.

While most of the preceding remarks on Zayd al 'Ammi are to be found in Ibn Abi Hatim, *Kitab al-Jarh wa-t-ta'dil*, 12, 560 f., this last one, attributed to Ibn Abi Hatim's father, is missing there.

⁸⁶⁸Abdallah b. 'Adi, 277-365 [891-976]. Cf. GAL, I, 167; *Suppl.*, I, 280; as-Sahmi, *Ta'rikh Jurjan* (Hyderabad, 1369/1950), pp. 225 ff.

⁸⁶⁹Muslim, *Sahih*, II, 689; *Handbook*, p. 100b.

⁸⁷⁰'Awf b. Abi Jamilah, who was born in 59 or a few years later, and who died in 146/47 [678/79-763/64]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, IV¹, 58; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 166 f.

Al-Hakim said with regard to (this tradition): "It is sound according to the conditions (for the soundness of traditions) laid down by (al-Bukhari and Muslim), though none of them published it."

The following tradition, furthermore, was transmitted by al-Hakim through Sulayman b. 'Abid,⁸⁷¹ on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq an-Naji, on the authority of Abu Sa'id al Khudri: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of my nation, there will come forth the Mahdi. God will give him spring rain to drink, and the earth will sprout forth its plants. He will give money away in fairness.⁸⁷² The cattle will become numerous, and the nation will be great. He will live seven, or eight-that is, seasons.' " (Al-Hakim) said with regard to (this tradition) that it is a sound one as far as its chain of transmitters is concerned, though neither (al-Bukhari nor Muslim) published it. Also, none of the authors of the six authoritative collections of traditions published a tradition of Sulayman b. 'Abid. However, Ibn Hibban⁸⁷³ mentioned him in the *Thiqat* (on reliable transmitters). We have seen nobody who discussed him (adversely).

This tradition was also transmitted by al-Hakim through Asad b. Musa,⁸⁷⁴ on the authority of Hammad b. Salamah,⁸⁷⁵ on the authority of Matar al-Warraq⁸⁷⁶ and Abu Harun al-'Abdi,⁸⁷⁷ on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq an-Naji, on the authority of Abu Sa'id, as follows: "The Messenger of God said: 'The earth will be filled with injustice and crime, and there will come forth a man from my family. He will rule seven or nine, and the earth

⁸⁷¹Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, 11 2, 26. His father's name may possibly have been 'Ubayd.

⁸⁷² For this translation of *sahdhan*, cf. R. Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 818a, but *sihahan*"in good coins" may be meant.

⁸⁷³ See n. 109 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

⁸⁷⁴ Born in 132 [749/50], he died in 212 [827/28]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, 1, 260; GAL, *Suppl.*, 1, 257.

⁸⁷⁵ He died in 167 [784]. Cf. *ibid.*, III, II, ff.

⁸⁷⁶ Matar b. Tahman, d. ca. 140 [757/58]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 167 ff.

⁸⁷⁷ Umarah b. Juwayn. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 412 ff.

will be filled with justice and equity, as it had been filled with injustice and crime.' "

Al-Hakim said with regard to (this tradition) that it was sound according to the conditions (for the soundness of traditions) laid down by Muslim. He mentioned Muslim because he published traditions on the authority of Hammad b. Salamah and his *shaykh*, Matar al-Warraq. He published no traditions on the authority of Hammad's other *shaykh*, Abu Harun al-'Abdi. Abu Harun is very weak and suspected of lying. There is no need to present in detail the opinions of the religious leaders who consider (Abu Harun) weak.

Asad b. Musa, who transmits the tradition on the authority of Hammad b. Salamah, is called "The Lion (*asad*) of the Sunnah." Al-Bukhari said that he is known (favorably) with regard to the traditions he transmits.⁸⁷⁸ He used him to support the reliability of traditions in his *Sahih*. Abu Dawud and an-Nasa'i used him as evidence. However, (an-Nasa'i) said on another occasion: "He is reliable, but it would have been better for him if he had not become an author." Abu Muhammad b. Hazm⁸⁷⁹ said regarding him: "He is not known (favorably) with regard to the traditions he transmits."

The tradition was also transmitted by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mu'jam*, as transmitted by Abul-Wasil 'Abd-al Hamid b. Wasil,⁸⁸⁰ on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq an-Naji, on the authority of al-Hasan b. Yazid as-Sa'di,⁸⁸¹ one of the Banu Bahdalah, on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'There will come forth a man from my nation who will talk according to my Sunnah. God will send upon

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, 1², 50.

⁸⁷⁹ Supposedly, the great Spanish scholar. See n. 284 to this chapter, above.

⁸⁸⁰ I have no information on this man. An Abu Wail at-Tamimi is mentioned on a page dealing with patronymics, at the end of the MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 327a, but the information given by Ibn Khaldun on the following page in the name of Ibn Hibbin's *Thiqat* is not found there. He may have been mentioned in the *Thiqatin* some place I had no opportunity to check.

⁸⁸¹ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 328.

him rain from heaven, and the earth will sprout forth for him its blessing. The earth will be filled through him with equity and justice, as it has been filled with injustice and crime. He will direct the affairs of this nation for seven years, and he will settle in Jerusalem.' "

At-Tabarani said concerning (this tradition): "It was transmitted by a number of persons on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq. None of them inserted another transmitter between him and Abu Sa'id, except Abu l-Wasil. He transmitted it on the authority of al-Hasan b. Yazid, on the authority of Abu Sa'id.- End of the quotation.

This al-Hasan b. Yazid was mentioned by Ibn Abi Hatim,^{881a} who has no more information on him than that chain of transmitters, in which he appears as a transmitter on the authority of Abu Sa'id, and in which Abu s-Siddiq appears as a transmitter on his authority. In the *Mizan*, adh-Dhahabi said that he was little known but was mentioned by Ibn Hibban in the *Thiqat*(on reliable transmitters)⁸⁸² No tradition of Abul-Wasil, who functions as transmitter of (this tradition) on the authority of Abu s-Siddiq, was published by any of the six authors of authoritative collections of traditions. He was mentioned by Ibn Hibban in the *Thiqat*(on reliable transmitters), in the second class. (Ibn Hibban) said regarding him: "He transmitted traditions on the authority of Anas, and Shu'bah and 'Attab b. Bashir⁸⁸³ transmitted traditions on his authority."

In his *Kitab as-Sunan*, Ibn Majah published the following tradition of 'Abdallah b. Masud through Yazid b. Abi Ziyad,⁸⁸⁴ on the authority of

^{881a}Cf. his *Kitab al-Jarh wa-t-ta'dil*, 12, 42 f.

⁸⁸²Cf. Ibn Hibban, *Thiqat*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 80a. The information given here in the name of adh-Dhahabi does not appear in his *Mizan* under al-Hasan b. Yazid, at least not in the edition (Lucknow, 1301/1884) consulted by me.

⁸⁸³He died in 188/90 [804-6]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 90 f.

⁸⁸⁴Born in 47 [667/68], he died in 136 [753/54]. Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 329 ff.

Ibrahim,⁸⁸⁵ on the authority of 'Alqamah,⁸⁸⁶ on the authority of 'Abdallah, who said: "While we were with the Messenger of God, there came some Hashimite youths. When he saw them, tears welled forth from his eyes and his color changed." He said: "I said: 'For some time now we have observed something in your face we do not like.' He answered: 'For us, the people of the House, God has chosen the other world instead of this one. After me, my people will experience misfortune, exile, and banishment, until people shall come from the East with black flags. They will ask for goodness but they will not be given it. They will fight and they will be victorious. And they will be given what they had asked for, but they will not accept it. Eventually, they will hand (the earth) over to a man of my family. He will fill it with equity, as they had filled it with injustice. Those among you who live to see that happen shall go to them, even if it is necessary to creep over the snow.'" End of the quotation.

The *hadith* transmitters know this tradition as "the tradition of the flags." Its transmitter is Yazid b. Abi Ziyad. Shu'bah said regarding him: "He was a person who traced back to Muhammad traditions that are not known to have been transmitted with a chain of transmitters going back to him." Muhammad b. Fudayl⁸⁸⁷ said: "He is one of the great religious leaders of the Shi'ah." Ahmad b. Hanbal said: "He was no *hadith* expert." Once he said: "He is not such (a good man)." Yahya b. Main said: "He is weak." Al-'Ijli said: "His traditions are permissible. At the end, he used to understand things." Abu Zur'ah⁸⁸⁸ said: "He is soft."⁸⁸⁹ His traditions may be writ-

⁸⁸⁵ Two Ibrahims are mentioned as transmitters on 'Alqamah's authority: Ibrahim b. Suwayd (cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, 1, 126 f.), and the more prominent Ibrahim b. Yazid an-Nakha'i. The latter was 'Alqamah's nephew, and died in 96 [714/15]. Cf. *ibid.*, i, 177 ff.

⁸⁸⁶ Alqamah b. Qays. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 276 f.

⁸⁸⁷ He died in 195 [810/11]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, II, 207 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 405 f.

⁸⁸⁸ Either the afore-mentioned Razi, or Abu Zur'ah ad-Dimashgi, 'Abdar-Rahman b. 'Amr, d. 282 [895]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, 1, 208 f.

⁸⁸⁹ This is a term of rather mild disapproval.

ten down, but they cannot be used as evidence." Abu Hatim said: "He is not strong." Al-Juzajant said: "I heard them declare his traditions weak." Abu Dawad said: "I do not know anyone who omitted his traditions, but I like others better than him." Ibn 'Adi said: "He belongs to the Shi'ah of al-Kilfah. In spite of his weakness, his traditions may be written down."⁸⁹⁰ Muslim transmitted traditions of his but only when the same traditions were also transmitted with other chains of transmitters. In general, the majority considered him weak. Religious leaders have pronounced openly on the weakness of the tradition of the flags that was transmitted by him on the authority of Ibrahim, on the authority of 'Alqamah, on the authority of 'Abdallah. Waki' b. al-Jarrah⁸⁹¹ said regarding it: "It is nothing." The same was said by Ahmad b. Hanbal. Abu Qudamah⁸⁹² said: "I heard Abu Usamah⁸⁹³ say, regarding Yazid's tradition about the flags on the authority of Ibrahim: 'Were he to swear me fifty oaths, I should not believe him. Is that Ibrahim's way? Is that 'Alqamah's way? Is that 'Abdallah's way?' " Al-'Uqayli mentioned this tradition in the *Du'afd'*(on weak transmitters). Adh-Dhahabi said: "It is not sound."⁸⁹⁴

The following tradition of 'Ali was published by Ibn Majah, as transmitted by Yasin al-'Ijli,⁸⁹⁵ on the authority of Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah,⁸⁹⁶ on the authority of Ibrahim's father, on the authority of his grandfather ('Ali), who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The Mahdi is from among us, the people of the House. God will give him success in one night.' "

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. Ibn 'Adi, *al-Kamil fi du'afd' ar-rijal*, MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2943, Vol. III, fols. 252b-253a. Ibn 'Adi mentions some of the material quoted here by Ibn Khaldun.

⁸⁹¹ Born in 131 [748/491, he died in 197 [812]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIII, 496 ff.

⁸⁹² Ubaydallah b. Sa'id, d. 241 1855/561. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 16 f.

⁸⁹³ Hammad b. Usamah, d. 201 [8171. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 2 f.

⁸⁹⁴ Cf. adh-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, II, 600 f.

⁸⁹⁵ Yasin b. Shayban. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 172 f.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 157.

Although Ibn Ma'in said, regarding Yasin al-'Ijli, that there was nothing wrong with him, al-Bukhari said that he was disputed.⁸⁹⁷ In al-Bukhari's terminology, that is a strong expression for declaring a transmitter weak. The tradition of Yasin was quoted by Ibn 'Adi in the *Kamil* and by adh-Dhahabi in the *Mizdn*, with disapproval. (Adh-Dhahabi) said: "It is known as his (tradition)."⁸⁹⁸ The following tradition of 'Ali was published by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mu`jam*: "'All said to the Messenger of God: 'Will the Mahdi be from among us or from among other people, O Messenger of God?' Muhammad replied: 'Indeed, he will be from among us. Through us, God will bring about the end, as he brought about the beginning. Through us, they shall be saved from polytheism, and through us, God shall unite them after open hostilities, as he united them through us after the hostilities of polytheism.' 'Ali said: 'Will they be believers or unbelievers?' Muhammad replied: 'Rebel(s) and unbeliever(s).' " End of the quotation.

(The chain of transmitters of this tradition) includes 'Abdallah b. Lahi'ah.⁸⁹⁹ He is weak, and it is well known what the matter is with him. (The same chain) also includes 'Amr b. Jabir al-Hadrami.⁹⁰⁰ He is even weaker than Ibn Lahi'ah. Ahmad b. Hanbal said: "He ('Amr b. Jabir) transmitted disapproved things on the authority of Jabir."⁹⁰¹ I have heard that he used to lie." An-Nasa'i said: "He is not reliable." Ibn Lahi'ah said: "He was a stupid, weak-minded *shaykh*. He used to say: "Ali is in the clouds.' He was sitting with us, and when he saw a cloud, he would say: 'There goes 'Ali passing by in a cloud.'"⁹⁰²

Another tradition of 'Ali was also published by at-Tabarani: "The Messenger of God said: 'At the end of time, there will be a rebellion in which

⁸⁹⁷ This statement is not from al-Bukhari's *Ta'rikh*, IV 2, 429, where Yasin is briefly mentioned.

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. adh-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, II, 571.

⁸⁹⁹ He died in 174 [790/91]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 256.

⁹⁰⁰ He died after 120 [738]. Cf. Ibn Ilajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 11.

⁹⁰¹ i.e., Jabir b. 'Abdallah. Cf. p. 159 (n. 808), above.

⁹⁰² Cf. also 1:407, above.

people will be caught as firmly as gold is embedded in the ore. Do not slander the Syrians, but only the bad ones among them, because among them there are (also) saints.⁹⁰³ Soon a downpour will be sent from heaven upon the Syrians. It will divide them so much that if nothing (stronger) than foxes were going to fight them, they would be defeated. At that time, there will come forth one from among my family and there will be with him three flags (regiments), comprising, according to the highest figure given, fifteen thousand men, or, according to the lowest figure, twelve thousand men. Their order of the day will be: Kill, kill. They will encounter seven flags (regiments), each of which will be commanded by a man who seeks royal authority. But God will kill all of them. He will restore to the Muslims their unity, prosperity, remote (possessions), and judgment.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes 'Abdallah b. Lahi'ah. He is weak, and it is well known what the matter is with him. (The tradition) was transmitted by al-Hakim in his *Mustadrak*. He said: "It is sound with regard to the chain of transmitters, but (al-Bukhari and Muslim) did not publish it." (Al-Hakim's) recension has: ". . . Then, there will appear the Hashimite, and God will restore to the people their unity, etc." (Al-Hakim's) chain of transmitters does not include Ibn Lahi'ah. It is, as he states, a sound chain.

The following tradition of 'Ali was published by al-Hakim in the *Mustadrak*, as transmitted by Abu t-Tufayl, on the authority of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah, who said: "We were with 'Ali, and someone asked him about the Mahdi. 'Ali replied: 'Look here.' Then he made a seven with his fingers and said: 'He is the one who will come forth at the end of time. When someone says (at that time): God, God! he will be killed. God will gather for him people who are scattered like stray clouds. He will unite them. They will be neither sad nor glad over anyone who joins them. In number they will be like the fighters at Badr, whom men of former times did not surpass

⁹⁰³Cf. p. 165, above.

and men of later times fell short of. They will also be like the number of the companions of Saul who crossed the river with him.' "⁹⁰⁴ Abu t-Tufayl said: "Ibn al-Hanafiyah said: 'Do you want (to hear) it?' I said: 'Yes.' (So) he continued: 'He will come forth between these two mountains.'⁹⁰⁵ I said: 'By God, I shall assuredly not leave them until I die.' "-And he died in it, that is, Mecca.

Al-Hakim said: "This is a sound tradition according to the conditions (for sound traditions) laid down by (al-Bukhari and Muslim)." End of the quotation.

However, it is (sound) only according to the conditions laid down by Muslim, for in (the chain of transmitters) there occur the names of 'Ammar ad-Duhni'⁹⁰⁶ and Yunus b. Abi Ishaq.⁹⁰⁷ Al-Bukhari did not publish any traditions of these two men. It also includes 'Amr b. Muhammad al-'Angazi'.⁹⁰⁸ Al-Bukhari did not publish traditions of his as evidence, though he did publish them to support the reliability of traditions. In addition, there also is the pro-Shl'ah sentiment of 'Ammar ad-Duhni. Although Ahmad (b. Hanbal), Ibn Ma'in, Abu Hatim, an-Nasa'i, and others considered him reliable, 'Ali b. al-Madini'⁹⁰⁹ said on the authority of Sufyan⁹¹⁰ that Bishr b. Marwan⁹¹¹

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. Qur'an 2.249 (250), where the story of Saul is mixed up with that of Gideon (Judg. 7:6). In Judg. 7:6, the number of men is given as 300. For the comparison between the number of Muslim fighters at Badr in 624 and that of Saul's men, cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 1296 R. The canonical number for both groups is there set at "310 and some," or 313. Cf. also, for instance, ath-Tha'labi, *Qisas al-anbiyd'*, the account of Saul; and Ibn Kathir, *Biddiyah*, III, 268 f. Elsewhere, the number of fighters at Badr is indicated as 1,000,

and the Qur'an commentators also mention 1,000 and 3,000 as the number of the men with Saul. Cf. also H. von Maik, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIX(1915), 370-83.

⁹⁰⁵The mountains of Mecca.

⁹⁰⁶Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 406 f.

⁹⁰⁷He died between 152 and 159 [769-75]. Cf. *ibid.*, XI, 433 f. The name of his father is said to have been `Amr.

⁹⁰⁸He died in 199 [814/15]. Cf. as-Sam'ini, *Ansdb*, fol. 401 a; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII, 98 f.

⁹⁰⁹Ali b. 'Abdallah, 161 [177/78] to 234 or 235 [849-50]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdati, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XI, 458 ff; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 349 ff.

had disqualified him. "In what respect?" I (Sufyan) asked. He replied: "In respect to his pro-Shi'ah sentiment."

The following tradition of Anas b. Malik was published by Ibn Majah, as transmitted by Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Hamid b. Ja'far,⁹¹² on the authority of 'Ali b. Ziyad al-Yamami,⁹¹³ on the authority of 'Ikrimah b. 'Ammar,⁹¹⁴ on the authority of Ishaq b. 'Abdallah,⁹¹⁵ on the authority of Anas, who said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'We, the descendants of 'Abd-al-Muttalib, are the lords of the inhabitants of Paradise. I, Hamzah, 'Ali, Jafar, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and the Mahdi.'" ⁹¹⁶ End of the quotation.

Muslim published traditions of 'Ikrimah b. 'Ammar, but only where the same tradition is reported by others. Some scholars considered him weak, others reliable. Abu Hatim ar-Razi said: "He transmits traditions from authorities without stating whether he actually heard them from them. His traditions are acceptable only if he expressly states that he heard them."^{916a}

In the *Mizan*, adh-Dhahabi said with regard to 'Ali b. Ziyad: "It is not known who he is." Then, he said: "It should be 'Abdallah b. Ziyad."⁹¹⁷ Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Hamid was considered reliable by Ya'qub b. Shaybah.⁹¹⁸ Yahya b. Main said regarding him: "There is nothing wrong with him." However,

⁹¹⁰Sufyan b. 'Uyaynah. Cf. n. 88 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

⁹¹¹Unidentified. The son of the Umayyad caliph Marwan (mentioned by de Slane) died much too early to have passed critical judgment on 'Ammar.

⁹¹²He died in 219 [834]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 477.

⁹¹³Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VII, 321 f., where the tradition is quoted. Ibn Hajar states that it should be 'Abdallah b. Ziyad. He states this as if it were his own original suggestion. Cf. n. 917, below.

⁹¹⁴He died in 159 [775/76]. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 261 ff.

⁹¹⁵Probably one of the two mentioned by Ibn Hajar, *ibid.*, I, 289 ff., both of whom died ca. 750.

⁹¹⁶Hamzah was one of the uncles of the Prophet, Jafar a brother of 'Ali.

^{916a}Only the first part of Abu Hatim's statement appears in Ibn Abi Hatim, *Kitab al-Jarb wa-t-ta'dil*, III, 11.

⁹¹⁷Cf. adh-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, II, 202, where, however, adh-Dhahabi does not make the remark concerning the name.

⁹¹⁸Ya'qub was born in 182 [778/79] and died in 262 [875]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIV, 281 ff.

ath-Thawri discussed him (adversely), because, it is said, he saw him give legal opinions on certain problems and make mistakes. Ibn Hibban said: "He belongs among those who made atrocious mistakes. He may not be used as evidence." Ahmad b. Hanbal said: "Sa'd b. 'Abd-al-Hamid claims that he heard the books of Malik when they were presented. The scholars disapprove of this statement of his. He is here in Baghdad and never made the pilgrimage, so how could he have heard them?" Adh-Dhahabi placed him among those whom it would be no slander to discuss (adversely).

The following tradition was published by al-Hakim in his *Mustadrak*, as transmitted by Mujahid⁹¹⁹ on the authority of Ibn Abbas, with a chain of transmitters stopping with the latter and not continued back to the Prophet: "Mujahid said: 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas said to me: 'If I had not heard that you are like a member of the family of Muhammad, I would not tell this tradition.' He said: Mujahid replied: 'I shall keep it in confidence. I shall not tell it to anyone to whom you might object.' Thereupon, Ibn 'Abbas said: 'From among us, the people of the House, there will be four: As-Saffah, al-Mundhir, al-Mansur, and the Mahdi.' He said: Mujahid asked him to explain those four to him, and Ibn 'Abbas replied: 'As-Saffah often kills his supporters and forgives his enemies. Al-Mundhir, I believe he said, 'will give away a great deal of money. He will not consider himself a great man and will hold on to (even) his smallest rights. Al-Mansur will be given half as much help against his enemies as the Messenger of God was given. Muhammad's enemies were terrified by him for a space of two months,⁹²⁰ and al-Mansur's enemies will be terrified by him for a space of one month. The Mahdi will be the one who will fill the earth with justice, as it had been filled with injustice. The cattle will be safe from wild animals, and the earth will cast out the treasures of its interior.' He said, and I asked him what the treasures of

⁹¹⁹Mujahid b. Jabr, d. between 101 and 104 [719-29]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 42 ff.

⁹²⁰Cf. p. 88, above.

the interior of the earth were. He replied: 'Something like gold and silver columns.' " End of the quotation.

Al-Hakim said: "This is a sound tradition as regards the chain of transmitters. But neither (al-Bukhari nor Muslim) published it. It is transmitted by Ismail b. Ibrahim b. Muhajir,⁹²¹ on the authority of his father. Ismail is weak, and his father Ibrahim is considered weak by most scholars, even though Muslim published traditions of his."

The following tradition by Thawban was published by Ibn Majah. Thawban said: "The Messenger of God said: 'Three will fight with each other at (the place where) your treasure (is). All of them are the sons of a caliph. None of them will get it. Then, black flags will arise from the East. They will kill you in a slaughter such as there has never been before.' He then mentioned something that I do not remember. He continued: 'When you see him, render the oath of allegiance to him, even if you must creep over the snow. For he is the representative of God, the Mahdi.'" End of the quotation.

The persons named in (the chain of transmitters of this tradition) are persons whose names occur in the *Sahih*.⁹²² However, among them is that of Abu Qilabah al-Jarmi.⁹²³ Adh-Dhahabi and others mentioned that Abu Qilabah reported traditions he had not himself heard from his authorities. The chain of transmitters also includes Sufyan ath Thawri. He is known for reporting traditions he had not heard from his authorities. Each of the two merely said that he had a tradition on the authority of such-and-such a person, without stating that he had heard it from him. Therefore, their traditions are not acceptable. The chain of transmitters further includes 'Abd-ar-Razzaq b. Hammam,⁹²⁴ who is known for his pro-Shi'ah sentiments. At the end of his life he became blind and confused. Ibn 'Adi said: "He reported

⁹²¹For Ismail, cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 279; for his father, *ibid.*, I, 167 f.

⁹²²Bulaq: "the two *Sahihs*."

⁹²³Abdallah b. Zayd, d. between 104 and 107 [722-26]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 224 ff. Cf. also adh-Dhahabi, *Mizan*, II, 36.

⁹²⁴Born in 126 [743/44], he died in 211 [827]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 310 ff.

traditions on the virtues (of Muhammad and the early Muslims), with regard to which no one agrees with him. Scholars considered him to have pro-Shi'ah sentiments." End of the quotation.

The following tradition of 'Abdallah b. al-Harith b. Jaz' az-Zubaydi was published by Ibn Majah through Ibn Lahi'ah, on the authority of Abu Zur'ah 'Amr b. Jabir al-Hadrami, on the authority of 'Abdallah b. al-Harith b. Jaz', who said: "The Messenger of God said: 'People will come forth from the East. They will pave the way for the Mahdi,' " that is, (for) his rule.

At-Tabarani said: "Ibn Lahi'ah stands alone with this tradition." We mentioned earlier, in connection with the tradition of 'Ali, published by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mu'jam*, that Ibn Lahi'ah was weak and that his authority, 'Amr b. Jabir, was even weaker than he.⁹²⁵

The following tradition was published by al-Bazzir in his *Musnad* and by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mu'jam-therecension* (quoted here) is that of at-Tabarani-on the authority of Abu Hurayrah, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "In my nation, there will be the Mahdi. If he lives (among you) only a short time, it will be seven, eight, or nine. My nation will experience a prosperity the like of which it has never experienced before. The heavens will rain upon them. The earth will not hoard any of its plants. There will be piles of money. A man will get up and say: 'O Mahdi, give me something,' and the Mahdi will reply: 'Just take.' "⁹²⁶

At-Tabarani and al-Bazzar said: "Muhammad b. Mar wan al-'Ijli⁹²⁷ stands alone with this tradition." Al-Bazzar added: "We do not know whether anyone followed him in this tradition." Abu Dawud, as well as Ibn Hibban, by the way he mentions him in the *Thigdt*(on reliable transmitters), considered him reliable. Yahya b. Ma'in said regarding him: "He is all right." Once, he said: "There is nothing wrong with him." Still, opinions about him differ.

⁹²⁵Cf. p. 175, above.

⁹²⁶Cf. p. 168, above.

⁹²⁷Or al-'Uqayli. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 435 f.

Abu Zur'ah said: "In my opinion, he is not such (a good man)." 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Hanbal⁹²⁸ said: "I saw Muhammad b. Marwan al-'Ugayli tell traditions while I was present. I did not write them down. I purposely omitted to do so. One of our colleagues wrote down traditions on his authority, in a way that suggested he considered him weak."

The following tradition of Abu Hurayrah was published by Abu Ya'la al-Mawsili in his *Musnad*. Abu Hurayrah said: "My friend Abul-Qasim (the Prophet Muhammad) said: 'The Hour will not arise before there shall have come forth against them a man from my family. He will beat them until they return to the truth.' He said. And I asked: 'How long will he rule?' He replied: 'Five and two.' He said. And I asked: 'What is meant by five and two?' He replied: 'I do not know.'" End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters includes Bashir b. Nahik.⁹²⁹ Abu Hatim said, regarding him: "He may not be used as evidence." Still, both (al-Bukhari and Muslim) used him as evidence, and the scholars considered him reliable. They paid no attention to Abu Hatim's statement that he may not be used as evidence. However, (the chain of transmitters also) includes Murajja b. Raja' al-Yashkuri.⁹³⁰ Opinions differ concerning him. Abu Zur'ah said: "He is reliable." Yahya b. Main said: "He is weak." Abu Dawud said: "He is weak," but once he said: "He is all right." Al-Bukhari has one fragment⁹³¹ of his in his *Sahih*.⁹³²

The following tradition of Qurrah b. Iyas was published by Abu Bakr al-Bazzar in his *Musnad*, and by at-Tabarani in his *Large and Medium*

⁹²⁸The son of Ibn hanbal was the transmitter of most of the opinions reported here in the name of his father. He was born in 213 [828/29] and died in 290 [903]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 141 ff.

⁹²⁹Cf. *ibid.*, I, 470.

⁹³⁰Cf. *ibid.*, X, 83 f.

⁹³¹*Jidhm*, as in all the MSS. The word means a part of a tradition that has been "cut off" from the main body (and possibly amplified). The dictionaries do not list this meaning for it.

⁹³²I, 243.

Mu'jams.⁹³³ Qurrah said: "The Messenger of God said: 'The earth will be filled with injustice and crime. When it is filled with injustice and crime, God will send a man from me whose name will be my name, and whose father's name will be my father's name. He will fill it with justice and equity, as it had been filled with injustice and crime. Heaven will not withhold its rain, nor the earth its plants. He will remain among you seven, or eight, or nine' " -that is, years.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes Dawud b. al-Muhabbar b. Qahdham,⁹³⁴ on the authority of his father. Both Dawud and his father are very weak.

The⁹³⁵ following tradition of Umm Habibah was published by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mujam*. (Umm Habibah) said: "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'People will come forth from the East. They will come for a man who is at the House. They will eventually come into a desert land, and he will then disappear with them. Those who are left behind will join them. They will suffer the same fate.'⁹³⁶ I said: 'O Messenger of God, how about those who were sent against their will?' He replied: 'They will suffer the same fate as the people have suffered. Then, God will resurrect each man according to the intention (that had guided him in his actions).' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes Salamah b. al-Abrash,⁹³⁷ who is weak. It also includes Muhammad b. Ishaq.⁹³⁸ He transmits traditions he did not hear, and he says that he had them "on the authority

⁹³³The tradition is not mentioned under Qurrah's name in at-Tabarani's *Large Mu'jam*, for which I consulted the MS. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 227, Vol. III (pt. 10).

⁹³⁴He died in 206 [821]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, VIII, 359 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 199 ff.

⁹³⁵The following two paragraphs are omitted in Bulaq.

⁹³⁶Cf, p. 165, above.

⁹³⁷He died not long after 190 [806/7]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, 112, 85; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 153 f.

⁹³⁸The famous historian. Cf. 1:7 (n. 10), above. For unfavorable opinions concerning him as transmitter, cf. Ibn I;ajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 43.

of" someone. His traditions are acceptable only where he expressly states that he heard them.

The following tradition of ('Abdallah) b. 'Umar was (also) published by at-Tabarani in his *Medium Mu'jam*. Ibn 'Umar said: "The Messenger of God was in the company of some (Meccan) Emigrants and (Medinese) Helpers (*Ansar*). 'All b. Abi Talib was on his left, and al-'Abbas on his right. Al-'Abbas got into a dispute with one of the *Ansdr*, and the latter used insulting language to al-'Abbas. Thereupon, the Prophet took the hand of al-'Abbas and the hand of 'Ali and said: 'The spine of this one will produce descendants until the whole earth shall be filled with injustice and crime, and the spine of that one will produce descendants until the whole earth shall be filled with equity and justice. When you see this (happen), then take care of the Tamimite youth. He will advance from the East. He will be in charge of the flag of the Mahdi.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of this tradition includes 'Abdallah b. 'Umar al-'Umari⁹³⁹ and 'Abdallah b. Lahi'ah. Both are weak.

The following tradition of Talhah b. 'Ubaydallah, on the authority of the Prophet, was published by at-Tabaranl in the *Medium Mu'jam*. The Prophet said: "There will be a rebellion. When one side rests, the other side will become restless. Finally, a herald will call from heaven: 'Your Commander is such-and-such.' " End of the quotation.

The chain of transmitters of that tradition includes al Muthanna b. as-Sabbah,⁹⁴⁰ who is very weak. The tradition does not expressly mention the Mahdi, but (scholars) have included it in their chapters dealing with (the Mahdi) and in his biography, by association.

⁹³⁹He died in 173 [789/90]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 326 ff.

⁹⁴⁰He died in 149 [767]. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 95 ff.

These are all the traditions published by the religious authorities concerning the Mahdi and his appearance at the end of time. One has seen what they are like. Very few⁹⁴¹ are above criticism.

Those who disapprove of the (Mahdi) matter frequently keep to the tradition of Muhammad b. Khalid al-Janadi,⁹⁴² on the authority of Aban b. Salih b. Abi 'Ayyash⁹⁴³ on the authority of al-Hasan al-Basri,⁹⁴⁴ on the authority of Anas b. Malik, on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "There is no Mahdi except Jesus, the son of Mary."

Yahya b. Ma'in said, regarding Muhammad b. Khalid al-Janadi, that he was reliable. Al-Bayhaqi⁹⁴⁵ said: "Muhammad b. Khalid stands alone with (this tradition)." Al-Hakim said, regarding Muhammad b. Khalid, that he was a little-known personage.

There are differences in the chain of transmitters of (this tradition). Sometimes it is transmitted as quoted. In this form, it is attributed to Muhammad b. Idris ash-Shafi'l. Sometimes the tradition is transmitted on the authority of Muhammad b. Khalid, on the authority of Aban, on the authority of al-Hasan, on the authority of the Prophet, thus skipping one link in the chain. Al-Bayhaqi says: "Thus, (the tradition) is one transmitted by Muhammad b. Khalid, who is little known, on the authority of Aban b. Abi 'Ayyash, who is not accepted, on the authority of al-Hasan, on the authority of the Prophet, which makes it a tradition with an interrupted chain of transmitters. In general, the tradition is weak and disturbed."

It has also been said that the statement: "There is no Mahdi except Jesus," means that nobody spoke in the cradle (*mahd*) except Jesus.⁹⁴⁶ This

⁹⁴¹Bulaq: "As one has seen, very few ..."

⁹⁴² Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 143 ff.

⁹⁴³ Born in 60 [679/80], he died some time after 110 [728-29]. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 94 f.

⁹⁴⁴ The famous saint and scholar of early Islam, who died in 110 [728]. Cf. GAL, I, 61 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 102 f. Cf. 1:lxv f. above.

⁹⁴⁵ Ahmad b. al-Husayn, 384-458 [994-1066]. Cf. GAL, I, 364; *Suppl.*, 1, 618 f.

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. Qur'an 3.46 (40); 5.110 (109).

interpretation is intended to prevent use of (the tradition) as evidence (for Mahdism) or its combination with the (other) traditions (that speak about the Mahdi).⁹⁴⁷ It is refuted by the story of Jurayj⁹⁴⁸ and similar miracles (which show that Jesus was not the only infant to speak in the cradle).

(Sufi opinions about the Mahdi)

The ancient Sufis did not go into anything concerned with (the Mahdi). All they discussed was their (mystic) activity and exertion and the resulting ecstatic experiences and states. It was the Imamiyah and the extremist Shi'ah who discussed the preferred status of 'Ali, the matter of his imamate, the claim (made in his behalf) to have received the imamate through the last will (of the Prophet),⁹⁴⁹ and the rejection of the two *Shaykhs* (Abu Bakr and 'Umar), as we have mentioned in connection with the discussion of Shi'ah dogmatics.⁹⁵⁰ Thereafter, there originated among them the dogma of the Infallible Imam⁹⁵¹ Much was written on (Shi'ah) dogmatics. The Isma'iliyah Shi'ah made its appearance. It asserted the divinity of the imam through incarnation. Others asserted that the (dead) imams would return, either through metempsychosis or (in the very form they had had during their lifetime). Still others expected the coming of imams who would be cut off from them through death. Others, finally, expected that the family of Muhammad would return to power. They deduced this from the aforementioned traditions concerning the Mahdi, and from other traditions.

⁹⁴⁷ Even if the tradition is interpreted to refer to the Mahdi, it is not the historical Jesus who is meant, but the future one who is equated with the expected Mahdi.

⁹⁴⁸ The legend of a pious Jew whom a harlot was unable to seduce. She persuaded a shepherd to make her pregnant, and the Jews accused Jurayj of fornication. He prayed, and the infant spoke, saying that his father was the shepherd. Cf. Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1913/1895), II, 307 f.; at-Tawhidi, *Imta'* (Cairo, 1939-44), 11, 97 f.; al-Qushayri, *Risalah* (Cairo, 1367/1948), p. 161; Ibn Kathir, *Biddyah*, II, 134. Cf. also J. Horowitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 78 fl.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. 1:435 ff, above.

⁹⁵⁰ Cf. 1:402 ff, above.

⁹⁵¹ Cf. 1:185, 403, and 471, above.

Among the later Sufis, removal (of the veil, *kashf*) and matters beyond the veil of sense perception likewise came to be discussed. A great many Sufis came to speak about in carnation and oneness.^{951a} This gave them something in common with the Imamiyah and the extremist Shi'ah who believed in the divinity of the imams and in the incarnation of the deity in them. The Sufis also came to believe in a "pole" (*qutb*) and in "saints" (*abdal*). This (belief) looked like an imitation of the opinions of the extremist Shi'ah concerning the imam and the 'Alid "chiefs" (*nugabd*).⁹⁵²

The Sufis thus became saturated with Shi'ah theories. (Shi'ah) theories entered so deeply into their religious ideas that they based their practice of using a cloak (*khirgah*) on the (alleged) fact that 'All clothed al-Hasan al-Basri in such a cloak and caused him to agree solemnly that he would adhere to the mystic path. (The tradition thus inaugurated by 'Ali) was continued, according to the Sufis, through al-Junayd,⁹⁵³ one of the Sufi *shaykhs*.

However, it is not known with certainty that 'Ali did any such thing. The (mystic) path was not reserved to 'Ali, but all the men around Muhammad were models of the (various) paths of religion. The fact that (the Sufis) restrict (precedence in mysticism) to 'All smells strongly of pro-Shi'ah sentiment. This and other afore-mentioned Sufi ideas show that the Sufis have adopted, pro-Shi'ah sentiments and have become enmeshed in them.

Therefore, the books of the extremist Isma'iliyah (Shi'ah) and the books of the later Sufis are full of ideas concerning the expected Fatimid. They were passed on through dictation and teaching. All (these speculations) are built upon brittle foundations. This applies to both parties. Some (Sufis and Shi'ah) occasionally base themselves in this connection on astrological discussions of astral conjunctions. (The result is) a sort of predictions (*maldhim*), as will be discussed in the following chapter.

^{951a} That is, pantheism or monism.

⁹⁵² Cf. 3:93, below.

⁹⁵³ Al-Junayd b. Mubammad, d. 298 [910/11]. Cf. GAL, I, 199; *Suppl.*, I, 354 f.

Most (prominent) among the later Sufis who discuss the Fatimid are Ibn al-'Arabi al-Hatimi,⁹⁵⁴ in the '*Anqa' Mughrib*'; Ibn Qasi,⁹⁵⁵ in the *Kitab Khal' an-na'layn*; 'Abd-al-Haqq b. Sab'in;⁹⁵⁶ and one of (Ibn Sab'in's) pupils, Ibn Abi Watil,⁹⁵⁷ in his commentary on the *Kitab Khal' an-na'layn*. When they speak about (the Fatimid), they mostly speak in riddles and parables. Occasionally, they make a minimum of explicit statements, or their commentators make explicit statements.

According to Ibn Abi Watil, the sum of their beliefs in connection with (the Fatimid) is that (in pre-Islamic times) there had been error and blindness. Then, truth and right guidance made their appearance through prophecy. Prophecy was followed by the caliphate, and the caliphate, in turn, was followed by royal authority. Royal authority, then, reverted to tyranny, presumptuousness, and worthlessness. They said: And since it has been observed to be God's procedure to have things return to their original state, prophecy and truth will by necessity be revived through sainthood (*wilayah*). Sainthood will be followed by the stage that properly comes after it (caliphate). (This,) in turn, will be followed by the time of the Antichrist (*dajl*), which will take the place of royal authority and the rule of power. Then, unbelief will return to the old position it occupied before the coming of the prophecy (of Muhammad).

This refers to the caliphate which came after the prophecy, and to the royal authority which followed the caliphate. These are three stages. Likewise, the sainthood of the Fatimid, who will revive prophecy and righteousness, the stage (caliphate) that properly follows upon the Fatimid, and then the time of the Antichrist, which will follow after it and which is that state of worthlessness alluded to in the expression "appearance of the Antichrist"

⁹⁵⁴The famous mystic, whose mystical thinking dominated that of Ibn Khaldun and his period. Muhammad b. 'Ali, 560-638 [1165-1240]. Cf. GAL, I, 441 ff.; *suppl.*, I, 790 ff.

⁹⁵⁵Cf. 1:322, above.

⁹⁵⁶'Abd-al-Haqq b. Ibrahim, 623 or 624 [1226/27] to 669 [12711]. Cf. GAL, I, 465 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 844.

⁹⁵⁷I have no information on him beyond Ibn Khaldun's remarks.

- these are three stages corresponding to the first three. Then, unbelief will return to the existence it had had before the prophecy (of Muhammad).

Now, the caliphate, they continued, belongs legally to the Quraysh, according to the general consensus which cannot be weakened by the disapproval of people who have insufficient knowledge.⁹⁵⁸ Therefore, the imamate belongs, of necessity, to a person who is even closer to the Prophet than the Quraysh. (This he may be) either externally, by being a descendant of 'Abd-al-Muttalib, or inwardly, by belonging to Muhammad's "family," according to the real meaning of "family," which means those at the time of whose presence the one who is their "family" is not absent.⁹⁵⁹

In his *Kitab 'Anqa' Mughrib*, Ibn al-'Arabi al-Hatimi called (the Mahdi) "the Seal of the Saints."⁹⁶⁰ He is known under the name of "the silver brick," with reference to a tradition reported by al-Bukhari in the chapter on the Seal of the Prophets (in the book on *Mandqib*), which says: "Muhammad said: 'I and the prophets before me are like a man who built a house and finished it save for one brick still to be placed. I am this brick.'"⁹⁶¹ There-

⁹⁵⁸Cf. 1:396 ff., above.

⁹⁵⁹This apparently means that when the Mahdi appears he will enjoy the spiritual presence of Muhammad.

⁹⁶⁰The title of Ibn 'Arabi's work is *Anqa' maghrib fi khatm al-awliya' wa-shams al-maghrib*, "The Phoenix on the Sealing of the Saints and the Sun (Rising from) the West." The expression *khatm al-awliya'* occurs again in the introduction to the work. Otherwise, the work has little to do with this subject, and there seems little occasion to speak of the Fatimid in connection with it. The subsequent quotation from Ibn 'Arabi is not found in it, either; apparently Ibn Khaldun quoted the work through Ibn Abi Watil.

I consulted the following MSS of the *'Anqa'* in Istanbul: Reis el-Kuttap 483 (dated 844 [1441]); Koprulu 749 (probably seventeenth century); Ragib Papa 1453, fols. 133a-180b (eighteenth century copy of a MS written by Ibn 'Arabi's student, Sadr-ad-din al-Qonawi, approved by Ibn 'Arabi himself); and Carullah 1062. An incomplete work on the Mahdi is ascribed to the same Qonawi in the MS. Aya Sofya 4849, fols. 168a-180a. Cf. GAL, I, 449 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 807 f. [Further MSS of the *'Anqa'* are enumerated by K. 'Awwad in *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus), XXIX (1954), 532. 'Awwad appears, however, to be wrong when he says that the work has been published.]

⁹⁶¹Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 390.

fore, the (scholars) interpret "the Seal of the Prophets"⁹⁶² as the brick needed for the completion of the building. It means the prophet who has obtained the perfect prophecy. Sainthood in its different degrees is compared (by the Sufis) to prophecy. The perfect (saint) is considered to be the "seal" of the saints, that is, the saint who is in the possession of the rank that is the final ("sealing") stage of sainthood, exactly as "the Seal of the Prophets" was the prophet who was in possession of the rank that is the final ("sealing") stage of prophecy. In the tradition quoted, the Lawgiver (Muhammad) used the phrase, "the brick (that completes) the house," for that final stage. The two things correspond to each other. Thus, (they may be compared) to bricks (of different materials). In the case of prophecy, the brick is gold. In the case of sainthood, the brick is silver. The difference in importance existing between the two stages corresponds to the difference (in value) that exists between gold and silver. "Gold brick" is used as a name for the Prophet, and "silver brick" as a name for the expected Fatimid saint. The one is "the Seal of the Prophets," and the other "the Seal of the Saints."

Ibn al-'Arab!⁹⁶³ said, as reported by Ibn Abi Watil: This expected imam is a member of the family of Muhammad and a descendant of Fatimah. His appearance will take place when *kh-f-j* years have passed after the Hijrah. - He wrote down three letters. He meant their numerical value,⁹⁶⁴ *kh* being 600, *f* 80, and *j* 3. This makes 683 years, or the end of the seventh [thirteenth] century. When this time had passed and (the Mahdi) had not appeared, some of those who accepted the tradition were forced to assume that the number meant the date of the birth of (the Mahdi) - "appearance" meaning birth - and that he would come forth in 710 [1310]. He would be the imam who would come forth from the region of the Maghrib. He said: If, as Ibn al-'Arabi thinks, his birth is in the year 683 [1284/85], he must be twenty-six years old

⁹⁶²Cf. p. 61 (n. 587), above.

⁹⁶³Cf. n. 960, above.

⁹⁶⁴Cf. p. 3:173 (n. 809), below.

at the time of his appearance. He said: They (also) thought that the Antichrist would come forth in the year 743 [134243]⁹⁶⁵ of the Muhammadan day. In their opinion, the Muhammadan day begins with the day of the death of the Prophet and lasts to the completion of the year 1000.

In his commentary on the *Kitab Khal' an-na'layn*, Ibn Abi Watil said: The expected saint who will take charge of God's command, who is referred to under the names of Muhammad al-Mahdi and Seal of the Saints: He is no prophet. He is a saint, sent by his spirit and his friend. Muhammad said: "The scholar is among his people what the prophet is in his nation." He also said: "The scholars of my nation are like the prophets of the children of Israel." The glad tidings of his (coming) will never cease (to be heard) from the beginning of the Muhammadan day to shortly before the year 500 [1106/7], which is the middle of (that) day. They will become stronger and more numerous as the result of the *shaykhs'* jubilant announcements of the approach of (the Mahdi's) coming and the coming of his period, from the end of (the year 500) onward.

Al-Kindi,⁹⁶⁶ he continued, mentioned that that saint will be the person who will say the noon prayer with the people. He will renew Islam and cause justice to triumph. He will conquer the Spanish peninsula and reach Rome and conquer it. He will travel to the East and conquer it. He will conquer Constantinople, and rule over the whole earth will be his. The Muslims will become strong, Islam will be exalted, and the pristine religion (*din al-hanifiyah*) will come forth. From noon prayer to afternoon prayer, will be (one)

⁹⁶⁵Or ten years later, if counted from the death of the Prophet.

⁹⁶⁶Cf. 1:176 (n. 231), above. For the quotations from al-Kindi that follow, cf. his *Risalah fi mulk al-'Arab*, ed. O. Loth, in *Morgenlndische Forschungen* (Festschrift H. L. Fleischer) (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 261-309; and F. Rosenthal, *Ahmad b. at-Tayyib as-Sarhsi* (American Oriental Series, No. 26) (New Haven, 1943), pp. 122 f. Cf. also below, pp. 194 and 218. Al-Kindi's *Risalah* is also briefly quoted by Pseudo-Majriti, *Ghayah*, ed. H. Ritter (Leipzig & Berlin, 1933), pp. 175 f., a work with which Ibn Khaldun was very familiar.

prayer time. Muhammad said: "(The time) between the two is a (prayer) time."⁹⁶⁷

Al-Kindi also said: "The sum total of the numerical value of the Arabic letters that have no diacritical points - he means, the letters at the beginning of certain *surahs* of the Qur'an⁹⁶⁸ is 743 Antichristian (years). Then, Jesus will descend at the time of the afternoon prayer. The world will be prosperous. The sheep will go with the wolf. After the (non-Arabs) have become Muslims with Jesus, the non-Arab kingdom will last 160 years in all-that is; (the sum of the letters) *q -y-n*. Forty of these 160 years will be the rule of justice."

Ibn Abi Watil said: Muhammad's statement, "There is no Mahdi except Jesus," means that there is no one who is guided (*mahdi*) as well as Jesus. It has also been said (to mean that) nobody spoke in the cradle except Jesus. This (interpretation, however,) is refuted by the story of Jurayj and other (stories).⁹⁶⁹

It has been mentioned in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih* that Muhammad said: "This (Muslim) state will not cease to be until the Hour arises," or: ". . . until the (Muslims) have been ruled by twelve caliphs"-that is, from the Quraysh⁹⁷⁰ The facts suggest that some of them were at the beginning of Islam, and that some of them will be at its end. Muhammad said: "The caliphate after me will last for thirty,⁹⁷¹ or thirty-one, or thirty-six (years)." It ends with the caliphate of al-Hasan and the beginning of the caliphate of Mu'awiyah. The beginning of the rule of Mu'awiyah is a caliphate only according to the original meaning of the word. He is the sixth of the caliphs. The seventh caliph is 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz. The remaining five (of the

⁹⁶⁷This refers to the disappearance of time intervals in the Messianic age.

⁹⁶⁸Cf. pp. 205 ff., and 3:59, below.

⁹⁶⁹Cf. pp. 185 f., above.

⁹⁷⁰Cf. Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, V, 89, and related traditions in Muslim, *Sahih*, II, 194 f.; *Concordance*, I, 306b, II, 7 ff.; II, 70b, II, 1 ff.

⁹⁷¹Cf. *Concordance*, II, 70b. Cf. also below, p. 285.

twelve caliphs mentioned in the tradition) are five of 'Ali's descendants, members of Muhammad's family.

This is supported by (Muhammad's) statement, "You are the possessor of its two periods (garn)"-meaning (the two periods of) the nation (the beginning and the end). That is, you ('Ali) are the caliph at its beginning, and your descendants will be caliphs at its end. The tradition is often used as evidence by those who believe in "the return" (of conditions).⁹⁷² The first (to return) is the person to whom they refer in connection with "the rising of the sun from the west."⁹⁷³

Muhammad said: "When the emperor of the Persians has perished, there will be no Persian emperor after him, and when the Byzantine emperor has perished, there will be no Byzantine emperor after him. By God, I assure you, the treasures of both of them will be spent in God's behalf." - 'Umar b. al-Khattab spent the treasure of the Persian emperor in behalf of God. "He who will destroy the Byzantine emperor and will spend his treasures in God's behalf will be the expected (Mahdi) when he conquers Constantinople. The ruler of Constantinople will be an excellent one, and the army (that will conquer Constantinople) will be an excellent one."⁹⁷⁴ This was said by Muhammad. "And the duration of his rule will be a few (years)." A "few" means between three and nine, or up to ten. Forty is also mentioned. In some recensions, it is seventy. "Forty" refers to the length of the period of (the Mahdi) and of the period of the four remaining caliphs of his family who will be in charge of his affairs after him -all of them be blessed.

He continued: The astrologers mentioned that the duration of his rule and that of the members of his family after him will be 159 years. The form

⁹⁷²As described above, p. 188.

⁹⁷³i.e., the Mahdi.

⁹⁷⁴For the traditions concerning the Muslim conquest of Constantinople, cf. M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal asiatique*, CCVIII (1926), 105 ff.; and, most recently, L. Massignon, "Textes relatifs à la prise de Constantinople," *Oriens*, VI (1953), 10-17. Cf. also above, 1:329.

of government will thus be a caliphate and a rule of justice for forty or seventy years. Then conditions will change, and (the form of government) will be royal authority. End of the quotation from Ibn Abi Watil.

In another passage, he said: "The final descent of Jesus will be at the time of the afternoon prayer, when threefourths of the Muhammadan day have passed."

He said: "Ya'qub b. Ishaq al-Kindi stated in the *Kitab al-Jafr*⁹⁷⁵ in which he mentioned the conjunctions: When the conjunction reaches Aries at the beginning of *d-h*⁹⁷⁶ that is, in the year 698 [1298/99] of the Hijrah-the Messiah will descend. He will rule the earth as it pleases God."⁹⁷⁷

He continued: "It has been stated in the tradition that Jesus will descend at the white minaret east of Damascus. He will descend between two yellowish colored ones, that is, two light saffron-yellow colored garments."⁹⁷⁸ He will place his hands upon the wings of two angels. His hair is as long as though he had just been released from a dungeon. When he lowers his head, it rains, and when he lifts it up, jewels resembling pearls pour down from him. He has many moles on his face. Another tradition has: 'Square built and reddish white.' Still another has: 'He will marry in the *gharb*'-(the word) *gharb* meaning 'bucket as used by Bedouins.'⁹⁷⁹ Thus, the meaning is that he will take a woman from among (the Bedouins) as his wife. She will bear his children."

(The tradition also) mentions that (Jesus) will die after forty years. It is (also) said that Jesus will die in Medina and be buried at the side of 'Umar b.

⁹⁷⁵Cf p. 191, above, and pp. 218 f., below. For *jafr*; cf. D. B. Macdonald in *EL*, s.v. "Djafr."

⁹⁷⁶In the "western" numeration, *d* is 90 and *h* 8. *Kh*, 600, must be supplied.

⁹⁷⁷In *Ibar*, III, 538, in connection with the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, Ibn Khaldun remarks that al-Kindi accurately predicted the end of Arab power in the seventh decade of the seventh century. ("The 660's" may be a correction of the editor for "690's [?]" but see below, p. 218, where the middle of the seventh century is mentioned.)

⁹⁷⁸For the presumed meaning of the words in this tradition, cf. Majdad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah* (Cairo, 1322/1904), IV, 262.

⁹⁷⁹*Gharb* usually means "west," but is here interpreted according to another meaning, "large bucket."

al-Khattab. And it is said that Abu Bakr and 'Umar will rise from the dead between two prophets (Muhammad and Jesus).

Ibn Abi Watil continued: "The Shi'ah say that he is the Messiah, the chief Messiah from the family of Muhammad. Some of the (Shi'ah) referred to him the tradition: 'There is no Mahdi except Jesus.' That is: There will be no Mahdi except the Mahdi whose relationship to the Muhammadan religious law is like the relationship of Jesus to the Mosaic religious law, in that he follows it and does not abrogate it."

There are many similar such statements. The time, the man, and the place are clearly indicated in them. But the (predicted) time passes, and there is no slightest trace of (the prediction coming true). Then, some new suggestion is adopted which, as one can see, is based upon linguistic equivocations, imaginary ideas, and astrological judgments. The life of every one of those people is spent on such things.

Most of our contemporary Sufis refer to the (expected) appearance of a man who will renew the Muslim law and the ordinances of the truth. They assume that his appearance will take place at some time near our own period. Some of them say that he will be one of the descendants of Fatimah. Others speak about him (only) in general terms. We have heard that from a number of them. The greatest of these Sufis is Abu Ya'qub al-Badisi, the chief saint of the Maghrib. He lived at the beginning of the eighth [fourteenth] century. His grandson, our colleague, Abu Zakariya' Yahya, told me that on the authority of his father Abu Muhammad 'Abdallah, on the authority of his father, the mentioned saint Abu Ya'qub.⁹⁸⁰

This is all we have read or heard about (such) discussions by those Sufis and all the information *hadith*scholars relate concerning the Mahdi. As much as it has been in our power, we have presented the material exhaustively. The truth one must know is that no religious or political propaganda

⁹⁸⁰Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 371 f.; W. J. Fischel, *An Khaldun and Tamerlane* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1952), p. 36.

can be successful, unless power and group feeling exist to support the religious and political aspirations and to defend them against those who reject them, until God's will with regard to them materializes. We have established this before, with natural arguments which we presented to the reader.⁹⁸¹

The group feeling of the Fatimids and the Talibids, indeed, that of all the Quraysh, has everywhere disappeared. There are other nations, whose group feeling has gained the upper hand over that of the Quraysh. The only exception is a remnant of the Talibids-Hasanids, Husaynids, and Ja'farites⁹⁸² - in the Hijaz, in Mecca, al-Yanbu', and Medina. They are spread over these regions and dominate them. They are Bedouin groups. They are settled and rule in different places and hold divergent opinions. They number several thousands. If it is correct that a Mahdi is to appear, there is only one way for his propaganda to make its appearance. He must be one of them, and God must unite them in the intention to follow him, until he gathers enough strength and group feeling to gain success for his cause and to move the people to support him. Any other way -such as a Fatimid who would make propaganda for (the cause of the Mahdi) among people anywhere at all, without the support of group feeling and power, by merely relying on his relationship to the family of Muhammad - will not be feasible or successful, for the sound reasons that we have mentioned previously.

The common people, the stupid mass, who make claims with respect to the Mahdi and who are not guided in this connection by any intelligence or helped by any knowledge, assume that the Mahdi may appear in a variety of circumstances and places. They follow blindly the well-known (traditions) about the appearance of a Fatimid. They do not understand the real meaning of the matter, as we have explained it. They mostly assume that the appearance will take place in some remote province and at the limits of civilization, such as the Zab in Ifriqiyah or as-Sus in the Maghrib. There are many peo-

⁹⁸¹Cf. 1:305 f., 320, and 322 ff., above.

⁹⁸²i.e., descendants of 'Ali's brother Jafar b. Abi Talib.

ple of weak intelligence who journey to a monastery (*ribat*) at Massah⁹⁸³ near as-Sus. They assume that they (will be able) to meet him there, thinking that he will appear at that monastery and that the oath of allegiance will be rendered to him there. Also, that monastery is close to the Veiled Gudalah, and they believe that (the Mahdi) will be one of them, or that they will be in charge of his propaganda. This is a conjecture that has no basis except the fact that these nations are strange ones and too remote (for others) to have a definite knowledge of their numbers and their weakness or strength. Also, the regions where they live are out of the reach of the (ruling) dynasties and outside of their authority. Therefore, (people) firmly imagine that the Mahdi will appear there, since these regions are not under the control of (ruling) dynasties and out of the reach of law and force. They have nothing else to go on except that. Many weak-minded people, therefore, go to that place (Ribat Massah), in order to support a deceptive cause that the human soul in (its) delusion and stupidity leads them to believe capable of succeeding. Many of them have been killed.

Our *shaykh*, Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Abili, told me that at the beginning of the eighth [fourteenth] century, during the reign of Sultan Yusuf b. Ya'qub⁹⁸⁴ a man who practiced Sufism came forth in the Ribat Massah. He was known as at-Tuwayziri, a gentile formation from Tozeur (Tf zar), in the diminutive form. He claimed to be the expected Fatimid. Many of the Zanigah⁹⁸⁵ and Guzfilah inhabitants of as-Sus followed him. His power grew and was about to flourish. The Masmudah chiefs feared that he might become dangerous to their rule. Therefore, as-Saksiwi hired someone who killed him in his home, at night, and his power dissolved.⁹⁸⁶

⁹⁸³ Cf. 1:128, above.

⁹⁸⁴ The Merinid [1286-1307].

⁹⁸⁵ i.e., Sinhajah. Cf. 1:128 (n. 112), above.

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. 1:326 f., above.

Likewise, in the last decade of the seventh [thirteenth] century, a man who had the name al-'Abbas appeared among the Ghumarah. He claimed to be the Fatimid. He gained followers among the great mass of the Ghumarah. He entered Badis by force and burned down the business section of the city. Then, he traveled to the place al-Mazammah. There, he was killed by deceit, and thus failed (to achieve his purpose).⁹⁸⁷

There are many things of the sort. Our afore-mentioned *shaykh* told me a strange story of this type. On his pilgrimage (to Mecca), upon leaving the Monastery of the Worshippers (Ribat al-'Ubbad),⁹⁸⁸ which is the burial place of Shaykh Abu Madyan on the mountain overlooking Tlemcen, he met a man from Kerbela who belonged to the family of Muhammad. He had many followers and was held in high esteem. He also had many pupils and servants. (The *shaykh*) said: People from his native town paid for his expenses in most countries. He said (further): We became good friends on the road, and it became clear to me what the matter was with (that man and his people). They had come from their home at Kerbela on behalf of the (Fatimid) business and in order to make propaganda for the Fatimid in the Maghrib. But when (the man) observed the Merinid dynasty, whose ruler Yusuf b. Ya'qub was at that time laying siege to Tlemcen⁹⁸⁹ he said to the men around him: "Go back, for we have fallen victim to an error. This is not our time."⁹⁹⁰ This statement, coming from that man, shows that he realized that power can materialize only with the help of a group feeling equaling that of the people in power at the time. When he realized that he was a stranger without power in (the Maghrib), and that none of the inhabitants of the Maghrib at the time

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. 1:327, above.

⁹⁸⁸ For al-'Ubbad (El Eubbad), cf. p. 1:lii, above. For Abu Madyan, who died in 694 [1197/98], cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, II, 317 f r.

⁹⁸⁹ In 1299 and the following years. Cf. *Ibar*, VII, 94 f.; de Slane (tr.), III, 375 f.; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca, 1949-50), II, 43.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibn Khaldun refers to this story again in the *Autobiography*, pp. 34 f. Cf. also Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah* (Hyderabad, 1848-50/1929-31), III, 288 f

was able to resist the group feeling of the Merinids, he gave up, admitted his error, and did not pursue his ambitions. It still remained for him (to realize) that the group feeling of the Fatimids and all the Quraysh had disappeared, especially in the Maghrib. However, his bias in favor of his cause did not permit him to realize this. "God knows, and you do not know."⁹⁹¹

In recent times there has been a movement among the Arab population of the Maghrib to make propaganda for the Truth and for living by the Sunnah, but which does not make propaganda for the Fatimid or anybody else. At times, a few individuals have aimed at re-establishing the Sunnah and changing reprehensible ways. Such individuals occupy themselves with this (purpose) and gain many followers. They are mostly concerned with the improvement of the safety of the roads, since most of the corruption of the Bedouins has something to do with that, on account of the way Bedouins make their livelihood, as we have mentioned before.⁹⁹² These individuals consider it their task to change reprehensible ways (among the Bedouins) through improving the safety of the roads as much as possible. However, the religious coloring cannot be firmly established in the Arabs. For them, repentance and return to the religion merely mean refraining from raids and robberies. That is the only thing they understand by repentance and becoming religious. (Raids and robberies) were the sins they committed before they repented, and these were the things of which they repented. Therefore, those who follow the (new religious) propaganda and live, as they think, by the Sunnah, are not deeply immersed in the different ways of seeking and following (religious models). Their religion is merely abstinence from robbery and injustice and from making the roads unsafe. Beyond that, they continue most eagerly to search for worldly goods and for ways of making a living. There is a great difference between looking for religious ethics and searching for worldly (goods). It is impossible that the two things could go

⁹⁹¹ Qur'an 2.216 (213), 232 (232); 3.66 (59); 24.19 (19).

⁹⁹² Cf. 1:302 ff., above.

together. No religious coloring can establish a hold over such people, and they cannot completely keep away from worthlessness. (Reformers) cannot ever become numerous. The chief differs from his followers in that religion and saintliness are firmly established in him. If he perishes, their rule dissolves, and their group feeling disappears.

This happened in the seventh [thirteenth] century in Ifrigiyah to a man of the Banit Ka'b of the Sulaym, by name Qisim b. Mari⁹⁹³ b. Ahmad. Later on, it happened to another man, of the Riyah Bedouins, who belonged to one of the subtribes of the Riyah, known as the Muslim. His name was Sa'idah. He was more religious and devoted than the former (Qasim). In spite of that, his followers were not successful, for the reasons mentioned. We shall mention (these events) in their proper places in connection with the discussion of the Sulaym. and Riyah.⁹⁹⁴

After that, there appeared (other) people to make such (religious) propaganda. They adopted similarly deceptive ideas. They followed the Sunnah in name only, but did not live by it, except for a very few. Neither they nor any of their successors had any success.

This is how God proceeds with His servants.

III.52. Forecasting the future of dynasties and nations, including a discussion of predictions (*malahim*) and an exposition of the subject called "divination" (*jafr*).

[p.2:200]

It should be known that one of the qualities of the human soul is the desire to learn the outcome of affairs that concern (human beings) and to know what is going to happen to them, whether it will be life or death, good

⁹⁹³ The vocalization in C may be Mira.

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 81 and VI, 38 f.; de Slane (tr.), I, 153 ff. and I, 81 ff; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbtrie orientate*, II, 334 f.

or evil. (This desire is) especially great with regard to events of general importance, and one wants to know, for instance, how long the world or certain dynasties are going to last. Curiosity in this respect is human nature and innate in human beings. Therefore, many people are found who desire to learn about these things in their sleep (through dreams). Stories of soothsayers being approached by rulers and commoners alike, with the request for predictions, are well known.

In the towns, we find a group of people who strive to make a living out of (predicting the future), because they know that the people are most eager to know it. Therefore, they set themselves up in the streets and in shops and offer themselves to (the people) who (wish to) consult them about (such things). All day long, the women and children of the town and, indeed, many weak-minded men as well, come and ask them to foretell the future for them, how it will affect their business, their rank, their friendships, their enmities, and similar things. There are those who make their predictions from sand writing (geomancy).⁹⁹⁵ They are called "astrologers" (*munajjim*). Others make their predictions by casting pebbles and grains (of wheat). These are called "calculators" (*hasib*).⁹⁹⁶ Still others make their predictions by looking into mirrors and into water. They are called "drawers of circles" (*darib al-mandal*).⁹⁹⁷ These are reprehensible things, which are very common in cities. (They are reprehensible) because their reprehensible character is established by the religious law, and because supernatural knowledge is veiled (and hidden) from human beings, except for those to whom God Himself has revealed (certain supernatural knowledge) in (their) sleep or through sainthood.

⁹⁹⁵ Cf. 1:226 ff., above.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. E. Levi-Provencal, "Le Traite d'Ibn 'Abdun," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 217, 241, 263.

⁹⁹⁷ Cf. 1:216 f., above.

Rulers and amirs who want to know the duration of their own dynasties show the greatest concern for these things and the greatest curiosity in this respect. Therefore, the interest of scholars has been directed to the subject of (predicting the duration of dynasties). Every nation has had its soothsayers, its astrologers, and its saints, who have spoken about things of this kind. (They have spoken) about a particular royal authority they were expecting, or a dynasty they felt was coming. (They have also spoken) of wars and battles with (other) nations that were going to occur, about how long the ruling dynasty would last, how many rulers it would have, and they have also attempted (to give) the names. Things like this are called "forecasting" (*hadathan*).

The Arabs had soothsayers and diviners to whom they had recourse in this respect. They forecast the royal authority and dynasty the Arabs were going to have. Shiqq and Satih thus interpreted the dream of the Yemenite ruler Rabi'ah b. Nasr. (Their interpretation) informed the Yemenites that the Abyssinians would take possession of their country, which would later on revert to them. Next, Islam and the Arab dynasty would make their appearance. Satih likewise interpreted a dream of the Mobedhan. The Persian emperor (Khosraw) had sent information about (that dream) to Satih through 'Abd-al-Masih. (Satih) told him about the future appearance of the Arab dynasty.⁹⁹⁸

There were also soothsayers among the Berber race. The most famous of them was Musa b. Salih of the Banu Yafran (Ifren), or of the Ghumart.⁹⁹⁹ He made forecasts in poems in the native (Berber) idiom. (These poems) contain many forecasts. Most of them are concerned with the royal authority and rule over the Maghrib which the Zanatah were going to obtain. They have had wide circulation among the Berbers. (The Berbers) have sometimes thought that Musa was a saint. At other times, (they seem to think)

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. I:219, above.

⁹⁹⁹ Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 106; VII, 61; de slane (tr.), I, 205; III, 286. C indicates doubling of the *m* in Ghumart.

that he was a soothsayer. In their self-deception, a few assert occasionally that he was a prophet, because they think that he lived long before the Hijrah. And God knows better. In this respect, (each) group used to base itself upon the information of prophets, when, as happened among the Israelites, any existed in its own time. Successive prophets (among the Israelites) told them similar things when bothered with questions.

During the Muslim dynasty many such things occurred. (Some predictions) had reference to how long the world in general would last. Others had reference to a particular dynasty and its particular life.

At the beginning of Islam, (predictions) were based upon statements reported on the authority of the men around Muhammad and, especially, on that of Jewish converts to Islam such as Ka'b al-ahbar,¹⁰⁰⁰ Wahb b. Munabbih,¹⁰⁰¹ and other such persons. Often, part of the relevant information was obtained from the explicit wording of the transmitted (statements) and permissible interpretations. Jafar as-Sadiq and other members of the family of Muhammad also made many such predictions. They based themselves, it would seem, upon removal (of the veil, *kashf*), which they enjoyed on account of (their) sainthood. Things of this sort are not unknown in (the experience of) other saints from among their people and descendants. Muhammad said: "Among you there are men who are spoken to."¹⁰⁰² They are the ones who are most deserving of their noble ranks and their gifts of divine grace.

After the early years of Islam, people applied themselves to the sciences and the (various) technical terminologies. The books of the (Greek) philosophers were translated into Arabic. The main basis for predictions now were astrological discussions. Matters concerning royal authority and dynasties and all other matters of general importance were considered as depending on the conjunctions of the stars. Nativities and interrogations and all other

¹⁰⁰⁰Cf. 1:26, above.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. J. Horowitz in *El*, s.v.

¹⁰⁰²Cf. 1:229 (n. 894), above.

private matters were considered to depend on people's "ascendants"- that is, on the constellations of the firmament at the time when (these matters) were brought up.

We shall now mention what the traditionists have to say on this subject. Later on, we shall return to the astrological discussions.

With regard to how long Islam and the world in general will last, traditionists have at their disposal the material contained in the work of as-Suhayli.¹⁰⁰³ As-Suhayli derived it from at-Tabari. It leads to the conclusion that the world will last five hundred years after the coming of Islam. Since it has become obvious that this is not true, the theory has been demolished.

At-Tabari based himself in this respect on a statement reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, which says that this world constitutes a single week of the weeks of the other world.¹⁰⁰⁴ He did not bring any proof for it. The statement may possibly mean that this world is to be measured in days corresponding to the days of the creation of heaven and earth. They were seven, and each of them is a thousand years, according to the verse of the Qur'an: "A day with your Lord is a thousand years as you count days."¹⁰⁰⁵ He said: Now, it is established in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*¹⁰⁰⁶ that Muhammad said: "Your term, as compared to the term of those who were before you, (will extend) from the afternoon prayer to sunset."¹⁰⁰⁷ He also said: "I and the Hour were sent like these two,"¹⁰⁰⁸ and he pointed with the index finger and the middle finger. Now, the time between the afternoon prayer and sunset, when the shadow of every object becomes twice as long as (the object itself), is approximately one-half of one-seventh (of the day). And the middle finger is longer than the index finger by about the same amount (one

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. his *Rawa al-unuf* (Cairo, 1992/1914), 11, 96 f. 100⁴

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 8.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Qur'an 22.47 (46).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Bulaq: "in the two *Sahihs*."

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 9; al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, II, 972; III, 401; *Concordance*, I, 22b, 11. 44 f.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 10 ff; *Concordance*, I, 194a, 11. 20 ff.

fourteenth). Consequently, the length of the duration (of the world after the coming of Islam) would be one-half of one seventh of the whole week (of 7,000 years). This would be five hundred years. This figure is supported by the statement of Muhammad, "God is indeed not unable to make this nation last longer than half a day."¹⁰⁰⁹ This shows that the duration of the world before Islam was 5,500 years. On the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is stated that it was 5,600 years¹⁰¹⁰ -that is, the period that had passed (before the coming of Islam. On the authority of Ka'b and Wahb,¹⁰¹¹ it is stated that the entire duration of the world is 6,000 years. As-Suhayli said: "There is nothing in the two traditions to support his (at-Tabari's) interpretation (concerning the fivehundred-year duration of Islam), and what has actually happened has turned out to be different. The statement of Muhammad, 'God is indeed not unable to have this nation last longer than half a day,' does not imply that a longer period than half a day is excluded. And his statement, 'I and the Hour were sent like these two,' refers to the closeness (of the Hour) and to the fact that there will be no other prophet and no other religious law (in the short time) between (Muhammad) and the Hour.

As-Suhayli then turned to another source for determining the duration of Islam, in the hope that he might find the correct answer. He took the letters at the beginning of the *surahs*,¹⁰¹² disregarded repetitions, and thus found that there were fourteen letters, which can be arranged to form the sentence '*lm yst' ns hq krh*.'¹⁰¹³ He added up the numerical value of these letters, which comes to 903,¹⁰¹⁴ to be added to the time which had already passed of the

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 14 ff; *Concordance*, I, 82a, 11. 25 ff.

¹⁰¹⁰ At-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 8, has 6,600. The preceding figure is probably to be read as 6,500 and the following 6,000 as 7,000.

¹⁰¹¹ "And Wahb" is not found in Bulaq.

¹⁰¹² For the *huruf al-muqatta'ah*, cf. 9:59, below.

¹⁰¹³ Vocalized in the MSS as *A-lam yasl' nagsa haggin kuriha*.

¹⁰¹⁴ This figure appears in as-Suhayli and the MSS. It represents the numerical value of the letters according to the western system. The eastern system would give 699. Cf. p. 215, below.

last millennium before the coming of (Muhammad). (The total) then, was the length of the duration of Islam. As-Suhayli said: "It is not unlikely that this is the information those letters were intended to convey."

I say: The fact that it is "not unlikely" does not imply that it is evident, or that it must be understood this way. As-Suhayli was influenced by the story of the two sons of Akhtab, one of the Jewish rabbis (who had contact with Muhammad), which occurs in Ibn Ishaq's *Sirah*.¹⁰¹⁵ These were Abu Yasir and his brother Huyayy. They had heard about the letters 'lm, which belong to the letters at the beginning of the *surahs*, and interpreted them as indicating, by their numerical value, the length of the duration (of Islam). Their numerical value was seventy-one. They considered that (too) short a period, and Huyayy went to the Prophet and asked him whether there were other such (letters). Muhammad mentioned 'lms. (Huyayy) asked for more, and Muhammad mentioned 'lr. Again, (Huyayy) asked for more, and Muhammad mentioned 'lmr. (The numerical value of 'lmr) was 271. (Huyayy) considered that (too) long a period and said: "We are in confusion concerning your future, O Muhammad. We do not know whether you have been given little or much (time)." Whereupon they (the Jews) left him. Abu Yasir said to them: "How do you know? Perhaps he was given the total of the numerical value of all the letters, namely, 704 years."¹⁰¹⁶ Said Ibn Ishaq: "In consequence, the following verse of the Qur'an was revealed: 'It contains clearly understood verses that are the mother of the book (and other ambiguous ones ...)'."¹⁰¹⁷

This story does not prove that the duration of Islam can be estimated at that figure. The assumption that the letters refer to such figures (giv-

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, ed. Wustenfeld (Gottingen, 1859-60), pp. 377 f.; and above, p. 191 (n. 966). Ibn Khaldun reads the title of Ibn Ishaq's work as *as-Siyar*; as also above, 1:401 (n. 245).

¹⁰¹⁶ The sum of the four combinations of letters is 734 by the eastern system and 704 by the western one. The latter, as the older, was used in the text of the *Sirah*. A, C, and D have 704, which in C and D is corrected to 743 (for 734?). Bulaq and, it seems, B, have 904.

¹⁰¹⁷ Qur'an 3.7 (5).

ing the duration of Islam) is neither natural nor rational. It is merely the result of the conventional and technical procedure which is called *hisab al jummal*(counting the numerical value of letters). It is, indeed, an old and well-known procedure, but the fact of the antiquity of a technical procedure does not make it conclusive evidence (for whatever one wants to prove by it). Furthermore, neither Abu Yasir and his brother Huyayy, nor any of the Jewish scholars for that matter, were the sort of men whose opinion with regard to such a matter (as the duration of Islam) could be considered proof of it(s being as they say). They were Bedouins of the Hijaz and did not know any crafts or sciences. They did not even know their own religious law, nor did they understand their own Scriptures and religion.¹⁰¹⁸ They had picked up this (method of calculating by the numerical value of letters), just as the common people of every religious group pick it up. Thus, as-Suhayli has no proof for his claims concerning (the duration of Islam).

For specific forecasts concerning particular dynasties, Islam has a general traditional basis in the tradition of Hudhayfah b. al-Yaman,¹⁰¹⁹ published by Abu Dawud through his *shaykh* Muhammad b. Yahya adh-Dhuhli,¹⁰²⁰ on the authority of Sa'id b. Abi Maryam,¹⁰²¹ on the authority of 'Abdallah b. Farrikh,¹⁰²² on the authority of Usamah b. Zayd al-Laythi,¹⁰²³ on the authority of a son of Qabisah b. Dhu'ayb,¹⁰²⁴ on the authority of his father, who said: "Hudhayfah b. al-Yaman said: 'By God, I do not know whether my companions have forgotten it or merely pretend to have forgotten it. By God, no leader of a disturbance who had three hundred or more

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. pp. 245 f., below.

¹⁰¹⁹ He died in 36 [656/57]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, II, 219 f.

¹⁰²⁰ He died between 252 and 257 [866-71]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, III, 415 ff.

¹⁰²¹ Sa'id b. al-Hakam, 144-224 [761/62-838/39]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 17 f.

¹⁰²² Born in 115 [733/34], he died in 175 [791/92]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 356 f.

¹⁰²³ He was born before 83 [702] and died in 153 [770]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 208 ff.

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, XII, 307. Ibn Hajar apparently has reference there to this tradition. He thinks that the son's name was Ishaq b. Qabisah; cf. *Tahdhib*, I, 247. Qabisah died between 86 and 89 [705-8], or in 96 [714/15]. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 346 f.

(men) with him, up to the end of the world, was omitted by the Messenger of God. He mentioned his name, the, name of his father, and the name of his tribe.' "¹⁰²⁵

Abu Dawud did not make any remarks critical of (this tradition). It has been mentioned before that Abu Dawud said in his *Epistle* that everything to which he did not append critical remarks in his book was all right.¹⁰²⁶ If (this tradition) is sound, it still is a general one. In order to explain its general meaning and to indicate what is not clearly expressed in it, one requires other traditions with good chains of transmitters.

The tradition occurs in works other than (Abu Dawud's) *Kitab as-Sunan*, in another form. In the two *Sahihs*, there also occurs the following tradition of Hudhayfah, who said: "The Messenger of God stood up to give us a sermon. He did not omit anything, but talked about everything that would happen in his place here until the coming of the Hour. Some remember it, and some have forgotten it, (but) the men around him who (were present on that occasion) know it."¹⁰²⁷

Al-Bukhari's recension reads: "He did not omit, but mentioned everything down to the coming of the Hour."

The work of at-Tirmidhi includes the tradition of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, who said: "The Messenger of God said the afternoon prayer with us one day in the daytime. Then he stood up to give a sermon. He did not leave anything out, but informed us about everything that will happen down to the coming of the Hour. Some remember it, and some have forgotten it."¹⁰²⁸

All these traditions must be referred to the traditions concerning the disturbances (of the Last Day) and the conditions governing it, as they are established in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*. They do not refer to any-

¹⁰²⁵ Cf. Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, IV, 77 f., at the beginning of the Book on *Titan*.

¹⁰²⁶ Cf. p. 160, above.

¹⁰²⁷ The tradition appears in the Book on *qadar* in al-Bukhari, *Salah*, IV, 459, and in the Book on *fitan* in Muslim, *Sahih*, II, 679.

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. at-Tirmidhi, *Sahih*, II, 30.

thing else. This is what is expected from the Lawgiver (Muhammad) when he speaks in such generalities. The additional information Abu Dawud supplies, and which he stands alone in transmitting, is unusual and not to be approved of. Moreover, the religious leaders hold different opinions concerning the personalities (mentioned by Abu Dawud). Ibn Abi Maryam said regarding Ibn Farrukh that his traditions are not approved of. Al-Bukhari said: "Some of his traditions are acknowledged, and others are not." Ibn 'Adi said: "His traditions are not to be retained."

Usamah b. Zayd has traditions of his published in the two *Sahihs*, and he was considered reliable by Ibn Main. However, al-Bukhari published traditions of his only in order to support (the reliability of traditions). Yahya b. Sa'id and Ahmad b. Hanbal considered him weak. Abu Hatim said: "His traditions may be written down, but they may not be used as evidence."

The son of Qabisah b. Dhu'ayb is little known.

Thus, the additional information occurring in Abu Dawud in connection with the tradition mentioned, is weak in all these respects, in addition to the afore-mentioned fact that it is unusual.

As a basis for specific forecasts concerning dynasties, one uses the *Kitab al-Jafr*.¹⁰²⁹ People think that it contains information about all these things in the form of traditions or astro(logical predictions). They do not (think) beyond that, and they do not know its origin nor its basis. It should be known that the *Kitab al-Jafr* had its origin in the fact that Harun b. Sa'id al-'Ijli,¹⁰³⁰ the head of the Zaydiyyah, had a book that he transmitted on the authority of Ja'far as-Sadiq. That book contained information as to what would happen to the family of Muhammad in general and to certain members of it in particular. The (information) had come to Ja'far and to other 'Alid personages as an act of divine grace and through the removal (of the

¹⁰²⁹ Cf. p. 194, above, and 9:474, below.

¹⁰³⁰ More commonly, his name is said to have been Harun b. Sa'd. He was a companion of Ibrahim b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan. Cf. 1:411 f., and p. 167, above. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 914; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 6.

veil, *kashf*) which is given to saints like them. (The book was) in Ja'far's possession. It was written upon the skin of a small ox. Harun al-'Ijli transmitted it on (Ja'far's) authority. He wrote it down and called it *al-Jafr*, after the skin upon which it had been written, because *jafr* means a small (camel or lamb). (*Jafr*) became the characteristic title they used for the book.

The *Kitab al-Jafr* contained remarkable statements concerning the interpretation of the Qur'an and concerning its inner meaning. (The statements in it) were transmitted on the authority of Ja'far as-Sadiq. The book has not come down through continuous transmission and is not known as a book as such. Only stray remarks unaccompanied by any proofs (of their authenticity) are known from it. If the ascription to Ja'far as-Sadiq were correct, the work would have the excellent authority of Jafar himself or of people of his family who enjoyed acts of divine grace. It is a fact that Ja'far warned certain of his relatives about accidents that would occur to them, and things turned out as he had predicted. He warned Yahya, the son of his uncle Zayd, about his impending debacle, but he disobeyed him, revolted, and was killed in al-Juzajan, as is well known.¹⁰³¹ If acts of divine grace occur also to others, they should all the more occur to (members of Muhammad's family), in view of their knowledge, their religion, the tradition of Muhammad's prophecy (which they represent), and God's concern for the noble root (Muhammad) which extends to partiality for its goodly branches.

Much of this material is reported among members of the family of Muhammad, but it is not attributed to the *Jafr* (just mentioned). In the history of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), there is much of it. An illustration is the story reported by Ibn ar-Ragiq¹⁰³² about a meeting between Abu 'Abdallah ash-Shi'i and 'Ubaydallah al-Mahdi, who was with his father Muhammad al-

¹⁰³¹ Cf. 1:410, above.

¹⁰³² Cf. 1:9 (n. 19), above. The story is also reported by Ibn Hammid, *Histoire des rois Obaidides*, ed. and tr. M. Vonderheyden (Publications de la Faculte des Lettres d'Alger, Ser. III, Textes relatifs a l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, No. 2) (Algiers & Paris, 1927), pp. 22 f.

Habib.¹⁰³³ (Al-Mahdi and his father) discussed matters with (Abu 'Abdallah)¹⁰³⁴ and sent the latter to Ibn Hawshab, their missionary in the Yemen. (Ibn Hawshab) ordered Abu 'Abdallah to go to the Maghrib and spread (Fatimid) propaganda there. He did so in the knowledge that the ('Ubaydid-Fatimid) dynasty would materialize in (the Maghrib). Later on, when 'Ubaydallah was building al-Mahdiyyah in Ifriqiyah and their dynasty was flourishing, he said: "I am building this city so that the Fatimids may find protection in it for one hour of a (certain) day," and he showed the (people around him) the place within the city where "the Man of the Donkey" would stop. ('Ubaydallah's) grandson Ismail al-Mansur heard of this story, and when "the Man of the Donkey," Abu Yazid, came to besiege him in al-Mahdiyyah,¹⁰³⁵ al-Mansur always inquired where he had last stopped. Eventually, he was informed that Abu Yazid had reached the place his grandfather 'Ubaydallah had indicated. Now, he was sure of victory. He went out of the town, routed (Abu Yazid), and pursued him as far as the region of the Zab, where he defeated and killed him. (The 'Alids) have many such stories to tell.

Astrologers, in making forecasts concerning dynasties, base themselves upon astrological judgments. For matters of *II,186* general importance such as royal authority and dynasties, they use the conjunctions, especially those of the two superior planets. The superior planets, Saturn and Jupiter, are in conjunction once every twenty years. After twenty years, their conjunction reoccurs in another sign of the same triplicity¹⁰³⁶ (but) in trine dexter,¹⁰³⁷ and again (twenty years later) in another (sign). This is repeated

¹⁰³³ This is according to the genealogy that Ibn Khaldun attributes to the Fatimids in accordance with his sources. Cf. *Ibar*, IV, 31; de Slane (tr), 11, 506. Cf. Ibn Hammid, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Modern scholars usually prefer a different 'Alid genealogy for the Fatimids, but no certainty is possible in this connection.

¹⁰³⁴ In the sense of "they gave him advance information...."

¹⁰³⁵ In 333/34 [945]. Abu Yazid died in 336 [947].

¹⁰³⁶ That is, one of the four groups of three signs into which the zodiac is divided. Each of the three signs are 120° apart and have the same "nature."

¹⁰³⁷ i.e., as shown in the following, moving backward through the zodiac.

in the same triplicity twelve times. It takes sixty years (for three conjunctions) in the three signs (of the first triplicity), and another sixty years each for a second, third, and fourth time. The twelve repetitions in the triplicity, with four recurrences, thus take 240 years. The movement (of the conjunction) in each sign is toward the trine dexter. It moves on from the one triplicity into the adjacent triplicity, that is, into the sign that is adjacent to the sign of the triplicity in which the conjunction had last taken place.

The conjunctions of the two superior planets are divided into great, small, and medium.¹⁰³⁸ The great conjunction is the meeting of the two superior planets in the same degree of the firmament, which reoccurs after 960 years. The medium conjunction is the conjunction of the two superior planets in each triplicity with its twelve repetitions; after 240 years, they move on to another triplicity. The small conjunction is the conjunction of the two superior planets in the same sign; after twenty years, they have a conjunction in another sign in trine dexter at the same degree and minute. For instance, if the conjunction occurs in the first minute of Aries, it will re occur after twenty years in the first minute of Sagittarius, and then again after twenty years in Leo.¹⁰³⁹ All the (signs) mentioned are fiery, and all the conjunctions are small ones.

The conjunction then reoccurs in the beginning of Aries after sixty years. This is called "the cycle of the conjunction" or "the reoccurrence of the conjunction." After 240 years, (the conjunction) moves on from the fiery (triplicity) to the earthy (triplicity), which comes after (the fiery one). This, then, is the medium conjunction.

Then, the conjunction moves on to the airy and watery triplicities, and then reoccurs in the beginning of Aries after 960 years. This, then, is the great conjunction.

¹⁰³⁸ Cf. O. Loth in his edition of al-Kindi's *Risalah* in *Morgenlandische Forschungen* (Festschrift H. L. Fleischer), pp. 268 f.; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (Rome, 1999-48), V,14.

¹⁰³⁹ Bulaq: "in the first minute of Leo."

The great conjunction indicates great events, such as a change in royal authority or dynasties, or a transfer of royal authority from one people to another. The medium conjunction (indicates) the appearance of persons in search of superiority and royal authority. The small conjunction (indicates) the appearance of rebels or propagandists, and the ruin of towns or of their civilization.

In between these conjunctions, there occurs the conjunction of the two unlucky planets (Saturn and Mars) in the sign of Cancer once every thirty years. It is called *ar-rabi`* (the fourth).¹⁰⁴⁰ The sign of Cancer is the ascendant of the world. It is the detriment¹⁰⁴¹ of Saturn and the dejection¹⁰⁴² of Mars. This conjunction strongly indicates disturbances, wars, bloodshed, the appearance of rebels, the movement of armies, the disobedience of soldiers, plagues, and drought. These things persist, or come to an end, depending on the luck or ill luck (prevailing) at the time of conjunction of (the two unlucky planets), as determined by the direction of the significator in it.

Jirash b. Ahmad al-Hasib¹⁰⁴³ said in the book that he composed for Nizam al-Mulk: "The return of Mars to Scorpio has an important influence upon the Muslim religious group, because it is its significator. The birth of the Prophet took place when the two superior planets were in conjunction in the sign of Scorpio. Whenever the conjunction reoccurs there, trouble is brewing for the caliphs. There is much illness among scholars and religious personalities, and their conditions are reduced. Occasionally, houses of worship are destroyed. It has been said that the conjunction occurred at the

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cancer being the fourth sign of the zodiac.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Detrimentum*: the position of a planet opposite (180° from) its own house; in the case of Saturn, Aries.

¹⁰⁴² *Dejectio, casus*: the position of a planet when it is of least influence, in opposition to its point of greatest influence or exaltation.

¹⁰⁴³ When this otherwise unknown author lived is determined as the eleventh century by the reference to Nizam al-Mulk, d. 485 [1092]. The form of his name is not certain. C consistently has J as the first letter.

deaths of 'Ali, of the Umayyad Marwan, and of the `Abbasid al-Mutawakkil. If such judgments are taken into consideration, together with the judgments based upon the conjunctions, they are exceedingly reliable."

Shadhan al-Balkhi¹⁰⁴⁴ mentioned that Islam would last 310 years. This has proved to be wrong.

Abu Ma'shar¹⁰⁴⁵ said: "(Islam) will have many differences after the 150's." This was not correct.

Jirash said: "I have seen in the books of the ancients that the astrologers informed Khosraw that the Arabs would gain royal authority and the prophecy (of Muhammad) would appear among them. The significator of the Arabs is Venus, which was then in its exaltation. The royal authority of the Arabs would last forty years."

¹⁰⁴⁴ The computation of Islam's duration referred to in this passage appears in Hamzah al-Isfahani, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt (St. Petersburg & Leipzig, 1844-48), I, 153-55; (tr.), pp. 123 ff. Hamzah reports a discussion between Shadhan b. Bahr, with the gentile of al-Kirmanî, and Abu Ma'shar.

Abu Sa'id Shadhan b. Bahr is known from a book of "Discussions," *Mudhakarât*, containing astrological material provided mainly by his teacher, Abu Ma'shar. An Arabic MS of the work is listed in *GAL, Suppl.*, I, 395. Cf., further, Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat al-umam*, tr. R. Blachere (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, No. 28) (Paris, 1935), p. 111. Sa'id is quoted by al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-hukama'*, ed. Muller-Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 242, and by Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, *Uyun al-anba'*, ed. Muller (Konigsberg & Cairo, 1882-84), I, 207, l. 12. Cf. *Rasa'il Ikhwan as-safa'* (Cairo, 1347/1928), IV, 325; F. Rosenthal, in *JAOS*, LXXXIII (1963), 454.

There also exists a Latin translation of the *Mudhakarât*. Attention was called to it and to the Arabic original by M. Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XXV (1871), 415 f.; *idem*, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera inedita di Bernadino Baldi* (Rome, 1873), p. 14; C. A. Nallino, *al-Battdni sine Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Pubbi. del R. Osservatorio di Brera in Milano, No. 40) (Milan, 1903), I, xxv f. The Latin translation was recently used by L. Thorndike in *Isis*, XLV (1954), 22-32, showing the importance of the work. Cf. also *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, V (Brussels, 1904), 142 ff.; XII (Brussels, 1936), 101; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 101 f.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Jafar b. Muhammad, born ca. A.D. 788, d. 272 [886]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 221; *Suppl.*, I, S94. One would have to see the context of the statement quoted, to discover why he made a "prediction" concerning a time considerably before his birth.

Abu Ma'shar said in the *Book of Conjunctions*: "When the section¹⁰⁴⁶ reaches the twenty-seventh (degree)¹⁰⁴⁷ of Pisces, in which Venus has its exaltation, and when, at the same time, the conjunction occurs in Scorpio, which is the significator of the Arabs, then the Arab dynasty will make its appearance, and there will be a prophet among them. The power and duration of his rule will correspond to the remaining degrees of the exaltation of Venus—that is, approximately eleven degrees of the sign of Pisces. That will be a period of 610 years. Abu Muslim¹⁰⁴⁸ appeared when Venus moved on, and the section occurred in the beginning of Aries, with Jupiter ruling the field."¹⁰⁴⁹

Ya'qub b. Ishaq al-Kindi said that Islam would last 693 years; he said, 'because in the conjunction that dominates Islam, Venus was in $28^{\circ} 42'$ ¹⁰⁵⁰ of Pisces. The remainder, thus, was $11^{\circ} 18'$. There are sixty minutes to the degree. Thus, it will be 693 years." He said (further): "This is the duration of Islam as generally agreed upon by the philosophers. The figure is supported by the letters that occur at the beginning of certain *surahs*, if one omits the repetitions and counts the numerical value of the letters." I say: This is what was mentioned by as-Suhayli. The most likely assumption is that al-Kindi was as-Suhayli's source for the remarks we reported on as-Suhayli's authority.¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Qismah* is explained by de Slane as the crossing of a planet or a star that is a significator into the "field" (see n. 1049) of another planet. ¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf n. 1050, below. It should be "eighteenth."

¹⁰⁴⁸ He paved the way for the 'Abbasids by whom he was killed in 137 [755].

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Hadd*, Persian *mart*, is usually translated as "border." It is explained as the "field" of a sign of the zodiac—one of the five unequal parts into which each sign is divided, one for each planet. Cf. al-Khuwarizmi, *Mafatih al-'ulum* (Cairo, 1349/1930), p. 132. Cf. also n. 1056, below.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Bulaq has $28^{\circ} 30'$. However, the correct figure is $18^{\circ} 27'$ (cf. Loth in *Morgenlandische Forschungen*, p. 294), so that there remain $11^{\circ} 33' = 693'$ to the end of Pisces.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. pp. 205 ff., above.

Jirash said: "The sage Hurmuzdafri¹⁰⁵² was asked about the duration of the rule of Ardashir and his children, the Sassanian rulers. He replied: "The significator of his rule is Jupiter. Jupiter was in exaltation (when Ardashir appeared). Thus, Jupiter gives (the Sassanians) the longest and best years, that is, 427. Then, Venus will rule and be in exaltation. Venus signifies that the Arabs will come to power,¹⁰⁵³ because the ascendant of the conjunction is Libra, and it is ruled by Venus, which, at the time of the conjunction, will be in exaltation. This indicates that (the Arabs) will rule 1,060 years."

Khosraw Anosharwan asked his wazir, the sage Buzurjmihir, about the transfer of royal authority from the Persians to the Arabs. Buzurjmihir informed him that the founder of Arab rule would be born in the forty-fifth year of his reign. He would take possession of the East and the West. Jupiter would turn over the rule to Venus, and the conjunction would move on from the airy (triplicity) into Scorpio, which belongs to the watery (triplicity). (Venus) is the significator of the Arabs. All the indications mentioned imply that Islam will have a duration corresponding to the period of Venus, that is, 1,060 years.

Khosraw Aparwez asked the sage Ulyus¹⁰⁵⁴ about the same matter, and Ulyus gave a reply similar to that which Buzurjmihir had given (to Khosraw Anosharwan).

Theophilus,¹⁰⁵⁵ the Byzantine astrologer of the Umayyad period, said that the Muslim dynasty would have the duration of the great conjunction, that is, 960 years. When the conjunction occurs again in the sign of Scorpio, as it had at the beginning of Islam, and when the position of the stars in the

¹⁰⁵² C vocalizes *ifrid*, in keeping with Arabic vowel schemes.

¹⁰⁵³ Bulaq has a simplifying correction: "Venus is the significator of the Arabs, who will then come into power."

¹⁰⁵⁴ This is the Arabicizing vocalization of C. The name might be Elias or, perhaps, Leon.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Al-Qifti, Ta'rikh al-hukama'*, p. 109, places him in the time of the `Abbasid al-Mahdi. Ibn Khaldun reads his name as Nawfil.

conjunction that dominates Islam has changed, it will be less effective, or there will be new judgments that will make a change of opinion necessary.

Jirash said: "They are agreed that the destruction of the world will come through water and fire. Water and fire will gain preponderance until all created things have perished. This will take place when Regulus crosses 24°, (thus entering) the field of Mars.¹⁰⁵⁶ This will be the case after 960 years have passed."

Jirash mentioned that among other gifts, the ruler of Zabulistan—that is, Ghaznah—sent his sage Dhuban to al-Ma'mun. (Dhuban) made for al-Ma'mun astrological elections that favored al-Ma'mun's going to war against his brother and appointing Taeir as commander-in-chief. Al-Ma'mun thought highly of (Dhuban's) wisdom, and asked him how long the ('Abbasid) rule would last. (Dhuban) informed him that the children of his brother (al-Mu'tasim), and not his own descendants, would rule, and that the non Arab Daylam would gain control over the caliphate. At first they would exercise good government, for fifty years. Then, their condition would deteriorate. Eventually, the Turks would make their appearance from the north-east. Their rule would extend to Syria and the Euphrates.¹⁰⁵⁷ They would conquer the Byzantine territory. Then, there would happen what God would want to happen. Al-Ma'mun asked (Dhuban) where he got his information from, and (Dhuban) replied that he had it from the books of the philosophers and from the astrological judgments of the Indian Sassah b: Dahir, the inventor of chess.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵⁶ Thus, the field of Mars would extend from 24° to the end of the sign, or six degrees, which would be exactly one fifth of the whole sign. Cf. n. 1049, above.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bulaq adds: "and the Oxus."

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf., for instance, F. M. Pareja Casafias, *Libro del Ajedrex* (Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada, Serie A, No. 8) (Madrid & Granada, 1955), 1, 10 (text); I, 9 (tr.).

For Dhuban and al-Ma'mun, cf. Maskawayh, *Jawidhan Khiradh*, pp. 19-22.

I say: The Turks to whose appearance after the Daylam (Dhuban) referred, are the Saljtigs. The (Saljuq) dynasty was destroyed at the beginning of the seventh [thirteenth] century.

Jirash said: "The conjunction will move on into the watery triplicity in the sign of Pisces in the year 833 of the era of Yazdjard.¹⁰⁵⁹ From there, it will move on to the sign of Scorpio-where there had occurred the conjunction under which Islam (originated)¹⁰⁶⁰ -in the year (8)53." He said: "(The conjunction) in Pisces is the beginning of the movement,¹⁰⁶¹ and the conjunction in Scorpio will produce the indications applying to Islam." He said: "The revolution of the first year of the first conjunction in the watery triplicity will be (completed) on Rajab 2, 868 [March 11, 1464]."¹⁰⁶² He did not discuss this matter more fully.

With regard to individual dynasties, the astrologers base themselves on the medium conjunction and the constellation of the firmament when it takes place. In their opinion, it indicates the origin of a dynasty, its forms of civilization, the nations that will support it, the number and names of the rulers, the length of their lives, the sects and religions (that will be found in that dynasty), the customs of the rulers, and the wars they will wage. This was mentioned by Abu Ma'shar in his *Book of Conjunctions*. Such indications may (also) be derived from the small conjunction, if the medium conjunction indicates (such a course). The discussion of dynasties is thus derived from (these conjunctions).

Ya'qub b. Ishaq al-Kindi, astrologer to ar-Rashid and alMa'mun, composed a book on the conjunctions affecting Islam. The Shi'ah called the book *al-Jafir*; after the name of their own book, which is attributed to Ja'far as-

¹⁰⁵⁹ Begun in 632.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. p. 21s, above.

¹⁰⁶¹ Here, apparently, "movement" does not refer to the movement of the conjunction, but to the resulting upheaval from which important (favorable) results for Islam are expected.

¹⁰⁶² Apparently, the Muslim calendar is meant here, though the author had just spoken about the era of Yazdjard.

Sadiq. In his book, al-Kindi is said to have made complete forecasts concerning the 'Abbasid dynasty. He indicated that the destruction of (the 'Abbasid dynasty) and the fall of Baghdad would take place in the middle of the seventh [thirteenth] century and that its destruction would result from¹⁰⁶³ the destruction of Islam.¹⁰⁶⁴

We have not found any information concerning (al-Kindi's) book, and we have not seen anyone who has seen it. Perhaps it was lost with those books which Hulagu, the ruler of the Tatars, threw into the Tigris¹⁰⁶⁵ when the Tatars took possession of Baghdad and killed the last caliph, al-Musta'sim. In the Maghrib, there exists a fascicle considered to belong to (al-Kindi's) book. It is called the *Small Jafr*. But it is obvious that it was composed for the Banfi 'Abd-alMu'min, for it mentions in detail the early Almo-had rulers. The forecasts of the work are right with respect to the preceding period, and they are wrong for the later period.

In the 'Abbasid dynasty, there were astrologers and books on forecasts after al-Kindi. One may compare the story reported by at-Tabari in the history of al-Mahdi on the authority of Abu Budayl, one of the followers of the dynasty. (Abu Budayl) said:¹⁰⁶⁶ "Ar-Rabi' and al-Hasan sent for me, when they were on an expedition together with ar-Rashid during the days of (ar-Rashid's) father (al-Mahdi). I came to them in the middle of the night. They had with them one of the 'dynasty books'-that is, (a book of) forecasts. The duration of al-Mahdi's reign was given in it as ten years. I said: 'This book will not remain unknown to al-Mahdi, and there have already passed (that many) years of his reign. When he sees (the book, it will be as bad as if) you (were to) announce his own death to him.' They asked me what might be done, and I called for the copyist 'Anbasah, a client of the family of Budayl,

¹⁰⁶³ Bulaq corrects to: "would entail."

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. p. 194 (n. 977), above.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. p. 3:114 (n. 587), below.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 496 f. Ar-Rabi' b. Ylinus was wazir and al-Hasan doorkeeper.

and said to him: 'Copy this leaf, and write forty instead of ten.' He did so, and, indeed, if I had not seen the ten on that leaf, and the forty on this one, I would not have doubted that it was the same (original leaf that formed part of the manuscript)."

Later on, works in poetry and prose and *in rajaz* verse dealing with forecasts concerning dynasties were written in considerable quantity. Much of it found its way into the hands of the people. It is called "predictions" (*malahim*). Some of these works concern forecasts about Islam in general. Others are about particular dynasties. All of these works are attributed to famous persons. But there is nothing to support ascribing them to the persons on whose authority they are transmitted.

One such prediction work is the poem by Ibn Murranah¹⁰⁶⁷ in the meter *tawil* with the rhyme on *r*.¹⁰⁶⁸ It has a wide circulation among the people in the Maghrib. The common people think that it has to do with general forecasts, and they apply many of its forecasts to the present and the future. But our *shaykhs* informed us that it refers in particular to the Lamtunah (Almohad) dynasty, since its author lived shortly before (the dynasty came to power). In (the poem), he mentioned that the Lamtunah took Ceuta out of the hands of the clients of the Hammudids¹⁰⁶⁹ and that they gained control of the Spanish shore.

Another prediction work in the hands of the inhabitants of the Maghrib is a poem called *at-Tubba'iyah*, which begins:

I feel happy,¹⁰⁷⁰ but not joyful.

A bird in captivity may also feel happy.

I do not (feel happy) because of something entertaining that I see,

But because I am remembering something.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cf. 3:474, below.

¹⁰⁶⁸ MSS. A, B, C, and E add "which begins," and, with the exception of A, leave a blank space.

¹⁰⁶⁹ This happened in 476 [1083]. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 186, 422; de Slane (tr.), II, 77, 155.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The emotion caused by music is meant here, which could be either joy or sadness. What is "entertaining" in the third verse is also to be understood as music.

(This poem) is said to contain about five hundred or a thousand verses. In it, (the poet) mentioned much about the Almohad dynasty, and he referred to the (expected) Fatimid and other things. It is obvious that it is a forgery.

Another prediction work in the Maghrib is *a zajal* "playpoem" (*mal'abah*)¹⁰⁷¹ which is attributed to a Jew. (The poet) mentioned in it the judgments of the conjunctions of the two superior, the two unlucky, and other planets for his time. He mentioned that he would die a violent death in Fez, and people think that that actually happened. (The poem) begins:

The color of that blue¹⁰⁷² one leaves no choice.

O people, understand this indication! The planet Saturn shows this mark

And has changed its whitish color,¹⁰⁷³ that meant wellbeing.

A blue sash instead of a (whitish) turban,

And a blue cape instead of a (whitish) cloak.

At the end of (the poem, the poet) says:

Completed is this rhyming by a Jewish man,

Who will be hanged on a holiday at the river of Fez,

Until people come to him from the desert,

And he will be killed,¹⁰⁷⁴ O people, in a riot.¹⁰⁷⁵

(The poem) comprises about five hundred verses. They are concerned with judgments based on the conjunctions referring to the Almohad dynasty.

Another Maghribi prediction work is a poem in the meter *mutaqarib* with the rhyme on *b*, which deals with forecasts concerning the Almohad

¹⁰⁷¹ For the *zajal* in general, cf. 3:454 ff., below, and for the *mal'abah* in particular, 3:468.

¹⁰⁷² Apparently, the planet Saturn looks blue to the poet. The remaining words of the first verse, *fi sibgh dha l-azraq lesh fih khiyara*, may possibly mean "forebode no good."

¹⁰⁷³ *Shuklah* refers to a color like white-and-red or dirty yellow.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Wa-qathu*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Al-ghazdrah*, equated with Spanish *algazara* by R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 161.

Hafsid dynasty in Tunis. It is attributed to Ibn al-Abbar. The judge of Constantine, the great preacher, Abu 'Ali b. Badis,¹⁰⁷⁶ who knew what he was saying and who was versed in astronomy, told me that this Ibn al-Abbar was not the *hadith* expert and secretary who was killed by al-Mustansir.¹⁰⁷⁷ He was a tailor in Tunis, whose identity became confused with that of the *hadith* expert. My father used to recite me verses from this prediction poem, and some of them have stuck in my memory. (The poem) starts:

Let my excuse be a fickle time,
Which deceives (people) with its flashing, toothy (smile).

(Other verses of the poem,) mentioning al-Lihyani, the ninth Hafsid ruler,¹⁰⁷⁸ are:

He will send a leader from his army,
And he will remain there on a lookout,
News about him will reach the *shaykh*,
And he will advance like a mangy camel.
The justice of his ways will become apparent.
That is the policy of a person who knows how to attract others.

(Other verses of the poem) deal with general conditions in Tunis:

Do you not see that institutions have been wiped out
And the rights of persons of position are not observed?
Therefore, start leaving Tunis!
Say goodbye to its familiar places, and go!

¹⁰⁷⁶Ibn Khaldun tells us that he met this man in the Qarawlyin Mosque in Fez in 761 [1359/60]. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 371; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷⁷The *hadith* expert and historian, Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Abbar, was born in Spain in 595 [1198/99] and killed by al-Mustangir in Tunis in 658 [1260]. Cf. GAL, I, 340 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 580 f.

¹⁰⁷⁸Cf. pp. 101 f., above. According to de Slane, the poem does not refer to the inglorious end of Ibn al-Lihyant's reign, but to its promising beginning. It was then that he defeated his brother Abul-Baqa' Khalid, who had been slow ("like a mangy camel") to take measures against him.

Disturbances will eventually take place there.
They will affect the innocent as much as the guilty.

In the Maghrib, I came across another prediction work concerning the Hafsids in Tunis. The poem mentions the famous Sultan Abu Yahya (Abu Bakr), the tenth Hafsid ruler, and it mentions as his successor his brother Muhammad. (The poet) says:

And afterwards, Abu 'Abd-allah,¹⁰⁷⁹ his brother,
Who will be known as al-Watthab . . .

(Thus it is found) in the original manuscript.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, the person mentioned did not succeed his brother as ruler of Tunis, though it was his ambition to become ruler until he died.

Another Maghribi prediction work is a "play-poem" attributed to al-Hawshini. It is written in the vulgar language, in the "local meter."¹⁰⁸¹ It begins:

Leave me alone, O my incessant tears.
The rains have slowed down, but you have not.
All the rivers are full.
But you continue to fill and become like a pool [?].
The whole country is wet,
And you know how (bad) are the times.
The summer and the winter have gone by [?],
And the fall and the spring are passing.
They¹⁰⁸² replied, seeing that the claim (to be sad) was sound:
Let me weep! Who could give me an excuse (not to weep)!
Oh, look at these times.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Abd-allah* is used instead of 'Abdallah because of the meter.

¹⁰⁸⁰ This sentence is written in the MSS as if it were part of the last, incomplete verse.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. 3:466, below.

¹⁰⁸²; i.e., the tears.

This period is a difficult and bitter one.

It is a long (poem), which the common people of Morocco know by heart. It is most likely a forgery, because nothing that is said in it is correct, unless it is provided with a twisted interpretation by the common people, or with a fanciful one by the educated people who accept the poem.

In the East, I came across a prediction work attributed to Ibn al-'Arabs al-Hitimi.¹⁰⁸³ It consists of a long, enigmatic discussion. Its interpretation is known only to God. The work is interspersed with magic squares, mysterious hints, complete outlines of animals, separate heads, and strange representations of two animals.¹⁰⁸⁴ It contains at the end a poem rhyming on *l*. The most likely assumption is that the whole work is incorrect, because it has no scientific basis, astrological or otherwise.

I¹⁰⁸⁵ heard some distinguished¹⁰⁸⁶ people in Egypt transmit a remarkable statement from a prediction work by Ibn al-'Arab[. The work may be different from the one (just mentioned). Ibn al-'Arab[speaks about the horoscope of the foundation of Cairo. According to that horoscope, he gives the city a duration of 460 years, which would take us down to the 830's [1426-35]; for, if we convert the 460 years, which are solar years, into lunar years, figuring three years more for each century, we shall have to add altogether fourteen years. Thus, it would come to 474 years, which have to be added to 358 [969], the year Cairo was founded. That would take us to the year 832 [1428/29]. Consequently, (Cairo will be destroyed at that time) if the statement by Ibn al-'Arab[is correct and the astrological indications are true.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, 1, 800, No. 146b.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Such as, for instance, the snake and the lion found on the talisman called "the Lion Seal." Cf. 3:163 below.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The following paragraph is not found in Bulaq or E, and is still a marginal addition in C, but appears in the text of the other MSS.

¹⁰⁸⁶ In this case, people with esoteric knowledge.

An¹⁰⁸⁷ Egyptian whose knowledge I trust mentioned to me on the authority of Ibn al-'Arabi's prediction work, that (the years are to be figured) from the 320's, or 303, or 313, or 320. And God knows better about all this.

I have also heard that in the East there are other prediction works. They are attributed to Avicenna and Ibn'Aqb.¹⁰⁸⁸ They contain no indication whatever that (their contents) are correct, because (correct predictions) can be derived only from astral conjunctions.

The¹⁰⁸⁹ prediction works by Ibn Abi l-'Aqb are not authentic. In the biography of Ibn al-Qurayah, Ibn Khallikan quotes from the *Kitab al-Aghanito* the effect that Ibn Abi l-'Aqb—that is, Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Abi l-'Aqb belongs to things that are well known but have no outside existence, such as Majnun Layli and Ibn al-Qurayah.¹⁰⁹⁰ And God knows better.

In the East, I further came across a prediction work with forecasts concerning the Turkish dynasty. The work is attributed to a Sufi called al-Bijarbaqi.¹⁰⁹¹ The whole is a letter puzzle. It starts as follows:

If you want to discover the secret of *al jafr*, O my intimate,

¹⁰⁸⁷ This paragraph is added in the margin of C and appears in the text of D. The dates in this passage refer to early attempts by the Falimids to conquer Egypt.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cf. I. Goldziher, "Ibn abi-l-'Akb," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, LXXV (1921), 57-59, 292. Goldziher also mentions some MSS ascribed to this person. The Istanbul MS. Koprula II, 168, is ascribed to him in the catalogue, but the text does not mention his name.

¹⁰⁸⁹ This paragraph is likewise an addition of C and D.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-a'yan*, tr. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1843-71), I, 241; Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani* (Bulaq, 1285/1868), I, 169; (Cairo, 1345-/1927), 11, 9. For Ibn al-Qirriyah, whose name is said to have been Ayyub b. Zayd, cf. also H. M. Leon in *Islamic Culture*, II (1928), 347-59. For the legendary poet Majnun Layla, cf. GAL, I, 48; *Suppl.*, I, 81.

¹⁰⁹¹ For al-Bajarbaqi, cf. pp. 229 f., below, where a large part of his poem is repeated from another source, with a good many variants. The place from which al-Bajarbaqi derived his name is vocalized Bajurbaqi by Yiqut, *Mujam al-buldan*, ed. Wustenfeld (Gottingen, 1866-73), I, 453. However, the vocalization in C and D shows a for the second syllable.

The poem is incomprehensible to me, but a thorough study of the time of Baybars might make it possible to unravel its mysteries, although Ibn Khaldun himself was rather skeptical.

The science of the best of legatees, the father of al-Hasan,¹⁰⁹²
 Be understanding and comprehend letters and their numerical value,
 And the description, and act as a clever and intelligent person would
 act.

I shall not mention what was before my age.

But I shall mention the time that will come.

Baybars will be given a *hto* drink after the five of them¹⁰⁹³

And a *h-m* with restlessness, sleeping in blankets [mountain dens?].

Further verses are:

A *sh*, which has a trace (of something) under its navel,

Has the power (to decide), the power, that is, of a benign person.

And Egypt and Syria, together with the land of the 'Iraq, belong to him,

And Azerbaijan, as his realm, down to the Yemen.

Further verses are:

And the family of Nawwar, when its outstanding (man)¹⁰⁹⁴

The intrepid, the sharp one, who is meant by the branch, obtained . . . [?]

Further verses are:

Remove a happy one [Sa'id?], weak of age. An *s* has come,

Not a *l'*, and a *q* and an *n*, which got stuck in a quiver.

Brave people who have intelligence and considered opinions

And will be given a *h* to drink, and where then will be the owner of
 a branch?

Further verses are:

¹⁰⁹² That is, 'Ali, who, according to the Shi'ah, was appointed Muhammad's successor by the Prophet's last will.

¹⁰⁹³ The five letters of Baybars' name? The text below, p. 290, has "goblet" instead of "b."

¹⁰⁹⁴ The nominative is indicated in C and D.

After a *b* of years, he will be killed.

The *m* of the realm, the eloquent one, will follow the disgraced one.

This is the lame Kalbite [?]. Be concerned with him!

In his time, there will be disturbances, and what disturbances!

From the East, the Turkish army will come, which will be preceded by

A *q* free from¹⁰⁹⁵ the *q*, which will be attracted by the disturbances.

Before that-Woe until all Syria!

Show grief and mourning for the people and the country!

Behold, suddenly, alas, Egypt is shaken by an

Earthquake, which will remain unsettled for a year.

T, *t*, and *'ayn will* all be held captive,

And they will perish, and he will spend money freely.

The *q* will send a *q* toward the most praiseworthy of them [their Ahmad?].

Do not worry about him, for that fortress is strong.

Further verses are:

They will set up his brother, who is the best of them [their Salih?],

<*Lam*,> *lam-atif*, *sh* is repeated for that.

Further verses are:

Their rule will materialize with the *h*. None

Of the sons will ever come close to the rule.

There is another verse, which is said to be a reference to al-Malik az-Zahir Barquq¹⁰⁹⁶ and the coming of his father to him to Egypt. It runs:

His father will come to him after an emigration And a long absence and a hard and filthy life.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Leg.* *'drin*, instead of the *ghazin* of the MSS.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Barquq is added in C and D.

The poem has many verses. The likelihood is that it is a forgery. In ancient times, forgeries of poems of this type were numerous and widely practiced.

The historians of Baghdad report that in the days of al Muqtadir, there lived in Baghdad a skillful copyist by the name of ad-Daniyali.¹⁰⁹⁷ He gave leaves the appearance of being worn and wrote upon them in an ancient handwriting.

In his (forgeries), he referred to the men of the dynasty, under letters from their names, and hinted at the high positions and ranks to which he knew they aspired. (He gave the impression) that (his forgeries) were prediction works. In this manner, he obtained from them the worldly goods that he was after. In one of the documents, he wrote an m repeated three times, and he went with the document to Muflih, al-Muqtadir's client, who was an important official, and said to him: "This refers to you. It means Muflih, the client (mawla) of al-Muqtadir." In this connection, he mentioned the government position to which, he knew, (Muflih) aspired. For (Muflih's benefit), he had invented telltale allusions from Muflih's generally known circumstances. (Ad-Daniyali) thus deceived (Muflih), and (Muflih) gave him a fortune. Later on, the wazir al-Husayn b. al-Qasim b. Wahb, who was out of office (at the time), got in touch with Muflih.¹⁰⁹⁸ He had similar leaves prepared for him and referred to the name of the wazir with such letters and allusions fixed (beforehand). He said that (Ibn Wahb) would become wazir to the eighteenth caliph. Under his direction, the affairs (of the government)

¹⁰⁹⁷ The source of the following story is Ibn al-Athir, *Hamid*, VIII, 85 f., anno 919 [951]. As shown by C, it did not belong to the earliest draft of the Muqaddimah. The story is repeated in 'Ibar, III, 376. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, pp. 99 f.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldun says: wada'ahu . . . 'ald, which might mean "had a falsification made through Muflih," but this would seem forced. The translation follows Ibn al-Athir's text, which suggests: tawa,ctala . . . ma'a. Muflih merely brings ad-Daniyali in touch with Ibn Wahb, and is shown ad-Daniyali's finished product by Ibn Wahb.

The name of the wazir appears as al-Hasan in A, B, C, and D.

would be in order. He would defeat his enemies, and the world would be highly civilized in his time. (Ibn Wahb) let Muflih see the leaves. He (had also) mentioned in them other events and predictions of the same kind, things that had already happened and others that had not yet happened. The whole he attributed to Daniel. Muflih liked the work and let al-Muqtadir see it. Al-Muqtadir's attention was directed through all these allusions to Ibn Wahb, because they obviously fitted him. Tricks of this sort, which were completely based on falsehood and on ignorance of such puzzles, were the reason for (Ibn Wahb's) becoming wazir.

It is obvious that the prediction work that is ascribed to al-Bajarbagi is a work of this kind.

I asked Akmal-ad-din,¹⁰⁹⁹ the *shaykh* of the non-Arab Hanafites in Egypt, about this prediction work and about the Sufi (author), al-Bajarbagi, to whom it is attributed, since he was informed about the Sufi orders. He said: "Al-Bajarbaqi belonged to the Sufis known as Qalandariyah, who practice the innovation of shaving their beards. He was talking about what was going to happen by means of the removal (of the veil, *kashf*), and was hinting at personalities whose identity he knew. He referred to them cryptically with letters that he made up freely. (He did this) for whomever of them he saw. Occasionally, he put that (material) into poetical form and from time to time produced a few verses. These verses were later on circulated in his name. People were eager to get them. They considered them an enigmatic prediction work. The verses were then constantly added to by forgers of this type, and the common people occupied themselves with trying to decipher them. But it is impossible to decipher them, because only previously known or established rules can lead to the decipherment of such puzzles. In this (particular case), the only clues to the meaning of the letters are in the po-

¹⁰⁹⁹ Muhammad b. Mahmud, who was born shortly after 710 [1310/11], and who died in 786 [1384]. Cf. GAL, 11, 80 f.; suppl., II, 89 f. Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-Kaminah*, IV, 250, states on the authority of Ibn Khaldun that Akmal-ad-din believed in the mystical doctrine of monism (*wabdhah*).

em itself."¹¹⁰⁰ The statement quoted from so excellent a person (as Shaykh Akmal-ad-din) is to me an al-together adequate answer to the problem that, I felt, was posed by the prediction work of al-Bajarbagi.

"We would not be persons who are guided aright, had God not guided us."¹¹⁰¹

Later on,¹¹⁰² I came across the History of Ibn Kathir.¹¹⁰³ It was in Damascus where I stopped with the Sultan's cavalcade in the year 802 [1400], at a time when I was chief Malikite judge in Egypt.

In the biography of (al-Bajarbaqi) relative to the year 724 [1324], Ibn Kathir says: "Shams-ad-din Muhammad al-Bajarbaqi. He is considered the founder of the unorthodox sect of the Bajarbagiyah, which is known for its denial of the Creator. (Al-Bajarbaqi's) father, Jamal-ad-din `Abd-arRahim b. `Umar al-Mawsilt, was a pious Shafi'ite who taught in Damascus colleges. His son grew up among jurisconsults. He studied a little and then turned to mysticism. A group of people who believed in him and followed his order adhered to him. Later on, the Malikite judge condemned him to death, and he fled to the East. He then was able to prove that those who had testified against him were hostile to him, and the Hanbalite (judge) reversed the former judgment. (Al-Bajarbagi) remained in al-Qabun (near Damascus) for a number of years. He died during the night of Wednesday, Rabi` II, 16, 724 [night of April 11/12, 1324].

¹¹⁰⁰ Bulaq adds: "and cannot be found outside."

¹¹⁰¹ Qur'an 7.43 (44).

¹¹⁰² The following addition, containing the latest date mentioned in the *Muqaddimah*, is found only in C and D.

¹¹⁰³ Isma'il b. 'Umar, born shortly after 700 [1300/1301], died in 774 [1373]. Cf. GAL, II, 49; *Suppl.*, II, 48 f. The reference is to his *Bidayah*, XIV, 115. The poem, however, is not quoted there. For al-Bajarbaqi, who was born ca. 676[1277/78], cf. also adh-Dhahabi, *Duwal al-Islam* (2d ed.; Hyderabad, 1364-65/1945-46), II, 177; Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, IV, 12 ff.; al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-Wafayat* (Cairo, 1951-53), II, 444 f.; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat adh-dhahab*, VI, 64 f. As-Safadi's article on him has now been published. Cf. al-Safadi, *Wafi*, ed. S. Dederling (Damascus, 1953), III, 249 f.

Ibn Kathir says: Al-Bajarbagi composed *a jafr*poem which runs as follows:¹¹⁰⁴

Listen and comprehend letters and their numerical values,
And the description, and be understanding, like a clever and intelligent person.

The Lord of the heavens will tell, concerning Egypt and what is to be in Syria

Of good things and of tribulations.

Baybars will be given a goblet to drink after the five of them,
And a *h-m* with restlessness, sleeping in blankets [mountain dens?].

Alas, Damascus -what descended upon its territory!

They destroyed a mosque of God. How (beautifully) had it been constructed!

Woe unto it, how many acted wrongly with regard to the religion! How many did they kill!

How much blood, of scholars and lowly people, did they shed!

How much (noise) could be heard, and how many captives there were!

How many did they rob

And then burn, of young men and old;

Existence is dark, and the land is blacked out.

Even the pigeons there mourn on the branches.

Oh, (poor) creatures, is there no helper for the religion?

Get up (all of you) and go to Syria, from the plains and the rugged hills!

The Arabs of the `Iraq and of Lower and Upper Egypt are coming.

The firm resolution is to bring death to unbelief in (Damascus).

¹¹⁰⁴Cf. p. 225, above.

Chapter IV. COUNTRIES AND CITIES,¹ AND ALL OTHER (FORMS OF) SEDENTARY CIVILIZATION. THE CONDITIONS OCCURRING THERE. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY (CONSIDERATIONS) IN THIS CONNECTION.

[p.2:233]

IV.1. Dynasties are prior to towns and cities. Towns and cities are secondary (products) of royal authority.

[p.2:235]

THE EXPLANATION FOR THIS IS that building and city planning are features of sedentary culture brought about by luxury and tranquility, as we have mentioned before² Such (features of sedentary culture) come after Bedouin life and the features that go with it.

Furthermore, towns and cities with their monuments,³ vast constructions, and large buildings, are set up for the masses and not for the few. Therefore, united effort and much co-operation are needed for them. They are not among the things that are necessary matters of general concern to human beings, in the sense that all human beings desire them or feel compelled to have them. As a matter of fact, (human beings) must be forced and driven to (build cities). The stick of royal authority is what compels them, or they may be stimulated by promise of reward and compensation. (Such

¹ A and D add "and towns."

² Cf., for instance, 1:347, above.

³ *Hayakil*. Cf. n. 172 to Ch. i, above.

reward) amounts to so large a sum that only royal authority and a dynasty can pay for it. Thus, dynasties and royal authority are absolutely necessary for the building of cities and the planning of towns.

Then, when the town has been built and is all finished, as the builder saw fit and as the climatic and geographical conditions required, the life of the dynasty is the life of the town. If the dynasty is of short duration, life in the town will stop at the end of the dynasty. Its civilization will recede, and the town will fall into ruins. On the other hand, if the dynasty is of long duration and lasts a long time, new constructions will always go up in the town, the number of large mansions will increase, and the walls⁴ of the town will extend farther and farther. 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. This happened in Baghdad and similar (cities).

The Khatib mentioned in his *History* that in the time of al-Ma'min, the number of public baths in Baghdad reached 65,000.⁵ (Baghdad) included over forty of the adjacent neighboring towns and cities. It was not just one town surrounded by one wall. Its population was much too large for that. The same was the case with al-Qayrawan, Cordoba, and al-Mahdiyah in Islamic times. It is the case with Egypt and Cairo at this time, so we are told.

The dynasty that has built a certain town may be destroyed. Now, the mountainous and flat areas surrounding the city are a desert^{5a} that constantly provides for (an influx of) civilization (population). This (fact), then, will preserve the existence of (the town), and (the town) will continue to live after the dynasty is dead. (This situation) can be observed in Fez and Bougie in the West, and in the non-Arab 'Iraq in the East, which get their civilization (population) from the mountains. When the conditions of the inhabitants of

⁴ Bulaq: "the markets."

⁵ The reference seems to be to al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, I, 117, but Ibn Khaldun probably quotes him indirectly. For the "Preacher of Baghdad," Ahmad b. 'Ali, 392-463 [1002-1071], cf. GAL, I, 329; *Suppl.*, 1, 562 ff

^{5a} Cf. our remarks on Ibn Khaldun's use of this word, 1:lxxvii, above.

the desert reach the utmost ease and (become most) profitable, (the situation thus created causes the inhabitants of the desert to) look for the tranquility and quiet that human beings (desire) by nature. Therefore, they settle in towns and cities and form an (urban) population.

Or, it may happen that a town founded (by a dynasty now destroyed) has no opportunity to replenish its civilization (population) by a constant influx of settlers from a desert near the town. In this case, the destruction of the dynasty will leave it unprotected. It cannot be maintained. Its civilization will gradually decay, until its population is dispersed and gone. This happened in Baghdad, Egypt,⁶ and al-Kufah in the East, and in al-Qayrawan, al-Mahdiyyah, and Qal'at Bani Hammad⁷ in the West, as well as in other cities. This should be understood.

Frequently it happens that after the destruction of the original builders of (a town, that town) is used by another realm and dynasty as its capital and residence. This then makes it unnecessary for (the new dynasty) to build (another) town for itself as a settlement. In this case, the (new) dynasty will protect the town. Its buildings and constructions will increase in proportion to the improved circumstances and the luxury of the new dynasty. The life (of the new dynasty) gives (the town) another life. This has happened in contemporary Fez and Cairo.

This should be considered, and God's secret (plans) for His creation should be understood.

IV.2. Royal authority calls for urban settlement.

[p.2:237]

This is because, when royal authority is obtained by tribes and groups, (the tribes and groups) are forced to take possession of cities for two reasons.

⁶ Ibn Khaldun was probably thinking of Fustat.

⁷ Cf. n. 6 to Ch. III, above.

One of them is that royal authority causes (the people) to seek tranquility, restfulness, and relaxation, and to try to provide the aspects of civilization that were lacking in the desert. 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, may 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.⁸ He fortifies himself in the city and fights them (from there). Now, it is very difficult and troublesome to overpower a city.⁹ A city is worth a great number of soldiers, in that it offers protection from behind the walls and makes attacks difficult, and no great numbers or much power are needed. Power and group support are needed in war only for the sake of the steadfastness provided by the mutual affection (tribesmen) show each other in battle. The steadfastness of (people in a city) is assured by the walls of the city. Therefore, they do not need much group support or great numbers (for defense). The existence of a city and of rivals who fortify themselves in it thus eats into the strength of a nation desiring to gain control and breaks the impetus of its efforts in this respect. Therefore, if there are cities in the tribal territory of (a dynasty, the dynasty) will 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 are 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, secondly, in order to use (the city) as a threat against those parties and groups within the dynasty that might desire power and might wish to resist.

⁸*Samaw*, as vocalized in C, can scarcely be translated otherwise. "Which they have obtained" or "to which they have been raised" are hardly possible. Perhaps the text should read *yasmu* "to which he aspires."

⁹Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

It is thus clear that royal authority calls for urban settlement and control of the cities.

"God has the power to execute His commands."¹⁰

IV.3. Only a strong royal authority is able to construct large cities and high monuments.

[p.2:238]

We have mentioned this before in connection with buildings and other dynastic (monuments).¹¹ (The size of monuments) is proportionate to the importance of (the various dynasties). The construction of cities can be achieved only by united effort, great numbers, and the co-operation of workers. When the dynasty is large and far-flung, workers are brought together from all regions, and their labor is employed in a common effort. Often, the work involves the help of machines, which multiply the power and strength needed to carry the loads required in building. (Unaided) human strength would be insufficient. Among such machines are pulleys¹² and others.

Many people who view the great monuments and constructions of the ancients, such as the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Iwan Kisra*), the pyramids of Egypt, the arches of the Malga (at Carthage) and those of Cherchel in the Maghrib, think that the ancients erected them by their own (unaided) powers, whether (they worked) as individuals or in groups. They imagine that the ancients had bodies proportionate to (those monuments) and that their bodies, consequently, were much taller, wider, and heavier than (our bodies), so that there was the right proportion between (their bodies) and the physical strength from which such buildings resulted. They forget the importance of machines and pulleys and engineering skill implied in this connection. Many a traveled person can confirm what we have stated from

¹⁰Qur'an 12.21 (21).

¹¹Cf. 1:556 ff, above, where the contents of this section were dealt with before.

¹²Cf. also p. 363, below, Ibn Khaldun read the word *mikhal*, which is to be connected either with *μύχανη* or *μαγγανον*, probably with the former. Cf. also *mukhl* "lever."

his own observation of building (activities) and of the use of mechanics to transport building materials among the non-Arab dynasties concerned with such things.

The common people call most of the monuments of the ancients found at this time, 'Adite monuments, with reference to the people of 'Ad. The common people think that the buildings and constructions of 'Ad are so big because the bodies of (the 'Adites) were so big and their strength many times greater (than our strength). This is not so. We have many monuments of nations whose body measurements are well known to us. (These monuments) are as big or bigger than such (famed monuments) as, for instance, the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Iwan Kisrd*) and the buildings of the Shi'ah 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids) in Ifriqiyah, or those of the Sinhajah, whose monument, still visible to this day, is the minaret of Qal'at Banu Hammad.

The same applies to the building (activity) of the Aghlabids in the Mosque of al-Qayrawan, and of the Almohads in Rabat (Ribat al-Fath), and to the forty years building (activity) of Sultan Abul-Hasan in al-Mansurah, opposite Tlemcen.¹³ It also applies to the arches supporting the aqueduct by means of which the inhabitants of Carthage brought water to their city, and which are still standing at this time. There are also other buildings and monuments (*hayakil*), the history of whose builders, whether ancient or recent, is known to us, and we can be certain that the measurements of their bodies were not excessive. This belief is founded solely upon (the tales of) storytellers who eagerly tell stories about the people of 'Ad and Thamud and the Amalekites. In fact, we find the houses of the Thamud still existing at this time in Petra, where they are cut into the rock. It is established by (the

¹³The Merinids started the building of al-Mansurah under Abu Ya'qub Yusuf in 1299, and occupied it with interruptions down to 1299 and the years immediately following under Abu l-Hasan 'Ali. Cf. G. Marcais in *EI*, s.v. "al-Mansura." Bulaq has "Abu Sa'id [1310-31]" instead of the correct Abu l-Hasan. De Slane translated: "(about) forty years ago," which would be historically accurate, but is linguistically hardly possible.

sound tradition of) the *Sahih* that those houses actually were theirs.¹⁴ The Hijazi (pilgrim) caravan has passed by them for very many years, and it has been observed that those houses are not larger than usual inside, nor in size and height (generally)

In their belief that (the ancients had excessively large bodies, the storytellers) exaggerate so much that they believe that Og, the son of Anak, one of the Amalekites (or Canaanites),¹⁵ used to take fish fresh out of the water and cook them in the sun. They have that idea because they think that the heat of the sun is greater close to it. They do not know that the heat of the sun here among us is its light, because of the reflection of the rays when they hit the surface of the earth and the air. The sun itself is neither hot nor cold. It is a star of an uncomposed (substance) that gives light. Something of this was mentioned before in the second chapter; there we mentioned that (the size of the monuments¹⁶ of) dynasties is proportionate to their original power.

"God creates whatever He wishes."¹⁷

IV.4. Very large monuments are not built by one dynasty alone.

[p.2:241]

The reason for this is the afore-mentioned need for cooperation and multiplication of human strength in any building activity. Sometimes buildings are so large that they are too much for (human) strength, whether it is on its own or multiplied by machines, as we have (just) stated. Therefore, the repeated application of similar strength is required over successive periods, until (the building) materializes. One (ruler) starts the construction. He is followed by another and (the second by) a third. Each of them does all he can to bring workers together in a common effort. Finally, (the building)

¹⁴Cf. 1:359 (n. i is), above.

¹⁵C has "Canaan" written over "Amalekites," Cf. 1:358 (n. 110), above.

¹⁶Bulaq correctly supplied these words in the text.

¹⁷Qur'an 3.47 (42), and similar passages.

materializes, as it was planned, and then stands before our eyes. Those who live at a later period and see the building think that it was built by (but) a single dynasty.

In this connection one should compare what the historians report about the construction of the Dam of Ma'rib. Its construction was (started by) Saba' b. Yashjub.¹⁸ He caused seventy rivers to flow into it. Death prevented him from completing it, and it was then completed by the Himyarite rulers who succeeded him.

Something similar has been reported with regard to the construction of Carthage, its aqueduct, and the 'Adite arches¹⁹ supporting it. And the same is the case with most great buildings. This is confirmed by the great buildings of our own time. We find one ruler starting by laying out their foundations. Then, if the rulers who succeed him do not follow in his steps and complete (the building), it remains as it is, and is not completed as planned.

Another confirmation of our theory is the fact that we find that (later) dynasties are unable to tear down and destroy many great architectural monuments, even though destruction is much easier than construction, because destruction is return to the origin, which is non-existence, while construction is the opposite of that.²⁰ Thus, when we find a building that our human strength is too weak to tear down, even though it is easy to tear something down, we realize that the strength used in starting such a monument must have been immense and that the building could not be the monument of a single dynasty.

This is what happened to the Arabs with regard to the Reception Hall of Khosraw (*Iwan Kisra*). Ar-Rashid had the intention of tearing it down. He sent to Yahya b. Khalid, who was in prison, and asked him for advice. Yahya said: "O Commander of the Faithful, do not do it! Leave it standing!

¹⁸ Cf., for instance, A. Grohmann in *EI*, s.v. "Ma'rib"; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, II, 159.

¹⁹Cf. p. 239, above.

²⁰Cf. 1:356, above, and 3:278, below.

It shows the extent of the royal authority of your fore-fathers, who were able to take away the royal authority from the people who built such a monument." Ar-Rashid, however, mistrusted Yahyi's advice. He said that Yahya was motivated by his affection for the non-Arabs and that he (ar-Rashid) would indeed bring it down. He started to tear it down and made a concerted effort to this effect. He had pickaxes applied to it, and he had it heated by setting fire to it, and he had vinegar poured upon it. Still, after all these (efforts), he was unable (to tear it down). Fearful of the disgrace (involved in his inability to demolish the monument), he sent again to Yahya and asked him for advice, whether he should give up his efforts to tear it down. Yahya replied: "Do not do that! Get on with it, so that it may not be said that the Commander of the Faithful and ruler of the Arabs was not able to tear down something that non-Arabs had built." Thus, ar-Rashid recognized (his disgrace) and was unable to tear it down.²¹

The same happened to al-Ma'mun in (his attempt) to tear down the pyramids in Egypt. He assembled workers to tear them down, but he did not have much success. The workers began by boring a hole into the pyramids, and they came to an interior chamber between the outer wall and walls farther inside. That was as far as they got in their attempt to tear (the pyramid) down. Their efforts are said to show to this day in the form of a visible hole. Some think that al-Ma'mun found a buried treasure between the walls.²² And God knows better.

The same applies to the arches of the Malga (at Carthage, which are still standing) at this time. The people of Tunis need stones for their buildings, and the craftsmen like the quality of the stones of the arches (of the aqueduct). For a long time, they have attempted to tear them down. Howev-

²¹Cf. I: 356, above.

²²Cf. esp., E. Graefe, *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makrizi's "Hitat"* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, V5) (Leipzig, 1911), p. 59 and *passim*. Cf. also al-Mas'udi, *Akhbar az-zaman* (Cairo, 1357/1938), p. 138.

er, even the smallest (part) of the walls comes down only after the greatest efforts. Parties assemble for the purpose. (They are) a well-known (custom), and I have seen many of them in the days of my youth.

"God has power over everything."²³

IV.5. Requirements, for the planning of towns and the consequences of neglecting those requirements.

[p.2:243]

Towns are dwelling places that nations use when they have reached the desired goal of luxury and of the things that go with it. Then, they prefer tranquility and quiet and turn to using houses to dwell in.

The purpose of (building towns) is to have places for dwelling and shelter. Therefore, it is necessary in this connection to see to it that harmful things are kept away from the towns by protecting them against inroads by them, and that useful features are introduced and all the conveniences are made available in them.

In connection with the protection of towns against harmful things, one should see to it that all the houses of the town are situated inside a protective wall. Furthermore, the town should be situated in an inaccessible place, either upon a rugged hill or surrounded by the sea or by a river, so that it can be reached only by crossing some sort of bridge.²⁴ In that way, it will be difficult for an enemy to take the town, and its inaccessibility and fortress (character) will be increased many times,

In connection with the protection of towns against harm that might arise from atmospheric phenomena, one should see to it that the air where the

²³ Qur'an 2.20 (19).

²⁴ Ibn Khaldun uses two words for "bridge," which are not consistently differentiated in meaning. One is used for bridges over deep gorges, the other for bridges over wide rivers, by Abu I-Hasan al-'Amiri, *al-'Ilam bimanaqib al-Islam*, MS. Istanbul, Ragib, 1463, fol. 4b. Cf. also al-Jawaligi, *Sharh Adab al-Katib* (Cairo, 1350/1931-32), pp. 71 f.; Qajikhan, *Fatawi* (Calcutta, 1835), IV, 84.

town is (to be situated) is good, in order to be safe from illness. When the air is stagnant and bad, or close to corrupt waters or putrid pools or swamps, it is speedily affected by putrescence as the result of being near these things, and it is unavoidable that (all) living beings who are there will speedily be affected by illness. This fact is confirmed by direct observation. Towns where no attention is paid to good air, have, as a rule, much illness. In the Maghrib, Gabes in the Jarid, in Ifriqiyah, is famous for that. Very few of its inhabitants or those who come there (from elsewhere) are spared some (form of) the putrid fever. It has been said that this (condition) is recent there, that it did not use to be that way. Al-Bakri²⁵ gives an account of how this happened. A copper vessel was found during an excavation there. The vessel was sealed with lead. The seal was broken, and (a puff of) smoke came out of the vessel and disappeared in the air. Feverous diseases began to occur in that place from that time on.

(Al-Bakri) meant to imply that the vessel contained some magic spell against (the occurrence of) pestilence, and that when it was gone its magic efficacy also disappeared. Therefore, putrescence and pestilence reappeared. The story is an example of the feeble beliefs and ideas of the common people. Al-Bakri was neither learned nor enlightened enough to reject such (a story) and see through its nonsensical character. He reported it as he had heard it. The truth lies in the fact that it mostly is the stagnancy of putrid air that causes the putrefaction of bodies and the occurrence of feverous diseases. When the wind gets into (the putrid air), and disperses it left and right, the effect of putrescence is lessened, and the occurrence of illness among living beings decreases correspondingly. When a place has many inhabitants and its people move around a great deal, the air necessarily is made

²⁵ Cf. al-Bakri's *Masalik* in de Slane's translation, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed.; Algiers, 1913), p. 43, Cf. 1:74 (n. 8), *above*. Here again, Ibn Khaldun quotes al-Bakri from memory and adds an element, the copper vessel, which is also known from *The Arabian Nights*. Cf. also W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des 'Abdari* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 25) (Leipzig, 1940), p. 75.

to circulate, and there originates a wind that gets into stagnant air²⁶ This, (in turn,) helps the air to keep moving and circulating. Where there are few inhabitants, the air is not helped to move and circulate, so it remains stagnant. Its putrescence increases and its harmfulness grows. When Ifriqiyah enjoyed a flourishing civilization and a large population, Gabes had many inhabitants whose constant activity helped to keep the air circulating and to keep the harm resulting from (stagnant air) at a minimum by dispersing it. There was not much putrescence or illness there at that time. But when the number of inhabitants (in Gabes) became fewer, the air there, which was putrefied through the corruption of the water (of the town), became stagnant, and putrescence and the occurrence of disease increased. This is the only correct explanation (of the prevalence of feverous diseases in Gabes).

We have seen the contrary occur in places founded without regard for the quality of the air. At first they had few inhabitants, and, consequently, the occurrence of disease was high. Then, when the (number of) inhabitants increased, the situation changed. An example is the royal residence in Fez at this time, which is called the New Town.²⁷ Many such (examples) exist in the world. If the reader will examine them, my statements will be found to be correct.

As of recent times,²⁸ the corruption of the air has disappeared in Gabes, and the putrescence no longer exists there. The ruler of Tunis besieged Gabes and cut down the palm grove that surrounded the town. Part of (the town) was thus opened up, and the surrounding air could circulate and the winds could get into it. Thus, the putrescence disappeared from the air.

God governs all affairs.

²⁶ But cf. above, p. 136. Cf. also p. 376 below.

²⁷New Fez was founded in 674 [1276]. Cf. *Ibar*, VII, 195; de Slane (tr.), IV, 84; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II, 30 f.

²⁸This paragraph is added in the margin of C and then appears in the text of D. The event referred to took place in 789 [1387], under Abu 1-'Abbas. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 597 f.; de Slane (tr.), III, 113; R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, I, 194.

In connection with the importation of useful things and conveniences into towns, one must see to a number of matters.²⁹ There is the water (problem). The place should be on a river, or springs with plenty of fresh water should be facing it. The existence of water near the place simplifies the water problem for the inhabitants, which is urgent. The existence of (water) will be a general convenience to them.

Another utility in towns, for which one must provide, is good pastures for the livestock of (the inhabitants). Each householder needs domestic animals for breeding, for milk, and for riding. (These animals) require pasturage. If (the pastures) are nearby and good, that will be more convenient for them, because it is troublesome for them to have the pastures far away.

Furthermore, one has to see to it that there are fields suitable for cultivation. Grain is the (basic) food. When the fields are near, the (needed grain) can be obtained more easily and quickly.

Then, there also is (the problem of) a woods to supply firewood and building material. Firewood is a matter of general concern, as it is used for making fires to generate heat. Timber, too, is needed, for roofing and for the many other necessities for which timber is employed.

One should also see to it that the town is situated close to the sea, to facilitate the importation of foreign goods from remote countries. However, this is not on the same level with the afore-mentioned (requirements). All the (requirements) mentioned differ in importance according to the different needs and the necessity that exists for them on the part of the inhabitants.

²⁹ 'Ali' ad-din al-Kindi, 640-716 [1242/43-1316. Cf. *GAL*, II, 9; *Suppl.*, II, 2; Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, III, 130 ff, in his *Tadhkirah*, wrote as follows: "Do not stay in a place where there is no flowing river, no active business, and no just judge, learned physician, or forceful ruler. Have cities built only where there is water and opportunities for pasturage and collecting firewood." (Quoted from as-Suyuti, *Kawkab ar-Rawllah*, MS. Ar. Princeton 601 = 179 H, fol. 2b.) In this and similar forms, the saying has been popular in Arabic wisdom literature since the ninth century. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun*, I, 6, 215; 'Ali b. Rabban at-Tabarl, *Firdaws al-hikmah*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi (Berlin, 1928), p. 576; al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, among the sayings attributed to Hermes (cf. H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, p. 105); ar-Righib al-Isfahani, *Muhadarat*, II, 950.

The founder (of a town) sometimes fails to make a good natural selection, or he sees only to what seems most important to him or his people, and does not think of the needs of others. The Arabs did that at the beginning of Islam when they founded towns in the 'Iraq, the Hijaz,³⁰ and Ifriqiyah. They saw only to what seemed important to them, namely, pastures for (their) camels and the trees and brackish water suitable to (camels). They did not see to it that there was water (for human consumption), fields for cultivation, firewood, or pastures for domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, and so on.³¹ Among the cities (founded by the Arabs) were al-Qayrawan, al-Kufah, al-Basrah, Sijilmasah, and the like. (These cities) were, therefore, very ready to fall into ruins, in as much as in connection with them no attention had been paid to the natural (requirements of towns).

In connection with coastal towns situated on the sea, one must see to it that they are situated on a mountain or amidst a people sufficiently numerous to come to the support of the town when an enemy attacks it. The reason for this is that a town which is near the sea but does not have within its area tribes who share its group feeling, or is not situated in rugged mountain territory, is in danger of being attacked at night by surprise. Its enemies can easily attack it with a fleet and do harm to it. They can be sure that the city has no one to call to its support and that the urban population, accustomed to tranquility, has become dependent (on others for its protection) and does not know how to fight. Among (cities) of this type, for instance, are Alexandria in the East, and Tripoli, Bone, and Sale in the West.

Tribes and groups living nearby, where a call for help or the sounds of fighting can reach them, and roads (too) rugged to be used by those who want to reach (the town) built upon a hilltop in mountainous country, constitute the principal defenses (of towns) against (their enemies). (The enemies) will

³⁰The reference to the Hijaz was omitted in Bulaq, apparently for the good reason that it does not make much sense.

³¹Cf. p. 269, below.

give up attacking the town. Its rugged situation stops them, and they fear that the town's call for help will be answered. This applies to Ceuta, Bougie, and even to Collo (al-Qull),³² despite its small size.

This should be understood. It may be illustrated by the fact that Alexandria was designated a "border city" by the 'Abbasids although the 'Abbasid propaganda extended beyond Alexandria to Barca (Barqah) and Ifriqiyah. (The term "border city" for Alexandria) expressed ('Abbasid) fears that attacks (against Alexandria) could be made from the sea. (Such fears were justified in the case of Alexandria) because of its exposed situation. (Its exposed situation) probably was the reason why Alexandria and Tripoli were attacked by the enemy in Islamic times on numerous occasions,

IV.6. The mosques and venerated buildings of the world.

[p.2:249]

It should be known that God singled out some places of the earth for special honor. He made them the homes of His worship. (People who worship in them) receive a much greater reward and recompense (than people who worship elsewhere). God informed us about this situation through the tongues of His messengers and prophets, as an act of kindness to His servants and for the purpose of facilitating their ways to happiness.

We know from the two *Sahih*s that the most excellent places on earth³³ are the three mosques of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Mecca is the house of Abraham. God commanded Abraham to build it and to exhort the people to make the pilgrimage thither. He and his son Ishmael built it, as is stated in the Qur'an.³⁴ He fulfilled God's commandment in this respect. Ishmael

³² The principal port for Constantine. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 288.

³³ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 299, 301, 466, 497; *Handbook*, p. 137b.

³⁴ Qur'an 2.125 ff. (119 ff.).

dwelt there with Hagar and the Jurhum (tribe) who lived with them, until they both died and were buried in the *hijr*³⁵ of (the Ka'bah).

Jerusalem is the house of David and Solomon. God commanded them to build the mosque there and to erect its monuments (*hayakil*). Many of the prophets, descendants of Isaac, were buried around it.

Medina is the place to which our Prophet emigrated when God commanded him to emigrate and to establish the religion of Islam there. He built his sacred mosque in Medina, and his noble burial place is on (Medina's) soil.

These three mosques are the consolation of the Muslims, the desire of their hearts, and the sacred asylum of their religion. There are many well-known traditions about their excellence and the very great reward awaiting those who live near them and pray in them. We shall give (in the following pages) some references to the history of the origin of these three mosques and tell how they gradually developed and eventually made their full-fledged appearance in the world.

Mecca is said to have originated when Adam built it opposite the "much-frequented house."³⁶ Later on, Mecca was destroyed in the Flood. There is no sound historical information in this connection on which one may rely. The information is merely derived from the indication in the verse of the Qur'an, "And when Abraham raised the foundations of the house :..."³⁷

Then, God sent Abraham, whose story and that of his wife Sarah and her jealousy of Hagar are known. God revealed to Abraham that he should³⁸ separate from Hagar and exile her together with her son Ishmael to Paran (Faran), the mountains of Mecca beyond Syria and Aylah. Abraham sent her

³⁵Cf. p. 252, below.

³⁶ Qur'an 52.4 (4).

³⁷ Qur'an 2.127 (121).

³⁸The following four lines, down to "became thirsty," originally read: "leave his son Ishmael and Ishmael's mother Hagar in the desert, and he put them down at the place of the House and left them." The new text is found in the margin of C and the text of D.

out there, and she reached the place of the House. There, she became thirsty, and God in His kindness caused the water of the well of Zamzam to gush forth for Hagar and Ishmael. He also caused a group of Jurhumites to pass by them. They took in Hagar and Ishmael and dwelt with them around the Zamzam, as is well known and stated in its proper place. Ishmael built a house for shelter where the Ka'bah is situated. He built a circular hedge of doom palms around it and turned it into an enclosure for his sheep and goats. Abraham came several times from Syria to visit him. On his last visit, he was ordered to build the Ka'bah on the site of the enclosure. He built it with the help of his son Ishmael. He exhorted the people to make pilgrimage to (the Ka'bah). Ishmael stayed there. When his mother Hagar died, he buried her there. He himself continued to serve (the Ka'bah) until he died. He was buried next to his mother Hagar, and his descendants took charge after him of the affairs of the House together with their maternal uncles from the Juhum. Then, after them, there came the Amalekites. The situation remained unchanged.³⁹

People eagerly came there from all directions. There were all kinds of people, descendants of Ishmael as well as others, from near and far. It has been reported that the Tubba's used to make the pilgrimage to the House and to venerate it. It has also been reported that the Tubba' called Tiban As'ad Abu Karib⁴⁰ clothed it with curtains and striped Yemenite cloth and ordered it cleaned and had a key made for it. It has furthermore been reported that the Persians used to make pilgrimage to it and present sacrificial gifts to it. The two golden gazelles that 'Abd-al-Muttalib found when the Zamzam was

³⁹Cf. also *Ibar*, 11, 59, 591.

⁴⁰The name of the Tubba' is added in the margin of C, and then incorporated in the text of D. C evidently has a *t* in Tiban, but the letter was written indistinctly and has elsewhere been misread as q. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 15.

excavated are said to have been one of the sacrificial gifts presented (to the Ka'bah) by (the Persians).⁴¹ .

The Jurhum, as descendants of the maternal uncles of the children of Ishmael, continued their administration of the House after them. Eventually, the Khuza'ah ousted them and remained there after them, as long as God wanted them to remain. Then, the descendants of Ishmael became numerous and spread. They branched out into the Kinanah, who, in turn, branched out into the Quraysh and others. The administration of the (Ka'bah by the) Khuza'ah deteriorated. The Quraysh took it away from them. They ousted them from the House and took possession of it themselves. Their chief at the time was Qusayy b. Kilab. He rebuilt the House and gave it a roof of doom-palm and date-palm boughs. Al-A'shai said:

I swear by the two garments of the monk (of al-Lujj) and by (the building) that

Was built by Qusayy all alone and by Ibn Jurhum.⁴²

During the (Qurashite) administration later on, the House was hit by a flood - or, it is said, by a fire - and was destroyed. The (Quraysh) rebuilt

⁴¹Cf. also p. 257, below. Usually, the gazelles are said to come from the Jurhum; cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 94. However, al-Mas'udi, *Muru'j adhdhahab* (Paris, 1861-77), II, 150, considered this impossible and argued for their Persian origin.

⁴² Cf. al-A'sha, *Diwan*, ed. R. Geyer (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. No. 6) (Vienna & London, 1928), No. 15, v. 44, and p. 88 for the numerous parallel passages collected by Geyer.

Al-Lujj may be the original reading. It is said to have been a pool near the monastery of Hind, the daughter of King an-Nu'man of al-Hirah. The "two garments" are said to have been the objects worshipped there.

However, al-Lujj is not found in the MSS of the *Muqaddimah*. A, B, and C have nothing. D reads *thumma* (possibly a misunderstanding of the omission mark, as found in C?). Bulaq has *ad-dur*, which suggests *at-tul*, which occurs among the variants.

Instead of "all by himself," Bulaq has "and al-Ma'udid (b. Jurhum)." This is a well-attested variant reading. It may possibly have been inserted by the editor of Bulaq, or Ibn Khaldun himself may have made the change in the reading at some later date.

It should be noted that among the authors who quote the verse, there also appears al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, p. 152 (Ch. xiv).

it with money collected from their own property. A ship had been wrecked on the coast near Jidda. They bought its wood for the roof (of the Ka'bah). The height of its walls was (just) over a fathom, and they made them eighteen cubits (high). The door had been level with the ground, and they raised it (just) above one fathom in height, so that floodwaters could not enter it. They did not have enough money to finish it. Therefore, they shortened its foundations, and omitted six cubits and one span. (That area) they surrounded with a low wall. In making the circumambulation (of the Ka'bah), one keeps outside this wall. This (area) is the *hijr*.

The House remained in this state, until Ibn az-Zubayr, who wanted to be caliph, fortified himself in Mecca. The armies of Yazid b. Mu'awiyah, under al-Husayn b. Numayr as-Sakuni, advanced against him⁴³ in the year 64 [683]. (The House) was set afire, it is said, by means of naphtha, which the armies of Yazid shot against Ibn az-Zubayr. Its walls began to crack. Ibn az-Zubayr had it torn down and rebuilt it most beautifully. There was a difference of opinion among the men around Muhammad with regard (to the manner in which the Ka'bah) was to be reconstructed. Ibn az-Zubayr argued against the others with the following remark, which the Messenger of God had made to 'A'ishah: "If your people had not but recently been unbelievers, I would have restored the House on the foundations of Abraham and I would have made two doors for it, an eastern and a western one."⁴⁴ (Ibn az-Zubayr), therefore, tore it down and laid bare the foundations of Abraham. He assembled the great personalities and dignitaries (of Mecca) to look at them. Ibn 'Abbas advised him to think of preserving the *qiblah* for the people (during the reconstruction). Therefore, he set up a wooden scaffolding over the foundations and placed curtains over it, in order to preserve the *qiblah* (and keep it visible as a temporary measure). He sent to San'a' for gypsum and quicklime, which he had brought back (to Mecca). He asked about

⁴³Bulaq adds: "and the House was bombarded." 252

⁴⁴ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 45, 400; III, 197 f.

the original stone quarry used in constructing (the Ka'bah). As many stones as were needed by him were brought together. Then, he started construction over the foundations of Abraham. He built the walls twentyseven cubits high, and he made two doors for (the Ka'bah) on a level with the ground, as it was said in the tradition (quoted). He made floors and wall coverings of marble for (the Ka'bah), and he had keys and doors of gold fashioned for it.

Later on, in the days of 'Abd-al-Malik, al-Hajjaj came to besiege Ibn az-Zubayr. He bombarded the mosque from mangonels until its walls cracked. After Ibn az-Zubayr's defeat, al-Hajjaj consulted 'Abd-al-Malik concerning (Ibn az-Zubayr's) reconstruction of the House and additions to it. 'Abd-al-Malik ordered him to tear it down and rebuild it upon the foundations of the Quraysh. The Ka'bah has this (appearance) today. It is said that he ('Abd-al-Malik) regretted his action when he learned that Ibn az-Zubayr's transmission of the tradition of 'A'ishah was a sound one. He said: "I wish I had left it to Abu Khubayb (Ibn az-Zubayr) to rebuild the House as he had undertaken to do it."⁴⁵

Al-Hajjaj tore down six cubits and a span of (the Ka'bah), where the *hijr* is, and rebuilt (the Ka'bah) upon the foundations of the Quraysh. He walled in the western door and that part of the eastern door that today is below the threshold. He left the rest entirely unchanged. The whole building as it now stands is the building of Ibn az-Zubayr. In the wall, between his building and that of al-Hajjaj, one can distinctly see a crack in the wall where the two buildings are connected. The one construction is separated from the other by a crack in the wall, originally one finger wide, now repaired.

There is a weighty problem here. (The situation described) is in disagreement with what the jurists say relative to circumambulation (of the Ka'bah). The person who makes the circumambulation must be careful not

⁴⁵ Cf. also al-Miwardi, *al-Ahkam as-sultaniyah*, pp. 158 f. (Ch. xiv).

to lean over the *shadharwan* understructure⁴⁶ running underneath the foundation walls. Were he to do so, his circumambulation would be inside the House. This (restriction) is based upon the assumption that the walls cover only a part of the foundations, a part that is not covered by the walls being where the *shadharwan* understructure is. (The jurists) also state with regard to kissing the Black Stone, that the person who makes the circumambulation must straighten up again when he has kissed the Black Stone, lest part of his circumambulation be inside the House.

Now, if all the walls belong to the building of Ibn azZubayr, which was erected upon the foundations of Abraham, how could there occur what (the jurists) say could occur, (namely, that unless due caution is practiced, part of the circumambulation might fall inside the Ka'bah)? There is no escape from (the difficulty), except by assuming one of two alternatives. Al-Hajjaj may have torn down the whole and rebuilt it, as a number of persons have reported, (but not covered the whole of Ibn az-Zubayr's foundation). However, this assumption is refuted by the crack visible between the two buildings and the differences of technical detail between the upper and lower parts. The other alternative would be that Ibn az-Zubayr did not fully restore the House upon the foundations of Abraham. He would only have done this in the case of the *hijr*, so as to include it. (The Ka'bah) today, although built by Ibn az-Zubayr, would thus not be on the foundations of Abraham. This is unlikely. But it is one of the two possible alternatives. And God knows better.

The area (courtyard) around the House, that is, the Mosque, was an open space to be used by those who were making the circumambulation. In the days of the Prophet and his successor, Abu Bakr, there were no walls surrounding it. Then the number of people (who made pilgrimage to the Ka'bah) increased. 'Umar bought the (adjacent) houses and had them torn down, and added their (sites) to the Mosque (area). He surrounded it with

⁴⁶An understructure of marble, ten inches high, projecting about a foot. Cf. A. J. Wensinck in *El*, s.v. "Ka'ba."

walls less than a fathom high. The same was done, successively, by 'Uthman, Ibn az-Zubayr, and al-Walid b. 'Abd-al-Malik. The latter rebuilt (the Mosque) with marble columns. Al-Mansur and his son and successor al-Mahdi added to it. Subsequently, no further additions were made, and the Mosque has remained as it was then down to our time.

Indications that God has honored the House and been greatly concerned with it are too impressive for them all to be recorded. It is sufficient to mention that He made it the place where the revelation and the angels came down, and a place for worship and fulfillment of the religious duties and rites of pilgrimage. The sacred precinct of the House has been singled out for more venerable rights and privileges than any other place. God has forbidden anyone who opposes the religion of Islam to enter the sacred precinct. He enjoined those who enter it to wear no sewn garments but a piece of cloth (*izar*) to cover them⁴⁷ He has granted asylum and protection against all harm to those who take refuge in it and to the cattle that graze on its pastures. No one has anything to fear there. No wild animal is hunted there. No tree is cut down for firewood.

The limits of the sacred precinct, which is invested with so much sanctity, extend, in the direction of Medina, three miles to at-Tan'im;⁴⁸ in the direction of the 'Iraq, seven miles to the pass of the mountain of al-Munqata'; in the direction of al-Ji'ranah, nine miles to ash-Shi'b;⁴⁹ in the direction of at-Ta'if, seven miles to Batn Namirah; and, in the direction of Jidda, ten miles to Munqata' al-'Asha'ir.

⁴⁷Cf. p. 367, below.

⁴⁸ The sacred territory, within which no killing of man or animal was permitted, had to have its boundaries marked in some way. White signposts are said to have been used for the purpose. Al-Mawardi, *al-Atkdm as-sulldniyah*, p. 157, indicates the limits as they are given here. Only at-Tan 'im was an inhabited locality. The other limits are designated topographically, followed by the name of some former owner or other identifying qualification.

⁴⁹ The *shi'b* "defile" is said by al-Mawardi to have been that of Abdallah b. Khalid.

This is the importance and history of Mecca. Mecca is called "the Mother of Villages."⁵⁰ The name of the Ka'bah is derived from *ka'b*(cube), because of its heights⁵¹

Mecca is also called Bakkah.⁵² Al-Asma'i⁵³ says: "(It is called Bakkah,) because the people 'squeezed' (*bakka*) -that is, pushed-each other toward it." Mujahid⁵⁴ says: "The *b* of Bakkah was changed into *m*, as one says *lazim* and *lazib*'clinging, adhering,' because of the proximity of the place of articulation of the two sounds." An-Nakha'i⁵⁵ says: "Bakkah means the House, and Mecca the place." Az-Zuhri⁵⁶ says; "Bakkah means the whole mosque, and Mecca the sacred precinct."

Ever since pre-Islamic times, Mecca has been honored by the nations. Their rulers sent property and treasures there. (This was done, for instance,) by the Persian emperor (Khosraw) and others. The story of the swords and the two gazelles that 'Abd-al-Muttalib found when the Zamzam was excavated is well known.⁵⁷

During the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God found in the cistern there seventy thousand ounces of gold, which were gifts to the House by the rulers (of the foreign nations). Their value was 2,000,000 dinars of a weight of two hundred hundredweight. 'Ali b. Abi Talib told Muhammad that he should use the money for his war, but Muhammad did not do that.

⁵⁰ Qur'an 6.92 (92); 42.7 (5).

⁵¹ Apparently, this is based upon the statement we find in the *Lisa'n al-'Arab*, II, 213, that the Ka'bah was the highest part of the House, and that it was called Ka'bah because of its elevation and cubic shape.

⁵² Qur'an 3.96 (90).

⁵³ The famous authority on grammatical, historical, and literary matters, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Qurayb, who died around 831. Cf. GAL, I, 104 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 163 ff. He was mentioned p. 29, above.

⁵⁴ Cf. n. 919 to Ch. III, above.

⁵⁵ As al-Mawardi says, *op. cit.*, p. 150, this was Ibrahim (b. Yazid) an-Nakha'i. Cf. p. 172 (n. 885), above.

⁵⁶ Cf. n. 38 to Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, above.

⁵⁷ Cf. p. 251, above.

He ('Ali) later on mentioned (the same thing) to Abu Bakr, but he could not move him. This is stated by al-Azraq.⁵⁸ In al-Bukhari, there is the following story with a chain of transmitters going back to Abu Wa'il,⁵⁹ who said: "I was with Shaybah b. 'Uthman.⁶⁰ He said: 'Umar b. al-Khattab was with me. He said: My intention is not to leave any gold or silver in (Mecca), but I shall distribute it among the Muslims. I replied: You will not do that. He asked: Why? I said: (Because) it was not done by your two masters (*sahib*). He said: They are the two men who must be taken as models." The story was (also) published by Abu Dawud and Ibn Majah.⁶¹

The money remained (in Mecca) up to the time of the disturbance caused by al-Aftas, that is, al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. 'Ali Zayn-al-'Abidin, in the year 199 [815].⁶² When (al-Aftas) conquered Mecca, he went to the Ka'bah and took everything that was in the treasury. He said: "What would the Ka'bah do with that money? It lies there unused. We are more entitled to use it for our war (than is the Ka'bah to hold it)." So he took it out and used it. Since then, there has been no treasure in the Ka'bah.

Jerusalem is "the Most Remote Mosque."⁶³ It began in the time of the Sabians as the site of a temple to Venus. The Sabians used oil as a sacrificial offering and poured it upon the rock that was there. The temple (of Venus) was later on totally destroyed. The children of Israel, when they took possession of (Jerusalem), used it as the *qiblah* for their prayers. This happened in the following manner: Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt, in order to give them possession of Jerusalem, as God had promised to their

⁵⁸ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Azragi, d. after 244 [858/59]. Cf. GAL, I, 137; *Suppl.*, I, 209. Cf. his *Akhhir Makkah*, ed. F. Wustenfeld: *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1858), I, 170 f.

⁵⁹ Cf. p. 161 (n. 818), above.

⁶⁰ He died in 59 [678/79]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IV, 976 f.

⁶¹ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 403; IV, 420; Abu Dawud, *Sunan* (Cairo 1310/1892-93, in the margin of az-Zurgani, *Sharh al-Muwatta'*), II, 167; Ibn Majah, *Sunan*, II, 140; *Handbook*, p. 120b.

⁶² Al-Tabari, *Annales*, III, 988 f., *anno* 200, gives a much less dramatic account of the event.

⁶³ Qur'an 17.1 (1).

father Israel and his fathers Isaac and Jacob⁶⁴ before him. Now, while they were staying in the desert, God commanded Moses to use a tabernacle⁶⁵ of acacia wood, whose measurements, description, effigies (*hayakil*),⁶⁶ and statues were indicated (to Moses) in a revelation. The tabernacle was to contain an ark, a table with plates, and a candelabrum with candles, and (Moses was to) make an altar for sacrifices. All this is very fully described in the Torah. (Moses) made the tabernacle and placed in it the ark of the covenant - that is, the ark in which were kept the tablets fashioned in replacement of the tablets that had been sent down with the ten commandments and had been broken - and he placed the altar near it. God told Moses that Aaron should be in charge of the sacrifices. (The Israelites) set up the tabernacle among their tents in the desert. They prayed to it, offered their sacrifices upon the altar in front of it, and went there in order to receive revelations. When they took possession of Syria,⁶⁷ they deposited it in Gilgal in the Holy Land between Benjamin and Ephraim. The tabernacle remained there fourteen years, for seven years of war, and for seven years after the conquest, when the country was being divided. When Joshua died, the Israelites transferred it to Shiloh, close to Gilgal, and surrounded it with walls. It remained in this situation for three hundred years, until the Philistines took it away from (the Israelites), as was mentioned before,⁶⁸ and achieved superiority over them. Then, (the Philistines) returned the tabernacle. After the death of Eli the priest, the Israelites transferred the tabernacle to Nob. Later on, in the days of Saul, it

⁶⁴ The reference to Jacob, which should be Abraham, was omitted by the editor of Bulaq.

⁶⁵ That is, the tent of meeting, the Tabernacle. Cf. also *Ibar*, II, 84. The Arabic word used by Ibn Khaldun, *al-qubbah*, means "cupola," and also refers more specifically to portable leather tents, used as shrines in pre-Islamic Arabia. Cf. J. Morgenstern in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XVII (1942-43), 207 ff., following H. Lammens. It remains to be determined which, if any, Arabic translation of the Bible used *al-qubbah* for tent of meeting or tabernacle.

⁶⁶ Cf. 1:151 (n. 172), above.

⁶⁷ The rest of this paragraph was not yet contained in E and Bulaq. C still has it as a marginal addition, but A, B, and D have it in the text.

⁶⁸ The reference apparently is to the survey of Jewish history, 1:474, above. Cf. also *Ibar*, II, 92.

was transferred to Gibeon⁶⁹ in the land of Benjamin. When David became ruler, he transferred the tabernacle and the ark to Jerusalem. He made a special tent for it, and placed it upon the Rock.

The tabernacle remained the *qiblahof* (the Israelites). David wanted to build a temple upon the Rock in its place, but he was not able to complete it. He charged his son Solomon to take care of (the building of the temple). Solomon built it in the fourth year of his reign, five hundred years after the death of Moses. He made its columns of bronze, and he placed the glass pavilion⁷⁰ in it. He covered the doors and the walls with gold. He also used gold in fashioning its effigies (*hayakil*), statues, vessels, chandeliers, and keys. He made the back(room)⁷¹ in (the form of) a vault. In it, the ark of the covenant was to be placed. He brought it from Zion, the place of his father David. The tribes and priests carried it, and it was deposited in the vault. The tabernacle, the vessels, and the altar were put in the places prepared for them in the Mosque. Things remained that way as long as God wished.

Later on, the temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, eight hundred years after its construction. Nebuchadnezzar burned the Torah and the staff (of Moses), melted the effigies (*hayakil*), and scattered the stones. Later on, the Persian rulers permitted the children of Israel to return. Ezra, the Israelite prophet at that time, rebuilt (the temple) with the help of the Persian ruler, Bahman (Artaxerxes), who owed his birth to the children of Israel who were led into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar.⁷² (Bahman)⁷³ set limits upon the re-

⁶⁹Read by Ibn Khaldun *G-b'un*.

⁷⁰This legendary "glass pavilion" belongs to the cycle of legends connected with the Queen of Sheba. Solomon built it in order to test her. It is mentioned in Qur'an 27.44 (44). Cf. at-Tabari, *Annales*, I, 583; ath-Tha'labi, *Qiyas al-anbiya'*, in the story of Solomon; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, II, 23; etc.

⁷¹De Slane's ingenious suggestion that *gahr* "back" is an echo of Hebrew *debir* "Oracle, Sanctuary," a word that was connected with Arabic *dubur* "back, posterior," although difficult, might, after all, be right. It is interesting to note that the combination of *debir* with the Arabic meaning mentioned, is suggested again in the most recent Hebrew dictionary; cf. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden, 1953), p. 198b.

⁷²He is believed to have had a Jewish mother.

construction of (the temple) by (the Israelites) which made it a smaller building than that of Solomon. (The Israelites) did not go beyond that plan.

The⁷⁴ vaulted halls underneath the temple in two super imposed stories, the columns of the upper story of which rest upon the vault of the lower story, are thought by many people to have been Solomon's stables. This is not so. The vaulted halls were built in order to avoid any contamination of the temple in Jerusalem. According to Jewish law, something unclean that is deep down in the earth and separated from the surface by a layer of earth, so that a straight line would connect the unclean object in the earth with the object on the surface, could be suspected of making the object on the surface unclean. And a suspicion has the same implication as a fact in (Jewish legal) opinion. Therefore, (the Israelites) built these vaulted halls in this form, with the columns of the upper⁷⁵ hall resting upon the vaults of (the lower), so that there would be no straight line (between the object underground and the object upon the surface), along which contamination could spread, and thus any suspicion of the contamination of the temple was avoided. This makes for greater ritual cleanliness and holiness for the temple.⁷⁶

Then, the Greek, Persian, and Roman rulers successively had control over the children of Israel. During that period, a flourishing royal authority was enjoyed by the children of Israel and exercised by the Hasmoneans who were (Jewish) priests. The Hasmoneans, in turn, were succeeded by Herod, a relative of theirs by marriage, and by his children. Herod rebuilt (the temple

⁷³The subject could also be Ezra.

⁷⁴ This paragraph is added by C in the margin, and appears in the text of D.

⁷⁵The MSS have "lower."

⁷⁶Professor Saul Lieberman kindly informs me that this discussion refers to *Mishnah Parah*, III, 6, where it is stated that there was a hollow space under the temple, in order to avoid its contamination by corpses buried underneath. This was combined with another statement (*ibid.*), in which the construction of a causeway for the Red Heifer is described in a way strikingly similar to the construction of "the Stables of Solomon." For the statement that suspicion has the same implication as fact, one may compare *Mishnah Tohoroth*, VI, 4. Cf. also *The Code of Maimonides, Book Ten*, tr. H. Danby (Yale Judaica Series, Vol. VIII) (New Haven, 1954), p. 103.

in) Jerusalem very splendidly, after the plan of Solomon. He completed it in six years. Then, Titus, one of the Roman rulers, appeared and defeated the (Jews) and took possession of their realm. He destroyed Jerusalem and the temple there. The place where the temple had been standing he ordered to be turned into a field.

Then, the religion of the Messiah was adopted by the Romans. It became their religious practice to venerate the Messiah (Jesus). The Roman rulers vacillated, adopting Christianity at one time and giving it up at another, until Constantine appeared.⁷⁷ His mother Helena became a Christian.⁷⁸ She traveled to Jerusalem in search of the wood upon which the Messiah had been crucified, in the opinion of (the Christians). The priests⁷⁹ informed her that his cross had been thrown to the ground and had been covered with excrements and filth. She discovered the wood and built "the Church of the Excrements"⁸⁰ over the place where those excrements had been. The Church is considered by the Christians to stand upon the grave of the Messiah. Helena destroyed the parts of the House (the Temple) that she found standing. She ordered dung and excrements to be thrown upon the Rock, until it was entirely covered and its site obscured. That she considered the proper reward for what (the Jews) had done to the grave of the Messiah. Opposite "the (Church of the) Excrements," they later on built Bethlehem, the house where Jesus was born.⁸¹

Things remained this way until the coming of Islam and the Muslim conquest. 'Umar was present at the conquest of Jerusalem, and he asked to

⁷⁷Cf. 1:478, above.

⁷⁸Cf. also *Ybar*, II, 149.

⁷⁹*Qamamisah*, p1. of *qummus*, *qummus*, from Greek ηγουμενοξ.

⁸⁰In fact, "Church of the Excrements" (*qumamah*) is a distortion of "Church of the Resurrection" (*qiyamah*).

⁸¹The location of Bethlehem appears to have been misunderstood by Ibn Khaldun, but he did not change the passage after he had been there himself; cf. *Autobiography*, p. 350. Probably he had forgotten about the passage. Apparently, Ibn Khaldun did not consider Bethlehem a locality, but a house (*beth*, Arabic *bayt*).

see the Rock. The place was shown to him. It was piled high with dung and earth. He had it laid bare, and he built upon it a mosque in the Bedouin style. He gave it as much veneration as God allowed and as befitted its excellence, as preordained and established in the divine Qur'an.⁸² Al-Walid b. 'Abd-al-Malik later on devoted himself to constructing the Mosque of (the Rock) in the style of the Muslim mosques, as grandly as God wanted him to do it. He had done the same with the Mosque in Mecca and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, as well as the Mosque of Damascus. The Arabs used to call (the Mosque of Damascus) the Nave (*balat*) of al-Walid.⁸³ Al-Walid compelled the Byzantine Emperor to send workers and money for the building of these mosques, and they (the Byzantine artisans) were to embellish them with mosaics. The Byzantine Emperor complied, and the construction of the mosques was able to materialize according to plan.

During the fifth [eleventh] century and (especially) at the end of it, the power of the caliphate weakened. Jerusalem was in the possession of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids), the Shi'ah caliphs of Cairo. Their power, (too,) crumbled. The European Christians advanced toward Jerusalem and took possession of it. They also took possession of all the border cities of Syria. Upon the holy Rock they built a church which they venerated and in the construction of which they took great pride. Eventually, Salah-ad-din b. Ayyub al-Kurdi became the independent ruler of Egypt and Syria. He wiped out the influence and heresy of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimids). He advanced toward Syria and waged the holy war against the European Christians there. He deprived them of possession of Jerusalem and the other border cities of Syria they were holding. This took place around the year 580 [1184/85]. Salah-ad-din destroyed the Christian church, uncovered the Rock, and rebuilt the Mosque in about the same form in which it is still standing at this time.

⁸² Qur'an 17.1 (1).

⁸³Cf. 1:357, above. Cf. also pp. 362 f., below.

One should not bother about the famous problem arising from the sound tradition that the Prophet, when he was asked about the first "house" to be erected, replied: "First Mecca, and then Jerusalem." And when he was asked how long the time interval between the two buildings had been, he replied: "Forty years."⁸⁴

Now, the interval between the construction of Mecca and the construction of Jerusalem corresponds to the interval between Abraham and Solomon, because it was Solomon who built the temple in Jerusalem. That is considerably more than a thousand years.

It should be known that the word "erected" that is used in the tradition was not intended to refer to "construction," but it was intended to refer to the first House to be specially designated for divine worship. It is not an unlikely assumption that Jerusalem was designated for divine worship a long time, such as (the period mentioned), before Solomon (built his temple). It has been reported that the Sabians built a temple to Venus upon the Rock. That was perhaps because (Jerusalem) was (already) a place of divine worship. In the same way, pre-Islamic (Arabs) placed idols and statues in and around the Ka'bah. The Sabians who built the temple of Venus lived in the time of Abraham. It is, therefore, not an unlikely assumption that there was an interval of forty years between the time when Mecca was made a place of divine worship and the time when the same occurred in Jerusalem, even if there was no building there (at that early date), as is well known. The first to build (a temple in) Jerusalem was Solomon. This should be understood, as it is the solution to the problem raised by the tradition.

Medina, a city that was (originally) called Yathrib, was built by Yathrib b. Mahla'il (Mahalalel), an Amalekite, and named after him.

The children of Israel took Medina away from the (Amalekites), together with the other parts of the Hijaz of which they took possession. Then,

⁸⁴ Cf. *Handbook*, p. 140a, F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 214.

(the Aws and the Khazraj), descendants of Qaylah⁸⁵ who belonged to the Ghassanids, settled as neighbors of (the children of Israel in Arabia) and took (Medina) and its castles away from them. Because of God's preordained concern for Medina, the Prophet was commanded to emigrate there, and he did so in the company of Abu Bakr. The men around him followed him. He settled there and built his Mosque and his houses in the place God had prepared for that (purpose) and had predestined since eternity for that honor. The descendants of Qaylah received him hospitably and helped him. Therefore, they were called "the Helpers" (*al-Ansar*). Islam spread from Medina and eventually gained the upper hand over all other (organizations). (Muhammad) defeated his own people. He conquered Mecca and took possession of it. The Helpers thought that he would now move away from them and return to his own country.⁸⁶ This thought weighed upon them. However, the Messenger of God addressed⁸⁷ them and informed them that he would not move. Thus, when he died, he was even buried in Medina.

In praise of (Medina's) excellence, there exist sound traditions, as everybody knows. Scholars disagree as to whether Medina should be considered as more excellent than Mecca. Malik expressed himself in favor (of Medina), because he accepted the clear statement to that effect on the authority of Rafi' b. Khudayj,⁸⁸ which said that the Prophet had said: "Medina is better than Mecca." (This tradition) was transmitted by 'Abd-al-Wah-

⁸⁵This Qaylah is considered to be the female ancestor of the Aws and the Khazraj, tribes who lived in Medina at the time of Muhammad.

⁸⁶Cf. *Handbook*, p. 24a.

⁸⁷The MSS have *fa-khatabahum*, which appears to have been used here in the same meaning as *fa-khatabahum* (which Bulaq puts into the text).

⁸⁸His death is placed as early as 59 [678/79] and as late as 74 [693]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 229 f. In the *Muwatta'*, Malik praises Medina, and a famous tradition in praise of Medina is occasionally ascribed to Rafi'. Cf. *Muwatta'* (Tunis, 1280/1863-64), pp. 362 ff., in particular, p. 364; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 141. However, the exact source for Ibn Khaldun's quotation remains to be discovered.

hab⁸⁹ in the *Ma'unah*. There are other such traditions the explicit wording of which indicates the same thing. Abu Hanifah and ash-Shafi'i were of a different opinion. At any rate, (Medina) comes right after the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca). The hearts of people everywhere long for it.

One should see how, through God's preordained concern for them, these venerated mosques are gradated in their excellence, and one should understand God's secret (plans) with regard to (His) creation and the well-considered gradation He established for the affairs of. the religion and the world.

We have no information about any mosque on earth other than these three, save for stories about the Mosque of Adam on the Indian island of Ceylon. But there exists no well-established information about that mosque upon which one may rely.

The ancient nations had mosques which they venerated in what they thought to be a spirit of religious devotion. There were the fire temples of the Persians and the temples of the Greeks and the houses of the Arabs in the Hijaz, which the Prophet ordered destroyed on his raids. Al-Mas'udi mentioned some of them.⁹⁰ We have no occasion whatever to mention them. They are not sanctioned by a religious law. They have nothing to do with religion. No attention is paid to them or to their history. In connection with them, the information contained in historical works is enough. Whoever wants to have historical information (about them) should consult (the historical works).

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."⁹¹

⁸⁹The famous Malikite judge is meant here. Cf. 3:11 (n. 200), below. The full title of the work cited was *al-Ma'unah li-madhab 'alim al-Madina* ["Support for the School of the Scholar of Medina (Malik)"]. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo, 1351/1932), p. 159.

⁹⁰ Cf. his *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 42 ff. (Ch. lxiii).

⁹¹Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

IV.7. There are few cities and towns⁹² in Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib.

[p.2:266]

The reason for this is that these regions belonged to the Berbers for thousands of years before Islam. All (their) civilization was a Bedouin (civilization). No sedentary culture existed among (the Berbers) long enough to reach any degree of perfection. The dynasties of European Christians and Arabs who ruled (the Berbers) did not rule long enough for their sedentary culture to take firm root (among them). The customs and ways of Bedouin life to which they were always closer, continued among them. Therefore, they did not have many buildings. Furthermore, crafts were unfamiliar to the Berbers, because they were firmly rooted in desert life, and the crafts result from sedentary culture. Now, buildings can materialize only with the help of (the crafts). One needs skill to learn them, and since the Berbers did not practice them, they had no interest in buildings, let alone towns.

Furthermore, (the Berbers) have (various) group feelings and (common) descent. No (Berber group) lacks these things. (Common) descent and group feeling are more attracted to desert (than to urban life). Only tranquility and quiet call for towns. The inhabitants of (towns) come to be dependent on their militia. Therefore, desert people dislike settling in a town or staying there. Only luxury and wealth could cause them to settle in a town, and these things are rare among men.

Thus, the whole civilization of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, or the largest part of it, was a Bedouin one. People lived in tents, (camel) litters, sleeping tents, and mountain fastnesses.

On the other hand, the whole civilization of the non-Arab countries, or the largest part of it, was one of villages, cities, and districts. This applies to Spain, Syria, Egypt, the nonArab 'Iraq, and similar countries. Only in the rarest cases do non-Arabs have a (common) descent which they

⁹² Bulaq: "towns and cities."

guard carefully and of which they are proud when it is pure and close. It is mostly people of (common) descent who settle in the desert, because close (common) descent constitutes closer and stronger (bonds than any other element). Thus, the group feeling that goes with (common descent) likewise is (stronger). It draws those who have it to desert life and the avoidance of cities, which do away with bravery and make people dependent upon others. This should be understood and the proper conclusions be drawn from it.

IV.8. The buildings and constructions in Islam are comparatively few considering (Islam's) power and as compared to the dynasties preceding (Islam).

[p.2:267]

The reason for this is the very same thing that we mentioned concerning the Berbers.⁹³ The Arabs, too, are quite firmly rooted in the desert and quite unfamiliar with the crafts. Furthermore, before Islam, the Arabs had been strangers to the realms of which they then took possession. When they came to rule them, there was not time⁹⁴ enough for all the institutions of sedentary culture to develop fully. Moreover, the buildings of others which they found in existence, were sufficient for them.

Furthermore, at the beginning, (their) religion forbade them to do any excessive building or to waste too much money on building activities for no purpose. When the reeds which the Muslims had used before, in building al-Kufah, caught fire, and the Muslims asked 'Umar for permission to use stones, his advice was: "Do, but no one should build more than three houses."⁹⁵ Do not vie with each other in building. Adhere to the Sunnah, and you will remain in power." He imposed this (condition) upon the delegation, and

⁹³Cf. the preceding section.

⁹⁴ *Leg. al-amad* (as in Bulaq).

⁹⁵Or perhaps: rooms, "units."

then he ordered the people not to build buildings higher than was proper. Asked what "proper" was, he replied: "What does not lead you to wastefulness and does not take you away from purposeful moderation."

The influence of the religion (Islam) and of scrupulousness in such matters then faded. Royal authority and luxury gained the upper hand. The Arabs subjected the Persian nation and took over their constructions and buildings. The tranquility and luxury they now enjoyed led them to (building activities). It was at that time that they erected buildings and (large) constructions. But that also was the period close to the destruction of the dynasty. There was only a little time left for extensive building activities and town and city planning. This had not been the case with other nations. The Persians had had a period of thousands of years. The same was the case with the Copts, the Nabataeans, and the Romans (Byzantines, Rum), as well as the first Arabs, 'Ad and Thamud, the Amalekites, and the Tubba's. They had a great deal of time, and the crafts became firmly established among them. Thus, their buildings and monuments were more numerous and left a more lasting imprint (than the buildings of the Muslim Arabs).

Upon close scrutiny, this will be found to be as I have stated.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

IV.9. Buildings erected by Arabs, with very few exceptions, quickly fall into ruins.

[p.2:269]

The reason for this is the Bedouin attitude and unfamiliarity with the crafts, as we have mentioned before.⁹⁶ Therefore, the buildings (of the Arabs) are not solidly built.

There may be another aspect, more pertinent to the problem. That is, as we have stated,⁹⁷ that the Arabs pay little attention in town planning to

⁹⁶ Cf pp. 266 f., above.

⁹⁷ Cf. p. 247, above.

making the right choice with regard to the site (of the town), the quality of the air, the water, the fields, and the pastures (belonging to it). Differences with respect to these things make the difference between good and bad cities as regards natural civilization. The Arabs have no interest in these things. They only see to it that they have pastures for their camels. They do not care whether the water is good or bad, whether there is little or much of it. They do not ask about the suitability of the fields, the vegetable plots, and the air, because they (are used to) moving about the country and importing their grain from remote places. In the desert the winds blow from all directions, and the fact that the Arabs travel about guarantees them winds of good quality. Winds turn bad only when people settle and stay in one place and there are many superfluities there.

One may cite the Arabs' planning of al-Kufah, al-Basrah, and al-Qayrawan. All they looked for when planning (those cities) was pasturage for their camels and nearness to the desert and the caravan routes. Thus, (those cities) do not possess a natural site. They had no sources from which to feed their civilization (population) later on. Such a source must exist if civilization is to continue, as we have stated before.⁹⁸ The sites of (those cities) were not naturally suited for settlement. They were not situated in the midst of nations capable of repopulating them (once their original population started to disintegrate). At the first intimations of the disintegration of (Arab) power and of the disappearance of the group feeling that protected them, (those cities) fell prey to ruin and disintegration and were as if they had never been. "God decides, and no one can change His decision."⁹⁹

IV.10. The beginnings of the ruin of cities.

[p.2:270]

It should be known that when cities are first founded, they have few dwellings and few building materials, such as stones and quicklime, or the

⁹⁸Cf, p. 236, above.

⁹⁹ Qur'an 13.41 (41).

things that serve as ornamental coverings for walls, such as tiles, marble, mosaic, jet,¹⁰⁰ shells (mother-of-pearl), and glass. Thus, at that time, the buildings are built in Bedouin (style), and the materials used for them are perishable.

Then, the civilization of a city grows and its inhabitants increase in number. Now the materials used for (building) increase, because of the increase in (available) labor and the increased number of craftsmen. (This process goes on) until (the city) reaches the limit in that respect, as was discussed before.

The civilization of the city then recedes, and its inhabitants decrease in number. This entails a decrease in the crafts. As a result, good and solid building and the ornamentation of buildings are no longer practiced. Then, the (available) labor decreases, because of the lack of inhabitants. Materials such as stones, marble, and other things, are now being imported scarcely at all, and (building materials) become unavailable. The materials that are in the existing buildings are reused for building and refinishing. They are transferred from one construction to another, since most of the (large) constructions, castles, and mansions stand empty as the result of the scarcity of civilization (population) and the great decrease in (population) as compared with former times. (The same materials) continue to be used for one castle after another and for one house after another, until most of it is completely used up. People then return to the Bedouin way of building. They use adobe instead of stone and omit all ornamentation. The architecture of the city reverts to that of villages and hamlets. The mark of the desert shows in it. (The city) then gradually decays and falls into complete ruin, if it is thus destined for it.

This is how God proceeds with His creatures.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also p. 361, below. For *as-sabaj* "jet," one may compare al-Biruni, *al-Jamahir fi ma'rifat al jawahir* (Hyderabad, 1355/1936-37), pp. 198 f.

IV.11. With regard to the amount of prosperity and business activity (in them), cities and towns differ in accordance with the different size of their civilization (population).

[p.2:271]

The¹⁰¹ reason for this is that, as is known and well established, the individual human being cannot by himself obtain all the necessities of life. All human beings must co-operate to that end in their civilization.¹⁰² But what is obtained through the co-operation of a group of human beings satisfies the need of a number many times greater (than themselves). For instance, no one, by himself, can obtain the share of the wheat he needs for food. But when six or ten persons, including a smith and a carpenter to make the tools, and others who are in charge of the oxen, the plowing of the soil, the harvesting of the ripe grain, and all the other agricultural activities, undertake to obtain their food and work toward that purpose either separately or collectively and thus obtain through their labor a certain amount of food, (that amount) will be food for a number of people many times their own. The combined labor produces more than the needs and necessities of the workers.

If the labor¹⁰³ of the inhabitants of a town or city is distributed in accordance with the necessities and needs of those inhabitants, a minimum of that labor will suffice. The labor (available) is more than is needed. Consequently, it is spent to provide the conditions and customs of luxury and to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants of other cities. They import (the things

¹⁰¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 92-95. In this section Ibn Khaldun discusses the problem of how differences in the standard of living in various areas affect individuals.

¹⁰² Cf 1:89, above.

¹⁰³ *'Amal* "labor," especially when used in the plural, as very frequently in the following pages, comes very close to the meaning of "labor products."

they need) from (people who have a surplus) through exchange or purchase. Thus, the (people who have a surplus) get a good deal of wealth.

It will become clear in the fifth chapter, which deals with profit and sustenance,¹⁰⁴ that profit is the value realized from labor. When there is more labor, the value realized from it increases among the (people). Thus, their profit of necessity increases. The prosperity and wealth they enjoy leads them to luxury and the things that go with it, such as splendid houses and clothes, fine vessels and utensils, and the use of servants and mounts. All these (things) involve activities that require their price [?],¹⁰⁵ and skillful people must be chosen to do them and be in charge of them. As a consequence, industry and the crafts thrive. The income and the expenditure of the city increase. Affluence comes to those who work and produce these things by their labor.

When civilization (population) increases, the (available) labor again increases. In turn, luxury again increases in correspondence with the increasing profit, and the customs and needs of luxury increase. Crafts are created to obtain (luxury products). The value realized from them increases, and, as a result, profits are again multiplied in the town. Production there is thriving even more than before. And so it goes with the second and third increase. All the additional labor serves luxury and wealth, in contrast to the original labor that served (the necessities of) life. The city that is superior to another in one (aspect of) civilization (that is, in population), becomes superior to it also by its increased profit and prosperity and by its customs of luxu-

¹⁰⁴ Cf. pp. 911 ff., below.

¹⁰⁵ *Tastad'i bi-qiyamiha*. However, the preposition *bi-* is not ordinarily used with this verbal form. The vocalization *qiyam* is indicated in C; otherwise, one might even think of *quyyam* (like *qawamah*, which Ibn Khaldun uses, a plural of *qa'im*): "which require supervisors."

De Slane reads *tustad'a bi-qiyamiha* and translates: "All these are products that exist only because of the value attached to them," but *qiyam* does not have this meaning in the context, and the translation in general does not fit into the context.

There remains another possibility, namely, to translate: "which are required with the help of their prices," meaning which are required and for which the prices they deserve must be paid.

ry which are not found in the other city. The more numerous and the more abundant the civilization (population) in a city, the more luxurious is the life of its inhabitants in comparison with that (of the inhabitants) of a lesser city. This applies equally to all levels of the population, to the judges (of the one city) compared with the judges (of the other city), to the merchants (of the one city) compared with the merchants (of the other city), and, as with the judges and merchants, so with the artisans, the small businessmen, amirs, and policemen.

This may be exemplified, for instance, in the Maghrib, by comparing the situation of Fez with other Maghribi cities, such as Bougie, Tlemcen, and Ceuta. A wide difference, both in general and in detail, will be found to exist between (them and Fez). The situation of a judge in Fez is better than that of a judge in Tlemcen, and the same is the case with all other population groups. The same difference exists between Tlemcen on the one hand and Oran or Algiers on the other, and between Oran or Algiers and lesser cities, until one gets down to the hamlets where people have only the necessities of life through their labor, or not even enough of them.

The only reason for this is the difference in the labor (available) in (the different cities). They all are a sort of market for their labor (products), and the money spent in each market corresponds to (the volume of business done in it). The income of a judge in Fez suffices for his expenditures, and the same is the case with a judge in Tlemcen. Wherever income and expenditure (combined) are greater, conditions are better and more favorable. (Income and expenditure) are greater in Fez, since its production thrives because of luxury requirements (there). Therefore, greater opulence exists (in Fez). The same applies to Oran, Constantine, Algiers, and Biskra, until, as we have stated, one gets down to the cities whose labor does not pay for their necessities. They cannot be considered cities. They belong to the category of villages and hamlets. Therefore, the inhabitants of such small cities are found to be in a weak position and all equally poor and indigent, because their

labor does not pay for their necessities and does not yield them a surplus which they can accumulate as profit. They have no increasing profit. Thus, with very few exceptions, they are poor and needy.

This can (even) be exemplified by the condition of the poor and the beggars. A beggar in Fez is better off than a beggar in Tlemcen or Oran. I observed beggars in Fez who, at the time of the sacrifices (of the *ʿId* festival), begged for enough to buy their sacrificial animals. I saw them beg for many kinds of luxuries and delicacies such as meat, butter, cooked dishes, garments, and utensils, such as sieves and vessels. If a beggar were to ask for such things in Tlemcen or Oran, he would be considered with disapproval and treated harshly and chased away. At this time, we hear astonishing things about conditions in Cairo and Egypt as regards luxury and wealth in the customs of the inhabitants there. Many of the poor in the Maghrib even want to move to Egypt on account of that and because they hear that prosperity in Egypt is greater than anywhere else. The common people believe that this is so because property is abundant in those regions,¹⁰⁶ and (their inhabitants) have much property hoarded, and are more charitable and bountiful than the inhabitants of any other city. (However,) this is not so, but, as one knows, the reason is that the civilization (population) of Egypt and Cairo is larger than that of any other city one might think of. Therefore, (the inhabitants of Egypt) enjoy better (living) conditions.

Income and expenditure balance each other in every city. If the income is large, the expenditure is large, and vice versa. And if both income and expenditure are large, the inhabitants become more favorably situated, and the city grows.

No (phenomenon) of this sort one may hear about should be denied, but all these things should be understood to be the result of much civilization and the resulting great profits which facilitate spending and giving bounties to those who ask for them. This might be compared with the difference ex-

¹⁰⁶ Bulaq: "because the inhabitants of those regions are more bountiful than others." Cf also p. 281

isting in one and the same town with regard to the houses dumb animals keep away from or frequent. The premises and courtyards of the houses of the prosperous and wealthy (inhabitants of the town), who set a good table and where grain and bread crumbs lie scattered around, are frequented by swarms of ants and insects. There are many large rats in their cellars, and cats repair to them.¹⁰⁷ Flocks of birds circle over them and eventually leave, satiated and full with food and drink. (But) in the premises of the houses of the indigent and the poor who have little sustenance, no insect crawls about and no bird hovers in the air, and no rat or cat takes refuge in the cellars¹⁰⁸ of such houses, for, as (the poet) said:

The bird swoops down where there is grain to pick up
And frequents the mansions of noble (generous) persons.¹⁰⁹

God's secret (plan) in this respect should be scrutinized. One may compare the swarms of human beings with the swarms of dumb animals, and the crumbs from tables with the surplus of sustenance and luxury and the ease with which it can be given away by the people who have it, because as a rule they can do without it, since they have more of it. It should be known that favorable conditions and much prosperity in civilization are the results of its large size.

"God has no need of the worlds."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ The beginning of this sentence (down to "cats") is a marginal addition in C.

¹⁰⁸ The original "corners" was corrected to "cellars" in C, in view of the preceding addition, just noted. The correction has entered the text of D.

¹⁰⁹ This is a verse ascribed to Bashshar b. Burd. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyun*, I, 91. Cf. also Yaqut, *Irshad*, ed. Margoliouth (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 6) (Leiden & London, 1907-27), 11, 164; (Cairo, 1855-67/1986-88), V, 170, below.

¹¹⁰ Qur'an 3.97 (92). Cf. Qur'an 29.6 (5).

IV.12. Prices in towns.

[p.2:276]

It should be known that all markets cater to the needs of people. Some of these needs are necessities, foodstuffs, for instance, such as wheat and barley;¹¹¹ corresponding foods, such as beans, chick-peas, peas, and other edible grains; and wholesome foods such as onions, garlic, and the like. Other things are conveniences or luxuries, such as seasonings, fruits, clothes, utensils, mounts, all the crafts, and buildings. When a city is highly developed and has many inhabitants, the prices of necessary foodstuffs and corresponding items are low, and the prices for luxuries, such as seasonings, fruits, and the things that go with them, are high. When the inhabitants of a city are few and its civilization weak, the opposite is the case.

The reason for this is that the different kinds of grains belong among the necessary foodstuffs. The demand for them, therefore, is very large. Nobody would neglect (to provide for) his own food or that of his establishment for a month or a year. Thus, the procurement of (grain) concerns the entire population of a city, or the largest part of them, both in the city itself and in its environs. This is inevitable. Everybody who procures food for himself has a great surplus beyond his own and his family's needs. This surplus is able to satisfy the needs of many of the inhabitants of that particular city. No doubt, then, the inhabitants of a city have more food than they need. Consequently, the price of food is low, as a rule, except when misfortunes occur due to celestial conditions that may affect (the supply of) food in certain years. If people did not have to store food against such possible mishaps, it could be given away entirely gratis, since it would be plentiful because of the large civilization (population of the city).

All other conveniences, such as seasonings, fruits, and whatever else belongs to them, are not matters of general concern. Their procurement does

¹¹¹ "Barley" and "chick-peas . . . wholesome foods such as" are additions in the margin of C and the text of D.

not engage the labor of all the inhabitants of a city or the largest part of them. Then,¹¹² when a city has a highly developed, abundant civilization and is full of luxuries, there is a very large demand for those conveniences and for having as many of them as a person can expect in view of his situation. This results in a very great shortage of such things. Many will bid for them, but they will be in short supply. They will be needed for many purposes, and prosperous people used to luxuries will pay exorbitant prices for them, because they need them more than others. Thus, as one can see, prices come to be high.

Crafts and labor also are expensive in cities with an abundant civilization. There are three reasons for this. First, there is much need (of them), because of the place luxury occupies in the city on account of the (city's) large civilization. Second, industrial workers place a high value on their services and employment, (for they do not have to work) since life is easy in a town because of the abundance of food there. Third, the number of people with money to waste is great, and these people have many needs for which they have to employ the services of others and have to use many workers and their skills. Therefore, they pay more for (the services of) workers than their labor is (ordinarily considered) worth, because there is competition for (their services) and the wish to have exclusive use of them. Thus, workers, craftsmen, and professional people become arrogant, their labor becomes expensive, and the expenditures of the inhabitants of the city for these things increase.

Foodstuffs in small cities that have few inhabitants are few, because (these cities) have a small (supply) of labor and because, in view of the small size of the city, the people fear food shortages. Therefore, they hold on to (the food) that comes into their hands and store it. It thus becomes something precious to them, and those who want to buy it have to pay higher prices. (Oh the other hand,) they also have no demand for conveniences, because

¹¹² Cf. Issawi, pp. 74 f. and 73 f.

the inhabitants are few and their condition is weak. Little business is done by them, and the prices there, consequently, become particularly low.

Customs duties and other duties that are levied on (foods) in the markets and at the city gates on behalf of the ruler, and that tax collectors levy on profits from business transactions in their own interest, enter into the price of food stuffs. Prices in cities, thus, are higher than prices in the desert, because customs duties and other duties and levies are few or non-existent among (the Bedouins), while the opposite is the case in cities, especially in the later (years) of a dynasty.¹¹³

The cost of agricultural labor also enters into the price of foodstuffs. It is reflected in these prices.¹¹⁴ This has happened in Spain at the present time. The Christians pushed the Muslims back to the seacoast and the rugged territory there, where (the soil) is poor for the cultivation of grain and little suited for (the growth of) vegetables. They themselves took possession of the fine soil and the good land. Thus, (the Muslims) had to treat the fields and tracts of land, in order to improve the plants and agriculture there. This treatment required expensive labor (products) and materials, such as fertilizer and other things that had to be procured. Thus, their agricultural activities required considerable expenditures. They calculated these expenditures in fixing their prices, and thus Spain has become an especially expensive region, ever since the Christians forced (the Muslims) to withdraw to the Muslim-held coastal regions, for the reason mentioned.

When they hear about the high prices in (Spain), people think that they are caused by the small amount of foodstuffs and grain in the country. This is not so. As we know, the (people of Spain), of all civilized people, are the ones most devoted to agriculture. It rarely happens among them that a man in authority or an ordinary person has no tract of land or field, or does not do some farming. The only exceptions are a few craftsmen and

¹¹³ Cf. pp. 91 ff., above.

¹¹⁴ Cf. p. 314, below.

professional people, or fighters in the holy war who are newcomers to the country. The ruler, therefore, includes in the allowances these men receive, rations consisting of the grain they (need) for food and for fodder. The reason for the high prices in (Spain) of the various kinds of grain is the one we have stated.

The Berber countries are in the contrary position. Their fields are fine and their soil is good. Therefore, they did not have to procure anything (from outside) in order to be able to cultivate agriculture, which is widely and generally practiced there. This is the reason for the cheapness of foodstuffs in their country.

God determines night and day.¹¹⁵

IV.13. Bedouins are unable to settle in a city with a large civilization (population).

[p.2:279]

The reason for this is that luxury increases in a city with a large civilization, as we have stated before. The needs of the inhabitants increase on account of the luxury. Because of the demand for (luxury articles), they become customary, and thus come to be necessities. In addition, all labor becomes precious in the city, and the conveniences become expensive, because there are many purposes for which they are in demand in view of the prevailing luxury and because the government makes levies on market and business transactions. This is reflected in the sales prices. Conveniences, foodstuffs, and labor thus become very expensive. As a result, the expenditures of the inhabitants increase tremendously in proportion to the civilization of (the city). A great deal of money is spent. Under these circumstances, (people) need a great deal of money for expenditures, to procure the necessities of life for themselves and their families, as well as all their other requirements.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

The income of the Bedouins, on the other hand, is not large, because they live where there is little demand for labor, and labor is the cause of profit. Bedouins, therefore, do not accumulate any profit or property. For this reason, it is difficult for them to settle in a big city, because conveniences there are (many)¹¹⁶ and things to buy are dear. In the desert, (the Bedouins) can satisfy their needs with a minimum of labor, because in their lives they are little used to luxuries and all their requirements. They are not, therefore, obliged to have property.

Every Bedouin who is attracted to city life quickly shows himself unable (to compete) and is disgraced. The only exceptions are such (Bedouins) as have previously accumulated property and obtained more of it than they needed and therefore achieved the amount of tranquility and luxury that is natural to civilized people. They, then, may move to a city, and their condition, as regards customs and luxury, can blend with that of its inhabitants. This is the way the civilization of cities begins.

God "comprises every thing."¹¹⁷

IV.14. Differences with regard to prosperity and poverty are the same in countries as in cities.

[p.2:280]

It should be known that the condition of the inhabitants in regions that have an abundant civilization and contain numerous nations and many inhabitants is favorable. They have much property and many cities. Their dynasties and realms are large. The reason for all this is the aforementioned great amount of (available) labor and the fact, which we shall mention later on, that it brings wealth. A great surplus of products remains after the necessities of the inhabitants have been satisfied. (This surplus) provides for

¹¹⁶ Bulaq has a simpler "expensive."

¹¹⁷ Qur'an 41.54 (54).

a population far beyond the size and extent of the (actual one), and comes back to the people as profit that they can accumulate, as we shall mention in the chapter on (the ways of) making a living and the explanation of sustenance and profit.¹¹⁸ Prosperity, thus, increases, and conditions become favorable. There is luxury and wealth. The tax revenues of the ruling dynasty increase on account of business prosperity. Its property increases, and its authority grows. It comes to use fortresses and castles, to found towns, and to construct cities.

This¹¹⁹ may be exemplified by the eastern regions, such as Egypt, Syria, the non-Arab 'Iraq, India, China, and the whole northern region, beyond the Mediterranean. When their civilization increased, the property of the inhabitants increased, and their dynasties became great. Their towns and settlements became numerous, and their commerce and conditions improved.

At this time, we can observe the condition of the merchants of the Christian nations who come to the Muslims in the Maghrib. Their prosperity and affluence cannot be fully described because it is so great. The same applies to the merchants from the East and what we hear about their conditions, and even more so to the Far Eastern merchants from the countries of the non-Arab 'Iraq, India, and China. We hear remarkable stories reported by travelers about their wealth and prosperity. These stories are usually received with skepticism. The common people who hear them think that the prosperity of these peoples is the result of the greater amount of property owned by them,¹²⁰ or of the existence of gold and silver mines in their country in larger number (than elsewhere), or of the fact that they, to the exclusion of others; appropriated the gold of the ancient nations. This is not so. The only gold mine about whose existence in these regions we have information, lies in the Sudan country, which is nearer to the Maghrib (than to any other country).

¹¹⁸ Cf. pp. 311 ff, below.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Issawi, p. 78.

¹²⁰ Cf. p. 274, above.

Furthermore, all the merchandise that is in their country is exported by them for commerce. If they possessed ready property in abundance, they would not export their merchandise in search of money, and they would have altogether no need of other people's property.

Astrologers have noticed this and been amazed by the favorable conditions and abundance of property in the East. They came and said that the gifts of the stars and the shares (of good fortune) were larger in the nativities of the East than in the nativities of the West. This is correct from the point of view of the correspondence between astrological judgments and terrestrial conditions, as we have stated.¹²¹ But astrologers give us only the astrological reason. They ought also to give us the terrestrial reason. The (terrestrial reason) is the large extent and concentration of civilization in the eastern regions, as we have mentioned. A large civilization yields large profits because of the large amount of (available) labor, which is the cause of (profit). Therefore, the East enjoys more prosperity than all other regions. This is not exclusively the result of the influence of the stars. Our previous indications have made it clear that the influence of the stars cannot produce such a result all by itself. The (existence of a) correspondence between astrological judgments and terrestrial civilization and nature is something inevitable.

The relationship between prosperity and civilization may be exemplified by the regions of Ifriqiyah and Barca (Barqah). When their population decreased and their civilization shrank, the condition of their inhabitants decayed. They became poor and indigent. The tax revenues from (the region) decreased. The property of the dynasties that ruled there became small. Formerly, the Shi'ah (Fatimid) and Sinhajah (Zirid) dynasties had enjoyed a well-known prosperity and large tax revenues. They had been able to spend a great deal and pay large allowances. This went so far that, most of the time, money was brought from al-Qayrawan to the ruler of Egypt for his needs and important business. The property of the dynasty was so extensive that

¹²¹ Cf. pp. 85 f., above [?].

Jawhar al-Katib carried with him, on his expedition to conquer Egypt, one thousand loads of money from which he paid the salaries and allowances of the soldiers and the expenditures of the raiders.¹²²

The region of the Maghrib was inferior to Ifriqiyah in ancient times. Still, it had no little (wealth). During the Almohad dynasty, its condition was favorable and its revenues abundant. At this time, the Maghrib has gone down in this respect because of the decrease and shrinkage of civilization there. Most of the Berber civilization (population) there is gone, and has obviously and palpably become inferior to what it used to be. Its condition has almost become similar to that of Ifriqiyah. Formerly, its civilization had extended from the Mediterranean to the Sudan country between the longitude(s) of as-Sus in the far West¹²³ (in Morocco) and Barca (Barqah). Today, all or most of it is a waste, empty, and desert area, except for the coastal regions or the hills near it.

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it. He is the best heir.

IV.15. The accumulation of estates and farms in cities¹²⁴ Their uses and yields.

[p.2:283]

It¹²⁵ should be known that the accumulation of numerous estates and farms by the inhabitants of towns and cities does not come all at once and not at one time. No one person would have enough wealth to acquire limitless (real) property.¹²⁶ Even if prosperity were as great as possible, the acquisition and accumulation of (real) property would be gradual. It may come about through inheritance from one's forefathers and blood relatives, so that

¹²² Cf. 1:360 f., above.

¹²³ Cf. 1:128 (n. 110), above.

¹²⁴ In Ibn Khaldun's experience, a "town" was hardly comparable to what we consider a town or city. Cf. the introduction to this translation, 1:lxvii, above. Residents of towns, as Ibn Khaldun uses the word, may have owned "real estate," i.e., houses, plots, gardens, etc., and "farms" in their town.

¹²⁵ Cf. Issawi, pp. 76 f.

¹²⁶ Bulaq: "property whose value would be limitless."

eventually the property of many comes to one person, who thus possesses much. Or it may be through fluctuation in the (real estate) market.

When one dynasty ends and another begins, the militia vanishes. There is no protection, and the city collapses and is ruined. At that time, (the possession of) real estate does not make a person happy, because it is of little use in the general upheaval. (Real estate) values fall, and (real estate) can be acquired for low prices. It then passes through inheritance into the possession of someone else. (By that time,) the city has regained its youthful vigor as the new dynasty flourishes, and conditions in it are in excellent shape. The result is that one may be happy with the possession of estates and farms, because they will then be very useful. Their value increases, and they assume an importance they did not have before. This is the meaning of "fluctuation in (the real estate market)." The owner of (real estate) now turns out to be one of the wealthiest men in the city. That is not the result of his own effort and business activity, because he would be unable to achieve such a thing by himself.

Estates and farms do not yield their owner a sufficient income for his needs. (The income from them) will not pay for the customs of luxury and the things that go with it. As a rule, it serves only to help provide for the necessities of life.

We have heard from scholars that the motive in the acquisition of estates and farms is a concern for the helpless children a person may leave behind. Income from (the real estate) is to serve the purpose of providing for their education, care, and upbringing, as long as they are unable to earn their own living. When they are able to earn their own living, they will do it by themselves. (But) there often are children who are unable to earn their own living because of some weakness of the body or some defect in (the part of) the mind that provides the ability to make a living. The real property then becomes their support. This is the motive of persons who spend a great deal of money acquiring (real estate).

(The motive is) not to accumulate capital through (such acquisitions) or to provide for extravagant living. This is achieved only by a few and is achieved only rarely through market fluctuations, through the acquisition of a great deal of (real estate), and through the upgrading of (real estate) as such and its value in a certain city. But then, if someone achieves it, the eyes of amirs and governors are directed to him (and his real estate). As a rule, they take it away, or they urge him to sell it to them. Such (real estate) spells harm and hardship to its owners.

"God has the power to execute His commands."¹²⁷

IV.16. Capitalists among the inhabitants of cities need rank and protection.

[p.2:285]

This is because a sedentary person who has a great deal of capital and has acquired a great number of estates and farms and become one of the wealthiest inhabitants of a particular city, who is looked upon as such and lives in great luxury and is accustomed to luxury, competes in this respect with amirs and rulers. The latter become jealous of him. The aggressiveness that is natural to human beings makes them cast their eyes upon his possessions. They envy him them and try every possible trick to catch him in the net of a government decision and to find an obvious reason for punishing him, so as to confiscate his property. Government decisions are as a rule unjust, because pure justice is found only in the legal caliphate that lasted only a short while. Muhammad said: "The caliphate after me will last thirty years; then, it will revert to being tyrannical royal authority."¹²⁸

Therefore, the owner of property and conspicuous wealth in a given civilization (community) needs a protective force to defend him, as well as

¹²⁷ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

¹²⁸Cf. p. 192, above.

a rank^{128a} on which he may rely. (This purpose may be met by) a person related to the ruler, or a close friend of (the ruler), or a group feeling that the ruler will respect.¹²⁹ In its shade, he may rest and live peacefully, safe from hostile attacks. If he does not have that, he will find himself robbed by all kinds of tricks and legal pretexts.

"God decides, and no one can change His decision."¹³⁰

IV.17. Sedentary culture in cities comes, from the dynasties. It is firmly rooted when the dynasty is continuous and firmly rooted.

[p.2:286]

The reason for this is that sedentary culture is a condition that is the result of custom and goes beyond the necessary conditions of civilization. How far beyond, differs in accordance with unlimited differences in the prosperity and the numerical strength or weakness of the nations. (Sedentary culture)¹³¹ occurs in the (nations) when much diversity develops among its various subdivisions. It is thus on the same level as the crafts. Each particular kind of craft needs persons to be in charge of it and skilled in it. The more numerous the various subdivisions of a craft are, the larger the number of the people who (have to) practice that craft. The particular group (practicing that craft) is colored by it. As the days follow one upon the other, and one professional coloring comes after the other, the craftsmen become experienced in their various crafts and skilled in the knowledge of them. Long

^{128a}The "rank" (*jdh*) referred to in this section is usually not obtained by the capitalists themselves but belongs to men willing to protect the wealthy persons who attach themselves to them. But cf. also p. 327, below.

¹²⁹Cf. Bombaci, p. 449.

¹³⁰Qur'an 13.41 (41).

¹³¹This translation is based upon the reading *wa-taga`u*, which seems indicated in C. If one adopts the reading *wa-yaqa`u*, the translation would have to be: "(Those differences) occur . . . the various subdivisions (of sedentary culture)."

periods of time a(experiences) add to establishing the crafts and to causing them to be firmly rooted.

This¹³² happens mostly in cities, because cities have a highly developed civilization and their inhabitants are very prosperous, and the dynasty is at the root of it, because the dynasty collects the property of the subjects and spends it on its inner circle and on the men connected with it who are more influential by reason of their position than by reason of their property. The money comes from the subjects and is spent among the people of the dynasty and then among those inhabitants of the city who are connected with them. They are the largest part (of the population). Their wealth, therefore, increases and their riches grow. The customs and ways of luxury multiply, and all the various kinds of crafts are firmly established among them. This (then) is sedentary culture.

Therefore, cities in remote parts of the realm, even if they have an abundant civilization, are found to be predominantly Bedouin and remote from sedentary culture in all their ways. This is in contrast with (the situation in) towns that lie in the middle, the center and seat of the dynasty. The only reason is that the government is near them and pours its money into them, like the water (of a river) that makes green everything around it, and fertilizes the soil adjacent to it, while in the distance everything remains dry. We have stated before that dynasty and government are the world's market place.¹³³ All kinds of merchandise are found in the market and near it. Far from the market, however, goods are altogether non-existent. As a particular dynasty continues to rule and its rulers succeed each other in a particular city, sedentary culture becomes increasingly firmly established and rooted among the inhabitants of that city.

This may be exemplified by the Jews. Their rule in Syria lasted about 1,400 years. Sedentary culture thus became firmly established among them.

¹³² Cf. Issawi, p. 90.

¹³³ Cf. 1:46 f., and p. 102, above, and p. 352, below.

They became skilled in the customary ways and means of making a living and in the manifold crafts belonging to it as regards food, clothing, and all the other parts of (domestic) economy, so much so that these things, as a rule, can still be learned from them to this day. Sedentary culture and its customs became firmly rooted in Syria through them and (through) the Roman dynasties which succeeded them for six hundred years. Thus, they had the most developed sedentary culture possible.

The same was the case with the Copts. Their political power lasted three thousand years. The customs of sedentary culture were thus firmly rooted in their country, Egypt. They were succeeded there by the Greeks and the Romans, and then by Islam, which abrogated everything. The customs of sedentary culture have, thus, always continued in (Egypt).

The customs of sedentary culture became likewise firmly rooted in the Yemen, because the Arabs ruled continuously in the Yemen for thousands of years, ever since the time of the Amalekites and the Tubba's who were succeeded by the rule of the Mudar.

The same was the case with the sedentary culture in the 'Iraq which, for thousands of years, was ruled continuously by the Nabataeans and the Persians, that is, the Chaldaeans, the Kayyanids (the Achaemenids), the Sassanians (al-Kisrawiyah), and, after them, the Arabs. Down to this time there has never been upon the face of the earth a people with more sedentary culture than the inhabitants of Syria, the 'Iraq, and Egypt.

The¹³⁴ customs of sedentary culture also became firmly rooted in Spain, which, for thousands of years, was ruled continuously by the great Gothic dynasty, later succeeded by the Umayyad realm. Both dynasties were great. Therefore, the customs of sedentary culture continued and became firmly established in (Spain).

¹³⁴ For the following discussion, cf. also pp. 349 ff., below.

Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib had no great royal authority before Islam. The Romans (Byzantines, Rum)¹³⁵ and European Christians had crossed the sea to Ifriqiyah and had taken possession of the coast. The obedience the Berbers who lived there paid them was not firmly grounded. They were there only temporarily. No dynasty was close to the people of the Maghrib. From time to time, they offered their obedience to the Goths across the sea. When God brought Islam and the Arabs took possession of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, the Arab rule lasted for only a short while at the beginning of Islam. At that time, the (Arabs) were in the stage of Bedouin life. Those who stayed in Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib did not find there any old tradition of sedentary culture, because (the original population of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib) had been Berbers immersed in Bedouin life. Very soon, the Berbers of Morocco revolted under Maysarah al-Matghari in the days of Hisham b. 'Abd-al-Malik,¹³⁶ and never again later reverted to Arab rule. They were independent. If they rendered the oath of allegiance to Idris, his rule over them cannot be considered an Arab rule, because the Berbers were in charge of it, and there were not many Arabs in it. Ifriqiyah remained in the possession of the Aghlabids and the Arabs who were with them. They had some sedentary culture as the result of the luxury and prosperity of the royal authority and the large civilization of al-Qayrawan that were theirs. The Kutamah and then the Sinhajah after them inherited it from the Aghlabids. But all that was brief and lasted less than four hundred years. Their dynasty ended, and the coloring of sedentary culture (that existed there) changed, as it had not been firmly established. The Hilal, who were Arab Bedouins, gained power over the country and ruined it.

Some obscure traces of sedentary culture have remained there down to the present time. They can be noticed among those who had ancestors in al-

¹³⁵ The reference to the Rum is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

¹³⁶ Cf *Ibar*, VI, 110, 119; de Slane (tr.), I, 216f., 237 (and 360); H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 99 f.

Qal'ah,¹³⁷ al-Qayrawan, or al-Mahdiah. Some traces of sedentary culture can be found in the (domestic) economy and the customs of (these people). They are mixed with other things, but the person who comes from a sedentary environment and knows about (sedentary culture) can discern them. That is the case with most cities in Ifriqiyah, but not in the Maghrib and the cities there, because since the time of the Aghlabids, the Shi'ah (Fatimids), and the Sinhajah, the ruling dynasty in Ifriqiyah has been firmly rooted there for a longer period (than the dynasties in the Maghrib).

The Maghrib, on the other hand, has received a good deal of sedentary culture from Spain since the dynasty of the Almohads, and the customs of sedentary culture became established there through the control that the ruling dynasty of the Maghrib exercised over Spain. A good many of the inhabitants of (Spain) went to (the Almohads in the Maghrib), voluntarily or involuntarily. One knows how far flung the influence (of the Almohad dynasty) was. It possessed a good deal of firmly established sedentary culture, most of it due to the inhabitants of Spain. Later on, the inhabitants of eastern Spain were expelled by the Christians and moved to Ifriqiyah.¹³⁸ In the cities there, they left traces of sedentary culture. Most of it is in Tunis, where it mixed with the sedentary culture of Egypt and (Egyptian) customs imported by travelers. Thus, the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah had a good deal of sedentary culture. But emptiness took its place, and it disappeared. The Berbers in the Maghrib reverted to their Bedouin ways and Bedouin toughness. But, at any rate, the traces of sedentary culture are more numerous in Ifriqiyah than in the Maghrib and in the cities of (the Maghrib). The old dynasties had lasted longer in Ifriqiyah than in the Maghrib, and the customs of the people of Ifriqiyah had been close to the customs of the Egyptians because of the great amount of intercourse between (the Egyptians and the people of Ifriqiyah).

¹³⁷ Cf. 1:315 (n. 6), above.

¹³⁸ Cf. 1:xxxv f., above.

This secret should be understood, because it is not known to the people. It should be known that these are related matters: The strength and weakness of a dynasty, the numerical strength of a nation or race, the size of a town or city, and the amount of prosperity and wealth. This is because dynasty and royal authority constitute the form of the world and of civilization, which, in turn, together with the subjects, cities, and all other things, constitute the matter of (dynasty and royal authority).¹³⁹ The tax money reverts to the (people). Their wealth, as a rule, comes from their business and commercial activities. If the ruler pours out gifts and money upon his people, it spreads among them and reverts to him, and again from him to them. It comes from them through taxation and the land tax, and reverts to them through gifts. The wealth of the subjects corresponds to the finances of the dynasty. The finances of the dynasty, in turn, correspond to the wealth and number of the subjects. The origin of it all is civilization and its extensiveness. If this is considered and examined in connection with the (various) dynasties, it will be found to be so.

"God decides, and no one can change His decision."¹⁴⁰

IV.18. Sedentary culture is the goal of civilization. It means the end of its life span and brings about its corruption.

[p.2:291]

We have explained before¹⁴¹ that royal authority and (the foundation of) dynasties are the goal of group feeling, and that sedentary culture is the goal of Bedouin life, and that any civilization, be it a Bedouin civilization

¹³⁹ Cf. pp. 104 and 107, above, and pp. 300 and 805, below.

¹⁴⁰ Qur'an 13.41 (41).

¹⁴¹ Cf. 1:284 ff., 347 ff., and 343 ff., above.

or sedentary cul ture, whether it concerns ruler or commoner,¹⁴² has a physical¹⁴³ life, just as any individual created (being) has a physical life.

Reason and tradition make it clear 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 with sedentary culture in civilization, because there is a limit that cannot be overstepped. When luxury and prosperity come to civilized people, 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 the crafts that give elegance to all the various kinds of (luxury), such as the crafts of cooking, dressmaking, building, and (making) carpets, vessels, and all other parts of (domestic) economy. For the elegant execution of all these things, there exist 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 coloring. (It cannot preserve) its worldly (well-being), because the customs (of luxury) demand a great many things and (entail) many requirements for which (a man's) income is not sufficient.

This¹⁴⁴ is explained by the 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 be-

¹⁴² *Malik wa-suqah*. The abstracts would be better, but *suqah* "subjects" is not used as an abstract, so far as I know. The MSS would actually seem to support the reading *mulk wa-suqih* "royal authority and its market."

¹⁴³ Lit., "sensually perceivable."

¹⁴⁴ The text from here to p. 293, l. 19, appears in C on an inserted sheet.

fore¹⁴⁵ that a city with a large civilization (population) is characterized by high prices in business and high prices for its needs. (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 is the time when the dynasty levies customs duties because then it has large expenditures, as has been stated before.¹⁴⁶ The¹⁴⁷ 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, customs 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 becomes reduced in circumstances and indigent. Poverty takes hold of them. Few persons bid for the available goods. Business decreases, and the situation of the town deteriorates.

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 suffers after it has obtained them, through acquiring (still) another (bad luxury) quality.¹⁴⁸ Immorality, wrongdoing, insincerity, and trickery, for the purposes of making a living in a proper or an improper manner, increase among them. The soul comes to think about (making a living), to study it, and to use all possible trickery for the purpose. People are

¹⁴⁵Cf. pp. 276 ff., above.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. pp. 91 f., above.

¹⁴⁷Cf. Issawi, p. 74.

¹⁴⁸Namely, the trickery and insincerity needed to earn enough to satisfy the desire for luxury customs, as described in the following sentences.

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, they talk openly about it and its causes, and give up all restraint in discussing it, even among relatives and close female relations, where the Bedouin attitude requires modesty (and avoidance of) obscenities. They also know everything 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 most of them, except those whom God protects.

The city, then, teems with low people of blameworthy character. They encounter competition from many members of the younger generation of the dynasty, whose education has been neglected and whom the dynasty has neglected to accept. They, therefore, adopt the qualities of their environment and company,¹⁴⁹ 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. The person who is strongly colored by any kind of vice and whose good character is corrupted, is not helped by his good descent and fine origin. Thus, one finds that many descendants of great families, men of a highly esteemed origin, members of the dynasty, get into deep water and adopt low occupations in order to make a living, because their character is corrupt and they are colored by wrongdoing and insincerity. If this (situation) spreads in a town or nation, God permits it to be ruined and destroyed. This is the meaning of the word of God: "When we want to destroy a village, we order those of its inhabitants who live in

¹⁴⁹*Wa-s-sihab*, as in A and B. C has this word added *supra lineam*, then in the margin, corrected to *wa-ashabihi*. In some texts it was then added in the wrong place.

luxury to act wickedly therein. Thus, the word becomes true for it, and we do destroy it."¹⁵⁰

A possible explanation of this (situation) is that the profits (the people) make do not pay for their needs, because of the great number of (luxury) customs and the desire of the soul to satisfy them. Thus, the affairs of the people are in disorder, and if the affairs of individuals one by one deteriorate, the town becomes disorganized and falls into ruins.

This is the meaning of the statement by certain knowing people,¹⁵¹ that if orange trees are much grown in a town, the town invites its own ruin. Many common people avoided the growing of orange trees around (their) houses on account of this ominous (statement).¹⁵² But this is not what is meant, nor is it meant that orange trees are a bad omen¹⁵³ (and cause the ruin of a city). What is meant is that gardens and irrigation are the results of sedentary culture. Orange trees, lime trees, cypresses, and similar plants having no edible fruits¹⁵⁴ and being of no use, are the ultimate in sedentary culture, since they are planted in gardens only for the sake of their appearance, and they are planted only after the ways of luxury have become diversified. (Now,) this is the stage in which one must fear the destruction and ruin of a city, as we have stated. The same has been said with regard to oleander, which is in the same category. Its only purpose is to give color to gardens with its red and white flowers. That is a luxury.

Among the things that corrupt sedentary culture, there is the disposition toward pleasures and indulgence in them, because of the great luxury (that

¹⁵⁰Qur'an 17.16 (17).

¹⁵¹ *Ahl al-khawss*, lit., "people who know about the special qualities (properties) of things." This may refer to alchemists, or, as in this case, to people who know the material contained in such works as the *Nabataean Agriculture*. Cf. 3:151 f., below. See also 1:183, above.

¹⁵²"Ominous" is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

¹⁵³Corrected in C and D, for the earlier "special quality."

¹⁵⁴ This is what Ibn Khaldun says, but since the various citrus plants can be used for some kind of nourishment, he is apparently thinking of their seeming lack of basic nutritive qualities.

prevails). It leads to diversification of the desires of the belly for pleasurable food and drink.¹⁵⁵ This is followed by diversification of the pleasures of sex through various ways of sexual intercourse, such as adultery and homosexuality. This leads to destruction of the (human) species. It may come about indirectly, through the confusion concerning one's descent caused by adultery. Nobody knows his own son, since he is illegitimate and since the sperm (of different men) got mixed up in the womb.¹⁵⁶ The natural compassion a man feels for his children and his feeling of responsibility for them is lost. Thus, they perish, and this leads to the end of the (human) species. Or, the destruction of the (human) species may come about directly, as is the case with homosexuality, which leads directly to the non-existence of offspring. It contributes more to the destruction of the (human) species (than adultery), since it leads to (the result) that no human beings are brought into existence, while adultery only leads to the (social) non-existence of those who are in existence. Therefore, the school of Malik¹⁵⁷ is more explicit and correct with regard to homosexuality than the other schools. This shows that it understands the intentions of the religious law and their bearing upon the (public) interest better (than the other legal schools).

This should be understood. It shows that the goal of civilization is sedentary culture and luxury. When civilization reaches that goal, it turns toward 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 with corruption. Man is a man only in as much as he is able to procure for himself useful things and to repel harmful things, and in as much as his character is suited to making efforts to this effect. The sedentary person cannot take care of his needs personally. He may be too weak, because of the tranquility he enjoys. Or

¹⁵⁵The reference to drink is an addition to C and D.

¹⁵⁶Cf. 1:79, above.

¹⁵⁷The Malikites stipulated lapidation as the punishment for those involved.

he may be too proud, because he was brought up in prosperity and luxury. Both things are blameworthy. He also is not able to repel harmful things,¹⁵⁸ because he has no courage as the result of (his life in) luxury and his upbringing under the (tyrannical) impact of education and instruction.¹⁵⁹ He thus becomes dependent upon a protective force to defend him.

He then usually becomes corrupt with regard to his religion, also. The (luxury) customs and his subservience to them have corrupted him, and his soul has been colored by (luxury) habits,¹⁶⁰ as we have stated. There are only very rare exceptions. When the strength of a man and then¹⁶¹ his character and religion are corrupted, his humanity is corrupted, and he becomes, in effect, transformed (into an animal).

It is in this sense that those government soldiers who are close to Bedouin life and (Bedouin) toughness are more useful than those who have grown up in a sedentary culture and have adopted the character qualities of (sedentary culture). This can be found (to be the case) in every dynasty. It has thus become clear that the stage of sedentary culture is the stopping point in the life of civilization and dynasties.

"God is one and powerful."¹⁶²

IV.19. Cities that are the seats of royal authority fall into ruins when the ruling dynasty falls into ruins and crumbles.¹⁶³

[p.2:297]

We have found out with regard to civilization that, when a dynasty disintegrates and crumbles, the civilization of the city that is the seat of the ruler

¹⁵⁸Bulaq adds: "and to have a character suited for efforts to this effect. The sedentary person ..."

¹⁵⁹Cf. 3:305 ff., below.

¹⁶⁰ Bulaq: "by the power of luxury customs."

¹⁶¹Bulaq: "to control...."

¹⁶² Qur'an 12.39 (39); 38.65 (65); 39.4 (6). Cf. also Qur'an 13.16 (17).

¹⁶³ The entire section appears in C on an inserted sheet.

of (that dynasty) also crumbles and in this process often suffers complete ruin. There hardly ever is any delay. The reasons for it are several:

First: At the beginning of the dynasty, its necessary Bedouin outlook requires it not to take away people's property and to eschew (too great) cleverness.¹⁶⁴ This causes the taxes and imposts, which provide the dynasty with its substance, 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 possession of a new dynasty that knows little of luxury, luxury decreases among the inhabitants of that city controlled by it, because the subjects follow the dynasty. They revert to the character of the dynasty, either voluntarily, because it is human nature to follow the tradition of their masters, or involuntarily, because the character of the dynasty calls for abstention from luxury in all situations and allows little profit, which is what constitutes the material for (the formation of luxury) customs. As a result, the sedentary culture of the city decreases, and many luxury customs disappear from it. That is what we mean when we speak about the ruin of a city.

Second: Royal authority and power are obtained by a dynasty only through superiority, which comes only after hostilities and wars. Hostility requires incompatibility between the people of the two dynasties and mutual disapproval¹⁶⁵ with regard to (luxury) customs and conditions. The victory of one of the two rivals causes the disappearance of the other. Thus, the conditions of the previous dynasty, especially the conditions of luxury, are disapproved of and considered detestable and evil by the people of the new dynasty. They disappear among them, because the (new) dynasty disapproves of them. Eventually, however, new luxury customs gradually originate among them. They produce a new sedentary culture. The period in between sees a dwindling and decrease of the first sedentary culture. This is what is meant by disintegration of civilization in a city.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. pp. 89 f. and 122 f., above.

¹⁶⁵ *Wa-nakir*, as clearly indicated in C and D.

Third: Each nation must have a home, (a place) where it grows up and from which the realm took its origin. When (its members) take possession of another home,¹⁶⁶ (the latter) is ranked second to the first (home), and the (latter's) cities are ranked second to the cities of the first. When the realm expands and its influence grows, it is inevitable that the seat of government be amidst the provinces belonging to the dynasty, because it is a sort of center for the whole area. Thus, the (new seat of government) is remote from the site of the former seat of government. The hearts of the people are attracted to the (new seat of government), because the dynasty and government (are there). Civilization (the population) moves there and disappears slowly from the city that was the former seat of government. Sedentary culture depends upon an abundant civilization (population), as we have said before.¹⁶⁷ (With the transfer of the population,) the sedentary and urban culture (of the former seat of government) decreases. This is what is meant by its disintegration.

This happened to the Saljugs when they moved their seat of government from Baghdad to Isfahan; to the Arabs before them when they moved from al-Mada'in to al-Kufah and al-Basrah; to the `Abbasids when they moved from Damascus to Baghdad; and to the Merinids in the Maghrib when they moved from Marrakech to Fez. In general, when a dynasty chooses a city for its seat of government, it causes disintegration of the civilization in the former seat of government.

Fourth: When the new dynasty achieves superiority over the previous dynasty, it must attempt to transfer the people and partisans of the previous dynasty to another region where it can be sure that it will not be secretly attacked by them. Most of the inhabitants of a capital city are partisans of the (ruling) dynasty. They belong either to the militia who settled there at the beginning of the dynasty, or they are the dignitaries of the city. All their various classes and types have, as a rule, some contact with the dynasty.

¹⁶⁶ Bulaq: "realm."

¹⁶⁷ Cf., for instance, p. 287, above.

Most of them have grown up in the dynasty and are partisans of it. Even though they may not be (connected with the dynasty) through power and group feelings, they are (connected with it) through inclination, love, and faith. It is the nature of a new dynasty to wipe out all the traces of the previous dynasty. Therefore, it transfers (the population) from the capital city (of the old dynasty) to its own home, which is firmly in its possession. Some are brought there as exiles and prisoners, others as honored and well-treated guests, so that no antagonism can arise. Eventually, the capital city (of the previous dynasty) holds only salesmen, itinerant farm workers, hoodlums, and the great mass of common people. The place of the (transferred population) is taken by the militia and partisans of (the new dynasty). They will be sufficient to fill the city. When the various classes of dignitaries have left the city, its inhabitants decrease. This is what is meant by disintegration of the civilization of (the capital city).

Then, (the former capital city) must produce a new civilization under the shadow of the new dynasty. Another sedentary culture corresponding to the importance of the dynasty, arises in it. This may be compared to a person who has a house the interior of which is dilapidated. Most of the installations and conveniences of the rooms do not agree with his plans. He has the power to change these installations and to rebuild them according to his wishes and plans. Thus, he will tear down the house and build it up again.¹⁶⁸ Much the same sort of thing happens in cities that once were seats of government. We have personally seen it and know it. God determines night and day.¹⁶⁹

In¹⁷⁰ sum, the primary natural reason for this (situation) is the fact that dynasty and royal authority have the same relationship to civilization as form has to matter.¹⁷¹ (The form) is the shape that preserves the existence

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 449 f.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Issawi, pp. 101 f.

¹⁷¹ Cf. p. 291 (n. 139), above.

of (matter) through the (particular) kind (of phenomenon) it represents. It has been established in philosophy that the one cannot be separated from the other. One cannot imagine a dynasty without civilization, while a civilization without dynasty and royal authority is impossible, because human beings must by nature co-operate,¹⁷² and that calls for a restraining influence. Political leadership, based either on religious or royal authority, is obligatory as (such a restraining influence). This is what is meant by dynasty. 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.

A great disintegration results only from the disintegration of the entire dynasty. This happened to the dynasties of the Persians, the Byzantines, and the Arabs, (that is, the Arabs) in general as well as the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids. An individual reign, such as those of Anosharwan, Heraclius, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwan, or ar-Rashid, cannot exercise a sweeping disintegrating influence. Individuals follow upon each other and take over the (existing) civilization. They preserve its existence and duration, and they are very similar to each other. The real dynasty, the one that acts upon the matter of civilization, belongs to group feeling and power. These remain with the individual members of the dynasty. But when the group feeling is lost and replaced by another group feeling that influences the (existing) civilization and when all powerful members (of the dynasty) are wiped out, a great disintegration sets in, as we have established.

God has power to do what He wishes. "If He wants them to disappear, He causes them to do so, and brings forth a new creation. That is not difficult for God."¹⁷³

¹⁷² Bulaq: "are by nature hostile to each other."

¹⁷³ Qur'an 14.19f.(22f.);55.16f (17 f.).

IV.20. Certain cities have crafts that others lack.

[p.2:301]

This is because it is clear that the activities of the inhabitants of a city necessitate each other, since mutual co-operation is innate in civilization. The necessary activities are restricted to certain inhabitants of the city. They are in charge of them and become experts in the craft(s) belonging to them. These activities become their particular job. They make their living through them and derive their sustenance from them, because (these activities of theirs) are matters of general concern in the city and generally needed. On the other hand, activities not required in a city are not regarded, since there is no profit in them for those who occupy themselves with them.

The activities required for the necessities of life, such as those of tailors, smiths, carpenters, and similar occupations, exist in every city. But activities required for luxury customs and conditions exist only in cities of a highly developed culture, that have taken to luxury customs and sedentary culture. Among such activities are those of glassblowers, goldsmiths, perfumers, cooks, coppersmiths, biscuit bakers, *harisah* bakers,¹⁷⁴ weavers of brocade, and the like. (These activities) exist in different degrees. In accordance with increase in the customs of sedentary culture and the requirements of luxury conditions, there originate crafts (especially) for this kind (of luxury requirements). (The crafts of this) kind will, thus, exist in a particular city, but not in others.

(Public) baths fall into this category. They exist only in densely settled cities of a highly developed civilization as a kind of indulgence resulting from luxury and wealth. Therefore, public baths do not exist in medi-

¹⁷⁴For the *saffaj* "biscuit baker" and the *harras* "*harisah* (pastry) baker," cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 161-63, and, more recently, E. Levi-Provengal, "Le Traite d'Ibn 'Abdun," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 235, 274, 297; tr. by the same, *Seville musulmane au debut du XIIIe siecle* (Islam d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, No. 2) (Paris, 1947), pp. 100 f.

um-sized towns. It is true that some rulers and chiefs desire (to have baths in their medium-sized cities). They construct them and put them into operation. However, since there is no demand for them from the mass of the people, they are soon neglected and fall into ruins. Those in charge of them speedily leave them, because they have little profit and income from them.

"God holds (His hands) tight together but also opens (them) wide."¹⁷⁵

IV.21. The existence of group feeling in cities and the superiority of some of the inhabitants over others.

[p.2:302]

It¹⁷⁶ 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 not have a common descent. However, as we have mentioned before,¹⁷⁷ such association is weaker than one based upon common descent, and the resulting group feeling is only part of what (group feeling) resulting from common descent is. Many inhabitants of cities come into close contact through intermarriage. This draws them together and, eventually, they constitute individual related groups. The same friendship or hostility that is found among tribes and families, is found among them, and they split into parties and groups.

When senility befalls a dynasty and its shadow recedes from the remote regions (of the realm), the inhabitants of the cities of (that dynasty) have to take care of their own affairs and to look after the protection of their own place. They revert to the council (government), and (people of the) higher class keep separated from people of the lower class. (Human) souls, by their very nature, are prone to seek superiority and domination. Because the air is clear of forceful government and dynasty, the elders desire to gain complete

¹⁷⁵ Qur'an 2.245 (246).

¹⁷⁶Cf. Issawi, pp. 107 f.

¹⁷⁷Cf. pp. 119 f., above.

control. Everybody vies with everybody else. They try to have followers, such as clients, partisans, and allies, join them. They spend whatever they possess on the rabble and the mob. Everybody forms a group with his fellows, and one of them achieves superiority. He then turns against his equals, in order to slow them down,¹⁷⁸ and persecutes them with assassination or exile. Eventually, he takes away all executive power from them and renders them innocuous.¹⁷⁹ He obtains sole control of the entire city. He then is of the opinion that he has created a realm that he may leave to his descendants, but the same symptoms of power and senility to be found in a large realm are also to be found in his smaller realm.

Some of these people occasionally aspire to the ways of the great rulers who are masters of tribes and families and group feelings, who go into combat and wage wars, and who control large regions and provinces. They adopt the custom of sitting upon a throne. They use an "outfit,"¹⁸⁰ organize cavalcades for traveling about the country, use seal rings, are greeted (ceremoniously), and are addressed as Sire (*mawla*), which is ridiculous in the eyes of all who can observe the situation for themselves. They adopt royal emblems to which they are not entitled. They were pushed into following such (improper aspirations) only by the dwindling influence of the (ruling) dynasty and the close relationships they had established and that eventually resulted in group feeling. Some of (the people, on the other hand), refrained from (improper aspirations) and lived simply, because they did not want to make themselves the butt of jokes and ridicule,

This happened in our own time in the later (years) of the Hafsid dynasty in Ifriqiyah to inhabitants of places in the Jarid, including Tripoli, Gabes, Tozeur (Tuzar), Nafta (Naftah), Gafsa (Qafsah), Biskra and the Zab, and adjacent regions. They acquired such aspirations when the shadow of the (rul-

¹⁷⁸Cf. p. 121 (n. 705), above.

¹⁷⁹ Lit., "trims their scratching fingernails (or claws)."

¹⁸⁰Cf. pp. 48 ff, above.

ing) dynasty had been receding from them for some decades. They seized power in their respective cities and took control of the judicial and tax administration away from the dynasty. They paid (the ruling dynasty) some obedience and gave (it) reluctant allegiance, and treated (it) with some politeness, kindness, and submissiveness. However, they did not mean it. They passed (their position) on to their descendants, who (are living) at this time. Among their successors, there originated that cruelty and tyranny that is common among the descendants and successors of rulers. They thought that they ranked with (true) rulers, despite the fact that they had only recently been common people.¹⁸¹

Something similar happened also at the end of the Sinhajah dynasty. The inhabitants of the cities of the Jarid made themselves independent there and seized control of the (ruling) dynasty. Eventually, they were deprived of their power by the *shaykh* and ruler of the Almohads, 'Abd-al Mu'min b. 'Ali. He transferred all of them from their amir ates in the Jarid to the Maghrib, and removed all traces of them from (the Jarid), as we shall mention in his history.¹⁸²

The same happened also in Ceuta at the end of the dynasty of the Banu 'Abd-al-Mu'min.

As a rule, such leadership goes to members of great and noble houses who are eligible for the positions of elders and leaders in a city. Sometimes, it goes to some person from the lowest class of people. He obtains group feeling and close contact with the mob for reasons that fate (*al-miqdar*) produces for him. He, then, achieves superiority over the elders and people of the higher class when they have lost their own group support.

¹⁸¹The events referred to here happened before the restoration of Haflid power under Abul-'Abbas. Cf. pp. 95 and 116, above. It is strange to see that only the text of Bulaq adds a reference to Abul-'Abbas: "Eventually, our Master, the Commander of the Faithful, Abul-'Abbas, made an end to this situation and deprived them of the power they had." Apparently the passage belonged to the Tunis MS written for Abul-'Abbas.

¹⁸²Cf. p. 116 (n. 694), above, and the reference to the *Ibar* given there.

"God has the power to execute His commands."¹⁸³

IV.22. The dialects of the urban population.

[p.2:305]

The dialects of the urban population follow the language of the nation or race that has control of (the cities in question) or has founded them. Therefore, the dialects spoken in all Muslim cities in the East and the West at this time are Arabic, even though the habit of the Arabic Mudar language has become corrupted and its vowel endings (*i'rab*) have changed.¹⁸⁴ The reason for this is the fact that the Muslim dynasty gained power over (foreign) nations. Religion and religious organization constitute the form for existence and royal authority, which (together) constitute the matter for (religion).¹⁸⁵ Form is prior to matter. Religion is derived from the religious law, which is in Arabic, because the Prophet was an Arab. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid using any language but Arabic in all the provinces of (Islam).

This may be exemplified by 'Umar's prohibition against using the idiom native among the non-Arabs. He said that it is *khibb*, that is, "ruse" and "deceit." Since the religion (Islam) avoided the non-Arab dialects, and the language of the supporters of the Muslim dynasty was Arabic, those (dialects) were avoided altogether in all its provinces, because people follow the government and adopt its religion (ways).¹⁸⁶ Use of the Arabic language became a symbol of Islam and of obedience to the Arabs. The (foreign) nations avoided using their own dialects and languages in all the cities and provinces, and the Arabic language became their language. Eventually, (Arabic) became firmly rooted as the (spoken) language in all their cities and towns. The non-Arab languages came (to seem) imported and foreign

¹⁸³ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. 6:951 ff., below. The subject dealt with in this section is discussed in much greater detail in the last part of the *Muqaddimah*.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. p. 291 (n. 139), above.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. 1:58 (n. 163), above

there. The Arabic language became corrupt through contact with (foreign languages) in some of its rules¹⁸⁷ and through changes of the word endings, even though it remained unchanged semantically. (This type of Arabic) was called "the sedentary language" (and was used) in all the cities of Islam.

Furthermore, most of the inhabitants of the cities of Islam at this time are descendants of the Arabs who were in possession of these cities and perished in their luxury. They outnumbered the non-Arabs who lived there and inherited their land and country. Now, languages are inherited. Thus, the language spoken by the descendants has remained close to that of their forefathers, even though its rules have gradually become corrupted by contact with non-Arabs. It was called "sedentary" with reference to the inhabitants of settled region's and cities, in contrast to the language of the desert Arabs, which is more deeply rooted in Arabism.

When non-Arabs, such as the Daylam and, after them, the Saljuqs in the East and the Zanitah and Berbers in the West, became the rulers and obtained royal authority and control over the whole Muslim realm, the Arabic language suffered corruption. It would almost have disappeared, if the concern of the Muslims with the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which preserve Islam, had not (also) preserved the Arabic language. This (concern) became an element in favor of the persistence of the sedentary dialect used in the cities as an Arabic (sedentary dialect in its original form). But when the Tatars and Mongols, who were not Muslims, became the rulers in the East, this element in favor of the Arabic language disappeared, and the Arabic language was absolutely doomed. No trace of it has remained in these Muslim provinces: the 'Iraq, Khurisan, the country. of Firs (southern Persia), Eastern and Western India, Transoxania, the northern countries, and the Byzantine territory (Anatolia). The Arabic methods (*uslub*)¹⁸⁸ of poetry and speech have disappeared, save for a (remnant). Instruction in (what little Arabic is known)

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 3:346, below.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. 3:375 ff., below.

is a technical matter using rules learned from the sciences of the Arabs and through memorizing their speech. (It is restricted) to those persons whom God has equipped for it. The sedentary Arabic dialect has largely remained in Egypt, Syria, Spain, and the Maghrib, because Islam still remains (there) and requires it. Therefore, it has been preserved to some degree. But in the provinces of the 'Iraq and beyond (to the East), no trace or source of (the Arabic language) has remained. Even scientific books have come to be written in the non-Arabic (Persian) language, which is also used for instruction in (Arabic)¹⁸⁹ in class.

God determines night and day.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ *Leg. tadrishiha* "instruction in (the sciences)"?

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

Chapter V. 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).

[p.2:309]

V.1. The real meaning and explanation of sustenance and profit. Profit is the value realized from human labor.

[p.2:311]

IT SHOULD B E KNOWN that man, by nature, needs something to feed him and to provide for him in all the conditions and stages of his life from the time of his (early) growth to his maturity and on to his old age. "God is rich, but you are poor."¹ God² created everything in the world for man and gave it to him, as indicated in several verses of the Qur'an. He said: "He created for you everything that is in the heavens and on earth. He subjected the sun and the moon to you. He subjected the sea to you. He subjected the firmament to you. He subjected the animals to you."³ (The same idea is indicated in) many (other) passages of (the Qur'an), Man's hand stretches out over the (whole) world and all that is in it, since God made man His representative on earth.

¹ Qur'an 47.38 (40).

² Cf. Issawi, pp. 71 f.

³ Cf. Qur'an 14.32 f. (37). Cf. also Qur'an 13.2 (2); 16.12 (12); 22.65(64); 29.61 (61); 31.20 (19), 29 (28); 35.13 (14); 39.5 (7); 45.12 f. (11 f).

Every man tries to get things; in this all men are alike. Thus, whatever is obtained by one is denied to the other, unless he gives something in exchange (for it). When (man) has control of himself and is beyond the stage of (his original) weakness, he strives to make a profit, so that he may spend what God gives him to obtain his needs and necessities through barter. God said: "Thus, ask God for sustenance."⁴

(Man) obtains (some profit) through no efforts of his own, as, for instance, through rain that makes the fields thrive, and similar things. However, these things are only contributory. His own efforts must be combined with them, as will be mentioned. (His) profits will constitute his livelihood, if they correspond to his necessities and needs. They will be capital accumulation, if they are greater than (his needs). When the use of such accruing or acquired (gain) reverts to a particular human being and he enjoys its fruits by spending it upon his interests and needs, it is called "sustenance." The Prophet said: "The only thing you (really) possess of your property is what you ate, and have thus destroyed; or what you wore, and have thus worn out; or what you gave as charity, and have thus spent."⁵

When (a person) does not use (his income) for any of his interests and needs, it is not called "sustenance." (The part of the income) that is obtained by a person through his own effort and strength is called "profit." For instance, the estate of a deceased person is called "profit" with reference to the deceased person. It is not called "sustenance," because the deceased person has no use for it: But with reference to the heirs, when they use it, it is called "sustenance."

This is the real meaning of "sustenance" among orthodox Muslims. The Mu'tazilah stipulated for the use of the term "sustenance" that it must be possessed rightfully. Whatever is not possessed (rightfully) is not called

⁴ Qur'an 29.17 (16).

⁵Cf. *Concordance*, I, 218b,11. 19 ff.

"sustenance" by them.⁶ Wrongfully acquired property or anything forbidden was not admitted by them as something that could be called "sustenance." Yet, God sustains him who acquires property wrongfully, and also the evil-doer, the believer as well as the unbeliever. He singles out whomever He wishes for His mercy and guidance. (The Mu'tazilah) have arguments for their theory of "sustenance." This is not the place to discuss them fully.

It should further be known that profit results from the effort to acquire (things) and the intention to obtain (them). Sustenance requires effort and work, even if one tries to get it and ask for it in the proper ways for getting it.⁷ God said: "Thus, ask God for sustenance."⁸ The effort to (obtain sustenance) depends on God's determination and inspiration. Everything comes from God. But human labor is necessary for every profit and capital accumulation. When (the source of profit) is work as such, as, for instance, (the exercise of) a craft, this is obvious. When the source of gain is animals, plants, or minerals, (this is not quite as obvious, but) human labor is still necessary, as one can see. Without (human labor), no gain will be obtained, and there will be no useful (result).

Furthermore,⁹ God created the two mineral "stones," gold and silver, as the (measure of) value for all capital accumulations. (Gold and silver are what) the inhabitants of the world, by preference, consider treasure and property (to consist of). Even if, under certain circumstances, other things are acquired, it is only for the purpose of ultimately obtaining (gold and silver). All other things are subject to market fluctuations, from which (gold and silver) are exempt. They are the basis of profit, property, and treasure.

⁶ Cf., for instance, E. E. Elder, *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. 43) (New York, 1950), pp. 95 f.

⁷ Ibn Khaldun originally wrote "one of the proper ways (*wajhih?*)."⁷ In C the correction to *wujuhihi* is still visible.

⁸ Qur'an 29.17 (19).

⁹ Cf. Issawi, p. 77.

If all this has been established, it should be further known that the capital a person earns and acquires, if resulting from a craft, is the value realized from his labor. This is the meaning of "acquired (capital)." There is nothing here (originally) except the labor, and (the labor) is not desired by itself as acquired (capital, but the value realized from it).

Some crafts are partly associated with other (crafts). Carpentry and weaving, for instance, are associated with wood and yarn (and the respective crafts needed for their production). However, in the two crafts (first mentioned), the labor (that goes into them) is more important, and its value is greater.

If the profit results from something other than a craft, the value of the resulting profit and acquired (capital) must (also) include the value of the labor by which it was obtained. Without labor, it would not have been acquired.

In most such cases, the share of labor (in the profit) is obvious. A portion of the value, whether large or small, comes from (the labor). The share of labor may be concealed. This is the case, for instance, with the prices of food stuffs. The labor and expenditures that have gone into them show themselves in the price of grain, as we have stated before.¹⁰ But they are concealed (items) in regions where farming requires little care and few implements. Thus, only a few farmers are conscious of the (costs of labor and expenditures that have gone into their products).

It has thus become clear that gains and profits, in their entirety or for the most part, are value realized from human labor. The meaning of the word "sustenance" has become clear. It is (the part of the profit) that is utilized. Thus, the meaning of the words "profit" and "sustenance" has become clear. The meaning of both words has been explained.

It should be known that when the (available) labor is all gone or decreases because of a decrease in civilization, God permits profits to be abol-

¹⁰ Cf. p. 278, above.

ished. Cities¹¹ with few inhabitants can be observed to offer little sustenance and profit, or none whatever, because little human labor (is available). Likewise, in cities with a larger (supply of) labor, the inhabitants enjoy more favorable conditions and have more luxuries, as we have stated before.¹²

This is why the common people say that, with the decrease of its civilization, the sustenance of a country disappears. This goes so far that even the flow of springs and rivers stops in waste areas. Springs flow only if they are dug out and the water drawn. This requires human labor. (The conditions) may be compared with the udders of animals. Springs that are not dug out and from which no water is drawn are absorbed and disappear in the ground completely. In the same way, udders dry up when they are not milked. This can be observed in countries where springs existed in the days of their civilization. Then, they fell into ruins, and the water of the springs disappeared completely in the ground, as if it had never existed.

God determines night and day.¹³

V.2. The various ways, means, and methods of making a living.

[p.2:315]

It should be known that "livelihood (making a living)" means the desire for sustenance and the effort to obtain it. "Livelihood" (*ma'ash*) is a *maf'al* formation from *'aysh* "life." The idea is that *'aysh* "life" is obtained only through the things (that go into making a living), and they are therefore considered, with some exaggeration, "the place of life."¹⁴

¹¹Cf. Issawi, p. 95.

¹²Cf. pp. 280 f., above.

¹³Cf. Qur'an 73.20 (20).

¹⁴ According to the principles of Semitic noun formation, a *maf'al* formation-i.e., a formation from a root with the preformative *ma-* -means the place where the action implied in the meaning of the root takes place. Thus, *ma'dsh*, from *'asha* "to live," would mean "the place where one lives." However, this is certainly not the correct derivation of *ma'ash*.

Sustenance¹⁵ and profit may be obtained-*through*-having the power to take them away from others and to appropriate them according to a generally recognized norm. This is called imposts and taxation.

Or (profit may be obtained) from wild animals by killing or catching them whole on land or in the sea. This is called hunting (fishing).

Or (profit may be obtained) either from domesticated animals by extracting surplus products which are used by the people, such as milk from animals, silk from silk worms, and honey from bees; or from plants such as are planted in fields or grow as trees, through cultivating and preparing them for the production of their fruits. All this is called agriculture.

Or profit may be the result of human labor. (Such labor may be applied) to specific materials. Then it is called a craft, such as writing, carpentry, tailoring, weaving, horsemanship, and similar (crafts). Or it may be applied to nonspecific materials. This, then, includes all the (other) professions and activities.

Or profit may come from merchandise and its use in barter; (merchants can make such profit) either by traveling around with (the merchandise) in (various) countries, or by hoarding it and observing the market fluctuations which affect it. This is called commerce.

These are the different ways and means of making a living. Certain thorough men of letters and philosophers, such as al-Hariri¹⁶ and others, had this in mind when they said: "A living is made by (exercising) political power (*imarah*), through commerce, agriculture, or the crafts." (The exercise of) political power is not a natural way of making a living.¹⁷ We do not have

This paragraph and other parts of this section have been translated [by H. Peres], in *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 9 f.

¹⁵Cf. Issawi, pp. 78-80.

¹⁶If this is how the name is to be read, it suggests the famous author of the *Maqdmtd*, al-Qasim b. 'Ali, 446-516 [1054/55-1122]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 276 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 486 ff. However, the remark quoted cannot be found in his *Maqamat* (as de Slane recognized), nor in his lexicographical work, *Durrat al ghawwas*.

¹⁷Cf. p. 327, below.

to mention it here. Something was said before in the second chapter about governmental tax collection and the people in charge of it.¹⁸ Agriculture, the crafts, and commerce, on the other hand, are natural ways of making a living.

Agriculture is prior to all the other (ways of making a living) by its very nature, since it is something simple and innately natural. It needs no speculation or (theoretical) knowledge. Therefore, (invention) of it is ascribed to Adam, the father of mankind. He is said to have taught and practiced agriculture. This indicates that it is the oldest way of making a living and the one most closely related to nature.

The crafts are secondary and posterior to agriculture. They are composite and scientific. Thinking and speculation is applied to them. Therefore, as a rule, crafts exist only among sedentary peoples. (Sedentary culture) is posterior to Bedouin life, and secondary to it. In this sense, their (invention) was ascribed to Idris,¹⁹ the second father of mankind. He is said to have invented them with the help of divine revelation for the human beings to come after him.

Commerce is a natural way of making profits. However, most of its practices and methods are tricky and designed to obtain the (profit) margin between purchase prices and sales prices. This surplus makes it possible to earn a profit. Therefore, the law permits cunning in commerce, since (commerce) contains an element of gambling. It does not, however, mean taking away the property of others without giving anything in return. Therefore, it is legal.²⁰

And God knows better.

¹⁸ Apparently, a reference to pp. 19 H., above, in the *third* chapter. De Slane suggested 1:289 f. in Ch. II, above, but only because he misunderstood the last words of the sentence as "people who have to pay taxes."

¹⁹Cf. n. 345 to Ch. 1, above, and p. 367, below. For his alleged cultural contributions, cf. A. J. Wensinck in *El, s v. "Idris."* However, the attribute "second father of mankind" is not usually applied to him.

²⁰ This is not the case with gambling or robbery.

V.3. Being a servant is not a natural way of making a living.

[p.2:317]

The ruler must use the services of men, such as soldiers, policemen, and secretaries, in all the departments of political power (*imarah*) and royal authority with which he has to do. For each department, he will be satisfied with men who, he knows, are adequate, and he will provide for their sustenance from the treasury. All this belongs to political power and the living made out of it. The authority of political administration extends to all these men, and the highest royal authority is the (common) source of (power for) their various branches.

.The reason for the existence of servants on a lower level is the fact that most of those who live in luxury are too proud to take care of their own personal needs or are unable to do so, because they were brought up accustomed to indulgence and luxury. Therefore, they employ people who will take charge of such things for them. They give these people wages out of their own (money). This situation is not praiseworthy from the point of view of manliness, which is natural to man, since it is (a sign of) weakness to rely on persons (other than oneself). It also adds to one's duties and expenditures, and indicates a weakness and effeminacy that ought to be avoided in the interest of manliness. However, custom causes human nature to incline toward the things to which it becomes used. Man is the child of customs, not the child of his ancestors.²¹

Moreover, satisfactory and trustworthy servants are al most nonexistent. There are just four categories according to which a servant of this (description)²² can be classified. He may be capable of doing what he has to do, and trustworthy with regard to the things that come into his hands. Or,

²¹Cf. 1:258, above.

²² Lit., "in charge of *that*." The only possible antecedent is provided by the preceding sentence, even though the following classification also includes unsatisfactory or untrustworthy servants.

he may be the opposite in both respects, that is, he may be neither capable nor trustworthy. Or, he may be the opposite in one respect only, that is, he may be capable and not trustworthy, or trustworthy and not capable.

As to the first (kind), the capable and trustworthy servant, no one would in any way be able to secure the employment of such a person. With his capability and trustworthiness, he would have no need of persons of low rank, and he would disdain to accept the wages (they could) offer for (his) service, because he could get more. Therefore, such a person is employed only by amirs who have high ranks, because the need for rank is general.²³

The second kind, the servant who is neither capable nor trustworthy, should not be employed by any intelligent person, because he will do damage to his master on both counts. On the one hand, he will cause losses to his master through his lack of ability, and on the other hand, he will defraud him and deprive him of his property. In any event, he is a liability to his master.

No one would (want, or have occasion to) employ these two kinds of servants. Thus, the only thing that remains is to employ servants of the two other kinds, servants who are trustworthy but not capable, and servants who are capable but not trustworthy. There are two opinions among people as to which of the two kinds is preferable. Each has something in its favor. However, the capable (servant), even when he is not trustworthy, is preferable. One can be sure that he will not cause any damage, and one can arrange to be on guard as far as possible against being defrauded by him. (The servant) who may cause damage, even when he is reliable, is more harmful than useful because of the damage caused by him. This should be realized and taken as the norm for finding satisfactory servants.

God has power to do what he wishes.

²³Cf. Bombaci, p. 450. Apparently, this does not mean that these men can offer their servants high ranks, but that they can offer them the protection of their own high ranks, which is generally needed.

V.4. Trying to make money from buried and other treasures is not a natural way of making a living.

[p.2:319]

It should be known that many weak-minded persons in cities hope to discover property under the surface of the earth and to make some profit from it. They believe that all the property of the nations of the past was stored underground and sealed with magic talismans. These seals, they believe, can be broken only by those who may chance upon the (necessary) knowledge and can offer the proper incense, prayers, and sacrifices to break them.

The inhabitants of the cities in Ifriqiyah believe that the European Christians who lived in Ifriqiyah before Islam, buried their property and entrusted its (hiding place) to written lists, until such time as they might find a way to dig it up again. The inhabitants of the cities in the East hold similar beliefs with regard to the nations of the Copts, the Romans (Byzantines), and the Persians. They circulate stories to this effect that sound like idle talk. Thus, a treasure hunter comes to dig where there was money buried, but does not know the talisman or the story connected with it. As a result, he finds the place empty or inhabited by worms. Or, he sees the money and jewels lying there, but guards stand over them with drawn swords. Or the earth shakes, so that he believes that he will be swallowed up, and similar nonsense.

In the Maghrib there are many Berber "students"²⁴ who are unable to make a living by natural ways and means. They approach well-to-do people with papers that have torn margins and contain either non-Arab writing or what they claim to be the translation of a document written by the owner of buried treasures, giving the clue to the hiding place. In this way, they try to get their sustenance by (persuading well-to-do people) to send them out to dig and hunt for treasure. They fool them by saying that their only motive

²⁴ Cf. 3:270, below, and Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah fi akhbar Gharnatah* I, 249.

in asking for help is their wish to find influential protection against seizure and punishment by (local) authorities. Occasionally, one of these treasure hunters displays strange information or some remarkable trick of magic with which he fools people into believing his other claims, although, in fact, he knows nothing of magic and (magical) procedures.

Most weak-minded people wish to do their digging with others and to be protected by the darkness of night while they do it. They are afraid of watchers and government spies. When they do not turn anything up, they put the blame upon their ignorance of the talisman with which the (buried) money was sealed. Thus they deceive themselves as to the failure of their hopes.

In addition to a weak mind, a (common) motive that leads people to hunt for treasure is their inability to make a living in one of the natural ways that lead to profit, such as commerce, agriculture, or the crafts. Therefore, they try to make a living in devious ways, such as (treasure hunting) and the like, not in one of the natural ways. For they are unable to make the effort necessary to earn something, and they trust that they can gain their sustenance without effort or trouble. They do not realize that by trying to make a living in an improper manner, they plunge themselves into much greater trouble, hardship, and expenditure of energy than otherwise. In addition, they expose themselves to (the risk of) punishment.

Occasionally, a principal motive leading people to hunt for treasure is the fact that they have become used to ever-increasing, limitless luxury and (luxury) customs. As a result, the various ways and means of earning money cannot keep pace with and do not pay for their (luxury) requirements. When such a person cannot earn enough in a natural way, his only way out is to wish that at one stroke, without any effort, he might find sufficient money to pay for the (luxury) habits in which he has become caught. Thus, he becomes eager to find (treasure) and concentrates all his effort upon that. Therefore, most of those who can be observed to be eager to (hunt for trea-

sure) are people used to luxurious living. Among the people of the (various) dynasties and the inhabitants of cities such as Cairo (Egypt), where there is much luxury and (living) conditions are favorable, many are engrossed in the search for (treasure). They question travelers about extraordinary tales of (hidden treasure) with the same eagerness they show for the practice of alchemy.²⁵ Thus, we hear that the inhabitants of Cairo (Egypt) consult the Maghribi "students" they meet, in hopes that, with their help, they may perhaps hit upon some buried or other treasure. They further investigate (the possibility of) making water disappear in the soil, because they believe that the majority of all buried treasures are to be found in the canals of the Nile and that the Nile largely covers the buried or hoarded treasures in those regions. Persons who possess the (afore-mentioned) forged records fool them with the excuse that the reason they cannot reach the treasures is because the Nile flows there. In this way they cover up their lies. First, they want to make a living. The person who hears their (stories) wants to make the water disappear in the ground by means of magical operations, so as to obtain what he wants. (People in Egypt) are fond of magic, (a trait) they have inherited from their early forebears in (Egypt). Their magical disciplines and monuments still remain in (Egypt) as the graves (of the ancient Egyptians) and other buildings attest. The story of Pharaoh's magicians testifies to their special (knowledge of magic).²⁶

The inhabitants of the Maghrib circulate a poem among themselves which they ascribe to the sages of the East. As one can see, it shows how to make water disappear in the ground by magical means. This is (the poem):

O you who are looking for the secret of how to make water disappear
in the ground,
Listen to the word of truth from an expert!
Put aside all the false statements and deceptive remarks

²⁵ Cf. 3:267 ff, below.

²⁶ Cf. Qur'an 7.110 ff (113 ff.), etc.

That people have written in books, And listen to my truthful word and advice,

If you are one of those who do not believe in cheating [being cheated?].

If you seek to make a well disappear, and

How to handle this well has always puzzled the mind,

Make a picture resembling yourself standing, (but)

The head should be that of a young lion, (drawn) as a round shape.

His hands (should) hold the rope that is

Drawing a bucket up from the bottom of a well.

On his breast, there (should be) an h, as you may have seen,

(Written three times), the number of divorce. Be careful not to repeat it more often!

It (should) step upon is without touching (them),

Walking like someone who is courageous, clever, and skillful.

-He means that the is are in front of (the figure), and it looks as if it were walking upon them-

Around the whole, there is a line running,

Which should rather be square than round.

Slaughter a bird over it and smear its (blood) upon it,

And immediately after the slaughtering, go and use incense,

Sandarac, frankincense, storax,

And costus root. And cover it with a silken garment,

A red one or a yellow one, not a blue one.

It should have no green or dark (color) in it.

It should be sewn with threads of white Or red wool of purest red coloring.

The ascendant should be Leo, as has already been explained,

And there should be no bright moonlight,²⁷

²⁷ Bulaq: "And it should be the beginning [*bad'* instead of *badr*] of a month, when there is no bright (moon) light." Since *badr* usually means the full moon, the Bulaq text has something in its favor.

And the [fall ?] moon should be connected with the lucky position of Mercury.

A Saturday should be the hour of the operation.

My opinion is that this poem is one of the things with which swindlers fool (other people).

These (swindlers) create remarkable situations and employ astounding techniques. They go so far in their devious lies as to take up residence in famous mansions and houses known as (hiding places of treasures). They undertake excavations there and make underground cells²⁸ and put signs there which they (then) incorporate in their forged lists. Then, they go to some weak-minded person with these lists. They urge him to rent the mansion and live there. They suggest to him that the mansion contains a buried treasure of indescribable magnitude. They ask for money to buy drugs and incense, in order to break the talismans. They condition him by producing the signs they themselves had placed there and that were of their own manufacture. He gets excited by the things he sees. He is deceived and taken in by them without knowing it. During these (operations), the (swindlers) use among themselves a (special) linguistic terminology with the help of which they inveigle (their victims), and keep them in ignorance of what they say concerning the digging, incense, slaughtering of animals, and the other such things that they do.

The things that have been said about (treasure hunting) have no scientific basis, nor are they based upon (factual) information. It should be realized that although treasures are (sometimes) found, this happens rarely and by chance, not by systematic 'search. (The hiding of treasures) is no matter of general concern, such that people would commonly store their money underground and seal it with talismans, either in ancient or in recent times. Buried treasures (*rikaz*), such as are mentioned in the Prophetic traditions

²⁸ This is the ordinary meaning of *matabiq*, while "*contre-marques*," as de Slane guessed from the context, is not recorded elsewhere.

and such as the jurists assume to exist²⁹ - that is, buried in pre-Islamic times - are found by chance, not by systematic search.

Furthermore, why should anyone who hoards his money and seals it with magical operations, thus making extraordinary efforts to keep it concealed, set up hints and clues as to how it may be found by anyone who cares to? Why make a written list of it, so that the people of any period and region could find his treasure? This would contradict the intention of keeping it concealed.

Furthermore, intelligent people act with some definite, useful purpose in mind. A person who hoards his money does so because he wants his children, his relatives, or someone else to get it. No intelligent person tries to hide his money altogether, from everybody. To do so would merely bring about its destruction or loss, or its going to some member of a future nation unknown to him.

The question has been asked: Where is the property of the nations (that came) before us, and where are the abundant riches known to have existed among those nations? (In reply,)³⁰ it should be known that treasures of gold, silver, precious stones, and utensils are no different from (other) minerals and acquired (capital), from iron, copper, lead, and any other real property³¹ or (ordinary) minerals. It is civilization that causes them to appear, with the help of human labor, and that makes them increase or decrease. All such things in people's possession may be transferred and passed on by inheritance. They have often been transferred from one region to another, and from one dynasty to another, in accordance with the purposes they were to

²⁹ Cf., for instance, al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 318 f. The problem occupying the jurists was the tax to be paid on such treasures when found.

³⁰ Cf. Issawi, p. 77.

³¹ De Sacy, as quoted by de Slane, thought that the word used here should be read **'aqqarat* and be another plural of *'aqqar*; instead of the usual *'aqqaqir*; meaning "drugs." However, the plural formation **'aqqarat* seems very unusual, and the ordinary *'aqarat* "real property" fits the context.

serve^{31a} and the particular civilization that required them. If money (at this time) is scarce in the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah, it is not scarce in the countries of the Slavs and the European Christians. If it is scarce in Egypt and Syria, it is not scarce in India and China. Such things are merely materials (*alat*) and acquired (capital). It is civilization that produces them in abundance or causes them to be in short supply. Moreover, minerals are affected by destruction like all other existent things. Pearls and jewels deteriorate more quickly than anything else. Gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin are also affected by destruction and complete annihilation, which destroy their substances in a very short time.

The occurrence of finds and treasures in Egypt is explained by the fact that Egypt was in the possession of the Copts for two thousand³² or more years. Their dead were buried with their possessions of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls. This was the custom of the people of the old dynasties. When the dynasty of the Copts ended and the Persians ruled Egypt, they searched the graves for such objects and discovered them. They took an indescribably large amount of such objects from the graves, from the pyramids, for example, which were the royal graves, and from the other (types of graves). The same was done by the Greeks after them. Those graves afforded opportunities for treasure (hunting and have continued to do so) down to this time. One frequently comes upon buried treasure in them. This may either consist of money buried by the Copts, or (it may be) the specially prepared vessels and sarcophagi of gold and silver with which they honored their dead when they buried them. For thousands of years, the graves of the Copts have been likely to afford opportunities for finding (treasure). Because of the existence of (treasures in graves) the Egyptians have been concerned with the search for treasures and their discovery. When, in the later (years) of a dy-

^{31a} *Aghradihi*, as in Bulaq, may have been the original reading. A and B have *a'wadihi* "through exchange." The same form in C appears to be the result of correction. D has *a'rddihi*.

³² Bulaq has "thousands." A and B read "one thousand."

nasty, duties come to be levied upon various things, they are even levied upon treasure hunters, and a tax has to be paid by those stupid and deluded persons who occupy themselves with (treasure hunting). Greedy people (in the government) who try assiduously to (discover treasures think that they) have thus found the means to discover treasures (for their own benefit) and a promising way to get them out. But all their efforts remain entirely unsuccessful. God is our refuge from perdition.³³

Those who are deluded or afflicted by these things must take refuge in God from their inability to make a living and their laziness in this respect, just as the Messenger of God took refuge from it and turned away from the ways and delusions of Satan. They should not occupy themselves with absurdities and untrue stories.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting."³⁴

V.5. Ranks are useful in securing property.

[p.2:326]

This³⁵ is as follows: We find that the person of rank who is highly esteemed is in every material aspect more fortunate and wealthier than a person who has no rank. The reason for this is that the person of rank is served by the labor (of others). They try to approach him with their labor, since they want to be close to (him) and are in need of (the protection) his rank affords. People help him with their labor in all his needs, whether these are necessities, conveniences, or luxuries. The value realized from all such labor becomes part of his profit. For tasks that usually require giving some compensation (to the persons who perform them), he always employs people without giving anything in return. He realizes a very high value from their labor. It is (the difference) between the value he realizes from the (free) labor

³³ Or "loss (of property)," which would be applicable to the situation.

³⁴ Qur'an 2.212 (208); 9.57 (32); 24.88 (58).

³⁵ Cf. Issawi, p. 86.

(products) and the prices he must pay for things he needs. He thus makes a very great (profit). A person of rank receives much (free) labor which makes him rich in a very short time. With the passing of days, his fortune and wealth increase. It is in this sense that (the possession of) political power (*imarah*) is one of the ways of making a living, as we have stated before.³⁶

The person who has no rank whatever, even though he may have property, acquires a fortune only in proportion to the property he owns and in accordance with the efforts he himself makes. Most merchants are in this position. Therefore, (merchants) who have a rank are far better off (than other merchants).

Evidence for this is the fact that many jurists and religious scholars and pious persons acquire a good reputation. Then, the great mass believes that when they give them presents, they serve God. People, therefore, are willing to help them in their worldly affairs and to work for their interests. As a result, they quickly become wealthy and turn out to be very well off although they have acquired no property but have only the value realized from the labor with which the people have supported them. We have seen much of this in cities and towns as well as in the desert. People do farm work and business for these men, who sit at home and do not leave their places. But still their property grows and their profits increase. Without effort, they accumulate wealth, to the surprise of those who do not understand what the secret of their affluence is, what the reasons for their wealth and fortune are.

"God gives sustenance to whomever He wishes to give it, without accounting."³⁷

³⁶Cf. p. 316, above.

³⁷ Qur'an 2.212 (208); 3.37 (32); 24.38 (38).

V.6. Happiness and profit are achieved mostly by people who are obsequious and use flattery. Such character disposition is one of the reasons for happiness.

[p.2:328]

We have stated before in a previous passage³⁸ that the profit human beings make is the value realized from their labor. If someone could be assumed to have no (ability whatever to do any) labor, he would have no profit whatever. The value realized from one's labor corresponds to the value of one's labor and the value of (this labor) as compared to (the value of) other labor and the need of the people for it. The growth or decrease of one's profit, in turn, depends on that. We have also just now explained³⁹ that ranks are useful in securing property. A person of rank has the people approach him with their labor and property. (They do that) in order to avoid harm and to obtain advantages. The labor and property through which they attempt to approach him is, in a way, given in exchange for the many good and bad things they may obtain (or avoid) with the aid of his rank. Such labor becomes part of the profit of (the man of rank), and the value realized from it means property and wealth for him. He thus gains wealth and a fortune in a very short time.

Ranks are widely distributed among people, and there are various levels of rank among them. At the top, they extend to the rulers above whom there is nobody. At the bottom, they extend to those who have nothing to gain or to lose among their fellow men. In between, there are numerous classes. This is God's wise plan with regard to His creation. It regulates their livelihood, takes care of their interests, and insures their permanency.

The existence and persistence of the human species can materialize only through the co-operation of all men in behalf of what is good for them.

³⁸ Cf. pp. 313 f., above.

³⁹ In the preceding section.

It has been established that a single human being could not fully exist by himself, and even if, hypothetically, it might happen as a rare exception, his existence would be precarious. Now, such co-operation is obtained by the use of force, since people are largely ignorant of the interests of the (human) species, and since they are given freedom of choice and their actions are the result of thinking and reflection, not of natural (instinct). They thus refrain from co-operating. Therefore, it is obligatory to make them (co-operate), and there must be some motive forcing human beings to take care of their interests, so that God's wise plan as to the preservation of mankind can materialize. This is what is meant by the verse of the Qur'an: "And we placed some of you over others in various grades, so that they might use the others for forced labor. The mercy of your Lord is better than whatever they gather."⁴⁰

It has, thus, become clear that rank means the power enabling human beings to be active among the fellow men under their control with permission and prohibition, and to have forceful superiority over them, in order to make them avoid things harmful to them and seize their advantages. (They may act) in justice and apply the laws of religion and politics, and (also) follow their own purposes⁴¹ in everything else.

However, the first thing (the just use of rank) was intended by the divine providence as something essential, whereas the second thing (self-seeking use of rank) enters into it as something accidental, as is the case with all evils decreed by God. Much good can fully exist only in conjunction with the existence of some little evil, which is the result of matter. The good does not disappear with the (admixture of evil), but attaches itself to the little evil

⁴⁰ Qur'an 43.32 (31). Ibn Khaldun's text, as translated, contains some slight variations from the Qur'an. He was probably influenced by other verses, such as 6.165 (165) and 25.20 (21). In Bulaq and D, the exact text has been re-established.

⁴¹ Since the plural suffix has been used just a few lines above with reference to *bashar* "human beings," it would have been more consistent here to say *aghradihim* instead of *aghradihi*.

that gathers around it. This is the meaning of the occurrence of injustice in the world. It should be understood.

Each class among the inhabitants of a town or zone of civilization has power over the classes lower than it. Each member of a lower class seeks the support of rank from members of the next higher class, and those who gain it become more active among the people under their control in proportion to the profit they get out of it. Thus, rank affects people in whatever way they make their living. Whether it is influential or restricted depends on the class and status of the person who has a particular rank. If the rank in question is influential, the profit accruing from it is correspondingly great. If it is restricted and unimportant, (the profit) is correspondingly (small). A person who has no rank, even though he may have money, acquires a fortune only in proportion to the labor he is able to produce, or the property he owns, and in accordance with the efforts he makes coming and going⁴² to increase it. This is the case with most merchants and, as a rule, with farmers. It also is the case with craftsmen. If they have no rank and are restricted to the profits of their crafts, they will mostly be reduced to poverty and indigence, and they do not quickly become wealthy. They make only a bare living, somehow fending off the distress of poverty.

If this has been established and if it further has become clear that rank is widely distributed and that one's happiness and welfare are intimately connected with the acquisition of (rank), it will be realized that it is a very great and important favor to give away or grant a rank to someone, and that the person who gives it away is a very great benefactor. He gives it only to people under his control. Thus, giving (rank) away (shows) influence and power. Consequently, a person who seeks and desires rank must be obsequious and use flattery, as powerful men and rulers require. Otherwise, it will be impossible for him to obtain any (rank). Therefore, we have stated that obsequiousness and flattery are the reasons why a person may be able to

⁴² That is, at any time.

obtain a rank that produces happiness and profit, and that most wealthy and happy people have the quality (of obsequiousness and use flattery). Thus, too, many people who are proud and supercilious have no use for rank. Their earnings, consequently, are restricted to (the results of) their own labors, and they are reduced to poverty and indigence.

It should be known that such haughtiness and pride are blameworthy qualities. They result from the assumption (by an individual) that he is perfect, and that people need the scientific or technical skill he offers. Such an individual, for instance, is a scholar who is deeply versed in his science, or a scribe who writes well, or a poet who makes good poetry. Anyone who knows his craft assumes that people need what he has. Therefore, he develops a feeling of superiority to them. People of noble descent, whose forebears include a ruler or a famous scholar, or a person perfect in some position, also share this illusion. They are arrogant because of the position their forebears held in their town. They have seen it themselves or have heard about it. They assume that they deserve a similar position because of their relationship to such men and the fact that they are their heirs. In fact, they cling to something that is a matter of the past, since perfection is not passed on by inheritance⁴³ The same is the case with people who are skillful, experienced, and versed in affairs. Some of them assume that they are perfect and needed on that account.

All these types (of people) are found to be proud. They are not obsequious and do not flatter people of a higher station. They belittle all others, because they believe that they are better than other people. One of them may even disdain to be obsequious to a ruler and consider such obsequiousness humiliating, abasing, and stupid. He expects people to treat him in accordance with what he thinks of himself, and he hates those who in any respect fail to treat him as he expects to be treated. He often gets to feel very anxious and sad, because they fail (to treat him according to his expectations). He

⁴³ "Since . . . inheritance" is not found in Bulaq.

always worries much, because people refuse to give him what he considers his due. People, (in turn,) come to hate him, because of the egoism of human nature. Rarely will (a human being) concede perfection and superiority to another, unless he is somehow forced to do so by superior strength. Such (forcefulness and superior strength) is implied - in rank. Thus, when a haughty person has no rank-and he cannot have any, as has been explained - people hate him for his haughtiness, and he receives no share of their kindness. He obtains no rank from members of the next higher class, because he is hated (by them), and, therefore, he cannot associate with them and frequent their homes. In consequence, his livelihood is destroyed. He remains in a state of indigence and poverty, or (in a state) that is only a little better. The acquisition of wealth is altogether out of the question for him.

In this (sense), it is widely said among the people that a person who is perfect in knowledge obtains no share (in worldly goods). The knowledge that is given to him is taken into account, and this is set apart as his share (in worldly goods). This is the meaning of it. Everyone is successful at the things for which he was created⁴⁴ God decides. There is no Lord but Him.

In a dynasty, the character quality mentioned may cause disturbances among the ranks. Many people of the low classes come up to fill them, and many people of the higher classes have to step down on that account. The reason is that when a dynasty has reached its limit of superiority and power, the royal clan claims royal and governmental authority exclusively for itself. Everybody else despairs of (getting any share in) it. (All the other people can only) hold ranks below the rank of the ruler and under the control of the government. They are a sort of servant of his. Now, when the dynasty continues and royal authority flourishes, those who go into the service of the ruler, who try to approach him with advice, or who are accepted as followers by him because of their capability in many of his important affairs,

⁴⁴ Cf. 3:109 and 300, below, and Ibn Khaldun's *Zahiriya* lecture, *Autobiography*, p. 286. Variants of this famous tradition are quoted by H. Masse in *Journal asiatique*, CCIII (1923), 330.

will all be equal in rank in his eyes. Many common people will make efforts to approach the ruler with zealous counsel and come close to him through all kinds of services. For this purpose, such people make much use of obsequiousness and flattery toward the ruler, his entourage, and his family, so that eventually they will be firmly entrenched and the ruler will give them a place in the total (picture) of his (administration). Thus, they obtain a large share of happiness and are accepted among the people of the dynasty.

At such a time, the new generation of the dynasty, the children of the people who had seen the dynasty through its difficulties and smoothed its path, are arrogant⁴⁵ because of the noteworthy achievements of their forefathers. Because of them, they look down on the ruler. They rely on their influence (lasting) and become very presumptuous.⁴⁶ This makes the ruler hate them and keep away from them. He now leans toward those of his followers who do not rely upon any (achievements of the past) and would not think of being presumptuous and proud. Their behavior is characterized by obsequiousness to (the ruler) and flattery (of him) and willingness to work for his purposes whenever he is ready for some undertaking. Their rank, consequently, becomes important. Their stations become high. The outstanding personalities and the elite⁴⁷ turn to them, because they receive so many favors from the ruler and have great influence with him. The new generation of the dynasty, meanwhile, keeps its proud attitude and continues to rely upon the (achievements of the) past. They gain nothing from that. It merely alienates them from the ruler and makes him hate them and give preference to his (newly gained) supporters, until the dynasty is destroyed. This is natural in a dynasty, and this is usually at the origin of the importance of its followers.

God does whatever He wishes.

⁴⁵ A, C, and D read *mu'tazzuna*, as translated. *Mugtarruna*"are deceived by" is also possible.

⁴⁶ Bulaq: "compete with the dynasty."

⁴⁷ Bulaq: "(All) faces and thoughts."

V.7. Persons who are in charge of ices dealing with religious matters, such as judge, mufti, teacher, prayer leader, preacher, muezzin, and the like, are not as a rule very wealthy.

[p.2:334]

The reason for this is that, as we have stated before,⁴⁸ profit is the value realized from labor (products). (This value) differs according to the (varying degrees of) need for (a particular kind of labor). Certain (types of) labor (products) may be necessary in civilization and be a matter of general concern. Then, the value realized from (these products) is greater and the need for them more urgent (than otherwise).

Now, the common people have no compelling need for the things that religious (officials) have to offer. They are needed only by those special people who take a particular interest in their religion. (Even) if the offices of mufti and judge are needed in case of disputes, it is not a compelling and general need. Mostly, they can be dispensed with. Only the ruler is concerned with (religious officials) and (religious) institutions, as part of his duty to look after the (public) interests. He assigns (the religious officials) a share of sustenance proportionate to the need that exists for them in the sense (just) mentioned. He does not place them on an equal footing with people who have power or with people who ply the necessary crafts, even if the things that (the religious officials) have to offer are nobler, as they deal with religion and the legal institutions. He gives them their share in accordance with the general need and the demand of the population (for them). Their portion, therefore, can only be small.

Furthermore, because the things (the religious officials) have to offer are so noble, they feel superior to the people and are proud of themselves. Therefore, they are not obsequious to persons of rank, in order to obtain

⁴⁸ Cf. pp. 313 f., above, etc.

something to improve their sustenance. In fact, they would not have time for that. They are occupied with those noble things they have to offer and which tax both the mind and the body. Indeed, the noble character of the things they have to offer does not permit them to prostitute themselves openly. They would not do such a thing. As a consequence, they do not, as a rule, become very wealthy.

I discussed this with an excellent man. He disagreed with me about it. But some stray leaves from the account books of the government offices in the palace of al-Ma'mun came into my hand. They gave a good deal of information about income and expenditures at that time. Among the things I noticed, were the salaries of judges, prayer leaders, and muezzins. I called the attention of (the person mentioned) to it, and he realized that what I had said was correct. He became a convert to (my opinion), and we were both astonished at the secret ways of God with regard to His creation and His wise (planning) concerning His worlds.

God is the Creator, and He decides.

V.8. Agriculture is a way of making a living for weak people and Bedouins in search of subsistence.

[p.2:335]

This^{48a} is because agriculture is a natural and 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 humility. When Muhammad saw a plowshare in one of the houses of the Ansar (in Medina), he said: "Such a thing never entered anyone's house save accompanied by humbleness."⁴⁹ Al-Bukhari explained this (statement) as referring to too intense an occupation with (agriculture) and he entitled the chapter in which he dealt

^{48a} Cf. [H. Peres], *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 10 f.

⁴⁹Cf. 1:289 f., above.

with the tradition in question: "Warning against the consequences of (too intensive an) occupation with agricultural implements or transgression of the stipulated limit." (However,) the reason for it might possibly be that imposts come to be (exactd from farmers) and lead to (their) domination and control (by others). The person who has to pay imposts is humble and poor, because a superior force takes (his possessions) away (from him). Muhammad said: "The Hour will not arise until the charity tax becomes an impost."⁵⁰ This refers to the tyrannical ruler who uses force against the people, who is domineering and unjust, and who forgets the divine rights of (private) capital and considers all rights to be (subject to) imposts (to be paid) to rulers and dynasties.

God has power to do what He wishes.

V.9. The meaning, methods, and different kinds of commerce.⁵¹

[p.2:336]

It should be known that commerce means the attempt to make a profit by increasing capital, through buying goods at a low price and selling them at a high price, whether these goods consist of slaves, grain, animals, weapons, or clothing material. The accrued (amount) is called "profit" (*ribh*).

The attempt to make such a profit may be undertaken by storing goods and holding them until the market has fluctuated from low prices to high prices. This will bring a large profit. Or, the merchant may transport his

⁵⁰Cf. Majd-ad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah*, III, 180: "The person who has to pay the charity tax (*zakah*) considers it an illegal impost" (like the many other illegal imposts levied by the government at that time, which he is unwilling to pay. He suspects the ruler of keeping it for his own purposes, instead of using it as prescribed by the religious law.) Cf. also the version of the tradition quoted by al-Mas'udi, *Muraj adh-dhahab*, IV, 169: "My nation will continue to be well off so long as it does not consider faith a gratuitous gain and the charity tax an impost." Cf. also Ibn Durayd, *Mujtana* (Hyderabad, 1362/1943), p. 33.

⁵¹ For this and the following sections, one may compare ad-Dimashgi, *al-Isharah ila mahasin at-tijarah*, tr. H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 1-91.

goods to another country where they are more in demand than in his own, where he bought them. This, (again,) will bring a large profit.

Therefore, an old merchant said to a person who wanted to find out the truth about commerce: "I shall give it to you in two words: Buy cheap and sell dear."⁵² There is commerce for you." By this, he meant the same thing that we have just established.

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."⁵³

V.10. The transportation of goods by merchants.⁵⁴

[p.2:337]

The merchant who knows his business will travel only with such goods as are generally needed by rich and poor, rulers and commoners alike. (General need) makes for a large demand for his goods. If he restricts his goods to those needed only by a few (people), it may be impossible for him to sell them, since these few may for some reason find it difficult to buy them. Then, his business would slump, and he would make no profit.

Also, a merchant who travels with needed goods should do so only with medium quality goods. The best quality of any type of goods is restricted to wealthy people and the entourage of the ruler. They are very few in number. As is well known, the medium quality of anything is what suits most people. This should by all means be kept in mind by the merchant, because it makes the difference between selling his goods and not selling them.

Likewise, it is more advantageous and more profitable for the merchant's enterprise, and a better guarantee (that he will be able to take ad-

⁵²In 1952 a book by Frank V. Fischer appeared, entitled *Buy Low - Sell High: Guidance for the General Reader in Sound Investment Methods and Wise Trade Techniques*.

⁵³Qur'an 51.58 (58).

⁵⁴Bulaq and E have section (1s) and the earlier text of section (14) at this place. In C, too, section (14) originally followed here, but it was crossed out and replaced by the new text of section (14) in the later place. Bulaq also has the new text of section (14) there. The other MSS follow the arrangement of the sections adopted in this translation.

vantage of) market fluctuations, if he brings goods from a country that is far away and where there is danger on the road. In such a case, the goods transported will be few and rare, because the place where they come from is far away or because the road over which they come is beset with perils, so that there are few who would bring them, and they are very rare. When goods are few and rare, their prices go up. On the other hand, when the country is near and the road safe for traveling, there will be many to transport the goods. Thus, they will be found in large quantities, and the prices will go down.

Therefore, the merchants who dare to enter the Sudan country are the most prosperous and wealthy of all people. The distance and the difficulty of the road they travel are great. They have to cross a difficult desert which is made (almost) inaccessible by fear (of danger) and beset by (the danger of) thirst. Water is found there only in a few wellknown spots to which caravan guides lead the way. The distance of this road is braved only by a very few people. Therefore, the goods of the Sudan country are found only in small quantities among us, and they are particularly expensive. The same applies to our goods among them.

Thus, merchandise becomes more valuable when merchants transport it from one country to another. (Merchants who do so) quickly get rich and wealthy. The same applies to merchants who travel from our country to the East, also because of the great distance to be traversed. On the other hand, those who travel back and forth between the cities and countries of one particular region earn little and make a very small profit, because their goods are available in large quantities and there is a great number of merchants who travel with them.

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Qur'an 51.68 (58).

V.11. Hoarding.

[p.2:339]

Intelligent and experienced people in the cities know that it is inauspicious to hoard grain and to wait for high prices, and that the profit (expected) may be spoiled or lost through (hoarding). The reason may perhaps lie in the facts that people need food, and that the money they spend on it, they are forced to spend. Therefore, their souls continue to cling to (their money). The fact that souls cling to what is theirs may be an important factor in bringing bad luck to the person who takes (someone's money) giving nothing in return.⁵⁶ This, perhaps, is what the Lawgiver (Muhammad) meant when he speaks about taking people's property for nothing. In this particular case, it is not a question of (taking money) giving nothing in return. Still, people cling to (the money spent for food); they had to spend it and had no possible excuse, which is a sort of compulsion.

For things that are traded, other than foodstuffs and victuals, people have no compelling need. It is merely the diversification of desires that calls their attention to them. On such, they spend their money voluntarily and willingly, and they retain no hankering after (the money) they have paid. Thus, the person known to be a hoarder is persecuted by the combined psychic powers of the people whose money he takes away. Therefore, he loses his profit. And God knows better.

In this connection, I heard an interesting story about a *shaykh* of the Maghrib. Our teacher Abu 'Abdallah al-Abili told it to me as follows: "I was in the house of the (chief) judge of Fez, in the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id. He was the jurist Abu'l-Hasan al-Malili. He had just been offered, as his salary, the choice of one of the various sorts^{56a} (of taxes) that were collected by the government." He said: "The judge reflected a while. Then he said:

⁵⁶ *Majjanan* is crossed out in C and is not found in A or D. For the idea expressed in this paragraph, cf. Matt. 6:21, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

^{56a} *Alqab*. Cf. above, p. 111, 1.9.

'The customs duties on wine.' Those of his friends who were present were amused and astonished. They questioned him as to what was in his mind. He replied: 'All tax money is forbidden. Therefore, I choose the tax that is not haunted by the souls of those who had to pay it. Rarely would anybody spend his money on wine unless he were gay and happy with the experience⁵⁷ of (drinking wine), and did not regret it. His soul, therefore, does not cling to the money he has had to spend.' " This is a remarkable observation.

And God knows better.

V.12. Continued) low prices are harmful to merchants who, (have to) trade at low prices⁵⁸

[p.2:340]

This is because, as we have stated before,⁵⁹ profit and livelihood result from the crafts or from commerce. Commerce means the buying of merchandise and goods, storing them, and waiting until fluctuation of the market brings about an increase in the prices of (these goods). This is called profit (*ribh*). It provides a profit (*kasb*) and a livelihood for professional traders. When⁶⁰ the prices of any type of goods, victuals, clothing material, or anything else (that may bring in) capital, remain low and the merchant cannot profit from any fluctuation of the market affecting these things, his profit and gain stop if the situation goes on for a long period. Business in this particular line (of goods) slumps, and the merchant has nothing but trouble. No (trading) will be done, and the merchants lose their capital.

This may be exemplified in the instance of grain. While it remains cheap, the condition of all farmers and grain producers who have to do with any of the various stages of grain production is adversely affected, the profit they make being small, insignificant, or non-existent. They cannot increase

⁵⁷ *Bi-wijdanihi*. Cf. n. 277 to Ch. 7, above.

⁵⁸ This and the following sections, (13) and the later text of (14), are found in C on an inserted sheet.

⁵⁹ Cf. pp. 315 f., above.

⁶⁰ Cf. Issawi, pp. 75 f.

their capital, or they find (the increase) to be small. They have to spend their capital. Their condition is adversely affected, and they are reduced to poverty and indigence. This then, in turn, affects the condition of millers, bakers, and all the other occupations that are connected with grain from the time it is sown to the time it can be eaten. Likewise, the condition of soldiers is adversely affected. Their sustenance is provided by the ruler in the form of grain from farmers, through the grant of fiefs. Thus, (when the prices of agricultural products are low) the income from taxation⁶¹ is small, and soldiers are unable to render the military service for which they exist and for which they receive sustenance from the ruler. Thus, (the ruler) discontinues their sustenance, and their condition is adversely affected.

Likewise, while the prices of sugar and honey remain low, everything connected with (these commodities) is adversely affected, and the merchants who deal in it stop trading. The same is the case with clothing (material), while prices remain low. Thus, prices that are too low destroy the livelihood of the merchant who trades in any particular type of low-priced (merchandise). The same applies to prices that are too high. Occasionally and rarely, they may bring an increase in capital as a result of hoarding (some particular merchandise) and the large profit that goes with (hoarding), but it is medium prices and rapid fluctuations of the market that provide people with their livelihood and profit.

This insight has a bearing upon customs established among civilized people. Low prices for grain, and of other things that are traded, are praised, because the need for grain is general and people,⁶² the rich as well as the poor, are compelled to buy food. Dependent people constitute the majority of people in civilization. Therefore, (low prices for foodstuffs) are of general

⁶¹ That is, the payments that the holder of a fief exacts from his tenants.

⁶² From here to the end of the section, E reads: ". . . and people are compelled to buy food. Thus, food merchants get some compensation for fluctuations of the market (resulting in low prices) through the general (large) demand for the goods they hold, namely, foodstuffs. Thus, they receive some compensation for (the profit) that would escape them (because of the low prices)."

usefulness, and food, (at least) as far as this particular kind of food (namely, grain) is concerned, weighs more heavily than commerce.⁶³

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."⁶⁴

V.13. The kind of people who should practice commerce, and those who should not.

[p.2:342]

We⁶⁵ have stated before that commerce means increasing one's capital by buying merchandise and attempting to sell it for a price higher, than its purchase price.⁶⁶ (This may be done) either by waiting for market fluctuations, or by transporting the merchandise to a country where that particular merchandise is more in demand and brings higher prices, or by selling it for a high price to be paid at a future date.⁶⁷ The profit is small in relation to the (invested) capital. However, when the capital is large, the profit becomes great, because many times a little is much.

In the attempt to earn the increase (of capital) that constitutes the profit, it is unavoidable that one's capital gets into the hands of traders, in the process of buying and selling and waiting for payment. Now, honest (traders) are few. It is unavoidable that there should be cheating, tampering with the merchandise which may ruin it, and delay in payment which may ruin the profit, since (such delay) while it lasts prevents any activity that could bring profit. There will also be non-acknowledgment or denial of obligations, which may prove destructive of one's capital unless (the obligation) has been stated in writing and properly witnessed. The judiciary is of little use in this connection, since the law requires clear evidence.

⁶³ Intimating that a low price for foodstuffs is not economically sound, but generally desired and politically desirable.

⁶⁴ Qur'an 51.58 (58).

⁶⁵ Cf. Issawi, pp. 68 f.

⁶⁶ Cf. pp. 336 f., above.

⁶⁷ Le., commodity futures.

All this causes the merchant a great deal of trouble. He may make a small profit, but only with great trouble and difficulty, or he may make no profit at all, or his capital may be lost. If he is not afraid of quarrels, knows (how to settle) an account, and is always willing to enter into a dispute and go to court, he stands a better chance of being treated fairly by (traders), because he is not afraid and always ready to enter into a dispute. Otherwise, he must have the protection of rank. It will give him respect in the eyes of traders and cause the magistrates to uphold his rights against his debtors.⁶⁸ In this way, he will obtain justice and recover his capital from them, voluntarily in the first case, forcibly in the second.

On the other hand, the person who is afraid or unaggressive, and-who, in addition, lacks the-influence (of rank) with the judiciary, must avoid commerce. He risks the loss of his capital. He will become the prey of traders, and he may not get his rights from them. People as a rule covet the possessions of other people. Without the restraining influence of the laws, nobody's property would be safe. This applies especially to traders and the low-class mob. "If God did not keep human beings apart, the earth would perish. But God shows His bounty to the worlds."⁶⁹

V.14. The character qualities of merchants are inferior to those of leading personalities and remote from manliness.⁷⁰

[p.2:343]

In⁷¹ the preceding section, we stated that a merchant must concern himself with buying and selling, earning money and making a profit. This requires cunning, willingness to enter into disputes, cleverness, constant quar-

⁶⁸Bulaq: "against the persons with whom he has been dealing."

⁶⁹Qur'an 2.251 (252).

⁷⁰The text printed in italic type on the lower part of pp. 344 f, is that of the earlier stage of the *Muqaddimah*. See n. 54 to this chapter, above.

⁷¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 69 f.

reling, and great persistence. These are things that belong to commerce. They are qualities detrimental to and destructive of virtuousness and manliness, because it is unavoidable that actions influence the soul. Good actions influence it toward goodness and virtue. Evil and deceitful actions influence it in the opposite sense. If (evil and deceitful actions) come first⁷² and good qualities later, the former become firmly and deeply rooted and detract from the good qualities, since the blameworthy influence (of the evil actions) has left its imprint upon the soul, as is the case with all habits that originate from actions.

These influences differ according to the different types of merchants. Those who are of a very low type and associated closely with bad traders who cheat and defraud and perjure themselves, asserting and denying statements concerning transactions and prices, are much more strongly affected by these bad character qualities. Deceitfulness becomes their main characteristic. Manliness is completely- alien to them, beyond their power to acquire. At any rate, it is unavoidable that their cunning and their willingness to enter into disputes affects their manliness (adversely). The complete absence of (any adverse effect) is very rare among them.

There exists a second kind of merchant, which we mentioned in the preceding section, namely, those who have the protection of rank and are thus spared (the onus) of having anything to do personally with such (business manipulations).⁷³ They are most uncommon. For they are people who have all of a sudden come into the possession of a good deal of money in some unusual way, or have inherited money from a member of their family. Thus, they have obtained the wealth that helps them to associate with the people of the dynasty and to gain prominence and renown among their contemporaries. Therefore, they are too proud to have anything personally to do with such (business manipulations), and they leave them to the care of

⁷² A and B add: "and are repeated."

⁷³Cf. Bombaci, pp. 450 f.

their agents and servants. It is easy for them to have the magistrates confirm their rights, because (the magistrates) are familiar with their beneficence and gifts. (These merchants) will thus be remote from such (bad) character qualities, since they have nothing to do with the actions that bring them about, as has just been mentioned. Their manliness, therefore, will be very firmly rooted and very remote from these destructive qualities, save for the influences of such evil actions as may slip in behind the scenes.⁷⁴ For they are compelled to supervise their agents and to concur with or oppose the things they do and do not do. However, these (activities) are limited, and their influence is scarcely perceptible.

"God created you and whatever you do."⁷⁵

14. The character qualities of merchants are inferior to those of noblemen and rulers.

This is because merchants are mostly occupied with buying and selling. This necessarily requires cunning. If a merchant always practices cunning, it becomes his dominant character quality. The quality of cunning is remote from that of manliness which is the characteristic quality of rulers and noblemen.

If the character of (the merchant) then adopts the bad qualities that follow from (cunning) in low-class merchants, such as quarrelsomeness, cheating, defrauding, as well as (the inclination to) commit perjury in rejecting and accepting statements concerning prices, his character can be expected to be one of the lowest sort, for well-known reasons⁷⁶ It is because of the character that one acquires through the practice of commerce that political leaders avoid engaging in it. There are some merchants who are not affected by those character qualities and who are able to avoid them, because they have noble souls and are magnanimous, but they are very rare in this world.

⁷⁴ Lit., "veil."

⁷⁵ Qur'an 37.96 (94).

⁷⁶ Leg. *ka-md* "as is well known."

"God guides whomever He wants to guide"⁷⁷ with His bounty and generosity. He is the Lord of the first ones and the last ones.

V.15. The crafts require teachers.

[p.2:346]

It⁷⁸ should be known that a craft is the habit⁷⁹ of something concerned with action and thought. In as much as it is concerned with action, it is something corporeal and perceptible by the senses. Things that are corporeal and perceptible by the senses are transmitted through direct practice more comprehensively and more perfectly (than otherwise), because direct practice is more useful with regard to them.

A habit is a firmly rooted quality acquired by doing a certain action and repeating it time after time, until the form of (that action) is firmly fixed.⁸⁰ A habit corresponds to the original (action after which it was formed). The transmission of things one has observed with one's own eyes is something more comprehensive and complete than the transmission of information and things one has learned about. A habit that is the result of (personal observation) is more perfect and more firmly rooted than a habit that is the result of information. The skill a student acquires in a craft, and the habit he attains, correspond to the quality of instruction and the habit of the teacher.

Furthermore, some crafts are simple, and others are composite. The simple ones concern the necessities. The composite ones belong to the luxuries. The simple crafts are the ones to be taught first, firstly because they are simple, and (then) because they concern the necessities and there is a large demand for having them transmitted. Therefore, they take precedence in instruction. (But) the instruction in them, as a consequence, is something inferior.

⁷⁷ Qur'an 2:142 (136), 213 (209), etc. The remaining words are not in E.

⁷⁸Cf. Issawi, pp. 140 f.

⁷⁹Cf. lxxxiv, above.

⁸⁰Cf. 3:942 and 394 (n. 1598), below.

The mind, (however,) 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. This is not achieved all at one stroke. It is achieved in the course of time and of generations. Things are not transformed from potentiality into actuality all at one stroke, especially not technical matters. Consequently, a certain amount of time is unavoidable. Therefore, the crafts are found to be inferior in small cities, and only the simple (crafts) are found there. When sedentary civilization in (those cities) increases, and luxury conditions there cause the use of the crafts, they are transformed from potentiality into actuality.⁸¹

V.16. The crafts are perfected only if there exists a large and perfect sedentary civilization.

[p.2:347]

The reason for this is that, as long as sedentary civilization is not complete and the city not fully organized, people are concerned only with the necessities of life, that is, with the obtaining of food, such as wheat and other things. Then, when the city is organized and the (available) labor increases and pays for the necessities and is more than enough (for the inhabitants), the surplus is spent on luxuries.

The crafts and sciences are the result of man's ability to think, through which he is distinguished from the animals. (His desire for) food, on the other hand, is the result of his animal and nutritive power. It is prior to sciences

⁸¹ Bulaq has here some lines that Ibn Khaldun obviously omitted in the later versions because the following section made them superfluous: "The crafts are also divided into those concerned with making a living, whether necessary or unnecessary (crafts); into sciences and crafts concerned with the ability to think, which is a quality peculiar to man; and < into those concerned with > politics. The first group includes the crafts of the weaver, the butcher, the carpenter, the smith, and similar crafts. The second group includes the production of books, which means the manufacture of books by means of copying and binding them, (and, further,) singing, poetry, scientific instruction, and similar things. The third group includes soldiering and similar crafts."

and crafts because of its necessary character. (The sciences and crafts) come after the necessities. The (susceptibility) of the crafts to refinement, and the quality of (the purposes) they are to serve in view of the demands made by luxury and wealth, then correspond to the civilization of a given country.

A small or Bedouin civilization needs only the simple crafts, especially those used for the necessities, such as (the crafts of) the carpenter, the smith, the tailor, the butcher, or the weaver. They exist there. Still, 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.

When civilization flourishes and the luxuries are in demand, it includes the refinement and development of the crafts. Consequently, (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. Among (such crafts are) those of the cobbler, the tanner, the silk weaver,⁸² the goldsmith, and others. When the civilization is fully developed, these different kinds (of crafts are perfected and refined to the limit. In the cities, they become ways of making a living for those who practice them. In fact, they become the most lucrative activities there are, because urban luxury demands them. Other such crafts are those of the perfumer, the coppersmith, the bath attendant, the cook, the biscuit baker, the *harisah* baker,⁸³ the teacher of singing, dancing, and rhythmical drum beating. There are also the book producers who ply the craft of copying, binding, and correcting books. This (last mentioned) craft is demanded by the urban luxury of occupation with intellectual matters. There are other similar (crafts). They become excessive when civilization develops excessively. Thus, we learn that there are Egyptians who teach dumb creatures like birds and domestic donkeys⁸⁴ who produce marvelous spectacles which give the illusion that objects are transformed, and who

⁸² *Al-harrar* seems clearly indicated in C. The other MSS suggest other, doubtful readings.

⁸³ Cf. p. 302, above.

⁸⁴ Cf. p. 492, below.

teach the use of the camel driver's chant,⁸⁵ how to dance and walk on ropes stretched in the air, how to lift heavy animals and stones, and other things. These crafts do not exist among us in the Maghrib, because the civilization of (Maghribi) cities does not compare with the civilization of Egypt and Cairo.

God is wise and knowing.⁸⁶

V.17. The crafts are firmly rooted in a city (only) when sedentary culture is firmly rooted and of long duration.

[p.2:349]

The reason for this is obvious. 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 (successive) generations. Once such coloring is firmly established, it is difficult to remove it. Therefore, we find that cities with a highly developed sedentary culture, the civilization (population) of which has receded and decreased, retain traces of crafts that do not exist in other more recently civilized cities, even though they may have reached the greatest abundance (of population). This is only because conditions in those (cities) with the old civilization had become well established and firmly rooted through their long duration and constant repetition, whereas the (other recently civilized cities) have not yet reached the limit⁸⁷

This is the situation, for instance, in contemporary Spain. There we find the crafts and their institutions still in existence. They are well established and firmly rooted, as far as the things required by the customs of (Spanish) cities are concerned. (They include,) for instance, building, cooking,

⁸⁵ *Al-hida'*, which could hardly mean anything else. "Teaching (taming) kites" does not seem a plausible translation. I wonder whether the word might not be a technical term for certain of the motions of ropedancers.

⁸⁶ Qur'an 2.32 (90), etc.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 451.

the various kinds of singing and entertainment, such as instrumental music, string instruments and dancing, the use of carpets in palaces, the construction of well-planned, well-constructed houses, the production of metal and pottery vessels, all kinds of utensils, the giving of banquets and weddings, and all the other crafts required by luxury and luxury customs. One finds that they practice and understand these things better (than any other nation) and that they know well the crafts that belong to them. They have an abundant share of these things and have distinctly more of them than any other city, even though civilization in (Spain) has receded and most of it does not equal that which exists in the other countries of the (Mediterranean) shore. This is only because, as we have mentioned before,⁸⁸ sedentary culture had become deeply rooted in Spain through the stability given it by the Umayyad dynasty, the preceding Gothic dynasty, and the *reyes de taifas*, successors to (the Umayyads), and so on. Therefore, sedentary culture had reached in (Spain) a stage that had not been reached in any other region except, reportedly, in the 'Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. There, too, the reason was the long duration of the respective dynasties. Thus, the crafts became well established there. All the various kinds of crafts were developed and refined to perfection. Their coloring remained in that civilization and did not leave it, until it was totally destroyed. Like a garment's fast color, (the color held fast until the garment was destroyed).

This was also the case in Tunis. A sedentary culture had been established there by the Sinhajah (Zirid) dynasty and its successors, the Almo-hads. The crafts were developed to perfection in every respect, though less so than in Spain. However, sedentary culture in Tunis has been greatly enriched by sedentary institutions imported from Egypt. The distance between the two countries is short, and travelers from Tunis visit Egypt every year. Also, (Tunisians) often live in (Egypt) for some time, and then bring back

⁸⁸ Cf. p. 288, above.

the (Egyptian) luxury customs and technical knowledge they like⁸⁹ Thus, the situation with regard to (sedentary culture in Tunis) has become similar to that of Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and also to that of Spain, because many people from eastern Spain who were exiled in the seventh [thirteenth] century settled in Tunis.⁹⁰ Thus, certain aspects of (sedentary culture) have become firmly rooted there, even though the civilization (population) of (Tunis) at this time is not adequate to them. However, a fast coloring rarely changes, except when its basis ceases to exist. Thus, we also find in al-Qayrawan, in Marrakech, and in Qal'at Ibn Hammad some remnants of such (sedentary culture). All these places, it is true, are nowadays in ruins or destined soon to fall into ruins, and only people who know are able to discern these remnants. They will find, however, traces of the crafts (there) showing what once existed there, like faded writing in a book.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."⁹¹

V.18. Crafts can improve and increase only when many people demand them.

[p.2:351]

The⁹² reason for this is that man cannot afford to give away his labor for nothing, because it is his (source of) profit and livelihood⁹³ Throughout his life, he has no advantage from anything else. Therefore, he must employ his labor only on whatever has value in his city, if it is to be profitable to him.

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. On the other hand, if a particular

⁸⁹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 451.

⁹⁰ Cf. pp. 24 and esp. 290, above.

⁹¹ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 96.81 (81).

⁹² Cf. Issawi, pp. 72 f.

⁹³ Cf. pp. 911 ff, above.

craft is not in demand, there are no buyers for it, and no one is interested in learning it. As a result, (the craft) is destined to be left alone and disappears because of neglect.

Therefore, it has been said on the authority of 'Ali: "Every man's value consists in what he knows well."⁹⁴ This means that the craft he knows constitutes his value, that is, the value realized from his labor, which is his livelihood.

There is another secret to be understood in this connection. That is, that it is the ruling dynasty that demands crafts and their improvement. It causes the demand for them and makes them desirable. Crafts not in demand with the dynasty may be in demand with the other inhabitants of a city. However, that would not be the same thing, for the dynasty is the biggest market.⁹⁵ There, everything can be marketed. It does not make any difference whether it is little or much. Whatever is in demand with the dynasty is of necessity a major article. On the other hand, the demand of the common people for a particular craft is not general, nor is the business that the common people can provide of large volume.

God has power to do what He wishes.

V.19. The crafts recede from cities that are close to ruin.

[p.2:352]

This is because of what we have explained. The crafts can improve only when they are needed and when they are in demand with many people. When the condition of a city weakens and senility sets in as the 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. The crafts belonging to luxury conditions and which depend on

⁹⁴ This is often quoted. Cf., for instance, Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun al-akhbar*, II, 120; ath-Tha'alibi, *I'jax* (Cairo, 1897), p. 27; Ibn Bassam, *Dhakhtrah* (Cairo, 1361/1942), 1², 437.

⁹⁵ Cf. also 1:46 f., and pp. 102 and 287, above.

(luxury) become few. The master of (a particular craft) is no longer assured of making a living from it. Therefore, he deserts (his craft) for another, or he dies and leaves no successor. As a result, the institutions of the crafts disappear altogether. Thus, for instance, painters, goldsmiths, calligraphers, copyists, and similar artisans who cater to luxury needs disappear. The crafts continue to decrease, as long as the city continues to decrease, until they no longer exist.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."⁹⁶

V.20. The Arabs, of all people, are least familiar with crafts.

[p.2:353]

The⁹⁷ reason for this is that the Arabs are more firmly rooted in desert life and more remote from sedentary civilization, the crafts, and the other things which sedentary civilization calls for, (than anybody else). (On the other hand,) the non-Arabs in the East and the Christian nations along the shores of the Mediterranean are very well versed in (the crafts), because they are more deeply rooted in sedentary civilization and more remote from the desert and desert civilization (than others). They do not even have camels, which make it possible for the Arabs to retreat far into the wilderness of the desert, nor do they have pastures for (camels) or sand suitable for their breeding.⁹⁸

Therefore, we find that the homelands of the Arabs and the places they took possession of in Islam had few crafts altogether, so that (crafts) had to be imported from other regions. One may observe the great number of crafts in nonArab countries such as China, India, the lands of the Turks, and the Christian nations, and the fact that other nations imported (their own crafts) from them.

⁹⁶ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 96.81 (81).

⁹⁷Cf. Issawi, pp. 54 f.

⁹⁸Cf. 1:251 and 265, above.

The non-Arabs in the West, the Berbers, are like the Arabs in this respect, because for a very long period they remained firmly rooted in desert life. This is attested by the small number of cities in the (Berber) region, as we have stated before.⁹⁹ The crafts in the Maghrib, therefore, are few in number and are not well established. Exceptions are the weaving of wool and the tanning and stitching of leather. For, when they settled down, they developed these (crafts) greatly, because they were matters of general concern and (the wool and leather) needed for them were the most common raw materials in their region, on account of the Bedouin conditions prevailing among them.

On the other hand, the crafts had been firmly rooted in the East for a very long period, ever since the rule of the ancient nations, the Persians, the Nabataeans, the Copts, the Israelites, the Greeks, and the Romans (Rum). Thus, the conditions of sedentary culture became firmly rooted among them. It included the crafts, as we have stated before. Their traces have not been wiped out.

The Yemen, al-Bahrayn, Oman, and the Jazirah have long been in Arab possession, but for thousands of years, the rule of these areas has belonged to different (Arab) nations in succession. They also founded cities and towns (there) and promoted the development of sedentary culture and luxury to the highest degree. Among such nations were the 'Ad and the Thamud, the Amalekites and the Himyar after them, the Tubbas, and the other South Arabian rulers (Adhwa) . There was a long period of royal authority and sedentary culture. The coloring of (sedentary culture) established itself firmly. The crafts became abundant and firmly rooted. They were not wiped out simultaneously with (each ruling) dynasty, as we have stated. They have remained and have always renewed themselves down to this time, and they

⁹⁹Cf. pp. 266 f., above.

have become the specialty of that area. Such (special Yemenite) crafts are embroidered fabrics, striped cloth, and finely woven garments and silks.¹⁰⁰

God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.

V.21. The person who has gained the habit of a particular craft is rarely able afterwards to master another.

[p.2:354]

A¹⁰¹ tailor, for instance, who has acquired the habit of tailoring and knows it well and has that habit firmly rooted in his soul, will not afterwards master the habit of carpentry or construction, unless the first habit was not yet firmly established and its coloring not yet firmly rooted.

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.

This is clear and attested by (the facts of) existence. One rarely finds a craftsman who, knowing his craft well, afterwards acquires a good knowledge of another craft and masters both equally well. This extends even to scholars whose habit has to do with thinking. (The scholar) who has acquired the habit of one particular science and masters it completely-will rarely achieve the same mastery of the habit of another science, and if he were to study (another science), he would, except under very rare circumstances, be deficient in it. The reason lies in the significance attaching, as

¹⁰⁰ Cf. R. B. Serjeant, "Islamic Textiles," Ch. xv, in *Ars Islamica*, XIII-XIV (1048), 80 f.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 142 f. The thesis enounced in this section plays a considerable role in the subsequent discussion. Cf., for instance, 3:372 f., below.

we have mentioned, to preparedness and the fact that he becomes colored by the color that the soul receives from the habit it acquires.

And God knows better.

V.22. A brief enumeration of the basic crafts.

[p.2:355]

It¹⁰² should be known that the crafts practiced by the human species are numerous, because so much labor is continually available in civilization. They are so numerous as to defy complete enumeration. However, some of them are necessary in civilization or occupy a noble (position) because of (their) object. We shall single these two kinds out for mention and leave all others.

Necessary (crafts) are agriculture, architecture, tailoring, carpentry, and weaving. Crafts noble because of (their) object are midwifery, the art of writing, book production, singing, and medicine.

Midwifery is something necessary in civilization and a matter of general concern, because it assures, as a rule, the life of the new-born child. The object of (midwifery) is newborn children and their mothers.

Medicine preserves the health of man and repels disease. It is a branch of physics. Its object is the human body.

The art of writing, and book production, which depends on it, preserve the things that are of concern to man and keep them from being forgotten. It enables the innermost thoughts of the soul to reach those who are far and absent.¹⁰³ It perpetuates in books the results of thinking and scholarship. It makes four¹⁰⁴ out of the (three) orders of existence (as it constitutes a special order of existence) for ideas.

¹⁰² Cf. Issawi, pp. 83 f. 355

¹⁰³ Cf. p. 6, above, and p. 977, below; and, for instance, F. Rosenthal, "Abu Haiyan al-Tawhidi on Penmanship," *Ars Islamica*, XIII-XIV (1948), 11.

¹⁰⁴ *Rabi'ah* seems to be the reading of all MSS. The three orders of existence referred to here are the mineral, plant, and animal worlds. Bulaq reads *rafi'ah* "lifts up the (various) orders of existence toward the ideas."

Singing is the harmony of sounds and the manifestation of their beauty to the ears.

All these three crafts call for contact with great rulers in their privacy and at their intimate parties. Thus, they have nobility that other (crafts) do not have. The other crafts are, as a rule, secondary and subordinate. (The attitude toward them, however,) differs according to the different purposes and requirements.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹⁰⁵

V.23. The craft of agriculture.¹⁰⁶

[p.2:356]

The fruit of this craft is the obtainment of foodstuffs and grains. People must undertake to stir the earth, sow, cultivate the plants, see to it that they are watered and that they grow until they reach their full growth, then, harvest the ears, and get the grain out of the husks. They also must understand all the related activities, and procure all the things required in this connection.

Agriculture is the oldest of all crafts, in as much as it provides the food that is the main factor in perfecting human life, since man can exist without anything else but not without food. Therefore, this craft has existed especially in the desert, since, as we have stated before, it is prior to and older than sedentary life.¹⁰⁷ Thus, it became a Bedouin craft which is not practiced or known by sedentary people, because all their conditions are secondary to those of desert life and their crafts, thus, secondary and subsequent to (Bedouin) crafts.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Qur'an 16.86 (86); 96.81 (81).

¹⁰⁶ Agriculture is again treated as a science, 9:151 f., below. Cf. [H. Peres], in *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 9 ff.

¹⁰⁷Cf. p. 916, above.

¹⁰⁸ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

V.24. The waft of architecture.

[p.2:357]

This is the first and oldest craft of sedentary civilization. It is the knowledge of how to go about using houses and mansions for cover and shelter.¹⁰⁹ This is because man has the natural disposition to reflect upon the outcome of things. Thus, it is unavoidable that he must reflect upon how to avert the harm arising from heat and cold by using houses which have walls. and roofs to intervene between him and those things on all sides. This natural disposition to think, which is the real meaning of humanity, exists among (men) in different degrees. Some men are more or less temperate in this respect. They use (housing) with moderation, as, for instance, the inhabitants of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth zones. The inhabitants of the first and seventh zones, on the other hand, are unfamiliar with the use of (housing), because they are intemperate and their thinking does not go far enough to enable them to practice human crafts. Therefore, they take shelter in caverns and caves, just as they (also) eat unprepared and uncooked food.¹¹⁰

Now, the temperate people who use houses for shelter become very numerous and have many houses in one area. They become strangers to each other and no longer know each other. They fear surprise attacks at night. Therefore, they must protect their community by surrounding it with a wall to guard them. The whole thing thus becomes a single town or city in which they are guarded by authorities which keep them apart.¹¹¹ They (also) need protection against the enemy. Thus, they use fortresses and castles for themselves and for the people under their control. These men (who control fortresses and castles) are like rulers or amirs or tribal chieftains of a corresponding position.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Khaldun's early version of this and the following page was rather heavily corrected. Down to p. 368, 1. 14, the text is not yet found in Bulaq, A, or E, and still appears as a marginal addition in C.

¹¹⁰Cf. 1:119 and 168, above.

¹¹¹Cf. Bombaci, p. 452.

Also, building conditions are different in the (various) towns. Each city follows in this respect the procedure known to and within the technical (competence) of (its inhabitants) and corresponding to the climate and the different conditions of (the inhabitants) with regard to wealth and poverty. The situation of the inhabitants within each individual city also (differs). Some use castles and far-flung constructions comprising a number of dwellings and houses and rooms, because they have a great number of children, servants, dependents, and followers. They make their walls of stones, which they join together with quicklime. They cover them with paint and plaster, and do the utmost to furnish and decorate everything. (They do so) in order to show how greatly they are concerned for their shelter. In addition, they prepare cellars and underground rooms for the storage of their food, and also stables for tying up their horses,¹¹² if they are army people and have many followers and guests, such as amirs and people of a corresponding position.

Others build a small dwelling or house for themselves and for their children to live in. Their desire goes no farther, because their situation permits them no more. Thus, they restrict themselves to a mere shelter, which is natural to human beings. Between the two (extremes), there are innumerable degrees.

Architecture is also needed when rulers and people of a dynasty build large towns and high monuments (*hayakil*). They try their utmost to make good plans and build tall structures with technical perfection, so that (architecture) can reach its highest development. Architecture is the craft that satisfies requirements in all these respects. It is found most (widely represented) in the temperate zones, that is, in the fourth zone and the adjacent area. In

¹¹²Cf. 1:19, above.

the intemperate zones, there is no building activity. The people there use enclosures of reeds and clay as houses, or take shelter in caverns and caves.¹¹³

The architects who exercise the craft differ. Some are intelligent and skillful. Others are inferior.

Furthermore, (architecture) has many subdivisions. Thus, the building material may be smoothed¹¹⁴ stones or bricks.¹¹⁵ The walls made of (such material) are joined and firmly held together by clay and quicklime. They thus hold together as fast as if they were of one piece.

Another (material) is simply earth. One builds walls with it by using¹¹⁶ two wooden boards, the measurements of which vary according to (local) custom. The average measurements are four cubits by two. They are set up on a foundation. The distance between them depends on the width of the foundation the builder considers appropriate. They are joined together with pieces of wood fastened¹¹⁷ with ropes or twine. The two remaining sides of the empty space between the two boards are joined by two other small boards. Then, one puts earth mixed with quicklime into (this frame). The earth and quicklime are pounded with special mixers used only for this purpose, until everything is well mixed throughout. Earth is then added a second and third time, until the space between the two boards is filled. The earth and quicklime have combined and become one substance. Then, two other boards are set up in the same fashion, and (the earth) is treated in the same manner, until it is ready. (All) the boards¹¹⁸ are then properly set up piece upon piece, until the whole wall is set up and joined together as tightly as if

¹¹³ The reference to caverns and caves is found only in C, as a marginal addition. Bulaq, A, and B have instead: "(Building activity) is found only in the temperate zones."

¹¹⁴ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 163.

¹¹⁵ "Bricks" is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

¹¹⁶ This is the reading of C (in the margin) and D. The earlier texts have: "In this connection, one uses ..."

¹¹⁷ *Leg.* 'alayhima instead of 'alayah"fastened to the two boards"?

¹¹⁸ I.e., the pieces that have been cemented together.

it were of one piece. This construction is called *tabiyah*,¹¹⁹ and the builder of it is called *tawwab*.

Another technique of construction is the covering of walls with quicklime. The quicklime is first diluted with water and let soak for a week or two depending on how long is required for it to become well-balanced in its temper and to lose any excess igneousness detrimental to its adhesiveness. When this process is completed to the satisfaction of (the builder), he puts it on the wall beginning at the top and rubs it in until it sticks.

Another technique of construction is roofing. Pieces of wood (beams), either carefully smoothed by a carpenter or left rough, are placed over two walls of the house, and more boards are placed on top of them. They are joined together with nails. Upon that, earth and quicklime are poured. They are pounded with mixers until they combine and hold together. The roof is thus covered with quicklime (plaster), exactly as the walls were covered with it.

Another technique of construction is decoration and or namentation. Thus, figures formed from gypsum are placed upon the walls. (The gypsum) is mixed with water, and then solidified again, with some humidity remaining in it. Symmetrical figures are chiseled out of it with iron drills, until it looks brilliant and pleasant. The walls are occasionally also covered with pieces of marble, brick, clay, shells (mother-of-pearl), or jet.¹²⁰ (The material) may be divided either into identically shaped or differently shaped pieces. These pieces are arranged in whatever symmetrical figures and arrangements are being utilized by the (various artisans), and set into the quicklime (with which the walls have been covered). Thus, the walls come to look like colorful flower beds.

¹¹⁹ Spanish *tapia*, Portuguese *tappa*. Cf. E. Laoust in *Hesperis*, XVIII (1934), 113. To connect the word with Egyptian *f&b* "adobe" seems plausible, but does not appear to be certain or generally accepted.

¹²⁰Cf. p. 270, above. A, B, C, and D here have *az-zabaj*, a form C corrects in the margin to *as-sabaj*.

There are (other techniques of construction), such as the construction of wells and cisterns for running water. In the houses, large, well-cut marble basins are prepared. They have orifices in the middle to permit the water of the cistern to flow out. The water comes to the cistern from the outside through conduits bringing it into the houses.

There are other similar kinds of architectural activity. The workmen who do all these things differ in skill and intelligence. They grow in number when the civilization of a town increases and widens.

The authorities often have recourse to the opinions of these men, about construction matters which they understand better. For in towns with large populations, people live in very crowded conditions. Therefore, they compete with each other for space and air above and below and for the use of the outside of a building. The owner fears lest (any encroachment) cause damage¹²¹ to the walls, and, therefore, forbids it to his neighbor, except where the neighbor has a legal right to it. (People) also have differences over right of-way and about outlets for running water and about refuse disposed of through subterranean conduits. Occasionally, someone claims somebody else's right to (use of) a wall, eaves, or a gutter,¹²² because the houses are so close to each other. Or someone may claim that his neighbor's wall is in bad condition and he fears that it will collapse. He needs a judgment against the other party from an expert¹²³ to force the other party to tear the wall down and prevent damage to the neighbor(ing house). Or, a house or courtyard has to be divided between two parties, so that no damage to the house or curtailment of its usefulness is caused, and similar things.

¹²¹The work on building laws by the Tunisian Ibn ar-Rimi (d. 734 [1334]; cf. GAL, Suppl., 11, 346), the text of which was not available to me, shows the great concern of contemporary jurists with preventing "damage" (*darar*) being done to a person's property. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbirie orientale*, II, 183.

¹²² *Qandh* does not refer here to the "subterranean conduits" but to rain gutters. This meaning is attested in Spanish usage; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, 11, 414b.

¹²³ *inda man yarahu*, lit., "with one who sees (what the matter is with) it."

All these matters are clear only to those who know architecture in all its details. They can judge these details by looking at the joints and ties and the wooden parts.¹²⁴ (They can see whether) the walls are leaning over or are straight, (whether) dwellings are divided as required by their construction and (intended) use, and (whether) water can flow in and out the conduits without causing harm to the houses or walls it flows through, and other things. They know about them and have the experience that others do not have.

However, the quality of (architects) differs in the different groups. It depends on the (ruling) dynasties and their power. We have stated before¹²⁵ that the perfection of the crafts depends on the perfection of sedentary culture and their extent (depends) on the number of those who demand them. At the beginning, the dynasty is a Bedouin one, and therefore needs for its construction activities (the help of) other regions. This was the case when al-Walid b. 'Abd-al-Malik decided to build the mosques of Medina and Jerusalem and his own mosque in Damascus. He sent to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople for workmen skilled in construction work, and the Byzantine emperor sent him enough men to build these mosques as he had planned them.¹²⁶

Architects also make some use of geometry (engineering). For instance, they use the plumb to make walls perpendicular, and they use devices for lifting water, to make it flow, and similar things. Thus, they must know something about the problems connected with (engineering). They also must know how to move heavy loads with the help of machines. Big blocks of large stones cannot be lifted into place on a wall by the unaided strength of workmen alone. Therefore, the architect must contrive to multiply the strength of the rope by passing it through holes, constructed ac-

¹²⁴ *Marakiz al-khashab*, with reference to the construction technique described above, pp. 359 f.

¹²⁵ Cf. pp. 347 ff, above.

¹²⁶ Cf. pp. 262 f., above.

cording to geometrical proportions, of the attachments called *mikhal* "pulleys."¹²⁷ They make the load easier to lift, so that the intended work can be completed without difficulty. This can be achieved only with the help of geometrical (engineering) principles which are commonly known among men. Such things made it possible to build the (ancient) monuments that are standing to this day. They are believed to have been built in pre-Islamic times and by persons whose bodies were (of a size) corresponding (to the) large (size of the monuments). This is not so. (The people who built them) used engineering devices, as we have mentioned.¹²⁸ This should be understood.

"God creates whatever He wishes."¹²⁹

V.25. The craft of carpentry.

[p.2:363]

This craft is one of the necessities of civilization. Its material is wood. This is as follows: God made all created things useful for man, so as to supply his necessities and needs. Trees belong among these things. They have innumerable uses known to everybody. One of their uses is their use as wood when they are dry. The first use of wood is as wood for fires, which man needs to live; as sticks for support, protection (of flocks), and other necessities; and as supports for loads that one fears might topple over. After that, wood has other uses, for the inhabitants of the desert as well as for those of settled areas.

Bedouins use wood for tent poles and pegs, for camel litters for their women, and for the lances, bows, and arrows they use for weapons. Sedentary people use wood for the roofs of their houses, for the locks of their doors, and for chairs to sit on. Wood is the raw material for all these things. The particular form needed in each case is the result of craftsmanship. The

¹²⁷ The reference to the word *mikhal* is added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D. Cf. n. 12 to Ch. iv, above.

¹²⁸ Cf. 1:856 ff, and pp. 238 ff., above.

¹²⁹ Qur'an 3.47 (42), etc.

craft concerned with that and which gives every wooden object its form is carpentry in all its different grades.

The master of (this craft) must first split the wood into smaller pieces or into boards.¹³⁰ Then, he puts these pieces together in the required form. In this connection, he attempts with the aid of his craft to prepare these pieces by the proper arrangement for (their) becoming parts of the (desired) particular shape. The man in charge of this craft is the carpenter. He is necessary to civilization. Then, when sedentary culture increases and luxury makes its appearance and people want to use elegant types of roofs, doors, chairs, and furniture, these things come to be produced in a most elegant way through mastery of remarkable techniques which are luxuries and in no way necessities. Such (techniques) include, for instance, the use of carvings for doors and chairs. Or, one skillfully turns and shapes pieces of wood in a lathe, and then one puts these pieces together in certain symmetrical arrangements and nails them together, so that they appear to the eye to be of one piece. They consist of different shapes all symmetrically combined. This is done with all the (possible) shapes into which wood may be cut, which turn out to be very elegant things. The same applies to all wooden utensils (*alat*) of whatever kind. Carpentry is also needed for the construction of ships, which are made of boards and nails. Ships are bodies (constructed with the help) of geometry (engineering), fashioned after the form of a fish and the way a fish swims in the water with its fins and belly. The shape is intended to make it easier for the ship to brave the water. Instead of the animal motion that the fish has, the ship is moved by the winds. It is often supported by the movement of oars, as is the case in (naval) fleets.

In view of its origin, carpentry needs a good deal of geometry of all kinds. It requires either a general or a specialized knowledge of proportion and measurement, in order to bring the forms (of things) from potentiality

¹³⁰Cf. 3:355, below.

into actuality in the proper manner, and for the knowledge of - proportions one must have recourse to the geometrician.

Therefore, the leading Greek geometricians were all master carpenters. Euclid,¹³¹ the author of the *Book of the Principles*, on geometry, was a carpenter and was known as such. The same was the case with Apollonius, the author of the book on *Conic Sections*, and Menelaus,¹³² and others.

It is said that Noah taught carpentry (first) in the world. With its help, he constructed the ship of salvation (the Ark) with which he performed his (prophetical) miracle¹³³ during the Flood. This story may be possible, that is, (Noah) may have been a carpenter. However, there is no reliable proof that he was the first to practice (carpentry), because (the event) lies so far back in the past. (The story) serves to indicate the great age of carpentry. There is no sound information about its (existence) before the story of Noah. Therefore, he was, in a way, considered the first to learn it. The true secrets (significance) of the crafts in the world should be understood.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹³⁴

¹³¹Cf. 3:130, below. Not Euclid, but Apollonius was known to Arabic tradition as a carpenter. Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, ed. Flugel (Leipzig, 1871-72), p. 260; (Cairo, 1848/1929-90), p. 372; Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat al-umam*, tr. R. Blachere, p. 70; al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-lukama'*, ed. MullerLippert, p. 61.

¹³²Cf. 3:131, below.

¹³³Le., the miracle that marked him as a prophet. Noah is said to have been guided in the building of the Ark by divine revelation. (Cf. the chapter on Noah in ath-Tha'labi, *Qisas al-anbiya'*.) However, the statement that he was the first carpenter is not in the mainstream of Muslim tradition concerning Noah, but rather runs counter to it.

¹³⁴Qur'an 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

V.26. The craft of weaving and tailoring.

[p.2:366]

It¹³⁵ should be known that people who are temperate in their humanity cannot avoid giving some thought to keeping warm, as they do to shelter. One manages to keep warm by using woven material as protective cover against both heat and cold. This requires the interlacing of yarn, until it turns out to be a complete garment. This is spinning and weaving.

Desert people restrict themselves to this. But people who are inclined toward sedentary culture cut the woven material into pieces of the right size to cover the form of the body and all of its numerous limbs in their various locations. They then put the different pieces together with thread, until they turn out to be a complete garment that fits the body and can be worn by people. The craft that makes things fit is tailoring.

These two crafts are necessary in civilization, because human beings must keep warm.

The purpose of (weaving) is to weave wool and cotton yarn in warp and woof and do it well, so that the texture will be strong. Pieces of cloth of certain measurements are thus produced. Some are garments of wool for covering. Others are garments of cotton and linen for wear.

The purpose of tailoring is to give the woven material a certain form in accordance with the many different shapes and customs (that may occur in this connection). The material is first cut with scissors into pieces that fit the limbs of the body. The pieces are then joined together with the help of skillful tailoring according to 'the rules, either by the use of thread, or with bands, or (one) quilts (them), or cuts openings.¹³⁶ This (craft) is restricted

¹³⁵ The first two paragraphs, the contents of which correspond roughly to the last paragraph of the section, are not yet found in Bulaq, A, or E, and are also missing in D. They appear in the margin of C and in the text of B.

¹³⁶ The exact meaning of the various words denoting different kinds of sewing is uncertain. Cf. also 3:355, below. The word translated here "cuts openings," appears as an adjective qualifying the long

to sedentary culture, since the inhabitants of the desert can dispense with it. They merely cover themselves with cloth. The tailoring of clothes, the cutting, fitting, and sewing of the material, is one of the various methods and aspects of sedentary culture.

This should be understood, in order to understand the reason why the wearing of sewn garments is forbidden on the pilgrimage. According to the religious law, the pilgrimage requires, among other things, the discarding of all worldly attachments and the return to God as He created us in the beginning. Man should not set his heart upon any of his luxury customs, such as perfume, women, sewn garments, or boots. He should not go hunting or expose himself to any other of the customs with which his soul and character have become colored. When he dies, he will necessarily lose them (anyhow). He should come (to the pilgrimage) as if he were going to the Last Judgment, humble in his heart, sincerely devoted to his Lord. If he is completely sincere in this respect, his reward will be that he will shed his sins (and be) like he was on the day when his mother gave birth to him. Praised be You! How kind have You been with Your servants and how compassionate have You been with them in their search for guidance toward You!

These two crafts are very ancient in the world, because it is necessary for man in a temperate civilization to keep warm. The inhabitants of less temperate, hotter zones do not need to keep warm. Therefore, we hear that the Negro inhabitants of the first zone are mostly naked. Because of the great age of these crafts, they are attributed by the common people to Idris, the most ancient of the prophets.¹³⁷ They are also often attributed to Hermes.¹³⁸ Hermes is said to be identical with Idris.

trousers (*as-sarawil al-mufattahah at-tiwal*) allegedly worn by certain Christian soldiers in the Sudan, in Ibn Hawqal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938-39), 1, 58, l. 20.

¹³⁷ Cf p. 317 (n. 19), above.

¹³⁸ Hermes Trismegistos is occasionally identified with Idris in Arabic sources, as early, for instance, as Abu Ma'shar, *Utuf*, quoted by Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat al-umam*, tr. R. Blachere, pp. 54 f.; al-

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹³⁹

V.27. The craft of midwifery.

[p.2:368]

Midwifery is a craft that shows how to proceed in bringing the new-born child gently out of the womb of his mother and how to prepare the things that go with that. It also shows what is good for (a new-born child), after it is born, as we shall mention. The craft is as a rule restricted to women, since they, as women, may see the pudenda of other women. The woman who exercises this craft is called midwife (*qabilah*, literally, "the woman who receives"). The word implies the meaning of *giving* and *receiving*. The woman in labor in a way *gives* the embryo to the midwife, and the latter *receives* it.

This is as follows: When the embryo has gone through all its stages¹⁴⁰ and is completely and perfectly formed in the womb - the period God determined for its remaining in the womb is as a rule nine months - it seeks to come out, because God implanted such a desire in (unborn children). But the opening is too narrow for it, and it is difficult for (the embryo to come out). It often splits one of the walls of the vagina by its pressure, and often the close connection and attachment of (its) covering membranes with the uterus are ruptured. All this is painful and hurts very much. This is the meaning of labor pains. In this connection, the midwife may offer some succor by massaging the back, the buttocks, and the lower extremities adjacent to the uterus. She thus stimulates the activity of the (force) pushing the embryo out, and facilitates the difficulties encountered in this connection as much as she can. She uses as much strength as she thinks is required by the difficulty of (the process). When the embryo has come out, it remains connected

Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, 1, 73; al-Mubashshir b. Fatik, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, chapter on Hermes; al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-hukamd'*, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 36.81 (81).

¹⁴⁰ As indicated in the Qur'an. Cf. p. 425, and 3:275, below.

with the uterus by the umbilical cord at its stomach, through which it was fed. That cord is a superfluous special limb for feeding the child. The midwife cuts it but so that she does not go beyond the place where (it starts to be) superfluous and does not harm the stomach of the child or the uterus of the mother. She then treats the place of the operation with cauterization or whatever other treatment she sees fit.

When the embryo comes out of that narrow opening with its humid bones that can easily be bent and curved, it may happen that its limbs and joints change their shape, because they were only recently formed and because the - substances (of which it consists) are humid. Therefore, the midwife undertakes to massage and correct (the new-born child), until every limb has resumed its natural shape and the position destined for it, and (the child) has again its normal form. After that, she goes back to the woman in labor and massages and kneads her, so that the membranes of the embryo may come out. They are sometimes somewhat late in coming out. On such an occasion, it is feared that the constricting power (muscle) might resume its natural position before all the membranes are brought out. They are superfluities. They might become putrid, and their putridity might enter the uterus, which could be fatal. The midwife takes precautions against that. She tries to stimulate the ejection, until the membranes which are late in coming out come out, too.

She then returns to the child. She anoints its limbs with oils and dusts it with astringent powders, to strengthen it and to dry up the fluids of the uterus. She smears something upon the child's palate to lift its uvula. She puts something into its nose, in order to empty the cavities of its brain. She makes it gargle with (swallow) an electuary, in order to prevent its bowels from becoming obstructed and their walls from sticking together.

Then, she treats the woman in labor for the weakness caused by the labor pains and the pain that the separation causes her uterus. Although the child is no natural limb (of the mother), still, the way it is created in the

uterus causes it to become attached (to the body of the mother) as if it were an inseparable limb (of her body). Therefore, its separation causes a pain similar to that caused by the amputation (of a limb). (The midwife) also treats the pain of the vagina that was torn and wounded by the pressure of (the child) coming out.

All these are ills with the treatment of which midwives are better acquainted (than anyone else). We likewise find them better acquainted than a skillful physician with the means of treating the ills affecting the bodies of little children from the time they are sucklings until they are weaned. This is simply because the human body, at this stage, is only potentially a human body. After (the child) is weaned, (its body) becomes actually a human one. Then, its need for a physician is greater (than its need for a midwife).

One can see that this craft is necessary to the human species in civilization. Without it, the individuals of the species could not, as a rule, come into being. Some individuals of the species may be able to dispense with this craft. God may arrange it for them that way as a miracle and extraordinary wonder. This, for instance, may be done for the prophets. Or there may be some instinct and guidance given to the child through instinct and natural disposition. Thus, such children may come into existence without the help of midwives.

The miraculous kind (of births) has often occurred. It has, thus, been reported that the Prophet was born with the umbilical cord cut and circumcised, placing his hands upon the earth and turning his eyes toward heaven. The same applies to Jesus (who spoke) in the cradle,¹⁴¹ and other things.

The instinctive kind (of births) is not unknown. Since dumb animals, such as, for instance, bees and others¹⁴² have remarkable instincts, why should one not assume the same for man who is superior to them, and especially for those human beings who are singled out by acts of divine grace?

¹⁴¹ Cf. pp. 185 f., above.

¹⁴² Cf. 1:84, above.

Furthermore, the common instinct of new-born children that causes them to seek their mother's breast is a clear testimony to the existence of an instinct in them. The ways of divine foresight are too great to be grasped completely.

This explains the incorrectness of the opinion of alFarabi and the Spanish philosophers. They argue for the non-existence of (the possibility) of a destruction of the various species (of beings) and the impossibility of an end of created things, especially of the human species. They say that once there has been an end to (the existence of) individuals of (the human species), a later existence of them would be impossible. (Their existence) depends upon the existence of midwifery, without which man could not come into being, since even if we were to assume that a child might (come into existence) without the help of this craft and without being taken care of by (this craft) until it was weaned, still, it could certainly not survive. (For not only midwifery but also other crafts are needed. However,) the crafts cannot possibly exist without the ability to think, because they are the fruit of thinking and depend on it.

Avicenna undertook the refutation of this opinion, because he was opposed to it and admitted the possibility of an end of the various species (of beings) and of the destruction of the world of creation and its subsequent re-establishment as a consequence of astronomical requirements and strange (astral) positions which, he thought, take place rarely over very long intervals of time. It requires the fermentation, with the help of appropriate heat, of a kind of clay that corresponds to the temper of (the being to be created). Thus, it comes to be a human being. Then, an animal is destined for that

human being. In that animal, an instinctive (desire) is created (which is directed) toward bringing that human being up and being kind to him, until he

¹⁴³ Avicenna says nothing of the sort in the *Treatise of Hayy b. Yagzan*, as published by A. F. Mehren, *Traites Mystiques* (Leiden, 1889), Vol. I. Cf. also the recent editions by A. Amin (Cairo, 1952), and H. Corbin.

However, there is some similarity between Ibn Khaldun's statement and Ibn Tufayl's famous work on Hayy b. Yagzan. Ibn Khaldun apparently used some work based on Ibn Tufayl, which quoted specific theories as going back to al-Farabi and Avicenna. Cf also H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le ricit visionnaire* (Collection du millenaire d'Avicenne, No. 25) (Teheran, 1962-64), II, 162-54.

exists fully and is weaned. Avicenna explained this lengthily in the treatise which he entitled the *Treatise of Hayy b. Yaqzan*.¹⁴³

His argumentation is not correct. We agree with him in regard to the (possibility of the) end of the various species (of beings), but not on the basis of his arguments. His argumentation depends on relating actions to a cause that makes (them) necessary. The theory of the "voluntary agent"¹⁴⁴ is a proof against him. According to the theory of the "voluntary agent," there is no intermediary between the actions and the primeval power, and there is no need for such (a difficult) task. If we accepted (Avicenna's argumentation) for the sake of the argument, (we might say that) it is saying no more than that the continued existence of the individual is the consequence of the instinctive desire to bring him up which has been created in dumb animals. What, then, would be the necessity that might call for (such a procedure), and further, if such an instinctive desire can be created in a dumb animal, what would prevent its creation in the child itself, as we (for our part) assumed at the beginning? It is more likely that an instinct directed toward his own interests is created in an individual than that one directed toward the interests of someone else is created in (someone). Thus, both theories (that of al-Farabi and that of Avicenna) prove themselves wrong in their particular approach, as I have established.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹⁴⁵

V.28. The craft of medicine.¹⁴⁶ The craft of medicine is needed in settled areas and cities but not in the desert.

[p.2:373]

This craft is necessary in towns and cities because of its recognized usefulness. Its fruit is the preservation of health among those who are healthy,

¹⁴⁴Cf. 1:188 f., above.

¹⁴⁵ Qur'an 15.86 (86); 56.81 (81).

¹⁴⁶ Medicine is again treated as a science, 9:148 ff, below.

and the repulsion of illness among those who are ill, with the help of medical treatment, until they are cured of their illnesses.

It should be known that the origin of all illnesses is in food, as Muhammad said in the comprehensive tradition on medicine, that is reported among physicians but suspected by the religious scholars.¹⁴⁷ He said: "The stomach is the home of disease. Dieting is the main medicine. The origin of every disease is indigestion." The statement "The stomach is the home of disease," is obvious. The statement: "Dieting is the main medicine," is to be understood in the sense that *himyah* "dieting" means "going hungry," since hunger means refraining (*ihtima'*) from food. Thus, the meaning is that hunger is the greatest medicine, the origin of all medicines. The statement: "The origin of every disease is indigestion," is to be understood in the sense that *baradah* "indigestion" is the addition of new food to the food already in the stomach before it has been digested.

(The statement lends itself to) the following comment. God created man and preserves his life through nourishment. He gets it through eating, and he applies to it the digestive and nutritive powers, until it becomes blood fitting for the flesh and bone parts of the body. Then, the growing power takes it over, and it is turned into flesh and bones. Digestion means that the nourishment is boiled by natural heat, stage by stage, until it actually becomes a part of the body. This is to be explained as follows. The nourishment that enters the mouth and is chewed by the jaws undergoes the influence of the heat of the mouth, which boils it slightly. Thus, its composition is slightly altered. This can be observed in a bit of food that is taken and chewed well. Its composition then can be observed to be different from that of the (original) food.

¹⁴⁷ The relative clause is added in the margin of C, and incorporated in the text of D. Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, 'Uyun *al-anba*, I, 112, ascribes the tradition to the legendary early physicians al-Harith b. Kaladah (9:150, below) and 'Abd-al-Malik b. Abjar, as well as to Muhammad. Cf. also al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'* (Cairo, 1862/1989), III, 75.

The food then gets into the stomach, and the heat of the stomach boils it, until it becomes chyme, that is, the essence of the boiled (food).¹⁴⁸ (The stomach) sends (the chyme) on into the liver, and ejects the part of the food that has become solid sediment in the bowels, through the two body openings. The heat of the liver then boils the chyme, until it becomes fresh blood. On it, there swims a kind of foam as the result of the boiling. (That foam) is yellow bile. Parts of it become dry and solid. They are black bile. The natural heat is not quite sufficient to boil the coarse parts. They are phlegm. The liver then sends all (these substances) into the veins and arteries. There, the natural heat starts to boil them. The pure blood thus generates a hot and humid vapor that sustains the animal spirit.¹⁴⁹ The growing power acts upon the blood, and it becomes flesh. The thick part of it then becomes bones. Then, the body eliminates the (elements of the digested food) it does not need as the various superfluities, such as sweat, saliva, mucus, and tears. This is the process of nourishment, and the transformation of food from potential into actual flesh.

Now, illnesses originate from fevers, and most illnesses are fevers. The reason for fevers is that the natural heat is too weak to complete the process of boiling in each of those stages. The nourishment thus is not fully assimilated. The reason for that, as a rule, is either that there is a great amount of food in the stomach that becomes too much for the natural heat, or that food is put into the stomach before the first food has been completely boiled. In such a case, the natural heat either devotes itself exclusively to the new food, so that the first food is left in its (half-digested) state, or it divides itself between the old and the new food, and then is insufficient to boil and assimilate them completely. The stomach sends the (food) in that state into the liver, and the heat of the liver likewise is not strong enough to as-

¹⁴⁸ The explanatory gloss, though found in the other texts, appears in C in the margin, and is missing in D.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 1:74 (n. 5), above.

similate it. Often, an unassimilated superfluity, resulting from food that had been taken in earlier, has (also) remained in the liver. The liver sends all of it to the veins unassimilated, as it is. When the body has received what it properly needs, it eliminates the (unassimilated superfluity) together with the other superfluities such as sweat, tears, and saliva, if it can. Often, (the body) cannot cope with the greater part of the (unassimilated superfluity). Thus, it remains in the veins, the liver, and the stomach, and increases with time. Any composite humid (substance) that is not boiled and assimilated undergoes putrefaction. Consequently, the unassimilated nourishment-what is called *khilt*¹⁵⁰ becomes putrefied. Anything in the process of putrefaction develops a strange heat. This heat is what, in the human body, is called fever.

This may be exemplified by food that is left over and eventually becomes putrefied, and by dung that has become putrefied. Heat develops in it and takes its course. This is what fevers in the human body mean. Fevers are the main cause and origin of illness, as was mentioned in the (Prophetic) tradition.¹⁵¹ Such fevers can be cured by not giving an ill person any nourishment for a certain number of weeks; then, he must take the proper nourishment until he is completely cured. In a state of health, the same procedure serves as a preventive treatment for this and other illnesses.¹⁵²

Putrefaction may be localized in a particular limb. Then, a disease will develop in that limb, or the body will be affected either in the principal limbs or in others, because (that particular) limb is ill and its illness produces an illness of its powers. This covers all illnesses. Their origin as a rule is in the nourishment.

All this is left to (the attention of) the physician.

The incidence of such illnesses is more frequent among the inhabitants of sedentary areas and cities (than elsewhere), because they live a life of.

¹⁵⁰ Lit., "mixture" = chyme.

¹⁵¹ This is a rather vague reference to the tradition just quoted.

¹⁵² Bulaq: "... for this illness and its origin, as is mentioned in the (Prophetic) tradition."

plenty. They eat a great deal and rarely restrict themselves to one particular kind of food. They lack caution in taking food, and they prepare their food, when they cook it, with the admixture of a good many things, such as spices, herbs, and fruits, (both) fresh and dry. They do not restrict themselves in this respect to one or even a few kinds. We have on occasion counted forty different kinds of vegetables and meats in a single cooked dish. This gives the nourishment a strange temper and often does not agree with the body and its parts.

Furthermore, the air in cities becomes corrupt through admixture of putrid vapors because of the great number of superfluities (in cities).¹⁵³ It is the air that gives energy to the spirit and thus strengthens the influence of the natural heat upon digestion.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, the inhabitants of cities lack exercise. As a rule, they rest and remain quiet. Exercise has no part in their (life) and has no influence upon them. Thus, the incidence of illness is great in towns and cities, and the inhabitants' need for medicine is correspondingly great.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the desert, as a rule; eat little. Hunger prevails among them, because they have little grain. (Hunger) eventually becomes a custom of theirs which is often thought to be something natural to them because it is so lasting. Of seasonings they have few or none, The preparation of food boiled with spices and fruits is caused by the luxury of sedentary culture with which they have nothing to do. Thus, they take their nourishment plain and without admixtures, and its temper comes close to being agreeable to the body. Their air has little putrescence, because there is little humidity and putrescence when they stay (anywhere), and the air is changing when they move around. Too, they take exercise, and there is a lot of movement when they race horses, or go hunting, or search for things

¹⁵³ Cf. pp. 136 f. and 244 f., above.

¹⁵⁴ Unless we have to read here *al-hudum* = *al-hadm*, it would be *alhadum* in the literal sense of "(food) to be digested."

they need, or occupy themselves with their needs. For all these reasons, their digestion is very good. There is no adding of new food when the old food (has not yet completely been digested). Thus, their temper is healthier and more remote from illness (than that of sedentary people). As a result, their need for medicine is small. Therefore, physicians are nowhere to be found in the desert. The only reason for this is the lack of need for them, because if physicians were needed in the desert they would be there. There would then be a livelihood for them to lead them to settle there.

This is how God proceeds with His servants. "And verily, you will not be able to change God's way."¹⁵⁵

V.29. Calligraphy, (the art of) writing, is one of the human crafts.

[p.2:377]

(Writing) is the outlining and shaping of letters to indicate audible words which, in turn, indicate what is in the soul. It comes second after oral expression, It is a noble craft, since it is one of the special qualities of man by which he distinguishes himself from the animals. Furthermore, it reveals what is in (people's) minds. It enables the intention (of a person) to be carried to distant places, and, thus, the needs (of that person) may be executed without (him) personally taking care of them.¹⁵⁶ It enables (people) to become acquainted with science, learning, with the books of the ancients, and with the sciences and information written down by them. Because of all these useful aspects, (writing) is a noble (craft).

The¹⁵⁷ transformation of writing in man from potentiality into actuality takes place through instruction. The quality of writing in a town corresponds to the social organization, civilization, and competition for luxuries (among its inhabitants), and the demand for (all) that, since (writing) is a craft. We

¹⁵⁵ Qur'an 33.62 (62); 35.49 (41); 48.23 (23).

¹⁵⁶Cf. pp. 6 and 356, above.

¹⁵⁷Cf. Issawi, pp. 145-49.

have stated before¹⁵⁸ that (the crafts) are that way and that they depend on civilization. For this reason, we find that most Bedouins are illiterate. They are not able to read and write. Those of them who do read or write have an inferior handwriting or read haltingly. (On the other hand,) we find that instruction in handwriting in cities with an extraordinarily developed civilization is more proficient, easier, and methodically better (than elsewhere) because the coloring (of the craft of writing) is firmly established in them. Thus, we are told about contemporary Cairo (Egypt) that there are teachers there who are specialized in the teaching of calligraphy.¹⁵⁹ They teach the pupil by norms and laws how to write each letter. In addition, they let him teach (others) how to write each letter. This strengthens his (respect for) the rank of knowledge and (for) perception as¹⁶⁰ far as teaching is concerned. His habit becomes one of the most perfect kind. This comes from the perfection and abundance of crafts (there), the result of large civilization and the great amount of (available) labor.

Writing¹⁶¹ is not learned that way in Spain and the Maghrib. The letters are not learned individually according to norms the teacher gives to the pupil. Writing is learned by imitating complete words. The pupil repeats (these words), and the teacher examines him, until he knows well (how to write) and until the habit (of writing) is at his finger tips.¹⁶² Then, he is called a good (calligrapher).

Arabic writing had already reached its most developed, accurate, and excellent stage in the Tubba' dynasty, because (that dynasty) had achieved a great sedentary culture and luxury. The handwriting there was called the Himyarite script. (Writing) was transplanted from (South Arabia) to al-Hi-rah, because the dynasty of the family of al-Mundhir was there. They were

¹⁵⁸Cf. pp. 947 ff., above.

¹⁵⁹Cf. 8:802, below.

¹⁶⁰*Al-hiss*. Cf. p. 886, l. 15, below.

¹⁶¹This paragraph is not found in Bulaq. In C it still appears in the margin.

¹⁶²Cf. 3:318, below.

relatives of the Tubba's and shared their group feeling, and they were the founders of Arab rule in the 'Iraq. Their writing was not as good as that of the Tubba's, because (the time) between the two dynasties was short¹⁶³ and, (therefore,) sedentary culture and the crafts and other things depending on it were not developed enough for (calligraphy). From al-Hirah, the inhabitants of at-Ta'if and the Quraysh learned (writing), as has been said. The person who learned the art of writing from al-Hirah is said to have been Sufyan b. Umayyah, or Harb b. Umayyah. He learned it from Aslam b. Sidrah.¹⁶⁴ This is a possible theory. It is a more likely theory than that of those who say that they learned it from the Iyad, the inhabitants of the 'Iraq, because of the verse of an [Iyadi] poet:

People to whom belongs the area of the 'Iraq when
They travel together, as well as writing and pen.

This is an unlikely theory. Even though the Iyad settled in the area of the 'Iraq, they maintained their desert attitude, and handwriting is a sedentary craft. The meaning of the (verse of that) poet is that the Iyad were closer to handwriting and the pen than other Arabs, because they were closer to an urban environment. The theory that the inhabitants of the Hijaz learned (writing) from the inhabitants of al-Hirah, who, in turn, had learned it from the Tubba's and the Himyar, is the most plausible one.

In¹⁶⁵ the biography of one of Milik's companions, Ibn Farrukh-'Abdallah b. Farrukh-al-Qayrawani al-Firisi al-Andalusi,¹⁶⁶ in the

¹⁶³The Arabic words can hardly mean (as de Slane suggested) that there was a great difference between the two dynasties. Ibn Khaldun probably was thinking of the supposedly brief duration of the Lakhmid dynasty in al-Hirah.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, p. 4 (ed. Flugel); p. 7 (Cairo, 1348/1929-so); al-Suli, *Adab al-kuttāb* (Cairo, 1341/1922), p. so; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat*, tr. de Slane, II, 284, quoted by Ibn Kathir, *Biddayah*, XII, 14 f. Sufyan, a brother of Ifarb, is not usually mentioned in this connection.

¹⁶⁵The quotation from Ibn al-Abbar is added in the margin of C, and appears in the text of D.

¹⁶⁶Ibn Farrukh was born in 115 [733/34] and died in 175 1791/92] or 176 [792/93]. Cf. Ibn al-Abbar, *Takmilah*, ed. F. Codera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 6) (Madrid, 1889), II, 431-33; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 356 f.

Kitab at-Takmilah of Ibn al-Abbar, I have seen the following remark, reported by Ibn Farrukh on the authority of 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Ziyid b. An'um,¹⁶⁷ on the authority of his father, who said: "I said to 'Abdallah b. 'Abbas: 'You Qurashites, tell me about the Arabic script. Did you use it in the same way, before God sent Muhammad, with its connected and unconnected letters, such as ', *l, m, n*?' (Ibn 'Abbas) replied: 'Yes.' I continued: 'From whom did you learn it?' He replied: 'From Harb b. Umayyah.' I asked: 'From whom did Harb learn it?' He replied: 'From 'Abdallah b. Jud'in.' I asked: 'From whom did 'Abdallah b. Jud'in learn it?' He replied: 'From the inhabitants of al-Anbir.' I asked: 'From whom did they learn it?' He replied: 'From a Yemenite newcomer among them.' I asked: 'From whom did he learn it?' He replied: 'From al-Khullajin¹⁶⁸ b. al-Qisim, who wrote down the revelation of the prophet Hid. He used to say:

Do you invent a new procedure every year,

Or an opinion that is to be explained in a different way?

Indeed, death is better than a life in which among those who abuse us,
There are the Jurhum and the Himyar.' "

End of the quotation from the *Kitab at-Takmilah* of Ibn al-Abbar.

At the end of the passage, Ibn al-Abbar added:¹⁶⁹ "I was told this by Abu Bakr b. Abi Jamrah, in his book, on the authority of Abu Bahr b. al-'Asi,¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷He was born in 74 or 75 [693-95], or not long before that, and died between 156 and 161 [772-78]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 173 ff. For his father, cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, II 1, 315; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 354.

¹⁶⁸The name occurs in the legend of Hud, as reported in at-Tabart, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, I, 241 f.; al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, III, 295; and in ath-Tha'labi, *Qiyas al-anbiya'*, but not as that of Hud's scribe. The second verse is quoted in a somewhat different form in al-Hamdini, *Ikli*, ed. O. Lofgren (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana, No. 58:1) (Uppsala, 1954), p. 43. For the first verse, cf. al-Mas'udi, *Tanbih* (Cairo, 1938), p. 72.

¹⁶⁹As a matter of fact, in the *Takmilah* the transmitters down to Ibn Yunus are mentioned after the story, and those from Ibn Yunus down to Ibn Farrukh are mentioned before it.

¹⁷⁰Sufyan b. al-'Ali, 440-520 [1048/49-1126]. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwal, *Silah*, ed. F. Codera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 2) (Madrid, 1883), pp. 229 f.

on the authority of Abul-Walid al-Waqqashi,¹⁷¹ on the authority of Abu 'Umar at-Talamanki,¹⁷² on the authority of Abu 'Abdallah b. Mu farrij,¹⁷³ who was my written source, on the authority of Abu Sa'id b. Yunus,¹⁷⁴ on the authority of Muhammad b. Musa b. an-Nu'min, on the authority of Yahya b. Muhammad b. Khushaysh, on the authority of 'Uthmin b. Ayyilb al-Ma'ifiri at-Tunisi, on the authority of Buhlul b. 'Ubaydah at-Tujibi, on the authority of 'Abdallah b. Farrukh.

The Himyarites had a script called *musnad*.¹⁷⁵ The letters were written separately. It could be studied only with their permission. The Mudar learned the Arabic script from the Himyar. However, they did not write it well, as is the case with crafts practiced in the desert. The crafts there have no firmly established methods and show no inclination toward accuracy and elegance. There is a wide gap between the desert attitude and craftsmanship, and Bedouins can for the most part dispense with crafts. Thus, the writing of the Arabs was a Bedouin (script), exactly like, or similar to, the writing the Arab (Bedouins) use at this time. Or, we might say that the writing the Arab (Bedouins) use at this time shows a better technique, because (the Arab Bedouins today) are closer to sedentary culture and have more contact with cities and dynasties (than the Mudar of old). The Mudar were more firmly rooted in desert life and more remote from sedentary areas than the inhabitants of the Yemen, the 'Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. Arabic writing at the beginning of Islam was, therefore, not of the best quality nor of the greatest

¹⁷¹Hisham b. Abmad, d. 489 [10961. Cf. E. Levi-Provengal, *La Pininsule Ibirique*(Leiden, 1938), pp. 237 f. (tr.).

¹⁷² Ahmad b. Mubammad, 340-429 [951/52-1038]. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwal, *Silah*, pp.47 ff.

¹⁷³The historian Abu Bakr b. Mufarrij (or Mufarraj?) al-Qubbashi studied with him. Cf. Ibn Bashkuwal, *Salah*, p. 137. However, I have been unable to identify the above person with any known bearer of this not uncommon name.

¹⁷⁴ The well-known historian 'Abd-ar-Rahman b. Abmad b. Yunus, 281-347 [894/95-958]. Cf. Ibn Kathir, *Bidyyah*, XI, 233. The reference to him is an addition in C and is not found in D.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. 3:282, below.

accuracy and excellence. It was not (even) of medium quality, because the Arabs possessed the savage desert attitude and were not familiar with crafts.

One may compare what happened to the orthography of the Qur'an on account of this situation. The men around Muhammad wrote the Qur'an in their own script, which was not of a firmly established, good quality. Most of the letters were in contradiction to the orthography required by persons versed in the craft of writing. The Qur'anic script of (the men around Muhammad) was then imitated by the men of the second generation, because of the blessing inherent in the use of an orthography that had been used by the men around Muhammad, who were the best human beings after (Muhammad himself) and who had received his revelation from the book and word of God. At the present time, people similarly imitate the handwriting of saints or scholars because of the blessing (inherent in that), and they follow the orthography whether it be wrong or right. One could hardly compare these men to the men around Muhammad or the things they write down to (the divine revelation) they wrote down! Consequently, (the Quranic orthography of the men around Muhammad) was followed and became established, and the scholars acquainted with it have called attention to passages where (this is noticeable).

No attention should be paid in this connection to the assumption of certain incompetent (scholars) that (the men around Muhammad) knew well the art of writing and that the alleged discrepancies between their writing and the principles of orthography are not discrepancies, as has been alleged, but have a reason. For instance, they explain the addition of the *alif* in *la-'adhbahannahu* "I shall indeed slaughter him" as an indication that the slaughtering did not take place (*laadhbahannahu*). The addition of the *ya'* in *bi-ayyidin* "with hands (power)," they explain as an indication that the divine power is perfect.¹⁷⁶ There are similar things based on nothing but purely

¹⁷⁶ The passages quoted are from Qur'an 27.21 (21) and 51.47 (47), respectively. Cf. also p. 442, below. For the explanation given in connection with the second passage, cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan* (Cairo,

arbitrary assumptions. The only reason that caused them to (assume such things) is their belief that (their explanations) would free the men around Muhammad from the suspicion of deficiency, in the sense that they were not able to write well. They think that good writing is perfection. Thus, they do not admit the fact that the men around Muhammad were deficient in (writing). They (want to) consider them as perfect by ascribing good writing to them, and they seek to explain (orthographic peculiarities) that are contrary to good orthographic usage. This is not correct. It should be known that as far as (the men around Muhammad) are concerned, writing has nothing to do with perfection. Writing is an urban craft that serves to make a living, as has been shown above.¹⁷⁷ Perfection in a craft is something relative. It is not absolute perfection. A deficiency from (perfection in the crafts) does not essentially affect one's religion or personal qualities. It merely affects things that have to do with making a living, and (does so) in accordance with the (existing) civilization and co-operation for (civilization), since writing indicates what is in the souls. The Prophet was illiterate. That was perfection so far as he was concerned and it was in keeping with his station, because he was noble and had nothing to do with the practical crafts, all of which are matters connected with making a living and with civilization. (On the other hand,) as far as we are concerned, illiteracy is not a perfection. (Muhammad) was exclusively devoted to his Lord. We, however, must co-operate in order to make life in this world possible for us. The same applies to all the crafts, including even the theoretical¹⁷⁸ sciences. As far as (Muhammad) is concerned, perfection means that he has nothing to do with any of them. The opposite is the case with us.

1317/1899), II, 168. As-Suyuli's source is Abul-'Abbas al-Marrakushi (Ibn al-Banni'), *'Unwan ad-dalil fi marsum khatt at-tanzil*. Cf. n. 863 to Ch. ", above. This older work dealt with interpretation of orthographic peculiarities in the Qur'an. Works such as this were certainly the textbooks on the subject used in the environment in which Ibn Khaldun grew up.

¹⁷⁷Cf. pp. 348 and 356, above.

¹⁷⁸Lit., "the sciences that have their conventional technical terminologies." B reads *al-islahiyyah*.

Later, royal authority came to the Arabs. They conquered cities and took possession of provinces. They settled in al-Basrah and al-Kufah, and the dynasty needed the art of writing. At that time, they (began) writing.¹⁷⁹ They sought to practice and study it, and it came into common use. As a result, a high degree of excellence in (writing) was achieved. (Writing) became firmly established. In al-Kufah and al-Basrah, it reached a great degree of accuracy, but did not reach the limit (of perfection). The Kufic script is still known at this time.

The Arabs then spread over all the regions and provinces and conquered Ifriqiyah and Spain. The 'Abbasids founded Baghdad. There, the different kinds of writing reached the limit (of perfection), because civilization was highly developed in (Baghdad), since it had become the home of Islam and the center of the Arab dynasty.

The¹⁸⁰ norms of writing used in Baghdad were different from those in al-Kufah, in that they inclined toward well shaped letters, brilliancy, and splendor. This difference became established (and lasted) for a long time. The wazir (Aba) 'Ali b. Muglah¹⁸¹ became its protagonist in Baghdad. He was followed in this respect by the secretary, 'Ali b. Hilal, who is known as Ibn al-Bawwab.¹⁸² The tradition of instruction in the Baghdadi and Kufi writing ended with him in the fourth [tenth] century¹⁸³ and afterwards. The forms and the norms of the Baghdadi script then departed still further from Kufic, and eventually, there was a complete break. Later on, the differences

¹⁷⁹ *Al-kitab*, rather than al-kuttāb "secretaries." Bulaq has the simpler *al-kitābah*.

¹⁸⁰ This paragraph is not in Bulaq, A, or E, which have: "The Baghdadi script had a well-known form. It was followed by the Ifrigi script...." C originally had the same, but replaced it by the fuller text added in the margin.

¹⁸¹ Muhammad b. 'Ali, 272-328 [886-940]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 493 f.; M. Torki, "Un Texte inedit attribue a Ibn Mogla," in *Actes du XVIIIe Congris International des Orientalistes* (Leiden, 1932), pp. 243 f. The reference to Ibn Muqlah is a secondary addition in C and is found in D, but it is missing in B.

¹⁸² Cf. p. 388, below.

¹⁸³ Ibn Khaldun uses here the expression "third century" in the sense of "the three hundreds," i.e., the fourth century.

were accentuated by masters who always tried to find new forms and improved norms of writing, up to the time of such later calligraphers as Yaqut al-Musta'simi¹⁸⁴ and al-Wall 'Ali al-'Ajami.¹⁸⁵ The tradition of the teaching of writing stopped with them. This (type of calligraphy) was transferred to Egypt where (the script) was somewhat different from the 'Iraqi script. The non-Arabs learned the ('Iraqi script) there (in the 'Iraq). It turned out to be different or completely distinct from the writing of the Egyptians.

The Ifriqi script, the old form of which is (still) known at this time, was close to the forms of the eastern script. Spain became the domain of the Umayyads. Their situation as to sedentary culture, the crafts, and the various scripts was a special one. As a result, the Spanish script, as it is known at the present time, became special, (too).

Civilization and sedentary culture developed greatly everywhere in the (various) Muslim dynasties. Royal authority increased, and the sciences were cultivated. Books were copied, and they were well written and bound. Castles and royal libraries were filled with them in an incomparable way. The inhabitants of the different regions vied with and rivaled each other in this respect.

Then, the Muslim empire became disorganized and shrank. With its shrinking, all these things shrank, too. With the disappearance of the caliphate, Baghdad lost its out standing position. The position it had held with regard to calligraphy and (the art of) writing, and, indeed, with regard to scholarship (in general) was taken over by Egypt and Cairo. The art of writing continues to be cultivated there at this time. There are teachers of writing there who are employed (just) to teach the letters. For that, they have norms of how the letters are to be drawn and shaped. These norms are gen-

¹⁸⁴ He died in 698 [1298/99], or possibly some years later. Cf. GAL, I, 353; *Suppl.*, I, 698; F. Krenkow in *Islamic Culture*, XXII (1948), 86 f.

¹⁸⁵ He is Abul-Hasan `Ali b. Zengi, known as al-Wali al-'Ajami. Cf. Murtada az-Zabidi, *Hikmat al-ishraq ila kuttab al-afaq (Nawadir al-makhtulat*, No. 5) (Cairo, 1373/1954), pp. 86, 88.

erally recognized among them. The student soon learns to draw and form the letters well, as he learns them by sensual perception,¹⁸⁶ becomes skilled in them through practice in writing them, and learns them in the form of scientific norms. Therefore, his letters turn out to be as well formed as possible.

The inhabitants of Spain, on the other hand, were dispersed throughout the (various) regions when the rule of the Arabs in Spain and that of the Berbers who succeeded (the Arabs), were annihilated and the Christian nations gained the upper hand. From (the time of) the Lamtunah (Almoravid) dynasty down to this time, they have spread all over the coast of the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah. They permitted the people settled (there) to share in the crafts they possessed, and they attached themselves to the ruling dynasty (in North-west Africa). In this way, their script replaced the Ifriqi script and wiped it out. The scripts of al-Qayrawan and al-Mahdiyyah were forgotten, once the customs and crafts of (the two cities) were forgotten. All the various scripts of the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah were assimilated to the Spanish script used in Tunis and adjacent regions, because there were so many Spaniards there after the exodus from eastern Spain.¹⁸⁷ The (old script) has been preserved in the Jarid, where people had no contact with those who wrote the Spanish script and were not in close touch with them, because (the Spaniards who came to North west Africa) used to proceed¹⁸⁸ to the capital city of Tunis. The script of the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah thus became a representative¹⁸⁹ of the Spanish type of writing. Eventually, the shadow of the Almohad dynasty receded somewhat, and sedentary culture and luxury retrogressed with the retrogression of civilization. At that time, writing also suffered a setback, and its forms deteriorated. The method of teaching writing was no longer known, in consequence of the (general) corruption of sedentary culture and

¹⁸⁶ Cf. p. 378 (n. 160), above.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 1:xxxv f., above.

¹⁸⁸ *Yafiduna*, as clearly written in B and C.

¹⁸⁹ Bulaq: "the best representative."

the decrease in civilization. Traces of the Spanish script remain there. They attest to the (perfection in it) which the people had formerly possessed. The existence of such traces is explained by the fact that, as we have mentioned before,¹⁹⁰ it is difficult to wipe out the crafts once they are firmly established in a sedentary culture.

In the later Merinid dynasty in Morocco, a kind of Spanish script established itself, because (the Spaniards) were close neighbors and the (Spaniards) who left (Spain) soon settled in Fez, and the Merinids employed them during all the days of their rule. (But) in regions far from the seat and capital of the realm, writing was not cared for, and it was forgotten as if it had never been known. The (various) types of script used in Ifriqiyah and the two Maghribs inclined to be ugly and far from excellent. When books were copied, it was useless to look at them critically. (Study of them) merely caused pain and trouble, because the texts were very corrupt and full of clerical errors, and the letters were no longer well formed. Thus, they could be read only with some difficulty. In this way, writing was affected like all the other crafts by the decrease of sedentary culture and the corruption of the (ruling) dynasties.

"God decides and no one can change His decision."¹⁹¹

Professor¹⁹² Abu l-Hasan 'Ali b. Hilal al-Katib al-Baghdadi, who is known as Ibn al-Bawwab,¹⁹³ wrote a poem in the *basimeter*¹⁹⁴ with the rhyme on *r*; in which he mentions the craft of writing and the matters with which it has to do. The poem belongs among the best things ever written on (the subject). I considered it proper to insert it in this chapter, so that those who want to learn the craft of (writing) may profit from it. It begins:

¹⁹⁰Cf. pp. 349 ff., above.

¹⁹¹Qur'an 13.41 (41).

¹⁹²The remainder of the section is a later addition, found in C on an inserted sheet and incorporated in the text of D.

¹⁹³He died in 418 [1022]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 434.

¹⁹⁴However, the meter is *hamil*.

O you who want to write a calligraphic hand
And desire to write and draw (the letters) well:
If you are truly desirous of mastering the art of writing,
Pray that your Master make it easy (for you)!

Prepare a calamus that is straight
And strong, capable of fashioning elegant writing with craft.
If you propose to nib the calamus, aim
At applying to it the greatest symmetry.
Look at both ends of it, and then nib it
At the end where it is thin and narrow.
Give the part of the calamus that is nibbed a moderate size,
Neither too long nor too short,
And make the split precisely in the middle of the calamus so that the
space nibbed
On both sides of it will be exactly equal.

Eventually, when you have done all this as carefully
As the careful craftsman who knows what is wanted,
Then, turn all your attention toward cutting the point,
For cutting the point is the crux of the procedure.
Do not beg me to reveal its secret.
I am chary of its secret, a thing concealed.
But the sum total of what I want to say is that
The (point) should be something between oblique and round.
Stir the (ink in the) inkstand with soot that is treated
With vinegar or verjuice.
Add to it red pigment that has been diluted
With orpiment and camphor.
Eventually, when (the ink) has fermented,
Go to the clean, pleasant, tested paper.

After cutting it, press it with a press, so as
To remove all trace of crumpling and soiling.¹⁹⁵

Then, make patient imitation your habit.

Only a patient person achieves what he desires.

Begin by writing on a wooden slate, wearing it out¹⁹⁶

With a resolution kept free from haste.

Do not be ashamed of your bad writing

When you begin to imitate (the letters) and draw lines.

The matter is difficult (at the beginning), and then becomes easy.

Many a thing that is difficult (at the beginning) turns out later on to
be easy.

Eventually, when you have achieved what you have hoped for,

You will be filled with¹⁹⁷ joy and gladness.

Then, thank your God and do His pleasure!

God loves all those who are grateful.

Furthermore, pray that the fingers of your hand will write

Only what is good for you to leave behind in the house of deception.¹⁹⁸

Everything a man does, he will be confronted with on the morrow,

When he is confronted with the written decree (on the Day of Resur-
rection).

It should be known that writing shows the things that are spoken, just
as the things that are spoken show the ideas that are in the soul and the mind.
Both writing and speech must express clearly (what they want to express).
God said: "He created man, taught him clarity."¹⁹⁹ This includes clarity in
all the things one expresses.

¹⁹⁵C and D: *wa-t-taghbir* "being soiled with dust."

¹⁹⁶Hardly: "unsheathing for it a resolution ..."

¹⁹⁷Lit., "you will become the possessor (*rabb*) of."

¹⁹⁸That is, this world.

¹⁹⁹Qur'an 55.9-4 (2-5).

The perfection of good handwriting consists in the fact that it is clear. (This is achieved) by indicating clearly the conventional²⁰⁰ letters of (the script), arranging and drawing them well. Each letter by itself is distinct from the others, except where connection between the letters within a word is an accepted technicality. This does not apply to letters that have been accepted as letters that should remain unconnected, such as ' when it precedes (another letter) in the word, nor *to r, z, d, dh*, and others. It is different when (these letters) follow (another letter in a word). It is this way with all (letters).

Later scribes then agreed to connect words with each other and omit letters²⁰¹ that were known to them but not to others who did not know the code, which, thus, remained unclear to others. These (scribes) are the officials who write government documents and keep court records. It seems that they use such a special code, from which others are excluded, because they have to write a great deal, and they are famous for their writing, and many people connected with them²⁰² know their code. When they write to others who do not know their code, they cannot use it and have to try to write as clearly as possible. Otherwise, their writing would be like non-Arabic writing. It would be in the same category with it in as much as both (types of writing, the code and non Arabic writing) are not (generally) agreed upon (by conventional usage). There is no (real) excuse for (writing in code), except in the case of officials of the government's tax and army (bureaus). They are required to conceal (their affairs) from the people, since (these affairs) are government secrets that have to be kept secret. Therefore, they use a very special code among themselves, which is like a puzzle. It makes use of the names of perfumes, fruits, birds, or flowers to indicate the letters, or it makes use of forms different from the accepted forms of the letters. Such a code is agreed upon by the correspondents between themselves, in order to

²⁰⁰Instead of *mutawadi'* one would expect *mutawada 'alay(ha)*, in the meaning required.

²⁰¹I.e., abbreviations, both of individual words and groups of words.

²⁰²*Dhawihim*, as in C and D.

be able to convey their thoughts in writing. Occasionally, skillful secretaries, though not the first to invent a certain code (and with no previous knowledge of it), nonetheless find rules (for deciphering it) through combinations which they evolve for the purpose with the help of their intelligence,²⁰³ and which they call "solving the puzzle (decoding)." Well-known writings on the subject are in the possession of the people.

God is knowing and wise.

V.30. The craft of book production.

[p.2:391]

Formerly, (people) were concerned with scholarly writings and (official) records. These were copied, bound, and corrected with the help of a transmission technique²⁰⁴ and with accuracy. The reason for this was the importance of the (ruling) dynasty and the existence of the things that depend on sedentary culture. All that has disappeared at the present time as the result of the disappearance of the dynasties and the decrease of civilization. In Islam it had formerly reached tremendous proportions in the 'Iraq and in Spain. All of it depends on civilization, on the extent of the (ruling) dynasties, and on the demand existing in (the dynasties)²⁰⁵ for it. Thus, scholarly works and writings were (formerly) numerous. People were desirous of transmitting them everywhere and at any time. They were copied and bound. The craft of book producers, thus, made its appearance. (They are the craftsmen) concerned with copying, correcting, and binding books, and with all the other matters pertaining to books and writings. The craft of book production was restricted to cities of a large civilization.

Originally, copies of scholarly works, government correspondence, letters of enfeoffment, and diplomas²⁰⁶ were written on parchment especial-

²⁰³ Lit., their means of perception.

²⁰⁴ As described on the following pages.

²⁰⁵ The earlier text had *ladayhimd* "in (civilization and the dynasties)."

²⁰⁶ *Sakk.* Cf. p. 4 (n. 499), above.

ly prepared from animal skins by craftsmen, because there was great prosperity at the beginning of Islam and the works that were written were few, as we shall mention.²⁰⁷ In addition, government documents and diplomas were few in number. Therefore, (the early Muslims) restricted themselves to writing on parchment. This was an expression of respect for what was to be written down, and of desire that it should be correct and accurate. The production of books and writings then developed greatly. Government documents and diplomas increased in number. There was not enough parchment for all that. Therefore, al-Fadl b. Yahya²⁰⁸ suggested the manufacture of paper. Thus, paper was used for government documents and diplomas. Afterwards, people used paper in sheets for government and scholarly writings, and the manufacture of (paper) reached a considerable degree of excellence.

The concern of scholars and the interest of government people then concentrated on accuracy in scholarly writings and the establishment of their correctness with the help of a chain of transmitters leading back to their writers and authors, because that is the most important element in establishing a correct and accurate (text). Statements are thus led back to those who made them, and decisions (in legal questions, fatwa) are led back to the persons who decided in accordance with them and were able to pronounce them by means of independent judgment. Wherever the correctness of a text is not established by a chain of transmitters going back to the person who wrote that particular text, the statement or decision in question cannot properly be ascribed to its (alleged author). This has been the procedure of scholars and experts in (all matters of religious knowledge) in all times, races, and regions, so much so that the usefulness of the craft connected with the

²⁰⁷This seems to be a general reference to the historical surveys of the individual sciences that follow. Cf. also 3:115, below.

²⁰⁸ Paper came into use more widely at the time of the Barmecides, in the early ninth century. However, ascribing the official introduction of paper into government offices to the Barmecides may be part of the legend woven around them. Cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 440, and, more recently, N. Abbott in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII (1949), 147.

transmission of traditions came to be restricted to this aspect (of the process of transmission). The main fruit of (the craft concerned with the transmission of traditions) is the knowledge of which traditions are "sound," which are "good," which "go back in an uninterrupted chain of transmitters to the Prophet" (*musnad*), which have a chain of transmitters that "skips the first transmitter on the authority of Muhammad" (*mursal*), which have a chain that "stops with one of the men of the second generation" (*magtu*), and which have a chain that "stops with one of the men around Muhammad" (*mawquf*), in order to be able to distinguish (such traditions) from spurious ones²⁰⁹ This is no longer (a subject of investigation). The cream of it has been churned in the principal collections (of traditions) that have found general acceptance by all Muslims. It would, thus, be a superfluous activity to attempt (to investigate the matter anew). Therefore, the only remaining result to be gained from the process of transmission and occupation with it is that it can serve to establish a correct text of the principal collections of traditions and other books on jurisprudence used for legal decisions,²¹⁰ as well as for other writings and scholarly works. (It also serves) to establish uninterrupted connection with their respective authors, so that transmission on their authority or ascription to them is sound. Both in the East and in Spain, this method has been the tried and true path. We find that the copies made in (former) times in those regions are the most exact, well done, and correct. People everywhere at this time possess old copies attesting to the perfection previously reached in this respect. The inhabitants of the various regions have handed them down (and preserved) them to the present, and they do not like to part with them.

At the present time, this method has altogether disappeared in the Maghrib and among Maghribis, because the craft of writing, accuracy, and the transmission technique were cut off there as the result of the destruc-

²⁰⁹Cf. also pp. 449 f., below.

²¹⁰Cf. Bonhaci, p. 455.

tion of the civilization of (the Maghrib) and its basic²¹¹ desert attitude. The principal collections and writings were copied in Bedouin script. They were copied by Berber students in such a bad handwriting and with so much corruption and so many clerical errors that they cannot be understood. They remain incomprehensible to those who examine them critically. Only very rarely are they of any use.

Furthermore, this (situation) has caused disintegration in the field of legal decisions (*fatwa*). Most statements ascribed to the school authorities are not (orally) transmitted but are taken from the writings as they are found there. This has also affected the attempts of some religious leaders to write books. They know little of the technical side of (authorship) and lack the crafts necessary for realizing the purposes of (authorship). Some slight remnant of this institution has remained in Spain. It is about to disappear. (Religious) scholarship has almost completely stopped in the Maghrib.

"God has the power to execute His commands."²¹²

We now hear that the craft of transmission (technique) still exists in the East. The sciences and crafts are in demand there, as we shall mention later on,²¹³ and, therefore, those who want to, find it easy to establish the correct text of writings. However, the script for good copying surviving there is that of the non-Arabs, and found in their manuscripts.

The copying (of books) has deteriorated in Egypt as it has in the Maghrib, and even more so. "God has the power to execute His commands."

²¹¹ *Aslihi* seems to be the reading of B and D; C is indistinct. Bulaq, A, and Paris read *ahlihi* "and the desert attitude of its inhabitants."

²¹² Qur'an 12.21 (21).

²¹³ Cf. p. 431, below.

V.31. The craft of singing (and music).

[p.2:395]

This craft is concerned with the setting of poems to music.²¹⁴ (This is done) by scanning the sounds according to well-known fixed proportions, which causes any sound (complex) thus scanned to constitute a tune, a rhythmic mode. These modes are then combined with each other according to accepted proportions. The result is pleasant to listen to because of its harmony and the quality (that harmony) gives to the sounds. This is as follows: As explained in the science of music, sounds are in certain proportions (intervals) to each other. A sound may be one-half, one-quarter, one-fifth, or one-eleventh of another sound. The difference in interval between the sounds that reach the ear transforms them from simple (sounds) to combinations of (sounds). Not every combination is pleasant to listen to. There are special combinations (that are pleasant). They have been enumerated and discussed by musicologists, as is mentioned in the proper place.

The music produced by the rhythmic modes of singing may be supplemented by scanning other sounds that come from solids and are produced by either beating or blowing into instruments used for the purpose. Such (instrumental music) adds to the pleasure of listening. Various kinds of instruments are used in the contemporary Maghrib. There is the wood-wind instrument called *shabbabah*.²¹⁵ It is a hollow reed with a number of holes on the sides. One blows into it, and it gives a sound. The sound escapes from the hollow of (the reed) straight²¹⁶ through these holes. It is scanned

²¹⁴Cf. 3:341, below.

²¹⁵Of the instruments mentioned by Ibn Khaldun, the *shabbabah* is the only one to occur in a list of musical instruments that appears in a Western work on music written, it seems, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cf. H. G. Farmer in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1935), pp. 339-53. Cf. also GAL, *Suppl.*, III, 1279, and J. Robson in *Islamic Culture*, XXVI (1952), 113-31. For illustrations of some of the musical instruments mentioned here, cf. also Farmer, *The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights"* (Bearsden [Scot.], 1945).

²¹⁶*Ala sadadihi* "straight" is apparently intended to indicate that there is no special mouthpiece, as in the case of the trumpet. Or should we read 'aid *sadadatin* "through the obstruction of"?

by placing the fingers of both hands upon these holes in conventionally accepted ways. This creates the proper intervals between the sounds and also combines them harmoniously. As a result, they are pleasant to listen to when one hears them, because of the harmony we have mentioned.

Another similar kind of instrument is the wood-wind instrument called *zulami*.²¹⁷ It has the form of a reed, with two wooden parts carved (hollow), hollow but not round, because it is made of two pieces put together. It also has a number of holes. One blows into it through a small connected reed which directs the wind to (the holes). This produces a highpitched tone. The fingers are placed upon (the holes) and the sounds are thus scanned in the same way as on the *shabbabah*.

One of the best wind instruments at this time is the bug²¹⁸ This is a trumpet of copper (brass) which is hollow, one cubit long, widening toward the opening, the diameter of which is less than²¹⁹ the palm of a hand in width. It has the form of a nibbed calamus. One blows into it through a small reed which conveys the wind from the mouth into it. The sound comes out compact and loud. It also has a number of holes, and (makes) a harmonious tune of pleasant effect, which is produced in the same way (as in the aforementioned instruments), by placing the fingers (on the holes).

Then, there are the string instruments. They are all hollow. They may have either the shape of a section of a sphere, as, for instance, the barbiton and the rebec, or a square shape, such as the *ganun*.²²⁰ The strings are placed upon the surface of (the instrument). They are tied at the head to pegs that can be turned, so that it is possible to (tighten or) loosen (the strings) as required, by turning them. The strings are either plucked with another piece

²¹⁷Cf. H. G. Farmer in *El*, s.v. "Mizmar. Farmer writes *zullami*, possibly on the basis of the vocalization given in one or another manuscript.

²¹⁸Cf. H. G. Farmer in *El, Supplement*, s.v. "Buk."

²¹⁹The MSS are not very distinct in their readings, but they seem to have *duna*. *Dawr* would be difficult; possibly "turn" or "circle of a hand"?

²²⁰For the three instruments, cf. H. G. Farmer in *El*, s.v. '*Ud*,' "*Rabab*," and "*Mi'zaf*."

of wood or (played) with a string fastened between the two ends of a bow that passes over (the strings of the instrument) after it had been waxed with wax or mastic (*kundur*). Sounds are scanned through lightening (the pressure of) the hand that guides (the bow) over the strings, or through transferring (the bow) from one string to another. Moreover, in all string instruments, the fingers of the left hand can be used to beat or pluck the ends of the strings. Thus, there originate harmonious, pleasant sounds. Moreover, brass kettles may be beaten with sticks, or pieces of wood may be beaten against each other in a harmonious rhythm. This creates a feeling of pleasure as the result of the music one hears.

Let us explain the reason for the pleasure resulting from music. This is as follows: As has been established in the proper place, pleasure is the attainment of something that is agreeable. (Such a thing,) in sensual perception, can only be a quality. If (such a quality) is proportionate and agreeable to the person who has the perception, it is pleasant. If it is repugnant to him or discordant, it is painful. Agreeable foods are those whose quality corresponds to the temper of the sense of taste. The same applies to agreeable sensations of touch. Agreeable smells are those that correspond to the temper of the vaporous cordial spirit, because that spirit is what perceives and receives them through the (medium of the) sense (of smell). Thus, aromatic plants and flowers smell better and are more agreeable to the spirit, because heat, which is the temper of the cordial spirit, is preponderant in them. Agreeable sensations of vision and hearing are caused by harmonious arrangement in the forms and qualities of (the things seen or heard). This impresses the soul as harmonious and is more agreeable to it.

If an object of vision is harmonious in the forms and lines given to it in accordance with the matter from which it is made, so that the requirements of its particular matter as to perfect harmony and arrangement are not disregarded that being the meaning of beauty and loveliness whenever these terms are used for any object of sensual perception that (object of vision)

is then in harmony with the soul that perceives (it), and the soul, thus, feels pleasure as the result of perceiving something that is agreeable to it. Therefore, lovers who are most deeply in love express their extreme infatuation by saying that their spirit is commingled with that of the beloved.²²¹ In another sense, the meaning of it is that existence is shared by all existent things, as the philosophers say. Therefore, (existent things) love to commingle with something in which they observe perfection, in order to become one with it.

The object that is most suited to man and in which he is most likely to perceive perfect harmony, is the human form. Therefore, it is most congenial to him to perceive beauty and loveliness in the lines and sounds of the human form. Thus, every man desires beauty in the objects of vision and hearing, as a requirement of his nature. Beauty in the objects of hearing is harmony and lack of discordance in the sounds.

This is as follows: Sounds have certain qualities. They may be whispered or loud, soft or strong, vibrant or constrained, and so on. Harmony between them is what gives them beauty. Firstly, the transition from one sound to a contrary or identical sound as well as the return to the first sound, is not made suddenly but gradually. There must be something to bridge the gap between the two sounds. This may be compared with the fact that linguists consider clusters of sounds of discordant or similar articulation ugly. This

²²¹ Bulaq adds here: "This has a secret (meaning) which those attuned to it will understand. It indicates original oneness. If you look at anything outside of yourself and contemplate it, you notice that between yourself and that (other thing), there exists a oneness in origin that attests to the oneness of (yourself and that other thing) in coming into existence."

At the end of the paragraph, Bulaq adds: "Indeed, in this situation the soul desires to quit (the realm of) the imagination for reality, which is oneness of origin and coming into existence."

These additions advocate a monism that apparently later seemed objectionable to Ibn Khaldun. The thought left in the text is obviously much more moderate. The outstanding representative of this kind of monistic mysticism was Ibn 'Arabi, whose teachings were both widely adopted and bitterly opposed in Ibn Khaldun's day. One of the latter's pupils, Shams-ad-din al-Bisati, d. 842 [1439], was a fervent admirer of Ibn 'Arabi, as we know from as-Suyuti's *Tanbi'at al-ghabi bi-tabri'at Ibn al-'Arabi*. Ibn Khaldun himself refers to Ibn 'Arabi and his school in his chapter on Sufism.

belongs to the same category. Secondly, the sounds must have harmonious intervals, as was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The transition from a sound to a sound one-half, one-third, or some other fraction of it, must take place in a harmonious manner according to the rules established by musicologists. When the sounds are harmonious with regard to their qualities, as has been mentioned by musicologists, they are agreeable and pleasant.

Such harmony may be a simple one. Many people are gifted to achieve it by nature. They do not need any (special) instruction or (craft) for it, for we find people who are gifted by nature for the meters of poetry, the rhythms of the dance, and similar things. The common people call such an aptitude "musicalness" (*midmar*).²²² Many Qur'an readers belong in this category. In reciting the Qur'an, they know well how to modulate their voices, as if they were flutes. They thus cause emotion through the beauty of their performance²²³ and the harmony of their modes.

Harmony may also result from composition. Not all human beings are alike in their knowledge of it, nor are they all equally able by nature to practice it, if they know it. This is the melodious music with which the science of music has to deal, as we shall explain later on among the sciences.²²⁴

Malik disapproved of the use of melodies in reciting the Qur'an,²²⁵ and ash-Shafi'i permitted it. Here it is not a question of artistic musical melodies. There can be no difference of opinion as to the fact that they are forbidden. The art of singing is something entirely unconnected with the Qur'an. It is true, in the recitation and pronunciation (of the Qur'an), each letter (sound) requires a certain quantity of sound for its particular pronunciation, in as much as, for instance, the lengthening of vowels in the proper places is con-

²²² Lit., "racecourse." For the history of the word, cf. J. Robson and H. G. Farmer, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments as Described by al-Mufaddal ibn Salama (9th Century)* (Glasgow, 1938), p. 5.

²²³ Lit., "drive."

²²⁴ Music is not treated among the sciences, although it is enumerated among them. Cf. 3:112, below.

²²⁵ Cf. Ibn Abi Zayd, *Risalah*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, pp. 300 f.

cerned,²²⁶ the longer or shorter pronunciation of long vowels,²²⁷ and similar things. Melodious music also requires a certain quantity of sound to materialize, because, as we have stated, its real meaning is harmony. However, considering the one (thing) ruins the other,²²⁸ since they are the opposite of each other. The recitation of the Qur'an must be given preference, in order to avoid any change in traditional transmission in connection with the Qur'an. Thus, melodious music can, by no means, be combined with the pronunciation under consideration in connection with the Qur'an. As regards the difference of opinion (among authorities as to the permissibility of melodious music for the recitation of the Qur'an), the thing (the authorities) have in mind is the plain music to which nature guides the person who is musical (*midmar*), as we have stated. Such a person arranges his sounds in certain harmonious cadences, which those who know about singing, as well as others, perceive (as music).²²⁹ This is the point about which the difference of opinion (revolves).

The obvious (fact) is that the Qur'an is (to be) kept free of it, (exactly) as the imam (Malik) thought. The Qur'an is something that causes awe, as it reminds (man) of death and what comes after it. It is not an occasion to give pleasure in the perception of beautiful sounds. It was (in this spirit) that the men around Muhammad recited the Qur'an, as is stated in their biographies.

The statement by Muhammad, "A flute of those belonging to the family of David was brought to him,"²³⁰ does not refer to cadences and melodious

²²⁶ The lengthening (*ishba'*) of short vowels (or, perhaps, the full-length pronunciation of long vowels, discussed in connection with the reading of the Qur'an). Cf. the following note.

²²⁷ For *madd*, cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, I, 98 ff.

²²⁸ That is, what is good for one party is detrimental to the other. The phrase sounds very much like a legal maxim. The Turkish translator paraphrases "the rules of music . . . the rules of Qur'an recitation."

²²⁹ Bulaq adds: "It is in no way necessary. as Malik says." The sentence is also found in C, but is crossed out.

²³⁰ Cf. *Concordance*, II, 343a; al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 407. The famous tradition is quoted in connection with the biography of Abu MQsa al-Ash'arl. Cf. adh-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al-Islam*, II, 256 f.; Ibn

music, but it refers to a beautiful voice, a clear pronunciation in reciting the Qur'an, and a clear distinction in the articulation and enunciation of the letters (sounds).

Since we have mentioned the meaning of singing, it should be known that singing originates in a civilization when it becomes abundant and (people) progress from the necessities to the conveniences, and then to the luxuries, and have a great diversity of (luxuries). Then, the craft of singing originates, because it is required only by those who are free from all the necessary and urgent needs of making a living and care for domestic and other needs. It is in demand only by those who are free from all other worries and seek various ways of having pleasure. In the non-Arab states before Islam, music was highly developed in cities and towns. The (non-Arab) rulers cultivated it eagerly. It went so far that the Persian rulers felt a great concern for musicians. Musicians had a place in their dynasty and attended their sessions and gatherings and sang for them. The same is (still) the case with the non-Arabs at this time in all their regions and provinces.

The Arabs originally had (only) poetry.²³¹ They composed a kind of speech consisting of equal parts of harmonious proportions, as far as the number of consonants with and without vowels was concerned. Within these parts, they divided speech in such a way that each part made sense by itself and did not have to lean upon the other. Such (part of speech) they called verse. It is agreeable to nature first by its division into parts, then by the

Hajar, *Tahdhib*, V, 363. In the *Autobiography*, p. 45, Ibn Khaldun says that his teacher az-Zawawi possessed a voice belonging among the flutes of David's family.

According to the interpretation of the lexicographers (cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, V, 416), we should understand *mizmar* as the musical instrument (flute), not as corresponding to *maxmrir* "psalm," and that "family" should be considered superfluous or as having here the otherwise unknown meaning of "person." As pointed out by H. G. Farmer in *El*, s.v. "Mizmar," it is clear that the statement harks back to the Biblical "a psalm of David," and means: "He psalmodizes like one of David's people." (Not like David himself, for that would be impossible for anyone not a prophet.) However, Ibn Khaldun understood the statement as translated above.

²³¹Cf. 3:373 ff., below.

harmonious arrangements of its parts at the ends and beginnings,²³² and then by the fact that it conveys the intended meaning and uses expressions conforming to (that meaning).

(The Arabs) appreciated (poetry) very highly. It was distinguished in their speech through a certain nobility, because it alone possessed harmony. They made poetry the archive of their history,²³³ their wisdom, and their nobility, and the touchstone of their natural gift for expressing themselves correctly, choosing the best methods (*uslub*, of expression). They have continued to do so.

The harmony resulting from (a division of speech into) parts, and (into an equal number of) consonants with and without vowels, is just one small drop in the ocean of sound harmony, as is well known from the literature²³⁴ on music. However, (the Arabs) did not know anything except (poetry), because at that time, they practiced no science and knew no craft. The desert attitude was their dominant trait.

Now, camel drivers sang when they drove their camels, and young men sang when they were alone (with each other at times of leisure and recreation).²³⁵ They repeated sounds and hummed them. When such humming was applied to poetry, it was called singing. When it was applied to the praise of God or some kind of recitation (of the Qur'an), it was called *taghbir*. Abu

²³² *Al-maqati' wa-l-mabadi'*. Instead of *mabadi'*, one would expect *almatali'* here, since this is the term literary critics link with *maqati'*. As a technical term, *mabadi'* usually (though not, of course, exclusively) refers to the opening of a poem, considered as a unit, but this would not apply here. The precise meaning of *maqati'* and *matali'* is a matter of dispute among literary critics. The two words are said to refer, respectively, either to the end and the beginning of a verse, or to the end of the first hemistich and the beginning of the second hemistich. Cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah* (Cairo, 1353/ 1934), I, 188 ff.; and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in his translation of the introduction to Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r* (Paris, 1947), p. 47 (n. 26).

²³³ Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, I, 17, ascribes this famous definition of poetry to Ibn 'Abbas. Cf. also 3:304, 341, 367, 374, and 410, below.

²³⁴ Although Ibn Khaldun uses the singular "book," probably no specific work on music is meant here.

²³⁵ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal Asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 163 f.

Ishaq az-Zajjaj²³⁶ explained this word as (derived from *al-ghdbir*, that is, melodies) reminding one of *al ghabir* "that which remains," that is, the affairs of the other world.

When (the Arabs) sang, they often effected a simple harmony between the modes, as was mentioned by Ibn Rashiq at the end of the *Kitab al-'Umdah*,²³⁷ and by others. This was called *sinad*. Most (Arab music) was in the light rhythm (*khafif*) that is used for dancing and marching, accompanied by drums and flutes. It causes emotion and makes the serious minded feel light.²³⁸ The Arabs called that *hazaj*. All these simple types of melodious music are primary ones. It is not unlikely to assume that they can be grasped by nature without any instruction, as is the case with all simple crafts.

The Arabs continued this way during their desert and pre-Islamic period. Then, Islam made its appearance. (The Arabs) took possession of (all) the realms of the world. They deprived the non-Arabs of their rule and took it over. They had their well-known desert attitude and low standard of living. In addition, they possessed the thriving²³⁹ religion (of Islam) and that (Muslim) religious severity which is directed against all activities of leisure and all the things that are of no utility in one's religion or livelihood. Therefore, (music) was avoided to some degree. In their opinion, only the cadenced

²³⁶Cf. n. 1214 to Ch. vi, below. Cf. also *Lisan al-'Arab*, VI, 307.

²³⁷ Cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, II, 296. *Sindd* is defined there as "the heavy (rhythm) that has repetitions and many trills (naghamdt) and high-pitched notes." The above definition of *hazaj* is also derived from the *'Umdah*. Ibn Khaldun does not mention the third kind mentioned in *the 'Umdah*, called *narb*. The three kinds are also mentioned together by al-Mufatldal b. Salamah; cf. J. Robson and H. G. Farmer, *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments*, p. 19. Robson and Farmer translate the definition of *sindd* as follows: "the heavy (rhythm), having a refrain, the low-pitched voice, and the glottal hiatus." Cf., further, Ibn'Abdrabbih, *Igd*(Cairo, 1305/1887), III, 186; H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music* (London, 1929), p. 50.

²³⁸Ibn Khaldun apparently means *al-halum*, and not *al-hulum* "serious minds." The edition of the *'Umdah* quoted above has *al-halim*. Al-Mufaddal reads *al-hulqum* "the throat finds it easy."

²³⁹ *Ghadarah*, as in the MSS.

recitation of the Qur'an and the humming of poetry which had always been their way and custom, were pleasurable things.

Then, luxury and prosperity came to them, because they obtained the spoils of the nations. They came to lead splendid and refined lives and to appreciate leisure. The singers (now) left the Persians and Byzantines. They descended upon the Hijaz and became clients of the Arabs. They all sang accompanied by lutes, pandores, lyres,²⁴⁰ and flutes. The Arabs heard their melodious use of sound, and they set their poems to music accordingly. In Medina, Nashit al-Farlsi,²⁴¹ Tuways, and Sa'ib Khathir, a client of `Abdallah b. Jafar (b. Abt Talib), made their appearance. They heard the poems of the Arabs and set them to music. They did it well, and they became famous. Ma'bad and his class of singers, as well as Ibn Surayj and his ilk, learned from them. Continual and gradual progress was made in the craft of singing. Eventually, in the days of the `Abbasids, (the craft of singing) reached its perfection with Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, Ibrahim al-Mawsili, (Ibrahim's) son Ishaq, and (Ishaq's) son Hammid.²⁴² (The music) and the (musical) sessions of Baghdad during the ('Abbasid) dynasty have remained a topic of conversation down to the present time.

(People at that time) constantly had games and entertainments. Dancing equipment, consisting of robes and sticks, and poems to which melodies were hummed, were used. That was transformed into a special kind (of entertainment). Other dancing equipment, called *kurraj*, was also used. (The *kurraj*) isa wooden figure (resembling) a saddled horse and is attached to robes such as women wear. (The dancers) thus give the appearance of having mounted horses. They attack and withdraw²⁴³ and compete in skill (with

²⁴⁰ Cf. H. G. Farmer in EI, s.v. "Mi'zaf"

²⁴¹ Information on all these famous musicians may be found in H. G. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, pp. 52 ff., 79 ff., 116 ff., 171.

²⁴² Cf. also GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 228.

²⁴³ Cf. pp. 74 f., above.

weapons). There were other such games intended for banquets, wedding parties, festivals, and (other) gatherings for leisure and entertainment. There was much of that sort in Baghdad and the cities of the 'Iraq. It spread from there to other regions.

The Mawsilis had a young (apprentice) servant, by name Ziryab,²⁴⁴ who had learned from them how to sing. He learned so well that they became jealous of him and sent him away to the West. He joined al-Hakam b. Hisham b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman I, the amir of Spain. He (al-Hakam) honored him greatly. He rode out to welcome him. He showered him with gifts, fiefs, and allowances. He gave him a place in his dynasty as one of his boon companions. The musical heritage Ziryab left in Spain was transmitted down to the time of the *reyes de taifas*. In Sevilla, (the craft of singing) was highly developed. After (Sevilla) had lost its affluence, (the craft of singing) was transplanted from there to the coast of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib. It spread over the cities there. A sprinkling of it is still left there, despite retrogression in the civilization of the region and the decreasing power of its dynasties.

The craft of singing is the last of the crafts attained in civilization, because it constitutes (the last development toward) luxury with regard to no occupation in particular save that of leisure and gaiety. It also is the first to disappear from a given civilization when it disintegrates and retrogresses.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."²⁴⁵

This paragraph has been translated and discussed by M. GaudefroyDemombynes, "Sur le cheval-jupon et al-Kurraj," in *Melanges offerts a William Marfais* (Paris, 1950), pp. 156 f. The word translated above as "sticks," is considered by Gaudefroy-Demombynes to mean "*instruments d'accompagnement*," as it often does.

²⁴⁴ Ali b. Nafi'. Cf. H. G. Farmer in *El, Supplement*, s.v. "Ziryab." It was Isbaq rather than his father Ibrahim al-Mawlili, with whom Ziryab is said to have had difficulties. Ziryab later was invited by al-Hakam to come to Spain, but al-Hakam died in 822, before Ziryab could join him. Al-Hakam's son and successor, 'Abd-ar-Rabmin II, received Ziryab in Spain in the manner described by Ibn Khaldun.

²⁴⁵ Qur'an 15.86(86); 86.81 (81).

V.32. The crafts, especially writing and calculation, give intelligence to the person who practices them.²⁴⁶

[p.2:406]

We²⁴⁷ have already mentioned in the book that the rational soul exists in man only potentially.²⁴⁸ Its transformation from potentially into actuality is effected first by new sciences and perception derived from the *sensibilia*, and then by the later acquisition (of knowledge) through the speculative power. Eventually, it comes to be actual perception and pure intellect. Thus, it becomes a spiritual essence, and its existence then reaches perfection.

Therefore it is necessary that each kind of learning and speculation should provide (the rational soul) with additional intelligence. Now, the crafts and the habit of (the crafts) always lead to the obtainment of scientific norms, which results from habit. Therefore, any experience provides intelligence. The habits of the crafts provide intelligence. Perfect sedentary culture provides intelligence, because it is a conglomerate of crafts characterized by concern for the (domestic) economy, contact with one's fellow men, attainment of education through mixing with (one's fellow men), and also administration of religious matters and understanding the ways and conditions governing them. All these (factors) are norms (of how to do things) which, properly arranged, constitute scientific disciplines. Thus, an increase in intelligence results from them.

In this respect, writing is the most useful craft because, in contrast to the (other) crafts, it deals with matters of theoretical, scientific interest. This is explained through (the circumstance) that writing involves a transition from the forms of the written letters to the verbal expressions in the imagination, and from the verbal expressions in the imagination to the concepts (under-

²⁴⁶This section is added in C by the hand of the corrector.

²⁴⁷Cf. Issawi, pp. 141 f.

²⁴⁸Cf. 1:214 f., above.

lying them), which are in the soul.²⁴⁹ The writer, thus, always goes from one indication²⁵⁰ to another, as long as he is wrapped up in writing, and the soul becomes used to the constant (repetition of the process). Thus, it acquires the habit of going over from the indications to the things meant by them. This is what is meant by intellectual speculation, by means of which the knowledge of (hitherto) unknown sciences is provided. As the result of being accustomed to the process of going (over from the indications to the things indicated by them) people acquire the habit of intellection, which constitutes an increase in intelligence and provides an additional insight into affairs and a shrewd understanding of them. This is why Khosraw remarked of his secretaries, when he noticed that they had that kind of insight and shrewd understanding: "Dewaneh," that is (they are) Satans (devils) and crazy. This is said to be the etymology of diwan (the ministry) of the secretaries.²⁵¹

Calculation²⁵² is connected with (writing). Calculation entails a kind of working with numbers, "combining" and separating them,²⁵³ which requires much deductive reasoning and speculation, and this is what is meant by intelligence.

"God brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers. You did not then know anything. And He gave you hearing and vision and hearts." "You are little grateful."²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹Cf. 3:281 f., 296, and 316 f., below.

²⁵⁰*Dalil* "indication" might be translated "symbol" here.

²⁵¹Cf. p. 20, above.

²⁵²That is, elementary arithmetic. Cf. 3:121 ff., below. The fact that Ibn Khaldun mentions it here among the crafts would suggest that he has in mind its accounting and bookkeeping aspects.

²⁵³As explained below in the section on calculation, "combining" refers to addition and multiplication, "separating" to subtraction and division.

²⁵⁴Cf. Qur'an 16.78 (80) and Qur'an 7.10 (9); 23.78 (80); 32.9 (8);67.23 (23). According to D, the concluding words were replaced later by "Perhaps, you might be grateful," a phrase from Qur'an 16.78 (80). C also gives this, but the last lines of the section are added by a later hand. Cf. also p. 419, below, however, where we find the same combination of different Qur'anic passages at a late stage in the text of *Muqaddimah*.

Chapter VI. THE VARIOUS KINDS OF SCIENCES. THE METHODS OF INSTRUCTION. THE CONDITIONS THAT OBTAIN IN THESE CONNECTIONS. THE CHAPTER INCLUDES A PREFATORY DISCUSSION AND APPENDICES.¹

[p.2:409]

PREFATORY DISCUSSION²

¹Ibn Khaldun's chapter on the sciences constitutes the subject of a doctoral dissertation by S. van den Bergh, *Umriss der Muhammedanischen Wissenschaften nach An Haldun* (Leiden, 1912).

²The first six sections of this chapter are a later addition not yet found in A or B, but appearing in C and D. In their place the earlier text had a much briefer section, printed in Bulaq and depending texts, as also at the end of Vol. II of the Paris edition (pp. 407 f.). The ideas briefly mentioned there reoccur in the larger text; cf., esp., pp. 417 f., below. What follows is a translation of that earlier section, a few lines of which were translated by Issawi, p. 140.

Science and instruction are natural to human civilization.

This is because all animals share with man his animality, as far as sensual perception, motion, food, shelter, and other such things are concerned. Man is distinguished from them by his ability to think. It enables him to obtain his livelihood, to co-operate to this end with his fellow men, to establish the social organization that makes such co-operation possible, and to accept the divine revelations of the prophets, to act in accordance with them, and to prepare for his salvation in the other world. He thinks about all these things constantly, and does not stop thinking for even so long as it takes the eye to blink. In fact, the action of thinking is faster than the eye can see.

Man's ability to think produces the sciences and the afore-mentioned crafts. In connection with the ability to obtain the requirements of nature, which is engrained in man as well as, indeed, in animals, his ability to think desires to obtain perceptions that it does not yet possess. Man, therefore, has recourse to those who preceded him in a science, or had more knowledge or perception than he, or learned a particular science from earlier prophets who transmitted information about it to those whom they met. He takes over such things from them, and is eager to learn and know them.

His ability to think and to speculate, then, directs itself to one of the realities. He speculates about every one of the accidents that attach themselves to the essence of (that reality). He persists in doing

On man's ability to think, which distinguishes human beings from animals and which enables them to obtain their livelihood, to co-operate to this end with their fellow men, and to study the Master whom they worship, and the revelations that the Messengers transmitted from Him. God thus caused³ all animals to obey man and to be in the grasp⁴ of his power. Through his ability to think, God gave man superiority over many of His creatures.

VI.1. Man's ability to think.

[p.2:411]

I T⁵ SHOULD BE KNOWN that God distinguished man from all the other animals by an ability to think which He made the beginning of human perfection and the end of man's noble superiority over existing things.

This comes about as follows: Perception - that is, consciousness, on the part of the person who perceives, in his essence of things that are outside his essence - is something peculiar to living beings to the exclusion of all other being⁶ and existent things. Living beings may obtain consciousness of things that are outside their essence through the external senses God has given them, that is, the senses of hearing, vision, smell, taste, and touch. Man has this advantage over the other beings that he may perceive things outside his es sence through his ability to think, which is something beyond his senses. It is the result of (special) powers placed in the cavities of his brain.⁷ With the help of these powers, man takes the pictures of the *sensibilia*, applies

so until it becomes a habit of his, always to combine all its accidents with a given reality. So, his knowledge of the accidents occurring in connection with a particular reality becomes a specialized knowledge. Members of the next generation desire to obtain that knowledge. Therefore, they repair to the people who know about it. This is the origin of instruction. It has thus become clear that science and instruction are natural to human beings.

And God knows better.

³ *Fa-asara*: D

⁴ *Leg. malakati*.

⁵ Cf. Issawi, p. 167.

⁶ *Al-mumkinat*"possible": D.

⁷ Cf. 1:197, 210, above, and 9:105, 295, below.

his mind to them, and thus abstracts from them 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. This is what is meant by the word *afidah* "hearts" in the Qur'an; "He gave you hearing and vision and hearts."⁸ *Afidah* "hearts" is the plural of *fu'dd*. It means here the ability to think.

The ability to think has several degrees. The first degree is man's intellectual understanding of the things that exist in the outside world in a natural or arbitrary order, so that he may try to arrange them with the help of his own power. This kind of thinking mostly consists of perceptions. It is the discerning intellect,^{8a} with the help of which man obtains the things that are useful for him and his livelihood, and repels the things that are harmful to him.

The second degree is the ability to think which provides man with the ideas and the behavior needed in dealing with his fellow men and in leading them. It mostly conveys apperceptions, which are obtained one by one through experience, until they have become really useful. This is called the experimental intellect.

The third degree is the ability to think which provides the knowledge, or hypothetical knowledge, of an object beyond sense perception without any practical activity (going with it). This is the speculative intellect. It consists of both perceptions and apperceptions. They are arranged according to a special order, following special conditions, and thus provide some other knowledge of the same kind, that is, either perceptive or apperceptive. Then, they are again combined with something else, and again provide some other knowledge. The end of the process is to be provided with the perception of existence as it is, with its various genera, differences, reasons, and causes. By thinking about these things, (man) achieves perfection in his reality and

⁸ Qur'an 16.78 (80).

^{8a} Cf. E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Ibn Kaldun's Attitude to the Falasifa" in *atAndalus*, XX (1955), p. 81.

becomes pure intellect and perceptive soul. This is the meaning of human reality.

VI.2. The world of the things that come into being as the result of action, materializes through thinking.

[p.2:413]

It should be known that the world of existent things comprises pure essences, such as the elements, the things resulting from their influence, and the three things that come into being from the elements, namely, minerals, plants, and animals. All these things are connected with the divine power.

It also comprises actions proceeding from living beings, that happen through their intentions, and are connected with the power that God has given them. Some of their actions are well arranged and orderly. Such are human actions. Others are not well arranged and orderly. They are the actions of living beings other than man.

This is because⁹ thinking perceives the order that exists among the things that come into being either by nature or through arbitrary arrangement. When it intends to create something, it must understand the reason or cause of that thing, or the conditions governing it, for the sake of the order that exists among the things that come into being. (Reason, cause, or conditions) are, in general, the principles of that particular thing, since it is secondary to them, and it is not possible to arrange for something that comes earlier to come later, or for something that comes later to come earlier. Such a principle must have another principle to which its own existence is posterior. This (regression) may go on in an ascending order (from principle to principle), or it may come to an end. Now, when man, in his thinking, has reached the last principle on two, three, or more levels, and starts the action that will bring the (planned) thing into existence, he will start with the last

⁹ C and D: *wa-dhalika* anna.

principle that has been reached by his thinking. Thus, (that last principle) will be the beginning of action. He, then, will follow things up to the last element in the causal chain that had been the starting point of his thinking activity.

For instance, 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, and he will then start to work on the foundation, then (go on to) the wall, and then (to) the roof, with which his action will end. This is what is meant by the saying: "The beginning of action is the end of thinking, and the beginning of thinking is the end of action."¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. 3:275, below. With its component parts inverted, the statement appears in at-Tabari, *Firdaws al-hikmah*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, p. 6; Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-katib*, ed. M. Grunert (Leiden, 1901), pp. 4 f.; as-Samaw'al al-Maghribi, *al-Bahir*; MS. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 2718, fol. 26b. The first half of the statement is found in Pseudo-Majriti, *Ghayah*, ed. H. Ritter, p. 319, and in Ibn Sina, *Ta'liqat 'aid hawashi Kitab an-Nafs li-Aristu*, ed. 'Abd-ar-Rahman Badawi, in *Aristu 'inda l-'Arab* (Cairo, 1947), p. 112. A related remark appears in the *Theology of Aristotle*, ed. F. Dieterici (Leipzig, 1882), p. 11. Further references in M. Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1925), I, 62.

Some of the authors who quote the statement ascribe it to the Sage or the Philosopher, and, in fact, it goes back to Aristotle. In the *Eudemian Ethics* 1227^b 32 f., Aristotle says: "Thus, the End is the beginning of thinking, but the conclusion of thinking is (the beginning) of action." This statement is quoted by Ioannes Philoponus in his commentary on Aristotle *Physics* 200' 22-24; see the ed. Vitelli (Berlin, 1887), p. 336: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XVI. There it is followed by a statement almost exactly corresponding to the Arabic quotation: "Theory starts where action ends, and action starts where theory ends." * Cf. *In Cat.*, pp. 115 ff. Busse.

Moreover, in *De anima* 433' 16 f., speaking about appetite, Aristotle says: "The terminal point (of the practical intellect) is the beginning of action." In his commentary on *De anima*, Ioannes Philoponus succinctly explains this as "The end of the intellect is the beginning of action" (ed. Hayduck, Berlin, 1897, p. 585: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XV). This corresponds to the form of the statement we find in Ibn Sina and Pseudo-Majriti.

The entire passage is based upon an idea that we find developed, for instance, by Simplicius in his *Commentary on the Categories*, ed. Kalbfleisch (Berlin, 1907), p. 14: *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, VIII. Simplicius states that theory and practice proceed in opposite directions, since theory proceeds from the end to the beginning, and practice from the beginning to the end. Theory realizes that man needs a house as a shelter, that a house cannot be built without walls, that walls need foundations, and that foundations require an excavation. Now, practice starts with the excavation, etc. It

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. His thinking starts with the thing that comes last in the causal chain and is done last. His action starts with the first thing in the causal chain, which thinking reaches last. Once this order is taken into consideration, human actions proceed in a well-arranged manner.

On the other hand, the actions of living beings other than man are not well arranged. They lack the thinking that acquaints the agent with the order of things governing his actions. Animals¹¹ perceive only with the senses. Their perceptions are disconnected and lack a connecting link, since only thinking can constitute such (a connecting link).

Now, the things that come into being¹² that are of consequence in the world of existent things, are those that are orderly. Those that are not orderly are secondary to them. The actions of animals, therefore, are subordinate to (orderly human actions). Consequently, their services are forcibly utilized by man. Thus, human actions control the (whole) world of things that come into being and all it contains. Everything is subservient to man and works for him. This is what is meant by the "appointing of a representative" mentioned in the Qur'an: "I am appointing a representative on earth."¹³

The ability to think is the quality of man by which human beings are distinguished from other living beings. The degree to which a human being is able to establish an orderly causal chain determines his degree of humanity. Some people are able to establish a causal nexus for two or three levels. Some are not able to go beyond that. Others may reach five or six. Their

remains to be investigated through which intermediary this material from Simplicius (and other introductions to Aristotelian philosophy that were translated into Arabic) reached Ibn Khaldun, Averroes was probably, one of them. Cf. S. M. Stem, in *Journal of Sent. Studies*, VII (1962), 234-52.

¹¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 166 f.

¹²*Al-hawadith*: D.

¹³Qur'an 2.30 (28)

humanity, consequently, is, higher. For instance, some chess players are able to perceive (in advance) three or five moves the order of which is arbitrary. Others are unable to do that, because their mind is not good enough for it. This example is not quite to the point, because (the knowledge of) chess is a habit, whereas the knowledge of causal chains is something natural. However, it is an example the student may use to gain an intellectual understanding of the basic facts mentioned here.

God created man and gave him superiority over many of His creatures .¹⁴

VI.3. The experimental intellect and how it comes into being.

[p.2:417]

One knows from philosophical works the statement that "man is political by nature."¹⁵ The philosophers cite that statement in connection with establishing the existence of prophecy and other things. The adjective "political" refers to the "town" (*polis*), which they use as another word for human social organization.

The statement means that a single human being cannot live by himself, and his existence can materialize only in association with his fellow men. (Alone) he would be unable to have a complete existence and lead a complete life. By his very nature, he needs the co-operation of others to satisfy all his needs. Such co-operation requires, firstly, consultation, and, then, association and the things that follow after it. Dealings with other people, when there is oneness of purpose <may lead to mutual affection, and when the purposes differ, they>^{15a} may lead to strife and altercation. Thus, mutual

¹⁴Cf. Qur'an 17.70 (72).

¹⁵Cf. pp. 1:lxv and 89, above.

^{15a} Following the reading *ittihad* "oneness," one must assume an omission in the text, as indicated. However, the slight correction to *ittihad* would yield an acceptable meaning, "when they follow their (different) purposes, may lead to strife

dislike and mutual affection, friendship and hostility, originate. This leads to war and peace among nations and tribes.

(Among human beings,) this does not happen haphazardly, as is the case among stray animals. God caused human beings to act in an orderly and well-arranged manner, as the result of their ability to think, as has been mentioned before.¹⁶ Therefore, God had (their actions) take place among them in an orderly manner, and He enabled them to arrange for (their activities) under political aspects and according to philosophical norms. Those (political aspects and philosophical norms) lead human beings from the things that are detrimental (to them), to those that are in their interest, and from evil to the good, First, however, they must recognize the things that are evil, and the detrimental effect of doing them, from sound experience and current customs. Thus, they are distinguished from stray animals. The result of their ability to think shows itself in the fact that their actions are orderly and not likely to be detrimental.

The concepts bringing this about are not completely divorced from sensual perception and do not require very deep study. All of them are obtained through experience and derived from it. They are particular¹⁷ concepts connected with the *sensibilia*. Their truth or falsehood soon comes out in events. From (events) the student of these concepts can learn them. Each human being can learn as much of them as he is able to. He can pick up (his knowledge) with the help of experience among the events that occur in his dealings with his fellow men. Eventually, he will have what is necessary and must be done, and must not be done, fixed in his (mind). By knowing this well,¹⁸ then, the proper habit of dealing with his fellow men will be obtained by him.

Those who follow this (procedure) during their whole life become acquainted with every single problem, (but) things that depend on experience

¹⁶Cf. pp. 414 f., above.

¹⁷Le., not universal.

¹⁸*Bi-mulabasatihi: C and D.*

require time. God made it easy for many human beings to obtain this (social knowledge) in a time shorter than the time required to obtain it through experience, if they will follow the experience of their fathers, teachers, and elders, learn from them, and accept their instruction. People can, thus, dispense with lengthy and careful (personal) study of events and need not attempt to pick out concepts from them. But people who have no knowledge or tradition in this respect, or people who are not willing to learn and to follow (others), need long and careful study in order to be educated in these things. They are unfamiliar to them, and the knowledge they obtain of them is uneven. Their manners and dealings with others will be badly planned and show defects. Their chances of making a living among their fellow men will be spoiled.

This is the meaning of the famous saying: "He who is not educated by his parents will be educated by time."¹⁹ That is, he who does not acquire the manners needed in dealing with human beings from his parents -which includes teachers and elders - and does not learn these things from them, has to fall back upon learning them with the help of nature from the events that happen in the course of time. Thus, time will teach and educate him, because he needs that education, since, by his very nature, he needs the cooperation of others.

Such is the experimental intellect. It is obtained after the discerning intellect that leads to action, as we have explained. After these two intellects, there is the (higher) degree of the speculative intellect. (Many) scholars have undertaken to explain it, and it is, therefore, not necessary to explain it in this book.

¹⁹ *Walidahu* "his parents": C and D; *al-layl wa-n-nahar* "night and day:" D. The latter form of the statement corresponds to the original verse by Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, quoted in Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd*, I, 212.

"God gave you hearing and vision and hearts." "You are little grateful."²⁰

VI.4. The sciences (knowledge) of human beings and the sciences (knowledge) of angels.

[p.2:419]

We observe in ourselves through sound intuition²¹ the existence of three worlds.

The first of them is the world of sensual perception. We become aware of it by means of the perception of the senses, which the animals share with us.

Then, we become aware of the ability to think which is a special quality of human beings. We learn from it that the human soul exists. This knowledge is necessitated by the fact that we have in us scientific perceptions which are above the perceptions of the senses. They must thus be considered as another world, above the world of the senses.

Then, we deduce (the existence of) a third world, above us, from the influences that we find it leaves in our hearts, such as volition and an inclination toward active motions. Thus, we know that there exists an agent there who directs us toward those things from a world above our world. That world is the world of spirits and angels. It contains essences that can be perceived because of the existence of influences they exercise upon us, despite the gap between us and them.

Often, we may deduce (the existence of) that high spiritual world and the essences it contains, from visions and things we had not been aware of while awake but which we find in our sleep and which are brought to our attention in it and which, if they are true (dreams), conform with actuality.

²⁰Cf. p. 407, above.

²¹Cf. n. 277 to Ch. i, above.

We thus know that they are true and come from the world of truth. "Confused dreams," on the other hand, are pictures of the imagination that are stored inside by perception and to which the ability to think is applied, after (man) has retired from sense perception.²²

We do not find any clearer proof than this for (the existence) of the spiritual world. Thus, we have a general knowledge of it, but no particulars. The metaphysicians make conjectures about details concerning the essences of the spiritual world and their order. They call these essences "intellects." However, none of it is certain, because the conditions of logical argumentation as established in logic do not apply to it. One of these conditions is that the propositions of the argument must be primary and essential, but the spiritual essences are of an unknown essentiality. Thus, logical argumentation cannot be applied to them. Our only means of perceiving something of the details of these worlds are what we may glean from matters of religious law, as explained and established by religious faith.

Of the (three) worlds, the one we can perceive best is the world of human beings, since it is existential and attested by our corporeal and spiritual perceptions. The world of the senses is shared by us with the animals, but the world of the intellect and the spirits is shared by us with the angels, whose essences are of the same kind as the essences of that world. They are essences free from corporeality 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.

The sciences (knowledge) of the (angels), thus, always agree by nature with the things to be known. They can never have any defect. The knowledge of human beings, on the other hand, is the attainment of the form of the thing to be known in their essences, after it had not been there. It is all acquired. The essence in which the forms of the things to be known are obtained,

²²Cf. 1:211, above.

namely, the soul, is a material substance²³ that gradually takes over the forms of existence with the help of the forms of the things to be known that it obtains. Eventually, it reaches perfection, and, through death, its existence fulfills itself as regards both its matter and its form.

The objects in the soul are subject to constant vacillation between negation and assertion. One of the two is sought by means of some middle (term) to connect the two extremes. When that is achieved and the object has become known, it must be explained that there exists agreement (between knowledge and the thing known). Such agreement may often be clarified by technical logical argumentation, but that is from "behind the veil," and it is not like the direct vision^{23a} that is found in connection with the sciences (knowledge) of the angels.

The "veil" may be removed, and the agreement may, thus, be effected through direct perceptive vision. It has been explained that human beings are ignorant by nature, because vacillation affects their knowledge. They learn through acquisition (of knowledge) and technique, because they obtain the objects they seek by applying their ability to think according to technical rules. The removal of the veil to which we have referred is achieved only through training in *dhikre* exercises²⁴ of which the best is prayer, which forbids sinful and evil actions-through abstinence from all distracting food of consumption - of which the most important part²⁵ is fasting - and through devoting oneself to God with all one's powers.

"God taught man what he did not know."²⁶

²³This is the reading of C (*maddah*). D has "form."

^{23a}The phrasing of the Arabic text calls to mind the famous saying, which is also cited as a *hadith*, that "information (received from others) is not like seeing (things) with one's own eyes."

²⁴ Cf. 3:81, below.

²⁵ *Leg. wa-ra'suhu*.

²⁶ Qur'an 96.5 (5).

VI.5. The sciences (knowledge) of the prophets.

[p.2:422]

We find that this kind of human being is in a divine condition that is different from (ordinary) human ambitions and conditions. In prophets, the trend toward 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. They turn toward divine matters, such as worship and the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, as their knowledge of Him requires. They give information about Him and (transmit) the revelation for the guidance of the nation (of believers) which they received in (their divine) condition. They do that according to one particular method and in a manner known to be peculiar to them. It undergoes no change in them and is like a natural disposition which God has given them.

Revelation has already been discussed by us at the beginning of the book, in the chapter dealing with people who possess supernatural perception²⁷ We explained there that the whole of existence in (all) its simple and composite worlds is arranged in a natural order of ascent and descent, so that everything constitutes an uninterrupted continuum. The essences at the end of each particular stage of the worlds are by nature prepared to be transformed into the essence adjacent to them, either above or below them. This is the case with the simple material elements; it is the case with palms and vines, (which constitute) the last stage of plants, in their relation to snails and shellfish, (which constitute) the (lowest) stage of animals. It is also the case with monkeys, creatures combining in themselves cleverness and perception, in their relation to man, the being who has the ability to think and to re-

²⁷ Cf. 1:184 ff., and, in particular, 1:194 f., above.

flect. The preparedness (for transformation) that exists on either side, at each stage of the worlds, is meant when (we speak about) their connection.^{27a}

Above the human world, there is a spiritual world. It is known to us by its influence upon us, in that it gives us the powers of perception and volition. The essences of that spiritual world are pure perception and absolute intellection. It is the world of the angels.

It follows from all this that the human soul must be prepared to exchange humanity for angelicity, in order actually to become part of the angelic species at any time, in a single instant. It will afterwards resume its humanity. But in the world of angelicity, it has meanwhile accepted (ideas) that it is charged to transmit to its fellow human beings. That is the meaning of revelation and being addressed by the angels.

All prophets possess this predisposition. It is like a natural disposition for them. In exchanging (their humanity for angelicity), they experience strain and sensations of choking, as is known in this connection.²⁸

Their (supernatural) knowledge is one of direct observation and vision. No mistake or slip attaches itself to it, and it is not affected by errors or unfounded assumptions. The agreement in it is an essential one, because the veil of the supernatural is gone, and clear and direct observation has been attained. When²⁹ (the prophets) quit that state and reassume their humanity, this clarity does not quit the knowledge they have, for it has become attached to it in the former condition. And because they possess the virtue that brings them to that condition, their (experience) constantly repeats itself, until their guidance of the nation (of believers), which was the purpose for which they were sent, is accomplished. Thus, it is said in the Qur'an: "I am merely a

^{27a} For the idea expressed in this paragraph, cf. *Rasa'il Ikhwan as-safa'*, IV, 313 ff., a passage which at one time provoked an overenthusiastic comparison with Darwinism. Cf. F. Dieterici, *Der Darwinismus im X. and XIX. Jahrhundert* (Die Philosophie der Araber, No. 9) (Leipzig, 1878), pp. 29 ff., 220 ff. Cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi* (Leiden, 1919), p. 93 f. (Ar. text).

²⁸ Cf. 1:184 f., above.

²⁹ *Wa-'inda: C.*

human being like you, to whom it has been revealed that your God is one God. Thus, be straightforward with Him and ask Him for forgiveness."³⁰

This should be understood. One should compare what we said earlier at the beginning of the book, about the different kinds of people possessing supernatural perception. It will constitute clear comment and explanation. There, we have explained the matter at sufficient length.

God gives success.

VI.6. Man is essentially ignorant, and becomes learned through acquiring (knowledge).

[p.2:423]

We have already explained at the beginning of these sections³¹ that man belongs to the genus of animals and that God distinguished him from them by the ability to think, which He gave man and through which man is able to arrange his actions in an orderly manner. This is the discerning intellect. Or, when it helps him to acquire from his fellow men a knowledge of ideas and of the things that are useful or detrimental to him, it is the experimental intellect. Or, when it helps him to obtain perception of the existent things as they are, whether they are absent or present,³² it is the speculative intellect.

Man's ability to think comes to him (only) after the animality in him has reached perfection. It starts from discernment. Before man has discernment, he has no knowledge whatever, and is counted one of the animals. His origin, the way in which he was created from a drop of sperm, a clot of blood, and a lump of flesh,³³ still determines his (mental make-up). Whatever he attains subsequently is the result of sensual perception and the "hearts" - that is, the

³⁰ Qur'an 41.6 (5). 01 Cf. p. 411, above.

³¹Cf. p. 411, above.

³²I.e., supernatural, or perceivable by the senses.

³³Cf. Qur'an 52.5 (5).

ability to think - God has given him. In recounting the favor He bestowed upon us, God said: "And He gave you hearing and vision and hearts."³⁴

In his first condition, before he has attained discernment, man is simply matter, in as much as he is ignorant of all knowledge. He reaches perfection of his form through knowledge, which he acquires through his own organs. Thus, his human essence reaches perfection of existence.

One may compare the word of God when His Prophet began to receive the revelation. "Recite: In the name of your Lord who created, created man out of a clot of blood. Recite: And your Lord the most noble who taught with the calamus, taught man what he did not know."³⁵ That is, He let him acquire knowledge he did not yet possess, after he had been a clot of blood and a lump of flesh.

Man's nature and essence reveal to us the essential ignorance and acquired (character of the) knowledge that man possesses, and the noble verse of the Qur'an refers to it at the very beginning and opening of the revelation, and establishes through it the fact that (man) has received (from God) as a favor the first of the stages of his existence, which is humanity and its two conditions, the innate one and the acquired one.

"God has been knowing and wise."³⁶

VI.7. Scientific instruction is a craft.³⁷

[p.2:426]

This is because skill in a science, knowledge of its diverse aspects, and mastery of it are the result of a habit which enables its possessor to comprehend all the basic principles of that particular science, to become acquainted with its problems, and to evolve the details of it from its principles. As long

³⁴ Qur'an 16.78 (80).

³⁵ Qur'an 96.1-5 (1-5), considered to be the first Quranic verses revealed to Muhammad.

³⁶ Qur'an 4.17(20),92(94),104(106),111(111),170(168);48.4(4).

³⁷For elementary and higher education, see also 3:299 ff., and, esp., 6:300 ff., below.

as such a habit has not been obtained, skill in a particular discipline is not forthcoming.

Habit is different from understanding and knowing by memory. Understanding of a single problem in a single discipline may be found equally in someone well versed in the particular discipline and in the beginner, in the common man who has no scientific knowledge whatever, and in the accomplished scholar. Habit, on the other hand, belongs solely and exclusively to the scholar or the person well versed in scientific disciplines. This shows that (scientific) habit is different from understanding.

All habits are corporeal, whether they are of the body, or, like arithmetic, of the brain and resulting from man's ability to think and so on. All corporeal things are *sensibilia*. Thus, they require instruction. Therefore, a tradition of famous teachers with regard to instruction in any science or craft, is acknowledged (to be necessary) by the people of every region and generation (race).

The fact that scientific instruction is a craft is also shown by the differences in technical terminologies. Every famous authority has his own technical terminology for scientific instruction, as is the case with all crafts. This shows that technical terminology is not a part of science itself. If it were, it would be one and the same with all scholars. One knows how much the technical terminology used in the teaching of speculative theology differs between the ancients and the moderns. The same applies to the principles of jurisprudence as well as to Arabic (philology) and to jurisprudence. It applies to any science one undertakes to study. The technical terminologies used in teaching it are always found to be different. This shows that the (terminologies) are crafts used for instruction, while each individual science as such is one and the same.

If³⁸ this has been established, it should be known that the tradition of scientific instruction at this time has practically ceased (to be cultivat-

³⁸Cf. Issawi, pp. 144 f.

ed) among the inhabitants of the Maghrib, because the civilization of the Maghrib has disintegrated and its dynasties have lost their importance, and this has resulted in the deterioration and disappearance of the crafts, as was mentioned before.³⁹ Al-Qayrawan and Cordoba were centers of sedentary culture in the Maghrib and in Spain, respectively. Their civilization was highly developed, and the sciences and crafts were greatly cultivated and very much in demand in them. Since these two cities lasted a long time and possessed a sedentary culture, scientific instruction became firmly rooted in them. But when they fell into ruins, scientific instruction ceased (to be cultivated) in the West. Only a little of it, derived from (al-Qayrawan and Cordoba), continued to exist during the Almohad dynasty in Marrakech. Sedentary culture, however, was not firmly rooted in Marrakech because of the original Bedouin attitude of the Almohad dynasty and because of the shortness of time between its beginning and its destruction. Sedentary culture enjoyed only a very minor continuity there.

After the destruction of the dynasty in Marrakech,⁴⁰ in the middle of the seventh [thirteenth]⁴¹ century, Judge Abu'l-Qasim b. Zaytun⁴¹ traveled from Ifrigiyah to the East. He entered into contact with the pupils of the imam Ibn al-Khatib.⁴² He studied with them and learned their (method of) instruction. He became skilled in intellectual and traditional matters. Then, he returned to Tunis with a great deal of knowledge and a good (method of) instruction. He was followed back from the East by Abu 'Abdallah b. Shu'ayb ad-Dukkali,⁴³ who had traveled from the Maghrib to (Ibn Zaytun). He stud-

³⁹Cf. pp. 949 ff., above.

⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldun refers to the destruction of Almohad rule by the Merinid Abu Yusuf Ya'qub in 1269.

⁴¹ Abul-Qasim (this is his given name) b. Abi Bakr, born in 621 [1224], traveled in the East in 648 and 656 [1251 and 125,8], and died in 691 [1292]. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, II, 989.

⁴² Marginal note in B: "This is the imam Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi." Cf. 1:402, above.

⁴³ Muhammad b. Shu'ayb al-Haskurt, d. 664 [1225]. The ethnical denomination ad-Dukkali seems to be an error. Cf. R. Brunschvig, loc. cit. However, Ibn Khaldun also calls him Dukkali in the *Autobiography*, pp. 98 f.

ied with Egyptian professors and returned to Tunis, where he remained. His (method of) instruction was effective. The inhabitants of Tunis studied with both Ibn Zaytun and Ibn Shu'ayb. Their tradition of scientific instruction was steadily continued by their pupils, generation after generation. Eventually, it reached Judge Muhammad b. 'Abd-as-Salam,⁴⁴ the commentator and pupil of Ibn al-Hajib,⁴⁵ and was transplanted from Tunis to Tlemcen through Ibn al-Imam⁴⁶ and his pupils. Ibn al-Imam had studied with Ibn 'Abd-as-Salam under the same professors in the same classes. Pupils of Ibn 'Abd-as-Salam can be found at this time in Tunis, and pupils of Ibn al-Imam in Tlemcen. However, they are so few that it is to be feared that the tradition may come to an end.

At the end of the seventh [thirteenth] century, Abu 'Ali Nasir-ad-din al-Mashaddali⁴⁷ traveled eastward⁴⁸ from Zawawah and got in touch with the pupils of Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib. He studied with them and learned their (method of) instruction. He studied with Shihab-ad-din al-Qarafi⁴⁹ in the same classes. He became skilled in intellectual and traditional matters. He returned to the Maghrib with much knowledge and an effective (method of) instruction. He settled in Bougie. His tradition of scientific instruction was steadily continued among the students of Bougie. Imran al-Mashaddali,⁵⁰

⁴⁴Cf. I:xxxix, above. He was, of course, not personally a pupil of Ibn al-Hajib.

⁴⁵The famous author of grammatical and legal textbooks studied by Ibn Khaldun, Abu 'Amr 'Uthman b. al-Hajib, d. 646 [1249]. Cf. GAL, I, 303 ff.; suppl., I, 531 ff.

⁴⁶The two brothers, Abu Zayd'Abd-ar-Rahman, d. 743 [1342/43], and Abu Musa 'Isa, d. in the plague of 1348/49. On the former's date, cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj*, p. 152. They belonged to the generation that taught Ibn Khaldun's teachers. Cf. the *Autobiography*, pp. 28-31, and the literature quoted there.

⁴⁷Mansur b. Ahmad, ca. 632-731 [1235-1330/31]. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, II, 289. The vocalization Mashaddali is suggested in the *Autobiography*, p. 59, and by as-Sakhawi, *ad-Daw' al-lami'* (Cairo, 1353-56/ 1934-36), VIII, 290. Cf. also 3:19 below.

⁴⁸The word "east" is found in C and D.

⁴⁹Ahmad b. Idris, d. 684 [1285]. Cf. GAL, I, 385; *suppl.*, I, 665 f.; also A. M. Sayili in *Isis*, XXXII (1940), 16-26.

⁵⁰Imran b. Musa, 670-745 [1271/72-1344/45], who was a pupil and son-in-law of Nasir-ad-din, Cf. Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, II, 143, and the *Autobiography*, p. 59.

one of his pupils, frequently went to Tlemcen. He settled in Tlemcen and propagated his method there. At this time, in Tlemcen and Bougie, his pupils are few, very few.

Fez and the other cities of the Maghrib have been without good instruction since the destruction of scientific instruction in Cordoba and al-Qayrawan. There has been no continuous tradition of scientific instruction in Fez. Therefore, it has been difficult for the people of Fez to obtain the scientific habit and skill.

The easiest method of acquiring the scientific habit is through acquiring the ability to express oneself clearly in discussing and disputing scientific problems. This is what clarifies their import and makes them understandable. Some students spend most of their lives attending scholarly sessions. Still, one finds them silent. They do not talk and do not discuss matters. More than is necessary, they are concerned with memorizing. Thus, they do not obtain much of a habit in the practice of science and scientific instruction. Some of them think that they have obtained (the habit). But when they enter into a discussion or disputation, or do some teaching, their scientific habit is found to be defective. The only reason for their deficiency is (lack of) instruction, together with the break in the tradition of scientific instruction (that affects them). Apart from that, their memorized knowledge may be more extensive than that of other scholars, because they are so much concerned with memorizing. They think that scientific habit is identical with memorized knowledge. But that is not so.

This is attested in the Maghrib (in Morocco) by the fact that the period specified for the residence of students in college there is sixteen years, while in Tunis it is five years. Such a (fixed) period of attendance is recognized as the shortest in which a student can obtain the scientific habit he desires, or can realize that he will never be able to obtain it.

In the Maghrib (in Morocco), the period is so long at the present day for the very reason that the poor quality of scientific instruction there makes

it difficult (for the student to acquire the scientific habit), and not for any other reason.

The institution of scientific instruction has disappeared among the inhabitants of Spain. Their (former) concern with the sciences is gone, because Muslim civilization in Spain has been decreasing for hundreds of years. The only scholarly discipline remaining there is Arabic (philology) and literature, to which the (Spanish Muslims) restrict themselves. The tradition of teaching these disciplines is preserved among them, and thus the disciplines as such are preserved. Jurisprudence is an empty institution among them and a mere shadow of its real self. Of the intellectual disciplines, not even a shadow remains, The only reason for that is that the tradition of scientific instruction has ceased (to be cultivated) in Spain, because civilization there has deteriorated and the enemy has gained control over most of it, except for a few people along the coast who are more concerned with making a living than with the things that come after it.

"God has the power to execute His commands."⁵¹

In⁵² the East, the tradition of scientific instruction has not ceased (to be cultivated). Scientific instruction is very much in demand and greatly cultivated in the East, because of the continuity of an abundant civilization and the continuity of the tradition (of scientific instruction) there. It is true that the old cities, such as Baghdad, al-Basrah, and al-Kufah, which were the (original) mines of scholarship, are in ruins. However, God has replaced them with cities even greater than they were. Science was transplanted from the (early centers) to the non-Arab 'Iraq of Khurasan, to Transoxania in the East, and to Cairo and adjacent regions in the West. These cities have never ceased to have an abundant and continuous civilization, and the tradition of scientific instruction has always persisted in them.

⁵¹ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

⁵²Cf. Issawi, pp. 50-52, 145.

The inhabitants of the East are, in general, more firmly rooted in the craft of scientific instruction and, indeed, in all the other crafts (than Maghribis). In fact, many Maghribis who have traveled to the East in quest of knowledge, have been of the opinion that⁵³ the intellect of the people of the East is, in general, more perfect than that of the Maghribis. They have supposed the rational souls (of the people of the East) to be by nature more perfect than those of the Maghribis. They have claimed that there exists a difference in the reality of humanity between ourselves (the Maghribis) and them,⁵⁴ because their cleverness in the sciences and crafts seemed remarkable to them. This is not so. There is no difference between the East and the West great enough (to be considered) a difference in the reality (of human nature), which is one (and the same everywhere).

(Such a difference) does in fact exist in the intemperate zones, such as the first and the seventh zones. The tempers there are intemperate, and the souls are correspondingly intemperate, as has been mentioned before⁵⁵ The superiority of the inhabitants of the East over those of the West lies in the additional intelligence that accrues to the soul from the influences of sedentary culture, as has been stated before in connection with the crafts.⁵⁶ We are now going to comment on that and to verify it. It is as follows;

Sedentary people observe (a) particular (code of) manners in everything they undertake and do or do not do, and they thus acquire certain ways of making a living, finding dwellings, building houses, and handling their religious and worldly matters, including their customary affairs, their dealings with others, and all the rest of their activities.⁵⁷ These manners constitute a kind of limitation which may not be transgressed, and, at the same

⁵³ Bulaq adds: "it was their original nature which made the people of the East more awake and clever, and ..."

⁵⁴ Bulaq adds: "They were biased and partial in this respect ."

⁵⁵ Cf. 1:169 and 171, above.

⁵⁶ Cf. pp. 406 f., above,

⁵⁷ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 164.

time, they are crafts that (later) generations take over from the earlier ones. No doubt, each craft that has its proper place within the arrangement of the crafts, influences the soul and causes it to acquire an additional intelligence, which prepares the soul for accepting still other crafts. The intellect is thus conditioned for a quick reception of knowledge.

We hear that the Egyptians have achieved things hardly possible in the teaching of the crafts. For instance, they teach domestic donkeys and (other) dumb animals, quadrupeds and birds, to speak words and to do things that are remarkable for their rarity and that the inhabitants of the Maghrib would not be capable of understanding, let alone teaching.⁵⁸

Good habits in scientific instruction, in the crafts, and in all the other customary activities, add insight to the intellect of a man and enlightenment to his thinking, since the soul thus obtains a great number of habits. We have stated before⁵⁹ that the soul grows under the influence of the perceptions it receives and the habits accruing to it. Thus, (the people of the East) become more clever, because their souls are influenced by scientific activity. The common people then suppose that it is a difference in the reality of humanity. This is not so. If one compares sedentary people with Bedouins, one notices how much more insight and cleverness sedentary people have. One might, thus, come to think that they really differ from the Bedouins in the reality of humanity and in intelligence. This is not so. The only reason for the difference is that sedentary people have refined technical habits and manners as far as customary activities and sedentary conditions are concerned, all of them things that are unknown to the Bedouins. Sedentary people possess numerous crafts, as well as the habits that go with them, and good (methods of) teaching the crafts. Therefore, those who do not have such habits think that they indicate an intellectual perfection possessed (exclusively) by sedentary people, and that the natural qualifications of the Bedouins are in-

⁵⁸Cf pp. 348 f., above.

⁵⁹ Cf. pp. 406 f., above.

ferior to those of sedentary people. This is not so. We find Bedouins whose understanding, intellectual perfection, and natural qualifications are of the highest rank. The seeming (superiority of) sedentary people is merely the result of a certain polish the crafts and scientific instruction give them. It influences the soul, as we have stated before.⁶⁰ Now, the inhabitants of the East are more firmly grounded and more advanced in scientific instruction and the crafts (than the Maghribis), and the Maghribis are closer to desert life, as we have stated before in the preceding section.⁶¹ This leads superficial people to think that the inhabitants of the East are distinguished from the Maghribis by a certain perfection (of theirs) touching the reality of humanity. That is not correct, as one should be able to understand.

God "gives in addition to the creatures whatever He wishes to give to them."⁶²

VI.8. The sciences are numerous only where civilization is large and sedentary culture highly developed.⁶³

[p.2:434]

The reason for this is that scientific instruction, as we have just stated, is one of the crafts. We have also stated before that the crafts are numerous only in cities. The quality and the number of the crafts depend on the greater or lesser extent of civilization in the cities and on the sedentary culture and luxury they enjoy, because (highly developed crafts) are something additional to just making a living. When civilized people have more labor available than they need for mere subsistence, such (surplus) labor is used

⁶⁰Cf. pp. 406 f., above.

⁶¹Ibn Khaldun apparently refers to what he said at the beginning of the chapter, p. 427, above. Or, the reference may be to statements such as those made on pp. 353 f., or pp. 266 f.

⁶²Qur'an 35.1 (1).

⁶³Cf. Issawi, pp. 143 f.

for activities over and above making a living.⁶⁴ These activities are man's prerogative. They are the sciences and the crafts.

People who grow up in villages and uncivilized (thinly populated) cities and who have an innate desire for scientific activity, cannot find scientific instruction in those places. For scientific instruction is something technical, and there are no crafts among the inhabitants of the desert, as we have stated before.⁶⁵ These people, therefore, must travel and seek scientific instruction in cities where (civilization) is highly developed, as is the case with all crafts.

This may be exemplified by our previous statements⁶⁶ concerning Baghdad, Cordoba, al-Qayrawan, al-Basrah, and al-Kufah. At the beginning of Islam, the civilizations (populations) were large, and sedentary culture existed in them. The sciences were then greatly cultivated there, and the people were widely versed in the various technical terminologies of scientific instruction, in the different kinds of sciences, and in posing problems and (inventing new) disciplines. They exceeded (all) who had come before them and surpassed (all) who came after them. But when the civilization of those cities decreased and their inhabitants were dispersed, the picture was completely reversed. Science and scientific instruction no longer existed in those cities, but were transplanted to other Muslim cities.

We, at this time, notice that science and scientific instruction exist in Cairo in Egypt, because the civilization of (Egypt) is greatly developed and its sedentary culture has been well established for thousands of years. Therefore, the crafts are firmly established there and exist in many varieties. One of them is scientific instruction. This (state of affairs) has been strengthened and preserved in Egypt by the events of the last two hundred years under the Turkish dynasty, from the days of Salah-ad-din b. Ayyub on. This is be-

⁶⁴Cf. p. 347, above.

⁶⁵Cf. p. 348, above.

⁶⁶Cf. pp. 497 and 431, above.

cause the Turkish amirs under the Turkish dynasty were afraid that their ruler might proceed against the descendants they would leave behind, in as much as they were his slaves or clients, and because chicanery and confiscation are always to be feared from royal authority. Therefore, they built a great many colleges, hermitages, and monasteries,⁶⁷ and endowed them with mortmain endowments that yielded income. They saw to it that their children would participate in these endowments, either as administrators or by having some other share in them. (This was their intention) in addition to the fact that they were inclined to do good deeds and hoped for (a heavenly) reward for their aspirations and actions. As a consequence, mortmain endowments became numerous, and the income and profit (from them) increased. Students and teachers increased in numbers, because a large number of stipends became available from the endowments. People traveled to Egypt from the `Iraq and the Maghrib in quest of knowledge. Thus, the sciences were very much in demand and greatly cultivated there.⁶⁸

"God creates whatever He wishes."⁶⁹

⁶⁷All these institutions served mainly as places of study, scholarship, and contemplation.

⁶⁸ Cf. also the *Autobiography*, p. 279: "Since the old days of their masters, the Ayyubid rulers, the members of this Turkish dynasty in Egypt and Syria have been erecting colleges for the teaching of the sciences, and monastic houses for the purpose of enabling the poor (Sufis) to follow the rules for acquiring orthodox Sufi ways of behavior through *dhikr* exercises and supererogatory prayers. They took over that (custom) from the preceding caliphal dynasties. They set up buildings for (those institutions as mortmain gifts) and endowed (them) with lands that yielded income (sufficient) to provide stipends for students and Sufi ascetics. When there was excess income, they reserved, it to their own descendants, because they feared lest their weak offspring should suffer want. Their example was imitated by men of wealth and high rank under their control. As a result, colleges and monastic houses are numerous in Cairo. They now furnish livings for poor jurists and Sufis. This is one of the good and permanent deeds of this Turkish dynasty."

⁶⁹ Qur'an 9.47 (42), etc.

VI.9. The various sciences that exist in contemporary civilization.

[p.2:436]

It should be known that the sciences with which people concern themselves in cities and which they acquire and pass on through instruction, are of two kinds: one that is natural to man and to which he is guided by his own ability to think, and a traditional kind that he learns from those who invented it.

The first kind comprises the philosophical sciences. They are the ones with which man can become acquainted through the very nature of his ability to think and to whose objects, problems, arguments, and methods of instruction he is guided by his human perceptions, so that he is made aware of the distinction between what is correct and what is wrong in them by his own speculation and research, in as much as he is a thinking human being.

The second kind comprises the traditional, conventional sciences. All of them depend upon information based on the authority of the given religious law. There is no place for the intellect in them, save that the intellect may be used in connection with them to relate problems of detail with basic principles. Particulars that constantly come into being are not included in the general tradition by the mere fact of its existence. Therefore, they need to be related (to the general principles) by some kind of analogical reasoning. However, such analogical reasoning is derived from the (traditional) information, while the character of the basic principle, which is traditional, remains valid (unchanged). Thus, analogical reasoning of this type reverts to being tradition (itself), because it is derived from it.⁷⁰

The basis of all the traditional sciences is the legal material of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which is the law given us by God and His messenger, as well as the sciences connected with that material, by means of which we are enabled to utilize it. This, further, requires as auxiliary sciences the

⁷⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 455.

sciences of the Arabic language. Arabic is the language of Islam, and the Qur'an was revealed in it.

The different kinds of traditional sciences are numerous, because it is the duty of the responsible Muslim to know the legal obligations God placed upon him and upon his fellow men. They are derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah, either from the text, or through general consensus, or through combination.

Thus, he must first study the explicit wording of the Qur'an. This is the science of Qur'an interpretation.

Then, he must study the Qur'an, both with reference to the manner in which it has been transmitted and related on the authority of the Prophet who brought it from God, and with reference to the differences in the readings of the Qur'an readers. This is the science of Qur'an reading.

Then, he must study the manner in which the Sunnah is related to its originator (Muhammad), and he must discuss the transmitters who have handed it down. He must know their circumstances and their probity, so that the information one receives from them may be trusted and so that one may be able to know the part of it, in accordance with the implications of which one must act.⁷¹ These are the sciences of tradition.

Then, the process of evolving the laws from their basic principles requires some normative guidance to provide us with the knowledge of how that process takes place. This is the (science of the) principles of jurisprudence.

After one knows the principles of jurisprudence, one can enjoy, as its result, the knowledge of the divine laws that govern the actions of all responsible Muslims. This is jurisprudence.

Furthermore, the duties (of the Muslim) may concern either the body or the heart. The (duties of the heart) are concerned with faith and the distinction between what is to be believed and what is not to be believed. This

⁷¹ Ibid.

concerns the articles of faith which deal with the essence and attributes (of God), the events of the Resurrection, Paradise, punishment, and predestination, and entails discussion and defense of these subjects with the help of intellectual arguments. This is speculative theology.

The discussion of the Qur'an and *hadith* must be preceded by the (study of the) philological sciences, because it is based upon them. There are various kinds, such as lexicography, grammar, syntax and style,⁷² and literature. We shall discuss each of these.

These traditional sciences are all restricted to Islam and the Muslims, even though every religious group has to have something of the sort. (The traditional sciences of Islam) are remotely comparable to (those of other religious groups), in that they are sciences of a religious law revealed by God to the lawgiver who transmits it. But as to the particulars, (Islam) is different from all other religious groups, because it abrogates them. All the pre-Islamic sciences concerned with religious groups are to be discarded, and their discussion is forbidden.

The religious law has forbidden the study of all revealed scriptures except the Qur'an. Muhammad said: "Consider the People of the Book neither as truthful nor as untruthful. Just say: 'We believe in what was revealed to us and revealed to you. Our God and your God are one.'"⁷³ And when the Prophet saw a leaf of the Torah in 'Umar's hand, he got so angry that his anger showed in his face. Then, he said: "Did I not bring it to you white and clean? By God, if Moses were alive, he would have no choice but to follow me."⁷⁴

The traditional legal sciences were cultivated in Islam in a way that permitted no further increase. The students of those sciences reached the farthest possible limit in knowledge of them. The various technical terms

⁷²For *'ilm al-bayan*, cf. 3:338 ff, below.

⁷³Qur'an 29.46 (45). For this often-quoted *hadith*, cf. J. Horowitz in EI, s.v. "Tawrat"

⁷⁴Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 185.

nologies were refined, and order was brought into the various disciplines. The traditional sciences thus achieved exceeding excellence and refinement. Each discipline had its authorities to whom one referred, and its rules that were used for instruction. The West as well as the East had its share of famous traditional scholarship, as we are shortly going to mention, when we enumerate these disciplines. At this time, however, science is at a standstill in the Maghrib, because civilization has decreased there and the tradition of science and scientific instruction has broken off, as we stated in the preceding section.⁷⁵ I do not know what God has done with the East. The assumption is that science is very much cultivated there and that the teaching of the sciences and of all necessary and luxury crafts continues there without interruption. The civilization and sedentary culture of the East are extensive, and students find support there through stipends from mortmain endowments which give them ample sustenance.⁷⁶

God determines night and day.⁷⁷

VI.10. The Qur'anic sciences of Qur'an interpretation and Qur'an reading.

[p.2:439]

The Qur'an is the word of God that was revealed to His Prophet and that is written down between the two covers of copies of the Qur'an (*mushaf*).

Its transmission has been continuous in Islam. However, the men around Muhammad transmitted it on the authority of the Messenger of God in different ways. These differences affect certain of the words in it and the manner in which the letters were pronounced. They were handed down and became famous. Eventually, seven specific ways of reading the Qur'an became established. Transmission (of the Qur'an readings), with their particular pronunciation, also was continuous. They came to be ascribed to certain

⁷⁵The reference appears to be to pp. 427 if, above.

⁷⁶Cf. p. 435, above.

⁷⁷Cf. Qur'an 73.50 (20).

men from among a large number of persons who had become famous as their transmitters.

The seven Qur'an readings became the basis for reading the Qur'an. Later on, other readings were occasionally added to the seven. However, they are not considered by the authorities on Qur'an reading to be as reliably transmitted as (the seven).

The seven Qur'an readings are well known from books which deal with them. Certain people have contested the continuity of their transmission. In their opinion, they are ways of indicating the pronunciation, and pronunciation is something that cannot definitely be fixed. This, however, they thought not to reflect upon the continuity of the transmission of the Qur'an. The majority did not admit their view. They asserted the continuity of the transmission of the (seven readings). Others asserted the continuity (of all seven), except with regard to (the fine points of) pronunciation, such as the longer pronunciation of the long vowels and the weakening of the *alif*,⁷⁸ because the ear is not able to determine how it must be done. This is the correct opinion.

Qur'an readers continued to circulate and transmit those readings, until the sciences were fixed in writing and treated systematically. Those readings, then, were set down in writing, along with the other sciences, and became a special craft and science in itself. People in the East and in Spain handed them down generation after generation. Eventually, Mujahid, a client of the 'Amirids,⁷⁹ became ruler of eastern Spain, He concerned himself with this particular Qur'anic discipline, because he was held to it by his master, al-Mansur b. Abi 'Amir, who made every effort to instruct him (in it) and to have him study (it) with the authoritative Qur'an readers at his court.

⁷⁸For *tashil*, a "weakening" of the *alif* in the case of two successive *alifs*, cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, 1, 100 f. (Ch. xxxiii).

⁷⁹Mujahid, ruler of Denia and the Baleares, d. 436 [1044/45]. Cf. E. Levi Provencal in EI, s.v. "Mudjihid."

Thus, he acquired a very good knowledge of it. Later on, Mujahid became amir of Denia and the eastern islands (the Baleares). As a result, the reading of the Qur'an was greatly cultivated there, because he was an authority in it and because he was much concerned with all sciences in general and with the reading of the Qur'an in particular. In his time, there appeared Abu 'Amr ad-Dani.⁸⁰ He achieved the greatest perfection in the reading of the Qur'an. The knowledge of it rests with him, and its transmission in its entirety goes through him. He composed numerous works on the subject, which became the authoritative works, and people no longer consulted anyone else.⁸¹ Among (ad-Dani's) works, the *Kitab at-taysir* became the general reference work.

In the times and generations closely following that, there appeared Abul-Qasim b. Firruh (ash-Shatibi), of Jativa.⁸² He set out to correct and abridge the systematic works of Abu 'Amr (ad-Din!). He versified the whole material in a poem in which he referred cryptically to the names of the Qur'an readers by the letters of the alphabet, according to his own arrangement. His purpose was to be as brief as he could be and to make the subject easier to memorize by means of the rhymed form. He skillfully compressed the whole subject in his poem. People undertook to memorize it and to teach it to children studying (the subject). That was the practice in the cities of the Maghrib and Spain.

The discipline of Qur'an readings is often extended to include also the discipline of Qur'an orthography (*rasm*), which deals with usage of the letters in copies of the Qur'an and with the orthography of the Qur'an. The Qur'an contains many letters that are used differently than is usual in writing. There is, for instance, the addition of the y in *bi ayydin*"with hands (pow-

⁸⁰ Uthman b. Sa'id, 372-444 [982/83-1053]. Cf. GAL, I, 407; *Suppl.*, I, 719 f.

⁸¹ Bulaq corrects the text to "any other work."

⁸² Al-Qasim b. Firruh, 538-590 [1143/44-1194]. Cf. GAL, I, 409 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 725 ff. Cf. 3:396, below.

er)",⁸³ the addition of the *alif* in *la'-'adhbahannahu*"I shall indeed slaughter him"⁸⁴ and in *wa-la'-'awda'u*"and, indeed, they would walk swiftly";⁸⁵ the addition of the *w* in *jaza'uw-z-zalimina*"the sinners' reward";⁸⁶ and the omission of the *alif* in some places and not in others. Then, there are the is that are written in the Qur'an with the letter *t*, while they should be written with the *h* with two dots over it, and other things. An explanation of Qur'anic orthography was given earlier in connection with the discussion of writing.⁸⁷

When the divergences in the usage and norm of writing made their appearance, it became necessary to deal with them comprehensively. Therefore, they, too, were written down, when scholars fixed the sciences in writing. In the West, they reached the afore-mentioned Abu 'Amr ad-Dani. He wrote a number of books about them, the best known being the *Kitab al-Mugni'*. People took up the book and employed it as a reference work. Abul-Qasim (b. Firruh) ash-Shatibi versified the (*Kitab al-Mugni'*) in his famous poem rhyming on *r*. People eagerly memorized that poem.

Then, there were more orthographic divergences which concerned other words and letters. (These words and letters) were mentioned by Abu Dawud Sulayman b. Najah,⁸⁸ a client of Mujahid, in his works. He was a pupil of Abu 'Amr ad-Dani, and famous for the fact that he preserved ad-Dani's learning and transmitted his works.

After him, other divergences came up. A modern Maghribi scholar, al-Kharraz,⁸⁹ composed another *rajaz* poem. In it, he added many divergences

⁸³ Qur'an 51.47 (47). Cf. p. 383, above.

⁸⁴ Qur'an 27.21 (21). Cf. p. 389, above.

⁸⁵ Qur'an.9.47 (47).

⁸⁶ Qur'an 5.29 (32); 59.17 (17).

⁸⁷ Cf. pp. 382 ff., above.

⁸⁸ 413-496 11022/28-11031. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat*, III, 408 f.

⁸⁹ Muhammad b. Muhammad, ca. 703 [1303]. Cf. GAL, II, 248; *Suppl.*, II, 439 f.

to those of the *Muqni'*. He indicated (in each instance) who their transmitters were. This poem became famous in the Maghrib.

People now memorized only it, and they discarded in its favor the works of Abu Dawud, Abu 'Amr, and ash-Shatibi on Qur'an orthography.⁹⁰

Qur'an interpretation

It should be known that the Qur'an was revealed in the language of the Arabs and according to their rhetorical methods. All Arabs understood it and knew the meaning of the individual words and composite statements. It was revealed in chapters and verses, in order to explain the oneness of God and the religious duties according to the (various) occasions.

Some passages of the Qur'an concern articles of faith. Others concern the duties of the limbs of the body. Some are early and are followed by other, later passages that abrogate the earlier ones.

The Prophet used to explain these things, as it is said: "So that you may explain to the people that which was revealed to them."⁹¹ He used to explain the unclear statements (in the Qur'an)⁹² and to distinguish the abrogating state ments from those abrogated by them, and to inform the men around him in this sense. The men around him, thus, became acquainted with (the subject). They knew why individual verses had been revealed, and the situation that had required them, directly on (Muhammad's) authority. Thus, the verse of the Qur'an, "When God's help comes and the victory,"⁹³ refers to the announcement of the Prophet's death, and similar things.

These (explanations) were transmitted on the authority of the men around Muhammad and were circulated by the men of the second generation after them on their authority. They continued to be transmitted among the

⁹⁰Cf. T. Noldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergstrasser, and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Leipzig, 1909-38), III, 26; G. Bergstrasser in *Der Islam*, XX (1932), 5.

⁹¹ Qur'an 16.44 (46). The passage is not found in Bulaq.

⁹²For *mujmal* as a technical term of Qur'anic scholarship, cf. *as-Suyuti, Itqan*, II, 19 f. (Ch. XLVI).

⁹³ Qur'an 110.1 (1). According to a tradition ascribed to Ibn `Abbas, the coming of victory indicates the imminent death of the Prophet. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 387.

early Muslims, until knowledge became organized in scholarly disciplines and systematic scholarly works were written. At that time, most of these (explanations) were committed to writing. The traditional information concerning them, which had come down from the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, was transmitted farther. That (material) reached at-Tabari, al-Waqidi, ath-Tha'alibi,⁹⁴ and other Qur'an interpreters. They committed to writing as much of the traditional information as God wanted them to do.

The linguistic sciences then became technical discussions of the lexicographical meaning of words, the rules governing vowel endings (*i'rab*), and style (*balaghah*) in (the use of) word combinations. Systematic works were written on these subjects. Formerly, these subjects had been habits with the Arabs.⁹⁵ No recourse to oral and written transmission had been necessary with respect to them. Now, that (state of affairs) was forgotten, and these subjects were learned from the books of philologists. They were needed for the interpretation of the Qur'an, because the Qur'an is in Arabic and follows the stylistic technique of the Arabs. Qur'an interpretation thus came to be handled in two ways.

One (kind of Qur'an interpretation) is traditional. It is based upon information received from the early Muslims. It consists of knowledge of the abrogating verses and of the verses that are abrogated by them, of the reasons why a (given) verse was revealed, and of the purposes of individual verses. All this can be known only through traditions based on the authority of the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation. The early scholars had already made complete compilations on the subject. However, their works and the information they transmit contain side by side important and unimportant matters, accepted and rejected statements. The reason is

⁹⁴ Ahmad b. Muhammad, d. 427 [1035], more commonly known as ath-Tha'labi, Cf. GAL, I, 350 f.; *suppl.*, I, 592.

⁹⁵Cf., for instance, 3:342 f., below.

that the Arabs had no books or scholarship. The desert attitude and illiteracy prevailed among them. When they wanted to know certain things that human beings are usually curious to know, such as the reasons for the existing things, the beginning of creation, and the secrets of existence, they consulted the earlier People of the Book about it and got their information from them. The People of the Book were the Jews who had the Torah, and the Christians who followed the religion of (the Jews). Now, the people of the Torah who lived among the Arabs at that time were themselves Bedouins. They knew only as much about these matters as is known to ordinary People of the Book (in contrast to learned rabbis).⁹⁶ The majority of those Jews were Himyarites who had adopted Judaism. When they became Muslims, they clung to the (information) they possessed, such as information about the beginning of creation and information of the type of forecasts and predictions. That information had no connection with the (Jewish or Christian) religious laws they were preserving as theirs. Such men were Ka'b al-ahbar,⁹⁷ Wahb b. Munabbih,⁹⁸ 'Abdallah b. Salim,⁹⁹ and similar people. The Qur'an commentaries were filled with material of such tendencies transmitted on their authority. It is information that entirely depends on them. It has no relation to (religious) laws, such that one might claim for it the soundness that would make it necessary to act (in accordance with it). The Qur'an interpreters were not very rigorous in this respect. They filled the Qur'an commentaries with such material, which originated, as we have stated, with the people of the Torah who lived in the desert and were not capable of verifying the information they transmitted. However, they were famous and highly esteemed, because they were people of rank in (their) religion and religious group. Therefore, their interpretation has been accepted from that time onwards.

⁹⁶Cf. p. 207, above.

⁹⁷Cf. 1:26, above.

⁹⁸Cf. p. 205, above.

⁹⁹Cf. J. Horowitz in EI, s.v. "'Abd Allah b. Salim."

Later, scholars applied themselves to verification and critical investigation. Abu Muhammad b. 'Atiyah,¹⁰⁰ a recent Maghribi scholar, made his appearance. He abridged all the commentaries and selected the most likely interpretations. He set that material down in a good book, which is in general circulation among the inhabitants of the Maghrib and of Spain. Al-Qurtubi¹⁰¹ adopted his method in this respect in another work, which is well known in the East.

The other kind of Qur'an interpretation has recourse to linguistic knowledge, such as lexicography¹⁰² and the stylistic form (*balaghah*) used for conveying meaning through the appropriate means and methods.¹⁰³ This kind of Qur'an interpretation rarely appears separately from the first kind. The first kind is the one that is wanted essentially. The second kind made its appearance only after language and the philological sciences had become crafts. However, it has become preponderant, as far as certain Qur'an commentaries are concerned.

The commentary in which this discipline is best represented is the *Kitab al-Kashshaf* by az-Zamakhshari,¹⁰⁴ of Khuwarizm in the 'Iraq. However, its author is a Mu'tazilah in his dogmatic views. Therefore, he uses the various methods of rhetoric (*balaghah*), arguing in favor of the pernicious doctrines of the Mu'tazilah, wherever he believed they occurred in the verses of the Qur'an. Competent orthodox scholars have, therefore, come to disregard his work and to warn everyone against its pitfalls. However, they admit that he is on firm ground in everything relating to language and style (*balaghah*). If the student of the work is acquainted with the orthodox dogmas and knows the arguments in their defense, he is no doubt safe from its fallacies. Therefore,

¹⁰⁰ Abd-al-Haqq b. Ghalib, 481 [1088/891 to ca. 642 [1147]. Cf. GAL, I, 412; *Suppl.*, I, 732.

¹⁰¹ Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Farh, d. 671 [1273]. Cf. GAL, I, 415 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 737.

¹⁰² Bulaq adds: "and the vowel endings (*i'rab*), .."

¹⁰³ For the term "method" (*uslub*) as used in literary criticism, cf. 3:375 to 381, below.

¹⁰⁴ Mahmud b. 'Umar, 467-538 [1075-1144]. Cf. GAL, I, 289 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 507 ff. To connect Khuwarizm with the 'Iraq, even the "non-Arab 'Iraq," is a mistake by Ibn Khaldun.

he should seize the opportunity to study it, because it contains remarkable and varied linguistic information.¹⁰⁵

Recently, a work by an 'Iraqi scholar, Sharaf-ad-din at-Tibi,¹⁰⁶ of Tabriz in the non-Arab 'Iraq, has reached us. It is a commentary on the work of az-Zamakhshari. At-Tibi follows az-Zamakhshari's work literally, but opposes its Mu'tazilah dogmas and arguments, showing their lack of validity and (always) explaining that an eloquent style exists in a given verse but it reflects the opinions of orthodox Muslims, and not the dogmas of the Mu'tazilah. He does that very well, and he also possesses all the various disciplines of rhetoric (*balaghah*).

"And He knows more than any scholar."¹⁰⁷

VI.11. The sciences concerned with Prophetic traditions.

[p.2:447]

The sciences concerned with Prophetic traditions (*hadith*) are numerous and varied. One of them concerns abrogating and abrogated traditions. The permission to abrogate (previous statements) and the occurrence of abrogation have been established in our religious law. It is a favor shown by God to His servants and a kind of relief granted them to help them along in matters affecting their well-being (*masalih*) for which He is responsible to them. God said: "Whenever We abrogate a verse or consign it to oblivion, We bring one that is better, or as good."¹⁰⁸

The¹⁰⁹ knowledge of abrogating and abrogated verses belongs both to the Qur'an and to the traditions. Everything about (abrogation), as far as it

¹⁰⁵Cf. 3:338 f., below.

¹⁰⁶Al-Husayn b. 'Abdallah, d. 743 [1343]. Cf. GAL, II, 64; *suppl.*, II, 67. Ibn Zamrak, the wazir of Granada, asked Ibn Khaldun, among other things, to procure for him in Egypt a copy of at-Tibi's commentary. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 273.

¹⁰⁷Qur'an 12.76 (76).

¹⁰⁸Qur'an 2.106 (100).

¹⁰⁹This paragraph is found in C and D.

concerns the Qur'an, is included in the Qur'an commentaries. Whatever is restricted to traditions falls under the sciences of tradition.

Two traditions may be mutually exclusive, and it may be difficult to reconcile them with the help of interpretation. If, in such a case, it is known that one is earlier than the other, it is definite that the later (tradition) abrogates (the earlier one).

This is one of the most important and difficult of the sciences of tradition. Az-Zuhri¹¹⁰ said: "It has been a baffling and impossible task for the jurists to distinguish traditions of the Messenger of God abrogating others, from those that were abrogated by them." Ash-Shafi'i was firmly grounded in this subject. Another¹¹¹ of the sciences of tradition is the knowledge of the norms that leading *hadith* scholars have invented in order to know the chains of transmitters, the (individual) transmitters, their names, how the transmission took place, their conditions, their classes, and their different technical terminologies. This is because general consensus makes it obligatory to act in accordance with information established on the authority of the Messenger of God. This requires probability for the assumption that the information is true. Thus, the independent student must verify all the means by which it is possible to make such an assumption.

He may do this by scrutinizing the chains of transmitters of traditions. For that purpose, one may use such knowledge of the probity, accuracy, thoroughness, and lack of carelessness or negligence, as the most reliable Muslims describe a transmitter as possessing.

Then, there are the differences in rank that exist among transmitters.

¹¹⁰The statement of az-Zuhri, as well as the remark concerning ashShafi'i, is derived from Ibn al-Salah, *Muqaddimah*, p. 238 (Ch. xxxiv). The remark concerning ash-Shifi'i is slightly differently worded in Ibn as-Salah, showing that Ibn Khaldun probably quoted from memory. Muhammad b. Muslim az-Zuhri died between 740 and 743. Cf. 1:17, above.

¹¹¹The text of this section was considerably changed by Ibn Khaldun in his later years. The upper text is that of the latest recension as represented by C and D, the lower text, in italic type, is that found in Bulaq, A, and B.

Further, there is the way the transmission took place. The transmitter may have heard the *shaykh* (dictate the tradition), or he may have read (it from a book) in his presence, or he may have heard (it) read in the presence of the *shaykh* and the *shaykh* may have written (it) down for him, or he may have obtained the approval of the *shaykh* for written material (*munawalah*), or he may have obtained his permission to teach certain traditions (*ijazah*).

< Then, there is the difference > with regard to the (degree of) soundness or acceptability of the transmitted material.¹¹² The highest grade of transmitted material is called "sound" by (the *hadith* scholars). Next comes "good." The lowest grade is "weak." (The classification of traditions) includes also: "skipping the first transmitter on Muhammad's authority" (*muṣal*), "omitting one link" (*munqati'*), "omitting two links" (*mu'dal*), "affected by some infirmity" (*mu'allal*), "singular" (*shadhdh*), "unusual" (*gharib*), and "singular and suspect" (*munkar*).¹¹³ In some cases, there is a difference of opinion as to whether (traditions so described) should be rejected. In other cases, there is general agreement that (they should be rejected). The same is¹¹⁴ the case with (traditions with) sound chains. In some cases, there is general agreement as to their acceptability and soundness, whereas, in other cases, there are differences of opinion. *Hadith* scholars differ greatly in their explanations of these terms.

Then, there follows the discussion of terms applying to the texts of the traditions. A text may be "unusual" (*gharib*), "difficult" (ambiguous, *mushkil*), "(affected by some) misspelling (or misreading)," or "(containing) homonyms" (*muftariq*), or "(containing) homographs" (*mukhtalij*).¹¹⁶

¹¹² The text of C and D (*wa-l-qubul manqul'anhum*) should be corrected to *wa-qubal al-manqul'anhum*.

¹¹³ Cf. also p. 393, above.

¹¹⁴ *Wa-ka-dhalika*: C and D.

¹¹⁶ The terms *muftariq* and *mukhtalif* are not usually employed as specific terms referring to the text of traditions. Possibly they are intended to stand for *muttafiq-and-muftariq* or *mu'talif-and-mukhtalif*. The former of these compound terms usually signifies instances of the same proper names designating

On¹¹⁷ all these points, *hadith* scholars have laid down a canon explaining the (various) grades and terms, and adequate to protect the transmission from possible defects. The first outstanding *hadith* scholar to lay down such a canon was Abu 'Abdallah al-Hakim.¹¹⁸ He improved it and presented it to its best advantage. His works on the subject are famous.

Other leading *hadith* scholars followed him and wrote works on the subject. The most famous work by a modern scholar on the subject is the book of Abu 'Amr b. as-Salah.¹¹⁹ He lived in the early part of the seventh [thirteenth] century. His example was followed by Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawi.¹²⁰

The purpose of the discipline is a noble one. It is concerned with the knowledge of how to preserve the traditions (*sunan*) transmitted on the authority of the Master of the religious law (Muhammad), until it is definite which are to be accepted and which are to be rejected.

It should be known that the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation who transmitted the Sunnah were well known in the cities of Islam. There were transmitters in the Hijaz, in al-Basrah and al-Kufah, and then in Syria and Egypt. They were famous in their time. The transmitters of the Hijaz had fewer links in their chains of transmitters (than others), and they were sounder (transmitters), because they were reluctant

different persons; the latter signifies names spelled alike but pronounced differently. Cf. Ibn as-Salah, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 333 H: (Chs. LIII & LIV): *Mukhtalif* also occurs in the science of traditions in discussion of "contradictory" traditions, and may be applied to them whether they are reconcilable or not. Cf. Ibn as-Salah, pp. 244 f. (Ch. xxxvi). This, apparently, was in de Slane's mind when he listed *mukhtalif* as meaning "contradictory but reconcilable." Cf. his translation, II, 484.

¹¹⁷In the earlier text, the following discussion appears later on, p. 456, below.

¹¹⁸Cf. 1:187, above.

¹¹⁹Uthman b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 577-643 [1181-1245]. Cf GAL, I, 358 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 610 fl. His famous "introduction" (*Muqaddimah*) to the science of *hadith* was well known to Ibn Khaldun. Cf. P. 448 (n. 110), above, and p. 459 (n. 153), below.

¹²⁰Cf. 1:393, above.

to accept (as reliable transmitters) those who were obscure and whose conditions were not known.

After the early Muslims, the master of the Hijazi tradition was the imam Malik, the leading scholar of Medina. Then came his colleagues, such as the imam Muhammad b. Idris ash-Shafi`i, Ibn Wahb,¹²¹ Ibn Bukayr¹²² al-Qa`nabi¹²³ Muhammad b. al-Hasan¹²⁴ and after them, the imam Ahmad b. Hanbal, and other later scholars.

At the beginning, knowledge of the religious law was entirely based on (oral) tradition. It involved no speculation, no use of opinion, and no intricate reasoning.¹²⁵ The early Muslims occupied themselves with it, selecting the sound material, and thus eventually perfected it. Malik wrote the *Kitab al-Muwatta'* according to the Hijazi tradition,¹²⁶ in which he laid down the principal laws on the basis of sound, generally agreed-upon (material). He arranged the work according to juridical categories.

The *hadith* experts concerned themselves with knowledge of the recensions of traditions and of the different chains of transmitters, such¹²⁷ as the Hijazi and the 'Iraqi transmissions and others. A certain tradition may be known in one way only or in numerous ways, and it may be repeated in

¹²¹ 'Abdallah b. Wahb, 125-197 [743-812/13]. Cf. GAL, *suppl.*, I, 257.

¹²² Yahya b. 'Abdallah b. Bukayr, 154-231 [771-845]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, XI, 237 f.; he is referred to as Ibn Bukayr *ibid.*, XII, 287. Cf. also *Autobiography*, pp. 298, 305 (n. 1).

¹²³ 'Abdallah b. Maslamah, d. 221 [835/36]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 31 ff.

¹²⁴ This is presumably Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Wasiti al-Muzani, to whom al-Bukhari gives some prominence in his *Ta'rikh*, and who is said to have died in 187 [803]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, II, 67 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 118-20. A less likely candidate is Ibn Zabilah, who wrote ca. 199 [814]. Cf. GAL, I, 137. There are many *hadith* scholars called Muhammad b. al-Hasan, none of them particularly prominent.

¹²⁵ This sentence is found in C and D.

¹²⁶ The reference to the Hijazi tradition is found in C and D. For Ibn Khaldun's lecture on the *Muwatta'*, cf. I:lx, above.

¹²⁷ The rest of the paragraph as in C and D.. The earlier texts have: "A tradition may be transmitted in numerous ways and on the authority of different transmitters. A tradition may also occur in several chapters because it deals with different subjects."

(different) chapters (of works of jurisprudence) because it deals with several subjects.

There was Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari, the leading *hadith* scholar of his time. In his *Musnad as-Sahih*, he widened the area of tradition and¹²⁸ published the orthodox traditions arranged according to subject. He combined all the different ways of the Hijazis, 'Iraqis, and Syrians, accepting the material upon which they all agreed, but excluding the material concerning which there were differences of opinion. He repeated a (given) tradition in every chapter upon which the contents of that particular tradition had some bearing. Therefore, his traditions were repeated in several chapters, because a (single) tradition may deal with different subjects, as we have indicated. His work thus comprised 7,200 traditions,¹²⁹ of which 3,000 are repeated. In each chapter, he kept separate the recensions with the different chains of transmitters belonging to them.

Then came the imam Muslim b. al-Hajjaj al-Qushayri. He composed his *Musnad as-Sahih*, in which he followed al-Bukhari, in that he transmitted the material that was generally agreed upon, but he omitted the repetitions and did not keep the recensions and chains of transmitters separate. He arranged his work according to juridical categories and the chapter headings of jurisprudence.

Scholars have corrected the two (authors), noting the cases of the sound traditions not (included in their works).¹³⁰ They have mentioned the cases where (they) neglected (to include traditions which, according to) the conditions governing the inclusion of traditions in their works, (should have been included).

¹²⁸The first half of the sentence in C and D. *Musnad* has here the general meaning of "collection of traditions."

¹²⁹Ibn as-Salah, *Muqaddimah*, p. 15 (Ch. t), has 7,275.

¹³⁰A and B read: "Still, those two (works) do not include all sound traditions. Therefore, scholars have corrected the two (authors) in this respect." The rest of the paragraph is omitted.

Abu Dawud as-Sijistani, Abu 'Isa at-Tirmidhi, and Abu `Abd-ar-Rahman an-Nasa'i¹³¹ wrote *sunan* works which included more than merely "sound" traditions. Their intention was to include all traditions that amply fulfilled the conditions making them actionable traditions. They were either traditions with few links in the chain of transmitters, which makes them sound (traditions), as is (generally) acknowledged, or they were lesser traditions, such as "good" traditions and others. It was to serve as a guide to orthodox practice.

These¹³² are the collections of traditions that are used as reference works in Islam. They are the chief orthodox works on traditions. Other collections have been added to these five, such as the *Musnads* of Abu Dawud at-Tayalisi,¹³³ al-Bazzar,¹³⁴ 'Abd b. Humayd,¹³⁵ ad-Darimi,¹³⁶ Abu Ya la al-Mawsili,¹³⁷ and the imam Ahmad. According to Ibn as-Salah, their intention was to collect the material transmitted on the authority of the men around Muhammad that cannot be used as argument.

However, it has been transmitted on the authority of the imam Ahmad, that he used to say to his son 'Abdallah concerning his own *Musnad*, which includes 31,000 traditions and the same statement by Ahmad is also transmitted (in the same words) on the authority of a number of his companions, who said that he had instructed them in his *Musnad*:- "This work is a selection from among 750,000 traditions. The Prophetic traditions concerning which the Muslims hold divergent opinions (of their genuineness), and which you do not find in it, cannot be used as arguments." This shows that all the material in his *Musnad* can properly be used as argument. This is the

¹³¹ A, B, C, and D: an-Nasawi.

¹³² The upper text is that of the later recension (C and D).

¹³³ Sulaymin b. Dawud, d. 203 or 204 [819]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 257.

¹³⁴ Ahmad b. 'Amr, d. 291 or 292 [904/905]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 258.

¹³⁵ Died 249 [863]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 257 f.

¹³⁶ Abdallah b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 181-255 [797-869]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 270.

¹³⁷ Ahmad b. 'Ali, d. 307 [919/20]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 258.

opposite of what has been said by Ibn as-Salah. I have quoted (Ahmad's) statement from the *Manaqib al-Imam Ahmad* by Ibn al-Jawzi.¹³⁸

At this time, traditions are no longer published, nor are the (publications of) traditions by former scholars corrected.¹³⁹ Common (experience) attests the fact that these numerous religious leaders, close to each other in time, were too capable and too firmly possessed of independent judgment to have neglected or omitted any tradition, so that it is impossible that some later scholar might discover one.¹⁴⁰ (Therefore,) at this time, one is concerned with correcting the principal written works, with fixing the accuracy of their transmission, and¹⁴¹ with establishing continuous chains of transmitters leading back to the authors, chains that are sound throughout. With very few exceptions, no attention has been paid to more than the five main works.

Al-Bukhari's *Sahih* occupies the highest rank among them. People have considered it difficult to comment on the *Sahih* and have found it rather complicated, because it requires a knowledge of numerous recensions and personages from the Hijaz, Syria, and the 'Iraq, as well as knowledge of their conditions and of the different opinions of scholars about them. Constant study is also required to understand the subject headings. Al-Bukhari would make a chapter heading and mention under it a tradition with a certain chain of transmitters or in a certain recension. Then, he would make another subject heading and mention the very same tradition under it, because it (also) deals with the subject of that particular chapter. This applies to every chap-

¹³⁸(Cairo, 1549/1980-31), pp. 191 f. (Ch. xxvii).

¹³⁹Cf. 1:187, and p. 451, above.

¹⁴⁰The earlier text adds here: "They are unlikely to have done such a thing."

¹⁴¹From here to the end of the sentence, the translation follows C and D. The earlier text reads: "... on the authority of their authors, and studying the chains of transmitters, examining all that in the light of the conditions and laws established in the science of tradition, so that the chains of transmitters (can be considered as) continuous and well established throughout."

ter heading, so that the tradition may be repeated in separate¹⁴² chapters according to the various different subjects it deals with.

A study¹⁴³ of the chapter headings should clearly indicate the relation that exists between them and the traditions the chapter contains. However, in many cases, this relation is obscure, and people have lengthily tried to explain it.

This happened in connection with the chapter heading: "The House will be destroyed by an Abyssinian with two little legs."¹⁴⁴ It occurs in the book on "Disturbances" (*fitan*). Then, (al-Bukhari) quotes the Qur'an: "And when we made the House a meeting place for the people and a place of safety."¹⁴⁵ Nothing is said of the matter mentioned in the chapter heading, and the relationship between the chapter heading and the chapter has remained obscure to scholars. Some have said that the author wrote all the chapter headings down in his draft and wrote the traditions under each chapter heading later, whenever he had the opportunity. He died before he was able to fill in all the chapter headings, and his work was transmitted in this (incomplete form).

However, as I learned from the companions of Judge Ibn Bakkar,¹⁴⁶ the judge of Granada who died in the battle of Tarifa in the year 741 [1340],¹⁴⁷ and who was well versed in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, the chapter heading

¹⁴² *Sic* C and D. The earlier text has "many."

¹⁴³ The text from here to p. 459, I, 3, is found in C and D.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Concordance*, II, 16b; III, 32b, Al-Bukhari quotes the tradition twice in the book on the pilgrimage in the *Sahih*, but not as a chapter heading, and he does not quote it in the book on *fitan*, according to Krehl's edition of the *Sahih*.

The tradition occurs in the book on *fitan* in the *Sahih* of Muslim, at II, 688, of the ed. Calcutta, 1265/1849.

¹⁴⁵ Qur'an 2.125 (119).

¹⁴⁶ He is Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Yahya, 674-741 [1276-1340], who, however, is called Ibn Bakr in Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, II, 125 ff., and in the works that depend on it: Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, IV, 284; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat*, VI, 132 f. Cf., further, an-Nubahi, *al-Marqabah al-'ulyd*, ed. E. Levi-Provencal: *Histoire des Judges d'Andalousie* . . . (Cairo, 1948), pp. 141 ff., where the date of his birth is given as 673 [1275].

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Khaldun erroneously says 740, according to both MSS.

(quoted) was intended by al-Bukhari to interpret the verse of the Qur'an in the sense that it dealt with "something established by law," and not with "something appointed by divine decree."¹⁴⁸ The difficulty results from interpreting "we made" in the sense of "we appointed by divine decree." If (the word in question) is interpreted in the sense of "we established by law," there is no confusion (or contradiction) in the (chapter heading saying that) a man with two little legs will destroy (the House). I learned this explanation from our teacher, Abul-Barakat al-Ballafiqi,¹⁴⁹ who had it on the authority of (Ibn Bakkar). Al-Ballafiqi was one of his most important pupils.

Commentators who do not exhaust such problems do not completely fulfill their duties as commentators. Commentators of this sort include Ibn Battal,¹⁵⁰ Ibn al-Muhallab,¹⁵¹ Ibn at-Tin,¹⁵² and others. I have heard many of our teachers say: "The Muslims still have the obligation to write a commentary on al-Bukhari." They meant that no Muslim scholar has so far completely fulfilled the task of a commentator in the sense indicated.

The *Sahih* of Muslim has been given much attention by Maghribi scholars. They applied themselves to it and agreed that it was superior to the work of al-Bukhari. Ibn as-Salah said:¹⁵³ "It is considered superior (by Maghribis and other scholars) to the work of al-Bukhari, because it is free from admixtures of material that is not sound and that al-Bukhari wrote down disregarding his own conditions (of soundness), mostly in connection with the chapter headings."

¹⁴⁸If the Ka'bah was appointed as a place of safety by divine decree, nobody could destroy it. A law, however, can be transgressed, and the Ka'bah thus could be destroyed.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. I:xlii, above.

¹⁵⁰ Ali b. Khalaf, d. 449 [1057]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 261. 261

¹⁵¹ Unidentified.

¹⁵² Unidentified.

¹⁵³ The preference for Muslim's work is not shared by Ibn as-Salah. This is made clear in his *Muqaddimah*, p. 14 (Ch. 1). Ibn Khaldun's statement is a rather free quotation of that chapter, from memory.

The imam al-Mazari,¹⁵⁴ a Maliki jurist, dictated a commentary on the *Sahih* of Muslim which he entitled *al-Mu'lim bi fawa'id Muslim*. It contains much important source material from the science of tradition and solid juridical knowledge. The work was later on perfected by Judge 'Iyad.¹⁵⁵ He called his work *Ikmal al-Mu'lim*. The two of them were followed by Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawl with a commentary containing all the material of the two works and adding to it, thus becoming a complete commentary.

The other three collections of traditions contain the most extensive source material for jurists. Most comment on (that material) is found in the law books, except for those things that are peculiar to the science of tradition. Scholars wrote on (that material) and exhaustively presented in this respect as much as was needed of the sciences of tradition, their subjects, and the collections which contain traditions considered (norms) for action.

It should be known that, at this time, traditions are classified in grade as "sound," "good," "weak," "ill," and so on. The classification was fixed and made known by the leading *hadith* authorities. It is no longer possible to declare a tradition sound, that had not been (known as) sound before. The *hadith* authorities made known the traditions in their various recensions and with their chains of transmitters. They were so thorough in this respect that, if a tradition had been transmitted with a chain of transmitters or in a recension not belonging to it, they would have realized that it had been tampered with. Something of the sort happened to the imam Muhammad b. Ismail¹⁵⁶ al-Bukhari. He came to Baghdad, and the *hadith* scholars wanted to examine him. They asked him about several traditions, transposing the chains of transmitters (cited). He said: "I do not know those traditions, but I was told by so-and-so . . ." and then he repeated all the traditions in the correct order, supplying each text with the chain of transmitters to which it

¹⁵⁴Muhammad b. 'All, 453-536 [1061-1141/421. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 663.

¹⁵⁵'Iyad b. Musa, 476-544 [1083-11491. Cf. GAL, I, 369 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 630 ff.

¹⁵⁶D adds: "b. Ibrahim."

belonged. The *hadith*scholars (in Baghdad), in consequence, acknowledged (al-Bukhari's) leadership.¹⁵⁷

It should also be known that religious leaders of independent judgment differed in the extent of their knowledge of traditions. It is said that the (number of) traditions that Abu Hanifah transmitted came to only seventeen or so.¹⁵⁸ Malik accepted as sound only the traditions found in the *Muwatta'*. They are at most three hundred or so. Ahmad b. Hanbal has 50,000¹⁵⁹ traditions in his *Musnad*. Each (authority) has as many traditions as his independent judgment in this respect allowed him to have.

A certain biased, unfair person dared to say that some (of the authorities) knew little about traditions and, therefore, did not transmit many. It is impossible to believe such a thing about the great religious leaders. The religious law is derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and those who know little about traditions definitely have to study and transmit them with eagerness and zeal, in order to be able to derive the religion from (its) sound basic principles and to get the laws from their Master (Muhammad) who brought them from God. Therefore, the great religious leaders who transmitted only a few traditions, did so (not because they knew little about traditions but) because they might have been attacked with regard to the traditions they transmitted, and because their transmission might have been accused of defects, especially since the majority (of scholars) gives preference to negative (as against positive) personality criticism. Therefore, their independent judgment induced them to leave aside traditions and chains of transmitters in which such (defects) might occur and which are numerous. Therefore, they transmitted few traditions, because of the weakness of the ways of transmission. Furthermore, the Hijazis transmitted more traditions than the 'Iraqis.

¹⁵⁷Cf. al-Khalib al-Baghdad?, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, II, 20 f.

¹⁵⁸A marginal note in D expresses great indignation, treating the statement as a brazen lie.

¹⁵⁹Bulaq and A have 50,000, though A has a correction *supra lineam*: 40(000). The figure is corrected in the margin of B, but the correction is cut off in my photostat. C has 50,000 in the text, corrected *supra lineam* to 40,000, and in the margin to 30,000.

Medina was the place to which Muhammad emigrated and where the men around him made their home. Those of them who moved to the 'Iraq were more occupied with the holy war (than with the transmission of traditions).

The imam Abu Hanifah transmitted only a few traditions, because he was very strict in applying the conditions governing the transmission and retention of traditions. He declared traditions weak when they were contradicted by decisive logical (arguments). Therefore, it was difficult for him to transmit traditions, and his traditions are few. However, it can by no means be assumed that he purposely omitted to transmit traditions. He would not have done such a thing. He was one of the greatest scholars of independent judgment in the science of tradition. This is proven by the fact that the *hadith* scholars follow his school and refer to it and take it into consideration in rejecting or accepting (arguments).

Other *hadith* scholars, that is, the great majority, permitted a certain latitude in applying the conditions (governing the soundness of traditions). They transmitted many traditions, everyone relying on his own independent judgment. The later (Hanafites) permitted a certain latitude in applying the conditions and transmitted many traditions. At-Tahawi¹⁶⁰ was a transmitter who transmitted many traditions. He wrote his *Musnad*, which is an important work. However, it does not have the same value as the two *Sahihs*, because the conditions applied by al-Bukhari and Muslim in their works are those accepted by the general consensus of all Muslims, as has been said. The conditions applied by at-Tahawi, on the other hand, are not generally agreed upon. For instance, he transmits traditions on the authority of persons whose condition is obscure, and other things. Therefore, the two *Sahihs*, as, indeed, the other well-known collections of traditions, are preferable to (at-Tahawi), because his conditions are inferior to theirs. Therefore it is said that the two *Sahihs* are accepted by general consensus, as there is general consensus concerning the soundness of the conditions applied in them and

¹⁶⁰Ahmad b. Muhammad, d. 321 [933]. Cf. GAL, I, 173 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 293 f.

generally agreed upon. No one should be in any doubt about this. Of all people, scholars most deserve that one have a good opinion of them and that one be eager to find sound excuses for them.

Another¹⁶¹ of the sciences of traditions is the application of this canon to the discussion of the traditions, one by one, according to their various chapters and headings, by interpreting these collections of traditions.¹⁶² This was done by the *hadith* expert Abu `Umar b. `Abd-al-Barr,¹⁶³ by Abu Muhammad b. Hazm,¹⁶⁴ by Judge `Iyad, by Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawi, and by Ibn al-`Attar¹⁶⁵ after (`Iyad and an-Nawawi), and by many other leading religious scholars of the West and the East. It is true that their discussions of the traditions contain other things, such as things that have to do with the text, the lexicography, and the grammar (*i`rab*) of the traditions. Still, their discussions of the chains of transmitters of the traditions in accordance with the *hadith* technique, are more comprehensive and longer (than their discussions of other matters).

These are the various sciences of tradition current among leading contemporary authorities.¹⁶⁶

God guides toward the truth and helps to (find) it.

Another of the sciences of tradition is that concerned with the chains of transmitters and with knowledge of the traditions in accordance with which one must act because they are provided with chains of transmitters fulfilling all the conditions (of trustworthiness). One must act only in accordance with those traditions of the Messenger of God that, in all probability, are true. How it is possible to assume probability must be investigated by independent

¹⁶¹The rest of the section is found in C and D.

¹⁶²*Al-masanid*: C; *al-asdnid* "chains of transmitters": D.

¹⁶³Yusuf b. `Abdallah, 368-463 [978-1071]. Cf. GAL, I, 367 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 628 f.

¹⁶⁴Cf. 1:414, above.

¹⁶⁵Apparently, an-Nawawi's pupil, `Ali b. Ibrahim, 654-724 [1256-1324]. Cf. GAL, II, 85; *Suppl.*, II, 100.

¹⁶⁶Cf. 1:14 (n. 29), above.

study. One gets to (the assumption of probability) through knowledge of the probity and accuracy of the transmitters of traditions. Such knowledge is established through information obtained on the authority of religious leaders, which declares a transmitter to be reliable and free from unreliability or negligence. This shows us whether we should accept their (traditions) or reject them.

Furthermore, knowledge of the transmitters includes knowing and distinguishing the different ranks of the individual transmitters among the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation.

The chains of transmitters also differ in respect to continuity or lack of continuity, in that a transmitter may not have known personally the transmitter on whose authority he transmits a tradition. They also differ in respect to their freedom from weaknesses which may affect them adversely. These differences lead to (the designation of) two kinds of chains, and the rule is that the "highest"¹¹⁵ chain is to be accepted, and the "lowest" chain to be rejected. There are differences of opinion with regard to the intermediate kind, according to the transmitted statements of authorities on the subject. They have invented technical terms for (classifying) the various grades (of reliability), such as "sound," "good," "weak," "skipping the first transmitter on Muhammad's authority" (mursal), "omitting one link" (munqati'), "omitting two links" (mu'dal), "singular" (shadhdh), "unusual" (gharib), and the other terms in use among them. Each term has been treated by itself, and the existing disagreements or agreements among linguistic authorities concerning each term have been noted.

Further, there is the study of how the transmission took place. It may have taken place by reading (gira'ah), by writing (kitabah), by getting the approval of the authority for written material (munawalah), or by obtaining the permission of the authority to teach certain traditions (ijizah). One must study the difference in grade assigned to these different types of trans-

¹¹⁵I.e., the chain with the fewest links.

mission, and one must also study the differences of opinion among scholars about what is to be accepted here and what to be rejected.

Then, there follows the discussion of terms applying to the texts of traditions. A text may be "unusual" (gharib), or "difficult" (ambiguous, mushkil), or "(affected by some) misspelling (or misreading)," or "(containing) homonyms" (muftariq), or "(containing) homographs" (mukhtalif), or something else of this sort.

This constitutes the largest and preponderant part of the studies of hadith scholars.

The conditions of the transmitters of traditions in early Muslim times, the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, were known to the people of their respective countries. There were transmitters in the Hijaz, in the `Iraq in al-Basrah and al-Kufah, and in Syria and Egypt. All of them were well known and famous in their day. The people of the Hijaz in these (early) times had fewer links in their chains of transmitters than others, and they were sounder (transmitters), because they insisted upon probity and accuracy as (necessary) conditions of transmission. They were reluctant to accept (as a reliable transmitter) anyone whose condition in these respects was not known.

These are the collections of traditions that are famous in Islam. They are the chief orthodox works on traditions. Though hadith works are numerous, reference is as a rule made to the (books mentioned).

The knowledge of all these conditions and technical terms is the science of tradition. The subject of abrogating and abrogated traditions is occasionally taken out and treated as a discipline by itself. The same applies to "unusual" traditions. There are famous works by scholars on that subject. Then, there are the homonyms. Scholars have written a great many works on the science of traditions. An outstanding hadith scholar was Abd'Abdallah al-Hakim. His works on the subject are famous. He improved the science of tradition and presented it to its best advantage."

The most famous work by a modern scholar on the subject is the book by .Abu 'Amr b. as-Salah. He lived in the early part of the seventh [thirteenth] century. His example was followed by Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawi.

The purpose of the discipline is a noble one. It is concerned with the knowledge of how to preserve the traditions (sunan) transmitted on the authority of the Master of the religious law.

VI.12. Jurisprudence and its subdivision, inheritance laws.

[p.3:3]

Jurisprudence is the knowledge of the classification of the laws of God, which concern the actions of all responsible Muslims, as obligatory, forbidden, recommendable, disliked, or permissible. These (laws) are derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah (traditions), and from the evidence the Law-giver (Muhammad) has established for knowledge of (the laws). The laws evolved from the (whole) of this evidence are called "jurisprudence" (*fiqh*).

The early Muslims evolved the laws from that evidence, though, unavoidably, they differed in (the interpretation of) it. The evidence is mainly derived from texts. The texts are in Arabic. In many instances, and especially with regard to legal concepts,¹⁶⁷ there are celebrated differences among them as to the meaning implicit in the words. Furthermore, the traditions (Sunnah) differ widely in respect of the reliability of the recensions. Their legal contents, as a rule, are contradictory. Therefore, a decision is needed. This makes for differences of opinion. Furthermore, evidence not derived from texts causes (still other) differences of opinion. Then, there are new cases which arise and are not covered by the texts. They are referred by analogy to things that are covered by the texts. All of this serves to stir up unavoidable differences of opinion, and this is why differences of opinion occurred among the early Muslims and the religious leaders after them.

¹⁶⁷"And especially . . . concepts" added in D, while the whole sentence is a marginal addition in C.

Moreover, not all of the men around Muhammad were qualified to give legal decisions. Not all of them could serve as sources for religious (practice). That was restricted to men who knew the Qur'an and were acquainted with the abrogating and abrogated, the ambiguous and unambiguous verses,¹⁶⁸ and with all the rest of the evidence that can be derived from the Qur'an, since they had learned (these matters) from the Prophet directly or from their higher ranking colleagues who had learned it from him. These men, therefore, were called "readers," that is, men who (were able to) read the Qur'an. Because the Arabs were an illiterate nation, those who were able to read the Qur'an were distinguished by the name of "readers." Their ability to read was a remarkable thing in those days.

It continued to be that way at the beginning of Islam. Then, the cities of Islam grew, and illiteracy disappeared from among the Arabs because of their constant occupation with the Qur'an. Now the development (of jurisprudence from its sources) took place. Jurisprudence was perfected and came to be a craft and science. The Qur'an readers were no longer called Qur'an readers but jurists and religious scholars.

The jurists developed two different approaches to jurisprudence. One was the use of opinion (reasoning) and analogy. It was represented by the 'Iraqis. The other was the use of traditions. It was represented by the Hijazis.

As we have stated before,¹⁶⁹ few traditions circulated among the 'Iraqis. Therefore, they made much use of analogy and became skilled in it. That gave them the name of the representatives of opinion (reasoning). Their chief, around whom and whose followers their school centered, was the imam Abu Hanifah. The leader of the Hijazis was Malik b. Anas and, after him, ash-Shafi'i.

Later on, a group of religious scholars disapproved of analogy and rejected its use. They were the Zahirites. They restricted the sources of the law

¹⁶⁸as-Suyuli, *Itqan* (Cairo, 1317/1899), II, 2ff. (Ch. XLIII), and below, pp. 55 ff.

¹⁶⁹Cf. 2:461, above.

to the texts and the general consensus. They considered obvious analogy and causality suggested by the texts as resting in the texts themselves, because a text that indicates *a ratio legis*¹⁷⁰ permits legal decision for all the cases covered by (such a kind of reasoning).¹⁷¹ The leaders of this school were Dawud b. 'Ali¹⁷² and his son and their followers.

These were the three schools famous among the great mass of Muslims. The 'Alids invented their own school and had their own jurisprudence. They based it upon their dogma requiring abuse of some of the men around Muhammad, and upon their stated opinion concerning the infallibility of the imams and the inadmissibility of differences in their statements. All these are futile principles. The Kharijites similarly had their own school. The great mass did not care for these (unorthodox) schools, but greatly disapproved of them and abused them. Nothing is known of the opinions of these schools. Their books are not being transmitted. No trace of them can be found except in regions inhabited (by these sectarians). The (legal text) books of the Shi'ah are thus found in Shi'ah countries and wherever Shi'ah dynasties exist, in the West, the East, and in the Yemen. The same applies to the Khari-

¹⁷⁰ *An-nass 'ala l 'illah* occurs again below, p. 27.

¹⁷¹ As de Slane suspected in his note to this passage, the purpose of the sentence is to show that the Z, ahirites used analogy in a certain sense, but only in cases where the texts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah seem to imply its use.

A translation of the sentence is given by I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 30. If I understand his translation correctly, the main difference between it and the translation above is at the end, where Goldziher says, ". . . because causality [*Gesetzesursache*] mentioned in the text, *wherever it occurs, is* but the determination of a concrete law (not the determination of a legal principle)."

Bombaci, p. 454, translates, "They considered 'evident' analogy and the *ratio legis* resulting from a text in the same way as the (explicit) norms of the texts, in that a text indicating the determining motive is *in each case* equivalent to a text establishing a norm." (Thus, they completely excluded analogy from the sources.)

My italics indicate where I believe Goldziher and Bombaci to have gone wrong, by misunderstanding *mahalliha*.

¹⁷² For Dawud b. 'Ali, 202-270 [817/18-884], and his son Muhammad, 255-297 [869-910], cf. GAL, I, 185 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 312 and 249 f.

jites. All of them have (legal) writings and books and hold strange opinions on jurisprudence.

The Zahirite school has become extinct today as the result of the extinction of their religious leaders and disapproval of their adherents by the great mass of Muslims. It has survived only in books, which have eternal life.¹⁷³ Worthless persons occasionally feel obliged to follow this school and study these books in the desire to learn the (Zahirite) system of jurisprudence from them, but they get nowhere and encounter the opposition and disapproval of the great mass of Muslims. In doing so, they often are considered innovators, as they accept knowledge from books for which no key is provided by teachers.¹⁷⁴ That was done by Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi,¹⁷⁵ although he occupies a high rank in the expert knowledge of traditions. He turned to the Zahirite school and became skilled in it. He gave his own independent interpretation of their stated opinions. He opposed their leader Dawud and attacked most of the Muslim religious leaders. For that, the scholars took their revenge on him. They greatly vilified his school and completely disregarded his books. It went so far that sale of his books on the market was prohibited. At certain times, they were (even) torn up.

Nothing has remained except the schools of the representatives of opinion (reasoning) in the `Iraq and of the representatives of traditions in the Hijaz.

The leading authority of the `Iraqis, around whom their school centered, was Abu Hanifah an-Nu`man b. Thabit. His place in jurisprudence is unrivaled. This has been at-tested by persons of his own caliber, in particular, Malik and ash-Shafi'i. The leading authority of the Hijazts was Malik b. Anas al-Asbahi, who held the leading position in Medina. He is distin-

¹⁷³Cf. p. I 15, below, where the MSS clearly favor *mukhalladah*, and not *mujalladah* "bound." *Mukhalladah* "eternal" is a common epithet of books.

¹⁷⁴I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 193 f., suggests that Ibn Khaldun was thinking of a contemporary revival of Zahirism in Syria and Egypt. This seems rather improbable.

¹⁷⁵Cf. I:414, above.

guished by the fact that he added another source of law to those known to other scholars, namely, the practice of the Medinese. He was of the opinion that by virtue of their religion and traditionalism, the Medinese always necessarily followed each immediately preceding generation of Medinese, in respect of what they cared¹⁷⁶ to do or not to do. The (process would have gone back) to the generation that was in contact with the actions of the Prophet, and they would have learned from him (what to do and not to do). In (Malik's) opinion, the practice of the Medinese, thus, is basic legal evidence.

Many scholars have thought that the (practice of the Medinese) is (rather) one of the problems of the general consensus. Therefore, they have disapproved of (Malik's use of) it, because use of the general consensus as a source of law is not restricted to the inhabitants of Medina to the exclusion of other (Muslims), but extends to all Muslims. However, it should be known that general consensus means agreement concerning a religious matter on the strength of independent judgment. Malik did not consider the practice of the Medinese in this light. He considered it in the light of the continuity of personal observation over successive generations, (going) back to the time of the Lawgiver (Muhammad). The necessity of the traditionalism of the Medinese (caused by the fact that they have such excellent models to follow), supports that (attitude). It is true that the problem (of the practice of the Medinese) has been mentioned in the chapter (of legal works) dealing with the general consensus. This is the most appropriate place for it, because both the (practice of the Medinese) and the general consensus are concerned with agreement. However, the agreement of general consensus is the result of independent judgment and opinion (reasoning), in view of the (available) evidence. The agreement of the Medinese, on the other hand, affects their

¹⁷⁶ *Yatagayyaddna*: B. The reading *yattafiquna* "they agreed upon," in A, C, and D, seems to be a simplification. In C it appears to be a correction, though the photostat is not clear enough to say so definitely.

practice in as much as it involves reliance upon personal observation of (the practice of) their predecessors. It would, indeed, have been more appropriate if the problem (of the practice of the Medinese) were mentioned in the chapter on the actions¹⁷⁷ of the Prophet, or in connection with (the topic of) evidence concerning which there are differences of opinion - as, for example, (the use as legal evidence) of the law of the religions preceding us (Islam), the (legal) opinions of men around Muhammad, and (the problems of) *praesumptio legis (istishab)*.¹⁷⁸

God gives success.

Malik b. Anas was followed by Muhammad b. Idris al-Muttalibi ash-Shafi'i. He traveled to the 'Iraq after Malik's time. He met the followers of the imam Abu Hanifah and learned from them. He combined the approach of the Hijazis with those of the 'Iraqis. He founded his own school and opposed Malik on many points.

Malik and ash-Shafi'i were followed by Ahmad b. Hanbal. He was one of the highest-ranking *hadith* scholars.¹⁷⁹ His followers studied with those of Abu Hanifah, notwithstanding the abundant knowledge of traditions they themselves possessed. They founded another school.

These four authorities are the ones recognized by tradition in the (Muslim) cities. Tradition-bound people obliterated all other (authorities), and scholars no longer admit any differences of opinion. The technical terminol-

¹⁷⁷Bulaq adds: "and assent by silence . . ." The passage appears in the margin of C, and it seems that *wa-tagririhi* appears there but has been deleted. Cf. D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita* (Rome, [1926]-38), I, 36 f.

¹⁷⁸For *istihab*, cf. I. Goldziher in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I (1887), 228-36; D. Santillana, op. cit., II, 621-23.

The Muslim definition of this legal concept runs as follows: "It is the attempt to associate the present (legal situation) with the past by judging the present in the same way as the past is judged, with the result that (the legal situation) is left as it had been, for the reason that no evidence to change it has been found." Cf. at-Tahanawi, *Kashshaf istilahat al funun* (Bibliotheca Indica) (Calcutta, 1862), I, 809 f.

¹⁷⁹Instead of *Hadith* scholars, D has "independent scholars."

ogy of the sciences has become very diversified, and there are obstacles preventing people from attaining the level of independent judgment. It is also feared that (the existence of differences of opinion) might affect unqualified people whose opinion (reasoning) and religion could not be trusted. Thus, (scholars) came to profess their inability (to apply independent judgment), and had the people adopt the tradition of the (authorities) mentioned and of the respective group of adherents of each. They forbade one to modify his traditional (allegiance), because that would imply frivolity. All that remained after basic textbooks had been produced in the correct manner, and the continuity of their transmission had been established, was to hand down the respective school traditions and, for each individual adherent, to act in accordance with the traditions of his school. Today, jurisprudence means this, and nothing else.¹⁸⁰ The person who would claim independent judgment nowadays would be frustrated and have no adherents.

The Muslims today follow the tradition of one of the four (authorities). The adherents of Ibn Hanbal are few in number.¹⁸¹ Most of them are in Syria and in the 'Iraq, that is,¹⁸² in Baghdad and environs. They are the people who have the best knowledge of the Sunnah and of the transmission of traditions and¹⁸³ prefer them to analogical reasoning as a source of law, as far as possible. They¹⁸⁴ were strong and numerous in Baghdad, until they clashed with the Shi'ah in the territory of (Baghdad). That caused much unrest in Baghdad. It stopped when the Tatars took possession of Baghdad, and was never resumed later on. The majority of Hanbalites are now to be found in Syria.

Abu Hanifah's adherents today are the 'Iraqis and the Muslims of India, China, Transoxania, and all the non-Arab (Persian-Turkish) countries.

¹⁸⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 454.

¹⁸¹Bulaq adds: "because his school makes little use of independent judgment and is so greatly predicated upon the support of transmission and traditions."

¹⁸²C and D: "and."

¹⁸³The rest of the paragraph is not found in A and Bulaq.

¹⁸⁴The rest of the paragraph is not found in B. It appears in the margin of C, and in the text of D.

His school had formerly been restricted rather to Baghdad and the 'Iraq. There had been pupils of his at the court of the 'Abbasid caliphs. Their writings were numerous and their disputations with the Shafi'ites were frequent. Their ways of dealing with controversial questions¹⁸⁵ were excellent. They made a nice discipline out of (the subject of controversial questions) and developed remarkable ideas in this connection. All that is in the hands of scholars. The Maghrib has some knowledge of it. It was brought there by Judge Ibn al-'Arabi¹⁸⁶ and Abul-Walid al-Baji¹⁸⁷ from their travels.

Ash-Shafi'i has more adherents in Egypt than anywhere else. His school had formerly spread through the 'Iraq, Khurasan, and Transoxania. The Shafi'ites had shared with the Hanafites the task of giving legal decisions and teaching in all (Muslim) cities. They had many discussion meetings, and the books on controversial questions are full of the various kinds of (Shafi'ite) argumentation. Later on, all this stopped when the eastern countries were wiped out.

When the imam Muhammad b. Idris ash-Shafi'i took up his residence with the 'Abd-al-Hakam family¹⁸⁸ in Egypt, a number of them¹⁸⁹ studied with him. His pupils in Egypt included al-Buwayti,¹⁹⁰ al-Muzani,¹⁹¹ and

¹⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 23 ff., below.

¹⁸⁶ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Ishbili, d. 543 [1148]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 732 f., where his work on controversial questions, and his *Travels*, are mentioned.

¹⁸⁷ Sulaymin b. Khalaf, eleventh century. Cf. GAL, I, 419; *Suppl.*, I, 743 f. In MS. D, the order of the names Ibn al-'Arabi and al-Baji is reversed.

¹⁸⁸ Abdallah b. 'Abd-al-Hakam, d. 214 [830], and his sons 'Abd-arRahmin, d. 257 [871], 'Abd-al-Hakam, d. 851/52, and Muhammad, 182-268 [798-882]. The last named was a student of ash-Shafi'i who, after ash-Shafi'i's death, switched to Malikism. Cf. GAL, I, 148; *Suppl.*, I, 227 f.; as-Suyuti, *Husn al-muhddarah* (Cairo, 1299/1881-82), I, 166 f., 169, 254.

¹⁸⁹ One would expect "a number of Egyptians," but the text hardly permits such an interpretation.

¹⁹⁰ Yusuf b. Yahya, d. 231 or 232 [845-47]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), XIV, 299 ff.

¹⁹¹ Ismail b. Yahya, d. 264 [878]. Cf. GAL, I, 180; *Suppl.*, I, 305.

others. Malikites¹⁹² in Egypt were certain members of the 'Abd-al-Hakam family,¹⁹³ Ashhab,¹⁹⁴ Ibn al-Qasim,¹⁹⁵ Ibn alMawwaz,¹⁹⁶ and, further, al-Harith b. Miskin¹⁹⁷ and his family; then, Judge Abu Ishaq b. Sha'ban¹⁹⁸ and his followers. Orthodox jurisprudence was then cut off from Egypt by the appearance of the Shi'ah dynasty. 'Alid jurisprudence came into use there. All the other (schools with their) scholars were on the point of complete disappearance, when¹⁹⁹ Judge 'Abd-al-Wah hab²⁰⁰ came to Egypt from Baghdad at the end of the fourth [tenth] century, because he was in need and had to seek a livelihood. The 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs proceeded²⁰¹ to honor him. They advertised his great qualifications, in order to be able to blame the 'Abbasids for driving out such a religious leader, and showed satisfaction with him. As a result, the Maliki school saw some flourishing in Egypt, until the extremist²⁰² Shi'ah 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty was wiped out by Salah-ad-din b. Ayyub. That meant the end of 'Alid jurisprudence in Egypt and the return of orthodox jurisprudence among the Egyptians. The jurisprudence of ash-Shafi'i and his 'Iraqi followers now flourished (in Egypt). It turned out to be in a better position than before, and

¹⁹²The reference to Malikites is out of place here, being induced by the preceding reference to the 'Abd-al-Hakam family, who wavered between Shafi'ism and Malikism.

¹⁹³The beginning of this sentence is not found in Bulaq.

¹⁹⁴Ashab b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz, 140-204 [757/58-820]. Cf. as-Suyuti, *Husn al-muhddarah*, I, 166.

¹⁹⁵Abd-ar-Rahman b. al-Qasim, 132-191 [719-806]. Cf. GAL, I, 176 f.; *suppl.*, I, 299.

¹⁹⁶Muhammad b. Ibrahim, d. 281 [894]. Cf. GAL, 1,177; *Suppl.*, I, 300.

¹⁹⁷154-250 [771--864]. Cf. as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 168. His son Ahmad, 239-311 [853/54-923/24], is mentioned by as-Suyuti, I, 255.

¹⁹⁸Muhammad b. al-Qasim, d. 355 [966]. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Fez, 1316/1898-99), pp. 231 f.; as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 172. The reference to Ibn Sha'ban is not found in Bulaq. "Abu Ishaq" is omitted in D.

¹⁹⁹The text from here to l. 15 (Egypt) is not found in Bulaq. Cf. pp. 17 f., below.

²⁰⁰'Abd-al-Wahhab b. 'Ali, 362-422 [973-1031]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 660. Ibn Bassam mentions 'Abd-al-Wahhab's lack of success in Baghdad in the *Dhakhirah*. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat adh-dhahab* (Cairo, 1350-51/ 1931-33), III, 223 f.; Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj*(Cairo, 1351/1932), p. 159.

²⁰¹*Fa-badara*, as in B. The wrong reading *fa-ta'adhhdhana* in C and D entered Dozy's *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 15.

²⁰²"Extremist" is not found in D.

was greatly cultivated.²⁰³ The book of ar-Rafi'i²⁰⁴ was imported from the 'Iraq into Syria and Egypt. Among famous Shaft'ites were Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawi, one of the champions who had grown up in the shadow of the Ayyubid dynasty in Syria, further, 'Izz-ad-din b. 'Abd-as-Salam,²⁰⁵ then, Ibn ar-Raf'ah²⁰⁶ in Egypt, and Taqi-ad-din b. Daqiq al-'id.²⁰⁷ After the latter two, there was Taqi-ad-din as Subki.²⁰⁸ Finally, (Shafi'ite leadership) was assumed by the present *Shaykh* of Islam in Egypt, Siraj-ad-din al-Bulqini.²⁰⁹ He is the greatest Shafi'ite in Egypt today and, indeed, the greatest Egyptian religious scholar.

Malik's school was restricted to Maghribis and Spaniards, even though it was also found among other peoples. However, (Maghribis and Spaniards) very rarely follow other schools. (This situation is explained by the fact that) they mostly traveled to the Hijaz. There, their journey ended. Medina, at that time, was the home of religious scholarship, which spread to the 'Iraq from there. The 'Iraq did not lie in the way of (the travels of the Maghribis and the Spaniards). Thus, they restricted themselves to studying with the scholars of Medina, that is, with Malik, the leading Medinese scholar at that time, as with his teachers before him and with his pupils after him. Thus, Maghribis and Spaniards (always) referred to (Malik) and became his adherents and nobody else's, as the methods of other (authorities) did not reach them. Furthermore, the desert attitude was predominant among Maghribis and Spaniards. They did not care for sedentary culture, such as existed among the 'Iraqis. Therefore, they were more inclined toward the

²⁰³This sentence follows in B the sentence that is here next.

²⁰⁴Abd-al-Karim b. Mubammad, d. 623 [1226]. Cf. GAL, I, 393; *Suppl.*, I, 678. The "book" is the *Kitab al-Mubarrar*: The 'Iraq is evidently "the non-Arab 'Iraq."

²⁰⁵Abd-al-'Aziz b. 'Abd-as-Salam, 577-660 [1181/82-1262]. Cf. GAL, I, 430 f.; *suppl.*, I, 766 ff.

²⁰⁶Ahmad b. Muhammad, 645-710 [1247/48-1310]. Cf. GAL, II, 133 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 164.

²⁰⁷Muhammad b. 'Ali, 625-702 [1228-1302]. Cf. GAL, II, 63; *Suppl.*, II, 66.

²⁰⁸Ali b. 'Abd-al-Kafi, 683 [1284] to 755 or 756 [1354/55]. Cf. GAL, II, 86 ff.; *Suppl.*, II, 102 ff.

²⁰⁹Umar b. Raslan, 724-805 [1324-1403]. Cf. GAL, II, 93; *Suppl.*, II, 110.

Hijazis, because the Hijazis also had the desert attitude. Thus, the Malikite school among them always retained its simplicity and was not affected by the refinement and improvement of sedentary culture that took effect in other schools.

The school doctrine of each authority became, among his adherents, a scholarly discipline in its own right. They were no longer in a position to apply independent judgment and analogy. Therefore, they had to make reference to the established principles from the school doctrine of their authority, in order to be able to analyze problems in their context and disentangle them when they got confused. A firmly rooted habit was required to enable a person to undertake such analysis and disentanglement and to apply the school doctrine of his particular authority to those (processes) according to the best of his ability. This habit is (what is meant) at this time by the science of jurisprudence.

All Maghribis are adherents of Malik. His pupils were formerly spread over Egypt and the 'Iraq. In the 'Iraq, they were represented by Judge Ismail²¹⁰ and his contemporaries, such as Ibn Khuwazmandad,²¹¹ Ibn al-Muntab,²¹² Judge Abu Bakr al-Abhari,²¹³ Judge Abul-Hasan b. al-Qas-

²¹⁰Isma'il b. Ishaq, 199 or 200 [814-16] to 282 [896]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 273, and above, 1:38. The "men of his class" ("his contemporaries"), however, lived a century after him.

²¹¹Abu 'Abdallah (Bakr) Mubammad b. Abmad, a pupil of al-Abhari. Cf. I. Goldziher in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LVIII (1904), 582-85; Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), p. 268. According to Goldziher, the correct form of his name would be Ibn Khuwayrmand Ad, and that is precisely what we find in Bulaq. The existence of both forms is acknowledged by Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan* (Hyderabad, 1329-31/1911-13), V, 291 f. Cf. also al-Safadi, *WafI*, ed. S. Dederling (Istanbul, 1949), II, 52.

²¹²Ibn al-Muntab is not identical with either of the two brothers of this name, 'Abdallah and 'Uthmin b. 'Amr, who lived in the tenth century. He figures as a pupil of Judge Ismail, teacher of al-Abhari, and contemporary of a man who died in 303 [916/16]. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), pp. 93, 156, 255.

²¹³Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, 289-375 [902-986]. Cf. al-Khatib alBaghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, V, 462 f.; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam* (Hyderabad, 1357-/1938-), VII, 131.

sar,²¹⁴ Judge 'Abd-al-Wahhab,²¹⁵ and their successors. In Egypt, there was Ibn al-Qasim, Ashhab, Ibn 'Abd-al-Hakam, al-Harith b. Miskin, and their contemporaries. Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythi²¹⁶ traveled from Spain (to the East) and met Malik and transmitted the *Muwatta'* on his authority. He was an important pupil of Malik. Also, 'Abd-al-Malik b. Habib²¹⁷ traveled from Spain (to the East) and studied with Ibn al-Qasim and his contemporaries. He spread the school of Malik in Spain. He wrote a systematic work on it, in the *Kitab al-Wadihah*. A pupil of his, al-'Utbi,²¹⁸ wrote the *'Utbiyah*.

Asad b. al-Furat²¹⁹ traveled from Ifrigiyah (to the East) and studied first with the followers of Abu Hanifah, but then changed over to the school of Malik. He studied with Ibn al-Qasim all the chapters of jurisprudence and wrote down what he learned. He brought his book back to al-Qayrawan. It was called *al-Asadiyah*, after Asad b. al-Furat. Sahnun²²⁰ studied it with Asad (himself). He, then, traveled to the East and met Ibn al-Qasim. He studied with him and confronted him with the problems of the *Asadiyah*. He reconsidered many of them, and Sahnun wrote down his own²²¹ problems in a systematic work, and stated which of the problems of the *Asadiyah* he had reconsidered. Ibn al-Qasim and he together wrote to Asad and asked him to delete from the *Asadiyah* the problems that had been reconsidered (by Ibn al-Qasim and Sahnun) and to accept the book of Sahnun. Asad, however, refused to do that. As a result, people disregarded Asad's book and followed

²¹⁴Ali b. Ahmad, d. 898 [1007/1008]. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), p. 199; GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 660 (No. 1⁵); 11, 963 (No. 49). Cf. also below, p. 32.

²¹⁵Not in D. For 'Abd-al-Wahhab and the following four men, cf. p. 11, above.

²¹⁶Died 234 or 236 [848-851]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 297; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib* (Hyderabad, 1325-27/1907-9), XI, 300 f. The passage concerning Yahya is found only in C (in the margin) and D.

²¹⁷Died 238 or 239 [853/541]. Cf. GAL, I, 149 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 231.

²¹⁸Muhammad b. Ahmad, d. 235 [869]. Cf. GAL, I, 177; *suppl.*, I, 900 f. Cf. also below, p. 286.

²¹⁹Born between 142 and 145 [759-63], died in 213 or 214 [828-30]. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), p. 98.

²²⁰Abd-as-Salam b. Sa'id, Sahnun or Subnun, 160-240 [776/77-854]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 299 f.

²²¹Or Ibn al-Qasim's problems.

the *Mudawwanah* of Sahnun, despite the fact that (in the *Mudawwanah*) different problems were (confusingly) lumped together in the various chapters. Therefore, the *Mudawwanah* was called *Mudawwanah-and-Mukhtalifah* (the "mixed up, confused one"). The inhabitants of al-Qayrawan concentrated upon the *Mudawwanah*, whereas the Spaniards concentrated upon the *Wadihah* and the *'Utbiyah*.

Ibn Abi Zayd,²²² then, made a compendium of the *Mudawwanah-and-Mukhtalifah* in a book entitled *al-Mukhtasar*. One of the jurists of al-Qayrawan, Abu Sa'id al-Baradhi'i,²²³ also made a compendium of it in a book entitled *at-Tahdhib*. The *shaykhs* of Ifriqiyah used the *Tahdhib* as their textbook. They accepted it and disregarded all other works. In the same way, the Spaniards used the *'Utbiyah* as their textbook and kept away from the *Wadihah* and other works.

Malikite scholars have never ceased writing commentaries, explanations, and synopses of these main works. The people of Ifriqiyah wrote a good deal on the *Mudawwanah*. Scholars such as Ibn Yunus,²²⁴ al-Lakhmi,²²⁵ Ibn Muhriz,²²⁶ at-Tunisi,²²⁷ Ibn Bashir,²²⁸ and others, wrote on it. The

²²²Cf. I:223, above.

²²³Khalaf b. Abul-Qasim (wrote in 372 [982]). Cf. GAL, I, 178; *Suppl.*, I, 302. The reading Baradhi'i, and not Baradi'i, is indicated in B and C in this case, though not in the later occurrence of the name, below, p. 286.

²²⁴ Abu 'Abdallah b. Yunus, ca. 1100. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 663; II, 963 (No. 53). D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, II, 651, has Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Yunus, d. 451 [1059].

²²⁵Ali b. 'Abdallah, d. 478 [1085]. Cf. GAL, I, 383; *Suppl.*, 300, 661. D. Santillana, *op. cit.*, II, 651, has 'All b. Muhammad.

²²⁶Abul-Qasim, a contemporary of the following Tunisi. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), pp. 39, 120.

²²⁷Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Hasan, died "at the beginning of the disturbances in al-Qayrawan," i.e., during the Arab attacks against the city in the 1050's-possibly in 447 [1055/56] when al-Mu'izz withdrew, or 449 [1057/58] when the Arabs sacked it. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), pp. 88 f.

²²⁸He apparently is identical with Ibrahim b. 'Abd-as-Samad, who lived ca. 1100. Cf. Ibn Farhun, *op. cit.*, p. 87, who does not, however, mention his work on the *Mudawwanah*. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 300; II, 960 (No. 22). For this passage, see also below, p. 288.

Spaniards wrote a good deal on the '*Utbiyah*. Scholars such as Ibn Rushd²²⁹ and others wrote on it.

Ibn Abi Zayd collected all the problems, contradictions, and statements from the main works in the *Kitab an-Nawadir*. He dealt with all the stated opinions of the school and listed in detail in that book the contents of all the main works. Most of it was taken over by Ibn Yunus into his book on the *Mudawwanah*.

The Malikite school was very actively cultivated in the two countries (Spain and northwestern Africa), until the dynasties of Cordoba and al-Qayrawan were destroyed. Later on, the Maghribis held on to the (Malikite tradition of the) two (cities).

There²³⁰ are three different schools within the Malikite school:

(1) That of the Qayrawanians. Its founder was Sahnun, who studied with Ibn al-Qasim.

(2) That of the Cordovans. Its founder was Ibn Habib, who studied with Malik, Mutarrif,²³¹ Ibn al-Mijishim,²³² and Asbagh.²³³

(3) That of the 'Iraqis. Its founder was Judge Ismail and his companions.

Eventually, there appeared the book of Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib, in which he summarized the various approaches of the Malikite (authorities) to every subject and enumerated their statements on every individual problem. Thus, his work came to be a kind of synopsis of the school.

²²⁹Muhammad b. Ahmad, 450-520 [1058-1126], the philosopher's grandfather. Cf. GAL, I, 384; *Suppi.*, I, 300, 662.

²³⁰The lower text (in italics) is that of Bulaq and A, the upper (between asterisks) that of B, C, and D.

²³¹Mutarrif b. 'Ali, 128 [745/46] to ca. 214 [829], son of one of Malik's sisters. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 175 f.

²³²Abd-al-Malik b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz, d. 212 or 214 [827-291]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, VI, 407-409, where 'Abd-al-Malik b. Uabib is mentioned as one of Ibn al-Majishun's students.

²³³Asbagh b. al-Faraj, d. 226 [840]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 361 f.

The Malikite school had been in Egypt since the times of al-Harith b. Miskin, Ibn al-Muyassar, Ibn al-Lahib, Ibn Rashiq, and Ibn Shas.²⁴⁵ In Alexandria, it was cultivated by the 'Awf and Sanad families, and by Ibn 'Ata'llah.²⁴⁶ I do not know from whom Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib²⁴⁷ got his knowledge of the Malikite school, but he lived after the destruction of the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) dynasty and the disappearance of 'Alid jurisprudence and after the orthodox Shdf'ite and Malikite jurisprudence had reappeared (in Egypt).

The Egyptian school followed that of the 'Iraqis. Judge 'Abd-al-Wahhab moved from Baghdad to Egypt at the end of the fourth [tenth] century, and the Egyptians studied with him. The Malikite school in Egypt had started with al-Harith b. Miskin, Ibn Muyassar,²³⁴ Ibn al-Lahib,²³⁵ and Ibn Rashiq.²³⁶ It had remained under cover because of the appearance of the extremist Shi'ah and 'Alid jurisprudence.²³⁷

The 'Iraqi school was shunned by the inhabitants of al-Qayrawan and Spain, because it was far away, its ways of reaching conclusions were obscure, and they knew little about the sources that (the 'Iraqis) used. Scholars are (basically) men of independent judgment, even when (their opinion) stands apart (and does not agree with the general opinion), and they do not blindly believe in tradition, nor do they like to use it as (their) method. Therefore, we find that the Maghribis and Spaniards do not accept the opinion of the 'Iraqis, whenever they cannot find a tradition of the imam Malik or one of his companions to support it.

²⁴⁵ Abdallah b. Najm, d. 616 [1219]. Cf. GAL, *suppl.*, I, 598; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah* (Cairo, 1351-58/1932-40), XIII, 86; as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 258.

²⁴⁶ Abd-al-Karim b. 'Ata'llah, d. 612 [end of 1265 or beginning of 1266]. Cf. as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 260.

²⁴⁷ Uthman b. 'Umar, d. 646 [1249]. Cf. GAL, I, 303 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 581 ff.

²³⁴ Ahmad b. Muhammad, d. 309 [921/221]. Cf. as-Suyuti, H, usn *al-muhadarah*, I, 255. C vocalizes Ibn Muyassir.

²³⁵ B has Ibn al-Labib. No information on him is available to me.

²³⁶ Al-Hasan b. 'Atiq, 547-632 [1152/53-1234/35]. Cf. as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

²³⁷ Cf p. 11, above.

Later on, the various schools merged with each other. In the sixth [twelfth] century, Abu Bakr at-Turtushi²³⁸ traveled from Spain (to the East). He stopped and settled in Jerusalem. The Egyptians and Alexandrians studied with him and took over from him elements of the Spanish school into their own Egyptian school. One of his most important followers was the jurist Sanad, the author of the *Tiraz*,²³⁹ and his companions. A number of people studied with them. They included the 'Awf family²⁴⁰ and their followers. Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib studied with them. He was followed by Shihab-ad-din al-Qarafi.²⁴¹ In this way, there was a continuity (of Maliki teaching) in those times.

The Shafi'ite school had also been destroyed in Egypt at the time of the 'Alid 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid)²⁴² dynasty. Later on, the work of the Khurasanian Shafi'ite ar-Rafi'²⁴³ made its appearance with the jurists who renewed the Shafi'ite school. In Syria, one of the Shafi'ite champions, Muhyi-ad-din an-Nawawi, made his appearance.

Later on, the western school of Malikites also took over elements of the 'Iraqi school through ash-Shirimsihi.²⁴⁴ He was outstanding in Alexandria

²³⁸Cf. 1:83, above.

²³⁹Sanad b. 'Inan, d. 541 [1146/47]. Cf. Ibn Farbun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), pp. 126 f.; as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 257. The *Tiraz* was a commentary on the *Mudawwanah* in thirty volumes, which he did not live to complete.

²⁴⁰Ismail b. Makki, 485-581 (1092-1185). Cf. as-Suyuti, *op. cit.*, I, 257 f.; Ibn al-'Imid, *Shadharat*, IV, 268. This member of the 'Awf family, however, died too early for Ibn al-Hajib to have been his student.

²⁴¹ Cf. 2:429 (n. 49), above.

²⁴² "'Ubaydid (-Fatimid)" added by C (in the margin) and D.

²⁴³ Cf. p. 12, above.

²⁴⁴ Abdallah b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 589-669 [1199-1270/71]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 900; as-Suyuti, *Husn al-muhddarah*, I, 260. Ibn Khaldun writes Sharimsahi without the long vowel in the first syllable. There existed a place name Shirmasib in Arabia (cf. Yiqut, *Mu jam al-buldan*, ed. Wustenfeld [Göttingen, 1866-75], III, 280), but the one to which the *nisbah* here refers is the large village Sharimsab, so vocalized in the Wustenfeld edition of Yaqut, III, 282. Cf. also Ibn Fartun, *Dibaj* (Cairo ed.), pp. 142 f.

as representative of the Western and Egyptian school. When the 'Abbasid al-Mustansir, the father of al-Musta' im and son of az-Zahir, built his college in Baghdad, he asked the 'Ubaydid(-Fatimid) caliphs, who at that time were in Cairo, to send him ash-Sharimsahi. They permitted him to go to (al-Mustansir). When he arrived in Baghdad, (al-Mustansir) appointed him professor in the Mustansiriyah College. He remained there until Hulagu took possession of Baghdad in 656 [1258]. He escaped the fury of the catastrophe and went free. He remained living there until he died in the days of Hulagu's son, Ahmad Abagha.

A compendium of the Egyptian school that had taken over elements of the Western school, was made, as we have mentioned,²⁴⁸ in the *Mukhtasar* of Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib, which mentions the different problems of every juridical subject and enumerates the various statements on each individual problem. Thus, it came to be a kind of synopsis of the school.

When his work reached the Maghrib at the end of the seventh [thirteenth] century, the majority of Maghribi students, and especially the inhabitants of Bougie, concentrated upon it. The chief teacher of the people of Bougie, Abu 'Ali Nasir-ad-din az-Zawawi,²⁴⁹ had been the one who brought the work of Ibn al-Hajib to the Maghrib. He had studied with (Ibn al-Hajib's) followers in Egypt, had copied his *Mukhtasar*, and brought it (to the West). It spread among his pupils in the region of Bougie and was introduced by them into all the other cities of the Maghrib. Contemporary Maghribi students of jurisprudence use and study it, because of the interest the *shaykh* Nasir-ad-din is said to have aroused in it. A number of Maghribi *shaykhs*, such as Ibn 'Abd-as Salim, Ibn Rashid,²⁵⁰ and Ibn Harun,²⁵¹ commented on it.

²⁴⁸ Possibly referring back to 2:429? The *Mukhtasar* is mentioned in the *Autobiography*, pp. 16 f., 59. Cf. below, pp. 29 f. and 396.

²⁴⁹ Cf. 2:428 f., above.

²⁵⁰ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Qafsi, d. 736 [1335/36]. Cf. Ahmad Baba, *Nayl* (Cairo, 1x29/1911), pp. 295 f., as quoted by D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, II, 650; GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 963 (No. 50); II, 1041 (No. 45).

All of them *are shaykhs* of Tunis. Their principal champion in this respect is Ibn 'Abd-as-Salam. In addition, they use the *Kitab at-Tahdhib* as textbook in their teaching.

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."²⁵²

The science of inheritance laws²⁵³

The science of inheritance laws is the knowledge of estate division and the correct determination of the proper shares in an estate with regard to the relation of the individual shares to the basic divisions. It also includes (the knowledge of) the readjustment of shares (*munasakhah*). (Such readjustment) is necessary when one of the (original) heirs dies and his portion is to be distributed among his heirs. This requires a calculation to adjust the first division of the estate, so that all the heirs who are entitled to shares in the estate get (to know) their shares without an (actual) distribution (taking place[?]). Such readjustments may have to be undertaken more than once or twice. Thus, there may be a greater number of them. Every time, a (new) calculation is needed.

Also, the division of an estate may have to consider two possibilities, in that, for instance, one heir may acknowledge an(other) heir, while a (third) heir does not acknowledge (that second heir). Then, the division of the estate is adjusted (and figured out) according to the two possibilities, and the amount of the shares is considered. Then, the estate is divided among the heirs in shares proportionate to the basic fractions.²⁵⁴ All this requires calculation. Therefore, jurists made of it a separate subject, because, in addition to jurisprudence, it requires calculation as the predominant element in it. They considered it a discipline in its own right.

²⁵¹ Abdallah b. Muhammad, 609-702 [1207-1303]. Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 19, 306.

²⁵² Qur'an 2.142 (136), etc.

²⁵³ Treated again among the intellectual sciences as a part of arithmetic, pp. 127 ff., below.

²⁵⁴ De Slane explains the situation as follows: A and B are heirs. A acknowledges a third heir, C; B does not. The estate is distributed between A and B, as if they were the only heirs. Then, the individual shares are figured for A, B, and C as heirs, and C receives his share from A's original share.

Scholars have written many works on it. The most famous work on the subject among the more recent Spanish Malikites is the work of Ibn Thabit²⁵⁵ and the *Mukhtasar of Judge Abul-Qasim al-Hawfi*,²⁵⁶ and then (the one by) al-Ja'di.²⁵⁷ Among the more recent Africans who wrote on the subject, there is Ibn al-Munammār at-Tarabulusi,²⁵⁸ and others.²⁵⁹

The Shafi'ites, Hanafites, and Hanbalites have (also) written many works on the subject. They have given important and difficult practical instances showing their competence in jurisprudence and calculation. There is, especially, Abul-Ma'ali (Imam al-Haramayn)²⁶⁰ and similar jurists.

This is a noble discipline. It combines intellectual and traditional knowledge. It figures the claims in inheritance matters in a sound and definite way, whenever those who are charged with the division of an estate do not know the portion (of the estate that should go to each heir) and have difficulties with it.

Religious scholars in the Muslim cities have paid much attention to it. Some authors are inclined to exaggerate the mathematical side of the discipline and to pose problems requiring for their solution various branches of arithmetic, such as algebra, the use of roots, and similar things. They fill their works with such matters. It is not something that is much used by the people, and it is of no practical use for them in their inheritance matters, because it deals with unusual and rare cases. However, it is useful for practice

²⁵⁵His identity is not clear to me. Perhaps, he is Ahmad b. 'Abdallah, who died in 447 [1055/56]?

²⁵⁶Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khalaf, d. 588 [1192]. Cf. GAL, I, 384; *Suppl.*, I, 663. Cf. also H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 39.

²⁵⁷There is a well-known work that would fit the description, the *Ja'diyah* by Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. 'All b. Ja'd al-Sigilli, mentioned by Hajji Khalifah. However, Ibn Khaldun would not have quoted an incorrect title, and his al-Ja'di still remains unidentified. He is mentioned again p. 129, below.

²⁵⁸He lived in the first half of the eleventh century. Cf. *Ibar*, VII, 43; de Slane (tr.), III, 267.

²⁵⁹For these men cf again pp. 128 f., below.

²⁶⁰Cf. n. 226 to Ch. in, above.

and offers the best opportunity for acquiring the proper habit, (which can then be) applied to actual cases.

Most of the scholars who are concerned with this discipline refer, in order to prove its excellence, to the following tradition, which is transmitted on the authority of Abu Hurayrah: "The *fard'id* (inheritance laws) constitute one third of (religious) scholarship, and they are the first (discipline) to be forgotten."²⁶¹ Another recension has: "Onehalf of (religious) scholarship." The tradition was published by the *hadlith* expert Abu Nu'aym.²⁶² People who are concerned with inheritance laws use it as an argument (in favor of the importance of their science), because they think that *fard'id* in the tradition quoted refers to estate division (*furud*). However, it is obvious that such an interpretation is farfetched. *Fard'id* here is intended to mean "obligations" (*furud*) imposed upon Muslims in connection with religious worship, customs, matters of inheritance, and other things. If understood in this sense, it is correct to state that (the *fard'id*) constitute one-half or one-third of scholarship. The inheritance laws (by themselves) constitute a much lesser portion of religious scholarship as a whole.

This interpretation of the meaning of *fard'id* in the tradition quoted, is supported by the fact that the application of the word *fard'id* to a particular discipline, or its restriction to estate division, is part of the technical terminology the jurists created when the various disciplines and terminologies came into existence. At the beginning of Islam, the word (*fard'id*) was used only in a general way. It was derived from *fard*, which means "to determine" or "to cut."^{262a} It was intended to be used for all the *furud* "obligations," as we have stated. Such was its actual use in the religious law.

²⁶¹ Cf. D. Santillana, *op. cit.*, II, 497. Cf. also p. 128, below.

²⁶² Abmad b. 'Abdallah, 336-430 [948-1038]. Cf. GAL, I, 362; *Suppl.*, I, 616 f. His *Musnad* is preserved in MS, but was not available.

^{262a} "To determine," rather than "to apportion," is the intended meaning of *taqdir*; according to Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah* (Cairo, 1322/1904), III, 210; *Lisan al-'Arab* (Bulaq, 1300-1308/1882-90), IX, 67.

(In interpreting the tradition quoted,) the word must not be taken to mean anything but what it meant at the time of the (early Muslims). That indicates most correctly what they meant by it.

And God knows better.

VI.13. The science of the principles of jurisprudence and its subdivisions, dialectics and controversial questions.²⁶³

[p.3:23]

It should be known that the science of the principles of jurisprudence is one of the greatest, most important, and most useful disciplines of the religious law. It is concerned with the evidence of the religious law from which the laws and legal obligations of the Muslims are derived.

The basic sources of legal evidence are the Book -that is, the Qur'an - and, then, the Sunnah, which clarifies the Qur'an. At the time of the Prophet, the laws were received (directly) from him. He possessed the Qur'anic revelation, and he explained it directly by his words and deeds. No transmission, speculation, or analogical reasoning was needed. After the Prophet's death, direct (explanation of the Qur'an's legal significance) was no longer possible. The Qur'an was preserved through a general and continuous transmission. As to the Sunnah, the men around Muhammad all agreed that it is necessary for us to act in accordance with whatever of it has reached us, as statement or practice, through a sound tradition that can be assumed to be truthful. It is in this sense that legal evidence is determined by Qur'an and Sunnah.

Then, general consensus (*ijma'*) took its place next to (Qur'an and Sunnah). The men around Muhammad agreed to disapprove of those who held

Qa' is to be understood in its literal meaning, "to cut, to cut off." Cf. the Arabic and general Semitic root *q/f-r-s*.

²⁶³ The section on the principles of jurisprudence has been translated by J: D. Luciani, "La Theorie du droit musulman (Ougoul el fiqh) d'apres Ibn Khaldun" in *Revue africaine*, LXIX (1928), 49-64.

opinions different from theirs. They would not have done that without some basis for doing so, because people like the men around Muhammad do not agree upon something without a valid argument. In addition, the evidence attests the infallibility of the whole group. Thus, general consensus became a valid proof in legal matters.

Then, we looked into the methods according to which the men around Muhammad and the early generations made their deductions from Qur'an and Sunnah. It was found that they compared similar (cases) and drew conclusions from analogy, in that they either all agreed or some of them made concessions in this connection to others. Many of the things that happened after the Prophet are not included in the established texts²⁶⁴ Therefore, they compared and combined them with the established indications that are found in the texts, (and drew their conclusions from analogy) according to certain rules that governed their combinations. This assured the soundness of their comparison of two similar (cases), so that it could be assumed that one and the same divine law covered both cases. This became (another kind of) legal evidence, because the (early Muslims) all agreed upon it. This is analogy (*qiyas*), the fourth kind of evidence.

The great mass of religious scholars is agreed that these are the four basic kinds of evidence. Some scholars differed on the matters of general consensus and analogy. But this is exceptional. Others added further kinds of evidence to the four.²⁶⁵ We do not have to mention them here, because the basis (upon which they rest) is weak, and they are rarely referred to.

The first task of this discipline is to study the (right of) existence of the four kinds of evidence.

²⁶⁴ Luciani suggests "les dispositions deja consacrees" = "precedent cases," but *nusus* "texts" evidently refers here to the established texts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

²⁶⁵ As, for instance, '*urf*' "common usage," or some subdivisions of the use of opinion, such as *istislah* "considerations of the general welfare." Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 204-6; J. Schacht in *EI*, s.v. "Usul."

(1) Proofs for the Qur'an are the decisively miraculous, (inimitable) character of its text, and the general continuity of its transmission. This leaves no room for any doubt.

(2) The Sunnah, as it has been transmitted to us, is justified²⁶⁶ by the general consensus (to the effect) that Muslims must act in accordance with traditions that are sound, as we have mentioned before. This is supported by Muhammad's practice, during his lifetime, of sending letters and messengers to the various regions with legal and religious commands and prohibitions.

(3) The general consensus is justified by the fact that the men around Muhammad had agreed to disapprove of those who held opinions different from theirs. In addition, there is the established infallibility of the Muslim nation (as a whole).

(4) Analogy is justified by the general consensus of the men around Muhammad concerning its (admissibility), as we have mentioned before.

These are the basic kinds of evidence.

The transmitted traditions of the Sunnah need verification through an investigation of the ways of transmission and the probity (*'adalah*) of transmitters, so that the likelihood of the truthfulness of the transmitted information, which is the basis for the necessity to act in accordance with it, becomes clear. This also is one of the basic subjects of the discipline. Added to this is the knowledge of abrogating and abrogated traditions, when two traditions are mutually contradictory and the earlier one of the two is sought.²⁶⁷ This, too, is another subject of the discipline.

After that, there comes the study of the meaning of words. This is because one depends upon knowledge of the conventional meanings of single or composite utterances, for deriving ideas in general from word combinations in general. The philological norms needed in this connection are found

²⁶⁶ *Leg. fa-li-l-ijma`?*

²⁶⁷ Cf. 2:447 f., above.

in the sciences of grammar, inflection, and syntax and style.²⁶⁸ Now, when speech was a habit of those who used it, these (linguistic matters) were neither sciences nor norms. At that time, jurists did not need them, because linguistic matters were familiar to them by natural habit. But when the habit of the Arabic language was lost,²⁶⁹ the experts who made it their specialty determined it once and for all with the help of a sound tradition and of sound rules of analogy they evolved. (Linguistic matters,) thus, became sciences the jurists had to know, in order to know the divine laws. Then, there is certain other, special information to be derived from word combinations. One must derive what constitutes law, among the various ideas, from special indications in word combinations that have a bearing upon law. This is jurisprudence.²⁷⁰ Knowledge of the conventional meanings in general is not sufficient for that. A knowledge of certain other things on which that special information depends, is needed. The laws can be derived from (those things) in accordance with the principles evolved by expert scholars in the religious disciplines, who established those things as norms for the purpose. Among such norms, for instance, are:

The word meaning is not established by analogy²⁷¹

A word of two meanings cannot be used to mean both things at the same time.

The use of wa- "and" does not imply an order (in time, or classification).²⁷²

²⁶⁸For *bayan*, cf. pp. 332 ff., below.

²⁶⁹Cf., for instance, p. 346, below.

²⁷⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 454.

²⁷¹Cf p. 331, below. The statement means what it says, even though in jurisprudence, analogical reasoning occasionally leads to deducing some particular meaning for a word that it is not otherwise known to have.

²⁷²Cf. Ibn Hazm, *al-Ihkam fi usul al-ahkam* (Cairo, 1845-48/1926-80), I, 51. "Zayd and `Amr came" may mean that they came together, or that the one came earlier or later-by some indefinite measure of time-than the other. The *Mahsul* of Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi, with which Ibn Khaldun was well acquainted, contains lengthy discussions of this and the other principles mentioned.

If certain special particulars are taken out of some general (term), does it remain proof for the rest?

Does a command imply necessary or voluntary (action),²⁷³ immediate or delayed (action)? Does a prohibition imply corruption or soundness (in an action)?

Is something general applicable to something circumscribed?

Is a text indicating the *ratio legis*²⁷⁴ sufficient or not for extension (of a rule to other cases)?

There are other such things. All of them are basic in this discipline, but since they are semantic problems, they have to do with philology.

Next, the study of analogy is a very important basis of this discipline. It helps to ascertain the correctness of both principal and special aspects of laws depending on reasoning and analogy; to examine the particular characteristic of a case on which the law is considered probably to depend, as to whether it (exists) in the principle; and to find out whether that characteristic exists in the special case without anything contradicting (it), which would make it impossible to base the law upon it. There are other problems that belong together with this one. All of them are basic in this discipline.

It should be known that this discipline is of recent origin in Islam. The early Muslims could dispense with it. Nothing more than the linguistic habit they possessed was needed for deriving ideas from words. The (early Muslims themselves also) were the source for most of the norms needed in special cases for deriving laws. They had no need to study the chains of transmitters, because they were close to the (transmitters) in time and had personal knowledge and experience of them. Then the early Muslims died, and the first period of Islam was over. All the sciences became technical, as we

²⁷³Cf., for instance, I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 71 ff.

²⁷⁴ Cf. p. 4, above. Luciani, op. cit., p. 59 (n. 9), translates the Arabic term as "disposition formelle indiquant la raison d'une qualification."

established earlier.²⁷⁵ Jurists and religious scholars of independent judgment now had to acquire these norms and basic rules, in order to be able to derive the laws from the evidence. They wrote them down as a discipline in its own right and called it "principles of jurisprudence." The first scholar to write on the subject was ash-Shafi'i. He dictated his famous *Risalah* on the subject. In it, he discussed commands and prohibitions, syntax and style, traditions, abrogations, and the position of *ratio legis* indicated in a text in relation to analogy.²⁷⁶

Later on, Hanafite jurists wrote on the subject. They verified the basic rules and discussed them extensively. The speculative theologians also wrote on the subject. However, treatment by jurists is more germane to jurisprudence and more suited for (practical application to) special cases, (than treatment of the subject by speculative theologians), because (juridical works) mention many examples and cases and base their problems on legal points. The theologians, on the other hand, present these problems in their bare outlines, without reference to jurisprudence, and are inclined to use (abstract) logical deduction as much as possible, since that is their scholarly approach and required by their method.

Hanafite jurists were especially accomplished in extensive use of legal points and in derivation of the norms from the (actual) problems of jurisprudence, as far as possible. One of their leading scholars, Abu Zayd ad-Dabusi,²⁷⁷ wrote more widely on analogical reasoning than any other (Hanafite). He completed the research methods and conditions governing this discipline. Thus, the technique of the principles of jurisprudence was perfected. The problems were refined and the basic rules were laid down.

Scholars also occupied themselves with the methods of speculative theologians in connection with this discipline. The best books written by the-

²⁷⁵Cf., for instance, 2:444, above.

²⁷⁶ This refers to the principle mentioned on p. 27.

²⁷⁷ Abdallah ('Ubaydallah) b. 'Umar, d. 430 [1038/39]. Cf. GAL, I, 175; *Suppl.*, I, 296 f.

ologians on this subject were the *Kitab al-Burhan*, by the Imam al-Haramayn, and the *Mustasfa*, by al-Ghazzali. Both authors were Ash'arites. There were two more books, the *Kitab al-'Umad* by 'Abd-al Jabbar,²⁷⁸ and the commentary on it, entitled *al-Mu'tamad*, by Abul-Husayn al-Basri.²⁷⁹ Both authors were Mu'tazilah. These four books were the basic works and pillars of this discipline. They were later on abridged by two excellent recent theologians, the imam Fakhr-ad-din Ibn al-Khatib, in the *Kitab al-Mahsul*,²⁸⁰ and Sayf-ad-din al-Amidi, in the *Kitab al-Ihkam*.²⁸¹ Their approaches to the discipline differed in (the degree of emphasis they placed upon) verification and argumentation. Ibn al-Khatib was more inclined to present many proofs and arguments, while al-Amidi was eager to verify the views of the schools and to present the problems in detail.

The *Kitab al-Mahsul* was abridged by such pupils of the imam (Fakhr-ad-din) as Siraj-ad-din al-Urmawi,²⁸² in the *Kitab at-Tahsil*, and Taj-ad-din al-Urmawi,²⁸³ in the *Kitab al-Hasil*. Shihab-ad-din al-Qarafi²⁸⁴ selected certain propositions and basic points from these works in a small book which he entitled *at-Tanqihat*. The same was done by al-Baydawi in the *Kitab al-Minhaj*.²⁸⁵ Beginners occupied themselves with these two books, and many people wrote commentaries on them.

²⁷⁸ Abd-al-Jabbar b. Ahmad al-Asadabadi, d. 415 [1025]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 343 f. The title of the work is given as above in A, B, C, and D, with A, C, and D also indicating the vocalization. Bulaq reads *al-'Ahd*.

²⁷⁹ Muhammad b. 'Ali, d. 436 [1044]. Cf., for instance, al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, III, 100; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam*, VIII, 126 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Lisan al-Mizan*, V, 298; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat*, III, 259.

²⁸⁰ Cf. GAL, I, 506 (No. 3), and above, 1:402.

²⁸¹ Ali b. Abi 'Ali, d. 631 [1233]. Cf. GAL, I, 393; *suppl.*, I, 678. Cf. P. 148, below.

²⁸² Mahmud b. Abi Bakr, 594-682 [1197/98-1283]. Cf. GAL, I, 467; *Suppl.*, I, 848 f., 921.

²⁸³ Muhammad b. al-Hasan, d. 656 [1258]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 921.

²⁸⁴ Cf. 2:429 (n. 49), above.

²⁸⁵ Abdallah b. 'Umar, thirteenth century. Cf. GAL, I, 416 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 738 ff.

The *Kitab al-Ihkam* by al-Amidi is more concerned with verifying the problems. It was abridged by Abu 'Amr b. al-Hajib, in the work of his known as the large *Mukhtasar*.

Ibn al-Hajib then made another compendium of it, which is used by students.²⁸⁶ People both in the East and the West studied it and wrote commentaries on it. These compendia represent at its best the approach of the theologians to this discipline.

The Hanafites have written a great deal on their approach (to the discipline). The best writings on it by an early scholar are the works of Abu Zayd ad-Dabusi. The best works on it by a recent scholar are those by Sayf-al-Islam al-Bazdawi,²⁸⁷ a leading Hanafite. They exhaust the subject. Later on, the Hanafite jurist Ibn as-Sa'ati²⁸⁸ combined the approaches of the *Kitab al-Ihkam* and the work of al-Bazdawi in a book entitled *Kitab al-Badi'*. The *Kitab al-Badi'* turned out to be a very well-written and original work. Leading contemporary religious scholars use it for teaching and research. Many non-Arab scholars have been eager to write commentaries on it, and the situation is (still) the same at the present time.

The (foregoing remarks) have explained the real meaning of this discipline, described the subjects with which it deals, and enumerated the works on it known at the present time.

May God let us profit from scholarship and make us scholars through His kindness and generosity.

The controversial questions²⁸⁹

It should be known that the jurisprudence described, which is based upon religious evidence, involves many differences of opinion among scholars

²⁸⁶Cf. p. 19, above.

²⁸⁷ Ali b. Muhammad, d. 482 [10891. Cf. GAL, I, 373; *Suppl.*, I, 637f. He is usually called Fakhr-al-Islam.

²⁸⁸ Ahmad b. 'Ali, d. after 1291. Cf. GAL, I, 982 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 658.

²⁸⁹I. Goldziher's suggestion, *Die Zahiriten*, p. 27 (n. 1), that the subject be investigated in its bibliographical aspect, has not yet been followed up.

of independent judgment. Differences of opinion result from the different sources they use and their different outlooks, and are unavoidable, as we have stated before.²⁹⁰

(These differences) occupied a very large space in Islam. (Originally,) people could adhere to any (juridical authority) they wished. Later on, the matter was in the hands of the four leading authorities in the Muslim cities. They enjoyed a very high prestige. Adherence was restricted to them, and people were thus prevented from adhering to anyone else. This situation was the result of the disappearance of independent judgment, because (the exercise of independent judgment) was too difficult a matter and because, in the course of time, the scholarly disciplines constituting material for independent judgment had multiplied. Also, there existed nobody who might have organized a school in addition to the existing four. Thus, they were set up as the basic schools of Islam.

Differences of opinion among their adherents and the followers of their laws received equal status with differences of opinion concerning religious texts and legal principles (in general). The adherents of the four schools held disputations, in order to prove the correctness of their respective founders. These disputations took place according to sound principles and fast rules. Everyone argued in favor of the correctness of the school to which he adhered and which he followed. The disputations concerned all the problems of religious law and every subject of jurisprudence. The difference of opinion was on occasion between ash-Shafi'i and Malik, with Abu Hanifah agreeing with one of them. Or it was between Malik and Abu Hanifah, with ash-Shafi'i agreeing with one of them. Or it was between ash-Shafi'i and Abu Hanifah, with Malik agreeing with one of them. The disputations clarified the sources of the authorities as well as the motives of their differences and the occasions when they exercised independent judgment.

²⁹⁰Cf. p. 3, above.

This kind of scholarship was called "controversial questions." The persons who cultivate it must know the basic rules through which laws can be evolved, just as they are known to scholars of independent judgment. However, the latter need those basic rules in order to find the law, while the former need them in order to guard the legal problems that have been evolved against destruction by the arguments of an opponent. It is, indeed, a very useful discipline. It affords acquaintance with the sources and evidence of the authorities, and gives students practice in arguing whatever they wish to prove. Works by Hanafites and Shafi'ites are more numerous on the subject than those by Malikites. As one knows, analogy is for the Hanafites a principle on which many details of their school depend. Therefore, they are the people who speculate and investigate. The Malikites, on the other hand, mostly rely on tradition. They do not speculate. Furthermore, most of them are Maghribis who are Bedouins, who care only a little for the crafts.²⁹¹

There are the following works on the subject: the *Kitab al-Ma'akhidh*²⁹² by al-Ghazzali, the *Kitab at-Talkhis* by the Malikite Abu Bakr b. al-'Arabi,²⁹³ who imported (the subject) from the East, the *Kitab at-Ta'liqah* by Abu Zayd ad-Dabusi, and the '*Uyun al-adillah* by the Malikite shaykh Ibn al-Qassar.²⁹⁴ In his *Mukhtasaron* the principles of jurisprudence, Ibn as-Sa'ati has collected all the controversial law that is based on the principles of jurisprudence.²⁹⁵ In connection with every problem, he noted the controversial questions that are based on it.

²⁹¹Cf., for instance, 2:433, above.

²⁹² Cf. al-Murtada, *lthaf as-sadah* (Cairo, 1311/1893-94), 1, 43: ". . . , *al-Ma'akhidh* on controversial questions existing between Hanafites and Shafi'ites." C and D seem to suggest the reading *al-Ma'khadh* (?).

²⁹³Cf. p. 10 (n. 186), above.

²⁹⁴Cf. p. 14 (n. 214), above.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Bombaci, p. 454. It does not seem quite certain whether *Mukhtasar* is a title or just refers to a "brief" work on the subject.

Dialectics

"Dialectics" involves knowledge of the proper behavior in disputations among the adherents of the legal schools and others. The choices of rejection and acceptance in disputations are numerous. In arguing and answering, each disputant lets himself go in his argumentation. Some of it is correct.

Some of it is wrong. Therefore, the authorities had to lay down the proper rules of behavior by which the disputants would have to abide. These concern rejection and acceptance; how the person advancing an argument should behave and how the person replying to the argument should behave; when it is permissible for a disputant to advance an argument; how he (should admit) defeat²⁹⁶ and stop; when he should interrupt or contradict (his opponent); and where he should be silent and permit his opponent to talk and advance his arguments. It has, therefore, been said that this discipline is the knowledge of the basic rules of proper behavior in arguing, which help either to safeguard an opinion or to demolish it, whether that opinion concerns jurisprudence or any other subject.

There are two methods. There is the method of al-Bazdawi, which is limited to the evidence of the religious law from texts, general consensus, and argumentation.²⁹⁷ And there is the method of al-'Amidi²⁹⁸ which applies quite generally to every argument used in argumentation, no matter to which scholarly discipline it belongs.

Most of the (subject) is concerned with argumentation. It is a good procedure, but, by its very nature, it contains much sophistry. If it is considered under the aspect of logic, it is, as a rule, quite similar to sophistical reasoning. However, the (correct) forms of arguments and syllogisms are carefully observed in it, in that the methods of argumentation in this respect are chosen as it is proper.

²⁹⁶ *Makhsuman*, as in A, B, and C.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Bombaci, p. 455.

²⁹⁸ Muhammad b. Muhammad, d. 615 [1218]. Cf. GAL, I, 439 f.; *suppl.*, I, 785 f.

The 'Amidi just mentioned was the first to write on his method.²⁹⁹ Therefore, its (invention) was ascribed to him, He wrote a brief book, entitled *al-Irshad*. Later on, he was followed by such recent scholars as an-Nasafi³⁰⁰ and others who walked in his steps and followed the way he had shown. Many works were written on the method. At this time, no regard is paid to it, because scholarship and scientific instruction have dwindled in the Muslim cities. It is, after all, a luxury, and not a necessity.

"God has the power to execute His commands."³⁰¹

VI.14. The science of speculative theology.

[p.3:34]

This is a science that involves arguing with logical proofs in defense of the articles of faith and refuting innovators who deviate in their dogmas from the early Muslims and Muslim orthodoxy.

The real core of the articles of faith is the oneness of God.

Therefore, we shall present here, first, a nice specimen of logical argumentation that will show us the oneness of God in the most direct method and manner. We shall then go back and give a correct description of speculative theology and the (subjects) it studies. We shall also indicate the reason why it developed in Islam and what it was that called for its invention.

We³⁰² say: It should be known that the things that come into being in the world of existing things, whether they belong to essences or to either human or animal actions, require appropriate causes which are prior to (their coming into being). They introduce the things that come into being into the realm dominated by custom, and effect their coming into being. Each one

²⁹⁹ His priority is stated by Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat* (Cairo, 1299/1882), II, 270 f.; tr. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1843-71), II, 660; also by 'Abd-alQadir al-Qurashi, *al-Jawahir al-mudiyah* (Hyderabad, 1332/1913-14), II, 128.

³⁰⁰ Umar b. Muhammad, d. 537 (1142). Cf. GAL, I, 427 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 758 ff.

³⁰¹ Qur'an 12.21 (21).

³⁰²Cf. Issawi, p. 165.

of these causes, in turn, comes into being and, thus, requires other causes. Causes continue to follow upon causes in an ascending order, until they reach the Causer of causes, Him who brings them into existence and creates them, Praised be He, there is no God but Him.

In the process, the causes multiply and widen in extent vertically and horizontally. The intellect becomes confused in the attempt to perceive and enumerate them. Only a comprehensive knowledge can encompass them all, especially (all) human and animal actions. Among the causes of (action), there evidently belong the various kinds of intention and volition, since no action can materialize except through volition and intention: The various kinds of intention and volition are matters pertaining to the soul. As a rule, they originate from previous consecutive perceptions (*tasawwurat*). These perceptions cause the intention to act. The causes of such perceptions are, again, other perceptions. Now, the cause of all the perceptions taking place in the soul is unknown, since no one is able to know the beginnings or order of matters pertaining to the soul. They are consecutive notions that God puts into the mind of man, who is unable to understand their beginnings and ends. As a rule, man is able only to comprehend the causes that are natural and obvious and that present themselves to our perception in an orderly and well-arranged manner, because nature is encompassed by the soul and on a lower level than it. The range of perceptions, however, is too large for the soul, because they belong to the intellect, which is on a higher level than the soul. The soul, therefore, can scarcely perceive very many of them, let alone all of them. This shows the wisdom of the Lawgiver (Muhammad) when he forbade (us) to speculate about causes and to stop with them. Such speculation is a field in which the mind becomes lost and gets nowhere, nor gains any real insight.³⁰³ "Say: 'God,' and then let them amuse themselves with their idle talk."³⁰⁴ Man often stops (to speculate about causes) and thereby is

³⁰³C (apparently through later correction) and D add "of it."

³⁰⁴ Qur'an 6.91 (91).

prevented from ascending to the next higher stage. His feet slip. He becomes one of those who go astray and perish. We ask God for protection against disappointment and obvious perdition.

One should not think that iman has the power, or can choose at will, to stop or to retrace his steps. No! Talking about causes results in giving the soul a fast coloring. We do not know how (this comes about), for if we knew it, we could be on guard against it. Therefore, one must be on guard against it by completely abandoning any speculation about the (causes).

Furthermore, the way in which the causes exercise their influence upon the majority of the things caused is unknown.³⁰⁵ They are only known through customary (ex perience) and through conclusions³⁰⁶ which attest to (the existence of an) apparent (causal) relationship.³⁰⁷ What that influence really is and how it takes place is not known. "And you were given but little knowledge."³⁰⁸ Therefore, we have been commanded completely to abandon and suppress any speculation about them and to direct ourselves to the Causer of all causes, who made them and brought them into existence, so that the soul will be firmly colored with the oneness of God. So were we taught by the Lawgiver (Muhammad) who knows better (than we do) the things that are to the interest of our religion and the ways that lead us to happiness, because he saw that which is beyond sensual perception. He said: "Whoever dies confessing that there is no God but God, enters Paradise."³⁰⁹

A man who stops at the causes is frustrated. He is rightly (said to be) an unbeliever. If he ventures to swim in the ocean of speculation and of research

³⁰⁵Cf. p. 261, below.

³⁰⁶*Qadiyat al-iqtiran* is intended by Ibn Khaldun as a term of logic, probably identical with *qiyas iqtirani*, which A. M. Goichon interprets as categorical syllogism. Cf. her *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina* (Paris, 1938), pp. 363 f.; also her *Vocabulaires compares d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sina* (Paris, 1939), p. 26; and her translation of Ibn Sina, *Livre des Directives et Remarques* (Beirut & Paris, 1951), p. 194 (n. 6).

³⁰⁷Cf. Bombaci, p. 455.

³⁰⁸Qur'an 17.85 (87).

³⁰⁹Cf. also p. 78, below.

into (causes), (seeking) each one of the causes that cause them and the influence they exercise, I can guarantee him that he will return unsuccessful. Therefore, we were forbidden by the Lawgiver (Muhammad) to study causes. We were commanded to recognize the absolute oneness of God. "Say: 'God, He is one. God is the *samad*. He did not give birth, and He was not born. He has no one like Him.'"³¹⁰

Man³¹¹ should not trust the suggestion 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. It should be known that every person with perception has the superficial impression that the (whole of) existence is comprised by his perceptions, and that it does not extend beyond (the realm of his perceptions).³¹² The matter is different in fact. The truth lies beyond that. One knows that a deaf person feels that the (whole of) existence is comprised in the perceptions of his four senses and his intellect. The whole group of audible things constitutes no part of existence for him. The same applies to a blind person. The whole group of visible things constitutes no part of existence for him. If (people with such defects) were not set right by their adherence to information they receive from their fathers and teachers who are their contemporaries, and from the majority of people in general, they would not admit (the existence of audible things, things visible, etc.). They follow the majority in admitting the existence of these groups (of *sensibilia*), but (the admission) is not in their natural disposition nor in the nature of their sense perception. 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.

Now, it might be assumed that there exists another kind of perception different from ours, since our sense perceptions are created and brought

³¹⁰ Qur'an, *surah* 112. Cf. n. 567 to Ch. III.

³¹¹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 165 f.

³¹² Cf. p. 255, below.

into existence. God's creation extends beyond the creation of man. Complete knowledge does not exist (in man). The world of existence is too vast for him. "God has comprehension beyond theirs."³¹³ Therefore, everyone should be suspicious of the comprehensiveness of his perceptions and the results of his perception, and should follow what the Lawgiver (Muhammad) commanded him to believe and to do. He is more desirous of his happiness (than man himself) and 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. This does not speak against the 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 a 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 a limit at which the intellect must stop. It cannot go beyond its own level. Thus, it cannot comprehend God and His attributes. It is but one of the atoms of the world of existence which results from (God). This shows that those who give the intellect preference over (traditional) information in such matters are wrong, deficient in understanding, and faulty in reasoning. This, then, explains the true situation in this respect.

If this is clear, it is possible that the ascending sequence of causes reaches the point where it transcends 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. Thus, (recognition of the) oneness of God is identical with inability to perceive the causes and the

³¹³ Qur'an 85.20 (20).

ways in which they exercise their influence, and with reliance in this respect upon the Creator of the causes who comprises them. There is no maker but Him. All (causes) lead up to Him and go back to His power. We know about Him only in as much as we have issued from Him. This is the meaning of the statement transmitted on the authority of a certain truthful (person): "The inability to perceive is perception."³¹⁴

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.³¹⁵ Its perfection 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.

The difference between "state"³¹⁶ and knowledge in questions of dogma is the same as that between talking (about attributes) and having them. This may be explained as follows: Many people know that mercy to the orphans and the poor brings (a human being) close to God and is recommendable. They say so and acknowledge the fact.

³¹⁴ This statement, which also lends itself to being treated as a verse, appears, for instance, in Hujwiri, *Kash al-mahjub*, tr. R. A. Nicholson (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 17) (Leiden & London, 1911), p. 18, and in al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'* (Cairo, 1352/1934), IV, 262. For Ibn 'Arabi and his school, it became one of the slogans of their mystical philosophy, and as such was constantly quoted. Cf. Ibn 'Arabi, *Futuhat* (Bulaq, 1293/1876), 1, 352; *Diwan* (Bulaq, 1271/1854-55), p. 10; *Kitab al-Ya'*, in *Rasa'il Ibn 'Arabi* (Hyderabad, 1367/ 1948), p. 2; *Tarjuman al-ashwaq*, ed. and tr. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1911), pp. 120 f.; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi* (Leiden, 1919), p. 96 (Ar. text). Cf. also Jalal-ad-din Rumi, *Mathnawi*, ed. and tr. R. A. Nicholson (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.s., No. 4) (Cambridge & London, 1925-40), VII, 169, comm. on Bk. I VV 2697 f. While Ibn Khaldun ascribes the statement to "a certain truthful person," al-Ghazzali mentions as its author "the master of those who are truthful," meaning not 'Ali but Abu Bakr.

³¹⁵ On a human level, this seems to be the same as the "essential speech" of the Deity. Cf. 1:199, above, and pp. 49 f., below.

³¹⁶ *Hal*, used here in the sense the word originally acquired in mysticism. Cf. p. 78, below.

They quote the sources for it from the religious law. But if they were to see an orphan or a poor person of the destitute classes,³¹⁷ they would run away from him and disdain to touch him, let alone show mercy to him or any of the higher "stations"³¹⁸ of sympathy, affection, and charity. Their mercy for the orphan was the result of having reached the station of knowledge. It was not the result of the station of "state" nor of an attribute of theirs. 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 "station": 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 repulsed. They give as charity whatever they have available from their own property.

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 attribute. An attribute (on the other hand) is not obtained from knowledge alone. 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. It is the kind that is useful in the other world. 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 (possesses). But the (real) object is knowledge as a "state," and it originates from divine worship.

³¹⁷D: "from among his fellow men."

³¹⁸ *Maqam*, another term borrowed from mysticism. Cf. p. 78, below. Ethical qualities are "stations" during man's ascent to the Divine.

It should be known that, in the opinion of the Lawgiver (Muhammad), perfection with regard to any of the obligations he has imposed (upon Muslims) requires 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, on real (knowledge) of them.

Divine worship and its continuous practice leads to this noble result. Muhammad says concerning the principal act of divine worship: "My consolation lies in prayer."³¹⁹ Prayer, for Muhammad, was an attribute and "state" in which he found his ultimate pleasure and consolation. How different is the prayer of the people! Who could bring them to pray in that way! "Woe unto those who pray, who are careless with regard to their prayer."³²⁰ O God, give us success. "And guide us on the straight path, the path of those to whom you have shown kindness, not of those with whom you are angry, and not of those who go astray."³²¹ Amen.

It³²² is clear from all the statements we have made that the object of all (religious) obligations is the acquisition of a habit firmly rooted in the soul, from which a necessary knowledge results for the soul. It is the (recognition of the) oneness of God, which is the (principal) article of faith and the thing through which happiness is attained. There is no difference whether the obligations of the heart or those of the body are concerned in this respect.

This shows that faith, which is the basis and source of all the (religious) obligations, 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, from the belief of the heart and the resulting actions, of a quality that has complete control over the heart. It commands the actions of the

³¹⁹This is the third part of the tradition in which Muhammad mentions women, perfume, and prayer as the things he likes best. Cf. Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1918/1895), III, 128, 199, 285.

³²⁰ Qur'an 107.4-5 (4-5).

³²¹ Qur'an 1.6-8 (6-8).

³²²Cf. Issawi, pp. 174 f.

limbs. Every activity takes place in submissiveness to it. Thus, all actions, eventually, become subservient to this affirmation by faith, and this is the highest degree of 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 deviation from its ways. Thus, Muhammad says: "An adulterer does not commit adultery, if he commits adultery while he is a believer."³²³

Then, there is the tradition of Heraclius, who asked Abu Sufyan b. Harb about the Prophet and his position. He asked whether any of the men around Muhammad would become an apostate, out of displeasure with his religion, after he had become a Muslim.³²⁴ The reply was: "No." (Heraclius) remarked: "The same applies to faith when its cheerfulness has penetrated the hearts."³²⁵ This means that it is as difficult for the soul to oppose the habit of faith, once it has been firmly established, as is the case with all other habits, once they have become firmly established. For they become a kind of natural disposition. This is the highest degree of faith. It comes second after infallibility, because infallibility is a primary necessity of prophets, while this (degree of faith) comes to the believers secondarily, as a result of their actions and of their affirmation.

The (varying) firmness of this habit causes differences in faith, as is known from the statements of the early Muslims. Much of it can be found in the chapter headings of al-Bukhari's chapter on faith. For instance: "Faith consists of words and actions"; "it may be more or less"; "prayer and fasting are part of faith"; "supererogatory (prayer) in Ramadan is part of faith"; and

³²³ According to *Concordance*, II, 343a, only the work of Ibn Majah (in the Book *on fitan*), among the canonical collections, includes this tradition.

³²⁴ The phrase, "after he had become a Muslim," which appears in al-Bukhari, is added in C in the margin and is found in the text of D.

³²⁵ Cf. 1:187, above.

"bashfulness is part of the faith."³²⁶ All these statements envisage perfect faith. We have referred to it and to how the habit of it can be attained. Perfect faith is something connected with action.

Affirmation, the first degree of perfect faith, admits of no differences (in intensity). Those who consider the first (meanings) of terms and thus think of (faith) as affirmation cannot show any differences (in the intensity of their affirmation), as the leading speculative theologians have stated. But those who consider the final (meanings) of terms and thus think of (faith) as the habit that is perfect faith, do show differences (in the intensity of their faith). This does not speak against the unity of the primary reality of (perfect faith), which is affirmation, since affirmation exists in all degrees of (faith). It is the lowest degree for which the term "faith" may be used. It absolves (the person who has it) from the responsibility of unbelief and is the distinguishing element between unbeliever and believer. Anything less would not be sufficient. Thus, by definition, it is a reality that is uniform and admits of no differences. Differences appear only in the "state" that is the result of action, as we have stated. This should be understood.

It should be known that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) described to us this first degree of faith which is affirmation. He specified particular matters he charged us to affirm with our hearts and to believe in our souls, while at the same time acknowledging them with our tongues. They are the established articles of the Muslim faith. When Muhammad was asked about faith, he said: "(Faith is) the belief in God, His angels, His Scriptures, His messengers, the Last Day, and the belief in predestination, be it good or bad."³²⁷

³²⁶ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, ed. Krehl (Leiden, 1862-1908), I, to (Ch. i of the Book on *iman*); I, 10,19 (Chs. I & xxxm); I, 18,17 (Chs. xxx & xxvm); I, 17 (Ch. xxvii); I, 14 (Ch. xvi).

³²⁷ Cf. Muslim, *Sahih* (Cairo, 1334/1915-16), I, 29 (Book on *iman*, Ch. 1); and, for similar traditions, *Concordance*, I, 29b, 260b; al-Isfarayini, *at-Tabsir fi d-din* (Cairo, 1359/1940), p. 57.

These are articles of faith as established in the science of speculative theology. Let us describe them in summary fashion, so that the real character of speculative theology and the way in which it originated may become clear. We say:

It should be known that the Lawgiver (Muhammad) commanded us to believe in the Creator whom he considered as the sole source of all actions,³²⁸ as we have mentioned before. He informed us that this belief means our salvation, if we have it when we die. However, he did not inform us about the real being of this worshiped Creator, because it is something too difficult for our perception and above our level. He made it our first obligation to believe that He in His essence cannot be compared with created beings. Otherwise, it would not be correct that He was their creator, since in this way there would be no distinction (between Him and them).

Then, he (made it our obligation to believe that) He cannot be described in any way as deficient. Otherwise, He would be similar to created beings. Then, he (made it our obligation to believe in) His oneness as divine being.³²⁹ Otherwise, the creation (of the world) could not have materialized, on account of mutual antagonism.³³⁰ Then, there are the following articles of faith:

God is knowing and powerful. In this way, (all) actions materialize as witness(es), by syllogism,³³¹ to the perfection of the act of creation.

He has volition. Otherwise, no created thing would be differentiated from the other.

³²⁸ Bulaq: "whom he considered the source of all actions and the sole subject of faith."

³²⁹ Sic C and D. Bulaq and B have "as creator."

³³⁰ That is, if there were more than one God, the mutual antagonism of the gods would have prevented the creation of the world, or the world would be destroyed. Cf. 1:894, above; pp. 63 and 144, below.

³³¹ B vocalizes: *shahidan gadiyatan*. The translation seems not quite certain. De Slane suggested another divine attribute here: "God, having full power to create and produce, is witness (of the execution) of His judgments." Even if one admits the corrections of the text necessary to produce this translation, its meaning is not clear in the context.

He determines the fate of each created thing. Otherwise, volition would be something that comes into being.

He causes our resurrection³³² after death. This constitutes the final touch to His concern with the first³³³ creation. If (created things) were destined to disappear completely,³³⁴ their creation would have been frivolous. They are destined for eternal existence after death.³³⁵

Further articles of faith are: God sent (His) messengers in order to save (us) from trouble on the (Day of) Resurrection, because (that Day) may mean either trouble or happiness (for us), and we would not know about it. He wanted to complete His kindness toward us by informing us about this situation and explaining to us the two possibilities and that Paradise means bliss and Hell punishment.

These main articles of faith are proven by the logical evidence that exists for them. Evidence for them from Qur'an and Sunnah (also) is ample. The early Muslims derived them from that evidence. The scholars showed the way to them and the religious leaders verified them. However, later on, there occurred differences of opinion concerning details of these articles of faith. Most of the differences concerned ambiguous³³⁶ verses. This led to hostility and disputation. Logical argumentation was used in addition to the traditional (material). In this way, the science of speculative theology originated.

We shall now explain the (preceding) summary statement in detail. In many verses of the Qur'an, the worshiped Master is described as being absolutely devoid (of human attributes) in obvious terms requiring no inter-

³³²The word translated here and a few lines later as "resurrection" (*ma'ad*) is not only used by Ibn Khaldun as a mere synonym for *qiyamah* "resurrection." Cf. below, p. 71. When it occurs together with *qiyamah*, it has been translated as "revivification."

³³³"First" is added in C and D. Cf. p. 71, below.

³³⁴*Li-l fana' as-sirf*, as in C and D. *Li-amr fanin*"be transitory," in B.

³³⁵Cf. p. 71, below.

³³⁶Cf. pp. 55 ff., below.

pretation. All those verses are negative (in their statements). They are clear on the subject. It is necessary to believe them. Statements of the Lawgiver (Muhammad) and the men around him and the men of the second generation have explained them in accordance with their plain meaning.

Then, there are a few other verses in the Qur'an suggesting anthropomorphism, with reference to either the essence or the attributes (of God). The early Muslims gave preference to the evidence for God's freedom (from human attributes), because it was ample and clear. They knew that anthropomorphism is absurd. They decided that (those) verses were the word of God, and, therefore, believed in them and did not try to investigate or interpret their meaning. This is what is meant by the statement made by most early Muslims: "Let them pass on as they have come."³³⁷ That is, believe that they are from God, and do not try to interpret or change them; they may be a temptation. It is, thus, necessary to stop³³⁸ and submit to (God).

But there were a few innovators in their time who occupied themselves with the ambiguous verses and³³⁹ delved into anthropomorphism. One group operated with the plain meaning of the relevant verses. They assumed anthropomorphism for God's essence, in that they believed that He has hands, feet, and a face. Thus, they adopted a clear anthropomorphism and were in opposition to the verses stating that God is devoid (of human attributes).

³³⁷Cf. Ibn Furak, *Bayan mushkil al-ahadith*, ed. R. Kobert in *Analecta Orientalia* (Rome, 1941), XXII, 7, 12 (Arabic text), where al-Awzi'i is mentioned among those who made the remark quoted. As-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 6 (Ch. XLIII), quotes many authorities as saying, with regard to anthropomorphic traditions: "We transmit them as they have come." As a matter of fact, the statement is appropriate in connection with "ambiguous" traditions. In connection with ambiguous verses of the Qur'an, the wording is improper and disrespectful. There may have been other authors who used the statement in connection with the Qur'an, but I am inclined to believe that its use here by Ibn Khaldun is a slight inaccuracy. The editor of Bulaq apparently sensed the difficulty, for the slight correction to "Recite them ..." appears to be his.

³³⁸D adds: "with them."

³³⁹The rest of the sentence is not found in C or D.

The idea of body entails deficiency and imperfection. It is more proper to give preference to the negative verses indicating that God is absolutely devoid (of human attributes), which are very numerous and clear, than to cling to the plain meaning of the (anthropomorphic) verses with which we can dispense, and to try to combine the two indications with the help of interpretation of (the anthropomorphic verses). The (people who gave consideration to the anthropomorphic verses) then tried to escape from the anthropomorphic abomination by stating that (God has) "a body unlike (ordinary human) bodies." This is no defense for them, because it is a statement contradictory in itself and a combination of negation and assertion, if both (negation and assertion) are used here for one and the same concept of body. But if the two differ among themselves³⁴⁰ and (thus) disavow the commonly accepted concept of body, those (people) rather agree with us that God is devoid (of human attributes). They consider the word "body" to be merely one of His names (used in a peculiar sense in connection with Him). Things like that depend on permission.³⁴¹

Another group turned to anthropomorphism with regard to the attributes of God. They assumed direction, sitting,³⁴² descending, voice, letter (sound), and similar things (for God). Their stated opinions imply anthropomorphism. Like the former group, they took refuge in statements such as: "A voice unlike voices"; "a direction unlike directions"; "descending unlike descending." By that, they meant: "(not as those things are used) in connection with (human) bodies." The refutation here is the same as in the former case.

The only thing that remains to be done with the plain (seemingly anthropomorphic) statements is (to follow) the beliefs and theories expressed

³⁴⁰That is, the negative statement may mean one type of body, and the positive another. The pronoun in *baynahuma* is reflexive, rather than referring to "two (kinds of body)."

³⁴¹This means that those statements may be authorized.

³⁴²This refers to the famous statement in the Qur'an that God "sat upright on the throne," which exercised a great fascination on the imagination of the speculative theologians and, consequently, figures prominently in their discussions of the divine attributes. Qur'an 7.54 (5s), etc. Cf, p. 65, below.

by the early Muslims. One must believe in the (statements) as they stand, so that it cannot happen that by disavowing their meaning, one disavows them as such, although they are a sound and established part of the Qur'an.

That is what is behind the statements found in the creed of the *Risalah* of Ibn Abi Zayd³⁴³ and in his *Mukhtasar* and in the books of the *hadith* expert Ibn 'Abd-al-Barr,³⁴⁴ and others. They try to convey the idea mentioned. One should not close one's eyes to the propositions in their discussion that prove it.

Later on, the sciences and crafts increased. People were eager to write systematic works and to do research in all fields. The speculative theologians wrote on God's freedom (from human attributes). At that juncture, the Mu'tazilah innovation came into being. The Mu'tazilah extended the subject to the negative verses and decided to deny (God's possession of) the ideal attributes³⁴⁵ of knowledge, power, volition, and life, in addition to (denying) their consequences. Their use (in connection with God) would imply, in (Mu'tazilah) opinion, a manifoldness of things primeval.³⁴⁶ This (assumption) is refuted by the (assumption) that the attributes are neither identical with the (divine) essence nor different from it.

The³⁴⁷ Mu'tazilah further decided to deny (God's possession) of the attribute of volition. This forced them to deny predestination, because predestination requires the existence of volition prior to the created things.

They also decided to deny God hearing and vision, because both hearing and vision are corporeal accidents. This (assumption) is refuted by the (assumption) that the meaning of the words (hearing and vision) does not

³⁴³ Cf. L. Bercher's edition of the *Risalah* (sd ed.; Algiers, 1949), pp. 18-27.

³⁴⁴ Cf. n. 163 to this chapter, above.

³⁴⁵ *Sifat al-ma'ani*: "attributes (resulting) from abstract (ideas)."

³⁴⁶ Whereas the absolute oneness of God requires that only He be primeval.

³⁴⁷ This paragraph is not found in Bulaq.

require (the existence of) corporeal shape, but merely the perception of audible or visible things.³⁴⁸

They further decided to deny God speech for reasons similar to those (they used) in connection with hearing and vision. They did not understand the attribute of speech as an essential function.

Thus, the Mu'tazilah decided that the Qur'an was created. This was an innovation. The early Muslims had openly expressed the contrary view. The damage done by this innovation was great. Certain leading Mu'tazilah indoctrinated certain caliphs with it, and the people were forced to adopt it. The Muslim religious leaders opposed them. Because of their opposition, it was considered permissible to flog³⁴⁹ and kill many of them. This caused orthodox people to rise in defense of the articles of faith with logical evidence and to push back the innovations.

The leader of the speculative theologians, Abul-Hasan al-Ash'ari,³⁵⁰ took care of that. He mediated between the different approaches. He disavowed anthropomorphism and recognized the ideal attributes. He restricted God's freedom (from human attributes) to the extent to which it had been restricted by the early Muslims, and which had been recognized by the proofs stating the general applicability (of the principle) to special cases. He recognized the four ideal attributes, as well as hearing, vision, and speech as an essential function, (and proved his position) with the help of logical and traditional methods. He refuted the innovators in all these respects. He discussed with them (their) stated opinions with regard to (God's concern for human) welfare and with what is best (for man), and their definition of good and evil, which they had invented as the basis for their innovation.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸Cf. p. 65, below.

³⁴⁹*Abshar* "bare skins."

³⁵⁰Ali b. Ismail, 460 [873/74] to ca. 324 [935]. Cf. GAL, I, 194 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 345 f. Here, and at its later occurrences, the name is preceded by the title *shaykh*.

³⁵¹This refers to the Mu'tazilah doctrines of *'adl* "divine justice" and *al-wa'd wa-l-wa'id* "human behavior and its consequences." Cf. p. 61, below.

He perfected the dogmas concerning the rising of the dead, the circumstances of the Resurrection, Paradise, and Hell, and reward and punishment. He added a discussion of the imamate, because the Imamiyah (Shi'ah) at that time suggested the novel idea that the imamate was one of the articles of faith and that it was the duty of the Prophet as well as the Muslim nation³⁵² to fix (the succession to) the (imamate) and free the person who would become the imam from any responsibility in this respect. (However, in fact,) the imamate is at best a matter of public interest and social organization. It is not an article of faith. (But, because of the Shi'ah attitude, the question of the imamate) was added to the problems of this discipline.

The whole was called "the science of speculative theology." The reason why this name (which, literally, means "science of speech," or "talk") was chosen, may have been that it included the disputation of innovations. That is merely talk and implies no action. Or, the reason may have been that the discipline was invented and cultivated as a consequence of dissension concerning the existence of essential *speech*.³⁵³

The followers of Abul-Hasan al-Ash'ari became numerous. His approach was later on followed by his pupils, such as Ibn Mujahid³⁵⁴ and others. Judge Abu Bakr al-Baqillani³⁵⁵ learned from them. He attacked the problem of the imamate in accordance with the way they had approached it, and improved on it. He laid down the logical premises on which arguments and speculation on the subject depend. He affirmed, for instance, the exist-

³⁵²But cf. 1:402, above.

³⁵³Cf. pp. 62 f., below.

³⁵⁴Abu 'Abdallah Mubammad b. Ahmad at-Ta't, d. between 360 and 370 [970-80]. Cf al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, I, 343. In his biography of al-Baqillani, Judge Iyad twice calls him Abu Bakr. The editors of al-Baqillani's *Tamhid* (Cairo, 1366/1947), pp. 242 and 247, recognized this as just a mistake. The date of Ibn Mujahid's death is indicated in later authors as 370 [980/81]; cf. *Tamhid*, p. 249(n. 4); Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat*, III, 74f. This date, however, is probably deduced merely from the fact that Ibn Mujahid's biography appears in the *Ta'rikh Baghdad* between biographies referring to the years 360 and 370.

³⁵⁵Cf. 1:43, above.

tence of the atom (*al jawhar al fard*) and of the vacuum. He made statements such as "An accident cannot sustain another accident," and "An accident does not persist two moments."³⁵⁶ There are similar (premises) on which the arguments of (the Ash'arites) depend. He considered the basic premises as secondary only to the articles of faith, as far as the necessity of believing in them was concerned. The arguments depend on them, and if the arguments are wrong, it is possible to conclude that the thing proven (by them) is also wrong.³⁵⁷

Thus, (al-Ash'ari's) approach was perfected and became one of the best speculative disciplines and religious sciences. However, the forms of its arguments are, at times, not technically perfect, because the scholars (of al-Ash'ari's time) were simple and the science of logic which probes arguments and examines syllogisms had not yet made its appearance in Islam. Even if some of it had existed, the theologians would not have used it, because it was so closely related to the philosophical sciences, which are altogether different from the beliefs of the religious law and were, therefore, avoided by them.

The Ash'arite leader, Judge Abu Bakr (al-Baqillani), was followed by the Imam al-Haramayn Abul-Ma'ali.³⁵⁸ He dictated a comprehensive work on the Ash'arite approach. He was very explicit in it. He then abridged the work in the *Kitab al-Irshad*. People use the (*Irshad*) as their guide in matters of (dogmatic) belief.

After that, the science of logic spread in Islam. People studied it. They made a distinction between it and the philosophical sciences, in that (they stated that) logic was merely a norm and yardstick for arguments and served

³⁵⁶Cf, for instance, D. B. Macdonald, "Continuous Re-Creation and Atomic Time" in *Isis*, IX (1927), 331. Cf. below, p. 144, or Averroes, *The Incoherence of the Incoherence*, tr. S. van den Bergh (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. No. 19) (Oxford & London, 1954), I, 82.

³⁵⁷Cf. p. 145, below.

³⁵⁸Cf. 1:393, above.

to probe the arguments of the (philosophical sciences) as well as (those of) all other (disciplines).

(Scholars,) then, studied the basic premises the earlier theologians had established. They refuted most of them with the help of arguments leading them to (a different opinion). Many of these (arguments) were derived from philosophical discussions of physics and metaphysics. When they probed them with the yardstick of logic, it showed that they were applicable (only) to those (other disciplines and not to theology, but) they did not believe that if the arguments were wrong, the thing proven (by the arguments) was also wrong, as had been the opinion of the Judge (al-Baqillani). This approach differed in its technical terminology from the older one. It was called "the school of recent scholars." Their approach often included refutation of the philosophers where the (opinions of the) latter differed from the articles of faith. They considered the (philosophers) enemies of the articles of faith, because, in most respects, there is a relationship between the opinions of the innovators and the opinions of the philosophers.

The first (scholar) to write in accordance with the (new) theological approach was al-Ghazzali. He was followed by the imam Ibn al-Khatib.³⁵⁹ A large number of scholars followed in their steps and adhered to their tradition.

The later scholars were very intent upon meddling with philosophical works. The subjects of the two disciplines (theology and philosophy) were thus confused by them. They thought that there was one and the same (subject) in both disciplines, because the problems of each discipline were similar.³⁶⁰

It should be known that the theologians most often deduced the existence and attributes of the Creator from the existing things and their conditions. As a rule, this was their line of argument. The physical bodies form

³⁵⁹ Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi. Cf. 1:402, above.

³⁶⁰ Cf. p. 153, below.

part of the existing things, and they are the subject of the philosophical study of physics. However, the philosophical study of them differs from the theological. The philosophers study bodies in so far as they move or are stationary. The theologians, on the other hand, study them in so far as they serve as an argument for the Maker. In the same way, the philosophical study of metaphysics studies existence as such and what it requires for its essence. The theological study (of metaphysics), on the other hand, is concerned with the *existentia*, in so far as they serve as argument for Him who causes existence. In general, to the theologians, the subject of theology is (to find out) how the articles of faith which the religious law has laid down as correct, can be proven with the help of logical arguments, so that innovations may be repulsed and doubts and misgivings concerning the articles of faith be removed.

If one considers how this discipline originated and how scholarly discussion was incorporated within it step by step,³⁶¹ and how, during that process, scholars always assumed the correctness of the articles of faith and paraded proofs "and arguments (in their defense), one will realize that the character of the subject of this discipline is as we have established it, and one will realize that (the discipline) cannot go beyond it. However, the two approaches have been mixed up by recent scholars. The problems of theology have been confused with those of philosophy. This has gone so far that the one discipline is no longer distinguishable from the other. The student (of theology) cannot learn (theology) from the books of (the recent scholars, and the same situation also confronts the student of philosophy). Such (mixing of theology and philosophy) was done by al-Baydawi, in the *Tawali`*, and by later, non-Arab scholars, in all their works. However, some students have occupied themselves with the (mixed) approach (in spite of its uselessness for the study of theology), in order to learn the different school opinions

³⁶¹ *Sadran ba'da sadrin*. For *sadr* used by Ibn Khaldun in the meaning of some time," cf. also 1:373, above, and p. 171, below.

and to become versed in the knowledge of argumentation, which is amply represented in (the works which follow the mixed approach).

The approach of the early Muslims can be reconciled with the beliefs of the science of speculative theology only if one follows the old approach of the theologians (and not the mixed approach of recent scholars). The basic work here is the *Kitab al-Irshad*, as well as works that follow its example. Those who want to inject a refutation of the philosophers into their dogmatic beliefs must use the books of al-Ghazzali and the imam³⁶² Ibn al-Khatib. They do show some divergence from the old technique, but do not make such a confusion of problems and subjects as is found in the approach of the recent scholars who have come after them.

In general, it must be known that this science - the science of speculative theology - is not something that is necessary to the contemporary student. Heretics and innovators have been destroyed. The orthodox religious leaders have given us protection against heretics and innovators in their systematic works and treatments. Logical arguments were needed only when they³⁶³ defended and supported (their own views with them). Now, all that remains of them³⁶⁴ is a certain amount of discussion, from most of whose ambiguities and inferences the Creator can be considered to be free.³⁶⁵

Al-Junayd³⁶⁶ was once passing a group of theologians discussing the (problem of the freedom of the Creator from human attributes). He asked who they were. He was told that they were people who, by the aid of arguments, were trying to free God from the attributes of createdness and from the qualities that indicate deficiency. Whereupon al-Junayd said: "The de-

³⁶²"The imam" added in C and D.

³⁶³ I.e., the religious leaders, rather than the heretics and innovators. C seems to indicate the reading *li-md*, which would make the subordinate clause read: "for the things they refuted and supported"?

³⁶⁴ I.e., of the logical arguments.

³⁶⁵ *Sic* B and C (*yunazzahu*). D vocalizes *nunazzihu al-bari'a* "we consider the Creator to be free."

³⁶⁶ Cf. 2:187, above.

nial of a fault where (the existence of) a fault is impossible is (in itself) a fault."³⁶⁷

However, the usefulness of (speculative theology) for certain individuals and students is considerable. Orthodox Muslims should not be ignorant of speculative argumentation in defense of the articles of orthodox faith. "God is the friend of the believers."³⁶⁸

VI.15. An exposition of ambiguity in the Qur'an and the Sunnah and of the resulting dogmatic schools among both the orthodox and the innovators.³⁶⁹

[p.3:55]

It should be known that God sent our Prophet Muhammad to us, in order to call us to salvation and bliss. He revealed to him His noble book in the clear Arabic language. He told us in it about the (religious) obligations that would enable us to attain (salvation and bliss). This process included and necessitated references to God's names and attributes, in order to make us acquainted with His essence. (It also included and necessitated) references to the spirit attaching itself to us, and to the revelation and the angels constituting the connection between God and His messengers who were sent to us. The Day of Resurrection and its warning signs have been mentioned to us (in the Qur'an), but the exact time when any of these things is to take

³⁶⁷ Cf. 1:51, above.

³⁶⁸ Qur'an 3.68 (61).

³⁶⁹ The section appears first in C and D. Ibn Khaldun did not add it all at once, for a good deal of the text is still found in the form of marginal additions in C. He may have been asked in his classes to elaborate upon the subject, and hence to have devoted a separate chapter to it supplementing the preceding one. In a sense, it disturbs the arrangement of the discussion.

Cf. D. B. Macdonald in *El*, s.v. "Kalam": "Ibn Khaldun evidently added (this section) later from a perception (1) that his view of these passages was essential to his general position and (2) that he had not dealt fully enough with some of the theological matters of controversy. He traced, in fact, the origin, in great part, of the science of Kalam, viewed as defensive scholasticism, to these ambiguous and obscure passages; it sprang, thus, more from exegetical than from philosophical pressure."

place is not indicated. Also, at the beginning of certain *surahs*, the noble Qur'an contains, distributed (in various places, combinations of) individual letters of the alphabet the meaning of which we are not able to understand.

All these particulars of the Qur'an were called "ambiguous" (in the Qur'an itself). Those who followed them were censured, as indicated in the verse: "It is He who revealed the Book to you. It contains unambiguous verses that are the mother of the Book, and other verses that are ambiguous. Those who are inclined in their hearts toward deviation follow that which is ambiguous in the Qur'an, because they desire trouble, and they desire to interpret it. But only God knows how to interpret it. Those who are firmly rooted in knowledge say, 'We believe in it. It is all from our Lord.' Only those who have a heart remember."³⁷⁰

The early Muslim scholars from among the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation understood this verse to mean that the "unambiguous (verses)" are those that are clear and definite. The jurists, therefore, define "unambiguous" in their terminology as "clear in meaning."

Concerning the "ambiguous (verses)," people have different notions. It has been said that they are (verses) requiring study and interpretation in order to establish their correct meaning, because they are in contradiction with other verses or with logic. Therefore, their meaning is obscure and "ambiguous." In this sense, Ibn 'Abbas said: "One must believe in the 'ambiguous (verses),' but one need not act in accordance with them."³⁷¹ Mujahid³⁷² and 'Ikrimah³⁷³ said: "Everything, with the exception of (clearly) unambiguous verses and narrative passages, is ambiguous." This statement was accepted by Judge Abu Bakr (al-Baqillani) and by the Imam al-Hara-

³⁷⁰Qur'an 3.6 (5).

³⁷¹Cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 2 (Ch. XLIII), whose source is Ibn Abi Hatim,

³⁷² Cf. 2:179, above. D erroneously adds Ibn 'Abbas before Mujahid as another authority for the statement quoted.

³⁷³ Died 104 [722/23] or 107 [725/26]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*(Hyderabad, 1360- /1941-), IV 1, 49.

mayn. Ath-Thawri,³⁷⁴ ash-Sha'bi,³⁷⁵ and a number of early Muslim scholars said: "'Ambiguous' is what cannot be known, such as the conditions of the Hour, the dates of the warning signs, and the letters at the beginning of certain *surahs*."

The phrase "Mother of the Book," in the verse quoted, means "the largest and most prominent part of (the Book)," whereas the "ambiguous (verses)" constitute the smallest part of it, and they have no meaning except with reference to the unambiguous (verses).³⁷⁶ (The verse,) then, censures those who follow the "ambiguous (verses)" and interpret them or give them a meaning they do not have in the Arabic language which the Qur'an addresses us in. The verse calls those persons "deviators" - that is, people who turn away from the truth - unbelievers, heretics, stupid innovators. The verse says that they act so in order to cause trouble - that is, polytheism and confusion among the believers - or in order to be able to interpret the (ambiguous verses) to suit their desires and to use (their interpretations) as a model for their innovations.

God then informs (us in the verse quoted) that He has reserved the interpretation of the (ambiguous verses) exclusively to Himself. Nobody knows their interpretation, save only Him. He says: "But only God knows how to interpret them."

The verse then praises scholars for simply believing in the (ambiguous verses). It says: "Those who are firmly rooted in knowledge say, 'We believe in them.' " The early Muslims considered this statement as the beginning of a new sentence. They did not consider it to be coupled (with the preceding statement, in which case it would mean ". . . Only God knows how to interpret them, and so do those who are firmly rooted in knowledge, who

³⁷⁴Cf. 2:160, above.

³⁷⁵Amir b. Shar'hil, d. between 103 and 106 [721-25]. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XII, 227 ff.

³⁷⁶Cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 5.

say ...").³⁷⁷ Belief in something not known deserves greater praise (than belief in something visible). Now, assuming that the two sentences are to be coupled with each other, we would have belief in something visible, because (this interpretation) implies that (the scholars) know the interpretation, and that it is not something unknown.

This is confirmed by the continuation of the verse, "It is all from our Lord." That shows that human beings do not know the interpretation of the (ambiguous verses). For the words of the language present to the understanding only those meanings given them by the Arabs. Thus, in cases where it is impossible to relate a certain (piece of) information to the (person) who gives it, we do not know what the words mean. When such information comes to us from God, we leave the knowledge of it to Him and do not bother to find out what it might mean. It would not be possible for us anyhow. 'A'ishah said: "If you see those who dispute about the Qur'an, they are the ones whom God meant (in the verse quoted) -beware of them!"³⁷⁸

This was the opinion of the early Muslims concerning the "ambiguous verses" (of the Qur'an). The traditions contain similarly (ambiguous) expressions which were considered by them in the same light, because the source is one and the same.

Now that the different kinds of "ambiguous" statements have been established by our remarks, let us return to the differences of opinion regarding them found among people (scholars).

The statements that people consider "ambiguous" and that have reference to the Hour and its conditions, to the dates of the warning signs, to the number of the guardians of Hell,³⁷⁹ and similar things, hardly are "ambiguous" statements. They contain no equivocal³⁸⁰ expression or anything else

³⁷⁷Cf. as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 3.

³⁷⁸Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 212 (comm. on Qur'an 3.7); *Concordance*, III, 62b; as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 3.

³⁷⁹Cf. Qur'an 96.18 (18).

³⁸⁰*Muhtamil*: C and D.

(that may properly be considered ambiguous). They simply (refer to) dates of events, the knowledge of which God has reserved exclusively to Himself, as expressly stated in His Book and through His Prophet. God says: "The knowledge of them is with God."³⁸¹ It is strange that these things could ever have been counted among the "ambiguous" statements.

The (combinations of) individual letters at the beginning of certain *surahs* (*al-huruf al-muqatta'ah*) are, in matter of fact, letters of the alphabet. It is not improbable that they are intended (merely as meaningless letters of the alphabet). Az-Zamakhshari says: "They indicate the wide sweep of the inimitability of the Qur'an. The revealed Qur'an is composed of (letters). Anybody could use them, but since their composition (in the Qur'an), there is a difference in their significance (and they have acquired a superior, divine quality)."³⁸² Abandonment of the point of view which implies that (these Quranic letters) do in fact indicate (just meaningless letters), would be justified only on the strength of sound tradition. Thus, it is said that *taha* is an appellation consisting of *tahir* "pure" and *hath* "guide," and so on.³⁸³ But it is difficult to have a sound tradition. In this sense, the letters might be (called) "ambiguous."

The ambiguity in statements concerning the revelation, angels, the spirit, and jinn, results from obscurity in the real meaning of (those terms). They

³⁸¹ Qur'an 7.187 (186 f.); 33.63 (63).

³⁸² As already pointed out by de Slane, az-Zamakhshari mentions nothing of the sort in his commentary on the beginning of *surah 2*, where he discusses the *huruf al-muqatta'ah* at length. Nor does he say anything in his commentary on *surah Taha* (20). The interpretation of *taha* as *tahir* and *hadi* does not seem to be generally accepted.

Al-Baqillani, *Tamhid*, pp. 125 f., points out that it is not the letters as such that make the Qur'an inimitable, but their arrangement.

³⁸³ Similar explanations of the *huruf al-muqatta'ah*, are found, for instance, in as-Suyuti, *Itqan*, II, 9 ff. The unsolved problem of the letters has called forth many ingenious and unproven theories. Cf. T. Noldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergstrasser, and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Leipzig, 1909-38), II, 68 ff. For the bitterness with which the supporters of the different theories fight each other to the present day, cf. Ali Nasuh al-Tahir, "Abbreviations in the Holy Qur'an," *Islamic Review*, Dec. 1950, pp. 8-12. Cf. also 2:192 f. and 205 ff., above.

are not commonly accepted (terms). Therefore, they are ambiguous. Some people have added (to these things) all related matters, such as the conditions of Resurrection, Paradise, Hell, the Antichrist, the disturbances (preceding the Last Day), the conditions (governing it), and anything that is contrary to familiar custom. They may be right. However, the great mass (of scholars), especially the speculative theologians, do not agree to that. They have determined the significance of those (terms), as we notice, in their works.

Thus, the only ambiguous statements remaining are those concerning the attributes that God has attributed to Himself in His Book and through His Prophet, the plain meaning of which would seem to suggest a deficiency or weakness on the part of God.

After the early Muslims whose opinions (on the subject) we have already clarified, there were differences of opinion among the people concerning these plain statements. There was discussion. Innovations came to affect dogmatic beliefs. Let us explain those opinions and give preference to the sound ones (among them) as against the corrupt ones. I say -and only God can give me success.

It should be known that God described Himself to us in His Book as knowing, powerful, having volition, living, hearing, seeing, speaking, majestic, noble, generous, beneficent, strong, and great. He also established with regard to Himself that He had hands, eyes, a face, a foot, a leg,³⁸⁴ and other attributes. Some of them imply true divinity, such as knowledge, power, volition, as well as life, which is a condition for all of them. Others are attributes of perfection, such as hearing, vision, and speech. Others, again, seem to suggest deficiency, such as sitting, descending, and coming, as well as face, hands, and eyes, which are attributes of created things. The³⁸⁵ Law-giver (Muhammad) then informed (us) that we shall see our Lord on the Day

³⁸⁴ *Wa-s-saq*: C and D, with reference to Qur'an 68.42 (42).

³⁸⁵ The rest of the paragraph is found in the margin of C. D inserted it at a wrong place in the text, namely, after the first sentence of the next paragraph.

of Resurrection like the moon on a night when the moon is full, and shall not suffer any harm in seeing Him, as is established in sound tradition (the *Sahih*).³⁸⁶ The early Muslims, the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, affirmed God's (possession of) the attributes of divinity and perfection. They left to Him (the question of attributes) that seem to suggest deficiency, and did not say anything as to what they might mean. Later on, people held divergent opinions.

The Mu'tazilah came and affirmed those attributes as abstract data of the mind but did not assume the existence of a (divine) attribute persisting in the (divine) essence. This they called "declaration of the oneness of God" (*tawhid*).

Then, they considered man the creator of his own actions, and that the latter have nothing to do with the divine power, especially not man's evil actions and sins, since a wise (Deity) would find it impossible to do them.

They also considered it God's duty to observe what is best for mankind. This they called (divine) justice ('adl). Originally, they had denied predestination. They had maintained that everything starts through knowledge which comes into being (in each particular instance), as well as through power and volition which likewise (come into being). This is mentioned in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*,³⁸⁷ and 'Abdallah b. 'Umar refused to have anything to do with Ma'bad al Juhani³⁸⁸ and his companions who held those opinions. The denial of predestination was taken up by the Mu'tazilah Wasil b. 'Ata al-Ghazzal,³⁸⁹ the pupil of al-Hasan al-Basri, at the time of

³⁸⁶ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 148, 153, etc.; and *Concordance*, II, 202. In this often-quoted tradition, the word translated here by "suffer any harm" appears in different forms; the preferred interpretation seems to be: "Everybody will have the privilege of seeing Him." Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, VI, 166; XV, 252. Cf. also below, p. 74.

³⁸⁷ The tradition is found at the beginning of the *Kitab al-Iman* of Muslim's *Sahih*.

³⁸⁸ Died after 80 [699]. Cf. al-Bukhari, *Ta'rikh*, IV 1, 399 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 225 f.

³⁸⁹ 80-131 1699/700-748/491. Cf. GAL, I, 66; *Suppl.*, I, 103; A. J. Wensinck in EI, s.v. The correct al-Ghazzali appears in the MSS.

'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwan, and eventually by Mu'ammār as-Sullāmī.³⁹⁰ The Mu'tazilah, then, retracted their former opinion in this respect.

One of the Mu'tazilah was Abul-Hudhayl al-'Allaf.³⁹¹ He was the chief of the Mu'tazilah. He had learned the Mu'tazilah approach from 'Uthman b. Khalid at-Tawil,³⁹² who had it from Wasil. He was one of those who denied predestination. He followed the opinions of the philosophers in denying the existential attributes, because the philosophical opinions made their appearance at that time.

Then came Ibrahim an-Nazzām.³⁹³ He professed (belief in) predestination, and (the Mu'tazilah) followed him. He studied the philosophical works. He strictly denied the (existence of the divine) attributes and firmly established the basic (dogmas) of Mu'tazilism. Then came al-Jahiz,³⁹⁴ al-Ka'bi,³⁹⁵ and the Jubba'iyah.³⁹⁶ Their approach was called "the science of speculative theology." (This name, which, literally, means "science of speech," or "talk,"

³⁹⁰Mu'ammār b. 'Abbad, d. 215 [830/31]. Cf. J. Fuck, "Neue Materialien zum Fihrist," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XC (1936), 318; S. Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalams* (Breslau, 1909), pp. 55 ff.

³⁹¹Muhammad b. al-Hudhayl, d. between 226 and 235 [840-50]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 338.

³⁹²He is mentioned, for instance, in the biography of al-'Allaf in al-Khalib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, III, 367. Cf. also ash-Shahrastani, *Milal*, ed. Cureton (London, 1842-46), p. 34; tr. T. Haarbrucker (Halle, 1850-51), I, 49.

³⁹³Ibrahim b. Sayyir, d. between 220 and 230 [835-45]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 339; H. S. Nyberg in *El, Supplement*, s.v. "al-Nazzām." The following statement concerning an-Nazzām's attitude toward predestination is by no means clear. *Qala bi-l-qadar* literally means "to profess belief in predestination," but in theological usage the phrase had come to mean just the opposite, "to profess belief in free will." Cf., for instance, C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti* (Rome, 1939-48), II, 176-80. From the preceding remarks by Ibn Khaldun, if I understand them correctly, it would seem that the above translation expresses what he meant to say, strange as it may seem.

³⁹⁴Amr b. Bahr, ca. 160 [776] to 255 [869]. Cf. GAL, I, 152 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 239 ff.

³⁹⁵Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Balkhi, d. 319 [931]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 343; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), p. 356 (n. 8).

³⁹⁶Sic C and D. The Jubba'is were Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhab, 235-303 [849/50-916], and his son Abu Hashim 'Abd-as-Salam, 275 or 277 [889 or 890/91] to 321 [933]: Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 342 f. The dates are to be corrected in accordance with al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XI, 55 f.

was chosen) either because the school implied argumentation and disputation, which is what might be called *talk*, or because it originated from denial of the attribute of *speech*.³⁹⁷ Therefore, ash-Shafi'i used to say: "They deserve to be beaten with palm rods and to be led around (in public)."

Those men firmly established the Mu'tazilah school. They confirmed part of it and rejected (other parts). Eventually, Abul-Hasan al-Ash'ari³⁹⁸ appeared. He disputed (the opinions of) certain Mu'tazilah *shaykhs* concerning the problems of (God's concern for human) welfare and what is best for man. He abolished Mu'tazilism. He followed the opinions of 'Abdallah b. Sa'id b. Kullab,³⁹⁹ Abul-'Abbas al-Qalanisi,⁴⁰⁰ and al-Harith b. Asad al-Muhasibi,⁴⁰¹ who were followers of the ancient Muslims according⁴⁰² to the orthodox approach. He strengthened the statements they had made⁴⁰³ with speculative theological arguments. He affirmed the existence of knowledge, power, volition, and life, as attributes persisting in the essence of God. (These attributes) are necessary for the argument of mutual antagonism,⁴⁰⁴ and they establish the correctness of prophetic miracles.

It also was (Ash'arite) doctrine to affirm the existence of (the divine attributes of) speech, hearing, and vision. On the surface, (these attributes) seem to suggest deficiency, (as they seem to be connected) with corporeal voice and corporeal letter (sound). However, among the Arabs, speech has another meaning, different from letter (sound) and voice, namely, "that

³⁹⁷Cf. p. 50, above.

³⁹⁸Cf. p. 49, above.

³⁹⁹ Second half of the ninth century. Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, ed. Flugel (Leipzig, 1871-72), p. 180; (Cairo, 1348/1929-30), pp. 255 f. The *Fihrist* gives his names as 'Abdallah b. Muhammad, instead of 'Abdallah b. Sa'id b. Muhammad.

⁴⁰⁰ He is mentioned together with the other two men in ash-Shahrastani, *Milal*, pp. 20, 65; tr. Haarbrucker, I, 29, 97; W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948), p. 130.

⁴⁰¹The famous writer on mysticism, ca. 165 [781/82] to 243 [855]. Cf. GAL, I, 198; *suppl.*, I, 351 ff.

⁴⁰²C does not have *wa-*, which appears in D.

⁴⁰³D and C: *fa-ayyada maqldtihin*.

⁴⁰⁴Cf. 1:394, and p. 44, above; p. 144, below.

which goes around in the soul" (*khalad*).⁴⁰⁵ Speech in it is a reality, in contradistinction to the first (kind of speech). They ascribed such (eternal speech) to God. Thus, the suggestion of deficiency was eliminated. They affirmed the attribute of (speech) as one that is primeval and of general application, as is the case with the other attributes. The Qur'an, thus, became a term with a double meaning. It is primeval and persisting in the essence of God. This is essential speech. But it is (also) created, in as much as it consists of combinations of letters (sounds) produced in the recital (of the Qur'an) by (human) voices. When it is called primeval, the first thing is meant. When it is called recitable or audible, this refers to its recitation and written fixation.

His scrupulousness prevented the imam Ahmad (b. Hanbal) from using the word "created" for (the Qur'an in any way). He had not heard from the ancient Muslims before his time (anything to the effect) that he (was to) say^{405a} that written copies of the Qur'an are primeval, or that the recitation (of the Qur'an) which is done by (human) tongues was something primeval, as he could observe with his own eyes that it was something created. But only his scrupulousness prevented him from (using the term "created" in those cases). Had he (avoided using it for any other reason), he would have denied something that is necessary. He certainly would not have done that.

⁴⁰⁵Cf. ash-Shahrastani, *Kitab nihayat al-iqdam*, ed. A. Guillaume (Oxford & London, 1934), pp. 320 and 827, where the above explanation of speech is mentioned as Ash'arite doctrine.

^{405a}I believe that this renders Ibn Khaldun's thought accurately. Ibn Hanbal was under no obligation to consider the pronunciation of the Qur'an as untreated, but he also avoided calling it created, although this would have been the sensible thing to do, because he hesitated to associate the terms "created" and "Qur'an" in any way whatever. It would not seem correct, for syntactic reasons, to translate: "He had not heard (the word 'created') used by the ancient Muslims before his time. He (also) would not say ..." The difficulty we encounter here is caused by the fact that Ibn Hanbal's attitude toward this problem was not clearly known to later generations. He is said, on the one hand, to have greatly disapproved of anyone who would say that the pronunciation of the Qur'an is created, and, on the other hand, he is reported to have vigorously denied a statement attributed to him that it was uncreated. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mandqib al-imam Ahmad b. Hanbal* (Cairo, 1849/1981), pp. 154, 158. Cf. also H. Laoust in the new edition of EI, s.v. "Ahmad b. Hanbal."

Hearing and vision seem to suggest perception by parts of the body. However, linguistically, they also may mean the perception of audible and visible things.⁴⁰⁶ This, then, eliminates the suggestion of deficiency, because here we have a real linguistic meaning for the two terms (that may be applicable in connection with the divine attributes).

On the other hand, in the case of the expressions sitting, coming, descending, face, hands, eyes, and the like, the (theologians) abandoned their real linguistic meaning, which would suggest deficiency, anthropomorphically, for metaphoric interpretation. It is the method of the Arabs to resort to metaphoric interpretation whenever the real meanings of words present difficulties. This is done, for instance, in connection with the verse of the Qur'an: "(A wall) that wanted to collapse,"⁴⁰⁷ and similar cases. It is a well-known method of the Arabs which is not disapproved of and constitutes no innovation. (It is true,) the (metaphoric) interpretation (of the attributes mentioned) is contrary to the opinions of the early Muslims, who left (the matter to God). However, the theologians were led to adopt it by the fact that a number of followers of the early Muslims, namely, the novelty-conscious⁴⁰⁸ and more recent Hanbalites, erred with regard to the significance of those attributes. They considered them to be definite attributes of God of which it is not known "how" they are. With regard to the statement, "He sat upright upon the throne,"⁴⁰⁹ they say, "We affirm that He sits, as the word indicates, because we fear to negate Him, but we do not say how, because we fear anthropomorphism, which is denied in negative verses such as (these): 'There is nothing like Him';⁴¹⁰ 'Praised be God, beyond the attributes' they

⁴⁰⁶Cf, p, 49, above.

⁴⁰⁷Quran 18.77 (76).

⁴⁰⁸I believe that the word used here, and again pp. 68 f., below, is to be vocalized *muhdithun* and to be understood as a synonym of *mubtadi'ah* "those who create new (opinions)." *Muhaddithun* "hadith scholars" or *muhdathun* "modern" seem less likely interpretations.

⁴⁰⁹Qur'an 7.54 (52), etc.

⁴¹⁰Qur'an 42.11 (9).

give (Him)';⁴¹¹ 'God is above what evildoers say';⁴¹² and 'He did not give birth, and He was not born.'⁴¹³

These people do not realize that it comes under the subject of anthropomorphism for them to affirm the attribute of sitting, because according to the lexicographers, the word "sitting" implies being firmly settled in a place, which is something corporeal. The negation they hate to bring about would (merely) affect the word, and there is nothing dangerous in that. What is to be avoided is the negation of divinity.⁴¹⁴ They also hate to assume the imposition of an obligation that (human beings) are unable to fulfill.⁴¹⁵ This, however, is a delusion, because ambiguous statements have no bearing upon obligations. Then, they claim that (their opinion) is the opinion of the early Muslims, who, in fact, held no such opinion. Their opinion was the one we established at the beginning,⁴¹⁶ namely, to leave to God (the question of) what is meant by the (attributes), and not to say that one understands them. The (Hanbalites) argue in favor of (God's) sitting, using Malik's statement, "(The fact of God's) sitting is known, but it is not known how (God sits)." Malik did not mean that sitting is known as a definite (attribute) of God. He certainly would not have said such a thing, because he knew the meaning of "sitting." He merely meant that (the meaning of) sitting is known linguistically, and it is something corporeal, but how it takes place - that is, its reality, since the reality of all attributes concerns the how - is not known definitely (in connection) with God.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹¹Qur'an 23.91 (93); 37.159 (159).

⁴¹²This is not an exact quotation.

⁴¹³Qur'an 112.3 (3).

⁴¹⁴C and D: *al-alihah*"gods"? Text to be corrected?

⁴¹⁵ The impossible obligation, apparently, would be belief in something that is doubtful.

⁴¹⁶Cf. pp. 58 and 61, above. Cf. also p. 101, below.

⁴¹⁷ Bombaci, p. 455, translates: ". . . since essence and quality (*ουσια* and *ποιον*) coincide in the case of the attributes ..."

These people also argue in favor of a "place" (for God). They do so by using the tradition of the black (slave girl). The Prophet asked her: "Where is God?" She answered: "In heaven." Whereupon (the Prophet) said (to her owner): "Set her free, for she is a believer."⁴¹⁸ Now, the Prophet did not assume that she was a believer because she affirmed the existence of a place for God, but because she believed the plain statements in His Revelation which say that God is in heaven. Thus, she became one of those "firmly rooted (in knowledge),"⁴¹⁹ who believe in ambiguous statements with out searching for their meaning. It is definite that one has to disavow the existence of a "place" for God. This follows from the logical argument denying (God's) need (for anything), and from the negative evidence that calls for freeing (God' from attributes), as found, for instance, (in the verse), "There is nothing like Him,"⁴²⁰ and similar statements. It also follows from the Qur'anic statement,⁴²¹ "He, God, is in the heavens and upon earth."⁴²² Nothing that exists can be in two places (at the same time). Thus, the verse is not a definite indication that God is located in a certain place, but must mean something else.

These people then extended the interpretation they had invented to the plain meaning of face, eyes, hands, coming, descending, and speech with letter (sound) and voice. They assumed that these words had meanings that were more general than (mere) references to the body. They declared God free from the corporeal meaning of these attributes. However, this is something that is not recognized in the language.

All of them followed this course. The orthodox Ash'arites and the Hanafite theologians shunned them and tried to uproot their dogmatic belief in this respect. An episode that happened between Hanafite speculative the-

⁴¹⁸Cf. Averroes, *Fasl al-maqal*, ed. and tr. L. Gauthier (3d ed.; Algiers, 1948), p. 19.

⁴¹⁹Cf. pp. 56 f., above.

⁴²⁰Qur'an 42.11 (9).

⁴²¹D adds quite pointlessly a reference to Qur'an 3.109 (105).

⁴²²Qur'an 6.3 (3).

ologians in Bukhara and the imam Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari,⁴²³ is well known.

The anthropomorphists (*mujassimah*) did something similar in affirming that God has a body but not one like (ordinary human) bodies. The word "body" is not⁴²⁴ used in connection with (God) in the Muslim religio-legal tradition, but they were emboldened in their statement by the fact that they affirmed the (literal) existence of these plain statements. They did not restrict themselves to them,⁴²⁵ but went deeper into the matter and affirmed the corporeality (of God).⁴²⁶ They assumed something like (what has just been mentioned) concerning (the meaning of corporeality). They (wanted to) free (God from human attributes) by the contradictory, nonsensical statement, "A body not like (ordinary human) bodies." But in the language of the Arabs, body is something that has depth and is limited. Other interpretations, such as the one that (body) is something persisting in itself, or is something composed of the elements, and other things, reflect the technical terms of speculative theology, through which (the theologians) want to get at another meaning than that indicated by the language. Thus, the anthropomorphists are more involved (than others) in innovation, and, indeed, in unbelief. They assume puzzling attributes for God which suggest deficiency (on His part) and which are not mentioned in either the Word of God or that of His Prophet.

The differences between the dogmatic opinions of the early Muslims, the orthodox theologians, the novelty conscious (scholars),⁴²⁷ and the in-

⁴²³ Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, II, 30-33, mentions discussions concerning the divine attributes that al-Bukhari had in Nisabur.

⁴²⁴C and D: *lam* (for the misprint *lahu* of the Paris ed., which was recognized as such by de Slane and Bombaci).

⁴²⁵Sic: C and D.

⁴²⁶Cf. Bombaci, pp. 455 f.

⁴²⁷Cf. p. 65 (n. 408), above.

novators among⁴²⁸ the Mu'tazilah, has thus become clear through our remarks. Among the novelty - conscious (scholars), there are extremists who are called *al-mushabbihah*, because they come out openly for anthropomorphism (*tashbih*).⁴²⁹ The story goes that one of them even said: "Spare me from speaking about God's beard and genitals. Rather ask me about anything else, whatever you please."⁴³⁰ Unless one tries to explain such (a remark) in their own interest, by assuming that they want to deal exhaustively with these puzzling plain attributes, and that they consider all of them in the same light as their authorities, it is clear unbelief. God help us!

The books of orthodox scholars are full of argumentations against such innovations and of lengthy refutations of (innovators) with the help of sound evidence. But we have briefly referred to the (subject) in a way that will help to distinguish the details and general outlines of dogmatics. "Praised be God who guided us to this. We would not be persons who are guided aright, had God not guided us."⁴³¹

The plain (words) the evidence for and meaning of which are obscure - such as revelation, angels, spirit, jinn, Purgatory (*barzakh*),⁴³² the conditions of the Resurrection, the Antichrist, the disturbances (preceding the Last Day), the conditions (governing it), and everything else that is difficult to understand or contrary to custom - are considered by us in the same light as the Ash'arites, who are orthodox people, considered such details. There is no ambiguity in it, even though we speak of it as ambiguous. Therefore, we want to elucidate the matter and speak clearly about it. We say:

⁴²⁸D adds: "anthropomorphists and "

⁴²⁹For the difference between *tashbih* and *tajsim*, cf. p. 84, below

⁴³⁰This statement is ascribed to a certain Dawud al-Jawaribi. Cf. allsfariyini, *at-Tabir fi d-din*, p. 71; ash-Shahrestani, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, pp. 77, 143; tr. Haarbrucker, I, 115, 215. In a slightly different form, but still ascribed to Dawud al-Jawaribi, it appears in 'Abd-al-Qahir al-Baghdadi, *Fart'*, tr. A. S. Halkin (Tel Aviv, 1935), pp. 33 f.; as-Sam'ani, *Ansab* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 20) (Leiden & London, 1912), fol. 590b.

⁴³¹Qur'an 7.43 (41).

⁴³²Cf. 1:199, above; pp. 70 f., below.

It should be known that the world of man is the most noble and exalted of the worlds of existent things. 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.

The⁴³³ first level is constituted by the human world of the body including (man's) external sense perception, his thinking which is directed toward making a living, and all the other activities which are granted to him by his present existence.

The second level is constituted by the world of sleep (dream visions). 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 as our truthful (Prophet) promised.

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.

The third level is that of prophecy. It is restricted to the noblest representatives of humankind by virtue of the fact that God has distinguished them through the knowledge of Himself and (the declaration of) His oneness, through His revelation brought to them by His angels, and through the obligation to achieve the improvement of mankind with respect to conditions altogether different from the outward human conditions.

The fourth level is that of death. Here, human individuals leave their outward life for an(other) existence before the Resurrection. (That existence) is called Purgatory (*barzakh*),⁴³⁴ In it, they enjoy bliss or receive punishment, depending on their activities (while alive). Then, they come to the

⁴³³For the following discussion, cf. 1:194 ff., above.

⁴³⁴Cf. 1:199, above.

Great Resurrection, where they receive the great reward, that is, either bliss in Paradise or punishment in Hell.

The first two levels are attested by (concrete) intuition⁴³⁵ The third level, that of prophecy, is attested to by the prophetic miracle (s) and the conditions peculiar to the prophets. The fourth level is attested to by the divine revelation given to the prophets (and which speaks) of revivification,⁴³⁶ the conditions of Purgatory (*barzakh*), and the Resurrection. Moreover, logic requires its (existence). God has called our attention to that in many verses concerned with the rising (of the dead). The best argument for the correctness (of these verses) is that if, apart from their visible (existence in this world), human individuals had no existence after death, where they will encounter conditions befitting them, it would have been something frivolous to create them in the first place. If death is non-existence, it would mean the return of the individual to non-existence. In that case, there would have been no sense in creating them in the first place. It is, however, absurd to assume that the wise (Deity) would act frivolously.⁴³⁷

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. This will reveal the intricacy of (the problem of) ambiguity.

At the first level, human perceptions are clear and obvious. God says: "God brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers. You did not then know anything. And He gave you hearing and vision and hearts."⁴³⁸ 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.

⁴³⁵Cf. 1:198 (n. 277), above.

⁴³⁶Cf. p. 45 (n. 832), above.

⁴³⁷Cf. p. 45, above.

⁴³⁸Qur'an 16.78 (80).

At the second level - that of sleep (dream visions) - 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 waking state, yet the person who has a (dream) vision ascertains everything perceived by him in his sleep without any doubt or misgiving. The limbs of the body are not employed in their ordinary manner.

Concerning the real character of this state, people are divided into two groups:

The philosophers assume that imaginary pictures are transmitted by the imagination through the motion of thinking to the "common sense" which constitutes the connecting link between external and inner sensual perception. As a result, (these pictures) are represented as something perceived in the external (world) by all the senses. The difficulty here is that true visions from God or the angels are more firmly and definitely perceived than visions of Satanic imaginations, although the imagination active in both is one and the same, as the (philosophers) have established.

The second group is that of the speculative theologians. Their summary statement of the problem is that it is a kind of perception created by God in (the realm of) the senses, and thus takes place in the same way that (perception) takes place in the waking state. This (explanation) is better, even though we are not able to perceive how it takes place.

Perception in sleep is the clearest evidence (we have) for the fact that sensual perception operates at the subsequent levels.

It is not known to us⁴³⁹ 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. The Prophet sees God and the angels. He hears God's speech from God Himself or from the angels. He sees Paradise, Hell, and the divine throne and chair. He breaks through the seven

⁴³⁹*Indiana*:C and D.

heavens in his ascension.⁴⁴⁰ He rides al-Buraq⁴⁴¹ and meets the prophets in (the seven heavens) and prays with them. 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.

In this connection, no attention should be paid to Avicenna's remarks. He brings prophecy down to the level of sleep and says that the imagination transmits a picture to the "common sense."⁴⁴² The argument against the (philosophers) in this connection is (even) stronger in the case of sleep (dream visions). As we have established, that process of transmission (by the imagination) is by nature one and the same. In this way, revelation and prophetic dream vision would in reality be identical as to their certainty and reality. However, this is not so, as one knows from the dream vision of the Prophet just six months before the Revelation. The dream was the beginning of the Revelation and the prelude to it, which shows that, in reality, it is inferior to (revelation). The same follows from the process of revelation itself. It was a very difficult matter for the Prophet, as is stated in sound tradition (the *Sahih*).⁴⁴³ The Qur'an was (at the beginning) revealed to him in individual verses. Later on, the (long) ninth *surah* (*al-Bara'ah*) was revealed to him in one piece during the expedition to Tabuk while he was riding on his camel.⁴⁴⁴ If the revelation had merely been the result of a process whereby thinking descends to the imagination and from the imagination to the "common sense," there would not have been any difference between those stages (of the revelation).

⁴⁴⁰Cf. B. Schrieke in *EI*, s.v. "Isra'."

⁴⁴¹Cf. B. Carra de Vaux in *EI*, s.v.

⁴⁴²Cf. Ibn Sina, *Isharat*, ed. Forget (Leiden, 1892), pp. 219-15; tr. A: M. Goichon (Beirut & Paris, 1951), p. 514. Cf. also the references given by the translator.

⁴⁴³The reference is to the traditions at the beginning of al-Bukhari's *Sahih*. Cf. 1:185 and 201, above.

⁴⁴⁴Cf. 1:202, above.

At the fourth level - that of the dead in Purgatory (*barzakh*), which starts with the grave when they are free from the body, or during their rising when they reassume a body -the dead do have sensual perceptions. In his grave, a dead person sees two angels who question him.⁴⁴⁵ With the two eyes of his head, he sees the seat he will occupy in either Paradise or Hell. He sees the persons who attend the burial and hears what they say, and he hears the tapping of their shoes when they leave him. He hears the (declaration of the) oneness of God or the affirmation of the two confessions of faith which they suggest to him,⁴⁴⁶ and other things. According to sound tradition (the *Sahih*), the Messenger of God was standing at the well of Badr into which the dead Qurashite polytheists had been thrown.⁴⁴⁷ When he called them by their names, 'Umar asked him: "O Messenger of God, are you speaking to those dead bodies?" Muhammad replied, "By Him in Whose hand my soul rests, you people do not hear what I am saying any better than they."⁴⁴⁸

Furthermore, during the rising of the dead and on the Day of Resurrection, the dead behold the different grades of bliss in Paradise and punishment in Hell with their own eyes and ears, exactly as they used to behold (things) during their life. They see the angels and they see their Lord. Thus, sound tradition (in the *Sahih*) mentions, "You will see your Lord on the Day of Resurrection like the moon on a night when the moon is full. You will not suffer any harm in seeing Him."⁴⁴⁹

The dead did not have such perceptions while they were alive. (Still,) they are sensual perceptions like those (they had while they were alive). They take place in the limbs of the body by means of (some kind of) neces-

⁴⁴⁵Cf. A. J. Wensinck in *El*, s.v. "Munkar wa-Nakir."

⁴⁴⁶ This refers to the *talqin*, the formulas declaring God's oneness and the prophet hood of Muhammad, which are spoken into the ear of the deceased. References to the *talqin* in the canonical collections of traditions are found in *Handbook*, p. 52. C correctly vocalizes: *yudhakkirunahu*.

⁴⁴⁷Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, ed. Wustenfeld (Gottingen, 1858-60), I, 453.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sirah*, III, 64. Further references in *Handbook*, p. 28; *Concordance*, II, 541b.

⁴⁴⁹Cf. pp. 60 f., above.

sary knowledge that God creates, as we have stated. The (explanation for the) secret of it lies in the knowledge that the human soul grows in the body and through the perceptions of the body. When it leaves the body in sleep or in death, or when a prophet, in the state of revelation, changes from human perceptions to angelic ones, the soul takes its means of perceptions along, but free of the limbs of the body. With (these means of perception), the soul perceives, on the (other) level, what ever perceptions it wants to perceive, but these perceptions are on a higher plane than those that the soul had while it was in the body. This was stated by al-Ghazzali, who added that the human soul has a form that it retains after its separation (from the body) and that, just like the body's own structure, includes two eyes, two ears, and all the rest of the limbs of the body serving (man) to attain perception.⁴⁵⁰ I would say, (however,) that al-Ghazzali here refers to the habits obtained through using all those limbs of the body in addition to (mere) perception.⁴⁵¹

When one understands all this, one will realize that perceptions exist on all four levels. However, they are not everywhere the same as in the life of this world. They differ in intensity according to the conditions affecting them. The theologians have indicated this fact in the summary statement that God creates in (the senses) a necessary knowledge of the thing perceived, whatever it may be. By that, they are referring to the same thing we have been explaining.

This is our brief attempt at classifying the problem of "ambiguity." To attempt to discuss it more widely, would take us beyond comprehension. Let us beseech⁴⁵² God that He may guide us and that we may learn through His prophets and His Book how to acknowledge His oneness properly and how to attain salvation.

⁴⁵⁰The above statement hardly agrees with what al-Ghazzali says about the *rub* ("spirit," for al-Ghazzali a synonym of *nafs* "soul") in connection with death. Cf. *Ihya'*, IV, 419.

⁴⁵¹Al-Ghazzali does not refer to the limbs as such.

⁴⁵²Both MSS. C and D have *fa-l-naira*.

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."⁴⁵³

VI.16. The science of Sufism.⁴⁵⁴

[p.3:76]

This science belongs to the sciences of the religious law that originated in Islam. Sufism is based on (the assumption) that the method of those people (who later on came to be called Sufis) had always been considered by the important early Muslims, the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, as well as those who came after them, as the path of truth and right guidance. The (Sufi) approach is based upon constant application to divine worship, complete devotion to God, aversion to the false splendor of the world, abstinence from the pleasure, property, and position to which the great mass aspires, and retirement from the world into solitude for divine worship. These things were general among the men around Muhammad and the early Muslims.

Then, worldly aspirations increased in the second [eighth] century and after. People now inclined toward worldly affairs. At that time, the special name of Sufis (*Sufiyah* and *Mutasawwifah*) was given to those who aspired to divine worship. Al-Qushayri says: "No etymology or analogy can be found for this term in the Arabic language. It is obvious that it is a nickname. Theories deriving the word from *as-safa'* (purity, sincerity), or from *as-suffah* (bench), or from *as-saff* (row)⁴⁵⁵ are improbable from the point of view of linguistic analogy." (Al-Qushayri) continued: "The same applies to

⁴⁵³Qur'an 2.142 (136), etc.

⁴⁵⁴ This section was treated in monograph form in a doctoral dissertation by H. Frank, *Beitrag zur Erkenntniss des Sufismus nach Ibn Haldun* (Leipzig, 1884). However, at the time Frank wrote his dissertation, no beginner could be expected to make any substantial contribution to the subject.

⁴⁵⁵ The "bench" refers to "the people of the bench," ascetics of Muhammad's time whose gathering place was the benches in the Mosque of Medina.

The "row" refers to the rows formed by the Muslims in prayer. The Sufis were supposed to be always in the first row, because of their constant practice of divine worship. But there are also slightly different explanations. Cf., for instance, Hujwiri, *Kashf al-mahjub*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, p. 37: "Sufis are those who have 'cleansed' (*safat*) their spirits and thus entered the first 'row' (*saff*) before the Truth."

the derivation from *as-suf*(wool), because the Sufis were not the only ones who wore Wool."⁴⁵⁶

I say: The most obvious etymology, if one uses one, is that which connects the word with *as-suf*, because Sufis as a rule were characterized by the fact that they wore woolen garments. They were opposed to people wearing gorgeous garments, and, therefore, chose to wear wool.

The Sufis came to represent asceticism, retirement from the world, and devotion to divine worship. Then, they developed a particular kind of perception which comes about through ecstatic experience.⁴⁵⁷ 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,

⁴⁵⁶Ibn Khaldun's rather free quotation is derived from the beginning of the chapter on *tasawwuf* in `Abd-al-Karim b. Hawizin al-Qushayri, *Risalah* (Cairo, 1367/1948), p. 126. His dates are 376-465 [986-1072]; cf. GAL, I, 432 ff; *Suppl.*, I, 770 ff. For these and other etymologies of *Sufi*, cf. L. Massignon in *El*, s.v. "Tapwuwf." Modern scholarship is inclined to share Ibn Khaldun's opinion that Sufi is derived from *suf* "wool."

⁴⁵⁷*Mawajid is* by no means as common a term in Sufi literature as Ibn Khaldun's casual use of it suggests. The form *mawajid is* occasionally found in the older sources. At least, this is the form used in the printed editions at our disposal. Silvestre de Sacy paid no attention to the difference in form between *mawajid* and *mawajid*, both of which he knew, and considered *mawdjid* a plural of *wajid*. Cf. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque diu Roi*, XII (1831), 299 (n.1), 315 (n. 1). He was followed in this respect by de Slane, in his translation of the *Muqaddimah*, I, 84 (n. 1); III, 86 (n. 4); and by Dozy, in his *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 782. The meaning "ecstatic experience" thus obtained, certainly renders Ibn Khaldun's understanding of the word accurately. However, Silvestre de Sacy's suggestion oversimplifies matters too much, and it still remains to be seen how, precisely, Ibn Khaldun derived *mawajid* from the many-colored root w-j-d. Al-Qushayri's use of *mawdjid* seems to suggest that *mawdjid* are the result of *wajid*. Cf. his *Risalah*, p. 34. As-Suhrawardi, whose *'Awarif al-ma'aruf* Ibn Khaldun mentions as another standard work on Sufism, occasionally refers to *mawajid*. In one passage, *mawajid is* paired with *mawahib* "(divine) gifts," and both *mawajid* and *mawahib*, as "found" and "given" states of mystical illumination, are contrasted with "acquired" states. Cf. his *'Awarif* (Cairo, 1352/1933, in the margin of al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'*), IV, 249 f. This presupposes that *mawajid is* considered a plural of *mawjud*, in the meaning of "things found." The form *mawajid may* have resulted from association of the term with *mawahib*.

such as joy and grief, anxiety and relaxation, satisfaction, anger, patience, gratefulness, and similar things. The reasoning part⁴⁵⁸ active in the body originates from perceptions, volitions, and states. It is through them that man is distinguished (from the other animals), as we have stated.⁴⁵⁹ They originate from each other. Thus, knowledge originates from evidence, 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 novice and become a "station" for him. Or, it may not be divine worship, but merely an attribute affecting the soul, such as joy or gladness,⁴⁶⁰ energy or inertia, or something else.

The "stations" (form an ascending order). The Sufi novice continues to progress from station to station, until he reaches the (recognition of the) oneness of God (*tawhid*) and the gnosis (*ma'rifah*) which is the desired goal of happiness. Muhammad says: "Whoever dies confessing that there is no God but God, enters Paradise."⁴⁶¹

Thus, the novice must progress by such stages. The basis of all of them 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, up to the station of the (recognition of the) oneness of God and of gnosis (*'irfan*). If the result⁴⁶² shows some shortcoming or defect, one can be sure that it comes from some shortcoming that existed in the previous stage. The same applies to the ideas of the soul and the inspirations of the heart.

The novice, therefore, must scrutinize (*muhasabah*) himself in all his actions and study their concealed import, because the results, of necessity,

⁴⁵⁸ *Sic* B. A, C, and D: "idea." Bulaq: "spirit."

⁴⁵⁹ Cf., for instance, 2:411, above.

⁴⁶⁰ Bulaq corrects the text to: "grief or joy . . ."

⁴⁶¹ Cf. 2:36, above.

⁴⁶² As a technical term in Sufism, *natijah* "result" is identical with "state" or "station."

originate from actions, and shortcomings in the results, thus, originate from defects in the actions. The Sufi novice finds out about that through his mystical experience⁴⁶³ and he scrutinizes himself as to its reasons.

Very few people share the (self-scrutiny) of the Sufis, for negligence in this respect is almost universal. Pious people who do not get that far perform, at best, acts of obedience⁴⁶⁴ freed from the juridical study of how to be satisfactory⁴⁶⁵ and conforming (in the execution of the acts of divine worship). The (Sufis), however, investigate the results of (acts of obedience) with the help of mystical and ecstatic experience, in order to learn whether they are free from deficiency or not. Thus, it is evident that the Sufis' path in its entirety depends upon self-scrutiny with regard to what they do or do not do, and upon discussion of the various kinds of mystical and ecstatic experience that result from their exertions. This, then, crystallizes for the Sufi novice in a "station." From that station, he can progress to another, higher one.

Furthermore, the Sufis have their peculiar form of behavior and a (peculiar) linguistic terminology which they use in instruction.⁴⁶⁶ Linguistic data apply only to commonly accepted ideas. When there occur ideas not commonly accepted, technical terms facilitating the understanding of those ideas are coined to express them.

Thus, the Sufis had their special discipline, which is not discussed by other representatives of the religious law. As a consequence, the science of the religious law came to consist of two kinds. One is the special field of jurists and muftis. It is concerned with the general laws governing the acts of divine worship, customary actions, and mutual dealings. The other is the

⁴⁶³Lit., "taste," the common mystical term for mystical experience. For "taste" as a term of literary criticism, see pp. 358 ff., below.

⁴⁶⁴The opposite of "acts of disobedience," i.e., sins. Acts of obedience are as positively required as sins are forbidden.

⁴⁶⁵The suggested reading *al-ijra'* "to perform" (Bombaci, p. 456) is not supported by MSS. B, C, or D, which clearly indicate the reading *al-ijza'*.

⁴⁶⁶"In instruction" is added by C in the margin, and appears in D in the text.

special field of the "people" (Sufis). It is concerned with pious exertion, self-scrutiny with regard to it, discussion of the different kinds of mystical and ecstatic experience occurring in the course of (self-scrutiny), the mode of ascent from one mystical experience to another, and the interpretation of the technical terminology of mysticism in use among them.

When the sciences were written down systematically and when the jurists wrote works on jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence, on speculative theology, Qur'an interpretation, and other subjects, the Sufis, too, wrote on their subject. Some Sufis wrote on the laws governing asceticism and self-scrutiny, how to act and not act in imitation of model (saints). That was done by al-Muhasibi, in his *Kitab ar-Ri'ayah*.⁴⁶⁷ Other (Sufi authors) wrote on the behavior of (Sufis) and their different kinds of mystical and ecstatic experience in the "states." Al-Qushayri in his *Kitab ar-Risalah*, and as-Suhrawardi⁴⁶⁸ in the *Kitab 'Awarif al-ma`arif*, as well as others, did this.

Al-Ghazzali combined the two matters in the *Kitab allhya'*. In it, he dealt systematically with the laws governing asceticism and the imitation of models. Then, he explained the behavior and customs of the people (Sufis) and commented on their technical vocabulary.

Thus, the science of Sufism became a systematically treated discipline in Islam. Before that, mysticism had merely consisted of divine worship, and its laws had existed in the breasts of men. The same had been the case with all other disciplines, such as Qur'an interpretation, the science of tradition, jurisprudence, the principles of jurisprudence, and other disciplines. (They were only later on) treated systematically.

⁴⁶⁷Cf. p. 63, above. The *Ri'ayah* was edited by Margaret Smith in 1940 as No. 15 of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.s. A translation has been prepared by K. Schoonover; cf. *Muslim World*, XXXIX (1949), 26-35.

⁴⁶⁸Umar b. Mubammad, 539-632 [1145-1234/35]. Cf. GAL, I, 440 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 788 ft. Cf. also A. J. Arberry in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, XIII (1950), 359-56.

Mystical⁴⁶⁹ exertion, retirement,⁴⁷⁰ and *dhikr* exercises⁴⁷¹ are as a rule followed by the removal of the veil (*kashf*) of sensual perception. The Sufi beholds divine worlds which a person subject to the senses cannot perceive at all. The spirit belongs to those worlds. The reason for the removal of (the veil) is the following. When the spirit turns from external sense perception to inner (perception), the senses weaken, and the spirit grows strong. It gains predominance and a new growth. The *dhikr* exercise helps to bring that about. It is like food to make the spirit grow. The spirit continues to grow and to increase. It had been knowledge. Now, it becomes vision. The veil of sensual perception is removed, and the soul realizes its essential existence. This is identical with perception. (The spirit) now is ready for the holy gifts, for the sciences of the divine presence, and for the outpourings of the Deity. Its essence realizes its own true character and draws close to the highest sphere, the sphere of the angels. The removal of (the veil) often happens to people who exert themselves (in mystical exercise). They perceive the realities of existence as no one else (does).

They also perceive many (future) happenings in advance. With the help of their minds and psychic powers they are active among the lower *existentia*, which thus become obedient to their will. The great Sufis do not think much of the removal (of the veil) and of activity (among the low *existentia*). They give no information about the reality of any thing they have not been ordered to discuss. They consider it a tribulation, when things of that sort happen to them, and try to escape them whenever they afflict them.⁴⁷²

The men around Muhammad practiced that kind of (mystical) exertion. They had a very abundant share in the acts of divine grace, but they did not bother with them. (The description of) the virtues of Abu Bakr, Umar,⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Issawi, pp. 175 f.

⁴⁷⁰ Omitted in C and D.

⁴⁷¹ The famous Sufi ritual. Cf. D. B. Macdonald in *EI*, s.v. "Dhikr."

⁴⁷² Cf. p. 102, below.

⁴⁷³ Bulaq adds "'Uthman"!

and Ali contain much (information) to this effect. They were followed in this respect by the Sufis who are mentioned in the *Risalah* of al-Qushayri,⁴⁷⁴ and their later successors.

Recent mystics, then, have turned their attention to the removal of the veil and the discussion of perceptions beyond (sensual perception). Their ways of mystical exercise in this respect differ. They have taught different methods of mortifying the powers of sensual perception and nourishing the reasoning spirit with *dhikr* exercises, so that the soul might fully grow and attain its own essential perception. When this happens, they believe that the whole of existence is encompassed by the perceptions of the soul, that the essences of existence are revealed to them, and that they perceive the reality of all the essences from the (divine) throne to light rain.⁴⁷⁵ This was said by al-Ghazzali in the *Kitab al-Ihya'*, after he had mentioned the forms of mystical exercise.

The⁴⁷⁶ (Sufis) do not consider removal (of the veil) sound, unless it originates in straightforwardness.⁴⁷⁷ People who do not eat and who retire (from the world), such as sorcerers, Christians, and other ascetics, may obtain removal (of the veil) without the existence of straightforwardness. However, we mean only that removal (of the veil) which originates in straightforwardness. It may be compared with (the reflections of) a mirror. If it is convex or concave, the object reflected by it appears in a distorted form different from the actual form of the object, but if the mirror is flat, the object appears in its correct form. As far as the "states" impressed upon the soul

⁴⁷⁴Cf. 1:460, above; pp. 85 and 102, below.

⁴⁷⁵*Min al-'arsh ila t-tashsh*. Bombaci, p. 466, accepts the ingenious emendation found in some Egyptian editions of the *Muqaddimah*, of *tashsh* to *farsh* "field, earth." Cf. *ibid.*, (Cairo, 1327/1909), p. 524. However, the MSS do not support this emendation. C even explains (*ashsh* in the margin as "light rain."

The book on *riyadat an-nafs* (mystical exercise) in al-Ghazzali's *Ihya'*, III, 42 ff., does not contain the phrase, nor have I succeeded in locating the passage elsewhere in the *Ihya'*.

⁴⁷⁶Cf. Issawi, p. 176.

⁴⁷⁷Used in approximately the sense of "staunch faith."

are concerned, straightforwardness means to the soul what flatness means in a mirror.

The recent (Sufis) who have occupied themselves with this kind of removal (of the veil) talk about the real character of the higher and lower *existentia* and about the real character of the (divine) kingdom, the spirit, the (divine) throne, the (divine) seat, and similar things. Those who did not share their approach were not able to understand their mystical and ecstatic experiences in this respect. The muftis partly disapprove of these Sufis and partly accept them. Arguments and proofs are of no use in deciding whether the Sufi approach should be rejected or accepted, since it belongs to intuitive⁴⁷⁸ experience.

Some⁴⁷⁹ details in explanation:

Hadith scholars and jurists who discuss the articles of faith often mention that God is separate from His creatures. The speculative theologians say that He is neither separate nor connected. The philosophers say that He is neither in the world nor outside it. The recent Sufis say that He is one with the creatures, in the sense that He is incarnate in them, or in the sense that He is identical with them and there exists nothing but Himself either (in the whole or (in) any part (of it).

Let us explain in detail these dogmatic opinions and the real meaning of each of them, so that their significance will be clarified. We say:

Separateness has two meanings. It may mean "separateness in space and direction."^{479a} The opposite, then, would be connectedness. In this sense, the statement of (separation)⁴⁸⁰ implies (that God is in some) place,

⁴⁷⁸Cf. 1:198 (n. 277), above. However, when Ibn Khaldun uses *wijdani* in connection with Sufism, he probably associates it in his mind with *mawajid*, translated here as "ecstatic (experience)." Cf. p. 77, above.

⁴⁷⁹The following discussion, down to p. 87, l. 5, is found on a special inserted slip in C, and appears incorporated in the text of D.

^{479a}The second meaning of separateness is discussed on p. 8.5, 11. 12 ff.

⁴⁸⁰*Hadhihi l-maqalah'ald hadha t-taqdir*: C and D.

either directly - which would be direct anthropomorphism (*tajsim*) or indirectly - which would be indirect anthropomorphism (*tashbih*)⁴⁸¹ in the way in which one speaks about (God's having) direction. It has been reported that an early Muslim scholar similarly professed the separateness of God, but a different interpretation is possible.

The speculative theologians, therefore, did not acknowledge this (kind of) separateness. They said: It cannot be said that the Creator is separate from His creatures, and it cannot be said that He is connected with them, because such a statement can be made only about things in space. The statement that a particular thing⁴⁸² can be described as devoid of one concept and at the same time of the opposite of that concept depends upon whether the description is sound in the first place (or not). If it is impossible, (the statement is) not (correct). It is, in fact, permissible to describe (a certain thing) as devoid of one concept and at the same time of the opposite of that concept. Thus, a solid substance may be described as not wise and not ignorant, not powerful and not weak, not causing harm [?] and not being harmed.⁴⁸³ Now, the correctness of describing God as separate in the way mentioned is predicated upon the possibility of ascribing direction to Him in the proper meaning of the word, but this cannot be done with the Creator, who is free from (such a description).

This was mentioned by Ibn at-Tilimsani⁴⁸⁴ in his commentary on the *Luma'* of the Imam al-Haramayn. He said: The Creator can neither be said

⁴⁸¹ *Tajsim*: declaring that God is corporeal. *Tashbih*: declaring that God is similar (to human beings).

⁴⁸² *Mahall is* especially familiar to Ibn Khaldun as a legal term. Cf. p. 5 (n. 171), above, and D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, II, 729.

⁴⁸³ C and D read *wa-la mudrik wa-la ma'uf* (D: *mas'uf* or *ma'suf*). Possibly the last word must be corrected to mean "not perceiving and not unperceiving." In the above translation *mudrik* has been corrected to *mudirr*: The Paris edition has a completely different text: "not able to write and not illiterate."

⁴⁸⁴ Abdallah b. Muhammad, d. 658 [1260]. Cf. *GAL*, I, 889; *suppl.*, I, 672. His work was not available for checking, so that the exact character and extent of the quotation could not be ascertained. It probably extends to the end of the paragraph.

to be separate from the world, nor to be connected with it. He is not in it and not outside it. That is what is meant by the philosophers when they say that He is neither in the world nor outside it. They base themselves (on the assumption) that there exist substances (atoms) that exist not in space. The speculative theologians did not acknowledge their (existence), because they would have to be considered equal to the Creator in the most specific qualities. That is fully dealt with in the science of speculative theology.

The other meaning of separateness is "being distinct and different." The Creator is called separate from His creatures in His essence, identity, existence, and attributes. The opposite is being one, mingled, and merged (with something else).

(God's) separateness in this sense is assumed in the dogmas of all orthodox people, such as the great mass of early Muslims, the religious scholars, the speculative theologians, and the ancient Sufis, such as the men mentioned in (al-Qushayri's) *Risalah*, and those who follow them.

A number of recent Sufis who consider intuitive⁴⁸⁵ perceptions to be scientific and logical, hold the opinion that the Creator is one with His creatures in His identity, His existence, and His attributes. They often assume that this was the opinion of the philosophers before Aristotle, such as Plato and Socrates.

That is what the speculative theologians mean when they speak about the (oneness of God with His creatures) in theology and try to refute it. They do not⁴⁸⁶ mean that there could be a question of two essences, one of which must be negated or comprised (in the other) as a part (in the whole). That would be clear distinctness, and they do not maintain that to be the case.

The oneness (assumed by the Sufis) is identical with the incarnation the Christians claim for the Messiah. It is even stranger, in that it is the

⁴⁸⁵Cf. 1:198, and p. 85, above.

⁴⁸⁶*La annahu*: C and D.

incarnation of something primeval in something created and the oneness of the former with the latter.

(The oneness assumed by the Sufis) is also identical with the stated opinion of the Imamiyah Shi'ah concerning their imams⁴⁸⁷ In their discussion, the (Shi'ah)⁴⁸⁸ consider two ways in which the oneness (of the Deity with the imams) is achieved. (1) The essence of the primeval (Deity) is hidden in all created things, both *sensibilia* and *intelligibilia*, and is one with them in both kinds of perception. All of them are manifestations of it, and it has control over them—that is, it controls their existence in the sense that, without it, they would not exist. Such is the opinion of the people who believe in incarnation.

(2) There is the approach of those who believe in absolute oneness. It seems as if in the exposition of the people who believe in incarnation, they have sensed the existence of a differentness contradicting the concept of oneness. Therefore, they disavowed the (existence of differentness) between the primeval (Deity) and the creatures in essence, existence, and attributes. In (order to explain) the differentness of the manifestations perceived by the senses and the intellect, they used the specious argument that those things were human perceptions that are imaginary. By imaginary, they do not mean imaginary as part of the sequence: known, hypothetical, doubtful, but they mean that all those things do not exist in reality and exist only in human perception. Only the primeval (Deity) has real existence (and nothing else) either outwardly or inwardly. Later on, we shall, as far as possible,⁴⁸⁹ establish this.

In order to understand this intellectually, it is useless to rely upon speculation and argumentation, as is done in connection with human perceptions.

⁴⁸⁷Only C has "concerning their imams."

⁴⁸⁸ The suffix clearly refers to the immediately preceding "Shi'ah." However, Ibn Khaldun does not speak only of the Shi'ah, but includes the Sufis who hold similar opinions.

⁴⁸⁹Cf. pp. 90 f., below.

This (sort of insight corresponds to) angelic perceptions and is transferred from them (to human beings). Prophets have it through natural disposition. After them, saints have it through divine guidance. But one errs if one wants to obtain it by scientific methods.

Authors have occasionally tried to explain the (Sufi) opinions concerning the revelation (*kashf*) of existence and the order of the realities of existence according to the approach of the people who (have the theory of) "manifestations" (*mazahir*).⁴⁹⁰ As compared to people who cultivate speculation, technical terminology, and the sciences, (it must be said that) they have always added obscurity to obscurity.

An example is al-Farghani,⁴⁹¹ the commentator on Ibn al-Farid's *Poem*⁴⁹² He wrote a preface at the beginning of his commentary. In connection with the origin of the world of existence from the Maker and its order, he mentions that all existence comes forth from the attribute of uniqueness (*wahadniah*) which is the manifestation of unity (*ahadiyah*)⁴⁹³ Both of them together issue from the noble essence that is identical with oneness and nothing else. This process is called "revelation" (*tajalli*). The first degree of revelation (*tajalli*), in (Sufi) opinion, is the revelation, as such⁴⁹⁴ of the essence. This implies perfection, because it emanates creation and appearance, according to (God's) statement in the prophetic tradition transmitted by (the Sufis): "I was a concealed treasure. I wanted to be known. Therefore,

⁴⁹⁰ *Mazhar is* understood by al-Farghani as the "place where something manifests itself." Cf. also p. 88 (n. 496), below.

⁴⁹¹ According to the edition of his *Muntahd al-maddrik* ([Istanbul,] 1293/1876), his names were Sa'id-ad-din Mubammad b. Ahmad. GAL, I, 262; *Suppl.*, I, 463, gives, apparently incorrectly, Sa'id b. 'Abdallah. He lived ca. 700 [1300]. Ibn Khaldun bravely tries to compress al-Farghani's highly involved discussion into a few words. However, he is not quite successful in reproducing the terminology of his source with complete exactness.

⁴⁹² The famous *Ta'iyah* of 'Umar b. al-Faris, 577-632 [1182-1235]. Cf. GAL, I, 262 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 462 ff.

⁴⁹³ Al-Farghani, *op. cit.*, I, 9 ff., says that *ahadiyah* and *wahidiyah* result from *wahdah*.

⁴⁹⁴ "As such" refers to revelation. The masculine pronoun of the Arabic text, unless one wants to correct it to the feminine, can hardly be taken to refer to "essence": "revelation of the essence as such."

I created the creatures, so that they might know Me."⁴⁹⁵ This is perfection in creation descending to the level of existence and particularization of the realities. It is, in (Sufi) opinion, the world of ideas, the nubilous (*'amd'iyah*) presence,⁴⁹⁶ and Muhammadan reality. It contains the realities of the attributes, the writing tablet and the pen, the realities of all the prophets and messengers, and the whole of the people of the Muhammadan nation. All this is the particularization of the Muhammadan reality. From these realities, other realities issue in the atomic (*haba'iyah*) presence,⁴⁹⁷ which is the level of the ideas (*mithal*). From there, then, issue in succession the (divine) throne, the (divine) seat, the spheres, the world of the elements, and the world of composition. All this is (originally) in the world of mending (*ratq*), but when these things manifest themselves, they are in the world of rending (*fatq*). End of the quotation.

⁴⁹⁵This *hadith qudsi* ("tradition in which God appears as the speaker"; cf. 1:193, above) is quoted by al-Farghani, op. cit., I, 5. It appears in Ibn 'Arabi's *Futuhat*; cf. M. Asin Palacios, "Ibn Masarra y su escuela," in *Obras Escogidas* (Madrid, 1946), I, 163 (n. 4). Jalal-ad-din Rumi quotes it over and over again in his *Mathnawi* Cf. R. A. Nicholson's edition (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.s. No. 4)(London, 1925-40), Bk. I, V. 2862; Bk. n, v. 364; Bk. iv, vv. 2590 ff., 3029. Cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*, p. 139.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. al-Farghani, op. cit., I, 23. The expression '*ama'iyah* "nubilous" is based upon the following tradition. "Muhammad was asked: 'Where was God before the creation?' He replied: 'He was in a cloud ('amd') above which there was no air and underneath which there was no air.' " The tradition is also quoted, for instance, in al-Mas'udi, *Akhbdr az-zaman* (Cairo, 1357/ 1938), p. 5; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, I, 8. Cf. also A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove* (Leiden, 1919), pp. CIII-CV. The terms '*ama'iyah* and *haba'iyah* are those of Ibn 'Arabi. Cf. Asin Palacios, op. cit., I, 97 and 146 f., and the references in the index to A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid din-Ibnul 'Arabi* (Cambridge, 1939). Al-Farghani was a pupil of Sadr-ad-din al-Qonawi, d. 672 [1273]; cf. GAL, I, 449 f; *Suppl.*, I, 807 f. The latter, in turn, was a pupil of Ibn 'Arabi.

The word "presence" (*hadrah*) in al-Farghani is nearly synonymous with '*alam* "world," *mahall* "place," and *mazhar* "manifestation." Cf. Asin Palacios, op. cit., I, 204 ff. ("La teoria de Las 'hadras' de Ibn 'Arabi y las 'dignitates' de Lulio.")

Cf. also p. 177, below.

⁴⁹⁷For *haba'iyah*, cf. the preceding note and al-Farghani, op. cit., I, 55 ff. *Haba'* means "dust particle" and also "atom." Cf. P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan* (Memoires de l'Institut d'Egypte, Nos. 44-45)(Cairo, 1942-43), II, 154.

This school is called that of the people of revelation, manifestations, and presences. It is a theory that people cultivating (logical) speculation cannot properly grasp, because it is obscure and cryptic. There also is a great gap between the theories of people who have vision and intuitive experience and those of people who cultivate logical reasoning.⁴⁹⁸ (Sufi) systems (like the one mentioned) are often disapproved of on the strength of the plain wording of the religious law, for no indication of them can be found in it anywhere.

Other (Sufis) turned to affirming absolute oneness. This is a theory (even) stranger than the first one to understand in its implications and details. They believe the components of everything in existence to possess powers that bring the realities, forms, and matters of the existing things into being. The elements come into being through the powers that are in them. The same is the case with matter, which has in itself a power that has brought about its existence. Composite things contain such powers implicit in the power that brought about (their) composition. For instance, the mineral power contains the powers of the elements of matter and, in addition, the mineral power. The animal power contains the mineral power and, in addition, its own power. The same is the case with the human power as compared to animal power. The firmament contains the human power and something in addition. The same applies to the spiritual essences.

Now, the power combining everything without any particularization is the divine power. It is the power distributed over all existing things, whether they are universals or particulars, combining and comprising them in every aspect, with regard to appearance and hiddenness and with regard to form and matter. Everything is one. (Oneness) is identical with the divine essence. In reality, (the divine essence) is one and simple. The thing that divides it is the way (we) look at it. For instance, as to the relationship of humanity to animality, it is clear that the former is included under the latter and comes

⁴⁹⁸Cf. p. 155, below. 89

into being when it comes into being. At times, (the Sufis) represent the relationship as that of genus to species, (which exists) in every existing thing, as we have mentioned.⁴⁹⁹ Or, they represent it as that of the universal to the particular, according to the theory of ideas (*mithal*). At any rate, they always try to get away from any thought of composition or manifoldness. They think that (manifoldness) is brought about by fancy and imagination.

It appears from the discussion of Ibn Dihaq,⁵⁰⁰ who explains this (Sufi) theory, that what the (Sufis) say about oneness is actually similar to what the philosophers say about colors, namely, that their existence is predicated upon light. When there is no light, no colors whatever exist. Thus, the (Sufis) think that all existing *sensibilia* are predicated upon the existence of some (faculty of) sensual perception⁵⁰¹ and, in fact, that all existing *intelligibilia* and objects of imagination are predicated upon the existence of some (faculty of) intellectual perception. Thus, every particular in existence is predicated upon (the existence of)⁵⁰² the human (faculty) that perceives it. If we assumed that no human being with perception exists, there would be no particularization in existence. Existence would be simple and one.

Thus, heat and cold, solidity and softness, and, indeed, earth, water, fire, heaven, and the stars, exist only because the senses perceiving them exist, because particularization that does not exist in existence is made possible for the (person) who perceives. It exists only in perception. If there were no perceptions to create distinctions, there would be no particularization, but just one single perception, namely, the "I" and nothing else. They consider this comparable to the condition of a sleeper. When he sleeps and has no external sense perception, he loses in that condition all (perception of) *sensibilia*, with the exception of the things that the imagination particu-

⁴⁹⁹Cf. 1:9 [?], above, and p. 138, below.

⁵⁰⁰Or Dahhiq, i.e., Ibrahim b. Yusuf Ibn al-Mar'ah, d. 611 [1214-15].

⁵⁰¹The vocalization in C, here and in the following lines, is *madrak*, not *mudrik*, as one might expect.

⁵⁰²Bulaq actually has the words in brackets.

larizes for him. They continued by saying that a person who is awake likewise experiences particularized perceptions only through the type of human perception (that exists) in him. If he had not that something in him that perceives, there would be no particularization. This is what the (Sufis) mean when they say "imaginary." They do not mean "imaginary" as a part (in the sequence) of human perceptions.⁵⁰³

This is a short exposition of (Sufi) opinion, as gathered from the discussion of Ibn Dihaq. It is most erroneous. We know for certain that a country which we have quitted on our travels or to which we are traveling, exists, despite the fact that we do not see it any more. We also have definite knowledge of the existence of heaven that overlooks⁵⁰⁴ (everything), and of the stars, and of all the other things that are remote from us. Man knows these things for certain. No one would deny to himself (the existence of) certain knowledge. In addition, competent recent Sufis say that during the removal (of the veil), the Sufi novice often has a feeling of the oneness (of existence). Sufis call that the station of "combination" (*jam*).⁵⁰⁵ But then, he progresses to distinguishing between existent things. That is considered by the Sufis the station of "differentiation" (*farq*). That is the station of the competent gnostic. The (Sufis) believe that the novice cannot avoid the ravine of "combination," and this ravine causes difficulties for him because there is danger that he might be arrested at it and his enterprise thus come to nought.⁵⁰⁶

The different kinds of mystics have thus been explained.

⁵⁰³Cf. p. 86, above.

⁵⁰⁴*Al-mulillah*, though A and C read *al-muzillah* "gives shade to."

⁵⁰⁵The Sufi terms translated here as "combination" and "differentiation" may be understood literally either as "combining" and "differentiating," or, more likely, as "where something (some one) is combined (united) or differentiated (separated)." For some of the many Sufi interpretations of *jam*' and *farq* (*tafriqah*), cf., for instance, Hujwiri, *Kashf al-mahjub*, pp. 252 ff.

⁵⁰⁶Consequently, even according to Sufi theory itself, particularized existence is not only possible, but the knowledge of it still more desirable than that of the oneness of existence.

For "ravine" as a Sufi term, cf., for instance, al-Qushayri, *Risalah*, p. 49, and al-Ghazzali, *Ihya'*, I, 48, 112.

The recent Sufis who speak of the removal (of the veil) and supersensory perception have delved deeply into these (subjects). Many of them turned to (the theory of) incarnation and oneness, as we have indicated. They have filled many pages with (their exposition of) it. That was done, for instance, by al-Harawi,⁵⁰⁷ in the *Kitab al-Maqamat*, and by others. They were followed by Ibn al-'Arabi and Ibn Sab'in⁵⁰⁸ and their pupils, and then by Ibn al-'Afif ('Afif-ad-din),⁵⁰⁹ Ibn al-Farid, and Najm-ad-din al-Isra'ili,⁵¹⁰ in the poems they composed.

The early (Sufis) had had contact with the Neo-Isma'iliyah Shi'ah extremists who also believed in incarnation and the divinity of the imams, a theory not known to the early (Isma'iliyah). Each group came to be imbued with the dogmas of the other. Their theories and beliefs merged and were assimilated. In Sufi discussion, there appeared the theory of the "pole" (*qutb*), meaning the chief gnostic. The Sufis assumed that no one can reach his station in gnosis, until God takes him unto Himself and then gives his station to another gnostic who will be his heir. Avicenna referred to this in the sections on Sufism in the *Kitab al-Isharat*. He said: "The majestic Truth is too exalted to be available equally to all who seek it,⁵¹¹ or to be seen save by one person at a *time*."⁵¹²

The theory of (successive "poles") is not confirmed by logical arguments or evidence from the religious law. It is a sort of rhetorical figure of speech. It is identical with the theory of the extremist Shi'ah about the

⁵⁰⁷Abdallah b. Muhammad, *ca.* 401 [1010/11] to 481 [1089]. Cf. GAL, I, 433; *suppl.*, I, 773 f. The *Maqdmtd* are identical with the work entitled *Manazil as-sa'irin*. Cf. p. 95, below.

⁵⁰⁸Cf. 2:187 f., above.

⁵⁰⁹Shams-ad-din Muhammad b. 'Afif-ad-din Sulayman b. 'Ali at-Tilimsani, *ca.* 658 [1260] to 688 [1289]. Cf. GAL, I, 258; *suppl.*, I, 458. Or, perhaps, rather his father 'Afif-ad-din himself, 613-690 [1216/17-1291].

⁵¹⁰Not the famous Ibn Sahl (p. 393, below), but Najm-ad-din Ibn Isra'il, 603-677 [1206-1278]. Cf. GAL, I, 257; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, XIII, 283 ff.

⁵¹¹Lit., "to be a watering place for anybody who comes down to it, . . ."

⁵¹²Cf. *Isharat*, ed. Forget, p. 207; tr. Goichon, p. 501.

succession⁵¹³ of the imams through inheritance. Clearly, mysticism has plagiarized this idea from the extremist Shi'ah and come to believe in it.

The (Sufis), furthermore, speak about the order of existence of the "saints" who come after the "pole," exactly as the Shi'ah speak about their "chiefs."⁵¹⁴ They go so far (in the identification of their own concepts with those of the Shi'ah) that when they construed a chain of transmitters for the wearing of the Sufi cloak (*khirqah*) as a basic requirement of the mystic way and practice, they made it go back to 'Ali.⁵¹⁵ This points in the same direction and can only (be explained as Shi'ah influence). Among the men around Muhammad, 'Ali was not distinguished by any particular practice or way of dressing or by any special condition. Abu Bakr and 'Umar were the most ascetic and pious people after the Messenger of God. Yet, none of these men was distinguished by the possession of any particular religious practice exclusively peculiar to him. In fact, all the men around Muhammad were models of religion, austerity, asceticism,⁵¹⁶ and (pious) exertion. This is attested by their way of life and history. Indeed, with the help of these stories, the Shi'ah try to suggest that 'Ali is distinguished from the other men around Muhammad by being in possession of particular virtues, in conformity with well-known Shi'ah beliefs.

It⁵¹⁷ is obvious that the Sufis in the 'Iraq derived their comparison between the manifest and the inner (world) from the Isma'iliyah Shi'ah and their well-known theory concerning the imamate and connected matters, at the time when the Isma'iliyah Shi'ah made its appearance. The (Isma'iliyah Shi'ah) considered the leadership of mankind and its guidance toward the

⁵¹³The rest of the paragraph is not found in Bulaq.

⁵¹⁴ *Abdal* "saints," lit., "representatives." *Nugaba'*, pl of *nagib*, referring to the 'Alid nobility. Cf. 2:165 and 187, above.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922), pp. 108 f.

⁵¹⁶"Asceticism" is added in C and D.

⁵¹⁷ This paragraph appears first in C and D, in the margin of the former and in the text of the latter.

religious law a duty of the imam. Therefore, they assumed that there could be no more than one imam if the possibility of a split were to be avoided, as is established in the religious law. (Correspondingly, the Sufis) then regarded as a duty of the "pole," who is the chief gnostic, the instruction (of mankind) in the gnosis of God. Therefore, they assumed that there could be only one, on analogy from the imam in the manifest (world), and that he was the counterpart of the imam.⁵¹⁸ They called him "pole," because the gnosis revolves around him, and they equated the "saints" with the 'Alid "chiefs," in their exaggerated desire to identify (their concepts with those of the Shi'ah).

An instance of what I have just been saying is the lengthy discussion of the Fatimid in Sufi works.⁵¹⁹ The early Sufis made neither negative nor affirmative statements on the Fatimid. The lengthy discussion of (recent) Sufis was derived from the discussion (of the subject) and the dogmas (concerning it) expressed by the extremist Shi'ah in their works.

"God guides to the truth."⁵²⁰

I⁵²¹ consider it appropriate to quote here a remark made by our *shaykh*, the gnostic and chief saint in Spain, Abu Mahdi 'Isa b. az-Zayyat.⁵²² He repeated it very often. It concerns some verses from the *Kitab al-Maqamat* of al-Harawi which suggest, and almost profess openly, the theory of absolute oneness. These are the verses:⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ MSS. C and D do not have the additional "in the inner (world)," which appears in the Paris ed., but is of doubtful correctness.

⁵¹⁹Cf. 2:186 ff., above.

⁵²⁰Qur'an 10.35 (36); 46.30 (29).

⁵²¹ The following quotation extends to p. 98. It is not found in Bulaq. C and D add: "Additional note."

⁵²²I have no further information on him.

⁵²³ The verses are from the end of al-Harawi's *Mandzil as-sa'irin* (Cairo, 1327/1909), p. 52. Cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1891), III, 12, No. 2826. Cf. also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah's lengthy commentary on the verses in his *Madarij as-salikin* (Cairo, 1331-33/1913-15), III, 332 f.; the brief commentary by Mahmud al-Firkawi, ed. S. De Laugier de Beaucueil (Textes et traductions d'auteurs orientaux, No. 17) (Cairo, 1953), pp. 150 f.; E. Berthels in *Islamica*, III (1927), 12 f.

The oneness of the Unique One has never been declared (properly) by anyone,

Since anyone who declares His oneness is one who denies (His true oneness).

Declaration of the divine oneness by a person who speaks about His attributes,

Is dualism,⁵²⁴ which the Unique One has nullified.

His (Own) declaration of His (Own) oneness is the (true) declaration of His oneness.

And to describe Him with attributes is deviation.⁵²⁵

Abu Mahdi says in defense of al-Harawi: People have found it difficult to (explain how one could) use the expression "one who denies" for those who "declare the oneness of the Unique One," and the expression "deviation, heresy," for those who describe Him with attributes. They have disapproved of the verses quoted. They have attacked the author and contemned him. But we say that, according to the view of that group (of Sufis to whom al-Harawi belongs), declaration of the divine oneness means the negation of the very essence of createdness through affirmation of the very essence of primevalness. The whole existence is one reality and one being (*anniyah*). The great mystic, Abu Sa'id al-Kharraz,⁵²⁶ thus said, "The Truth is the very

For the biography of 'Abdallah al-Anlari al-Harawi, 396-481 [1006-1089], cf. GAL, I, 433; *Suppl.*, I, 773 ff., and S. De Laugier de Beaucueuil in *Melanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire*, II (1955), 5 f.

⁵²⁴The original text of al-Harawi does not have *tathniyah* "dualism" but '*ariyah* "loan." It is a "loan," and not his property but God's property. God's true oneness, not recognized by the person who speaks about God's attributes, nullifies and cancels this loan. This is the explanation of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah. *Tathniyah*, which was Ibn az-Zayyat's reading, is a simplification.

⁵²⁵Cf. Ibn 'Arabī, *Futuhat*, IV, 473: "Whoever declares the oneness of God is a deviator (heretic), because of the 'whoever' that requires numerical plurality."

⁵²⁶ Ahmad b.'Isa, d. ca. 286 [899]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 354. The quotation is not contained in al-Kharraz' *Kitab as-sidq*, published by A. J. Arberry (Islamic Research Association, No. 6)(Oxford, 1937). As is quite usual in the case of Muslim mystics, their published work would hardly make it seem likely that they made the rather unorthodox statements attributed to them.

essence of that which is manifest, and the very essence of that which is inwardly hidden."

The (Sufis) are of the opinion that the occurrence of any numerical plurality in that (divine) reality and⁵²⁷ the existence of duality are imaginary and, compared with sensual data, are on the level of shadow pictures, or the pictures⁵²⁸ in mirrors. Everything, except the very essence of primevalness, if one follows it up, turns out to be non-existent. This, they think, is the meaning (of the statement), "God was, and nothing (was) with Him. He is now in the same state in which He was."⁵²⁹ This, too, is what is meant by the verse of Labid, which the Messenger of God considered to be true:

Indeed, everything but God is vanity.⁵³⁰

(This is what) the (Sufis) say. Consequently, a person who "declares the divine oneness and describes God with attributes" speaks about: (1) a created being who declares the divine oneness -that is, he himself; (2) a created declaration of the divine oneness-that is, his action (of declaring the divine oneness); and (3) a primeval being who is declared to be one-that is, his worshiped Master. Now, it has been mentioned before that declaration of divine oneness is negation of the very essence of createdness, but now, the very essence of createdness is (here) definitely stated (in connection with the declaration of divine oneness) and, in fact, in more than one (way). Thus, the divine oneness is actually denied, and the claim (to have declared the divine oneness) is false. It is the same as if someone were to say to someone else who is with him in a house, "There is nobody in the house except

A reads: "The Truth is not (*ghayr*) that which is manifest, and not (*ghayr*) that which ..."

⁵²⁷ *Sic* MSS.

⁵²⁸ *Sic* MSS.

⁵²⁹ Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*, p. 139 (p. 47 of the Arabic text); H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele* (Leiden, 1955), p. 602.

⁵³⁰ Cf. Labid, *Diwan*, ed. A. Hubert and C. Brockelmann (Leiden, 1891), No. 41, V. 9. Muhammad's approval of the verse is noted by al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 228.

you." Whereupon the other person would reply at once, "This could be correct only if you were non-existent." And a competent (scholar) remarked in connection with the statement, "God created time," that these words contain a basic contradiction, because the creation of time precedes time, yet is an action that must take place in time.

These things are caused by the difficulty of expressing the realities and the inability of language to convey the truth with regard to them and give them their due. If it is certain that he who declares (the divine) oneness is identical with Him whose oneness is declared,⁵³¹ and that anything else is altogether non-existent, then the (declaration of) divine oneness is truly a sound one. This is what is meant by the (Sufi) statement, "Only God knows God."⁵³²

There is no objection to a person's declaring the oneness of the Truth, while retaining the outlines and traces (of worldliness). This belongs to the chapter (dealing with the fact) that the good actions of pious people may be the bad actions of persons who are close to the Divine. It results from the lack of freedom, servitude, and doubleness⁵³³ (of the human condition). For those who have ascended to the station of "combination," it constitutes a defect. They are conscious of their rank and know that (their imperfection) is a deception resulting from (human) servitude, that vision can eliminate it, and that the very essence of "combination" can cleanse them from the uncleanness of their createdness. The type (of persons) most firmly rooted

⁵³¹ *Al-muwahhid huwa al-muwahhad*, as vocalized in C. The last word is vocalized in the same manner in A, too.

⁵³² Ahmad al-Ghazzali is credited with a very similar statement: "The Truth is known only through the Truth." Cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam* (Collection de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique musulmane, No. I) (Paris, 1929), p. 98. Cf. also *El*, s.v. "Shatb."

⁵³³ *Shaf'iyah* goes back to the incomprehensible oath, "by the *even* and the *odd*," in Qur'an 89:3 (2); cf. R. Bell's translation (Edinburgh, 1937-39), II, 654. Ibn 'Arabi, *Kitdb al-isra'*, in the *Rasa'ib Ibn al-'Arabi*, p. 58, speaks of the "veil of *shaf'*." *Shaf'* is opposed to *fard* (and *wdbid*) in Ibn Arabi, *Futuhāt*, IV, 110 f., 355 f.

in this assumption is that of those who hold the theory of absolute oneness and who say that gnosis, however interpreted, revolves around reaching the Unique One.

The poet uttered the remark (quoted) as an incitement and exhortation, referring to a higher station in which doubleness is eliminated and absolute oneness in (its) essence, not merely as a figure of speech or (some kind of) expression, is attained. Those who are safe and sound⁵³⁴ can rest. Those who have trouble with the reality of (oneness⁵³⁵ ought to become) familiar with (God's) statement, "I am his⁵³⁶ hearing and vision."⁵³⁷ If the concepts are known, there can be no quarrels about the words. All this teaches realization of the fact that there is something above this level, something about which one cannot speak and about which there is no information.

This much of a hint is sufficient. Going deeply into matters like this (lowers) the veil. That is the gist of the wellknown (Sufi) statements.

Here ends the quotation from *shaykh* Abu Mahdi b. az-Zayyat. I quoted it from the book on love by the wazir Ibn al-Khatib,⁵³⁸ entitled *at-Ta'rif bi-l-hubb ash-sharif* ("Information on the Noble Love [of God]"). I heard it from our *shaykh* Abu Mahdi himself several times. However, I think that the

⁵³⁴De Slane reads, with A, *sallama* "accepts (it)."

⁵³⁵It might be possible to translate, "Those who have trouble with *their* reality . . ." i.e., those whose real being is not safe and sound and fully prepared for oneness, but who have trouble with it. This, however, seems much less likely than the translation above.

⁵³⁶That is, of the human being whom God loves.

⁵³⁷Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 231, quoted by Ibn 'Arabi, for instance; cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil de testes inedits . . .*, p. 118. According to Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1922), p. 107, this *hadith qudsi* was adopted by Ibrahim b. Adham.

⁵³⁸Mubammad b. 'Abdallah, 713-776 [1313-1374]. Cf. GAL, II, 260 H.; *Suppl.*, II, 372 f., and above, 1:xliv. The work quoted was not available for checking. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 973, No. 24.

In a letter to Ibn Khaldun, dated January 24, 1368, Ibn al-Khatib speaks about the work he had just written, hoping to surpass the *Diwan as-sababah* of Ibn Abi Hajalah at-Tilimsini (cf. GAL, II, 13 f; *suppl.*, II, 5 f.). Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 120 f., and also al-Ghazali, *Malali' al-budur* (Cairo, 1299-1300/1881-82), II, 72 f.

written form (in Ibn al-Khatib's work) preserves it better (than my memory), because it has been a long time (since I heard Abu Mahdi tell it).

God gives success.

Many jurists and muftis have undertaken to refute these and similar statements by recent Sufis. They summarily disapproved of everything they came across in the (Sufi) path. The truth is that discussion with the (Sufis) requires making a distinction. (The Sufis) discuss four topics. (1) Firstly, they discuss pious exertions, the resulting mystical and ecstatic experiences, and - self-scrutiny concerning (one's) actions.

(They discuss these things) in order to obtain mystical experiences, which then become a station from which one progresses to the next higher one, as we have stated.⁵³⁹ (2) Secondly, they discuss the removal (of the veil) and the perceivable supernatural realities, such as the divine attributes, the (divine) throne, the (divine) seat, the angels, revelation, prophecy, the spirit, and the realities of everything in existence, be it supernatural or visible; furthermore, they discuss the order of created things, how they issue from the Creator Who brings them into being, as mentioned before.⁵⁴⁰ (3) The third topic is concerned with activities in the various worlds and among the various created things connected with different kinds of acts of divine grace. (4) The fourth topic (finally) is concerned with expressions that are suspect (if understood) in their plain meaning. Such (expressions) have been uttered by most Sufi leaders. In Sufi technical terminology, they are called "ecstatic utterances" (*shatahat*).⁵⁴¹ Their plain meaning is difficult to understand.

They may be something that must be disapproved of, or something that can be approved, or something that requires interpretation.

As for their discussion of pious exertions and stations, of the mystical and ecstatic experiences that result, and of self-scrutiny with regard to

⁵³⁹Cf. p. 79, above.

⁵⁴⁰The reference is apparently to pp. 81 f.

⁵⁴¹Cf. L. Massignon in EI, s.v. "Shalb."

(possible) shortcomings in the things that cause these (experiences), this is something that nobody ought to reject. These mystical experiences of (the Sufis) are sound ones. Their realization is the very essence of happiness.⁵⁴²

As for their discussion of the acts of divine grace experienced by Sufis, the information they give about supernatural things, and their activity among the created things, these (also) are sound and cannot be disapproved of, even though some religious scholars tend to disapprove. That is not right. Professor Abu Ishaq al-Isfarayini, a leading Ash'arite, argued that these things should be disapproved of, since they might be confused with the (prophetical) miracles. However, competent orthodox scholars have made a distinction between (miracles and acts of divine grace) by referring to "the (advance) challenge" (*tahaddi*),⁵⁴³ that is, the claim (made by a prophet in advance) that the miracle would occur in agreement with the prophetic revelation. It is not possible, they said, that a miracle could happen in agreement with the claim of a liar. Logic requires that a miracle indicate truthfulness. By definition, a (miracle is something that) can be verified. If it were performed by a liar, it (could not be verified, and thus) would have changed its character, which is absurd. In addition, the world of existence attests the occurrence of many such acts of divine grace. Disapproval of them would be a kind of negative approach. Many such acts of divine grace were experienced by the men around Muhammad and the great early Muslims. This is a well-known and famous (fact).

Most of the (Sufi) discussion of the removal (of the veil), of the reception of the realities of the higher things, and of the order in which the created things issue, falls, in a way, under the category of ambiguous statements.⁵⁴⁴ It is based upon the intuitive experience of (Sufis), and those who lack such intuitive experience cannot have the mystical experience that the (Sufis re-

⁵⁴²Apparently there is no separate discussion of point two.

⁵⁴³Cf. 1:188 ff. and 223, above; pp. 167 and 170, below.

⁵⁴⁴Cf. the preceding section, pp. 55 ff.

ceive from) it. No language can express the things that (Sufis) want to say in this connection, because languages have been invented only for (the expression of) commonly accepted concepts, most of which apply to the *sensibilia*.⁵⁴⁵ Therefore, we must not bother with the (Sufi) discussion of those matters. We ought merely to leave it alone, just as we leave alone the ambiguous statements (of the Qur'an and the Sunnah).⁵⁴⁶ Those to whom God grants some understanding of those (mystical) utterances in a way that agrees with the plain meaning of the religious law do, indeed, enjoy happiness.

(Finally,) there are the suspect expressions which the Sufis call "ecstatic utterances" (*shatahat*) and which provoke the censure of orthodox Muslims. As to them, it should be known that the attitude that would be fair to the (Sufis) is (to observe) that they are people who are removed from sense perception. Inspiration grips them. Eventually, they say things about their inspiration that they do not intend to say. A person who is removed (from sense perception) cannot be spoken to. He who is forced (to act) is excused (when he acts, no matter what he does). (Sufis) who are known for their excellence and exemplary character are considered to act in good faith in this and similar respects. It is difficult to express ecstatic experiences, because there are no conventional ways of expressing them. This was the experience of Abu Yazid al-Bistami⁵⁴⁷ and others like him. However, (Sufis) whose excellence is not known and famous deserve censure for utterances of this kind, since the (data) that might cause us to interpret their statements (so as to remove any suspicion attached to them) are not clear to us. (Furthermore, any Sufis) who are not removed from sense perception and are not in the grip of a state when they make utterances of this kind, also deserve censure.

⁵⁴⁵Cf. p. 79, above.

⁵⁴⁶Cf. pp. 58, 61 and 66, above.

⁵⁴⁷The famous mystic, who died *ca.* 260 [874]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 353; R. A. Nicholson in *EI*, *Supplement*, s.v. "al-Bislami." Cf. also pp. 179 f., below. "Al-Bistimi" is found in C and D.

Therefore, the jurists and the great Sufis decided that al-Hallaj⁵⁴⁸ was to be killed, because he spoke (ecstatically) while not removed (from sense perception) but in control of his state. And God knows better.

The early Sufis who are mentioned in (al-Qushayri's) *Risalah*,⁵⁴⁹ those outstanding Muslims to whom we have referred above, had no desire to remove the veil and to have such. (supernatural) perception. Their concern was to follow their models and to lead an exemplary life as far as possible. Whenever they had a (supernatural) experience, they turned away from it and paid no attention to it. Indeed, they tried to avoid it.⁵⁵⁰ They were of the opinion that it was an obstacle and a tribulation and belonged to the (ordinary) perceptions of the soul, and, as such, was something created. They also thought that human perception could not comprise all the *existentia* and that the knowledge of God was wider, His creation greater, and His religious law more certain for guidance (than any mystical experience).⁵⁵¹ Therefore, they did not speak about any of their (supernatural) perceptions. In fact, they forbade the discussion of those things and prevented their companions, for whom the veil (of sense perception) was removed, from discussing the matter or from giving it the slightest consideration. They continued following their models and leading exemplary lives as they had done in the world of sensual perception before the removal (of the veil), and they commanded their companions to do the same.⁵⁵² Such ought to be the state of the Sufi novice.

God gives success.

⁵⁴⁸Al-Husayn b. Manlur, 244-309 [858/59-922]. Cf. GAL, I, 199; *Suppl.*, I, 355. L. Massignon, "Nouvelle bibliographie Hallagienne," in *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), I, 252-79.

⁵⁴⁹Cf. p. 82, above.

⁵⁵⁰An illustration is given below, pp. 179 f. Cf. also 1:222, above, and, for instance, A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 284.

⁵⁵¹Cf. Bombaci, p. 456.

⁵⁵²Cf. Bombaci, pp. 456 f.

VI.17. The science of dream interpretation.

[p.3:103]

This science belongs to the sciences of the religious law. It originated in Islam when the sciences became crafts⁵⁵³ and scholars wrote books on them. Dream visions and dream interpretation existed among the ancients, as among later generations. It existed among former (pre-Islamic) religious groups and nations. However, their dream interpretation did not reach us,⁵⁵⁴ because we have been satisfied with the discussions of Muslim dream interpreters. In any case, all human beings can have dream visions, and these visions must be interpreted.

Truthful Joseph already interpreted visions, as is mentioned in the Qur'an.⁵⁵⁵ (Sound tradition in) the *Sahih*, on the authority of the Prophet and on the authority of Abu Bakr, likewise establishes (the existence of dream visions). Dream vision is a kind of supernatural perception. Muhammad said: "A good dream vision is the forty-sixth part of prophecy."⁵⁵⁶ He also said: "The only remaining bearer of glad tidings is a good dream vision, be-held by - or shown to - a good man."⁵⁵⁷ The revelation given to the Prophet began with a dream vision. Every dream vision he saw appeared to him like the break of dawn. When Muhammad went away from the morning prayer, he used to ask the men around him, "Did any one of you see a dream vision during the night?" He asked this question in order to derive good news from

⁵⁵³Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

⁵⁵⁴Of course, Greek works on dream interpretation, such as Artemidorus, were translated into Arabic. A fourteenth-century copy of his work, containing the first three books, is preserved in Istanbul University (Arabca yazma 4726). Artemidorus is also quoted, for instance, by ad-Damiri, *Mayawan*; cf. J. de Somogyi in *Journal asiatique*, CCXIII (1928), 113. Cf. also M. Steinschneider, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1893), Beiheft XII, 105.

⁵⁵⁵Cf. *surah 12*.

⁵⁵⁶Cf. 1:208 f., above, and p. 107, below.

⁵⁵⁷Cf. 1:209, above,

dream visions, which might refer to the victory of Islam and the growth of its power.⁵⁵⁸

The reason for perception of the supernatural in dream visions is as follows:⁵⁵⁹ The spirit of the heart, which is the fine vapor coming from the cavity in the flesh of the heart, spreads into the veins and, through the blood, to all the rest of the body. It serves to perfect the actions and sensations of the animal powers. The (spirit) may be affected by lassitude, because it is very busy with the sensual perception of the five senses and with the employment of the external powers. When the surface of the body, then, is covered by the chill of night, the spirit withdraws from all the other regions of the body to its center, the heart. It rests, in order to be able to resume its activity, and all the external senses are (for the time being) unemployed. This is the meaning of sleep, as was mentioned before at the beginning of the book. Now, the spirit of the heart is the 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 corporeal powers and senses. If it were without that veil or stripped of it, it would return to its reality, which is identical with perception. It would thus be able to assimilate any object of perception. If it were stripped of part of it, its preoccupation would be less. It is thus able to catch a glimpse of its own world, since external sense perception, its greatest preoccupation, now occupies it less. Its (supernatural perception) corresponds (in intensity) to the degree to which the veil is withdrawn from it. Thus it becomes prepared to receive the available perceptions from its own world that are appropriate for it. When it has perceived these perceptions from its

⁵⁵⁸Cf. Abu Dawud, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1910/1892-99, in the margin of az-Zurqani, *Sharh al-Muwatta'*), IV, 236, who reports Muhammad's question and continues with Muhammad saying that "the only (kind of) prophecy remaining after my death will be good dream visions."

⁵⁵⁹For the following discussion, cf. 1:209 ff., above.

own worlds, it returns with them to its body, since, as long as it remains in its corporeal body, it cannot be active except through corporeal 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, abstraction ascends 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 appropriate pictures and turns those perceptions over to the common sense. As a result, the sleeper sees them as if they were perceived by the senses. Thus, the perceptions come down from the rational spirit to the level of sensual perception, with the imagination again being the intermediary. This is what dream visions actually are.

The (preceding) exposition shows the difference between true dream visions and false, "confused dreams." All of them are pictures in the imagination while an individual is asleep. However, if these pictures come down from the rational spirit that perceives (them), they are dream visions. But if they are derived from the pictures preserved in the power of memory, where the imagination deposits them when the individual is awake, they are "confused dreams."⁵⁶⁰

It⁵⁶¹ should be known that true dream visions have signs indicating their truthfulness and attesting their soundness, so that the person who has

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. 1:211 f., above. The distinction Artemidorus makes at the beginning of his work, between different kinds of dreams, appears in the Arabic translation under the heading of "Distinction between dream visions and confused dreams."

⁵⁶¹ The following discussion, down to p. 107, l. 21, is not found in Bulaq or A.

the dream vision becomes conscious of the glad tidings from God given him in his sleep.

The first of these signs is that the person who has the dream vision wakes up quickly, as soon as he has perceived it. It seems as if he is in a hurry to get back to being awake and having sensual perception. Were he (to continue) to sleep soundly, the perception given him would weigh heavily on him. Therefore, he tries to escape from the state (in which he has supernatural perception) to the state of sensual perception in which the soul is always fully immersed in the body and the corporeal accidents.

Another sign is that the dream vision stays and remains impressed with all its details in the memory of (the person who perceived it). Neither neglect nor forgetfulness affects it. No thinking or remembering is required, in order to have it present (to one's mind). The (dream vision) remains pictured in the mind of (the dreamer) when he awakes. Nothing of it is lost to him. This is because perception by the soul does not take place in time and requires no consecutive order, but takes place all at once and within a single time element.⁵⁶² "Confused dreams," on the other hand, take place in time, because they rest in the powers of the brain and are brought from the power of memory to the common sense by the imagination, as we have stated. (The process is an action of the body,) and all actions of the body take place in time. Thus, they (require) a consecutive order, in order to perceive anything, with something coming first and something else coming later. Forgetfulness, which always affects the powers of the brain, affects (them). That is not the case with the perceptions of the rational soul. They do not take place in time and have no consecutive order. Perceptions that are impressed in (the rational soul) are impressed all at once in the briefest moment. Thus, after (the sleeper) is awake, (his) dream vision remains present in his memory for quite some time. In no way does it slip his mind as the result of neglect, if it originally made a strong impression. However, if it requires thinking and

⁵⁶² *Zaman fard* "time atom" or "atomic time." Cf. p. 144, below.

application to remember a dream vision after a sleeper is awake, and if he has forgotten many of its details before he can remember them again, the dream vision is not a true one but a "confused dream."

These signs belong in particular to (prophetic) revelation. God said to His Prophet: "Do not set your tongue in motion to make haste with (the revelation of the Qur'an). It is up to us to put it together and to recite it. And when we recite it, follow its recitation. Then, it is up to us to explain it."⁵⁶³ Dream visions are related to prophecy and revelation, as is stated in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*. Thus, Muhammad said: "A dream vision is the forty-sixth part of prophecy."⁵⁶⁴ In the same way, the characteristics of dream visions are related to the characteristics of prophecy. One should not consider that as unlikely. It appears to be this way.

God creates whatever He wishes to create.

As to the idea of dream interpretation, the following should be known. The rational spirit has its perceptions and passes them on to the imagination. (The imagination) then forms them into pictures but it forms them only into such pictures as are somehow related to the (perceived) idea. For instance, if the idea of a mighty ruler is perceived, the imagination depicts it in the form of an ocean. Or, the idea of hostility is depicted by the imagination in the form of a serpent. A person wakes up and knows only that he saw an ocean or a serpent. Then, the dream interpreter, who is certain that the ocean is the picture conveyed by the senses and that the perceived idea is something beyond that picture, puts the power of comparison to work. He is guided by further data that establish the character of the perceived idea for him. Thus, he will say, for instance, that the ocean means a ruler, because an ocean is something big with which a ruler can appropriately be compared. Likewise, a serpent can appropriately be compared with an enemy, because

⁵⁶³ Qur'an 75.16-19 (16-19).

⁵⁶⁴ Cf 1:208 f, and p. 105, above.

it does great harm. Also, vessels can be compared with women, because they are receptacles, and so on.⁵⁶⁵

Dream visions may be evident and require no interpretation, because they are clear and distinct, or because (the ideas) perceived in them may be very similar to (the pictures) by which they are represented. Therefore, it has been said in (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*, "There are three kinds of dream visions. There are dream visions from God, dream visions from the angels, and dream visions from Satan."⁵⁶⁶ Dream visions from God are those that are evident and need no explanation. Dream visions from an angel are true dreams that require interpretation. And dream visions from Satan are "confused dreams."

It should be known that when the spirit passes its perceptions on to the imagination, (the latter) depicts them in the customary molds of sensual perception. Where such molds never existed in sensual perception, (the imagination)⁵⁶⁷ cannot form any pictures. A (person who was) born blind could not depict a ruler by an ocean, an enemy by a serpent, or women by vessels, because he had never perceived any such things. For him, the imagination would depict those things through similarly appropriate (pictures) derived from the type of perceptions with which he is familiar - that is, things which can be heard or smelled. The dream interpreter must be on guard against

⁵⁶⁵ The interpretation of the ocean as ruler and the serpent as enemy was known to Artemidorus *Oνειροκριτικά* iii. 16. ii. 13. The comparison of women with vessels in this context is of Islamic origin, but does not appear to have been generally accepted in Muslim works on dream interpretation. It is not mentioned by (Pseudo-) Ibn Sirin, in *Ta'bir ar-ru'ya* (Cairo, 1298/1881), or in his *Muntakhab al-kalam fi tafsir al-ahlam* (Cairo, 1301/1883-84, in the margin of Vol. I of 'Abd-al-Ghani an-Nabulusi, *Ta'tir al-anam fi ta'bir al-manam*). But al-Kirmini, as quoted by Ibn Shahin, *al-Isharat fi 'ilm al-'ibarat* (Cairo, 1301/1883-84, in the margin of Vol. II of 'Abd-al-Ghani an-Nabulusi), II, 383, compares vessels and the like with women and servants. The equation of ocean with ruler and serpent with enemy appears in Ibn Sirin, *Ta'bir*, pp. 12, 43; *Muntakhab*, I, 186 f.; Ibn Shahin, *op. cit.*, II, 102, 359; 'Abd-al-Ghani an-Nabulusi, *op. cit.*, I, 56 ff., 200 ff

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. 1:211 f., above.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

such things. They often cause confusion in dream interpretation and spoil its rules.

The science of dream interpretation implies a knowledge of general norms upon which the dream interpreter bases the interpretation and explanation of what he is told. For instance, they say that an ocean represents a ruler. Elsewhere, they say that an ocean represents wrath. Again, elsewhere, they say that it represents worry and calamity. Or, they say that a serpent represents an enemy, but elsewhere they say that it represents one who conceals a secret. Elsewhere again, they say that it represents life, and so on.⁵⁶⁸

The dream interpreter knows these general norms by heart and interprets the dreams in each case as required by the data establishing which of these norms fits a particular dream vision best. The data may originate in the waking state. They may originate in the sleeping state. Or, they may be created in the soul of the dream interpreter himself by the special quality with which he is endowed.

Everyone is successful at the things for which he was created.⁵⁶⁹

This science never ceased being transmitted in the circles of the early Muslims. Muhammad b. Sirin⁵⁷⁰ was one of the most famous experts in

⁵⁶⁸ An agitated ocean may indicate worry and fear, and a snake is said to indicate an enemy who conceals his enmity. Cf. Ibn Sirin, *Ta'bir*, pp. 12, 42; and *Muntakhab*, I, 187; 'Abd-al-Ghani an-Nabulusi, op. cit., I, 58. The various possibilities of interpreting ocean and snake, quoted by Ibn Shahin (II, 203, 360) in the name of Jafar as-Sadiq, agree with Ibn Khaldun's statement only in so far as the snake may indicate a livelihood (*'aysh*). However, Ibn Khaldun may have found his examples in the literature quoted on p. 110, which was not available to me.

In C and D the reference to life precedes that to concealing a secret. It may be noted that the snake, as a symbol of Asclepius, signified length of life. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXX (1956), 70 f.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. 2:332, above, and p. 300, below.

⁵⁷⁰ He died in 110 [778/79]. Cf. GAL, I, 66; *suppl.*, 1, 102. There can be no doubt that his fame as dream interpreter is unhistorical, and the works ascribed to him pseudepigraphical.

A large list of titles of Muslim works on dream interpretation is found at the end of W. Ahlwardt's description of such works preserved in Berlin: *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse . . . Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, III, 574 ff.

(dream interpretation) among them. Certain norms of dream interpretation were written down on his authority. People have transmitted them down to this time.

Al-Kirmanī⁵⁷¹ wrote on the subject after Ibn Sirin. Recent scholars have written many works on it. The books in use among contemporary Maghribis are the *Mumtī'* and other works by Ibn Abi Talib al-Qayrawīnī,⁵⁷² a scholar from al-Qayrawan, and the *Kitāb al-Isharāh* by as-Salīmī⁵⁷³ which is one of the most useful and briefest⁵⁷⁴ books on the subject. There also is the *Kitāb al-Marqabah al-'ulyā* by Ibn Rashīd,⁵⁷⁵ who belonged to (the circle of) our *shaykhs* in Tunis.

Dream interpretation is a science resplendent with the light of prophecy, because prophecy and dreams are related to each other, and (dreams) played a part in the (prophetic) revelation, as has been established in sound tradition.

"God knows the supernatural."⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷¹ Al-Kirmanī's work is mentioned in the tenth century, in Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), p. 316; (Cairo, 1348/1929-30), p. 439. As-Salīmī, who quotes it, gives his names as Abu Ishaq Ibrahim; cf. W. Ahlwardt, op. cit., III, 578, No. 4270. Quotations of his work seem also to be preserved in a MS in Paris, referred to in GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 1039 (No. 21). Cf. also *ibid.*, I, 433.

⁵⁷² No further information on him is available.

⁵⁷³ Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Umar. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 102 (where Ishaq al-Qaramani should read Abu Ishaq al-Kirmanī), and 11, 1040 (No. 32). He was a contemporary of Ibn Khaldūn, as shown by the fact that he quotes Ibn Rashīd in his work. Cf. W. Ahlwardt, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷⁴ "And briefest" (*wa-akhsariha*) in C and D. The reading is not quite certain. The work could hardly be called the "briefest." It may be "most comprehensive" (*ahrar*). "Most accessible" (*ahdar*) seems unlikely.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. n. 250 to this chapter, above. His *Marqabah al-'ulyā* is quoted by as-Salīmī; cf. n. 573 to this chapter, above. Is it identical with the work mentioned in GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 1041, under the title *ad-Durr ath-thamin fi 'ilm at-tafsir*?

The sentence referring to Ibn Rashīd is found in D.

⁵⁷⁶ Qur'an 9.78 (79). Cf. also Qur'an 5.109 (108), 116 (116); 34.48 (47).

VI.18. The various kinds of intellectual sciences.

[p.3:111]

The intellectual sciences are natural to man, in as much as he is a thinking being. They are not restricted to any particular religious group. They are studied by the people of all religious groups who are all equally qualified to learn them and to do research in them. They have existed (and been known) to the human species since civilization had its beginning in the world. They are called the sciences of philosophy and wisdom. They comprise four different sciences.

(1) The first science is logic. It is a science protecting the mind from error in the process of evolving unknown facts one wants to know from the available, known facts. Its use enables the student to distinguish right from wrong wherever he so desires in his study of the essential and accidental perceptions and apperceptions.⁵⁷⁷ Thus, he will be able to ascertain the truth concerning created things, negatively or positively,⁵⁷⁸ within the limits of his ability to think.

(2) Then, philosophers may study the elemental substances perceivable by the senses, namely, the minerals, the plants, and the animals which are created from (the elemental substances), the heavenly bodies, natural motions, and the soul from which the motions originate, and other things. This discipline is called "physics." It is the second of the intellectual sciences.

(3) Or they may study metaphysical, spiritual matters. This science is called "metaphysics" (*al-'ilm al-ilahi*). It is the third of the intellectual sciences.

(4) The fourth science is the study of quantities (measurements). It comprises four different sciences, which are called the "mathematical sciences" (*ta'alim*).

⁵⁷⁷ *Sic* C and D. The earlier texts read: "the existing things and their accidents."

⁵⁷⁸ "Negatively or positively" is added in C and D.

The first mathematical science is geometry. It is the study of quantities (measurements) in general.⁵⁷⁹ The quantities (measurements) may be either discontinuous, in as much as they constitute numbers, or continuous (as geometrical figures). They may be of one dimension - the line; of two dimensions - the plane; or of three dimensions - the mathematical solid. These quantities (measurements) and the qualities they possess, either by themselves or in combination with each other, are (what is) studied (in geometry).

The second mathematical science is arithmetic. It is the knowledge of the essential and accidental properties of the discontinuous quantity, number.

The third mathematical science is music. It is the knowledge of the proportions of sounds and modes and their numerical measurements. Its fruit is the knowledge of musical melodies.⁵⁸⁰

The fourth mathematical science is astronomy. It fixes the (various) shapes of the spheres, determines the position and number of each planet and fixed star, and makes it possible to learn these things from the visible heavenly motions of each (sphere), their motions, both retrograde and direct, their precession and recession.

These are the basic philosophical sciences. They are seven (in number). Logic comes first. Then comes mathematics, beginning with arithmetic, followed in succession by geometry, astronomy, and music. Then comes physics and, finally, metaphysics. Each of these sciences has subdivisions. One subdivision of physics is medicine. Subdivisions of arithmetic are calculation,⁵⁸¹ the inheritance laws, and business (arithmetic). A subdivision of astronomy is the astronomical tables (*zij*). They are norms for computing the motions of the stars and adjusting (the data) in order to be able to know

⁵⁷⁹Cf. p. 129, below.

⁵⁸⁰Ibn Khaldun devotes no special section to music, though he seems originally to have intended to do so. Cf. 2:339, above.

⁵⁸¹That is, elementary arithmetic.

their positions, whenever desired. Another subdivision of the study of the stars is the science of stellar judgments (astrology).

We shall discuss all these sciences, one after the other.

It should be known that as far as our historical information goes, these sciences were most extensively cultivated by the two great pre-Islamic nations, the Persians and the Greeks (Rum). According to the information we have, the sciences were greatly in demand among them, because they possessed an abundant civilization and were the ruling nations immediately before Islam and its time. In their regions and cities, the sciences flourished greatly.

The Chaldaeans and, before them, the Syrians, as well as their contemporaries, the Copts, were much concerned with sorcery and astrology and the related subjects of powerful (charms) and talismans. The Persian and Greek nations learned these things from them. The Copts especially cultivated those things, which enjoyed great prominence among them. The Qur'an (*al-matluw*) mentions this fact in the story of Harut and Marut,⁵⁸² and the affair of the sorcerers.⁵⁸³ There also are the reports of informed persons on the temples of Upper Egypt.⁵⁸⁴ Later on, these things were declared forbidden and illegal by successive religious groups: As a result, the sciences concerned with them were wiped out and vanished, as if they had never been. Only a small remnant, transmitted by the practitioners of those crafts, has remained. And God knows better whether those crafts are sound. The sword of the religious law hangs over them and prevents choice of them (as a subject of study).⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸²Cf. Qur'an 2.102 (96). The passage refers to Babel, but it would be difficult to include the Persians and the Greeks, in addition to the Copts, among the antecedents of "them" in the preceding sentence. Cf. p. 159, below. For *al-matluw*, cf. 1:192, 260, and 437, above; p. 284, below.

⁵⁸³The sorcerers of Pharaoh, as described in the Qur'an.

⁵⁸⁴Cf. p. 160, below. Instead of "informed persons," A and B simply have "people" (*ahl al-'alam*).

⁵⁸⁵The translation follows the reading *ikhthiyariha* of C and D. *Ikhtibariha* "their exploration," as in A and B, also yields a satisfactory meaning.

Among the Persians, the intellectual sciences played a large and important role, since the Persian dynasties were powerful and ruled without interruption. The intellectual sciences are said to have come to the Greeks from the Persians, (at the time) when Alexander killed Darius and gained control of the Achaemenid empire. At that time, he appropriated the books and sciences of the Persians. However,⁵⁸⁶ when the Muslims conquered Persia and came upon an indescribably large number of books and scientific papers, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khattab, asking him for permission to take them and distribute them as booty among the Muslims. On that occasion, 'Umar wrote him: "Throw them into the water. If what they contain is right guidance, God has given us better guidance. If it is error, God has protected us against it."⁵⁸⁷ Thus, the (Muslims) threw them into the water or into the fire, and the sciences of the Persians were lost and did not reach us.

The dynasty of the Rum originally belonged to the Greeks, among whom the intellectual sciences occupied a large place. They were cultivated by famous Greek personalities, among them the pillars of philosophy, and others. The Peripatetic philosophers, in particular the Stoics,⁵⁸⁸ possessed a good method of instruction in the intellectual sciences. It has been assumed that they used to study in which protected them from the sun and the cold. Their school tradition is assumed to have passed from the sage Luq-

⁵⁸⁶The word "however," which is not found in the slightly different text of Bulaq, seems to express some misgivings as to how the Muslims could have found so many books if Alexander had appropriated (and, after their translation, destroyed) them at a much earlier date.

⁵⁸⁷ This is a variant of the famous legend, according to which 'Umar ordered the destruction of the celebrated library in Alexandria. Cf., for instance, M. Meyerhof, "Joannes Grammatikos (Philoponos) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, II (1991), 9 f.

Ibn Khaldun, *Ibar*, III, 597, mentions that after the conquest of Baghdad in 1258, the Tatars threw many scientific books into the Tigris, thus imitating what the Muslims had done at the beginning of Islam with the books and sciences of the Persians. Cf. also 2:219, above.

⁵⁸⁸Cf. *Ibar*, II, 188: Since Plato (sic) walked while teaching in a stoa, his pupils were called "Peripatetics." Knowing little about the Stoics, the inability of the Arabs to distinguish clearly between Stoics and Peripatetics is easily explained.

man⁵⁸⁹ and his pupils to Socrates of the barrel; so and then, in succession, to Socrates⁵⁹⁰ pupil, Plato, to Plato's pupil, Aristotle, to Aristotle's pupils, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, and others.

Aristotle was the teacher of Alexander, the ruler of the (Greeks) who defeated the Persians and deprived them of their realm. He was the greatest Greek scientist and enjoyed the greatest prestige and fame. He has been called "the First Teacher."⁵⁹¹ He became world-famous.

When the Greek dynasty was destroyed and the Roman emperors seized power and adopted Christianity, the intellectual sciences were shunned by them, as religious groups and their laws require. (But) they continued to have a permanent life⁵⁹² in scientific writings and treatments which were preserved in their libraries.

The (Roman emperors)⁵⁹³ later on took possession of Syria. The (ancient) scientific books continued to exist during their (rule). Then, God brought Islam, and its adherents gained their incomparable victory. They deprived the Byzantines (Rum), as well as all other nations, of their realms. At the beginning, they were simple (in their ways) and disregarded the crafts. Eventually, however, the Muslim rule and dynasty flourished. The Muslims developed a sedentary culture, such as no other nation had ever possessed. They became versed in many different crafts and sciences. Then, they desired to study the philosophical disciplines. They had heard some mention of them by the bishops and priests among (their) Christian subjects, and man's ability to think has (in any case) aspirations in the direction of the intellectu-

⁵⁸⁹Cf. B. Heller in *El*, s.v. "Lullman." The Greek sage considered to have lived at the time of King David and to have studied with Luqman, is said to have been Empedocles. Cf. M. Asin Palacios, "Ibn Masarra y su escuela," in *Obras Escogidas*, I, 55.

⁵⁹⁰ For this confusion of Socrates with Diogenes, cf., for instance, al-Mubashshir b. Fatik, *Mukhtar al-hikam*, on the life of Socrates; al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-hukama'*, ed. Muller-Lippert (Leipzig, 190s), p. 197; F. Rosenthal in *Islamic Culture*, XIV (1940), 388.

⁵⁹¹Cf. also 1:275 (n. 75), above, and pp. 116, 139, 153, and 249, below.

⁵⁹²Cf. p. 6, above. *Mukhalladah is* clearly indicated in A, B, and C.

⁵⁹³Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

al sciences. Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, therefore, sent to the Byzantine Emperor and asked him to send him translations of mathematical works. The Emperor sent him Euclid's book and some works on physics. The Muslims read them and studied their contents. Their desire to obtain the rest of them grew. Later on, al-Ma'mun came. He had some (scientific knowledge). Therefore, he had a desire for science. His desire aroused him to action in behalf of the (intellectual) sciences. He sent ambassadors to the Byzantine emperors. (These ambassadors were) to discover the Greek sciences and to have them copied in Arabic writing. He sent translators for that purpose (into Byzantine territory). As a result, a good deal of the material was preserved and collected.

Muslim scientists assiduously studied the (Greek sciences).⁵⁹⁴ They became skilled in the various branches. The (progress they made in the) study of those sciences could not have been better. They contradicted the First Teacher (Aristotle) on many points. They considered him⁵⁹⁵ the decisive authority as to whether an opinion should be rejected or accepted, because he possessed the greatest fame. They wrote systematic works on the subject. They surpassed their predecessors in the intellectual sciences.

Abu Nasr al-Farabi and Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in the East, and Judge Abul-Walid b. Rushd (Averroes) and the wazir Abu Bakr b. as-Sa'igh (Avempace)⁵⁹⁶ in Spain, were among the greatest Muslim (philosophers), and there were others who reached the limit in the intellectual sciences. The men mentioned enjoy especial fame and prestige.

Many (scientists) restricted themselves to cultivating the mathematical disciplines and the related sciences of astrology, sorcery, and talismans.

⁵⁹⁴ For the following remarks, cf. p. 250, below.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ikhtassuhu*, as in Bulaq, A, B, and C.

⁵⁹⁶ Mubammad b. Yahya, d. 533 [1138/39]. Cf. GAL, I, 460; *suppl.*, I, 830. Cf. also p. 443, below.

The most famous practitioners of these sciences were Jabir b. Hayyan in the East,⁵⁹⁷ and the Spaniard, Maslamah b. Ahmad al-Majriti, and his pupils.

The intellectual sciences and their representatives succeeded to some degree in penetrating Islam. They seduced many people who were eager to study those sciences and accept the opinions expressed in them. In this respect, the sin falls upon the person who commits it. "If God had wanted it, they would not have done it."⁵⁹⁸

Later on, civilizational activity stopped in the Maghrib and in Spain. The sciences decreased with the decrease of civilization. As a consequence, scientific activity disappeared there, save for a few remnants that may be found among scattered individuals and that are controlled by orthodox religious scholars.

We hear that the intellectual sciences are still amply represented among the inhabitants of the East,⁵⁹⁹ in particular in the non-Arab Iraq and, farther east, in Transoxania. The people there are said to be very successful in the intellectual and traditional sciences, because their civilization is abundant and their sedentary culture firmly established.

In Egypt, I have become acquainted with numerous works by a great scholar of Herat in Khurasan, by name Sa'd-ad-din at-Taftazani.⁶⁰⁰ Some of his works are on speculative theology, the principles of jurisprudence, and syntax and style (*bayan*). They show that he is well grounded in these sci-

⁵⁹⁷The reference to Jabir was added when Ibn Khaldun was in the East. It is found in the margin of C and in the text of D.

⁵⁹⁸Qur'an 6.137 (138). Cf. also Qur'an 6.112 (112).

⁵⁹⁹Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

⁶⁰⁰Masud b. 'Umar, 722-792 [1322-1390]. Cf. GAL, II, 215; *Suppl.*, II, 301 ff. The date of his birth seems to be correct as indicated (cf. C. A. Storey in *EI*, s.v. "al-Taftazani"), although Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah* (Hyderabad, 1348-50/1929-31), IV, 350, and the other biographers cited in GAL, who follow Ibn Hajar, have 712 [1312/13]. Cf. also p. 315, below.

Ibn Khaldun seems to have said, "numerous works *on the intellectual sciences*," but Bulaq is certainly correct in omitting this addition. A correction to "on the traditional sciences," found in a minor MS, has nothing to recommend itself.

ences. They (also) contain things proving that he has studied and knows the philosophical sciences and is well versed in all the intellectual disciplines. "God aids whomever He wishes to aid."⁶⁰¹

We further hear now that the philosophical sciences are greatly cultivated in the land of Rome and along the adjacent northern shore of the country of the European Christians. They are said to be studied there again and to be taught in numerous classes. Existing systematic expositions of them are said to be comprehensive, the people who know them numerous, and the students of them very many. God knows better what exists there. "He creates whatever He wishes, and His is the choice."⁶⁰²

VI.19. The sciences concerned with numbers.

[p.3:118]

The first of them is arithmetic. Arithmetic is the knowledge of the properties of numbers combined in arithmetic or geometric progressions.

For instance, in an arithmetic progression, in which each number is always higher by one than the preceding number, the sum of the first and last numbers of the progression is equal to the sum of any two numbers (in the progression) that are equally far removed from the first and the last number, respectively, of the progression.⁶⁰³

Or, (the sum of the first and last numbers of a progression) is twice the middle number of the progression, if the total number of numbers (in the progression) is an odd number. It can be a progression of even and odd numbers, or of even numbers, or of odd numbers.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹ Qur'an 3.13 (11). Bulaq completes the quotation.

⁶⁰² Qur'an 28.68 (68).

⁶⁰³ In the progression $a (a + 1) (a + 2) (a + 3) \dots (a + n)$, if x is the distance from the first or last number, we get:

$$a + (a + n) = (a + x) + (a + n - x).$$

⁶⁰⁴ In the progression $a (a + 1) (a + 2) (a + 3) \dots (a + 2n)$, then

$$a + (a + 2n) = 2 (a + n).$$

Or, if the numbers of a (geometrical) progression are such that the first is one-half of the second and the second one half of the third, and so on, or if the first is one-third of the second and the second one-third of the third, and so on, the result of multiplying the first number by the last number of the progression is equal to the result of multiplying any two numbers of the progression that are equally far removed from the first and the last number, respectively, (of the progression).⁶⁰⁵

Or, (the result of multiplying the first number by the last number of a geometrical progression,) if the number of numbers (in the progression) is odd, is equal to the square of the middle number of the progression. For instance, the progression may consist of the powers of two: two, four, eight, sixteen.⁶⁰⁶

Or, there are the properties of numbers that originate in the formation of numerical *muthallathah* (triangle), *murabba'ah* (square), *mukhammasah* (pentagon), and *musaddasah* (hexagon) progressions,⁶⁰⁷ where the numbers

In the progression $2a (2a + 2)(2a + 4)(2a + 6) \dots (2a + 2n)$, then

$$2a + (2a + 2n) = 2 (2a + n).$$

In the progression $(2a + 1) (2a + 3) (2a + 5) (2a + 7) \dots (2a + [2n + 1])$, then

$$(2a + 1) + (2a + [2n + 1]) = 2 (2a + [n + 1]).$$

⁶⁰⁵In the progression $a \frac{a}{2} \frac{a}{4} \frac{a}{8} \dots \frac{a}{2^{n-1}}$, if x is the distance from the first or last number, we get:

$$a \cdot \frac{a}{2^{n-1}} = \frac{a}{2^x} \frac{a \cdot 2^x}{2^{n-1}}.$$

In the progression $a \frac{a}{3} \frac{a}{9} \frac{a}{27} \dots \frac{a}{3^{n-1}}$, if x is the distance from the first or last number, we get:

$$a \cdot \frac{a}{3^{n-1}} = \frac{a}{3^x} \frac{a \cdot 3^x}{3^{n-1}}.$$

⁶⁰⁶In the progression $a a^2 a^3 a^4 \dots a^n$, then

$$a \cdot a^n = \left(a^{\frac{n+1}{2}} \right)^2$$

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. al-Khuwarizmi, *Mafatih al-`ulum* (Cairo, 1349/1930), p. III; al-Biruni, *Kitab at-tafhim*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright (London, 1934), pp. 29 f. As al-Khuwirizmi explains it, a *muthallathah* results

are arranged progressively in their rows by⁶⁰⁸ adding them up from one to the last number. Thus, a *muthallath(ah)* is formed. (Other) *muthallathahs* (are placed) successively in rows under the "sides." Then, each *muthallathah* is increased by the "side" in front of it. Thus, a *murabba'ah* is formed.

from adding the numbers from one on; a *murabba'ah* results from adding every second number (or from adding up the adjacent numbers of a *muthallathah*); a *mukhammasah* results from adding every third number; a *musaddasah* from adding every fourth; and so on.

Thus, the progression 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 . . . yields the *muthallathah* 1 3 6 10 15 21 28 and so on. The progression 1 3 5 7 9 11 13 . . . yields the *murabba'ah* 1 4 9 16 25 36 49 and so on.

The progression 1 4 7 10 13 . . . yields the *mukhammasah* 1 5 12 22 35 and so on. The progression 1 5 9 13 . . . yields the *musaddasah* 1 6 15 28 and so on.

Ibn Khaldun, however, proceeds in a slightly different manner. He always adds a *muthallathah* to a given progression, in order to obtain the next higher one. Thus, he has:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13
<i>Muthallathah</i>	1	3	6	10	15	21	28					
		1	3	6	10	15	21					
<i>Murabba'ah</i>	1	4	9	16	25	36	49					
		1	3	6	10	15	21					
<i>Mukhammasah</i>	1	5	12	22	35	51	70					
		1	3	6	10	15	21					
<i>Musaddasah</i>	1	6	15	28	45	66	91					

A perusal of the largely unpublished Arabic literature on arithmetic will certainly provide an exact presentation of the table that Ibn Khaldun has in mind. The theory of polygonal numbers (as well as all the other theorems mentioned in this section) came to the Arabs through the work of Nicomachus of Gerasa, which was translated into Arabic and is preserved but not yet published in its Arabic form. However, though Ibn Khaldun seems to refer to the geometrical figures of Nicomachus, which provided the terminology for the subject, his table would appear to be one made up of numerical progressions. Cf. Nicomachus *Introduction to Arithmetic*, 8-11. M. L. D'Ooge (tr.), (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, No. 16) (New York, 1926), pp. 241 ff. [* Ar. translation, ed. W. Kutsch (Beirut, 1959)].

⁶⁰⁸Actually, a new sentence should begin here ("By adding them up, a triangle is formed"), but the text does not permit such a construction, and no correction is permissible.

Then, each *murabba'(ah)* is increased (by the "side") in front of it. Thus, a *mukhammasah* is formed, and so on. The (various) progressions of "sides" form figures. Thus, a table is formed with vertical and horizontal rows. The horizontal rows are constituted by the progression of the numbers (one, two, etc.), followed by the *muthallathah*, *murabba'ah*, *mukhammasah* progressions, and so on. The vertical rows contain all the numbers and certain numerical combinations. The totals and (the results of) dividing some of the numbers by others, both vertically and horizontally, (reveal) remarkable numerical properties. They have been evolved by the inductive method. The problems connected with them have been laid down in the systematic treatments of (arithmeticians).

The same applies to special properties originating in connection with even numbers, odd numbers, the powers of two, odd numbers multiplied by two,⁶⁰⁹ and odd numbers multiplied by multiples of two.⁶¹⁰ They are dealt with in this discipline, and in no other discipline.

This discipline is the first and most evident part of mathematics. It is used in the proofs of the mathematicians.⁶¹¹ Both early and later philosophers have written works on it. Most of them include it under mathematics in general and, therefore, do not write monographs on it. This was done by Avicenna in the *Kitab ash-Shifa'* and the *Kitab an-Najah*, and by other early scholars. The subject is avoided by later scholars, since it is not commonly used (in practice), being useful in (theoretical mathematical) proofs rather than in (practical) calculation. (They handled the subject the way) it was

⁶⁰⁹That is, $2(2n + 1)$.

⁶¹⁰That is, $2(m + 1)(2n + 1)$.

In literal translation, the Arabic terms, derived from the Greek, read: even, odd, evenly-even, unevenly-even, and evenly-even-odd. Ibn Khaldun does not mention oddly-odd, i.e., odd numbers multiplied by each other:

$(2n + 1)(2n + 1)$.

Cf. al-Biruni, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁶¹¹That is, in theoretical mathematics.

done, for instance, by Ibn al-Banna,⁶¹² in the *Kitab Raf al-hijab*. They extracted the essence of the subject (as far as it was useful) for the theory of (practical) calculation and then avoided it. And God knows better.

The craft of calculation⁶¹³

A subdivision of arithmetic is the craft of calculation. It is a scientific craft concerned with the counting operations of "combining," and "separating." The "combining" may take place by (adding the) units. This is addition. Or it may take place by increasing a number as many times as there are units in another number. This is multiplication. The "separating" may take place by taking away one number from another and seeing what remains. This is subtraction. Or it may take place by separating a number into equal parts of a given number. This is division.

These operations may concern either whole numbers or fractions. A fraction is the relationship of one number to another number. Such relationship is called fraction. Or they may concern "roots." "Roots" are numbers that, when multiplied by themselves, lead to square numbers.⁶¹⁴ Numbers that are clearly expressed are called "rational," and so are their squares. They do not require (special) operations in calculation. Numbers that are not clearly expressed are called "surds." Their squares may be rational, as, for instance, the root of three whose square is three. Or, they may be surds, such as the root of the root of three, which is a surd. They require (special) operations in calculation. Such roots are also included in the operations of "combining" and "separating."

⁶¹²Cf. 1:238, above, and pp. 123 and 137, below.

⁶¹³Ibn Khaldun is said to have written a work on the subject himself; cf. 1:xliv, above. The first two paragraphs of this section are quoted by J. Ruska, "Zur iiltesten arabischen Algebra and Rechenkunst," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.* (Heidelberg, 1917), pp. 19 f.

⁶¹⁴A "root" is $\sqrt{x^2}$, not \sqrt{x} , which might be irrational. The following discussion of rational numbers and surds appears in the margin of C and the text of D, and is not yet found in the earlier texts.

This craft is something newly created. It is needed for business calculations. Scholars have written many works on it. They are used in the cities for the instruction of children. The best method of instruction is to begin with (calculation), because it is concerned with lucid knowledge and systematic proofs. As a rule, it produces an enlightened intellect that is trained along correct lines. It has been said that whoever applies himself to the study of calculation early in his life will as a rule be truthful, because calculation has a sound basis and requires self-discipline. (Soundness and self-discipline) will, thus, become character qualities of such a person. He will get accustomed to truthfulness and adhere to it methodically.

In the contemporary Maghrib, one of the best simple⁶¹⁵ works on the subject is the small work by al-Hassar.⁶¹⁶ Ibn al-Banna' al-Marrakushi deals with the (subject) in an accurate and useful brief description (*talkhis*) of the rules of calculation.⁶¹⁷ Ibn al-Banna' later wrote a commentary on it in a book which he entitled *Raf al-hijab*.⁶¹⁸ The (*Raf al-hijab*)⁶¹⁹ is too difficult for beginners, because it possesses a solid groundwork of (theoretical) proofs. It is an important book. We have heard our teachers praise it. It deserves that. In⁶²⁰ the (work), the author competed with the *Kitab Fiqh al-*

⁶¹⁵ The word *mabsul* as such can also mean "extensive," but in view of the character of the work, Renaud (see n. 616, below) suggests the above translation.

⁶¹⁶ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ayyash. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 363; and esp., H. P. J. Renaud, "Sur un passage d'Ibn Khaldun relatif à l'histoire des mathématiques," *Hesperis*, XXXI, (1944), 35-47, where Renaud corrects statements he had made earlier in *Hesperis*, XXV (1988), 24 (n. 6). Renaud shows that a large work by al-Hassar, whose existence we should expect from Ibn Khaldun's reference to the "small" work, actually did exist.

⁶¹⁷ The work referred to is Ibn al-Banna's well-known *Talkhis a'mal al-hisab*.

⁶¹⁸ At the beginning of the *Raf*, Ibn al-Banna' states that the work was intended to "explain the scientific contents and comment on" the apparent difficulties of the *Talkhis*. Cf. MS. or., Princeton, 1092-A (80 B).

⁶¹⁹ The pronoun found in the Arabic text must refer to the *Raf*, but the statement would seem to apply rather to the *Talkhis*.

⁶²⁰ The following eight lines are not found in Bulaq, and in A they are still in the form of a marginal note. There is no reference in Ibn al-Banna's works to the effect that he used the sources mentioned.

hisab by Ibn Mun'im,⁶²¹ and the *Hamid* by al-Ahdab. He gave a resume of the proofs dealt with in these two works, but he changed them in as much as, instead of ciphers, he used clear theoretical reasons in the proofs. They bring out the real meaning and essence of (what in the work itself is expressed by calculations with ciphers).⁶²² All of them are difficult. The difficulty here lies in the attempt to bring proof. This is usually the case in the mathematical sciences. All the problems and operations are clear, but if one wants to comment on them - that is, if one wants to find the reasons for the operations - it causes greater difficulties to the understanding than (does) practical treatment of the problems. This should be taken into consideration.

God guides with His light whomever He wants (to guide).⁶²³

Algebra

Another subdivision of arithmetic is algebra. This is a craft that makes it possible to discover the unknown from the known data, if there exists a relationship between them requiring it. Special technical terms have been invented in algebra for the various multiples (powers) of the unknown. The first of them is called "number,"⁶²⁴ because by means of it one determines the unknown one is looking for, discovering its value from the relationship of the unknown to it. The second is (called) "thing,"⁶²⁵ because every unknown as such refers to some "thing." It also is called "root," because (the same element) requires multiplication in second degree (equations). The third is (called) "property."⁶²⁶ It is the square of the unknown. Everything

However, it is clear from Ibn Khaldun's attitude toward Ibn al-Banna' that he would not think of accusing him of plagiarism.

⁶²¹Mubammad b. 'Isa b. 'Abd-al-Mun'im, who lived at the court of Roger II of Sicily. Cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 88-85. Nothing is known about al-Ahdab and his work.

⁶²² The translation follows that suggested by Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXXI (1944), 42 f.

⁶²³Cf. Qur'an 24.35 (35).

⁶²⁴*Adad*: i.e., n , the part of the equation that is not a multiple (or fraction) of the unknown.

⁶²⁵*Shay'*: Latin *res*, that is, x (the unknown).

⁶²⁶*Mal*: Latin *substantia, census*, that is, x^2 .

beyond that depends on the exponents of the two (elements) that are multiplied.⁶²⁷

Then, there is the operation that is conditioned by the problem. One proceeds to create an equation between two or more different (units) of the (three) elements (mentioned). The various elements are "confronted," and "broken" portions (in the equation) are "set"⁶²⁸ and thus become "healthy." The degrees of equations are reduced to the fewest possible basic forms. Thus, they come to be three. Algebra revolves around these three basic forms. They are "number," "thing," and "property."⁶²⁹

When an equation consists of one (element) on each side, the value of the unknown is fixed. The value of "property" or "root" becomes known and fixed, when equated with "number."⁶³⁰ A "property" equated with "roots" is fixed by the multiples of those "roots."⁶³¹

When an equation consists of one (element) on one side and two on the other,⁶³² there is a geometrical solution for it by multiplication in part on the unknown side of the equation with the two (elements). Such multiplication

⁶²⁷ That is, the higher powers are expressed by multiplying two or more times the second and third (*ka'b* "cube," not mentioned by Ibn Khaldun) powers. Thus, x^4 is *mal mal*, x^5 is *mal ka'b*, etc. For *uss*, cf. P. Luckey, *Die Rechenkunst bei Gamssid b. Mas'ud al-Kasi* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, No. 31') (Wiesbaden, 1951), pp. 59, 70 f., 104 f. According to Luckey, *uss* has two meanings, that of exponent, and another referring to the position of the numbers (one for the units, two for the tens, three for the hundreds, etc.). Cf. also 1:241, above, and pp. 203 ff., below.

⁶²⁸ *Jabr*; hence Algebra.

⁶²⁹ I.e., n , x , x^3 , and the three basic equations: $ax = n$, $bx^2 = n$, and $ax^2 = bx$. Cf. L. C. Karpinski, "Robert of Chester's Translation of the Algebra of al-Khowarizmi," in *Contributions to the History of Science* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, No. 11) (Ann Arbor, 1930), p. 69.

⁶³⁰ $ax = n$; $bx^2 = nx$

⁶³¹ $x^2 = bx$; $x = b$, b being the multiple of the "root."

⁶³² $ax^2 + bx = n$, or rather: $x^2 + n = ax$. The geometrical solution for the equation $x^2 + 21 = 10x$ is explained by al-Khuwarizmi; cf. Karpinski, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 f. The expressions *tafsil ad-darb* and *ad-darb al-mufasfal* are not quite clear to me. They have been rendered tentatively by "multiplication in

part," since they seem to refer to the addition of $\left(\frac{10}{2}\right)^2$ which is necessary for finding the value of x .

in part fixes the (value) of (the equation). Equations with two (elements) on one side and two on the other are not possible.⁶³³

The largest number of equations recognized by algebraists is six. The simple and composite equations of "numbers," "roots," and "properties" come to six.⁶³⁴

The first to write on this discipline was Abu 'Abdallah al-Khuwarizmi.⁶³⁵ After him, there was Abu Kamil Shuja' b. Aslam.⁶³⁶ People followed in his steps. His book on the six problems of algebra is one of the best books written on the subject. Many Spanish scholars wrote good commentaries on it. One of the best Spanish commentaries is the book of al-Qurashi.⁶³⁷

We have heard that great eastern mathematicians have extended the algebraic operations beyond the six types and brought them up to more than twenty. For all of them, they discovered solutions based on solid geometrical proofs.⁶³⁸

God "gives in addition to the creatures whatever He wishes to give to them."⁶³⁹

Business (arithmetic)

Another subdivision of arithmetic is business (arithmetic). This is the application of arithmetic to business dealings in cities. These business dealings may concern the sale (of merchandise), the measuring (of land), the charity taxes, as well as other business dealings that have something to do

⁶³³ Apparently, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx + n$, or the like.

⁶³⁴ The simple equations are: $ax = n$; $bx^2 = n$; and $ax^2 = bx$. The composite equations are: $ax^2 + bx = n$; $ax^2 + n = bx$; and $ax^2 = bx + n$. Cf. Karpinski, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 71.

⁶³⁵ Muhammad b. Musa, who lived in the first half of the ninth century. Cf. GAL, 1, 215 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 381 f.

⁶³⁶ Ca. 900? Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 390.

⁶³⁷ He is referred to as Abul-Qasim al-Qurashi of Bougie, and was a source of Ibn al-Banni's *Talkhis*. Cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 35-37.

⁶³⁸ Cf. 'Umar al-Khayyam, *Algebra*, ed. F. Woepcke (Paris, 1851).

⁶³⁹ Qur'an 35.1 (1).

with numbers. In this connection, one uses both arithmetical techniques,⁶⁴⁰ (and one has to deal) with the unknown and the known, and with fractions, whole (numbers), roots, and other things.

In this connection, very many problems have been posed. Their purpose is to give (the student) exercise and experience through repeated practice, until he has the firm habit of the craft of arithmetic.

Spanish mathematicians have written numerous works on the subject. The best known of these works are the business arithmetics of az-Zahrawi,⁶⁴¹ Ibn as-Samh,⁶⁴² Abu Muslim b. Khaldun,⁶⁴³ who were pupils of Maslamah al-Majriti, and others.

Inheritance laws⁶⁴⁴

Another subdivision of arithmetic is inheritance laws. It is a craft concerned with calculation, that deals with determining the correct shares of an estate for the legal heirs. It may happen that there is a large number of heirs, and one of the heirs dies and his portions have to be (re-)distributed among his heirs. Or, the individual portions, when they are counted together and added up, may exceed the whole estate.⁶⁴⁵ Or, there may be a problem

⁶⁴⁰I.e., calculation (elementary arithmetic) and algebra.

⁶⁴¹Ali b. Sulayman. Cf. Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat al-umam*, tr. R.

Blachere (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, No. 28) (Paris, 1935), pp. 131 f.

⁶⁴²Agbagh b. Mubammad, d. 426 [979-1035]. Cf. *GAL*, 1, 472; *Suppl.*, I, 861; Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat*, pp. 130 f., where his age is incorrectly given as fifty (instead of fifty-six) solar years.

⁶⁴³'Amr ('Umar?) b. Ahmad, d. 449 [1057/58], a member of Ibn Khaldun's family. Cf. Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat*, p. 133, and above, 1:xxxiv. Ibn Fadlallah al-Umarī, d. 749 [1349], states in his *Masalik al-abdar* that he had seen very good astrolabes signed by Ibn Khaldun, and had personally copied a work of his, which, however, he lost later on. (MS, Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2797, Vol. V, p. 417.)

⁶⁴⁴The subject was treated as a part of jurisprudence, pp. 20 ff., above.

⁶⁴⁵In such cases, the process called '*awl*' "reduction," mentioned below, is applied. The total of the inheritance shares, as stipulated by the Qur'an, may be greater than the entire estate. Thus, according to the famous example, if a man leaves two daughters, his two parents, and one wife, the daughters

when one heir acknowledges, but the others do not acknowledge, (another heir, and vice versa). All this requires solution, in order to determine the correct amount of the shares in an estate and the correct share that goes to each relative, so that the heirs get the amounts of the estate to which they are entitled in view of the total amount of the shares of the estate. A good deal of calculation comes in here. It is concerned with whole (numbers), fractions, roots, knowns and unknowns; it is arranged according to the chapters and problems of inheritance law.

This craft, therefore, has something to do with jurisprudence, namely, with inheritance law, as far as it is concerned with the laws concerning the legal shares of inheritance, the reduction of the individual shares ('awl), the acknowledgement or non-acknowledgement (of heirs), wills, manumission

would be entitled to two-thirds, the parents to one-third, and the wife to one-eighth of the estate. Qur'an 4.11 f. (12-14). Therefore, the following procedure is used. The fractions are reduced to their common

$$\frac{2}{3} = \frac{16}{24}, \frac{1}{3} = \frac{8}{24}, \frac{1}{8} = \frac{3}{24};$$

denominator: the new numerators are added up ($16 + 8 + 3 = 27$); and the

$$\frac{16}{27}, \frac{8}{27}, \frac{3}{27}$$

total is made the new denominator. Thus, the new shares are $\frac{16}{27}, \frac{8}{27}, \frac{3}{27}$. The wife's share, which was one-eighth, is "reduced" ('awl) to one-ninth, but the proportion of the shares to each other is preserved.

In our symbols, the procedure can be expressed as follows (for the sake of simplicity only two fractions are assumed):

$$(1) \quad \frac{a}{m}, \frac{b}{n} \quad \left(\frac{a}{m} + \frac{b}{n} < 1 \right)$$

$$(2) \quad \frac{a \cdot m \cdot n}{m}, \frac{b \cdot m \cdot n}{n}$$

$$(3) \quad \frac{an}{an + bm}, \frac{bn}{an + bm} \quad \left(\frac{an}{an + bm} + \frac{bn}{an + bm} = 1 \right)$$

The correctness of the procedure can be proven as follows:

$$(1) \quad \frac{a}{m} : \frac{b}{n} :: x : y \quad x + y = 1$$

$$(2) \quad bmx = any \quad x = 1 - y$$

$$(3) \quad bm - bmy = any$$

$$(4) \quad y = \frac{bm}{an + bm} \quad x = \frac{an}{an + bm}$$

by will, and other problems. And it has also a good deal⁶⁴⁶ to do with arithmetic, in as much as it is concerned with determining the correct amount of the shares in accordance with the law evolved by the jurists.

It is a very important discipline. The scholars who cultivate it have produced traditions attesting to its excellence, such as, for instance: "The *fara'id* (inheritance laws) constitute one-third of (religious) scholarship, and they are the first science to be abolished,"⁶⁴⁷ and other such traditions. However, as was mentioned before, I am of the opinion that according to their plain meaning, all those traditions refer to individual "obligations" (*fara'id*), and not to the inheritance laws (*fara'id*). The latter are too few in number to constitute one-third of (religious) scholarship, whereas individual obligations are numerous.

Scholars, in early and late times, have written extensive works on the subject. Among the best works on the subject according to the school of Malik are the book of Ibn Thabit, the *Mukhtasar* of Judge Abul-Qasim al-Hawfi, and the books of Ibn al-Munammar, al-Ja'di,⁶⁴⁸ az-Zawdi,⁶⁴⁹ and others.

But al-Hawfi is pre-eminent. His book is preferable to all the others. A clear and comprehensive commentary on it was written by one of our teachers, Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Sulayman as-Satti,⁶⁵⁰ the leading *shaykh* of Fez. The Imam al-Haramayn wrote works on the subject according to the school of ash-Shafi'i. They attest to his great scholarly capability and his

⁶⁴⁶ *Sic* C and D.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf p. 22, above. 128

⁶⁴⁸ All these scholars were mentioned above, p. 21. This passage was used by Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf az zunun*, ed. Flugel (Leipzig & London, 1835-58), III, 64.

⁶⁴⁹ This Berber name is spelled with a ,s into which a small z is inserted. Cf. 1:67 (n. 183), above. He is 'Abdallah b. Abi Bakr b. Yahya, who was born ca. 643 [1245/46] and who was still alive in 699 [1299/1300]. Cf. Ahmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihaj* (Cairo, 1951/1932, in the margin of Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj*), pp. 14.0 f.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. the *Autobiography*, pp. 31 f.

firm grounding in scholarship. The Hanafites and the Hanbalites also (wrote works on the subject). The positions of scholars in scholarship vary.⁶⁵¹

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."⁶⁵²

VI.20. The geometrical sciences.

[p.3:129]

This science studies quantities (measurements)⁶⁵³ Quantities (measurements) may be continuous, like lines, planes, and (geometrical) solids, or discontinuous, like numbers. It also studies the essential properties of the quantities (measurements), as, for instance:

The angles of any triangle are equal to two right angles.

Parallel lines do not intersect anywhere, even when they extend to infinity.

The opposite angles formed when two lines intersect are equal to each other.

The result of multiplying the first and the third of four quantities in a proportion is equal to that of multiplying the second and the fourth.⁶⁵⁴ And so on.

The Greek work on this craft which has been translated (into Arabic) is the book of Euclid. It is entitled *Kitab al-usul wa-l-arkan* ("Book of Basic Principles and Pillars").⁶⁵⁵ It is the simplest⁶⁵⁶ book on the subject for students. It was the first Greek work to be translated in Islam in the days of Abu Jafar al-Mansur. The existing recensions differ, depending on the re-

⁶⁵¹This remark would seem to imply that Hanafite and Hanbalite works are inferior.

⁶⁵²Cf. Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

⁶⁵³Cf p. 311, above.

⁶⁵⁴This is not correct.

⁶⁵⁵This is a translation of *stoicheia, elementa*. In addition to the bibliographical references in GAL, there is a recent study by E. B. Plooiij, *Euclid's Conception of Ratio and his Definition of Proportional Magnitudes as Criticized by Arabian Commentators*, (Leiden dissertation) (Rotterdam, [1950]). Cf. also, 2:365, above.

⁶⁵⁶Or "most extensive." However, since it is considered as an introduction to geometry, the above translation may be preferable.

spective translators. There are the recensions of } Hunayn b. Ishaq,⁶⁵⁷ Thabit b. Qurrah,⁶⁵⁸ and Yusuf b. al-Hajjaj.⁶⁵⁹

The work contains fifteen books, four on the planes, one on proportions, another one on the relationship of planes to each other, three on numbers, the tenth on rational and irrational (quantities)⁶⁶⁰ the "roots" - and five on solids.

Many abridgments of Euclid's work have been written. Avicenna, for instance, devoted a special monograph treatment to it in (the section on) the mathematical disciplines in the *Shifa'*. Ibn as-Salt⁶⁶¹ made another abridgment in the *Kitab al-Iqtisar*; and the same was done by others. Many scholars have also written commentaries on it. It is the starting point of the geometrical sciences in general.

It should be known that geometry enlightens the intellect and sets one's mind right. All its proofs are very clear and orderly. It is hardly possible for errors to enter into geometrical reasoning, because it is well arranged and orderly. Thus, the mind that constantly applies itself to geometry is not likely to fall into error. In this convenient way, the person who knows geometry acquires intelligence. It has been assumed that the following statement was written upon Plato's door: "No one who is not a geometrician may enter our house."⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁷He died ca. 260 [873]. Cf. GAL, I, 205 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 366 ff.

⁶⁵⁸He died in 288 [901]. Cf. GAL, I, 217 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 384 ff.

⁶⁵⁹That is, al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf b. Matar. Cf. GAL, I, 203; *Suppl.*, I, 363.

⁶⁶⁰As explained in the definitions of the tenth book of Euclid, a square is called *ρητον*, *munfaq* "rational," whereas its sides belong among the elements that "have power over" (*αι δυναμεναι*, *al-qawiyah ala*) the production of rational quantities and are called "irrational."

⁶⁶¹This cannot be the early translator Ibrahim b. ay-Salt; cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 371. Ibn Khaldun presumably had in mind Abu s-Salt Umayyah b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. Abi s-Salt, who lived ca. 460 [1067/68]. Cf. GAL, I, 486 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 889. He is credited with a work on geometry by Ibn Abi Ulaybi'ah, *'Uyun al-anba'*, ed. Muller (Konigsberg & Cairo, 1882-84), II, 62, l. 22. Cf. also below, p. 135.

⁶⁶²The famous *αγεωμετηρητοζ μηδειζ εισιτω*, which appears in Elias' commentary on the *Categories* and was well known to the Arabs. It entered Arabic literature in connection with the introductions to

Our teachers used to say that one's application to geometry does to the mind what soap does to a garment. It washes off stains and cleanses it of grease and dirt. The reason for this is that geometry is well arranged and orderly, as we have mentioned.

Spherical figures, conic sections, (and mechanics)

A subdivision of this discipline is the geometrical study of spherical figures (spherical trigonometry) and conic sections. There are two Greek works on spherical figures, namely, the works of Theodosius and Menelaus on planes and sections of (spherical figures).⁶⁶³ In (mathematical) instruction, the book by Theodosius is (studied) before the book by Menelaus, since many of the (latter's) proofs depend on the former. Both works are needed by those who want to study astronomy, because the astronomical proofs depend on (the material contained in) them. All astronomical discussion is concerned with the heavenly spheres and the sections and circles found in connection with them as the result of the various motions, as we shall mention. (Astronomy,) therefore, depends on knowledge of the laws governing planes and sections of spherical figures.

Conic sections also are a branch of geometry. This discipline is concerned with study of the figures and sections occurring in connection with cones. It proves the properties of cones by means of geometrical proofs based upon elementary geometry. Its usefulness is apparent in practical crafts that have to do with bodies, such as carpentry and architecture. It is also useful for making remarkable statues and rare large objects (effigies, *hayakil*)⁶⁶⁴ and for moving loads and transporting large objects (*hayakil*) with the help of mechanical contrivances, engineering (techniques), pulleys, and similar things.

Aristotelian philosophy. Cf al-Farabi, *Fi-ma yanbaghi an yuqaddam qabl 'ilm al falsafah*, ed. and tr. F. Dieterici: *Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen* (Leiden, 1890, 1892), pp. 52, 87.

⁶⁶³Cf. also 2:365, above.

⁶⁶⁴For *haykal*, pl. *hayakil*, cf. 1:151 (n. 172), above.

There exists a book on mechanics that mentions every astonishing, remarkable technique and nice mechanical contrivance. It is often difficult to understand, because the geometrical proofs occurring in it are difficult. People have copies of it. They ascribe it to the Banu Shakir.⁶⁶⁵

Surveying

Another subdivision of geometry is surveying. This discipline is needed to survey the land. This means that it serves to find the measurements of a given piece of land in terms of spans, cubits, or other (units), or to establish the relationship of one piece of land to another when they are compared in this way. Such surveying is needed to determine the land tax on (wheat) fields, lands, and orchards. It is also needed for dividing enclosures⁶⁶⁶ and lands among partners or heirs, and similar things.

Scholars have written many good works on the subject.

Optics

Another subdivision of geometry is optics. This science explains the reasons for errors in visual perception, on the basis of knowledge as to how they occur. Visual perception takes place through a cone formed by rays, the top of which is the point of vision and the base of which is the object seen. Now, errors often occur. Nearby things appear large. Things that are far away appear small. Furthermore, small objects appear large under water or behind transparent bodies. Drops of rain as they fall appear to form a straight line, flame a circle, and so on.

This discipline explains with geometrical proofs the reasons for these things and how they come about. Among many other similar things, optics also explains the difference in the view of the moon at different lati-

⁶⁶⁵ They lived in the ninth century. Cf. GAL, I, 216 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 382 f. 666

⁶⁶⁶ *Hawa 'it* "gardens." Or does Ibn Khaldun mean the fixing of the boundaries of buildings?

tudes.⁶⁶⁷ Knowledge of the visibility of the new moon and of the occurrence of eclipses is based on that. There are many other such things.

Many Greeks wrote works on the subject. The most famous Muslim author on optics is Ibn al-Haytham.⁶⁶⁸ Others, too, have written works on the subject. It is a branch of the mathematical sciences.

VI.21. Astronomy.

[p.3:135]

This science studies the motions of the fixed stars and the planets. From the manner in which these motions take place, astronomy deduces by geometrical methods the existence of certain shapes and positions of the spheres requiring the occurrence of those motions which can be perceived by the senses. Astronomy thus proves, for instance, by the existence of the precession of the equinoxes, that the center of the earth is not identical with the center of the sphere of the sun. Furthermore, from the retrograde and direct motions of the stars, astronomy deduces the existence of small spheres (epicycles) carrying the (stars) and moving inside their great spheres. Through the motion of the fixed stars, astronomy then proves the existence of the eighth sphere. It also proves that a single star has a number of spheres, from the (observation)⁶⁶⁹ that it has a number of declinations,⁶⁶⁹ and similar things.

Only astronomical observation can show the existing motions and how they take place, and their various types. It is only by this means that we know the precession of the equinoxes and the order of the spheres in their different layers as well as the retrograde and direct motions (of the stars), and similar things. The Greeks occupied themselves very much with astronomical observation. They used instruments that were invented for the observation of

⁶⁶⁷ De Slane notes that Ibn Khaldun should have said "longitudes."

⁶⁶⁸ Al-Hasan (Husayn) b. al-hasan (Husayn) b. al-Haytham (Alhazen), from ca. 364 [9651 to 430 [10391. Cf. GAL, I, 469 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 861 ff.

⁶⁶⁹ *Mayl*. Cf. al-Khuwarizmi, *Mafitib al-'ulum*, p. 127: "*Mayl* is the distance of the sun or a given star from the equinoctial line." Cf. also al-Birmni, *Kitab at-tafhim*, p. 59.

the motion of a given star. They called them astrolabes. The technique and theory of how to make them, so that their motion conforms to the motion of the sphere, are a (living) tradition among the people.⁶⁷⁰

In Islam, only very little attention has been paid to astronomical observation. In the days of al-Ma'mun, there was some interest in it. The construction of the instrument known as the astrolabe was begun but was not completed.⁶⁷¹ When al-Ma'mun died, the institution of astronomical observation was lost and neglected. Later on, (scholars) based themselves upon the ancient observations. These were of no use because of the change in the motions (of the stars) over the course of time. The motion of the instrument used in astronomical observations conforms only approximately to the motion of the spheres and the stars and is not absolutely exact. When a certain amount of time has elapsed, the differences are revealed.

Astronomy is a noble craft. It does not, as is generally thought, teach the real form of the heavens nor the order of the spheres, but it teaches that the forms and shapes of the spheres are the result of those motions. As one knows, it is not improbable that one and the same thing may produce two different results. Therefore, when we say that the motions produce a result, we (merely) deduce from the (existence of) what produces the result that the result exists, but the statement in no way teaches (us) the real character (of the resulting thing). Still, astronomy is an important science. It is one of the pillars of the mathematical disciplines.⁶⁷²

One of the best works on the subject is the *Majisti* (Almagest).⁶⁷³ It is ascribed to Ptolemy, who, as the commentators of the work have established, was not one of the Greek rulers called Ptolemy. The leading Muslim philoso-

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

⁶⁷¹ D: "but he died before it was completed."

⁶⁷² Cf. the translation of this passage by C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, V, 43 f.

⁶⁷³ Le., Ptolemy's *Syntaxis Astronomica*. For the origin and vocalization of the Arabic term, cf. F. Rosenthal, "Al-Kindi and Ptolemy," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), II, 438 f. Later Muslim scholars seem to have preferred the vocalization *Mijisli*.

phers have abridged Ptolemy's work. Avicenna, for instance, did that. He inserted his abridgment in the mathematical section of the *Shifa'*. Ptolemy's work was also abbreviated by the Spanish philosopher Averroes, by Ibn as-Samh,⁶⁷⁴ and by Ibn as-Salt,⁶⁷⁵ in the *Kitdb al-Iqtisar*. Ibn al Farghani⁶⁷⁶ wrote an abridged astronomy. In it, he treated the subject along more easily understandable lines. He omitted the geometrical proofs.

"God taught man what he did not know."⁶⁷⁷

Astronomical tables⁶⁷⁸

A subdivision of astronomy is the science of astronomical tables. This is a craft based upon calculations according to arithmetical rules. It is concerned with the courses of motions peculiar to each star and with the character of that motion, fast, slow, direct, retrograde, and so on, as proven by astronomical means. This serves to show the positions of the stars in their spheres at any given time, by calculating their motions according to the rules evolved from astronomical works.

This craft follows certain norms. They constitute a sort of introductory and basic material for it. They deal with months and days and past eras.⁶⁷⁹

It (further) follows established basic principles. They deal with apogee and perigee, declinations,⁶⁸⁰ the different kinds of motions, and how (these

⁶⁷⁴Cf. p. 126, above.

⁶⁷⁵Cf. p. 130, above.

⁶⁷⁶ Abmad b. Mubammad (Alfraganus), d. after 247 [861/621. Cf. GAL, I, 221; *Suppl.*, I, 392 f.

⁶⁷⁷ Qur'an 96.5 (5).

⁶⁷⁸ *Zij*, usually connected with Persian zU "threads in the loom" > "lines in tables" > "tables." Cf. C. A. Nallino, *op. cit.*, V, 120. It may, however, be a distortion of *bizidhaj*, the Middle Persian title of the *Anthology* of Vettius Valens. Intervocalic *dh* is known to change to *y* in Middle Persian (cf. W. Eilers, "Der Name des persischen Neujahrsfestes," in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften and der Literatur, Geistes- and Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse*, 1953, No. 2, p. 4), and *bi-* may have been lost, in the course of transmission, as preposition, as is known to happen.

Cf. now E. S. Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. XLVI (1956), 123-77.

⁶⁷⁹ I.e., chronology, mathematical and historical.

⁶⁸⁰Cf. p. 134, above.

things) shed light upon each other. They are written down in well-arranged tables, in order to make it easy for students. These tables are called *zij*. The determination of the positions of the stars at a given time by means of this craft is called "adjustment and tabulation."⁶⁸¹

Both early and later scholars have written many works on the subject. Among such scholars, for instance, were al-Battani⁶⁸² and Ibn al-Kammad.⁶⁸³

Recent contemporary Maghribi scholars are using, as their reference work, the *zij* that is ascribed to Ibn Ishaq.⁶⁸⁴ It is thought that Ibn Ishaq based his work on astronomical observations. A Jew in Sicily who was skilled in astronomy and the mathematical sciences, and who occupied himself with astronomical observation, sent (Ibn Ishaq) information on the conditions and motions of the stars he had ascertained. Thus, the Maghribis have been using Ibn Ishaq's work, because they assume that it is based upon reliable information.

Ibn al-Banna,⁶⁸⁵ wrote an abridgment (of Ibn Ishaq's *Zij*) which he entitled *al-Minhaj*. People have been very eager to use the *Minhaj*, because the operations described in it are easy.

⁶⁸¹ *Ta'dil* and *taqwim*. The latter word became *tacuin* in Latin translations from the Arabic.

⁶⁸² Muhammad b. Jibir, ca. 244 [858] to 317 [929]. Cf. GAL, I, 222; *Suppl.*I, 397.

⁶⁸³ Ahmad b. Yusuf b. al-Kammad, d. 691 [1195]? Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 864. He is probably identical with Ibn al-Hammad, an author of *zijas* mentioned by al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-bukama'*, p. 57, I. 15. Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf az-zunun*, III, 569, seems to confuse him with Ibn Ishaq and gives a wrong date (679 [1280/81]), which has caused considerable confusion to this day. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale* (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger, Vols. VIII & XI) (Paris 1940-47), 11, 369. The first to call attention to the situation seems to have been H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker and Astronomen der Araber and Are Werke* (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften, No. 10) (Leipzig, 1900), p. 196.

⁶⁸⁴ Bulaq adds: "an astronomer in Tunis at the beginning of the seventh [thirteenth] century." He is Abul-'Abbas 'Ali b. Ishaq, who made astronomical observations in 619 [i2221]. Cf. H. P. J. Renaud in *Hesperis*, XXV (1938), 31; and *idem*, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1941), 113, 7, No. 909.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. 1:238, and pp. 121, 123, 136 (n. 684), above.

(Knowledge of the) positions of the stars in the spheres is the necessary basis for astrological judgments, that is, knowledge of the various kinds of influence over the world of man that are exercised by the stars depending on their positions and that affect religious groups, dynasties, human activities, and all events. We shall explain this later on, and we shall clarify the evidence adduced by astrologers, if God, He is exalted, wills.

VI.22. The science of logic.⁶⁸⁶

[p.3:137]

(Logic concerns) the norms enabling a person to distinguish between right and wrong, both in definitions that give information about the essence of things, and in arguments that assure apperception.

This⁶⁸⁷ comes about as follows: The basis of perception is the *sensibilia* that are perceived by the five senses. All living beings, those which are rational as well as the others, participate in this kind of perception. Man is distinguished from the animals by his ability to perceive universals, which are things abstracted from the *sensibilia*. Man is enabled to do this by virtue of the fact that his imagination obtains, from individual objects perceived by the senses and which agree with each other, a picture conforming to all these individual objects. Such (a picture) is a universal. The mind then compares the individual objects that agree with each other, with other objects that (also) agree with them in some respects. It thus obtains a picture conforming to both of the two groups of objects compared), .in as much as they agree with each other. In this way, abstraction continues to progress. Eventually, it reaches the universal (concept), which admits no other universal (concept) that would, agree with it, and is, therefore, simple.

For instance, from the individual specimens of man, the picture of the species to which all the individual specimens conform is abstracted. Then, man (the human species) is compared with the animals, and the picture of

⁶⁸⁶Cf. also pp. 246 ff. and 295 ff., below.

⁶⁸⁷Cf Issawi, pp. 167 f.

the genus to which both men and animals conform is abstracted. Then, this is compared with the plants, until, eventually, the highest genus is reached, which is "substance."⁶⁸⁸ There is no (other) universal (concept) that would in any way agree with it. Therefore, the intellect stops here and makes no further abstraction.

God created in man the ability to think. Through it, he perceives the sciences and crafts. Knowledge is either a perception (*tasawwur*) of the essence of things - *tasawwur* meaning a primitive kind of perception not accompanied by (the exercise of) judgment - or it is apperception (*tasdiq*), that is, the judgment that a thing is so.

(Man's) ability to think may try to obtain the desired (information) by combining the universals with each other, with the result that the mind obtains a universal picture that conforms to details outside. Such a picture in the mind assures a knowledge of the quiddity of the individual objects. Or, (man's) ability to think may judge one thing by another and draw conclusions (from the one thing as to the other). Thus, (the other thing) is established in (the mind). This is apperception. In fact, (apperception) ultimately reverts to perception, because the only use of having (perception) is (to achieve) knowledge of the realities of things, which is the required goal of apperceptive⁶⁸⁹ knowledge.

(Man's) ability to think may embark on this (process) in either the right or the wrong way. Selection of the way to be followed by man's ability to think in its effort to attain the knowledge desired, requires discernment, so that (man) can distinguish between right and wrong. This (process) became the canon of logic.

When the ancients first began to discuss (logic), they did so in a sententious, disconnected manner by selecting certain stray propositions. Logical methods were unimproved. The problems of logic were not seen together.

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. Bombaci, p. 457.

⁶⁸⁹ *Hukmi* is added in *C supra lineam*, and in the text of D. Cf. P. 248, below.

Eventually, Aristotle appeared among the Greeks. He improved the methods of logic and systematized its problems and details. He assigned to logic its proper place as the first philosophical discipline and the introduction to philosophy. Therefore (Aristotle) is called "the First Teacher."⁶⁹⁰ His work on logic is called "the Text."⁶⁹¹ It comprises eight books, three^{691a} on the forms of analogical reasoning, and five on the matter (to which analogical reasoning is applied).

This is because the objects of apperception are of different kinds. Some of them concern things that are certain by nature. Others concern things that are hypothetical in various degrees. Therefore, logic studies analogical reasoning from the point of view of the desired (information) it is expected to yield. It studies what the premises (of the desired information) ought to be, as seen in this light, and to which kind of certain or hypothetical knowledge the (desired information) belongs. Logic studies analogical reasoning (the syllogism), not with some particular object in mind but exclusively with regard to the way in which it is produced. Therefore, the first study, it is said, is undertaken with regard to matter, that is, the matter that produces some particular certain or hypothetical information. The second study, it is said, is undertaken with regard to the form and the manner in which analogical

⁶⁹⁰Cf. pp. 115 f., above; pp. 153 and 249, below.

⁶⁹¹ *Al fass*. The word occurs in individual titles of Aristotle's works on logic in Arabic. Cf. Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist* (Cairo, 1348/1929-30), pp. 368 and 370. However, it is not commonly used for the *Organon*, and I am not sure from which author (Averroes) cf. below, p. 254) Ibn Khaldun derived it. Cf. also E. I. J. Rosenthal in *al-Andalus*, XX (1955), 80.

Among the most recent works concerned with Arabic translations of the so-called *Organon*, we may mention the work by 'Abd-ar-Rabmin Badawi, of which three volumes have appeared so far (Cairo, 1948-), and the publication of Porphyry's *Isagoge* by A. F. al-Ahwani (Cairo, 1371/1952). Cf., in particular, R. Walzer, "New Light on the Arabic Translations of Aristotle," *Oriens*, VI(1953), 91-142.

^{691a}"Three" appears in A, possibly as a correction of an erased word. B, C, and D have "four." This seems to be an error on the part of Ibn Khaldun, who was thinking of the *Eisagoge* and included it in his count. Bulaq corrects the following "five" to "four," which is nonsensical.

reasoning (the syllogism) in general is produced. Thus, the number of the books on logic came to be eight.

The first book deals with the highest genera that abstraction among the *sensibilia* may attain in the mind and that admit no (more universal) genera above them. It is called *Kitab al-Maqlat (Categories)*.

The second book deals with the various kinds of apperceptive propositions. It is called *Kitab al-'Ibarah (Hermeneutics)*.

The third book deals with analogical reasoning (the syllogism) and the form in which it is produced in general. It is called *Kitab al-Qiyas (Analytics)*. Here ends the logical study from the point of view of (its) form.

The fourth book is the *Kitab al-Burhan (Apodeictica)*. It studies the kind of analogical reasoning (the syllogism) that produces certain (knowledge). It also studies (the problem of) why its premises must be certain ones. In particular, it mentions other conditions for yielding certain knowledge. For instance, the (premises) must be essential, primary, and so on. This book contains a discussion of determinatives⁶⁹² and definitions, because one wants them to be certain, since it is necessary - nothing else is possible - that a definition conform to the thing defined. Therefore, (definitions) were treated by the ancients in this book.

The fifth book is the *Kitab al-Jadl (Topics)*. *Jadl* ("disputation") is the kind of analogical reasoning that shows how to cut off a troublesome adversary and silence one's opponent, and teaches the famous (methods) to be employed to this end. It is also concerned with other conditions required in this connection. They are mentioned here. The book deals with the "places" (*topoi*) from which the syllogism is evolved by using them to clarify the

⁶⁹²The Arabic word used here should probably be read *al-mu'arrifat*, and not, as might be thought at first glance, *al-ma'rifat* "various kinds of knowledge," even though Aristotle speaks about gnosis right at the beginning of the work.

so-called middle term that brings the two ends of the desired information together.⁶⁹³ It also deals with the conversion of terms.

The sixth book is the *Kitab as-Safsatah (Sophistici Elenchi)*. Sophistry is the kind of analogical reasoning that teaches the opposite of the truth and enables a disputant to confuse his opponent. The (book) is bad because of its purpose. It was written only so that one might know sophistical reasoning and be on guard against it.

The seventh book is the *Kitab al-Khitabah (Rhetoric)*. Rhetoric is the kind of analogical reasoning that teaches how to influence the great mass and get them to do what one wants them to do. It also teaches the forms of speech to be employed in this connection.

The eighth book is the *Kitab ash-Shi'r (Poetics)*. Poetics is the kind of analogical reasoning that teaches the invention of parables and similes, especially for the purpose of (encouraging oneself and others) to undertake something or avoid doing something. It also teaches the imaginary propositions⁶⁹⁴ to be employed in this connection.

These are the eight books on logic according to the ancients. After logic had been improved and systematized, the Greek philosophers were of the opinion that it was necessary to discuss the five universals providing the perception that⁶⁹⁵ conforms to the quiddities outside or to their parts or accidents. The (five) are genus, difference, species, property, and general accident.⁶⁹⁶ Therefore, they took the subject up in a special book concerned with the (five universals), which serves as an introduction to the discipline. Thus, the books on (logic) came to be nine.

⁶⁹³Cf p. 145, below.

⁶⁹⁴In contrast to syllogisms based on logical judgment. Cf. F. Gabrieli, "Estetica e poesia araba nell'interpretazione della Poetica Aristotelica presso Avicenna e Averroè," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XII (1929-30), 298.

⁶⁹⁵The remainder of this sentence and the next one are not found in Bulaq.

⁶⁹⁶The reference is to Porphyry's *Isagoge* and the *πεντε φωναι (quinque voces)*: *-γνοζ (genus)*; *διαφορα (differentia)*; *ειδοζ (species)*; *ιδιον (proprium)*; and *συμβεβηκοζ (accidens)*. Cf. again, p. 145, below.

All of them were translated in Islam. The Muslim philosophers wrote commentaries and abridgments of them. Al-Farabi and Avicenna, for instance, did this, and, later on, the Spanish philosopher, Averroes. Avicenna wrote the *Kitab ash-Shifa'*,⁶⁹⁷ which comprises all the seven philosophical disciplines.

Later on, more recent scholars have changed the terminology of logic. They added to the study of the five universals the (study of) its fruit, namely, the discussion of definitions and descriptions which they took over from the *Apodeictica*. They discarded the *Categories*, because (the logicians') study of the book is accidental and not essential. To the *Hermeneutics* they added the discussion of the conversion (of terms), whereas the ancient books included that subject in the *Topics*,⁶⁹⁸ but, in some respects, it does fall under the discussion of propositions.

Then, they discussed analogical reasoning in as much as it produces the desired information in general, and without regard to any matter. They discarded study of the matter to which analogical reasoning (is applied). That concerned five books, the *Apodeictica*, the *Topics*, the *Rhetoric*, the *Poetics*, and the *Sophistici Elenchi*. Some of them occasionally touched a little on those books. (But in general,) they neglected them, as if they had never been, whereas they are a very important basis of the discipline.

Then, they thoroughly discussed their writings on logic and studied them as a discipline in its own right, not as an instrument for the sciences. This resulted in a long and extensive discussion of the subject. The first to do this was the imam Fakhr-ad-din b. al-Khatib.⁶⁹⁹ He was followed

⁶⁹⁷The beginning of the section on logic from the *Shifa'* has been published by I. Madkur, M. al-Khudayri, M.-M. Anawati, and A. F. al-Ahwani (Cairo, 1371/1952), as the first volume of the planned publication of the whole *Shifd'*. The section on *al-Burhan (Apodeictica)*, published by 'Abd-arRabmin Badawi, appeared in Cairo in 1954.

⁶⁹⁸The "whereas" clause is not found in Bulaq.

⁶⁹⁹Cf. 1:402, above.

by Afdal-ad-din al-Khunaji.⁷⁰⁰ Al-Khunaji's books are used by contemporary easterners as reference works. On logic, he wrote the long *Kitab Kashfal-asrar*, the *Mukhtasar al-mujiz* which is good as a textbook, and the *Mukhtasar al-jumal*.⁷⁰¹

The last-mentioned work consists of four leaves and gives a synopsis of the discipline and its basic principles. Contemporary students use it and profit from it. The books and methods of the ancients are avoided, as if they had never been, although they are full of the results and useful aspects of logic, as we have stated.

God is the guide to that which is correct.

It⁷⁰² should be known that the early Muslims and the early speculative theologians greatly disapproved of the study of this discipline. They vehemently attacked it and warned against it. They forbade the study and teaching of it. Later on, ever since al-Ghazzali and the imam Ibn al-Khatib, scholars have been somewhat more lenient in this respect. Since that time, they have gone on studying (logic), except for a few who have recourse to the opinion of the ancients concerning it and shun it and vehemently disapprove of it.

Let us explain on what the acceptance or rejection of (logic) depends, so that it will be known what scholars have in mind with their different opinions. This comes about as follows:

When the theologians invented the science of speculative theology, in order to support the articles of faith with rational evidence, their approach was to use some particular evidence, which they mentioned in their books.

⁷⁰⁰Mubammad b. Nimwar, 690-646 [1194-1248]. Cf. GAL, I, 463; *Suppl.*, I, 838. His *Jumal* were discussed in the circle of Ibn Khaldun's friends, as we learn from Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah fi akhbar Gharnalah* (Cairo, 1319/ 1901), II, 158 f. Ibn Khaldun himself knew them by heart; cf. p. 396, below.

⁷⁰¹The works I checked indicate the titles of the last two works as *al-Mujiz* and *al-Jumal*, without *mukhtasar*. The word *mukhtasar*, as it is used here, cannot mean "brief work" (which would be correct), but only "abridgement of a work entitled *Mujiz*, etc." (which would not be correct).

⁷⁰²The following discussion, to the end of the section (p. 147), is not found in Bulaq.

Thus, they proved the createdness of the world by affirming that accidents exist and are created, that bodies cannot possibly be free from accidents, and that something that cannot be free from created things must itself be created. Or, they affirmed the oneness of God by the argument of mutual antagonism⁷⁰³ They affirmed the existence of primeval attributes with reference to the four comprehensive (attributes),⁷⁰⁴ in that they drew conclusions from the visible as to the supernatural. There are other such arguments mentioned in their books..

Then, they strengthened that evidence by inventing basic principles constituting a sort of premises for the evidence. Thus, they affirmed the existence of atomic matter and atomic time and the vacuum. They denied nature⁷⁰⁵ and the intellectual combination of quiddities. They affirmed that an accident does not persist two moments.⁷⁰⁶ They also affirmed the existence of the "state," that is, an attribute of something existing, that neither exists nor yet does not exist.⁷⁰⁷ They have still other basic principles upon which they have built their particular arguments.

It then came to be the opinion of *Shaykh* Abul-Hasan (al-Ash'ari), Judge Abu Bakr (al-Baqillani), and Professor Abu Ishaq (al-Isfarayini), that the evidence for the articles of faith is reversible in the sense that if the arguments are wrong, the things proven (by them) are wrong.⁷⁰⁸ Therefore, Judge Abu Bakr thought that the arguments for the articles of faith hold the same position as the articles of faith themselves and that an attack against them is an attack against the articles of faith, because they rest on those (arguments).

⁷⁰³Cf. 1:394, and pp. 44 and 63, above.

⁷⁰⁴Cf. pp. 48 f., above. The reference is to the four attributes of power, knowledge, life, and volition.

⁷⁰⁵Cf. p. 146, below, where Ibn Khaldun speaks about the outside existence of natural quiddities and their universals. This appears to be meant here.

⁷⁰⁶Cf. p. 51, above.

⁷⁰⁷Cf. S. Munk, *Melanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1869), pp. 397 ff.

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. p. 51, above. The reversed statement in this case would be: Since the articles of faith are correct, the arguments proving them must be correct.

Now, if one considers logic, one will find that it all revolves around intellectual combination and the affirmation of the outside existence of a natural universal to which must correspond the mental universal that is divided into the five universals, namely, genus, species, difference, property, and general accident.⁷⁰⁹ This is wrong in the opinion of the speculative theologians. The universal and essential is to them merely a mental concept having no correspondence outside (the mind), or - to those who believe in the theory of "states" - (it is merely) a "state." Thus, the five universals, the definitions based on them, and the ten categories are wrong, and the essential attribute is a wrong (concept and does not exist). This implies that the essential and necessary propositions on which argumentation is predicated are wrong and that the rational cause is a wrong (concept and does not exist). Thus, the *Apodeictica* is wrong, and the "places" (*topoi*) which are the central part of the *Topics* are a wrong (concept). They were the things from which one derives the middle term that brings the two ends together in analogical reasoning.⁷¹⁰

The only thing that remains is formal analogical reasoning (the syllogism).⁷¹¹ The only remaining definition is the one that is equally true for all details of the thing defined and cannot be more general, because then other matters would enter it, nor can it be more restricted, because then part of those details would be left out. That is what the grammarians express by *jam'* and *man'*, and the speculative theologians by *tard* and *'aks* (complete identity of the definition and the thing defined, and reversibility of the definition).⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁹Cf. p. 142, above.

⁷¹⁰Cf. p. 141, above.

⁷¹¹ *Al-qiyas as-suri*. My limited knowledge of Arabic logic prevents me from stating whether, or where, this expression may occur as a technical term for some kind of syllogism. However, it may not be a technical term, in which case the above translation may render the thought perfectly well: the only thing that remains is studying the forms of syllogism, not their matter.

⁷¹²Cf. at-Tahanawi, *Kashshaf istilahat al-funun*, pp. 904 f.

Thus, all the pillars of logic are destroyed. (On the other hand,) if we affirm their existence, as is done in logic, we (thereby) declare wrong many of the premises of the speculative theologians. This, then, leads to considering wrong their arguments for the articles of faith, as has been mentioned before. This is why the early theologians vehemently disapproved of the study of logic and considered it innovation or unbelief, depending on the particular argument declared wrong (by the use of logic). However, recent theologians since al-Ghazzali have disapproved of (the idea of the) reversibility of arguments and have not assumed that the fact that the arguments are wrong requires as its necessary consequence that the thing proven (by them) be wrong. They considered correct the opinion of logicians concerning intellectual combination and the outside existence of natural quiddities and their universals. Therefore, they decided that logic is not in contradiction with the articles of faith, even though it is in contradiction to some of the arguments for them. In fact, they concluded that many of the premises of the speculative theologians were wrong. For instance, they deny the existence of atomic matter and the vacuum and (affirm)⁷¹³ the persistence of accidents, and so on. For the arguments of the theologians for the articles of faith, they substituted other arguments which they proved to be correct by means of speculation and analogical reasoning. They hold that this goes in no way against the orthodox articles of faith. This is the opinion of the imam (Fakhr-ad-din Ibn al-Khatib),⁷¹⁴ al-Ghazzali, and their contemporary followers.

This should be considered. The methods and sources used by religious scholars to form their opinions should be understood.

God gives guidance and success to that which is correct.

⁷¹³Cf. pp. 50 f., above.

⁷¹⁴Cf. Bombaci, p. 458.

VI.23. Physics.

[p.3:147]

This is a science that investigates bodies from the point of view of the motion and stationariness which attach to them. It studies the heavenly and the elementary bodies (substances), as well as the human beings, the animals, the plants, and the minerals created from them. It also studies the springs and earthquakes that come into being in the earth, as well as the clouds, vapors, thunder, lightning, and storms that are in the atmosphere, and other things. It further studies the beginning of motion in bodies - that is, the soul in the different forms in which it appears in human beings, animals, and plants.

The books of Aristotle on the subject are available to scholars. They were translated together with the other books on the philosophical sciences in the days of al-Ma'mun. Scholars wrote books along the same lines and followed them up with explanation and comment.⁷¹⁵ The most comprehensive work written on the subject is Avicenna's *Kitab ash Shifa'*. In it, Avicenna treats all the seven philosophical sciences, as we have mentioned before.⁷¹⁶ Avicenna later on abridged the *Kitab ash-Shifa'* in the *Kitab an-Najah* and the *Kitab al-Isharat*. In a way, he opposed Aristotle on most (physical) problems and expressed his own opinion on them. Averroes, on the other hand, abridged the books of Aristotle and commented on them, but followed him and did not oppose him. Scholars have written many works on the subject,⁷¹⁷ but these are the works that are famous at this time and to which attention is paid when one (studies) the craft (of physics).

The people of the East are concerned with Avicenna's *Kitab al-Isharat*. The imam Ibn al-Khatib wrote a good commentary on it. The same was done

⁷¹⁵The last half of the sentence is added in C and D.

⁷¹⁶Cf. p. 142, above.

⁷¹⁷C and D add: "after him (i.e., Averroes)." This would mean that only the works of Averroes, and not those of Avicenna, were famous and studied in Ibn Khaldun's time. Considering the repeated references to Avicenna in the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun hardly meant to say that.

by al-Amid!⁷¹⁸ Another commentary on the work was written by Nasir-ad-din at-Tusi,⁷¹⁹ who is known as Khawajah (Khoja), an 'Iraqi scholar. He investigated many of the problems (of the *Isharat*) and compared what the imam (Ibn al-Khatib) had to say about them. He went beyond (Ibn al-Khatib's) studies and investigations.

"And He knows more than any scholar."⁷²⁰

VI.24. The science of medicine.⁷²¹

[p.3:148]

Medicine is a craft that studies the human body in its illness and health. The physician attempts to preserve health and to cure illness with the help of medicines and diets, but first he ascertains the illness(es) peculiar to each limb of the body, and the reasons causing them. He also ascertains the medicines existing for each illness. Physicians deduce the (effectiveness of) medicines from their composition and powers. They deduce (the stage of) an illness from signs indicating whether the illness is ripe and will accept the medicine or not. (These signs show themselves) in the color (of the patient), the excretions, and the pulse. The physicians in this imitate the power of nature, which is the controlling element in both health and illness. They imitate nature and help it a little, as the nature of the matter (underlying the illness), the season (of the year), and the age (of the patient) may require in each particular case. The science dealing with all these things is called medicine.

Certain limbs are occasionally discussed as individual subjects and are considered to (form the subjects of) special sciences. This is the case, for

⁷¹⁸Al-Amidi (cf. p. 29, above) wrote, in fact, against Fakhr-ad-din ar-Razi's (Ibn al-Khatib's) commentary on the *Isharat*. His work is entitled *Kashf at-tamwihat*.

⁷¹⁹Muhammad b. Muhammad, 597-672 [1201-1274]. Cf. GAL, I, 508 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 924 ff. His commentary is entitled *Hall mushkilat al-Isharat*. "Iraqi" (corrected in Bulaq to "eastern") refers to what Ibn Khaldun called "the non-Arab 'Iraq."

⁷²⁰Qur'an 12.76 (76).

⁷²¹Medicine was treated as a craft above, 2:373 II.

instance, with the eye, the diseases of the eye, and the collyria (used in the treatment of eye diseases).

(Scholars) have also added to this discipline the (study of the) uses of the parts of the body, that is, the useful purpose for which each limb of the animal body was created. This is not a medical subject, but it has been made into an annex and subdivision of medicine. Galen has written an important and very useful work on this discipline.⁷²²

Galen is the leading ancient authority on medicine. His works have been translated (into Arabic). He is said to have been a contemporary of Jesus and to have died in Sicily on his wanderings while in voluntary exile.⁷²³ His works on medicine are classics which have been models for all later physicians.

There have been leading physicians in Islam of surpassing skill, such as, for instance, ar-Razi,⁷²⁴ al-Majusi,⁷²⁵ and Avicenna. There have also been many Spanish physicians. Most famous among them was Ibn Zuhr.⁷²⁶

In contemporary Muslim cities, the (craft of medicine) seems to have deteriorated, because the civilization (population) has decreased and shrunk. (Medicine) is a craft required only by sedentary culture and luxury, as we shall explain later on.⁷²⁷

⁷²²This reference to Galen's *De usu partium* is added in C and D. Cf. also 1:90, above.

⁷²³The Arabs had more historically accurate data on Galen's life, but the misinformation that Ibn Khaldun presents was widely known, although usually rejected as wrong. Cf. R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 92 ff.; G. Levi Della Vida in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXX (1950), 184. Cf. also Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at al-zaman*, Pt. II (MS. Koprulu, photostat Cairo, Egyptian Library, *ta'rikh* 551, pp. 41 f., III, 114), who refers to Pseudo-Ghazzali, *Sirr al-'alamayn*. Cf., further, 'Ibar, II, 188; and, most recently, G. Vajda in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, XIII (1953), pp. 641-52.

⁷²⁴Muhammad b. Zakariya' (Rhazes), 251-313 [865-925]. Cf. GAL, I, 233 ff.; Suppl., I, 417 ff.

⁷²⁵Ali b. al-'Abbas [tenth century]. Cf. GAL, I, 237; Suppl., I, 423.

⁷²⁶Abd-al-Malik b. Zuhr (Avenzoar), d. 557 [1162]. Cf. GAL, I, 487; Suppl., I, 890.

⁷²⁷Actually, medicine is considered a basic craft (2:355 f., above), though one needed only in cities. See 2:376 f., above.

Civilized Bedouins have a kind of medicine which is mainly based upon individual experience. They inherit its use from the *shaykhs* and old women of the tribe. Some of it may occasionally be correct. However, (that kind of medicine) is not based upon any natural norm or upon any conformity (of the treatment) to the temper of the humors. Much of this sort of medicine existed among the Arabs. They had well-known physicians, such as al-Harith b. Kaladah⁷²⁸ and others.

The medicine mentioned in religious tradition⁷²⁹ is of the (Bedouin) type. It is in no way part of the divine revelation. (Such medical matters) were merely (part of) Arab custom and happened to be mentioned in connection with the circumstances of the Prophet, like other things that were customary in his generation. They were not mentioned in order to imply that that particular way of practicing (medicine) is stipulated by the religious law. Muhammad was sent to teach us the religious law. He was not sent to teach us medicine or any other ordinary matter. In connection with the story of the fecundation of the palms, he said: "You know more about your worldly affairs (than I)."⁷³⁰

None of the statements concerning medicine that occur in sound traditions should be considered to (have the force of) law. There is nothing to indicate that this is the case. The only thing is that if that type of medicine is used for the sake of a divine blessing and⁷³¹ in true religious faith, it may be very useful. However, that would have nothing to do with humoral medicine

⁷²⁸For this legendary physician, whose lifetime is said to have spanned the period from Muhammad to Mu'awiyah, cf. Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, I, 109-13; tr. B. R. Sanguinetti, *Journal asiatique*, V 5 (1855), 403-19. Ibn Khallikan, tr. W. M. de Slane, IV, 253 f. Some of the stories connected with him are reproduced in C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 66-68.

⁷²⁹C and D have: "traditions concerned with the medicine of the Prophet" (*an-nabawiyat* instead of *ash-shar'iyat*).

⁷³⁰ Muhammad had advised some people to try a different method of fecundation, but his method proved a failure. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 82 f.

⁷³¹"And" is not found in B.

but be the result of true faith. This happened in the case of the person who had a stomach-ache and was treated with honey,⁷³² and similar stories.

God guides to that which is correct.

VI.25. The science of agriculture.⁷³³

[p.3:151]

This craft is a branch of physics. It concerns the study of the cultivation and growth of plants through irrigation, proper treatment, improvement of the soil,⁷³⁴ (observance of) the suitable season, and the care for them by applying these things in a way that will benefit them and help them to grow.

The ancients were very much concerned with agriculture. Their study of agriculture was general. They considered the plants both from the point of view of planting and cultivation and from the point of view of their properties, their spirituality, and the relationship of (their spirituality) to the spiritualities of the stars and the great (heavenly) bodies, which is something (also) used in sorcery. Thus, they were very much concerned with the subject.

One of the Greek works, the *Kitab al-Falahah an-Nabatiyah*,⁷³⁵ was translated. It is ascribed to Nabataean scholars. It contains much information of the type (mentioned). The Muslims who studied the contents of the work (noticed that it belonged to) sorcery, which is barred (by the religious law) and the study of which is forbidden. Therefore, they restricted themselves to the part of the book dealing with plants from the point of view of their

⁷³² Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, IV, 57: "A person came to the Prophet and said: 'My brother has diarrhea.' The Prophet said: 'Give him honey to drink.' He did so. Then, he said: 'I gave him honey to drink, but it only made his diarrhea worse.' Whereupon Muhammad said: 'God speaks the truth. Your brother's stomach lies.' " Cf. also *Concordance*, I, 191b. The story does not exactly illustrate the point Ibn Khaldun wants to make.

⁷³³ Agriculture was treated as a craft above, 2:356 f. Cf. [H. Peres], in *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers), VII (1947), 14 f.

⁷³⁴ The rest of the sentence appears in the above form in C and D. The earlier texts have: "and similar ways of taking care of them."

⁷³⁵ The famous *Nabataean Agriculture (faldhah or fildbah)* which is ascribed to Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Ali Ibn Wahshiyah. Cf. *GAL*, I, 242 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 430 f. Cf. also p. 156, below.

planting and treatment and the things connected with that. They completely banished all discussion of the other part of the book. Ibn al-'Awwam⁷³⁶ abridged the *Kitab al-Falahah an-Nabatiyah* in this sense. The other part of it remained neglected. Some of the main problems of (that other part) were transmitted by Maslamah in his magical works. We shall mention that in connection with the discussion of sorcery, if God, He is exalted, wills.⁷³⁷

There are many books on agriculture by recent scholars. They do not go beyond discussion of the planting and treatment of plants, their preservation from things that might harm them or affect their growth, and all the things connected with that. (These works) are available.

VI.26. The science of metaphysics.

[p.3:152]

Metaphysics is a science that, (metaphysicians) assume, studies existence as such. First, (it studies) general matters affecting corporeal and spiritual things, such as the quiddities, oneness, plurality, necessity, possibility, and so on. Then, it studies the beginnings of existing things and (finds) that they are spiritual things. It goes on (to study) the way existing things issue from (spiritual things), and also (studies) their order. Then, (it studies) the conditions of the soul after its separation from the body and its return to (its) beginning.

The (metaphysicians) are of the opinion that (metaphysics) is a noble discipline. They assume that it gives them a knowledge of existence as it is. This, they think, is identical with happiness. They will be refuted later on⁷³⁸ In their arrangements, metaphysics comes after physics. Therefore, they called it "that which comes after physics" (metaphysics).^{738a}

⁷³⁶ Yahya b. Muhammad [first half of the twelfth century]. Cf. GAL, I, 494 f.; *Suppl.*, 1, 903.

⁷³⁷ Cf. pp. 157, 164, and 228 f., below.

⁷³⁸ Cf. pp. 253 ff., below.

^{738a} In this section, Ibn Khaldun generally uses another Arabic term for "metaphysics," which, translated literally, means "science of divine matters."

The books of the First Teacher⁷³⁹ on the subject are available to scholars. They were abridged by Avicenna in the *Kitab ash-Shifa'* and the *Najah*. They were also abridged by the Spanish philosopher, Averroes.

Recent scholars wrote systematic treatments of the sciences of the people (the Muslims). Al-Ghazzali, at that time, refuted a good many of the (opinions of the metaphysicians). Recent speculative theologians, then, confused the problems of theology with those of philosophy, because the investigations of theology and philosophy go in the same direction, and the subject and problems of theology are similar to the subject and problems of metaphysics.⁷⁴⁰

(Theology and metaphysics,) thus, in a way came to be one' and the same discipline. (The recent theologians,) then, changed the order in which the philosophers (had treated) the problems of physics and metaphysics. They merged the two sciences in one and the same discipline. Now, in (that discipline), they first discussed general matters. This was followed, successively, by (the discussion of) the corporeal things and the matters that belong to them, the spiritual things and the matters that belong to them, and so on to the end of the discipline. The imam Ibn al-Khatib,⁷⁴¹ for instance, proceeded in this manner in the *Mabdhith al-mashriqiyah*, and so did all later theologians. The science of speculative theology thus merged with the problems of philosophy, and theological works were filled with the latter. It seemed as if the purpose which theology and philosophy followed in their respective subjects and problems was one and the same.

This confused people, but it is not correct. The problems with which the science of speculative theology deals are articles of faith derived from the religious law as transmitted by the early Muslims. They have no reference to the intellect and do not depend on it in the sense that they could

⁷³⁹Cf. 3:115 (n. 591), above.

⁷⁴⁰For this discussion, cf. p. 52, above.

⁷⁴¹Cf. 1:402, above.

not be established except through it. The intellect has nothing to do with the religious law and its views. Speculative theologians do not use the (rational) arguments they talk about as do the philosophers, in order to investigate the truth of the (articles of faith), to prove the truth of what had previously not been known, and to make it known. (Their use of rational arguments) merely expresses a desire to have rational arguments with which to bolster the articles of faith and the opinions of the early Muslims concerning them, and to refute the doubts of innovators who believe that their perceptions of (the articles of faith in their interpretation) are rational ones. (Rational arguments were used only)⁷⁴² after the correctness of the articles of faith, as they had been received and believed in by the early Muslims, had been stipulated by traditional evidence.

There is a great difference between the two positions. The perceptions which the Master of the religious law (Muhammad) had are wider (than those of philosophers), because they go beyond rational views. They are above them and include them, because they draw their support from the divine light. Thus, they do not fall into the canon of weak speculation and circumscribed⁷⁴³ perceptions. When the Lawgiver (Muhammad) guides us toward some perception, we must prefer that (perception) to our own perceptions. We must have more confidence in it than in them. We must not seek to prove its correctness rationally, even if (rational intelligence) contradicts it. We must believe and know what we have been commanded (to believe and to know). We must be silent with regard to things of this sort that we do not understand. We must leave them to the Lawgiver (Muhammad) and keep the intellect out of it.

The only thing that caused the theologians (to use rational arguments) was the discussions of heretics who opposed the early Muslim articles of

⁷⁴²Cf. Bombaci, p. 458.

⁷⁴³ Lit., "perceptions which are included by (the higher perceptions of Muhammad)." Cf. Bombaci, p. 458, and, for instance, p. 38, above.

faith with speculative innovations. Thus, they had to refute these heretics with the same kind of arguments. This (situation) called for using speculative arguments and checking on the early Muslim articles of faith with these arguments.

The verification or rejection of physical and metaphysical problems, on the other hand, is not part of the subject of speculative theology and does not belong to the same kind of speculations as those of the theologians. This should be known, so that one may be able to distinguish between the two disciplines, as they have been confused in the works of recent scholars. The truth is that they are different from each other in their respective subjects and problems. The confusion arose from the sameness of the topics discussed. The argumentation of the theologians thus came to look as though it were inaugurating a search for faith through (rational) evidence. This is not so. (Speculative theology) merely wants to refute heretics. The things it investigates are stipulated (by the religious law) and known to be true. Likewise, recent extremist Sufis, those who speak about ecstatic experiences, have confused the problems of (metaphysics and speculative theology) with their own discipline. They discussed all these things as part of one and the same subject. Thus, they discussed prophecy, union, incarnation, oneness, and other things. In fact, however, the perceptions of the three disciplines are distinct and different from each other. The Sufi perceptions are the ones that are least scientific. The Sufis claim intuitive⁷⁴⁴ experience in connection with their perceptions and shun (rational) evidence. But intuitive experience is far removed from scientific perceptions and ways and the things that go with them, as we have explained above and as we shall (again) explain later on.⁷⁴⁵

God is the guide to that which is correct.

⁷⁴⁴Cf. p. 83 (n. 478), above.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. p. 89, above; pp. 253 f., below.

VI.27. The sciences of sorcery and talismans.

[p.3:156]

These are sciences showing how human souls may become prepared to exercise an influence upon the world of the elements, either without any aid or with the aid of celestial matters. The first kind is sorcery. The second kind is talismans.

These sciences are forbidden by the (various) religious laws, because they are harmful and require (their practitioners) to direct themselves to (beings) other than God, such as stars and other things. Therefore, books dealing with them are almost nonexistent among the people. The only exceptions are the books of the ancient nations from before the time of Moses' prophecy, such as the Nabataeans and the Chaldeans. None of the prophets who preceded (Moses) made or brought any laws. Their books were concerned with exhortations, with the recognition of the oneness of God, and with references to Paradise and Hell⁷⁴⁶

The (magical) sciences were cultivated among the Syrian and Chaldean inhabitants of Babel and among the Copts of Egypt, and others. They composed books dealing with them and left information (concerning their occupation with them). Only very few of their books have been translated for us. (One book that was translated), for instance, is the *Falahah an-Nabatiyah*,⁷⁴⁷ a Babylonian work. People learned the science of sorcery from that work and developed its manifold branches. Later on, other works on sorcery were composed. Among such works were the *Books (Masahif) of the Seven Stars* and the book of Tumtum the Indian⁷⁴⁸ on the *Figures of the Degrees (of the Signs of the Zodiac) and the Stars*, and (works by) other

⁷⁴⁶ Therefore, they did not say anything about the position of sorcery.

⁷⁴⁷ C (in the margin) and D add: "by Ibn Wahshiyah." Cf. p. 151, above.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. A. Hauber, "Tomtom (*Timtim*) = Δανδαμζ = *Dindymus*?" in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, LXIII (1909), 457-72; (Pseudo-) Majrili, *Ghayah*, ed. H. Ritter (Leipzig & Berlin, 1933), p. 193; Carra de Vaux, in P. Tannery, *Memoires scientifiques* (Toulouse & Paris, 1920), IV, 302 f. The title of the work mentioned by Ibn Khaldun appears in slightly different forms.

(authors). Later on, Jabir b. Hayyan,⁷⁴⁹ the chief sorcerer of Islam, appeared in the East. He scrutinized the scholarly books and discovered the Art (the craft of sorcery and alchemy). He studied its essence and brought it out. He wrote a number of works on (sorcery). He lengthily discussed both sorcery and the craft of alchemy which goes together with sorcery, because the transformation of specific bodies (substances) from one form into another is effected by psychic powers, and not by a practical technique. Thus it is a sort of sorcery, as we shall mention in the proper place.⁷⁵⁰

Then, Maslamah b. Ahmad al-Majriti,⁷⁵¹ the leading Spanish scholar in the mathematical (scientific) and magical sciences, made his appearance. He abridged all these books and corrected them and collected all their different approaches in his *Ghayat al-hakim*. Nobody has written on this science since.

Let us present here some prefatory remarks that will explain the real meaning of sorcery. It is as follows. Human souls are one in species. However, they differ in view of their particular qualities.⁷⁵² They are of different kinds. Each kind is distinguished by a particular quality which does not exist in any other kind (of soul). These qualities come to constitute a natural disposition belonging (exclusively) to its particular kind (of soul).

The souls of the prophets have a particular quality through which they are prepared⁷⁵³ to have divine knowledge, to be addressed by the angels

⁷⁴⁹The legendary founder of Muslim alchemy. Cf. GAL, I, 244 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 426 ff.; P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*. Cf. also pp. 228 and 269, below.

⁷⁵⁰Cf, p. 245, below.

⁷⁵¹Cf. L1:212, above.

⁷⁵² Cf also pp. 393 f., below. For the basic theme, that the soul is one in species, different in powers, cf., for instance, Ibn Sini, *Kitdb an-Najdh* (Rome, 1593), p. 53.

⁷⁵³The Paris ed. adds: "to exchange human spirituality with angelic spirituality and to become an angel in the very moment the exchange takes place. This is the meaning of revelation, as has been mentioned in the proper place [1:199, above]. In this condition, the (prophetic souls) attain divine knowledge, are addressed ..." This addition is not found in Bulaq nor in the MSS. A, B, C, or D.

in the name of God, as has been mentioned before,⁷⁵⁴ and to exercise the influence upon created beings that goes with all that.

The souls of certain sorcerers also have the quality (of being able) to exercise influence upon created beings and to attract the spirituality of the stars, so that they can use it for being active (among created beings) and be able to exercise an influence through either a psychic or a Satanic power. Now, the prophets are able to exercise their influence with the help of God and by means of a divine quality. The souls of soothsayers, on the other hand, have a quality enabling them to observe supernatural things by means of Satanic powers. Thus, every kind (of soul) is distinguished by (its) particular quality, which does not exist in any other kind.

The souls that have magical ability are of three degrees. These three degrees will now be explained here.

The first (kind) exercises its influence merely through mental power, without any instrument or aid. This is what the philosophers call sorcery.

The second (kind) exercises its influence with the aid of the temper of the spheres and the elements, or with the aid of the properties of numbers. This is called talismans. It is weaker in degree than the first (kind).

The third (kind) exercises its influence upon the powers of imagination. The person who exercises this kind of influence relies upon the powers of imagination. He is somehow active in them. He plants among them different sorts of phantasms, images, and pictures, whichever he intends to use. Then, he brings them down to the level of the sensual perception of the observers with the help of the power of his soul that exercises an influence over that (sensual perception). As a result, the (phantasms, etc.) appear to the observers to exist in the external world, while, in fact, there is nothing (of the sort). For instance, a person is said to have seen gardens, rivers, and castles, while, in fact, there was nothing of the sort. This is what the philosophers call "prestidigitation" (*sha'wadhah* or *sha'badhah*).

⁷⁵⁴Cf. 1:184 ff and 199, above. 158

Those are the different degrees of (sorcery).

Now, the sorcerer possesses his particular quality in potentiality, as is the case with all human powers. It is transformed (from potentiality) into actuality by exercise. All magical exercise consists of directing oneself to the spheres, the stars, the higher worlds, or to the devils by means of various kinds of veneration and worship and submissiveness and humiliation. Thus, magical exercise is devotion and adoration directed to (beings) other than God. Such devotion is unbelief. Therefore, sorcery is unbelief, or unbelief forms part of the substance and motives of sorcery, as has been seen. Consequently, (sorcerers must be killed). Jurists differ (only) as to whether they must be killed because of the unbelief which is antecedent to the practice (of sorcery), or because of their corrupting activity and the resulting corruption of created beings. All this comes from (sorcerers and sorcery).

Furthermore, since the first two degrees of sorcery are real and the third and last degree is not real, scholars differ as to whether sorcery is real or merely imaginary. Those who say that it is real have the first two degrees in mind. Those who say that it is not real have the third and last degree in mind. There is no difference of opinion among them about the matter itself, but (the difference of opinion) results from confusing the different degrees (of sorcery).

And God knows better.

It should be known that no intelligent person doubts the existence of sorcery, because of the influence mentioned, which sorcery exercises. The Qur'an refers to it. It says, "... but the devils were unbelievers, teaching the people sorcery and that which had been revealed in Babel to the two angels, Harut and Marut. Those two always said before they taught anyone, 'We are a temptation. Do not be an unbeliever.' People learned from them how to

⁷⁵⁵Qur'an 2.102 (96). For the dogma of the reality of sorcery in Islam and medieval Christianity, cf. E. Doutti, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1908), pp. 336 ff.

cause discord between a man and his wife. (However,) they were not able to harm anyone except with God's permission."⁷⁵⁵

The Messenger of God, according to (the sound tradition of) the *Sahih*,⁷⁵⁶ was put under a magic spell, so that he imagined that he was doing a thing while, in fact, he was not doing it. The spell against him was placed in a comb, in flakes of wool, and in the spathe of a palm, and buried in the well of Dharwan⁷⁵⁷ Therefore, God revealed to him the following verses in the *Mu'awwidhatan*: "And (I take refuge in God) from the evil of the women who blow into knots."⁷⁵⁸ 'A'ishah said, "As soon as he recited the Qur'an over one of those knots into which a spell against him had been placed, that particular knot became untied."⁷⁵⁹

There was much sorcery among the inhabitants of Babel, that is, the Nabataean and Syrian Chaldeans. The Qur'an mentions much of it, and there are traditions about it. Sorcery was greatly cultivated in Babel and in Egypt at the time of Moses' prophetic mission. Therefore, the miracle Moses performed (as a proof of his prophecy) was of the kind claimed and bragged about (by sorcerers). The temples in Upper Egypt are remnants (of sorcery) attesting to the (cultivation of sorcery in ancient Egypt).⁷⁶⁰

We have seen with our own eyes (how a sorcerer) formed the picture of a person who was to be cast under a spell. He represented in it the characteristics of things he intended and planned (to make) that person adopt, as already existing in him in the shape of symbols of names and attributes in

⁷⁵⁶ The reference to the *Sabi* iis added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

⁷⁵⁷ The well of Dharwan was located in Medina. References to the tradition of the spell cast over Mubammad are found in *Handbook*, p. 161 b. Cf. also the commentaries on the *Mu'awwidhatan*, the last two surahs of the Qur'an.

⁷⁵⁸ Qur'an 113.4 (4). The verb translated as "blow" could also mean "spit." Cf p. 168, below.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. p. 168, below.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. p. 113, above.

homonym fashion[?].⁷⁶¹ Then he spoke (magic words) over the picture he had made to take the place of the person who was to be cast under a spell, concretely or symbolically⁷⁶² During the repeated pronunciation of the evil words, he collected spittle in his mouth and spat upon (the picture). Then he tied a knot over the symbol in an object that he had prepared for the purpose,⁷⁶³ since he considered tying knots and (making things) stick together to be auspicious (and effective in magical operations). He also entered into a pact with the jinn, asking them to participate in his spitting during the operation, intending to make the spell forceful. This (human) figure and the evil names have a harmful spirit. It issues from (the sorcerer) with his breath and attaches to the spittle he spits out. It produces (more) evil spirits. As a result, the things that the sorcerer intends (to happen to) the person who is cast under a spell, actually befall him.

We have also observed how people who practice sorcery point at a garment or a piece of leather and inwardly speak (magic words) over it, and behold! the object is torn to shreds. Others point in the same way at the bellies of sheep and goats at pasture with (a) ripping (gesture), and behold! the guts of the animals fall out of their bellies to the ground.⁷⁶⁴

We have also heard that in contemporary India, there still are (sorcerers) who point at a man, and his heart is extracted⁷⁶⁵ and he falls dead. When someone looks for his heart, he cannot find it among his inner parts. Or, they point to a pomegranate. When someone opens it, no seeds are found in it.

⁷⁶¹ It seems that Ibn Khaldun used *ta'lif* and *tafriq* here in the sense of the terms *mu'talif* and *muftariq* of the science of tradition. Cf. 2:451 (n. 116), above. He may have wanted to say that the similarity between the real person and the picture of him made by the sorcerer was like that of homonyms.

⁷⁶² That is, either an actual picture of him or a symbolic representation.

⁷⁶³ That is, he places the spell into some object (cf. the just-mentioned story of the spell cast over Mubammad) and thus makes a magical "knot."

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. p. 164, below.

⁷⁶⁵ *Fa yantajithu*.

We have likewise heard that in the Sudan and in the land of the Turks, there are (sorcerers) who cast a spell on a cloud, and rain falls upon a particular area⁷⁶⁶

Also, we have observed remarkable things as to the efficacy of talismans that make use of "the loving numbers" 220 and 284. The sum of the aliquot parts of each of the loving numbers, such as one-half, one-fourth, one-sixth, one fifth, and so on, is equal to the other number.⁷⁶⁷ This is why the two numbers are called "loving numbers." It is a tradition among the people who know about talismans that these numbers may effect friendship and union between two lovers. Two effigies are made, one of them with Venus as the ascendant, when, either in her house or in her exaltation,⁷⁶⁸ she looks at the moon lovingly and invitingly. As the ascendant of the other effigy, the seventh (house counting) from (that of) the first is taken. One of the loving numbers is placed upon the one effigy, and the other upon the other. The larger number is meant for the person whose friendship is sought, that is, the beloved. I do not know whether "larger number" means the higher number, or the one with the greater number of aliquot parts. The result (of the magical operation) is a close connection between the two lovers, so that the one is hardly able to break away from the other. This was reported by the author of the *Ghayah*⁷⁶⁹ and other authorities on magic, and it is attested by experience⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ Cf, p. 245, below.

⁷⁶⁷ $220:110+65+44+22+20+11+10+5+4+2+1=284.$

$284:142+71+4+2+1=220.$

For the theory of "loving numbers" among the Arabs, cf. M. Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XXIV (1870), 967-69; S. Gandz in *Saadia Anniversary Volume* (New York, 1943), pp. 155-58. For a modern treatment of the problem, cf. E. B. Escott, "Amicable Numbers," *Scripta Mathematica*, XII (1946), 61-72.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. 2:213, above.

⁷⁶⁹ (Pseudo-)Majriti speaks of "loving numbers" in the *Ghayah*, p. 278. A less complicated procedure was to eat cakes on which the loving numbers were inscribed; cf. T. Canaan in *Berytus*, IV (1937), 93. Cf. also Tashkopruzadeh, *Miftah as-sa'adah*(Hyderabad, 1329-56/1911-37), I, 332.

Then, there is "the lion seal,"⁷⁷¹ which is also called "the pebble seal."⁷⁷² On a steel thimble,⁷⁷³ the sorcerer engraves the picture of a lion dragging its tail and biting on pebbles which it thus divides into two parts. A snake is represented in front of the lion. It is coiled at the lion's feet stretching upwards opposite the lion's head, so that its open mouth faces the lion's mouth. Upon the lion's back, a crawling scorpion is represented. In order to make the engraving, (the sorcerer) waits for a time when the sun enters the first or third decan⁷⁷⁴ of Leo, provided (further) that the two luminaries (the sun and the moon) are well and out of their misfortune. When he finds and gets this (constellation), he makes an impression (of the engraving) upon a *mithqal* or less of gold, which he then dips into saffron dissolved in rose water and preserves⁷⁷⁵ in a yellow silk rag. (People) assume⁷⁷⁶ that the person who holds on to it has an indescribable power over rulers and is able to have close contact with them, to serve them, and to use them for his own ends. Likewise, the rulers themselves find in it strength and power over their subjects. This, too, was mentioned by authors on magic in the *Ghayah*⁷⁷⁶ and other works, and it is attested by experience.

Then, there is the magic square of thirty-six fields that belongs to the sun.⁷⁷⁷ It has been said that it should be made when the sun enters its exaltation and is out of its misfortune, and when the moon is well and under

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. Bombaci, p. 459.

⁷⁷¹ Cf. W. Ahrens in *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 215. Strangely enough, B and D (but not A or C) read *tali'* "ascendant (of Leo)," instead of *taba'*.

⁷⁷² Cf n. 776.

⁷⁷³ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 164 f.

⁷⁷⁴ Each sign of the zodiac is divided into three "faces" (*wajh*), Greek *prosopon*, Latin *facies*, of ten degrees each. Cf. (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghdyah*, pp. 126 ff. Cf. also p. 199, below, and A. Bouche-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), pp. 215 ff.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 f. Cf. German *aufheben* "to lift, to abolish, to preserve."

⁷⁷⁶ The *Ghayah*, pp. 35 f., mentions a simpler but rather similar talisman to be used against stones in the bladder, in Arabic designated by the same word as "pebbles."

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. W. Ahrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 f., who states that this square is rather a combination of four nine-field squares.

a royal ascendant in which the master of the tenth (house) is considered to look upon the master of the ascendant; lovingly and invitingly and in which exalted indications concerning royal nativities prosper. It is preserved in a yellow silk rag, after having been dipped in perfume. (People) think that it influences one's friendship with rulers and one's (opportunity) to serve them and to be admitted into their company.

There are many similar things. The *Kitab al-Ghayah* by Maslamah b. Ahmad al-Majriti is the systematic treatment of this craft. It has it complete and presents its problems perfectly.

We have been told that the imam Fakhr-ad-din b. al-Khatib wrote a book on the subject which he entitled *as-Sirr al-maktum*. It is said to be in common use among the people in the East. We have not come across it. The imam (Fakhr ad-din) is not considered an authority on magic, though the contrary might be the case (and he might have been an authority on magic)⁷⁷⁸

In the Maghrib, there is a type of magical practitioners who are known as "rippers" (*ba"aj*). They are the people to whom I referred above.⁷⁷⁹ They point at a garment or a piece of leather, and it is torn to shreds. Or they point at the bellies of sheep and goats (with a) ripping (gesture), and they are ripped open. Such (sorcerers) nowadays are called "rippers," (in the Maghrib,) because most of their magical practice concerns ripping animals open. In that way, they frighten the owners of animals into giving them some (animal) they can spare. They keep their activities very much under cover,⁷⁸⁰ because they are afraid of the authorities. I have met a number of them and witnessed their kind of magical practice. They informed me that they

⁷⁷⁸Many MSS of the work are preserved; cf. GAL, I, 507; *Suppl.*, I, 923 f.; GAL (2d ed.), 1, 669. Any doubt as to its authenticity was removed by H. Ritter, who found a reference to the *Sirr* in one of the works of Fakhrad-din ar-Razi himself. See *Der Islam*, XXIV (1937), 285 (n. 2). The work as such speaks rather for, than against, the great philosopher's authorship.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. p. 161, above.

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. Bombaci, p. 459.

practice devotions and exercises. (Their devotions and exercises) consist, in particular, of heretical prayers and of association with the spiritualities of jinn and stars. These things are written down on a sheet (of paper) they possess, and called *al-Khinziriyah*.⁷⁸¹ They study it together. With the help of such exercises and devotions, they succeed in performing their magical actions. The influence they are able to exercise affects only objects other than free men. It affects, for instance, utensils, animals, and slaves. They express the (idea) by the words,⁷⁸² "things into which there goes money,"⁷⁸³ that is, all the things that are owned, sold, and bought. This is what they think. I questioned one of them, and he told me (what I have mentioned here). Their magical actions are plain fact. We have come across very much of it. We have observed them with our own eyes and have no doubt about it.

This is the situation with regard to sorcery and talismans and their influence in the world.

The philosophers made a distinction between sorcery and talismans. First, however, they affirmed that both (derive their effectiveness) from influences of the human soul. They deduced the existence of an influence of the human soul from the fact that the soul exercises an influence upon its own body that cannot be explained by the natural course of affairs or from corporeal reasons. At times, it results from the qualities of the spirits-such as heat, which originates from pleasure and joy - and at other times, it results from other psychic perceptions⁷⁸⁴ such as the things that result from imagination (*tawahhum*). Thus, a person who walks upon the ledge of a wall or

⁷⁸¹ The correctness of the reading seems to be certain. The meaning and derivation are uncertain. The word may refer to *khinzir* "pig, boar." *Khinziriyah* "piggishness" occurs, for instance, in ar-Raghib al-Isfahani, *Muhddardt*(Cairo, 1287/1870), I, 431. However, it may be derived from a proper name, such as that of the Ibn Abi Khinzir family, which provided governors for Sicily in the tenth century.

⁷⁸² Bulaq: "express that fact as follows: We act only upon ..."

⁷⁸³ "That have monetary value."

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. Bombaci, p. 459.

upon a high tightrope⁷⁸⁵ will certainly fall down if the idea of falling down is strongly present in his imagination. Therefore, there are many people who train themselves to get used to such things, so that they are not troubled by their imagination. They can walk upon the ledge of a wall or a high tightrope without fear of falling down. It is thus definite that we have here the result of an influence of the human soul and of the soul's imagining of the idea of falling down. If the soul can thus influence its own body without any natural corporeal causes, it is also possible that it can exercise a similar influence upon bodies other than its own. Its position with regard to its ability to exercise this type of influence is the same with regard to all bodies, since it is neither inherent nor firmly impressed in a (particular) body. Therefore, it is definite that the soul is able to exercise an influence upon other bodies.

Now, the distinction the (philosophers) make between sorcery and talismans is this. In sorcery, the sorcerer does not need any aid, while those who work with talismans seek the aid of the spiritualities of the stars, the secrets of numbers, the particular qualities of existing things, and the positions of the sphere that exercise an influence upon the world of the elements, as the astrologers maintain. The (philosophers, therefore,) say that sorcery is a union of spirit with spirit, while the talisman is a union of spirit with body (substance)⁷⁸⁶ As they understand it, that means that the high celestial natures are tied together with the low (terrestrial) natures, the high natures being the spiritualities of the stars. Those who work with (talismans), therefore, as a rule, seek the aid of astrology.

⁷⁸⁵ C, at least, clearly indicates the reading *habi* "rope," and not *jabot* "mountain." Ropedancers would certainly be a much more familiar picture in the medieval Muslim world than mountain climbers.

This example of the effects of imagination occurs in Avicenna and Averroes and in later Western literature, as shown by S. van den Bergh, "Pascal, Montaigne, et Avicenne," in *Millenaire d'Avicenne: Congres de Bagdad* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 36-38; and *idem*, *Averroes' Tahafut al-Tahafut* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. No. 19) (Oxford & London, 1954), 11, 174 f.

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. p. 175, below.

(The philosophers) think that a sorcerer does not acquire his magical ability but has, by nature, the particular disposition needed for exercising that type of influence.

They think that the difference between miracles and sorcery is this. A miracle is a divine power that arouses in the soul (the ability) to exercise influence. The (worker of miracles) is supported in his activity by the spirit of God. The sorcerer, on the other hand, does his work by himself and with the help of his own psychic power, and, under certain conditions, with the support of devils. The difference between the two actually concerns the idea, reality, and essence of the matter. We, however, (prefer to) deduce the differentiation merely from obvious signs. That is, miracles are found (to be wrought) by good persons for good purposes and by souls that are entirely devoted to good deeds. Moreover, (they include) the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*)⁷⁸⁷ of the claim to prophecy. Sorcery, on the other hand, is found (practiced) only by evil persons and as a rule is used for evil actions,⁷⁸⁸ such as causing discord between husband and wife, doing harm to enemies, and similar things. And it is found (practiced) by souls that are entirely devoted to evil deeds. This is the difference between (prophecy and sorcery) in the opinion of metaphysicians.

Among the Sufis some who are favored by acts of divine grace are also able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions. This, however, is not counted as a kind of sorcery. It is effected with divine support, because the attitude and approach (of these men) result from prophecy and are a consequence of it. They enjoy divine support, as befits their state and faith and belief in the cause of God. Were someone among them capable of doing evil deeds, he would not do them, because he is bound by the divine command in whatever he may do or not do. Whatever he is not permitted to do, he

⁷⁸⁷Cf. 1:188, and p. 100, above.

⁷⁸⁸Cf. 1:191, above.

would certainly not do. Were he to, he would deviate from the path of truth and would in all likelihood lose his "state."

Miracles take place with the support of the spirit of God and the divine powers. Therefore, no piece of sorcery can match them. One may compare the affair of the sorcerers of Pharaoh with Moses and the miracle of the staff. Moses' staff devoured the phantoms the sorcerers produced, and their sorcery completely disappeared as if it had never been.⁷⁸⁹

Also, the following verse was revealed to the Prophet in the *Mu'awwidhatan*: "And (I take refuge in God) from the evil of the women who blow into knots." In this connection, 'A'ishah said: "As soon as he recited the Qur'an over one of the knots into which a spell against him had been placed, that particular knot became untied."⁷⁹⁰ Sorcery cannot last whenever the name of God is mentioned in a believing state of mind.⁷⁹¹

The historians report that the Darafsh-i-Kaviyan⁷⁹² - that is, the banner of the Persian emperor - had a magic square of a hundred fields⁷⁹³ woven into it in gold. (That had been done) when there were certain astronomical positions that had been (especially) observed for the purpose of writing down

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Qur'an 7.117 (114); 26.45 (44). Cf also p. 245, below.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. p. 160, above.

⁷⁹¹ "In a believing state of mind" is an addition of C and D. C has the words in the margin.

⁷⁹² Cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (2d ed.; Copenhagen, 1944), pp. 502-4. The words mean "royal banner," but legend referred the word *kavyan* to a mythical smith, Kavagh by name, who tied his leather apron to a lance and led the revolt against the tyrant Dahagh. The Arabic descriptions of the actual banner used at the end of the Sassanian empire, cited by Christensen, mentioned its great value but are not very clear or trustworthy. Ibn Khaldun's description would certainly seem to reflect a fictional motif.

As the MSS show, Ibn Khaldun read *Dargash Kabiyan*.

⁷⁹³ Apparently this is what is meant. Cf. E. Wiedemann in *Der Islam*, VIII (1918), 96 f., against W. Ahrens, *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 217. G. Bergstrasser refers to two such squares from al-Khalwati, *an-Nur as-sati'*; cf. *Der Islam*, XIII (1923), 231. Cf. also al-Buni, in a work (or excerpt from a larger work, the *Shams al-ma'arif*) which in two recent Cairo reprints, one undated, the other dated 1368/1939, goes under such titles as *Sharh ism Allah al-a'zam* and *al-Lu'lu' al-manzum fi t-talasim wa-n-nujum*, p. 74.

the magic square. The banner was found on the day Rustum was killed at al-Qadisiyah. It was lying on the ground after the flight and dispersal of the Persians. The people who work with talismans and magic squares think that such (a magic square) means victory in war and that a banner containing it or accompanied by it could never be routed. However, (the spell) was counteracted by divine support, which resulted from the faith of the men around the Prophet and their belief in the cause of God. Through the presence of (faith), any magic spell was dissolved and did not last (this time, as it will always happen whenever faith is involved), "and what they did came to naught."⁷⁹⁴

The religious law makes no distinction between sorcery, talismans, and prestidigitation. It puts them all into the same class of forbidden things. The Lawgiver (Muhammad) permitted us only those actions that are of relevance to us in our religion, which concerns the well-being of our life in the other world, and in our livelihood, which concerns the wellbeing of our life in this world. Things that are of no relevance in these two respects and that may cause harm or some kind of harm, are forbidden, (and the strictness of the prohibition is) in proportion to the harm they might do. Among such (irrelevant and harmful) things are sorcery, which causes harm when it is practiced. Talismans belong together with it, because the effect of sorcery and talismans is the same. There is also astrology, which causes a certain harm in that the belief in astral influences, referring as it does to (beings) other than God, corrupts the Muslim faith.

As to things that are of no relevance to us but cause no harm, nothing is easier than not to do them, in order to be close to God,⁷⁹⁵ for "a good Muslim does not do what does not concern him."⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁴ Qur'an 7.118 (115).

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. Bombaci, p. 469.

⁷⁹⁶ This is the famous, constantly quoted *hadith* (cf. *Concordance*, I, 271 b) that Abu Dawitd, the author of one of the canonical *hadith* collections, considered one of four traditions containing all the knowled a of traditions anyone needed. The other three are: "Actions (are judged by intentions"; "a believer is a believer only when he wants for his brother the same things he wants for himself"; and

Thus, the religious law puts sorcery, talismans, and prestidigitation into one and the same class, because they may cause harm. It brands them as forbidden and illegal.

The speculative theologians said that the difference between miracles and sorcery lies in the "advance challenge" (*tahaddi*),⁷⁹⁷ that is, the claim that a (miracle) will occur just as it has been claimed (in advance that it would happen). It is not possible, they said, that a miracle could happen in agreement with the claim of a liar. Logic requires that a miracle indicate truthfulness. By definition, a miracle is something that can be verified. If it were performed with lying (intentions), it (could not be verified and thus) truth would have changed into falsehood, and that is absurd. Therefore, miracles never occur together with lying (intentions).⁷⁹⁸

As we have mentioned,⁷⁹⁹ the philosophers assume that the difference between miracles and sorcery is the difference between the two extremes of good and evil. Nothing good issues from a sorcerer, and (sorcery) is not employed in good causes. Nothing evil issues from a worker of miracles, and (miracles) are not employed in evil causes. (Miracles and sorcery) are in a way contradictory by their very natures, as are good and evil.

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."⁸⁰⁰

The evil eye

Another psychic influence is that of the eye - that is, an influence exercised by the soul of the person who has the evil eye.⁸⁰¹ A thing or situation appears pleasing to the eye of a person, and he likes it very much. This

"it is clear what is permitted, and it is clear what is forbidden. In between are ambiguous matters." Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdidi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IX, 57. Cf. pp. 251 and 299, below.

⁷⁹⁷ Cf. I:188, and pp. 100 and 167, above.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. p. 100, above.

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. p. 167, above.

⁸⁰⁰ Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. E. Doutte, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 318.

(circumstance) creates in him envy and the desire to take it away from its owner. Therefore, he prefers to destroy him.

It is a natural gift - I mean, the eye. The difference between it and the (other)⁸⁰² psychic influences is that it appears (and acts) as something natural and innate. It cannot be left alone. It does not depend on the free choice of its possessor. It is not acquired by him. Some of the other (psychic) influences may (also) not be acquired ones, but their appearance (in action) depends on the free choice of the person who exercises them. The thing that characterizes them as natural is their (possessors') potential ability to exercise them, not their (automatic) action.⁸⁰³ Therefore it has been said: "A person who kills by means of sorcery or a miraculous act must be killed, but the person who kills with the eye must not be killed." The only reason for the (distinction) is that the (person who kills with the eye) did not want or intend to do so, nor could he have avoided doing so. The application (of the eye) was involuntary on his part.⁸⁰⁴

And God knows better.

VI.28. The science of the secrets of letters.

[p.3:171]

At the present time, this science is called *simiya'* "letter magic."⁸⁰⁵ The word was transferred from talismans to this science and used in this conventional meaning in the technical terminology of Sufi practitioners of magic. Thus, a general (magical) term came to be used for some particular aspect (of magic).

This science originated in Islam after some time⁸⁰⁶ of (its existence) had passed. When the extremist Sufis appeared, they turned to the removal

⁸⁰² The following three lines are not in Bulaq.

⁸⁰³ Cf. Bombaci, p. 460.

⁸⁰⁴ Doutte, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 f., refers to different school opinions regarding the evil eye.

⁸⁰⁵ From Greek ονηεία.

⁸⁰⁶ For *sadr*, cf. 1:373, and p. 53 (n. 361), above.

of the veil of sense perception, produced wonders, and were active in the world of the elements. At that time, they wrote systematic works on (Sufism) and (Sufi) terminology. They believed in the gradual descent of existence from the One. They believed that verbal perfection consists in helping the spirits of the spheres and the stars (through words). The natures and secrets of the letters are alive in the words, while the words, in turn, are correspondingly alive in the created things. The created things have been moving in the different stages of (creation) and telling its secrets since the first creation. These (Sufi beliefs) caused the science of the secrets of the letters to originate. It is a subdivision of the science of *simiya'* "letter magic." It is an unfathomable subject with innumerable problems. Al-Buni,⁸⁰⁷ Ibn al-'Arabi, and others in their wake wrote numerous works on it. These authors assume that the result and fruit of letter magic is that the divine souls are active in the world of nature by means of the beautiful names of God and the divine expressions that originate from the letters comprising the secrets that are alive in the created things.

The authorities on letter magic then differed as to the secret of the (magic) activity lying in the letters. Some of them assumed that it was due to inherent temper. They divided the letters into four groups corresponding to the elements. Each nature (element) had its own group of letters. Through this group (of letters), it can be active actively and passively. A technical procedure, which the (authorities on letter magic) call "breaking down" (*tak-sir*),⁸⁰⁸ classifies the letters as the elements are classified, as fiery, airy, wa-

⁸⁰⁷ Ahmad b. 'Ali. Cf. GAL, I, 497 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 910 f. For the date of death indicated in GAL, 622 [1225], there seems to be no better authority than Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf az-zunun*, IV, 75. The printed edition of al-Buni's *Shams al-ma'arif* (Cairo, 1921/1903), apparently a reproduction of the edition of 1291/1874, seems to refer to later dates such as 670 (I, 42), and to Ibn Sab'in, d. 669 (I, 51). The mystical pedigree of al-Buni (IV, 103) would also suggest a late seventh [thirteenth] century date for him. However, there is a MS of one of his works in Berlin, No. 4126, dated 669. Thus, he probably lived *ca.* A.D. 1200. The apparent lack of influence on al-Buni by Ibn 'Arabi would not, however, rule out his flourishing at a later period.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. pp. 183 and 225, below.

tery, and earthy. The *alif* is fiery, *b* airy, *j* watery, and *d* earthy. Then, it starts again with the next letter, and so on, through the whole alphabet and the sequence of the elements. Thus, seven letters are fiery, namely, *alif*, *h*, *t*, *m*, *f*, *s*, and *dh*. Seven are airy, namely, *b*, *w*, *y*, *n*, *d*, *t*, and *x*. Seven are watery, namely, *j*, *x*, *k*, *s*, *q*, *th*, and *gh*. And seven are earthy, namely, *d*, *h*, *l*, *'ayn*, *r*, *kh*, and *sh*.⁸⁰⁹

The fiery letters serve to repel cold diseases and to increase the power of heat wherever desired, either in the sensual (physical) or in the astrological (sense). Thus, for instance, (one may want to) increase the power of Mars for warfare, the killing (of enemies), and aggressiveness.

In the same way, the watery letters serve to repel hot diseases, such as fevers and others, and to increase the cold powers, wherever desired, either in the sensual (physical) sense or in the astrological (sense). Thus, for instance, (one may want to) increase the power of the moon, and so on.

⁸⁰⁹ The order of the alphabet is according to the numerical values of the letters as employed in the West, which is:

<i>alif</i>	1	<i>y</i>	10	<i>q</i>	100
<i>b</i>	2	<i>k</i>	20	<i>r</i>	200
<i>j</i>	3	<i>l</i>	30	<i>s</i>	300
<i>d</i>	4	<i>m</i>	40	<i>t</i>	400
<i>h</i>	5	<i>n</i>	50	<i>th</i>	500
<i>w</i>	6	<i>s</i>	60	<i>kh</i>	600
<i>z</i>	7	<i>'ayn</i>	70	<i>dh</i>	700
<i>h</i>	8	<i>f</i>	80	<i>z</i>	800
<i>t</i>	9	<i>d</i>	90	<i>gh</i>	900
				<i>sh</i>	1000

In the East, 60 is *s*; 90 is *f*; 300 *sh*; 800 *d*; 900 *x*; and 1000 *gh*. Cf. also 1:236, 2:190, 194, above, and p. 220, below, as well as P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 223 ff.

Other (authorities on letter magic) assumed that the secret of the (magic) activity that lies in the letters was their numerical proportion. The letters of the alphabet indicate numerical values which by convention and nature are generally accepted to be (inherent in) them. Thus, there exists a relationship between the letters themselves as a result of the relationship of their numerical values. For instance, there is a relationship between *b*, *k*, and *r*; because all three of them indicate two in its different positions. (The letter) *b* indicates two in the units, *k* indicates two in the tens (20), and *r* indicates two in the hundreds (200). Or, there is a special relationship between the letters mentioned and *d*, *m*, and *t*. The (latter group of letters) indicates four, and the proportion of four to two is that of two to one. Then, there are magic squares for words as there are for numbers. Each group of letters has its particular kind of magic square which fits it in view either of the numerical value of the figure⁸¹⁰ or of the numerical value of the letters. (Magic) activity based on letter magic thus merges with that based on number magic, because there exists a relationship between letters and numbers.

The real significance of the relationship existing between letters and natural humors and between letters and numbers is difficult to understand. It is not a matter of science or reasoning. According to the (authorities on letter magic), it is based on mystical experience and the removal (of the veil). Al-Buni said, "One should not think that one can get at the secret of the letters with the help of logical reasoning. One gets to it with the help of vision and divine aid."

The fact that it is possible to be active in the world of nature with the help of the letters and the words composed of them, and that the created

⁸¹⁰ Possibly Ibn Khaldun is thinking of squares designed so that the total of the numbers in the whole figure represents the numerical value of some word such as Allah; cf. below, p. 177 (n. 816). Or, perhaps the word '*adad*' in '*adad ash-shakl*' is superfluous and a mistake, and *shakl* "figure" refers to entire words as they were used in constructing magic squares.

things can be influenced in this way, cannot be denied. It is confirmed by continuous tradition on the authority of many (practitioners of letter magic).

It has been thought that this activity and the activity of people who work with talismans are one and the same thing. This is not so. The people who work with talismans have made it clear that the influence of a talisman actually comes from spiritual powers derived from the substance of force. These powers exercise a powerful and forceful activity upon the things for which the (talisman) is composed, with the help of spherical secrets, numerical proportions, and vapors that attract the spirituality of the talisman and are mentally enclosed in it. The result is that the high natures come to be tied to the low ones. Talismans, they think, are like a ferment composed of and including earthy, airy, watery, and fiery (elements). Such ferment is instrumental in transforming and changing anything into which it might get, into its own essence and in turning it into its own form. The elixir⁸¹¹ for metals, likewise, is a ferment that by transformation turns the mineral in which it is alive into itself. Therefore, it has been said that the subject of alchemy is body (substance) in body (substance), because all parts of an elixir are corporeal (substances). The subject of talismans, on the other hand, is spirit in body (substance),⁸¹² because talismans tie the high natures to the low natures. The low natures are bodies (substances), while the high natures are spiritualities.⁸¹³

One should realize that all (magic) activity in the world of nature comes from the human soul and the human mind, because the human soul essentially encompasses and governs nature. Consequently, the real difference between the activity of people who work with talismans and people who work with words is as follows. The activity of people who work with talismans consists in bringing down the spirituality of the spheres and tying it

⁸¹¹ Cf. pp. 268 f., below.

⁸¹² Cf. p. 166, above, and (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghayah*, p. 39.

⁸¹³ For this paragraph, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 7 f.

down with the help of pictures or numerical proportions. The result is a kind of composition that, through its nature, effects a transformation and change comparable to those effected by a ferment in the thing into which it gets. The activity of people who work with words, on the other hand, is the effect of the divine light and the support of the Lord which they obtain through exertion and the removal (of the veil). Thus, nature is forced to work (for them) and does so willingly with no attempt at disobedience. Their activity needs no support from the spherical powers or anything else, because the support it has is of a higher order than (all that).

People who work with talismans, therefore, need (only) a little exercise to give the soul the power to bring down the spirituality of the spheres. Devotions and exercises certainly play a very insignificant role in it. The opposite is the case with people who work with words. Their exercise is the most extensive that can be. It is not for the purpose of being active in the existing things, since that is a veil (standing between them and their real task). Such activity comes to them accidentally, as an act of divine grace.⁸¹⁴ A person who works with words may have no knowledge of the secrets of God and the realities of divinity, which is the result of vision and the removal (of the veil). He may restrict himself to the various relationships between words and the natures of letters and expressions, and he may become (magically) active with them in this capacity, and that is what people who practice letter magic are commonly supposed to do. But then, there is no difference between such a person and the people who work with talismans. In fact, a person who works with talismans is more reliable than he, because he has recourse to scientific natural principles and orderly norms. A person who works with the secrets of words but is not sincere in his devotion⁸¹⁵ and (in addition) has no technical norms of evidence on which he may rely and, therefore, lacks the removal (of the veil) that would show him the realities of

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Bombaci, p. 460.

⁸¹⁵ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 460 f.

expressions and the influence of relationships, is in a weaker position (than a person who works with talismans).

The person who works with words may mingle the powers of expressions and words with the powers of the stars. He may then set certain times for mentioning the beautiful names of God or the magic squares composed of them or, indeed, any word.⁸¹⁶ These times must be under the propitious influence of the star⁸¹⁷ that is related to a particular word. That was done, for instance, by al-Buni in his book entitled *al-Anmat*.⁸¹⁸ The relationship (between star and magic word) is assumed to come from the nubilous (*amaiyah*) presence,⁸¹⁹ which is the purgatory station (*barzakhiyah*) of verbal perfection and which particularizes itself in the realities in accordance with the relationship they have (to the magic words [?]). They think that those expressions⁸²⁰ depend on vision to be established. If a person who works with words lacks vision but knows about that relationship through tradition, his actions correspond to those of the person who works with talismans. Indeed, as we have stated, the (latter) is more reliable than he.

In the same way, the person who works with talismans may mingle his actions and the powers of the stars which govern them, with the powers of prayers composed of special expressions indicating a relationship between those expressions and the stars. In his case, however, the relationship of expressions is not, as in the case of people who work with words, the result of

⁸¹⁶ Such magic squares, for instance, as the *baduh* type, where letters take the place of numerals; cf. T. Canaan in *Berytus*, IV (1937), 100 H: Or, the *Allah* type, in which the squares may be filled with numerals equivalent in their total to the numerical value of the letters of the word Allah (sixty-six). Cf. Canaan, *op. cit.*, p. 79:

There is also a type of magic square consisting of phrases so arranged; cf., for instance, al-Buni, *Lum'ah*(Cairo, n.d.), where Qur'an 2.37 (35) is thus distributed:

⁸¹⁷ *Al-kawkab*, as in C.

⁸¹⁸ GAL, I, 497 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 910, knows no such title, but it may be noted that the *Shams al-ma'arif* has ten chapters (xxi-xxx) dealing with the beautiful names of God, arranged in *anmat*.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. p. 88, above.

⁸²⁰ Bulaq has "that relationship."

direct observation in a state of vision. It is merely based upon the (general) basic requirement of the magic approach, namely, that the stars share in all the substances, accidents, essences, and ideas⁸²¹ existing in the world of created things. Letters and words belong to the things that exist in it. Thus, each star has its particular share in them. On this basis (magical practitioners) construct strange and disapproved theories. Namely, they divide the *sarāhs* and verses of the Qur'an in this manner. That was what Maslamah al-Majriti, for instance, did in the *Ghayah*. It is also obvious from al-Buni's attitude in the *Anmat* that he takes this method into consideration. A critical study of *the Anmat* and of the prayers the work contains and their distribution among the hours of the seven stars, as well as a look at the *Ghayah* and a critical study of the prayers (*qiyamat*) of the stars contained in it⁸²² - "*qiyamat* of the stars" is the name they give to the prayers that belong to each individual star, that is, the prayer performed (*yuqdmu biha*) for it - will show that this (procedure) belongs to the substance of (these works on letter magic) or that the relationship that came about in the original creation and in the purgatory (*barzakh*) of knowledge made all that necessary.

"And you were given but little knowledge."⁸²³

One cannot deny the actual existence of all the sciences declared illegal by the religious law. It is definite that sorcery is true, although it is forbidden. But we are satisfied with the knowledge God taught us.

A few remarks (may help) to make things clear.⁸²⁴

Letter magic clearly is a kind of sorcery and, as such, attainable through various exercises which are legal according to the religious law. This comes

⁸²¹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 461.

⁸²² Cf. (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghayah*, pp. 195 ff., 225.

⁸²³ Qur'an 17.85 (87).

⁸²⁴ The following remarks, down through p. 182, are not found in Bulaq. A and C have them on a special inserted sheet. The handwriting on the special sheet in A is quite remarkable in that it seems similar to that used for additions to C.

about as follows. We have mentioned before⁸²⁵ that two kinds of human beings are active in the world of created beings.⁸²⁶ Prophets (are active) with the help of the divine power which God gave them by nature. Sorcerers (are active) with the help of the psychic power which is innate in them.

Saints may be active by acquiring the ability to be active through faith (*al-kalimah al-imaniyah*). It is a result of detachment (from *the sensibilia*). They do not have it intentionally. It comes to them spontaneously. If it happens to mighty saints, they avoid it and take refuge in God against it and consider it a temptation.⁸²⁷ There is, for instance, the story of Abu Yazid al-Bistami⁸²⁸ One evening, when he reached the bank of the Tigris, he was in a hurry.⁸²⁹ The two banks of the river came together (so that he would have been able to cross right over), but Abu Yazid invoked God's protection and said, "I will not sell my share in God for a farthing (*adnaq*)." So, he boarded a boat and crossed over with the ferrymen.

An innate ability for sorcery requires exercise, in order to be capable of transformation from potentiality into actuality. Some (magical ability) which is not innate may be acquired, but such (acquired magical ability) is inferior to innate (magical ability). One (would, in any case, have to) exercise to (acquire magical ability), as one does on behalf of (innate magical ability). The (procedure of) such magical exercise is well known. Its various kinds and the ways in which it is executed⁸³⁰ are mentioned by Maslamah

⁸²⁵ Cf. p. 167, above.

⁸²⁶ *Sic* C and D. The earlier texts have "nature."

⁸²⁷ Cf. P. 102, above. "And consider it a temptation" appears in C and D.

⁸²⁸ "Al-Bistami" is added in C and D. Cf. p. 102, above. The story is told in the name of Abu Yazid in Ibn al-Jawzi, *Sifat as-safwah* (Hyderabad 1855-56/1986-87), IV, 91. In as-Sarraaj, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. 22) (Leiden & London, 1914), pp. 324 f., Abu Yazid is repeatedly quoted as being against *karamat*, but the above story is told in the name of another famous Sufi, Abul-Husayn an-Nuri. For Abu Yazid's negative attitude toward *karamat*, cf. also al-Qushayri, *Risalah*, p. 164.

⁸²⁹ *Mutahaffizan?* or *munhafizan*, as in A, and apparently also in B, C, and D?

⁸³⁰ *Wa kayfiyatiha*.

al-Majriti in the *Kitab al-Ghayah* and by Jabir b. Hayyan in his *Treatises*, as well as by others. They are employed by many people who want to acquire magical ability and learn its norms and the conditions governing it.

However,⁸³¹ this magical exercise of early (practitioners) is full of matters of unbelief. For instance, it includes devotions directed to the stars and prayers to them, called *qiyamat*,⁸³² for the purpose of attracting their spirituality. It also includes the belief in influences by (beings) other than God, in that (one's) actions are tied to magical horoscopes and the mutual aspects of the stars in the signs (of the zodiac), in order to obtain the desired results.

*Many people who wished to be (magically) active in the world of existing things were arrested by this (fact). They wanted to obtain the (ability to be magically active) in a way that would have nothing to do with any involvement in unbelief and the practice of it. They turned their exercise into one that was legal according to the religious law. It consisted of *dhikr* exercises and prayers (*subihat*) from the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions. They learned which of these things were appropriate for (their particular) need from the afore-mentioned division of the world with its essences, attributes, and actions according to the influences of the seven stars. In addition, they also selected the days and hours appropriate to the distribution of (the influences of the stars). They used this kind of legal exercise as a cover, in order to avoid having anything to do with ordinary sorcery, which is unbelief or calls for unbelief. They kept to a legal (kind of) devotion because of its general and honest character. That was done, for instance, by al-Buni in his *Kitab al-Anmat* and other works of his, and by others. They called this approach "letter magic," since they were very eager to avoid the name of sorcery. In fact, (however,) they fall under the idea of sorcery, even though they have a legal (kind of) devotion. They are not at all free from the belief in influences by (beings) other than God.

⁸³¹The upper text is that of C and D, the lower that of A and B.

⁸³²Cf. p. 178, above.

These people also want to be (magically) active in the world of existing things. That is something forbidden by the Lawgiver (Muhammad). The miracles performed by the prophets were performed at God's command. He gave the power to perform them. The miracles of the saints were performed, because by means of the creation⁸³³ of a necessary knowledge, through inspiration or something else, they obtained (divine) permission to perform them. They did not intend to perform them without permission.

Thus, the trickery of the people who practice letter magic should not be trusted. As I have made it clear, letter magic is a subdivision and kind of sorcery.

God guides toward the truth through His kindness.*

Many people want to be (magically) active but want to avoid having anything to do with any involvement in sorcery and the name and technicalities of sorcery. Therefore, they choose a special exercise consisting of prayers (subuhat) and dhikr exercises. They are legal according to the religious law and yet they correspond to magical exercise in the kind of devotion and the expressions used. They choose the time of certain ascendants, as is done by the people (the learned magicians). They refrain from having any harmful intentions in their devotion, so that, in this manner, they may have nothing to do with sorcery. But they are far off the mark in this (assumption). Any devotion in the intention of being (magically) active is the very same thing as sorcery. Moreover, if one looks at it carefully, the exercise of these people evokes (the idea of) magical exercise in view of the expressions used in it, as (one finds them) in the Anmat and other works of al-Bum.

Now, if the assumption is erroneous that this is a legal way of obtaining the ability to be (magically) active, it should be avoided. One should realize that (magical) activity from the very beginning is not legal and that the great saints keep away from it. The (great saints) who practiced it did so because they had permission, through inspiration or something else. Also, saints are

⁸³³ *Bi-khalq.*

(magically) active through faith (al-kalimah alimaniyah), and not through psychic power.

This is the true character of letter magic. As one can see, it is a subdivision and kind of sorcery.

God guides toward the truth through His kindness.

The Za'irajah⁸³⁴

A branch of the science of letter magic, (practiced) among the (authorities on letter magic), is (the technique of) finding out answers from questions by means of connections existing between the letters of the expressions (used in the question). They imagine that these (connections) can form the basis for knowing the future happenings they want to know. Here we have something like puzzles and trick problems.⁸³⁵ There are many discussions of the subject by them. The most comprehensive and most remarkable discussion of it is as-Sabti's *Za'irajah of the World*. It has been mentioned before. Here, we shall explain what has been said about how to operate it. We shall quote the poem that, it is thought, as-Sabti wrote on the subject.⁸³⁶ Then, we shall give a description of the *Za'irajah* with its circle and the table written on the verso.^{836a} Finally, we shall reveal the truth about it. It is nothing supernatural; (the indications derived from it) result from an agreement in the wording of question and answer. It is (just) one interesting way among others, and a curious one, for finding out the answer from the question with

⁸³⁴Cf. the discussion of as-Sabti's *Za'irajah of the World*, 1:238 ff., above.

⁸³⁵*Al-masa'il as-sayyalah*. The last word may be derived from the root *sa'ala* "to ask," or rather be connected with the ordinary word *sayyal* "fluid, changeable" (cf. *Ghayah*, p. 3, 1. s), but the precise meaning, though clear from the context, is not known.

⁸³⁶ This sentence is not found in Bulaq.

^{836a}The Arabic word used here, to be vocalized *muhawwal*, must have acquired this meaning from its original meaning "changed (over)." For the *Za'irajah* table, see folding chart in pocket, end of this *vol.*

the help of the technique called the technique of "breaking down."⁸³⁷ We have referred to all this before.

We have no authoritative tradition on which we might rely for the correctness of the poem and its attribution to as-Sabti⁸³⁸ However, we have chosen (for our quotation) what gave the impression of being the best manuscript. This is the poem:⁸³⁹

There speaks a little Ceutian,⁸⁴⁰ praising his Lord,
Praying for a guide who was God's messenger to mankind, (namely,) Muhammad who was sent as a prophet, the Seal of the Prophets,
And expressing his satisfaction⁸⁴¹ with the men around him and those who followed them:

Behold, this is the *Za'irajah of the World* which

You [sing.] see revealed through your [pl.] senses, and through the intellect.

Whoever knows how to compose (the *za'irajah*) will know his body,
And will obtain laws given from on high.

Whoever knows how to tie (it down) will obtain power

And be noted for having obtained the fear of God and everything.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁷Cf. p. 172, above, and p. 225, below. This sentence *is* not in Bulaq.

⁸³⁸ And its attribution to as-Sabti" is found in the margin *of C* and in the text *of D*.

⁸³⁹ As he says himself, Ibn Khaldun did not quite understand the following poem, and our understanding *of* it cannot be expected to be much better. Probably only its author fully understood it, and even that *is* not entirely certain. A thorough study *of* the related literature and some bold interpretations *will*, I am sure, greatly improve upon the translation given here. The obvious flaws, it *is* hoped, *will* challenge some specialist on the history *of* magic to work on it successfully. At least, I feel that E. Doutte, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 581, was unduly pessimistic with regard to Ibn Khaldun's section on the *Za'irajah*.

⁸⁴⁰I.e., as-Sabti.

⁸⁴¹ The "prayer for a guide" refers to the use of the formula *salla llahu 'alayhi wa-sallama*, and the "satisfaction" refers to the formula *radiya llahu 'anhum*.

⁸⁴² Bulaq has another verse which may have been left out of the later texts by mistake:

Whoever knows how to apply (it) will know his (own) reality
And understand his soul and become a true saint.

He is seen taking on reality in the divine world.
 This is the station of those who are perfected through *dhikr* exercises.
 These are the secrets that you have to keep concealed.
 Set them up in circles and balance (them) with *h*
 And with *t* which has a "throne" on which it is engraved,
 In poetry and prose, or which one sees arranged as a table.
 Set up circles corresponding to the relationship of their spheres
 And draw stars for their highest degrees.
 Come out for its strings (chords), and draw letters for them,
 And repeat the same (letters) on the border of those that are free.
 Set up the shape of their *zir*,⁸⁴³ and make its houses,
 And verify with *a bamm* wherever their light is apparent.
 Present sciences as an engineer for the natures (elements),
 And an established knowledge of figurations and the quadrants.
 Work with music and the knowledge of their⁸⁴⁴ letters
 And the knowledge of an instrument. And verify and bring about
 And make circles and set down their letters in the right relationship.
 Set free their world and list the zones in a table.
 We have an amir⁸⁴⁵ who desires Bougie for a Zanatah
 Dynasty, which has appeared and which has manifestly seized power,
 And a region of Spain, then[. . .]⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴³ *Zir* is the treble string in musical terminology. *Bamm* is the bass string, and *mathna* and *mathlath*, mentioned later on, are the second and third strings, respectively. For identification of the strings of the lute with the elements, the humors, the planets, etc., cf., for instance, H. G. Farmer, *The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights"* (Bearsden [Scot.], 1945), p. 14.

⁸⁴⁴ Masculine plural, according to Bulaq and the MSS.

⁸⁴⁵ The reference seems to be to the Almohad ruler Ya'qub al-Man'ar [1184-1199], under whom as-Sabti is supposed to have lived.

⁸⁴⁶ A son to their (the Spanish) Had [?]" looks like a reference to the Hudites of Saragossa, but such a reference would be very difficult to explain chronologically. If, in the following line, the Bana Na \$r, the Nagrids of Granada, should actually be meant, the poem would have originated some decades after Ya'qub al-Man'ar. But the Na\$rids scarcely fit in the context, as far as it can be made out. The meter also seems to be disturbed.

The Banu Nasr [?] came, and their victory followed.
 Rulers, knights, and people of wisdom,
 If you wish, write them down. Their region is empty.
 A Mahdi of the Almohads who rule in Tunis,
 Rulers for an East set down in magic squares,⁸⁴⁷
 Cast a spell over the region, and believe.
 If you wish, represent (it) in Latin without linguistic error,
 And (Al)fonso and Barcelona. *R* is the letter for it.
 Their Franc(is) is *dh*,⁸⁴⁸ and is perfected with *t*.
 Rulers of Kinawah.⁸⁴⁹ They have pointed to their *q*.⁸⁵⁰
 And the Arabs, our people, have been weakened.
 Abyssinian India and Sind (Western India), then Hurmus [?]
 And Tatar Persians, and what beyond them. . . .
 Their Byzantine Emperor is a *h*. Their (Persian) Yazdjard
 Belongs to *k*. Their Copt was written with a long *l*,
 And 'Abbas, all of them noble and venerable.
 But (they are) a Turk when the (magical) activity ceases.
 If you want to know the rulers exactly and to find them out,
 Seal fields, then bring (them) into relation and list (them) in a table
 According to the norm and science of the letters
 And the knowledge of their nature, and set up the whole of it.
 Whoever knows the sciences will know our science.
 He will know the secrets of existence and become perfect.
 He, then, has firmly rooted knowledge and knows His Lord,

⁸⁴⁷ Sic A, C, and D. B: "in the horizons."

⁸⁴⁸ Or "d," although the MSS seem to have *dhaka* "that."

⁸⁴⁹ According to Yigat, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, IV, 307, Kinawah is a Berber tribe and country adjacent to the Ghanah Negroes, which is identical with Qanawah, Janawah = Gnawah "Sudan Negroes." Cf. G. Ferrand, "Le *Tuhfat al-albdb* de Abu Hamid al-Andalusi al-Garnati," *Journal asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 285.

⁸⁵⁰ The MSS have *li faqihim* [?].

And has a knowledge of predictions which is broken down through *h-m*.

And whenever there comes a name, and the meter prefers it⁸⁵¹

A wise man will definitely decide that he must be killed.

Letters will come to you. Then, try to pick them.

The letters of Sibawayh will come to you disconnected.

Then, strengthen with transformations and confront and exchange.

With your precious warble shake the parts

.....

Select a (star) rise. Figure out its signs.

Reverse its root [?]. Straighten (it) out with the cycle.

Someone will perceive those things. He will achieve his purpose

And be given their letters in whose arrangement the evidence lies.

If it is lucky and the stars are lucky,

It should suffice you to have royal authority [?] and to in, have reached the dim star (δ) in Ursa Major on high [?].

The melody of their *d* with its bridled *bamm!*

Thus, sound harmonic chimes, and you will find the right place in it,

The strings of their *zir*: To the *h* belongs their *bamm*

And their *mathna*. The *mathlath* has appeared through its *j*.

Make entries with spheres. Straighten things out with a table.

Draw *a b c* and the remaining letters of the alphabet according to their numerical value

And permit the irregularity of the meter that occurs. Something similar Has occurred in the prosody of a number of people.

A principle of our religion, a principle of our jurisprudence,

And some knowledge of grammar, keep and obtain!

⁸⁵¹ *Yushiffuhu* seems a possible reading of the MSS.

Bring in the wall [?] for a large tent in harmony [?]!

Praise His name and say, "God is great," and "There is no God but God,"

And you will (succeed in) bringing out verses on any desired object
Through natural rhyme and a secret from on high.

If they are thus brought together, the judgment implied in their number
will be acquired,⁸⁵²

And...

And you will bring out verses. Twenty multiplied
By one thousand by nature, O master of the Table,
Will show crafts of multiplication that are perfect.

Thus, (your) wishes will come out right for you, and the (world) on
high will come out right for you.

And rhyme with their *zir* and praise with a beat. Set it up in circles for
a *zir*, and obtain (it).

Set it up with magic squares and a principle that you prepare
From the secrets of their letter, and bring it back in chain form.

[SIGNS]⁸⁵³

Discussion of how to discover the relationships and qualities of the
weights,⁸⁵⁴ the powers of their opposites, the power of the grade which is
distinguished according to the relationship to the place of attached mixtures
of natures (elements), and the science of medicine, or the craft of alchemy.

O student of medicine and of Jabir's science (alchemy),⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵² *Leg. wa yuqna bi-hasriha* [?].

⁸⁵³ In this case, as also on the following pages, the "signs" are mainly *zimam* numerals. See n. 882 to this chapter, below. Occasionally there are other numerals, letters, and magic signs. As far as I can see, these "signs" do not ever occur in the same combinations in the table.

⁸⁵⁴ *Awzan* "weights" refers to *mizdn* "scale," which appears in the following verses and for which one may compare the chapter on the "Theorie de la balance" in P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 187 ff.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. p. 228, below.

And you who know the extent of the powers in succession,
 If you want the science of medicine, there must exist a relationship
 For the laws of scales, which⁸⁵⁶ will hit upon a (possible) way.
 Your patient will be cured. The elixir will be right.
 The soundness of the mixtures of your composition will be apparent.

Spiritual Medicine

And you want Hawush⁸⁵⁷ -[SIGNS]-and his mind. . .
 For Bahram-Birjis⁸⁵⁸ and seven, who is perfect,
 For dissolving pains of cold diseases. Make it correct
 This way, and (make) the composition (correct) wherever it has been
 handed down.

[SIGNS]

Appearances of rays that concern the nativities of rulers and their children.

The knowledge of rays cast is difficult.
 The side of their bows shows itself in a belt [?].
 But on a pilgrimage, there is the place where our imam stands.
 He appears when the latitude of the stars is straightened out.
 There are positions whose longitude is made clear,
 And (also their) latitude. By reaching that, he becomes a junction [?].
 Places where there is a quartile with its sign in the dejection,
 Their sextile has the trine of the sign of the one that follows.
 One adds to the quartile. That is its analogy
 In certainty, and its root [?]. With the *'ayn*, it is made to work.
 From the relationship of the two quarters combine your rays

⁸⁵⁶ Or: "and you will hit." Cf. p. 191, 1. 4, below.

⁸⁵⁷ Helios, the sun.

⁸⁵⁸ Bahram is Mars, and Birjis Jupiter.

With a s and double it. Its quartile will thus show itself.

[SIGNS]

This operation here concerns rulers. The operation of the rule is consistent. Nothing more remarkable has ever been seen.

The position of rulers:

First position	} , [zimzam NUMERALS FOR EACH POSITION]
Second position	
Third position	
Fourth position	
Fifth position	
Sixth position	
Seventh position	

The line of junction and separation:

[SIGNS]

The line of junction:

[SIGNS]

The line of separation:

[SIGNS]

The *zir* for every(thing) and the complete follower of the root [?]:

[SIGNS]

Junction and separation:

[SIGNS]

The complete necessary (line) in junctions:

[SIGNS]

The establishments of lights:

[SIGNS]

The answering root [?] in the operation:

[SIGNS]

The establishment of questions concerning rulers:

[SIGNS]

The position of children: The position of light:

[SIGNS]

The position of splendor:

[SIGNS]

(On) being spiritually influenced and divinely guided:

O student of the secret of praising (the oneness) of God,
With the beautiful names of God⁸⁵⁹ you will hit upon a (possible) way.
The Rabbis of mankind will obey you with their heart(s),
As well as⁸⁶⁰ their chief. It is operated in the sun [??].
You will see all mankind tied to you

.....
.....
.....

⁸⁵⁹ The meter of the verse is in disorder.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ka-dhaka*: C and D.

If you wish, you will live in (the world of) existence together with the fear of God

And solid religion, or you will be firmly rooted⁸⁶¹

Like Dhu n-Nun⁸⁶² and al-Junayd⁸⁶³ together with the secret of an art.

I see you clothed in the secret of Bistam.⁸⁶⁴

You will come into being created in the world on high,

As the Indians have said, and the Sufi crowd.

The path of the Messenger of God sparkles with the truth.

No work of a quality similar to (that of) Gabriel has yet been invented.

Your courage is saying, "There is no God but God,"

and your bow is the (East where the sun) rises [?].

Thursday is the beginning. Sunday appears.

On a Friday, too, the same (will be done [?]) with the names,

And on Monday, you will perfect the beautiful names of God.

In its *t*, there is a secret, as well as in its *h*

.....

At the end of the Resurrection, it is followed by a prayer

And sincere devotion, with the seven *mathani*⁸⁶⁵ being chanted.

The junction of the lights of the stars:

[SIGNS]

In your right hand, there is an iron (ring) and a seal ... but not in prayer.

Make (your) heart the tablet (to write on) the verse of Resurrection.

⁸⁶¹ *Mu'assalan*.

⁸⁶² The famous Sufi, d. 246 [861]. Cf. GAL, I,198 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 353.

⁸⁶³ Cf. 2:187, above.

⁸⁶⁴ The reference is to Abu Yazid al-Bistami. Cf. p. 102, above.

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. Qur'an 15.87 (87). The first *surah* is meant.

Recite and chant (it) when people are asleep.

It is the secret contained in the created beings; there is nothing but it.

It is the greatest verse. Therefore, make (it) accurate and get (it).

Through it, you will become a "pole" if you serve well.

You will perceive secrets from the world on high.

Sari communicated them and, after him, Ma`ruf⁸⁶⁶

Al-Hallaj⁸⁶⁷ divulged them and was killed.

Ash-Shibli⁸⁶⁸ always worked on them,

Until he went up higher than the (ordinary) Sufis and was exalted.

Therefore, clean your heart eagerly from impurities.

Practice *dhikr* exercises constantly. Fast. Do supererogatory devotions.

The secret of the people (the mystics) has been attained only by thorough (devotees)

Who knew the secret of the sciences and were competent.

[SIGNS]

The position of love, of the inclination of the souls, of exertion, obedience, worship, love, infatuation, annihilation of annihilation (non being), devotion, observance, and friendship⁸⁶⁹ with permanent physical passivity.

Birjis⁸⁷⁰ has the magic square for love.

The mixture has been prepared with tin or copper which were caused to work,

Or with silver. Correct I have seen it:

Your making its lucky position an ascendant is not improper.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁶ The famous Sufis, Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, d. 200 or 204 [815/16 or 819/201, and as-Sari as-Saqati, d. 253 18671. Cf. al-Khatib al-Baghdidi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XII, 199-209; IX, 187-92.

Bulaq corrects "after" to "before."

⁸⁶⁷Cf. p. 102, above.

⁸⁶⁸ Abu Bakr ash-Shibli, d. 834 or 335 [946]. Cf. GAL, I,199 f.; *suppl.*, I, 357.

⁸⁶⁹ *Khullah* [?].

⁸⁷⁰ I.e., Jupiter. Cf. p. 189, above.

⁸⁷¹ *Leg. ghala* [?].

Try to get through it an increase of light for the moon.
 Your making its sun ready to accept⁸⁷² is something firmly grounded.
 Put it to sleep with the incense being aloe wood belonging to their India,
 And fix an hour. Its prayer is a benefit [?].
 Its prayer is for a purpose. Thus, it is caused to work.
 Its prayer from Taysaman, which is ornamented,
 Is used, or a prayer for whose composition letters
 Or problems are prepared with hot air.
 You shall engrave letters with *d* and its *l*.
 That is a magic square which consists of sixteen fields.
 If their indication [?] does not please you,

.....
 Make good its *b*, and bring them away to⁸⁷³
 That which pleases you. The small remainder of them is summarized.
 Engrave certain shapes from some of them.
 Whatever you add, make it proportionate, equal to your action
 And the key of Maryam. For the actions of both of them are alike.
 A call went out, and a Bistami recited her (Maryam's) *surah*.
 Let your acting (be) with support. Search for
 The proofs of a savage person who was set up for his text.
 Turn over its⁸⁷⁴ houses with a thousand and more.
 Inside it, there is a secret. In the search for it, it has become apparent.
 On the stations for the end.

You have the supernatural, a picture from the world on high.
 You make it find a house. Its clothing is jewelry.
 Beautiful like Joseph-this one, similar to him,

⁸⁷² Or: "your making (it ready) to accept its sun."

⁸⁷³ *Leg. wa-na'i bihim ila* [?].

⁸⁷⁴ Referring to the *surah*? "Houses," of course, could be "fields."

Was sent down with . . . and a chant of reality.⁸⁷⁵
 He is powerful and speaks about the supernatural.
 He resembles a lute that competes with a nightingale.
 Buhlul⁸⁷⁶ went crazy from love of her beauty.
 When she appeared to Bistam, he was forsaken
 And died. . . . The love of her was instilled into
 Junayd and Basri.⁸⁷⁷ They (he) neglected (their, his) body.
 The ultimate in praise (of the oneness) of God is sought. Whoever has
 God's beautiful names for himself without any relationship,
 And whoever possesses them, succeeds with wisdom
 And attains nearness to the neighbors of (the world) on high.
 You will be informed about the supernatural,⁸⁷⁸ if you render good
 service,
 Which will show you remarkable things, to Him who is a refuge.
 This is true success. (It is) goodness that attains it.
 From (those things), there result additions for their interpretation which
 follows [?].
 Testament, final statement, faith, Islam, prohibition, and suitability.
 This is our poem. Ninety is its number
 And the additional (verses) for introduction, end, and table.
 I am surprised by verses, whose number is ninety,
 Which produce (more) verses whose complete number is not apparent.
 Whosoever understands the secret, let him understand himself,
 And let him understand an ambiguous commentary which is difficult,
 Forbidden and lawful, in order to show our secret

⁸⁷⁵The MSS seem to read something like: *bytr wa-tartili haqiqatin* . . .

⁸⁷⁶Or Bahlul. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 350.

⁸⁷⁷That is, al-Hasan al-Basri. Cf. 2:184, above.

⁸⁷⁸The meter is corrupted.

To people, even if they are a select group and have the suitable qualification.

If you want people suitable for it, place them under a strong oath.

Maltreat them⁸⁷⁹ with manliness and extended religiosity.

Perhaps you will be saved, as well as the one who hears their secret,

From deciding to divulge (it), and you will become a chief on high.

A son of 'Abbas keeps his secret hidden.

Thus, he obtained much happiness, and high rank followed him.

The Messenger of God rose among the people as preacher,

.....
The spirits have boarded bodies to manifest themselves [?],
And have applied themselves, in order to kill them, by prolonged
knocking

At the high world. Our nonexistence becomes nonexistent,

And we put on the garment of existence in succession.

Our rhyiming is completed. Pray, our God,

For the seal of the messengers a prayer that will effect exaltation.

Pray, O God of the throne, Glorious and Exalted,

For a lord who ruled and perfected mankind,

Muhammad, the guide, the intercessor, our leader,

And (pray for) the men around him, the noble, exalted people.

A rank that results from friendship.

[SIGNS]

The correct determination of sun and moon and the stars for every desired date:

[SIGNS]

⁸⁷⁹*Wa-buqhum.*

The *za'irajah is* completed.

The procedure of finding answers from questions through the *Za'irajah of the World* with the help of the might of God.⁸⁸⁰

A question may have three hundred and sixty answers, according to the degrees (of the firmament). The answers to one question under a given ascendant differ in accordance with different questions (forming part of the question asked), which are referred to the letters of the chords of the *za'irajah* and (in accordance with) the operation applied to finding out the letters from the verse of the poem.⁸⁸¹

Note: The letters of the chords and the table are composed of three basic types. (1) Arabic letters, which are taken at their face value (as numerals). (2) *Ghubar* letters.⁸⁸² They are treated differently. Some are taken at their

⁸⁸⁰ Bulaq adds: "derived from people who work with the *za'irajah* and whom we have met." This seems quite a proper statement, in view of the fact that Ibn Khaldun derived his knowledge of the problem discussed in the following pages from Jamal-ad-din al-Marjani, whom he had met in Biskra in 1370/71. Cf. i:xlxiii and 238 f., above. He mentions the question below, p. 199, and the answer is given below, p. 213.

The table constituting the *za'irajah is* not reproduced in all MSS and printed texts. It is found in A, E, and MS. Ragib Pala (but not in B, C, and D), in the Turkish translation (Istanbul, 1277), and in the second Bulaq edition of 1284. Since the table requires a special sheet, it can, of course, easily become detached from the copy to which it originally belonged.

The letters evolved in the procedure described by Ibn Khaldun are marked in this translation by boldface type. However, the rationale of their determination and the relationship of the description to the table are by no means clear to me. As in the case of the *za'irajah* poem, a translation - one might rather call it a transposition of Arabic into English words - is offered here in the hope that it may serve as a basis, however shaky, for future improvement.

⁸⁸¹ The verse is quoted above, 1:240, and below, pp. 211 and 214.

⁸⁸² *Ghubar* means "dust," or rather, in this connection, "abacus," according to S. Gandz, "The Origin of the *ghubar* Numerals, or The Arabian Abacus and the Articoli," *Isis*, XVI (1931), 393-424. The *ghubar* letters are the numerals from one to nine, in a form practically identical with that in which the Arabic numerals are written in the West to this day. This is how they look in MS. B, fol. 224a:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
.	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠

The *zimam* letters are twenty-seven signs that have the numerical values from one to nine in the units, tens, and hundreds. They are supposed to be of Greek-Coptic origin. Cf. G. S. Colin, "De l'origine

face value, when there are no more than four cycles.⁸⁸³ If there are more than four, they are used as tens as well as hundreds, as required by the operation, as we shall explain. (3) *Zimam* letters. They are treated in the same way (as *ghubar* letters). However, the *zimam* letters offer another possibility. One may be used as one thousand and ten (as ten thousand), and they (may be used) in the proportion of five (to one) in relation to the Arabic letters [?]. One may place in (each) field of the table three letters of this type and two of the (other) type. Empty fields may be left in the table. If there are more than four basic cycles, (the empty fields) are counted in vertically. If there are no more than four, only the filled fields are counted.

The operation with the question requires seven principles. (1) The number of the letters of the chords. (2) The retention of their cycles after division by twelve. There are always eight cycles in the complete one, and six in the incomplete one. (3) The knowledge of the degree of the ascendant. (4) The ruler of the sign (of the zodiac). (5) The greatest principal cycle, which is always one. (6) The result of adding the ascendant to the principal cycle. And (7) the result of multiplying ascendant plus cycle by the ruler of the sign (of the zodiac), and (8)⁸⁸⁴ of the ruler of the sign (of the zodiac) added to the ascendant.

The whole operation takes place in three cycles multiplied by four, thus making twelve cycles. The relationship of these three cycles, which

grecque des 'chiffres de Fis' et de nos 'chiffres arabes,' " *Journal asiatique*, CCXXII (1933), 193-215; G. Levi Della Vida, "Numerali Greci in documenti arabo-spagnoli," *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XIV (1934), 281-83; J. A. Sanchez Perez, "Sobre las cifras RGMies," *al-Andalus*, III (19,95), 97-125.

The *zimam* letters have the following forms in MS. B, fol. 225a:

⁸⁸³ *Dawr*, one of the technical terms of the *Za'irajah*, was introduced, though not explained, above, 1:242. It seems obvious that the term somehow refers to the circles of the *Zd'irajah*, but the usual meaning of *dawr* is "cycle," not "circle."

Another frequently used technical term, "side of eight," is easily explained by reference to the reproduction of the *Zd'irajah*.

⁸⁸⁴ Sic! Cf. p. 211, below.

are [. . .]⁸⁸⁵ each growth having a beginning. Then, they are multiplied as quadruple cycles as well as triple cycles [?]. Then, they may be the result of six multiplied by two, and thus have a(nother) growth. This is something apparent in the operation.

These cycles are followed by "results." They are in [?] the cycles. There may be one result, or more than one, up to six.

Now, to begin with, let us assume that someone asks, "Is the *za'irajah* a modern or an ancient science?"⁸⁸⁶ The ascendant is in the first degree of Sagittarius.⁸⁸⁷ Thus, we place the letters of the chord of the beginning of Sagittarius and the corresponding chord of the beginning of Gemini and, in the third place, the chord of the beginning of Aquarius up to the limit of the center. We add to it the letters of the questions.

We look at the number of (the letters). The smallest number there can be is eighty-eight,⁸⁸⁸ and the largest ninety six. This is the total of a complete cycle. Our question consists of ninety-three letters.⁸⁸⁹ If the question contained more than ninety-six letters, it would be shortened by⁸⁹⁰ dropping all twelve cycles. One keeps what comes out from them and what remains.⁸⁹¹ In our question, there are seven cycles. The remainder is nine.⁸⁹² They are set down among the letters, as long as the ascendant has not reached twelve degrees. If it has reached twelve degrees, no number or cycle is set down for

⁸⁸⁵ The following words, which also introduce the term *nash'ah*, translated arbitrarily as "growth," are particularly obscure. Possibly the text is in disorder.

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. 1:238 (n. 364), above, and for the answer, p. 213, below.

⁸⁸⁷ Bulaq adds: "among the letters of the chords, and then, the letters of the questions," which would seem to be out of place.

⁸⁸⁸ One would expect a multiple of twelve: seventy-two or eighty-four?

⁸⁸⁹ That is, the sum of the letters of the chords and the letters of the question. Cf. p. 211, below.

⁸⁹⁰ Sic Bulaq.

⁸⁹¹ Apparently, the quotient and remainder after being divided by twelve.

⁸⁹² $93 \div 12 = 7$, remainder 9.

them. But their numbers are again set down, when the ascendant has reached more than twenty-four degrees in the third decan.⁸⁹³

The ascendant is then set down as one, the ruler of the ascendant (the sign of the zodiac) as four, and the greatest cycle as one. The total of ascendant and cycle is added up, and, in this question, makes two. This total is multiplied by the ruler of the sign. This is eight. The ruler is added to the ascendant. This is five. These are (the) seven principles.

The result of multiplying the ascendant and the greatest cycle by the ruler of Sagittarius, when it is less than twelve, is entered at the "side of eight" from the bottom of the table upward. When it is more than twelve, it is divided in cycles. The remainder is entered at the side of eight. A mark is put upon the end of the number. The five that is the result of the addition of ruler and ascendant is what is entered⁸⁹⁴ on the side of the uppermost large surface of the table. One counts, consecutively, groups of five cycles and keeps them until the number stops opposite the fields of the table that are filled. If it stops opposite one of the empty fields of the table, one should not pay any attention and go on with the cycles, until one reaches one of four letters, namely, *alif*, *b*, *j*, or *z*. In our operation, the number falls upon *alif* and leaves three cycles behind. Thus, we multiply three by three, which gives nine. That is the number of the first cycle. This must be set down. The total between the vertical and long sides must be added up. Then it will be in the field of eight.

The number in the first cycle, which is nine, must be entered in the front (recto) of the table adjacent to the field in which the two are brought together, going towards the left, which is (the field of) eight. It thus falls upon the letter *lam-alif*, but no composite letter ever comes out of it. It thus

⁸⁹³Cf. p. 163, above.

⁸⁹⁴Sic C and D. The other texts have "is the ascendant."

is just the letter *t* - four hundred in *zimam* letters⁸⁹⁵ A mark is put on it, after removing it, (indicating that it belongs) to the verse of the poem.⁸⁹⁶

Then, one adds up the numbers of the cycle of the ruler. one gets thirteen, which is entered among the letters of the chords. One sets down (the letter) upon which the number falls and puts a mark upon it, (indicating that it belongs to) the verse of the poem.

This rule shows how much the letters circulate according to the natural order. This is as follows. One adds the letter of the first cycle, which is nine, to the ruler of the sign (of the zodiac), which is four. Thus, one gets thirteen. This is doubled. Thus, one gets twenty-six. From this, one subtracts the degree of the ascendant, which, in this particular question, is one. Thus, there remains twenty-five. Accordingly, the first order of the letter <is twenty-five>, then twenty-three twice, then twenty-two twice, according to that subtraction, until the (procedure) reaches one at the end of the rhymed verse.⁸⁹⁷ One does not stop at twenty-four, because the one (which would make twenty-four out of twentyfive) had originally been subtracted.

Then, one takes the second cycle and adds the letters of the first cycle to the eight resulting from the multiplication of ascendant and cycle by the ruler. This gives seventeen. The remainder is five. Thus, one goes up five on the side of eight from where one had stopped in the first cycle. One puts a mark on (that place). One enters seventeen on the front (recto) of the table, and then five. One does not count empty fields. The cycle is that of tens. We find the letter *th* - five hundred, but it (counts the same as) *n*, because our

⁸⁹⁵ The *zimam* numeral for 940 looks like the ligature *lam-alif*, and the Arabic letter *t* ordinarily has the numerical value of 400.

⁸⁹⁶ What is translated here and on the following pages as "indicating that it belongs to," or "belonging to," is the preposition *min*. It may mean that the mark is taken *from* the verse of the poem (by Malik b. Wuhayb; see p. 211, below), but this would not seem to make much sense. Without any connection with a letter belonging to the solution of the problem, this *min* occurs only p. 205 (n. 899a), below, and there it is doubtful whether the poem is meant and whether *bayt* means "verse" or something else.

⁸⁹⁷ This refers to the method according to which the letters evolved by the procedure (and here marked in boldface) are later shuffled so as to produce the rhymed answer to the question. Cf. p. 213, below.

cycle represents the tens. Thus, five hundred is (counted as) fifty, because its cycle is seventeen. If it had been twentyseven, it would have been in the hundreds. Thus, one sets down an *n*.

Then, one enters five, also from the beginning, and notes what (number of) the surface it confronts. It is found to be one. One reverses the number one. It falls upon five. One adds the one of the surface to five, and gets six. One sets down a *w* and marks it with four [?] (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. One adds them to the eight which was the result of the multiplication of ascendant and cycle by the ruler. Thus, one gets twelve. The remainder of the second cycle, namely five, is added to twelve. Thus, one gets seventeen. That is something that belongs to the second cycle. Thus, we enter seventeen among the letters of the chords. The number falls upon one. Thus, one sets down **alif** and puts a mark upon it (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Of the letters of the chords, one drops three, the number of the result of the second cycle.

Then, one makes the third cycle. One adds five to eight and gets thirteen. The remainder is one. One moves the cycle at the side of eight by one. One enters thirteen into the verse of the poem. One takes the (letter) upon which the number falls. It is *q*. A mark is put upon it. Thirteen is entered among the letters of the chords. One sets down what comes out. It is *s*. A mark is put upon it (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Then, the one which is the remainder of the cycle of thirteen is entered next to the resulting *s*. One takes the chord next to the letters. It is *b*. It is set down, and a mark (indicating that it belongs) to the verse of the poem is put upon it. This is called the "leaning cycle." Its scale is correct. This is as follows. One doubles thirteen and adds to it the one which remains of the cycle. Thus, one gets twenty-seven. This is the letter *b*, which is derived from the chords (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Thirteen is entered at the front part of the table. One notes what (part of) the surface confronts it. One doubles it and adds to it the one which is the remainder of thirteen. This is the letter *j*.

The total, thus, is seven. This is the letter *z*. We set it down and put a mark upon it (indicating that it belongs) to the verse of the poem. The scale of it is that one doubles seven and adds to it the one which is the remainder of thirteen. Thus, one gets fifteen. It is the fifteenth of the verse of the poem. This is the end of the triple cycles.

Then, one makes the fourth cycle. It has the number nine, (obtained) by adding the remainder of the previous cycle. One then multiplies ascendant and cycle by the ruler. This cycle ends the operation in the first field of the quadruple (cycles).

Then, one picks two letters from the chords, goes up nine on the side of eight, and enters nine from the cycle of the letter which was taken last from the verse of the poem. The ninth is the letter *r*. It is set down, and a mark is put upon it. Then, nine is entered on the front (recto) of the table, and one notes what (letter of) the surface faces it. It is *j*. One reverses the number one. That is *alif*. This is the second after [?] the letter *r* (belonging) to the verse of the poem.

It is set down, and a mark is put upon it. One counts nine, starting next to the second. It again is an **alif**. It is set down, and a mark is put upon it. Then, one picks a letter from the chords and doubles nine. This gives eighteen. One enters it among the letters of the chords and comes to a stop at the letter *r*. It is set down and marked with eight and four, (indicating that it belongs) to the verse of the poem. Then, one enters eighteen among the letters of the chords and comes to a stop at the letter *s*. It is put down and marked with two. One adds two to nine, which is eleven, and enters eleven on the front (recto) of the table. It is confronted by an **alif** from the surface. It is set down and marked with six.

Then, one makes the fifth cycle. Its number is seventeen. The remainder is five. One goes up five on the side of eight. One picks two letters from the chords. One doubles five and adds the result to seventeen, the number of its cycle. The total is twenty-seven. It is entered among the letters of the chords.

It falls upon *t*. It is set down and marked with thirty two. One subtracts the two which is at the base of thirty two,⁸⁹⁸ from seventeen. The remainder is fifteen. One enters it among the letters of the chords and comes to a stop at *q*. It is set down and marked with twenty-six. On the front part of the table one enters twenty-six. One comes to a stop at two in *ghubar* letters. That is the letter *b*. It is entered and marked with fifty-four.

Then, one picks two letters from the chords and makes the sixth cycle. Its number is thirteen. The remainder is one. Thus, it becomes clear that the cycle of order (rhyming [?]) belongs to twenty-five. The cycles are ninety [?]-five, seventeen, five, thirteen, and one. One multiplies five by five which gives twenty-five. This is the cycle in the order of the verse. One removes the cycle on the side of eight by one. But, as we have mentioned before, thirteen is not entered in the verse of the poem, because it is a second cycle of a second compositional growth. But we add to one the four that belongs to the fifty-four which led to *b* (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. This gives five. One adds five to the thirteen that belongs to the cycle, and gets eighteen. One enters it on the front (recto) of the table and takes (the letter of) the surface that confronts it. It is **alif**. It is set down and marked with twelve, (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. One picks two letters from the chords.

At this point, one looks at the letters of the question. The (letters) that have come out (in the preceding operation) are paired with the verse of the poem, beginning at the end. One marks them with the letters of the question, so that it enters numerically into the verse of the poem. The same is done with every letter that comes out hereafter, in correspondence with the letters

⁸⁹⁸Since "exponent" is one of the meanings of *uss* in algebra (cf. n. 627 to this chapter, above), it might here be supposed that the relationship is $2^5 = 32$. However, here and on the following pages *uss* is also a special technical term in the *Zd'irajah* procedure, and as such was mentioned above, 1:241. Possibly the two here is obtained by subtracting the full number of degrees in the preceding sign from thirty-two. However, this is merely a guess. The original meaning of *uss* "base" has been retained in the translation, here and on the following pages.

of the question. All the letters coming out are paired with the verse of the poem, beginning at the end, and a mark is put on them.

Then, one adds to eighteen the units with which one has marked the letter *alif*. They come to two. Thus, one gets a total of twenty. One enters it among the letters of the chords and comes to a stop at the letter r. It is set down and marked with ninety-six, (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. This is the end of the cycle with regard to chord letters.

Then, one picks two letters from the chords and makes the seventh cycle. It is the beginning of the second of the two "inventions." This cycle contains the number nine. One adds one to it. Thus, one gets ten⁸⁹⁹ for the second growth.

This one is added later on to twelve cycles, if it belongs to that proportion, or it is taken away from the principal (cycle). Thus, one gets a total of ten. One goes up on the side of ninety-eight, enters ten on the front (recto) of the table, and gets thus to stop at five hundred. It is, however, (counted) only as fifty, n. It is to be doubled. Thus, it is *q*. It is set down and marked with fifty-two (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Two is dropped from fifty-two, and the nine which belongs to the cycle is dropped. The remainder is forty-one. One enters it among the letters of the chords and thus comes to a stop at one, which is set down. One also enters (forty-one) in the verse of the poem and thus finds one. This is the scale of the second growth.

It is marked with two signs (as belonging) to the verse of the poem, one (which is put) upon the last **alif** of the scale, and another upon the first alif. The second is twenty-four. Then, one picks two letters from the chords and makes the eighth cycle. Its number is seventeen. The remainder is five. One enters (it) on the side of fifty-eight, enters five in the verse of the poem, and thus comes to a stop at '**ayn**, seventy. It is set down, and a mark is put upon it. Five is entered in the table. One takes the (number) of the surface confronting it. It is one. It is set down and marked with forty-eight,

⁸⁹⁹ The MSS have "twenty," which is corrected to "ten" in Bulaq.

(as belonging) to [?] ^{899a} the verse. One drops one from forty-eight for the second base and adds to it the five of the cycle. The total is fifty-two. That is entered on the front (recto) of the table. One thus comes to a stop at the *ghubar* letter two. It is in the order of hundreds, because it should be a larger number. Thus, it is (counted as) two hundred, which is the letter *r*. ⁹⁰⁰ It is set down and marked with twenty-four; (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Having reached ninetysix, the whole thing starts from the beginning, which is twenty-four. One adds the five of the cycle to twenty-four and drops one. The total is twenty-eight. One enters half of it in the verse of the poem and thus comes to a stop at eight. Thus, *h* is set down, and a mark is put upon it.

One makes the ninth cycle. Its number is thirteen. The remainder is one. One goes up one on the side of eight. Here the operation does not follow the same procedure as in the sixth cycle, because the number should be many times larger. Also, the (cycle) belongs to the second growth and is the beginning of the third third of the quadruple (arrangement) of the signs of the zodiac and the end of the third fourth of the triple (arrangement).

Thus, one multiplies the thirteen of the cycle by the four that is (the number of) the preceding triple (arrangement) of the signs of the zodiac. The total is fifty-two. One enters it on the front (recto) of the table and thus comes to a stop at the *ghubar* letter two. However, it is in the hundreds, having gone beyond the units and tens. Therefore, it is set down as two hundred, *r*, and marked with forty-eight, (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. One adds the one of the base to the thirteen of the cycle, enters fourteen in the verse of the poem, and thus comes to a stop at *h*. It is marked with twenty-eight. Seven is subtracted from fourteen. There remains seven.

^{899a} Cf. n. 896 to this chapter, above.

⁹⁰⁰ The listing of the letters on p. 413 shows an *m* between the *r* and the following *h*. That *m*, however, is superfluous. Cf. also n. 904 to this chapter, below.

Then, one picks two letters from the chords. One enters seven and thus comes to a stop at the letter *l*. It is set down, and a mark (indicating that it belongs) to the verse is put on it.

Then, one makes the tenth cycle. Its number is nine. It is the beginning of the fourth triple (arrangement). One goes up nine on the side of eight. There is an empty (field). One goes up another nine and gets into the seventh (field) from the beginning. One multiplies nine by four, because we have gone up twice nine, so that (nine) was only multiplied by two. One enters thirty-six in the table and thus comes to a stop at the *zimam* letter four. It should be in the tens, but we take it as a unit, because there are too few cycles. Thus, the letter *d* is set down. If one adds the one of the base to thirty six, its limit [?] belongs to the verse of the poem. A mark is put upon it. If one had entered on the front (recto) of the table nine and nothing else, without multiplication, one would have come to a stop at eight. Thus, one divides forty-eight (by twelve).⁹⁰¹ The remainder is four. This is what one wants. If one had entered eighteen, which is nine multiplied by two, on the front (recto) of the table, one would have come to a stop at the *zimam* letter one, which belongs to the tens. One subtracts two, which was used to double the nine. The remainder is eight, half of which is (four. Again, this is) what one looks for. If, by multiplying (nine) by three, one were to enter twenty-seven on the front (recto) of the table, one would come to a stop at the *zimam* letter ten. The operation is the same.

Then, nine is entered into the verse of the poem. (The letter) which comes out is set down. It is **alif**. Then, one multiplies nine with the three which is the component of the previous nine, drops one, and enters twenty-six in the front (recto) of the table. The number that comes out - two hundred - is set down with the letter *r*. It is marked with *ninety-six*, (as belonging) to the verse of the poem.

⁹⁰¹ The text is doubtful. Bulaq corrects it to read: "one subtracts four from eight."

Then, one picks two letters from the chords and makes the eleventh cycle. It has (the number) seventeen. The remainder is five. One goes up five on the side of eight, corresponding to what had been undertaken in the first cycle. One enters four⁹⁰² on the front (recto) of the table and comes to a stop at an empty (field). One takes (the number of) the surface which confronts it. It is one. Thus, one enters one into the verse of the poem. This is *r-s*⁹⁰³ It is set down and marked with four. If we had come to a stop at a filled field of the table, we would have set down the one as three. One doubles seventeen, drops the one, and adds four. Thus, one gets thirtyseven. One enters it in the chords and comes to a stop at *h*⁹⁰⁴ It is entered and marked with five. One doubles five, enters (ten) into the verse, and thus comes to a stop at *l*. It is set down and marked with twenty.

Then, one picks two letters from the chords and makes the twelfth cycle. It has (the number) thirteen. The remainder is one. One goes up one on the side of eight. This cycle is the last cycle, the end of the two inventions, the end of the three quadruple (arrangements), and the end of the four triple (arrangements).

The one on the front (recto) of the table falls upon the *zimam* letter eight, which is just eight units. The only (number) we have in the cycles is one. Were there more than a four in the quadruple (arrangement) of the twelve, or more than a three in the triple (arrangement) of the twelve, there would be *h* (eight). But it is just *d* (four). Therefore, it is set down and marked with seventy-four, (as belonging) to the verse of the poem. Then, one notes which (number) from the surface corresponds to it. It is five. The five which

⁹⁰²Bulaq: "five."

⁹⁰³ The appearance of two letters at the same time is strange, but, as shown on p. 219, this is what is needed.

⁹⁰⁴ Bulaq has "six" and omits "with five" at the end of the next sentence. There is something wrong here. The listing on p. 213 shows an *alif* after the *h*. However, not an *alif* but a *w* is needed (unless the *w* has to be sought earlier in the discussion, p. 206 [n. 900], which seems unlikely). The "six" that appears in Bulaq may have something to do with the expected *w*.

belongs to the base, is added to it. Thus, one gets ten. A *y* is set down, and a mark is put upon it. One notes in which rank it occurs. We find it in the seventh.⁹⁰⁵ Thus, we enter seven among the letters of the chords. This entry is called the "letter birth." There is an *f*. One sets it down and adds the one of the cycle to seven. The total is eight. One enters it among the chords and gets to *s*. It is set down and marked with eight. One multiplies eight by the three that is in excess of the ten of the cycle - because it is the end of three quadruple (arrangements) of the cycles - and gets twenty-four. It is entered into the verse of the poem, and a mark is put upon (the number) which comes out from it. It is two hundred (r). Its sign is ninety-six, which is the end of the second⁹⁰⁶ cycle of the letter cycles.

One picks two letters from the chords and writes down the first result. It has a nine. This number always corresponds to the remainder of the letters of the chords, after they have been divided into (twelve) cycles. It is nine.⁹⁰⁷

Then, one multiplies nine with the three which is in excess of the ninety letters of the chords, and adds to it the one which is the remainder in the twelfth cycle. Thus, one gets twenty-eight. One enters it among the letters of the chords and gets to an **alif**. It is set down and marked with ninety-six. If the seven⁹⁰⁸ - which is the cycles of the ninety letters is multiplied by four - which is the three that is in excess of ninety plus the one that is the remainder in the twelfth cycle - the result is the same.

One goes up nine on the side of eight and enters nine in the table. Thus, one gets to the *zimam* letter two. One multiplies nine with the (number) of the surface corresponding to it, namely, three. Seven, the number of the chords with letters, is added to it, and the one which is the remainder in the twelfth cycle is subtracted. Thus, one gets thirty-three. One enters it into the verse

⁹⁰⁵ Bulaq: "fourth."

⁹⁰⁶ Leg. "twelfth"?

⁹⁰⁷ Cf. p. 199 (n. 892), above.

⁹⁰⁸ The MSS have nine, but apparently seven, as in Bulaq, is correct.

and gets to five. One puts it down⁹⁰⁹ (as *h*), doubles nine, and enters eighteen on the front (recto) of the table. One takes (the number) which is on the surface. It is one. One enters it among the letters of the chords and gets to an *m*. It is set down, and a mark is put upon it.

Then, one picks two letters from the chords and writes down the second result. It has (the number) seventeen. The remainder is five. One goes up on the side of fifty-eight⁹¹⁰ Five is multiplied by the three which is in excess of ninety. Thus, one gets fifteen. One adds to it the one which is the remainder in the twelfth cycle. This is nine.⁹¹¹ One enters sixteen into the verse and gets to a *t*. It is set down and marked with sixty-four. One adds to five the three which is in excess of ninety, and one adds the one which is the remainder in the twelfth cycle. This is thirty-nine.⁹¹² One enters it on the front (recto) of the table and gets to the *zimam* letter thirty. One notes what (number) is on the surface. It is found to be one. It is set down (as **alif**), and a mark (indicating that it belongs) to the verse of the poem is put upon it. It also is the ninth from the verse. One enters nine on the front (recto) of the table and comes to a stop at a three in the tens. Therefore, an *l* (thirty) is set down, and a mark is put upon it.

Then, one writes down the third result. Its number is thirteen. The remainder is one. One moves one on the side of eight. The three which is in excess of ninety, and the one which is the remainder in the twelfth cycle are added to thirteen. Thus, one gets seventeen, plus the one of the result, which gives eighteen. It is entered among the letters of the chords. It is an *l*, which is set down.

This is the end of the operation.

⁹⁰⁹ Bulaq has the required text. The other texts read: "one doubles it."

⁹¹⁰ Bulaq corrects: "One goes up five on the side of eight."

⁹¹¹ It should be sixteen, unless the sum $6 + 3 + 1$ is intended.

⁹¹² Bulaq corrects to "nine."

The example in the preceding question was this. We wanted to know whether the *za'irajah* was a modern or an ancient science.⁹¹³ The ascendant was in the first degree of Sagittarius. We set down:

The letters of the chords.

The letters of the question.

The principles, which are:

- (1) The number of the letters - ninety-three.
- (2) The cycles of (the letters) - seven, with the remainder of nine.
- (3) The ascendant - one.
- (4) The ruler of Sagittarius - four.
- (5) The greatest cycle - one.
- (6) The degrees of the ascendant plus the cycle - two.
- (7) Ascendant plus cycle multiplied by the ruler- eight.
- (8) The ruler added to the ascendant-five.

The verse of the poem:⁹¹⁴

A weighty question you have got. Keep, then, to yourself
Remarkable doubts which have been raised and which can be
straightened out with diligence.

The letters of the chords:

*s, t, d,*⁹¹⁵ *t, h, n, th, k, h, m, d, s, w, n, th, h, s, alif, b, l, m, n, s, 'ayn, f, d, q, r, s, y, k, l, m, n, s, 'ayn, f, q, r, s, t, th, kh, dh, z, gh, sh, t, k, n, 'ayn, h, s, z, w, h, l, s, k, l, m, n, s, alif, b, j, d, h, w, z, h, t, y.*

The letters of the question:

alif, l, z,^{915a} *y, r, j, t; 'ayn, l, m; m, h, d, th, alif, m;*

⁹¹³ For the following eight principles, cf. p. 198, above.

⁹¹⁴ Cf. 1:244, above, and pp. 214 and 224, below.

⁹¹⁵ C and D: k.

^{915a} The letter *alif*, which one would expect here, is not mentioned.

q, d, y, m.

	358	First Cycle:	9.	
561225	876			
<i>s</i>	1	Second Cycle:	17, remainder 5,	
<i>w</i>	2			
<i>alif</i>	3	Third Cycle:	13, remainder 1,	
<i>l</i>	4			
<i>ayn</i>	5	Fourth Cycle:	9.	
<i>z</i>	6			
<i>y</i>	7	Fifth Cycle:	17, remainder 5,	
<i>m</i>	8			
<i>alif</i>	9	Sixth Cycle:	13, remainder 1,	
<i>l</i>	10			
<i>kh</i>	11	Seventh Cycle:	9.	
<i>l</i>	12			
<i>q</i>	13	Eighth Cycle:	17, remainder 5,	
<i>h</i>	14			
<i>z</i>	15	Ninth Cycle:	13, remainder 1,	
<i>t</i>	16			
<i>f</i>	17	Tenth Cycle:	9.	
<i>s</i>	18			
<i>n</i>	19	Eleventh Cycle:	17, remainder 5,	2652
<i>alif</i>	20			
<i>dh</i>	21	Twelfth Cycle:	13, remainder 1,	28
<i>n</i>	22			
<i>gh</i>	23			3265
<i>r</i>	24	First Result:	9	
<i>alif</i>	25			
<i>y</i>	26	Second Result:	17, remainder 5,	6355896
<i>b</i>	27			
<i>sh</i>	28	Third Result:	13, remainder 1.	58
<i>k</i>	29			
<i>d</i>	30			65
<i>b</i>	31			

<i>t</i>	32
<i>h</i>	33
<i>alif</i>	34
<i>l</i>	35
<i>j</i>	36
<i>d</i>	37
	38

m th l alif

l 50

*alif 41*⁹¹⁶

⁹¹⁶ To the left, the letters of the verse are listed with consecutive numbering. At the end it seems that there was not enough room for the last four letters on the original table, so they were written to one side. Of course, it should be:

m 38
th 39
l 40
alif 41

t, w, n, alif, q, s, b, x, r, alif, alif, r, s, alif, t, q, b, alif, r, q, alif, 'ayn, alif, r, [m⁹¹⁷], h, r, h,⁹¹⁸ l, d, alif, r, s, h, [alf⁹¹⁹], l, d, y, f, s, r, alif, h, m, t, alif, l, l.

Their period is according to twenty-five, then twenty three twice, then twenty-one twice, until one gets to the one at the end of the verse [?].⁹²⁰ All the letters are moved. And

God knows better.

*t, r, w, h, n; r, w, h; alif, l, q, d, s; atif, b, r, z; s, r, h, alif; l, alif, d, r, y, s; f, alif, s, t, r, q, atif; b, h, alif; m, r, t, q, atif; alf, l, 'ayn, l, alif.*⁹²¹

⁹¹⁷ This letter is superfluous; cf. p. 206 (n. 900).

⁹¹⁸ The MSS have a wrong *j*.

⁹¹⁹ A *w* is required instead of *alif*. Cf. n. 904, above.

⁹²⁰ Cf. p. 201, above.

⁹²¹ These letters, then, form the following verse, indicating that the *Zd'irajah* was invented by Idris, the Qur'anic sage who is identified with the Biblical Enoch. It reads:

Tamhanna ruhu l-qudsi ubriza sirruha Li-Idrisa fa-starqa bi-ha murtaqa l-'ula.

The Holy Spirit will depart, its secret having been brought forth To Idris, and through it, he ascended the highest summit.

End of the discussion of how to find answers in rhymed form from the *Za'irajah of the World*.

People have methods other than the *zd'irajah* for finding out answers from questions. (However,) those answers are not rhymed.

I think⁹²² that the secret of obtaining a rhymed answer from the *za'irajah* lies in the fact that a verse, namely, that of Malik b. Wuhayb -"A weighty question, etc."- enters (into the operation). Thus, one gets an answer which rhymes on the rhyme letter of Malik's verse. In other methods, there is no rhymed answer.⁹²³

We are going to report this much about other methods of finding answers. A competent (practitioner of letter magic) said:

On learning hidden secrets from letter connections⁹²⁴

Let it be known to you - God guide us and you⁹²⁵ - that the following letters are the basis for answers to any problem. They produce the answers through total division.⁹²⁶ There are forty-three letters, as one can see:

alif, w, l, alif, 'ayn, z, s, atif, l, m, kh, y, d, l, z, q, t, alif, f, dh, s, r, n, gh, sh, r, alif, k, k, y, b, m, d, b, j, t, l, h, h, d, th, l, th, alif.

Some excellent man has worked these letters into the form of a verse in which every double consonant stands for two letters. He called the (verse) the "pole." It runs:

A weighty question you have got. Keep, then, to yourself

⁹²²Bulaq: "They think."

⁹²³ Cf. 1:243, above.

⁹²⁴ This is the title of a treatise (or a section of a larger work). The author is not known.

⁹²⁵ This formula, and even more so the one used below, p. 218, is characteristic of esoteric literature. Cf., for instance, the *Rasd'il ikhwadn as-safd'* and Ibn 'Arabi's *Futdbdt*. Cf. also 1:194, above.

⁹²⁶ The text appears to be: *bi-tajzi'atin bi-l-kulliyah*.

The following listing of the letters contains forty-four letters, and this is the number required, even though Ibn Khaldun refers again to fortythree letters, p. 225, below. Instead of one of the *r's*, an *n* should be read .(for the last letter of *idhan*).

Remarkable doubts which have been raised and which can be straightened out with diligence.⁹²⁷

If one wants to produce the (answer from the) question, one must eliminate the letters of the question that are repeated and set down those that remain. Then, one eliminates one letter that is similar to (a letter of the question) from the basic (verse), the "pole," for each remaining letter of the question. One sets down what remains. Then, one mixes the two remainders together in one line. One begins by taking as the first (letter), one from the remainder from the basic (verse), and as the second, one from the remainder from the question, and so forth, until the two remainders are finished, or until one of them is finished before the other. (In the latter case,) one leaves the rest as it is. If the number of the letters that come out after the mixing agrees with the number of the letters in the basic (verse), before elimination, the operation is correct. Then, one adds to them five *n*'s, in order to have the musical scales balanced and to have a complete complement of forty-eight letters. With those letters, one fills a table of squares. The end of the first line is the beginning of the second, and the rest is moved as it is, and so forth, until the table is filled and the first line reoccurs. The letters in the "region" follow each other in proportion to the motion. Then, one finds out the chord of each letter through square division by the smallest aliquot part found in it,^{927a} and one puts (each) chord opposite its letter. Then, one finds out the elemental relations for the letters of the table and indicates their natural power, their spiritual power, their spiritual scales, their psychic dispositions, and their principal bases from the table which has been composed for the purpose and which looks as follows:⁹²⁸

⁹²⁷ The operation is described again below, pp. 224 f.

^{927a} Cf. p. 222, below, for an explanation.

⁹²⁸ The numerals appearing in the following table are all *zimam* numerals. The letters appearing in the right-hand column represent the numerical values from one to seven.

Bases		Dispositions			Scales			Powers					
300	60		80	7	1000	900[?]		1	500	10	4	<i>b</i>	
100		3	800	70	9		400	30	7	200	20	5	<i>j</i>
900	80	6	200	80	400			40	2	700[?]	90	5	<i>d</i>
	40	5		20	7			10	9		90	4	<i>h</i>
500		4	100	10	2								<i>w</i>
	20	5		90	8								<i>z</i>

1000	100	10	1	<i>w</i> Dispositions	Results
				Scales <i>t</i>	
				Principal Base	<i>k</i> Powers

Then,⁹²⁹ one takes the chord of each letter after multiplying it by the bases of the four cardines of the (celestial) spheres. One should avoid what is adjacent to the cardines and also the *sawaqit*,⁹³⁰ because their relationship is confused. The result here is the first degree of diffusion.⁹³¹ Then, one takes the total of the elements and subtracts from it [?] the bases of the generated things. There remain the bases of the world of creation, after it has been exposed to the moments [?] of creation. Then, there are transferred to it some abstractions from matter - the elements that constitute matter. The result is the middle horizon of the soul. The first degree of diffusion is subtracted

⁹²⁹ For the following discussion, cf. p. 226, below.

⁹³⁰ I.e., the seven letters (*th, j, kh, z, sh, z,* and *f*) that do not occur in the first *surah* of the Qur'an.

⁹³¹ *Sarayan*, which in Avicenna's terminology might be translated as diffusion, infiltration, circulation, according to A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina*, p. 150.

from the total of the elements. There remains⁹³² the world of mediation. It has to do with the world of simple beings, and not with (those of) composite ones.

The world of mediation is then multiplied by the middle horizon of the soul. The result is the most high horizon. To it, the first degree of diffusion is transferred. Then, the first of the elements basically constituting matter is subtracted from the fourth (degree of diffusion [?]). There remains the third degree of diffusion. The total of the particulars of the elements is always multiplied by the fourth degree of diffusion. The result is the first world of particularization. The result of the multiplication of the second (element) with the second (degree of diffusion) is the second world of particularization; that of the third with the third is the third; and that of the fourth with the fourth is the fourth world of particularization. The worlds of particularization are added up and subtracted from the world of totality. There remain the worlds of abstraction. They are divided by the most high horizon. The result is the first particular. The remainder is divided by the middle horizon. The result is the second particular. The remainder is the third. The fourth here is fixed for the fourth (division [?]). If one wants more than four (divisions [?]), one must increase the number of the worlds of particularization, that of the degrees of diffusion, and that of the magic squares containing letters in their numerical value. God guide us and you.

Likewise, if the world of abstraction is divided by the first degree of diffusion, the result is the first particular of the world of composition, and so forth to the end of the last degree of the world of existence.

This should be understood and contemplated. God is guide and helper. .

Another method to find the answer is this. A competent (practitioner of letter magic) said:

Let it be known to you - God strengthen us and you with a spirit coming from Him - that the science of letters is an important science. The schol-

⁹³² The correct text is found in Bulaq. Cf. p. 226, below.

ar who knows it comes to know things that he would not be able to know with the help of any other science in the world. The practice of the science of (letter magic) requires certain conditions. With its help, the scholar may discover the secrets of creation and the inner workings of nature. Thus, he learns the two results of philosophy, which are letter magic and its sister (alchemy). The veil of the unknown is lifted for him. He thus learns the contents of the secret recesses of the heart. A number of people in the Maghrib have been observed⁹³³ to have a knowledge of the science (of letter magic). They have produced remarkable and extraordinary things and have been active in the world of existence with the help of God. It should be known that every virtue depends on exertion. A good habit, together with patience, is the key to everything good, just as a lack of skill and haste are the beginning of all failure.

I say: If one wants to know the power of each letter of the *alphabetos*⁹³⁴ - the alphabet - to the last number - and this is the beginning of the science of letters - one must look for the number that belongs to each letter. This degree, which means harmony for the letters [?], constitutes the power that a (particular letter) possesses with regard to the *corporealia*. The number is then multiplied by itself. The result is the power that a (particular letter) possesses with regard to the *spiritualia*. It is the "chord" (of the particular letter). This cannot be done with letters that have diacritical points. It can be done only with those that have no diacritical points, because the letters with diacritical points have degrees of meaning which will be explained later on.⁹³⁵

It should be known that the form of every letter has a (corresponding) form in the world on high, the (divine) throne. These (forms) may be moving

⁹³³ Bulaq may be translated as "I have observed ..." and this may be the correct text.

⁹³⁴ According According to the MSS, Ibn Khaldun pronounced the word *al-qafitus*.

⁹³⁵ Ibn Khaldun apparently did not quote this explanation.

or stationary, high or low, as is indicated in the proper places on the tables written down in (connection with) the *za'irajahs*.

It should be known that the powers of the letters fall into three categories. The first (category) is the least (important one). It is a power that becomes manifest after (the letters) have been written down. Such (a letter) is thus written down for a spiritual world which belongs to that particular letter. Whenever the letter produces a psychic power and concentration of mind, the powers of letters exercise an influence upon the world of the bodies.

The second (category) is the power of (the letters) in the realm of thought. It is the result of the activation of the *spiritualia* for (the letters). It is a power among the *spiritualia* on high, and a formal power in the world of *corporealia*.

The third (category) is what causes the inward - the psychic power - to concentrate upon bringing (the letter) into being. Before (a letter) is pronounced, it is a form in the soul. After it is pronounced, it is a form among the letters and a power in speech.

The natures of (the letters) are the same as those attributed to (all) created things, namely, heat-and-dryness, heat-and-cold, cold-and-humidity, and cold-and-dryness. This is the secret of the ogdoad. Heat combines air and fire. The two are (represented by the letters)⁹³⁶ *alif, h, t, m,, f, sh, dh, j, z, k, s, q, th, and z*. Cold combines earth and water: *d, h, l, 'ayn, r, kh, gh, b, w, y, n, s, t, and d*. Humidity combines air and water: *j, z, k, s, q, th, z, d, h, l, 'ayn, r, kh, and gh*. Dryness combines fire and earth: *alif, h, t, m, f, sh, dh, b, w, y, n, s, t, and d*. This is the relationship and mutual interpenetration of the letters representing the natures and the interpenetration of the particulars of

⁹³⁶ Cf. pp. 172 f., above. Here, however, the sequence of the letters is that used in the East. Furthermore, according to the above-mentioned distribution of the letters among the elements, the letters mentioned here would indicate the combinations fiery-watery, earthy-airy, watery-earthly, and fiery-airy.

the world within (the letters) on high and here below, through the agency of the primary mothers, that is, the four individual natures (elements).

If one wants to find out the unknown from a given question, one must ascertain the ascendant of the questioner, or the ascendant of his question. Then, the letters of the four cardines of (the horoscope) - one, five,⁹³⁷ seven, and ten - must be "spelled" (*istintaq*)⁹³⁸ equally and according to order, and the numbers of the powers and the chords must be found out, as we shall explain. One adds up, establishes proportions, and tries to open up [?] the answer. Thus, one will find what one is looking for, either clearly expressed or implied.

The same is the case with any question one may happen to have to explain. If one wants to discover the powers of the letters of the ascendant, together with the name of the questioner and the object, one must add up the numerical values of (the letters) according to the "great calculation."⁹³⁹ The ascendant, (let us assume,) is Aries, (and) the fourth (sign after Aries)⁹⁴⁰ is Cancer, the seventh Libra, and the tenth Capricornus, which is the strongest of the cardines. The article that goes with the name of each sign is omitted. One notes which rational numbers placed in their circle belong to each house (of the zodiac). Then, all the parts of multiples [?] in the proportions resulting from *istintaq* are eliminated. Under each letter, (the number [?]) which belongs to it in this connection is written down. Then, one follows the same procedure with regard to the numerical values of the letters of the four ele-

⁹³⁷ "Four," as in Bulaq, may be a necessary correction.

⁹³⁸ As explained by at-Tahanawi, *Kashshaf istilahat al funun*, pp. 127 f., s.v. "bast," *istintaq* means the retransformation of the numerical value of a word into letters. For instance, the numerical value of *M(u)h(a)m(ma)d is* ninety-two. Thus, its *istintaq* is *s-b*. Here, *istintaq* may refer to the method of the "great calculation," described hereafter.

⁹³⁹ The "great calculation" consists of counting the numerical values of the letters of the *names* of the letters of a given word, disregarding the letters of the word as such. For instance, in the name Mubammad, the numerical values of *mim* (*m-y-m*), *ha'* (*h--*), etc., are added up. Cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, V, 968 (n. s).

⁹⁴⁰ Aries is counted in.

ments and (the number [?]) that belongs to them. All these (numbers) are written as letters. The cardines, powers, and dispositions⁹⁴¹ are arranged in a mixed line. One spells the letters out and multiplies whatever must be multiplied, in order to find out the (various) scales. One sums up and tries to open up [?] the answer. Thus, the hidden thought and its answer will be found.

For instance, let us assume that the ascendant is Aries (*al-hamal*), as mentioned before. It is written down (in unconnected letters) *h-m-l*. The numerical value of *h* is eight, which can be divided by two, four, and eight. (It thus yields) *d* (four), *b* (two), and *alif* (one). The numerical value of *m* is forty, which can be divided by two, four, eight, ten, and twenty. (It thus yields,) to be precise, [*m* (forty),] *k* (twenty), *y* (ten), *h* (five), *d* (four), and *b* (two). The numerical value of *l* is thirty, which can be divided by two, two-thirds, three, five, six, and ten. (It thus yields) *k* (twenty), *y* (ten), *w* (six), *h* (five), and *j* (three). The same is done with all the letters of the question and the name in each word which happens to occur (in connection with the problem). The chords are found by dividing the square of each letter by its smallest aliquot part.⁹⁴² For instance, the numerical value of *d* is four, the square of four is sixteen. This (number) is to be divided by its smallest aliquot part, namely, two. Thus, the chord of *d* is eight. Each chord, then, is placed opposite its letter. Then, the elemental relationships are found out, as has been mentioned before in connection with the explanation of the spelling (method of the great calculation). They have a foundation useful for finding them out from the nature of the letter and the nature of the field of the table in which the (letter) occurs, as was mentioned by the *shaykh* for (the benefit of) those who know the technical terminology.

Deductions that can be drawn with the help
of letter systems as to deeply hidden thoughts.

⁹⁴¹ al Bulaq: *al-qara'in*.

⁹⁴² Lit., "largest fraction," that is, the fraction with the largest denominator.

This goes as follows: If someone asks what is the sickness of the patient, the cause of whose disease is not known, and what medicine will be appropriate for its cure, one orders the person who asks the question to name something that can be applied to the name of the unknown sickness, so that the word he names can be made the foundation of (the operation). The word is "spelled out" (*istintaq*) together with the name of the ascendant, the elements, the questioner, the day, and the hour, if one wants to go thoroughly into the question. If not, one restricts oneself to the word that the questioner says, and uses it, as we shall explain.

For instance, the questioner says "horse" (*faras*). The numerical value of the three letters (*f-r-s*) with their rational aliquot parts is set down. The numerical value off is eighty,⁹⁴³ which has the aliquot parts *m* (forty), *k* (twenty), *y* (ten), *h* (eight), and *d* (four). The numerical value of *r* is two hundred, which has the aliquot parts *q* (one hundred), *n* (fifty), *k-h* (twenty-five), *k* (twenty), and *y* (ten). The numerical value of *s* is sixty,⁹⁴⁴ which has the aliquot parts *m* (forty), *l* (thirty), *k* (twenty), *y* (ten), *w* (six), and *j* (three). *W* is a perfect number, having (the aliquot parts) four, three, and two, and so is *s*, having (the aliquot parts) forty, thirty, twenty, and ten.⁹⁴⁵ If one simplifies⁹⁴⁶ the letters of the words and then finds two elements equal, one assumes that the one that has more letters has superiority over the other. Then, one adds up the number of the letters of the elements in the name of the desired object, together with its letters, without simplification. One does the same with the name of the questioner. One assumes that the greater and stronger (number) has superiority.

Description of how to find out the powers of the elements.

⁹⁴³ A, C, and D have eight. In B, eighty seems to result from a correction of eight.

⁹⁴⁴ Again, according to the Eastern value. Forty as an aliquot part of sixty is two-thirds; cf. p. 221, above.

⁹⁴⁵ This sentence is not found in B. A "perfect number" is one that is equal to the sum of its aliquot parts (including one). Six, thus, is the sum of one, two, and three.

⁹⁴⁶ This might refer to the operation called base.

FIRE	EARTH	AIR	WATER
	<i>w</i>	<i>j</i>	
<i>hhh</i>	<i>yyy</i>	<i>kkkk</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>mm</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>l</i>

The superiority here goes to the earth. Its nature, cold and dryness, is the nature of the black bile. Thus, one assumes that the sick person suffers from the black bile. After one has composed an appropriate statement from the letters resulting from the breakdown into aliquot parts, it turns out that the throat is the place where the pain is located. The appropriate medicine is a clyster, and the appropriate liquid lemon juice. This results from the powers of the numbers of the letters of the word "horse." The (preceding discussion) is a brief, appropriate example.

In order to find out the powers of the elements from proper names, one proceeds in the following way. For instance, one takes "Muhammad" and writes it with unconnected letters (*m-h-m-d*). Then, one writes down the names of the four elements according to the composition of the (celestial) sphere. The result will be the letters and number of each element. For instance:

FIRE	EARTH	AIR	WATER
Three kinds	Three kinds	Six kinds	Six kinds
<i>'''</i>	<i>bbb</i>	<i>jj</i>	<i>ddd</i>
<i>hh</i>	<i>www</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>hhh</i>
		<i>kkk</i>	<i>lll</i>
<i>mm</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>'''</i>
		<i>qq</i>	<i>rrr</i>
		<i>nn</i>	<i>hhh</i>

One will find that the strongest of the elements of the name mentioned is the element of water, because the number of its letters is twenty. Therefore, one gives it superiority over the other elements of the name mentioned. One proceeds in the same way with all names. They are then added to their

chords, or to the chord attributed to the ascendant in the *za'irajah*, or to the chord of the verse ascribed to Malik b. Wuhayb which he made the basis for the mixture of questions and which runs:

A weighty question you have got. Keep, then, to yourself
Remarkable doubts which have been raised and which can be
straightened out with diligence.⁹⁴⁷

This is a famous chord for finding out unknown things. It served as the basis for Ibn ar-Raqqam⁹⁴⁸ and his colleagues. It is a complete, self-sufficient operation (that works) in (all) arbitrary instances.

The operation with this mentioned chord is as follows⁹⁴⁹ One writes it down with its letters unconnected and mixed with the word of the question according to the technique of "breaking down."⁹⁵⁰ The number of the letters of this chord - that is, the verse - is forty-three, because every doubled letter counts as two. Then, the letters (of the questions), which are repeated in the mixing, are eliminated, and one letter which is similar to the letter of the question is eliminated from the basic (verse) for each remaining letter of the question. The two remainders are set down on one line, so mixed that the first letter is taken from the remainder of the "pole," and the second from the remainder of the question, (and so forth), until the two remainders are used up. This yields forty-three (letters). Five *n*'s are then added, so that there are forty-eight letters, and the musical scales are balanced through them. Then, one writes down the remainder in order. If the number of the letters that come out after the mixing, agrees with the original number before elimination, the operation is correct. Then, a table of squares is filled with the (letters) that have been mixed. The end of the first line is the beginning of the second,

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. p. 214, above.

⁹⁴⁸ He might be identical with the mathematician Muhammad b. Ibrahim, d. 715 [1315]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 378, though proof is needed for this identification.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. pp. 214 f., above.

⁹⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 172 and 183, above.

and so on, until the first line reoccurs. The letters in the "region" follow each other in proportion to the motion. Then, the chord of each letter is brought out, as was mentioned before. It is put opposite its letters. Then, the elemental relations of the letters of the table are found out, in order to indicate their natural power, their spiritual scales, their psychic dispositions, and their principal bases from the table that has been composed for that purpose.

The way to find out the elementary relations is to note what the nature of the first letter of the table is, and what the nature of the field in which it resides is. If the two agree, it is good. If not, a relation between the two letters must be found out. This rule extends to all the letters of the table. Those who know the rules as they have been established in the musical circle can easily prove the correctness of this (procedure).

Then,⁹⁵¹ one takes the chord of each letter after multiplying it by the bases of the four cardines of the (celestial) sphere, as was mentioned before. One should avoid what is adjacent to the cardines, and also the *sawaqit*, because their relationship is confused. The result here is the first degree of diffusion. Then, one takes the total of the elements and subtracts from it [?] the bases of the generated things. There remains the base of the world of creation after it has been exposed to the moments [?] of creation. Then, there are transferred to it some abstractions from matter - the elements that constitute matter. The result is the middle horizon of the soul. The first degree of diffusion is subtracted from the total of the elements. There remains the world of mediation. It has to do with the worlds of simple beings and not with (those of) composite ones.

The world of mediation is then multiplied by the middle horizon of the soul. The result is the most high horizon. To it, the first degree of diffusion is transferred. Then, the first of the elements basically constituting matter is subtracted from the fourth (degree of diffusion [?]). There remains the third

⁹⁵¹ For the following operation, cf. pp. 217 f., above. 226

degree of diffusion. The total of the particulars of the elements is always multiplied by the fourth degree of diffusion. The result is the first world of particularization. The result of the multiplication of the second (element) with the second (degree of diffusion) is the second world of particularization. The same is the case with the third and fourth. The worlds of particularization are added up and subtracted from the world of totality. There remain the worlds of abstraction. They are divided by the most high horizon. The result is the first particular.

From here, the operation is continued until its completion. There are preliminary remarks to it in the books of Ibn Wahshiyah, al-B:uni, and others. The procedure follows a natural and definite^{951a} norm that applies to this and other metaphysical disciplines. The construction of letter *za'irajahs*, as well as the divine art and philosophical magic center around it.

It⁹⁵² 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 on anything supernatural. They are a sort of witty (game), as we mentioned at the beginning of the book.⁹⁵³ Likewise, they do not belong to the science of letter magic (*simiya'*), as we have explained it.

God gives inspiration. He is asked for help. He is trusted. He suffices us. He is a good protector.

VI.29. The science of alchemy.⁹⁵⁴

[p.3:227]

This is a science that studies the substance through which the generation of gold and silver may be artificially accomplished, and comments on the operation leading to it. The (alchemists) acquire knowledge of the tempers and powers of all created things and investigate them critically. They

^{951a} *Hukmi*, rather than *hikmi* "philosophical."

⁹⁵² This paragraph is not in Bulaq. C has it in the margin.

⁹⁵³ The reference appears to be to 1:248 f., above.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. also pp. 267 ff., below.

hope that they may thus come upon the substance that is prepared to (produce gold and silver). They even investigate the waste matter of animals, such as bones, feathers, hair,⁹⁵⁵ eggs, and excrements, not to mention minerals.⁹⁵⁶

Alchemy, then, comments on the operations through which such a substance may be transformed from potentiality into actuality, as, for instance, by the dissolution of bodies (substances) into their natural components through sublimation and distillation,⁹⁵⁷ by the solidification of meltable (substances) through calcification, by the pulverization of solid materials with the help of pestles and mullers and similar things. The (alchemists) assume that all these techniques lead to the production of a natural substance which they call "the elixir."⁹⁵⁸ When some mineral substance, such as lead, tin, or copper, which is prepared, in a manner (and degree) that closely approaches (preparedness) in actuality, for receiving the form of gold or silver, is heated in the fire and some (quantity) of the elixir is added⁹⁵⁹ to it, that substance turns into pure gold. In the technical terminology that the (alchemists) use for purposes of mystification, they give the cover name of "spirit" to the elixir and that of "body" to the substance to which the elixir is added.

The science that comments on this technical terminology and on the form of the technical operation by which predisposed substances are turned into the form of gold and silver, is the science of alchemy. In both ancient and modern times, people have written works on alchemy. Discussions of al-chemy are occasionally ascribed to people who were not al-chemists.

⁹⁵⁵ "Hair" is added in C and D.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. p. 268, below.

⁹⁵⁷ *Tasid* and *taqtir* are differentiated by the material subjected to the chemical process. Cf. al-Khuwarizmi, *Mafatih al-'ulum*, p. 149.

⁹⁵⁸ *Al-iksir*, from Greek *ζηριον*.

⁹⁵⁹ Literally, "thrown," corresponding to Greek *επιβαλλειν*.

The chief systematic writer on alchemy, according to the alchemists, is Jabir b. Hayyan. Alchemists even consider alchemy Jabir's special preserve and call it "the science of Jabir." He wrote seventy treatises on alchemy.⁹⁶⁰ All of them read like puzzles. It is thought⁹⁶¹ that only those who know all that is in (Jabir's treatises) can unlock the secrets of al-Chemy.⁹⁶²

At-Tughra'i,⁹⁶³ a recent Eastern philosopher, wrote systematic works on alchemy and disputations with al-chemists and other philosophers.

Maslamah al-Majriti, a Spanish philosopher, wrote on alchemy the *Rutbat al-hakim*. He wrote the *Rutbah* as a counterpart to his work on sorcery and talismans entitled *Ghayat al-hakim*. He thought that the two arts (alchemy and sorcery) were both results and fruits of philosophy and science, and that those who were not acquainted with them would miss the fruit of scholarship and philosophy altogether.⁹⁶⁴

Maslamah's discussion in the *Rutbah* and the discussions of all the (alchemists) in their respective works employ puzzling means of expression which are difficult for those who have not familiarized themselves with the technical terminology of (alchemists), to understand. We shall mention the reason why the alchemists had recourse to these cover names and puzzling means of expression.⁹⁶⁵

Ibn al-Mughayribi,⁹⁶⁶ a leading alchemist, has (written alchemical) maxims in verses the rhyme letter of which is each letter of the alphabet, taken up in turn. The verses belong among the most original poetry there

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, I, 41 ff. Cf. p. 157, above, and p. 269, below.

⁹⁶¹ Or rather: "He thought"?

⁹⁶² Cf. Bombaci, p. 461.

⁹⁶³ Al-Hasan (al-Husayn) b. 'Ali, ca. 453 [1061] to 515 [i 121]. Cf. GAL, I, 247 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 439 f.

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. Ibn Khaldun's opinion below, p. 246.

⁹⁶⁵ Cf. p. 246, below.

⁹⁶⁶ He is mentioned again as al-Mughayribi, p. 269, below. A Mughayribi family is mentioned, in the fifteenth century, in as-Sakhawi, *ad-Daw' al-lami'* (Cairo, 1353-55/1934-36), VIII, 164, but in spite of the rarity of the name, there is no information to connect the above-mentioned author with the later family.

is. All of them employ a puzzling manner of expression, (and they are) like elusive riddles. They can hardly be understood.

Works on alchemy are attributed to al-Ghazzali,⁹⁶⁷ but this attribution is not correct, because al-Ghazzali's lofty perceptions would not have permitted him to study, or, eventually, to adopt the errors of alchemical theories.

Some alchemical theories and opinions are occasionally attributed to Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu'awiyah,⁹⁶⁸ a stepson of Marwan b. al-Hakam. However, it is very well known that Khalid was an Arab by race and close to the Bedouin attitude. Thus, he was not familiar with the sciences and crafts in general. How, then, could he have known an unusual craft based upon knowledge of the natures and tempers of composite things, when the physical and medical works of scholars who did research on those subjects had not yet appeared and had not yet been translated? The only possibility is that there existed another Khalid b. Yazid among persons versed in the various crafts, and that the mix-up was caused by identical names.

I shall pass on here an epistle on alchemy written by Abu Bakr b. Bishrun⁹⁶⁹ to Ibn as-Samh. Both were pupils of Maslamah. If considered as

⁹⁶⁷Cf. the list of titles in GAL, I, 426; *Suppl.*, I, 755 f. The MS. Nuru Osmaniye, 3634, in Istanbul, also contains two short works on the elixir, ascribed to al-Ghazzali, one without a title, and the other entitled *at-Taqrīb fī ma'rifat at-tarkīb*.

⁹⁶⁸The legendary first Muslim scientist and translator of Greek literature into Arabic, who is said to have died between 84 and 90 [703 and 708/91]. Cf. GAL, I, 67; *Suppl.*, I, 106; Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 242, 354 (ed. Flugel); pp. 338, 497 (Cairo, 1348/1929-30); al-Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 166; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, III, 128 f. The historical Khalid aspired to the caliphate for a short time. Marwan married his mother, Yazid's wife, for political reasons.

⁹⁶⁹Ibn Bishrun's lifetime is fixed at *ca.* A.D. 1000 through his relationship to Maslamah and Ibn as-Samh. Cf. pp. 126 f., above. On the title page of the *Rutbah* in the Istanbul MS. Ragib Pasa, 963, fol. 90a, there is a biography of Maslamah which mentions Abu Bakr Ibn Bishrun among his pupils and as authority for the statement that an estrangement had taken place between Ibn as-Samh and Maslamah. It may be mentioned that there is no information that Ibn as-Samh wrote works on alchemy, nor is the historical Maslamah considered an author on alchemy or magic. Thus, Ibn Bishrun's treatise may be pseudepigraphical. Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf az-zunun*, III, 595 f., refers to a work on alchemy, *Sirr al-kimiya'*, by a certain Ibn Bishrun al-Maghribi, who may be identical with our Ibn Bishrun. Identification with the Sicilian poet 'Uthman b. 'Abdar-Rahim b. Bashrim, implied by E. Griffini in

carefully as it deserves to be, the discussion of (Ibn Bishr(n) will show my⁹⁷⁰ attitude toward alchemy. After some introductory (remarks) in the epistle, which have nothing to do with the subject, Ibn Bishrun said: "The premises of this noble craft were mentioned by the ancients. All of them were reported by the philosophers. Such premises are knowledge of the generation of minerals, of the creation of rocks and precious stones, and of the different natures of regions and localities. As they are well known, we shall not mention them. But I shall explain to you what one needs to know of this craft. Thus, let us start with that knowledge.

"It has been said: The students of this science must first know three things: (1) whether it exists, (2) what brings it into being, and (3) how it comes into being. If the student of alchemy knows these three things well, he achieves his object and knows as much as can be known about this science.

"As to the problem of the existence of alchemy and the proofs for the (forces) that bring alchemy into existence, the elixir that we have sent to you is a satisfying answer.

"The question of what brings alchemy into being implies, according to alchemists, search for the stone that makes the (alchemical) operation possible. Potentially, the operation may be performed with any (conceivable) thing, because the (potentiality to perform the operation) comes from the four natures (elements). It originated from their composition at the beginning and will revert to them at the end. However, there are things that might be used for the operation (only) potentially, not actually. This comes about as follows. There are some things that can be decomposed. There are others that cannot be decomposed. Those that can be decomposed can be processed and treated. They are the things that can be transformed from potentiality

Centenario delta nascita di M. Amari (Palermo, 1910), I, 445, is almost certainly wrong. *A different but related work by Ibn Bishrun in MS. Beshir Agha 505, 86a-91b(Fuat Sezgin).

⁹⁷⁰The MSS read *adhabu* (the vocalization is indicated in C). Bulaq corrects to *dhahaba*, which would mean "his attitude." At first glance this might appear the more natural idea, but the text as transmitted cannot be understood that way, since a reading *udhhiba* is not possible.

into actuality. On the other hand, the things that cannot be decomposed cannot be processed and treated, because they have nothing but potentiality in them. They cannot be decomposed, in order to give some of the elements they contain an advantage over the others and to have the power of the bigger (elements) predominate over the lesser ones.

"You - may God give you success - must therefore know the most suitable of the decomposable stones that can be used for the operation. You must know its genus, power, action, and which kind of dissolution or solidification, purification, calcification, absorption, or transformation it may be able to effect. People who do not know these basic principles of alchemy will never be successful or achieve any good results. You must know whether (the stone) can be aided by something else or is sufficient by itself, and whether it is one (thing by itself) at the beginning or is associated with something else and becomes one (thing by itself) during the treatment, and is therefore called 'stone.' You must also know how it works; how much its components must weigh and what times (are suitable) for it; how the spirit is inserted and the soul made to enter into it; whether fire can separate (the soul) from (the stone) after it has been inserted (in it); if not, why (not), and what makes it necessary that it be that way. This is what one wants (to know).

"It should be understood and realized that all philosophers have praised the soul and thought that it is the soul that governs, sustains, and defends the body and is active in it. For, when the soul leaves the body, the body dies and gets cold. It cannot move or defend itself, because there is no life in it and no light. I have mentioned the body and the soul only because this craft (alchemy) is similar to the body of man, which is built up by regular meals⁹⁷¹ and which persists and is perfected by the living, luminous soul, which enables the body to do the great and mutually contradictory things that only the living power of the soul can do. Man *suffers* from the disharmony of his component elements. If his elements were in complete harmony and

⁹⁷¹ Lit., "luncheon and dinner."

(thus) not affected by accidents and (inner) contradictions, the soul would not be able to leave his body. Man would then live eternally. Praised be He who governs all things, He is exalted.

"It should be known that the natures (elements) producing the (alchemical) operation constitute a quality that pushes (forward) at the beginning, and a process of emanation requiring an end. When they have reached this limit, they cannot be transformed (back) into the (state) that (formed the starting point of) their composition, as we stated at the outset with regard to man⁹⁷² The natures of the substance had been separate, but now they adhere to each other and have become one thing, similar to the soul in power and activity, and similar to the body in having composition and pulse.⁹⁷³ There is a strange thing about the actions of the elements. It is the weak (element) that is powerful, since it has power over the decomposition, composition, and completion of things. It is in this sense that I use (the words) 'powerful' and 'weak.' Change and nonbeing in the first composition occur only as the result of disharmony (among the component elements). They do not occur in the second composition, because there then is harmony (among the component elements).

"An early (philosopher-chemist) has said: 'Decomposition and division mean life and duration, as far as the al-chemical operation is concerned, while composition means death and nonbeing.' This statement has 'a subtle meaning. The philosopher meant by 'life and duration' its⁹⁷⁴ transformation from nonexistence into existence. As long as it remains in (the state of) its first composition, it is, no doubt, nonbeing. But when the second composition takes place, non being no longer exists. Now, the second composition comes about only after decomposition and division. Thus, de composition

⁹⁷² Referring to the statement that body and soul can be separated but not reunited after separation?

⁹⁷³For "pulse" in alchemical literature, cf. P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan, textes choisis* (Paris & Cairo, 1354/1935), pp. 51 ff., and *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 236.

⁹⁷⁴That is, the transformation of the alchemical operation, or of the stone.

and division are peculiar to the (alchemical) operation. If it⁹⁷⁵ is applied to the soluble body (substance), it spreads in it, because it has no form, since it has come to take in the body the place of the soul which has no form. This is because it has no weight as far as (the substance) is concerned. You will see this, if God - He is exalted - wills.

"You must realize that mixing a fine thing with another fine thing is easier than mixing a coarse thing with another coarse thing. I have in mind here the similarity in form among spirits (on the one hand) and bodies (substances, on the other), for it is the form of things that causes their union. I mention this to you, so that you may know that the (al-chemical) operation is more agreeable and simpler if it is undertaken with fine spiritual elements than if it is undertaken with coarse corporeal (substances).

"It is logical that stones are stronger in their resistance to fire than spirits. Likewise, gold, iron, and copper are observed to offer more resistance to fire than sulphur, mercury, and other spirits. Therefore, I say: The substances were spirits at the beginning. When the heat of the natural process (*kiyan*) affects them, they are transformed by it into coarse, coherent substances. Fire is not able to consume them, because they are exceedingly coarse and coherent. When an exceedingly great amount of fire is applied to them, it turns them again into spirits, as they had been when they were first created. If fire (then again) affects the fine spirits, they flee and are not able to endure it. Thus, you must know what brought the substances to their particular condition and (what) brought the spirits to theirs. That is the most important knowledge you can have.

"I say: The spirits flee and are burned, because of their combustibility and fineness. They became combustible because of their great share of humidity. When fire notices humidity, it attaches itself to it, because (hu-

⁹⁷⁵That is, the operation, or the stone.

midity) is airy^{975a} and (thus) similar to fire. (The fire) does not stop eating it, until (the humidity) is consumed. The same applies to substances when, (noticing) the approach of fire, they flee,⁹⁷⁶ because they have little coherence and are coarse. (But) they are not combustible, because they are composed of earth and water which offers resistance to fire, in that the fine (components of water) unite with its coarse (components) through a long (process of) cooking which softens and mixes things. For, anything that is annihilated through fire⁹⁷⁷ is annihilated only because its fine (components) separate (under the influence of fire) from its coarse (components), and its parts merge with each other without dissolution and adaptation, Thus, the resulting combination and interpenetration is (mere) aggregation, not (real) mixture. Therefore, (the fine and the coarse elements) are as easily separated (under the influence of fire) as water and oil (are), or similar things. I describe this merely so that you may learn from it (the facts) about composition and opposition with regard to the elements. If you have a sufficient knowledge of this, you know as much about the (elements) as can be known by you.

"You must (further) know that the mixtures, which are the elements of alchemy, agree with one another. They are derived from one substance. One order and one treatment unite them all. Nothing strange enters into either a (single) part or into the whole of it.⁹⁷⁸ In this sense, the philosopher has said: 'If you have a good knowledge of the treatment and composition of the elements, and if you do not permit anything strange to enter into them,

^{975a} *Hawa'iyah*? The MSS have *hw'yh*. The meaning is doubtful. Perhaps, *huwiyah* is meant: "a substance similar to fire."

⁹⁷⁶ Bulaq has a simpler, perhaps correct text: "when they notice the approach of fire."

⁹⁷⁷ "Through fire" belongs here, rather than after the second "annihilated."

⁹⁷⁸ The suffix used in Arabic seems to refer to "treatment," but one would expect it to refer to "the mixtures." Cf. below. This, however, would require too much of a correction. Is the suffix meant to refer to "substance"?

you⁹⁷⁹ have a good knowledge of what you want to know well and definitely, since the (alchemical) element is one (element) and contains nothing that is strange to it. He who brings something strange into it falsifies it and commits an error.'

"It should be known that if a cognate substance is properly dissolved for this (alchemical) element, so that it becomes similar to it in respect of fineness and subtleness, the (alchemical) element expands in it and follows it wherever it goes. As long as substances remain coarse and rough, they cannot expand or be paired, and they can dissolve only with the help of spirits.

"You - may God guide you - should understand this statement in that sense. You - may God guide you - should know that such dissolution in the animal substance is the truth, which neither perishes nor decreases. It is the thing that transforms the elements, holds them, and produces for them marvelous colors and blossoms. Not every substance dissolves in this way,⁹⁸⁰ which is (the way of) complete dissolution, because it is contrary to life. It dissolves only in so far as (the process of dissolution) is agreeable to it and serves to defend it against the burning action of fire, until it is no longer coarse and the elements are transformed to the degree of fineness or coarseness possible for them. When the substances have reached their limit of dissolution and refinement, they then obtain a power that holds, immerses,⁹⁸¹ transforms, and pervades. An (alchemical) operation, the test of whose truthfulness does not appear at the beginning, is no good.

"It should be known that the cold nature dries things out and ties down their humidity, while heat causes the humidity of things to appear and ties down their dryness. I have singled out heat and cold because they are active,

⁹⁷⁹The complete text as translated, to the end of the paragraph, is found in Bulaq, and not in A, B, C, or D.

⁹⁸⁰ *Leg.: hallan <mithla hadha l-halli wa-> hadha.*

⁹⁸¹ *Taghwsu*, as in C and D, which would be intransitive, or perhaps, rather, transitive *tughawwisu*. Cf. p. 241, l. 7, below.

and humidity and dryness (because they) are passive. The passivity of (the two opposites) toward each other creates and generates the substances. Heat, however, does so more actively than cold, because the cold cannot transport and move things, while heat is the cause of motion. When the heat that causes generation is weak, it never achieves anything. Correspondingly, if the heat affecting a thing is excessive, and there is no cold there, it burns the thing and destroys it. For this reason, some cold is needed in (alchemical) operations, so that the power of opposites may be balanced and there may be protection against the heat of fire.

"There is nothing the philosophers have warned against more insistently than burning fires. They have commanded (alchemists) to cleanse the elements and the breaths, to remove their dirt and humidity, and to keep away their harmful (actions) and uncleanness from (fires). That is the sound basis of their doctrine and treatment. The (alchemical) operation begins with fire and ends with fire. Therefore, the philosophers have said, 'Beware of burning fires.' By that they meant that one should keep away the harmful (actions) that go with (fire). (Otherwise,) two kinds of harmful (actions) would combine against the substance and speed its destruction. Also, anything may suffer annihilation and corruption through itself,⁹⁸² because its elements are opposed to each other and there is disharmony in it. It thus stands in the middle between two things⁹⁸³ and does not find anything to strengthen and aid it, but the harmful (actions) overpower and destroy it.

"It should be known that the sages have mentioned that spirits return repeatedly to bodies (substances), so that they may have greater coherence with them and greater strength to fight the fire, since they (the spirits) come into contact with (the fire) at the moment of union - I mean here elemental fire. This should be realized.

⁹⁸² "Through itself" (*min dhatihi*) is the correct addition of Bulaq.

⁹⁸³ I.e., its own tendency toward destruction and the destructive action of fire.

"We are now going to speak about the stone that makes the (alchemical) operation possible, as mentioned by the philosophers. They have held different opinions about it. Some have thought that it is (to be found) in animals; some have thought, in plants; some have thought, in minerals; and, according to some, in everything. We do not have to examine these claims and enter into a dispute concerning them with the people who make them, because that would be a very long discussion. I have already stated⁹⁸⁴ that the (alchemical) operation might potentially, be performed with anything, because the elements exist in every thing. This is so.

"We want to know what produces the (alchemical) operation (both) potentially and actually. Therefore, we turn to the statement of al-Harrani⁹⁸⁵ that all dyeing⁹⁸⁶ consists of two kinds. One may use a substance such as saffron, which is used to dye a white garment. The (saffron) eventually changes in it, vanishing and being decomposed. The second kind of dyeing is transformation of the substance of one thing into the substance and color of something else. Thus trees, for instance, transform the soil into themselves, and animals the plants, so that eventually the soil becomes plants, and the plants animals. This can come about only with the help of the living spirit and the active nature (*kiyan*) which has the ability to generate substances and change essences.

"If this be so, I say that the (alchemical) operation must be either in animals or in plants. Proof of this is that both animals and plants need food by their very nature, in order to subsist and to materialize.

"Plants do not have the same fineness and power that animals have. Therefore, the sages rarely turned to them. Animals are the last and final stage of the three permutations. Minerals turn into plants, and plants into

⁹⁸⁴Cf. p. 231, above.

⁹⁸⁵None of the many Harranis of the ninth and tenth centuries is known as an outstanding authority on alchemy. He might possibly be Silim, the "Syrian" alchemical authority from Iarran, mentioned by ar-Razi. Cf. J. Ruska in *Der Islam*, XXII(1935), 289. * MS. Beshir Agha, 505, 149b.

⁹⁸⁶From Greek βαφή.

animals, but animals cannot turn into anything finer than themselves. They may, however, revert back to (greater) coarseness. Furthermore, animals are the only things in the world to which the living spirit attaches itself. Now, the spirit is the finest thing there is in the world. It attaches itself to animals only because it is similar to them. The spirit existing in plants is insignificant. It is coarse and thick. In addition, it is submerged and hidden in plants, because it is coarse itself and because the substance of plants is coarse. (Plants,) thus, cannot move, because they themselves are coarse and because their spirit is coarse. The mobile spirit is much finer than the hidden one.

The former accepts food. It can be moved, and it can breathe. The latter can only accept food. As compared with the living spirit, it occupies no better position than that of earth as compared to water. This is how plants compare with animals. Therefore, it is much more advanced and much simpler to use animals for the (alchemical) operation. The intelligent person who knows this must try the (method) that is easy. He must not do what he fears might be difficult.

"It should be known that the sages have divided living beings into 'mothers'-the elements - and 'young ones' - the generated beings. That is well known and easy to understand. The sages thus divided the elements and the generated beings into living ones and dead ones. They assumed that anything that moves is active and living and that anything that is stationary is passive and dead. They made this division for all things, for the melt able substances and the mineral drugs. Anything that is melt able in fire and volatile and combustible, they called 'living.' Anything of the opposite qualities, they called 'dead.' The animals and plants that can be decomposed into the four elements, they called living. Those that cannot, they called dead.

"Then, they searched all the living groups. Among the things that can be decomposed into four components obvious to the eye, they did not find anything suitable for alchemy. The only (suitable) thing they found was 'the stone' which is in animals. They studied its genus. Eventually, they came to

know it. They took it and treated it. As a result, they obtained the desired qualities from it.

"Similar qualities may be obtained in minerals and plants, after (various mineral or vegetable) drugs are combined, mixed, and then separated again. There are plants, such as saltwort,⁹⁸⁷ that can be decomposed into certain of the (four) components. Minerals contain substances, spirits, and breaths which, when they are mixed and treated, produce something that may exercise an influence. We have tried all that out.

"Animals are much more advanced. Their treatment is much simpler. Thus, one must know what is the stone that exists in animals, and how it can be found.

"We have made it clear that animals are the highest of generated things. In the same sense, whatever is composed from them (animals) is finer than (plants),⁹⁸⁸ just as plants are finer than earth. Plants are finer than earth, because they are created from its⁹⁸⁹ pure essence and fine substance. Therefore, they are necessarily fine and subtle. The animal stone is in the same position (among animals) as plants are in the soil. In general, there is nothing in living beings that can be decomposed into four elements except (that stone). This statement must be understood. It can hardly remain concealed from anyone except an obviously stupid person who has no intelligence.

"I have thus informed you about the quiddity and genus of the stone. Now I am going to explain to you the different kinds of treatment. Thus, we shall give you your fair share (of information), as we have taken it upon ourselves to do, if God - praised be He - wills.

"With God's blessing, here is the treatment: Take the noble stone. Deposit it in the cucurbit and alembic. Separate its four elements, which are

⁹⁸⁷Used for the preparation of alkali.

⁹⁸⁸As it stands, the Arabic suffix has no antecedent except "animals."

⁹⁸⁹I.e., the pure essence of earth. The text must be corrected in this sense. As it stands, the Arabic suffix can refer only to "plants."

water, air, earth, and fire. They are substance, spirit, soul,⁹⁹⁰ and dyeing. When you have separated the water from the earth and the air from the fire, keep each one apart in its own vessel. Take the dregs - the sediment - at the bottom of the vessel. Wash it with hot fire, until the fire has removed its blackness, and its coarseness and toughness have disappeared. Blanch it carefully and evaporate the superfluities of the humidities concealed⁹⁹¹ in it. It will thus become white water, which contains no darkness, dirt, or disharmony. Then, turn to those primary elements that are distilled from it. Cleanse them, too, of blackness and disharmony. Wash them repeatedly and sublimate them, until they become fine, subtle, and pure. When you have done this, God has given you success.

"Then, start with the composition around which the operation centers. This is as follows. Composition comes about only through pairing (marriage) and putrefaction. Pairing (marriage) is the mixture of the fine with the coarse. Putrefaction is purgation⁹⁹² and pulverization undertaken so that the various parts may mix, as water does, with each other and form one thing containing no confusion⁹⁹³ or deficiency in itself. In this condition, the coarse (components) have the strength to hold the fine ones back; the spirit has the strength to oppose the fire and can tolerate it; and the soul has the strength to immerse itself and slip into the substances.

"This (situation) exists only after composition. When the soluble substance is paired with the spirit, it mingles with it in all its parts, and the parts interpenetrate, because they are similar to each, other. Thus, (the resulting mixture) becomes one thing. The fact that (the spirit) is mixed (with the

⁹⁹⁰Here the reading *nafs*, and *not nafas*"breath," is indicated.

⁹⁹¹*Mustajinnah*, as in Bulaq and the MSS.

⁹⁹²This seems the most likely meaning of *tamshiyahin* in this context, al-though the word is not known to me as a technical term of alchemy. It might have a meaning close to "digestion," which is always associated with putrefaction.

⁹⁹³*Ikhtilat* usually means "mixture," but this meaning would not seem to make sense in the context. Bulaq corrects to *ikhtilat* "disagreement."

body) makes it necessary for the spirit to be affected by well-being, corruption, duration [?],⁹⁹⁴ and persistence, like the body. Likewise, when the soul mixes with (substance and spirit) and penetrates them through the services of the (al-chemical) treatment, all the parts of the (soul)⁹⁹⁵ mingle with all the parts of the two other (things), that is, spirit and substance. Thus, the (soul) and the two become one thing that contains no disagreement and is in the position of the universal particular whose elements are intact and whose parts are in harmony with each other.

"When this compound meets the soluble substance, and fire is constantly applied to it, and the humidity in it is brought to the surface, it melts in the soluble substance. Humidity implies combustion and an attachment of the fire to itself. But when the fire wants to attach itself to it, its admixture of water prevents it from union with the soul, for fire does not unite with oil, until it is pure. Likewise, water implies aversion to fire. Thus, when fire is constantly applied to it and wants to evaporate it, the dry substance which is mixed with (the water) keeps it back inside and prevents it from evaporation. Thus, the substance is the cause of holding the water; the water is the cause of the duration of the oil; the oil is the cause of the persistence of the dyeing; and the dyeing is the cause of the appearance of color and the indication of oiliness in dark things that have no light and no life. This is the right substance. The (alchemical) operation comes about in this way.

"The 'egg'⁹⁹⁶ about which you have inquired (is the thing) the sages call 'egg.' It is what they have in mind (when they speak about the 'egg'), and not

⁹⁹⁴One would expect, rather, "annihilation, nonbeing" (*al farad'*), and possibly the text should be corrected in this sense.

⁹⁹⁵*Ajza'uha*.

⁹⁹⁶On the "egg" of the alchemists, originally intended to be an alloy of copper, lead, iron, and tin, but also considered as the alchemical "stone," cf., esp., M. Berthelot and C. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris, 1888), pp. 18 ff. (text), pp. 18 ff. (tr.).

What follows is a characteristic device of esoteric literature, namely, the pupil asking the teacher for an explanation. Cf., for instance, P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan, testes choisies*, p. 79; *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, I, xxxvi (n. 6).

the egg of the chicken. It should be known that the sages did not choose an inappropriate name by calling it 'egg.' They called it 'egg,' because it can be compared to an egg. I asked Maslamah about it one day when I was alone with him. I said to him, 'O excellent sage, tell me, why did the sages call the animal compound "egg"? Was that something arbitrary on their part, or was there some reason that caused them to do so?' He replied, 'Indeed, there is deep meaning in it.' I said, 'O sage, what advantage (did they see) and what indication of a connection with alchemy did they find in comparing it with an egg and calling it "egg"?' He said, 'Because the egg is similar to and related to the compound. Think it over, and the meaning of it will appear to you.' I remained with him, thinking it over, but I could not get at the meaning of it. When he saw that I was deep in thought and my soul immersed in it, he grasped my arm, nudged me slightly, and said to me, 'O Abu Bakr, it is because of the relationship that exists between the two with regard to the quantity of colors at the time of the mixture and composition of the elements.' When he said that, the darkness (that had enveloped my mind) left me. A light lit up my heart and gave my intellect the power to understand it. I stood up and went home, thanking God - He is exalted - for it. I constructed a geometrical figure to illustrate it. It proves the correctness of Maslamah's statement. I am writing it down for you in this book (epistle).

"For instance: when the compound is complete and perfect, the element of air in it is, to the element of air in the egg, in the same proportion as the element of fire in the former is to the element of fire in the latter. The same applies to the two other elements, earth and water. Now, I say: two things that in this manner are proportionate to each other are similar to each other. For example, assume that the plane of the egg is *HZWH*.⁹⁹⁷ If we want that, we take the smallest element⁹⁹⁸ of the compound, that of dryness, and add

⁹⁹⁷In our letters, *EGFH*. The plane of the "egg" *EGFH* is said to be similar to the plane of the "stone" *AJBD* (in our letters, *ACBD*), and, therefore, the "stone" is called "egg."

⁹⁹⁸*Leg. taba'i*, as in Bulaq, or, perhaps, *al-taba'i* <fi>.

to it the same (amount) of the element of humidity. We treat the two, until the element of dryness absorbs the element of humidity and takes over its power. This discussion contains a certain secret hint which, however, will not remain concealed from you. Then we add to the two the same (amount as theirs) of the spirit, that is, water. Thus, the whole consists of six equal (parts). Then we treat the whole and add to it the same (amount) of the element of air, which is the soul. That is three parts. Thus, the whole consists of nine parts equal in power to dryness. Under each of two sides of this compound whose nature (element) encloses the plane of the compound, we then put two elements. The first two sides that enclose the plane of the compound are assumed to be those of the elements of water and air. They are the two sides *AJD*.⁹⁹⁹ The plane is *ABJD*. Correspondingly, the two sides that enclose the plane of the 'egg'(and) which represent water and air are two sides of the (plane) *HZWH*. Now, I say: the plane *ABJD* is similar to the plane *HZWH* <...>the element of air which is called 'soul'.¹⁰⁰⁰ The same applies to (the side) *BJ* of the plane of the compound. The sages never called anything by the name of something (else), except when the first thing could be compared to the other.

"Words for an explanation of which you have asked (me) are 'holy land'¹⁰⁰¹ it means the combination of the higher and the lower elements; 'copper,' which is the (substance) the blackness of which has been removed and which was cut in pieces until it became an atom, and was then colored red with copperas, until it came to be copper.¹⁰⁰² '*Maghnisiya*'¹⁰⁰³ is the stone of the (alchemists) in which the spirits are frozen and which is brought

⁹⁹⁹The MSS seem to have *AHJ*, but apparently the sides *AJ* and *AD* of the plane *AJBD* are meant.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Or "breath"?

¹⁰⁰¹For "Holy Land" as a cover name for mercury, cf. A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arabischen al-chemistischen Literatur*(Berlin, 1951), p. 34.

¹⁰⁰² Bulaq: *nukhasiyan* "like copper."

¹⁰⁰³ The "Magnesia" of the alchemists is some undetermined kind of alloy. Cf. E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung and Ausbreitung der Akhemie* (Berlin, 1919), Index, s.v. "Magnesia."

forth by the higher nature in which the spirits are imprisoned, in order to fight the fire (and protect) them against it. '*Furfurah*' (purple) is a perishable red color that is produced by nature (*kiyan*). 'Lead' is a stone that has three powers of different individualities which, however, are similar to each other in form and genus. One of them is spiritual, luminous, and clear. It is the active power. The second is psychic. It moves and has sensual perception. However, it is coarser than the first power. Its center is below that of the first (power). The third power is an earthy power. It is solid and astringent. It turns back toward the center of the earth because of its gravity. It is the power that holds the spiritual and psychic powers together and encloses them.

"All the remaining (words) are innovations created in order to confuse the ignorant. He who knows the (basic) premises can dispense with everything else.

"That is all you have asked me about. I have explained it to you in this epistle. We hope with God's help that you will achieve your wish. Farewell."

Here ends the discussion by Ibn Bishrun, one of the great pupils of Maslamah al-Majriti, the Spanish authority on alchemy, letter magic, and sorcery, for the third [ninth] century and later (times).

One can see how all the expressions used by (alchemists) tend to be secret hints and puzzles,¹⁰⁰⁴ scarcely to be explained or understood. This is proof of the fact that alchemy is not a natural craft.

The truth with regard to alchemy, which is to be believed and which is supported by actual fact, is that alchemy is one of the ways in which the spiritual souls exercise an influence and are active in the world of nature. (It may) belong among the (miraculous) acts of divine grace, if the souls are good. Or it may be a kind of sorcery, if the souls are bad and wicked.¹⁰⁰⁵ It is obvious that (alchemy may materialize) as a (miraculous) act of divine

¹⁰⁰⁴ According to the vocalization indicated in D, one would have to translate, "he has turned all the expressions into secret hints . . ."

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. p. 167, above.

grace. It may be sorcery, because the sorcerer, as has been established in the proper place, may change the identity of matter by means of his magic power.¹⁰⁰⁶ (People) think that a (sorcerer) must use some substance (in order) for his magical activity to take place. Thus, certain animals may be created from the substance of earth, of hair, or of plants, or, in general, from substances other than their own. That, for instance, happened to the sorcerers of Pharaoh with their ropes and sticks.¹⁰⁰⁷ It also is reported, for instance, of the Negro and Indian sorcerers in the far south and of the Turks in the far north, that by sorcery they force the air to produce rain, and other things.¹⁰⁰⁸

Now, since alchemy is the creation of gold in a substance other than that of (gold), it is a kind of sorcery. The famous sages who discussed the subject, men such as Jabir, Maslamah, and their non-Muslim predecessors, followed this line.

Therefore, they used puzzling expressions. They wanted to protect alchemy from the disapproval that religious laws express for the various kinds of sorcery. It was not because they were reluctant to communicate it (to others), as was thought by people who did not investigate the matter thoroughly.

One may compare the fact that Maslamah called his book on alchemy *Rutbat al-hakim*, while he called his book on sorcery and talismans *Ghayat al-hakim*. He wanted to intimate that the subject of the *Ghayah* is a general one, whereas the subject of the *Rutbah* is a restricted one, for *ghayah* "final goal" is a higher (stage in research) than *rutbah* "degree, rank." The problems of the *Rutbah* are in a way part of the problems of the *Ghayah*, or deal with the same subjects. (Maslamah's) discussion of the two disciplines clarifies what we have said.

¹⁰⁰⁶Cf. p. 157, above.

¹⁰⁰⁷Cf. p. 168, above.

¹⁰⁰⁸Cf. pp. 161 f., above.

Later on, we shall explain that those who assume that the achievements of alchemy are the result of a natural craft are wrong.¹⁰⁰⁹

God is "wise and knowing."¹⁰¹⁰

VI.30. A refutation of philosophy. The corruption of the students of philosophy.

[p.3:246]

This and the following (two) sections are important. The sciences (of philosophy, astrology, and alchemy) occur in civilization. They are much cultivated in the cities. The harm they (can) do to religion is great. Therefore, it is necessary that we make it clear what they are about and that we reveal what the right attitude concerning them (should be).

There are (certain) intelligent representatives of the human species who think that the essences and 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 tradition, because they belong among the intellectual perceptions. Such people are called "philosophers" *falasifah*, plural of *faylasuf* -which is Greek and means "lover of wisdom".¹⁰¹¹

They did research on the (problem of perception). With great energy, they tried to find the purpose of it. They laid down a norm enabling intellectual speculation to distinguish between true and false. They called (that norm) "logic."¹⁰¹² The quintessence of it is that the mental speculation which makes it possible to distinguish between true and false, concen-

¹⁰⁰⁹Cf. pp. 267 ff., below.

¹⁰¹⁰ Qur'an 66.3 (3).

¹⁰¹¹This correct translation of *φιλοσοφοι* was well known to the Arabs. Cf., for instance, Sa'id al-Andalusi, *Tabaqat al-umam*, tr. Blachere, p. 58.

¹⁰¹²Cf. p. 137, above.

trates on ideas abstracted from the individual *existentia*. From these (individual *existentia*), one first abstracts pictures that conform to all the individual (manifestations of the *existentia*), just as a seal conforms to all the impressions it makes in clay or wax. The abstractions derived from the *sensibilia* are called "primary *intelligibilia*." These universal ideas may be associated with other ideas, from which, however, they are distinguished in the mind. Then, other ideas, namely those that are associated (and have ideas in common) with (the primary *intelligibilia*), are abstracted from them. Then, if still other ideas are associated with them, a second and third abstraction is made, until the process of abstraction reaches the simple universal ideas, which conform to all ideas and individual (manifestations of the *existentia*). No further abstraction is possible. They are the highest genera. All abstract (ideas) that are not derived from the *sensibilia* serve, if combined with each other, to produce the sciences. They are called "secondary *intelligibilia*."

(Man through his) ability to think studies these abstract *intelligibilia* and seeks through them to perceive existence as it is. For this purpose, the mind must combine some of them with others or keep them apart with the help of unequivocal rational argumentation. This should give (the mind) a correct and conformable perception of existence, if the (process) takes place according to a sound norm, as mentioned before.

The combination of (abstract *intelligibilia*) and the judgment (concerning them) is apperception (*tasdiq*).¹⁰¹³ At the end, philosophers give apperception precedence over perception (*tasawwur*), but at the beginning and during the process of instruction, they give perception precedence over apperception, because they think that perfected perception is the goal of the search for understanding and that apperception is merely a means for (undertaking that search). In the books of the logicians, one finds a statement to the effect that perception has precedence and that apperception depends upon it. This statement must be understood in the sense of (arriving at) con-

¹⁰¹³ Cf. p. 138, above.

sciousness and not in the sense of (achieving) complete knowledge. This is the opinion of the greatest of them, Aristotle.

Then, philosophers think that happiness consists in arriving at perception of all existing things, both the *sensibilia* and the (things) beyond sensual perception, with the help of (rational) speculation and argumentation. The sum total of their perceptions of existence, the result to which (their perceptions) lead, that is, the detailed conclusions of their speculative propositions, is the following. First, they conclude from observation and sensual perception that there is a lower substance. Then, their perception progresses a little. (The existence of) motion and sensual perception in animals makes them conscious of the existence of the soul. The powers of the soul, then, make them aware of the dominant position of the intellect. Here, their perception stops. They draw their conclusions with regard to the most high celestial body in the same way they drew their conclusions with regard to the human essence. They (thus) consider it necessary that the (celestial) sphere must have a soul and an intellect, like human beings. Then, they take as a limit for the (whole system), the number of units, which is ten. Nine are derived in essence and pluralistic. One, the tenth, is primary and singular.¹⁰¹⁴

They assume that happiness consists 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.¹⁰¹⁵ Even if no religious law had been revealed (to help man to distinguish between virtue and vice), they think the (acquisition of virtue) possible by man because he is able to distinguish between vice and virtue in (his) actions by means of his intellect, his (ability to) speculate, and his natural inclination toward praiseworthy actions, his natural disinclination for

¹⁰¹⁴This refers to the sphere of the earth, the seven spheres of the planets, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the tenth, the highest, divine sphere. Cf., for instance, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, tr. from the Arabic in Roger Bacon, *Opera hactenus inedita* (Oxford, 1920), V, 228.

¹⁰¹⁵This refers to ethics as a part of philosophy.

blameworthy actions. They assume that when the soul becomes (virtuous), it attains joy and pleasure, and that ignorance of (moral qualities) means eternal pain. This, in their opinion, is the meaning of bliss or punishment in the other world. They go further in this manner, and by the words they use, they display their well-known obtuseness as far as details are concerned.

The leading representative of these doctrines, who presented the problems connected with them, wrote books on them as (the subject of) a systematic science, and penned the arguments in favor of them, as far as we presently know, was Aristotle the Macedonian, from Macedonia in Byzantine territory, a pupil of Plato and the teacher of Alexander. He is called "the First Teacher,"¹⁰¹⁶ with no further qualification. It means "teacher of logic," because logic did not exist in an improved form before Aristotle. He was the first to systematize the norms of logic and to deal with all its problems and to give a good and extensive treatment of it. He would, in fact, have done very well with his norm of logic if (only) it had absolved him of responsibility for the philosophical tendencies that concern metaphysics.¹⁰¹⁷

Later, in Islam, there were men who adopted these doctrines and followed (Aristotle's) opinion with respect to them very closely¹⁰¹⁸ except on a few points. This came about as follows.¹⁰¹⁹ The `Abbasid caliphs had the works of the ancient (philosophers) translated from Greek into Arabic. Many Muslims investigated them critically. Scholars whom God led astray adopted their doctrines and defended them in disputations. They held different opinions on some points of detail. The most famous of these (Muslim philosophers) were Abu Nasr al-Farabi in the fourth [tenth] century, at

¹⁰¹⁶Cf. 1:275 (n. 75), and pp. 115 f., 139, and 153, above.

¹⁰¹⁷ Lit., "if the responsibility for . . . had been taken (*tukuffila*) for him by others." That is, while Aristotelian logic is acceptable, Aristotelian theological opinions are objectionable.

¹⁰¹⁸ Lit., "as one shoe is fashioned after the other."

¹⁰¹⁹For the following remarks, cf. pp. 115 f., above.

the time of Sayf-ad-dawlah, and Abu `Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in the fifth [eleventh] century, at the time of the Buyids¹⁰²⁰ in Isfahan, and others.

It should be known that the (opinion) the (philosophers) hold is wrong in all its aspects. They refer all *existentiatio* to the first intellect and are satisfied with (the theory of the first intellect) in their progress toward the Necessary One (the Deity). This means that they disregard all the degrees of divine creation beyond the (first intellect). Existence, however, is too wide to (be explained by so narrow a view). "And He creates what you do not know."¹⁰²¹ The philosophers, who restrict themselves to affirming the intellect and neglect everything beyond it, are in a way comparable, to physicists who restrict themselves to affirming the body and who disregard (both) soul and intellect in the belief that there is nothing beyond the body in (God's) wise plan concerning (the world of) existence.

The arguments that (the philosophers) parade for their claims regarding the *existentia* and that they offer to the test of the norms of logic, are insufficient for the purpose.

The arguments concerning the corporeal *existentia* constitute what they call the science of physics. The insufficiency lies in the fact¹⁰²² that conformity between the results of thinking - which, as they assume, are produced by rational norms and reasoning - and the outside world, is not unequivocal. All the judgments of the mind are general ones,¹⁰²³ whereas the *existentia* of the outside world are individual in their substances. Perhaps, there is something in those substances that prevents conformity between the universal (judgments) of the mind and the individual (substances) of the

¹⁰²⁰ Bulaq has the strange addition of "the Buyid Nizam-al-mulk," which perhaps is a mistake of Ibn Khaldun's first draft? The Buyid he would have had in mind could be Taj-al-mulk (Taj-ad-dawlah), but the Kakoyid 'Ala'ad-dawlah, ruler of Isfahan, who was Avicenna's patron in his later years, would be more likely.

¹⁰²¹ Qur'an 16.8 (8).

¹⁰²² Cf. Bombaci, p. 461.

¹⁰²³ Bulaq: "The judgments . . . are universal and general."

outside world. At any rate, however, whatever (conformity) is attested by sensual perception has its proof in the fact that it is observable. (It does not have its proof) in (logical) arguments. Where, then, is the unequivocal character they find in (their arguments)?

The mind is also often applied to the primary *intelligibilia*, which conform to the individual (*existentia*), with the help of pictures of the imagination, but not to the secondary *intelligibilia*,¹⁰²⁴ which are abstractions of the second degree. In this case, judgment becomes unequivocal, comparable to (judgment in the case of) *sensibilia*, since the primary *intelligibilia* are more likely to agree with the outside world, because they conform perfectly (by definition, to the individual manifestations of the *existentia*). Therefore, in this case, one must concede (the philosophers') claims in this respect. However, we must refrain from studying these things, since such (restraint) falls under (the duty of) the Muslim not to do what does not concern him.¹⁰²⁵ The problems of physics are of no importance for us in our religious affairs or our livelihoods. Therefore, we must leave them alone.

The arguments concerning the *existentia* beyond sensual perception - the *spiritualia* - constitute what the (philosophers) call "the divine science" or science of metaphysics. The essences of (the *spiritualia*) 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 perceive¹⁰²⁶ by the senses, 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 af-

¹⁰²⁴ "But . . . *intelligibilia*" is found only in Bulaq, but, in view of pp. 137 f. and 247, above, and p. sto, below, appears to be the correct text.

¹⁰²⁵ Cf. p. 169, above.

¹⁰²⁶ The remainder of the sentence is not found in Bulaq.

firming their existence. There are only available to us (in this connection) the situations in which perceptions of the human soul take place, and especially the dream visions which are within the intuitive experience of all.¹⁰²⁷ But beyond that, the reality and attributes of the (*spiritualia*) are an obscure matter, and there is no way to learn about them. Competent (philosophers) have clearly said so. They have expressed the opinion that whatever is immaterial cannot be proven by (logical) arguments, because it is a condition of (logical) arguments that their premises must be essential ones.¹⁰²⁸ 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 proper¹⁰²⁹ - that is, conjectures. If, after all the toil and trouble, we find only conjectures, the (conjectures) that we had at the beginning may as well suffice us. What use, then, do these sciences and the pursuit of them have? We want certainty about the *existenti* that are beyond sensual perception,¹⁰³⁰ while, in their (philosophy), (those conjectures) are the limit that human thinking can reach.

¹⁰²⁷Cf. 1:207 ff., and pp. 103 ft., above. For *wijdani* in this passage, cf. the remark made in n. 277 to Ch. 1, above.

¹⁰²⁸Cf. p. 144, above.

¹⁰²⁹S. van den Bergh, *Umriss der Muhammedanischen Wissenschaften nach Ibn Haldun* (Leiden, 1912), p. 26, suggests Plato's *Timaeus* as the source of this quotation, apparently referring to *Timaeus* 28 C: "It is difficult to find out about the maker and father of this universe, and it is impossible for anyone who has found out about him, to tell everybody else." Clement of Alexandria, after quoting this passage, adds: "For he cannot be named like all the other things that can be known." Cf. *Stromateis*, ed. Stahlin, II, 377. Porphyry, in his *Philosophus Historia*, ascribes to Plato the belief that "one cannot give (the one God) a fitting name, nor can human understanding encompass Him, and the names by which the moderns address Him are metaphorical expressions (*katachristikos katigorein*)." Cf. Cyrillus *Contra Julianum* xxii (p. 549 A of the ed. Migne); F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente dergriechischen Historiker*, II, 1211. The passage from Porphyry seems to be the ultimate source of Ibn Khaldun. (Cf., in general, H. A. Wolfson, "The Knowability and Describability of God in Plato and Aristotle," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LVI-LVII [1947], 233-49.)

¹⁰³⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 462.

The (philosophers) say that happiness consists in coming to perceive existence as it is, by means of (logical) arguments. This is a fraudulent statement that must be rejected. The matter is as follows. Man¹⁰³¹ is composed of two parts. One is corporeal. The other is spiritual, and mixed with the former. Each one of these parts has its own perceptions, though the (part) that perceives is the same in both cases, namely, the spiritual part. At times, it perceives spiritual perceptions. At other times, it perceives corporeal perceptions. However, it perceives the spiritual perceptions through its own essence without any intermediary, while it perceives the corporeal perceptions through the intermediary of organs of the body, such as the brain and the senses.

Now, anybody who has perceptions greatly enjoys whatever he perceives. For example, a child having its first corporeal perceptions, which (like all corporeal perceptions) come through an intermediary, greatly enjoys the light it sees and the sounds it hears. Thus, there can be no doubt that the soul finds even greater joy and pleasure in perceptions that come from its own essence without an intermediary. When the spiritual soul becomes conscious of the perception coming to it from its own essence without an intermediary, it derives from it inexpressible joy and pleasure. Such perception cannot be achieved by (intellectual) speculation and science. It is achieved by the removal of the veil of sensual perception and by forgetting all corporeal perceptions. The Sufis are very much concerned with achieving this great joy through having the soul achieve that kind of perception. They attempt to kill the bodily powers and perceptions through exercise, and even the thinking power of the brain. In this way, the soul is to achieve the perception that comes to it from its own essence, when all the disturbances and hindrances caused by the body are removed. (The Sufis,) thus, achieve inexpressible joy and pleasure.¹⁰³² This, (the philosophers) imply, is a cor-

¹⁰³¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 176-79.

¹⁰³²Cf., for instance, pp. 81 f., above.

rect assumption, and must be conceded them; yet it does not account for (the idea) they had in mind.¹⁰³³

(At any rate,) their statement that logical arguments and proofs produce this kind of perception and the resulting great joy is false, as one can see. The arguments and proofs belong in the category of corporeal perceptions, because they are produced by the powers of the brain, which are imagination, thinking, and memory. The first thing we are concerned with when we want to attain this kind of perception is to kill all these powers of the brain, because they object to such (perception) and work against it. One finds able (philosophers) poring over the *Kitab ash-Shifa'*, the *Isharat*, the *Najah* (of Avicenna), and over Averroes' abridgements of the "Text" (*Organon*)¹⁰³⁴ and other works by Aristotle. They wear out the pages of these works. They firmly ground themselves in the arguments they contain, and they desire to find in them that portion of happiness (they believe they contain). They do not realize that in this way they (only) add to the obstacles on (the road to happiness). They base themselves on statements reported on the authority of Aristotle, al-Farabi, and Avicenna, to the effect that those who have attained perception of the active intellect and are united with it in their life in this world¹⁰³⁵ have attained their share of happiness. To them, the active intellect means the first (highest) of the degrees of the *spiritualia* from which (the veil of) sensual perception is removed. They assume union with the active intellect to be (the result of) scientific perception. One has seen that this is wrong. When Aristotle and his colleagues speak about union and perception in this way, they mean the perception of the soul that comes to it from its own essence and without an intermediary, but such (perception) is attained only by the removal of the veil of sensual perception.

¹⁰³³Cf. Bombaci, p. 462.

¹⁰³⁴Cf. p. 139, above.

¹⁰³⁵ "In this world" is not found in Bulaq.

Furthermore, (philosophers) state that the great joy originating in that kind of perception is identical with the promised¹⁰³⁶ happiness. This, too, is wrong. The things that have been established by the (philosophers) make it clear to us that, beyond sensual perception, there is something else perceived by the soul without an intermediary. This causes very great joy to the soul, but we do not think that this makes it definite that it is identical with the happiness of the other world, although it must be one of the pleasures that constitute that happiness. (At any rate,) their statement that happiness consists in coming to perceive the *existentia* as they are, is wrong. It is based upon the erroneous supposition, which we mentioned before in connection with the principle of divine oneness,¹⁰³⁷ that anybody who has perception comprises (the whole) of existence in his perceptions. We explained that this (assumption) is wrong, and that existence is too vast to be completely encompassed or perceived, either spiritually or corporeally.

. The sum total of all the (philosophical) doctrines we have set down (here) is that the spiritual part (of man), when it separates from the powers of the body, has an essential perception belonging to a special kind of perceptions, namely, the *existentia* that are encompassed by our knowledge. It does not have a general perception of all the *existentia*, since they cannot be encompassed in their totality. It greatly enjoys this kind of perception, exactly as a child is pleased with its sensual perceptions when it begins to grow up. Nobody, then, (should try to tell) us that it is possible to perceive all the *existentia* or to achieve the happiness the Lawgiver (Muhammad) promised us, if we do not work for it. "Away, away with what you are promised."¹⁰³⁸

(Philosophers) further state that man is able, by himself, to refine and improve his soul by adopting praiseworthy character qualities and avoiding blameworthy ones. This is connected with the assumption that the great joy

¹⁰³⁶ I.e., promised by Islam as the reward of the believer in the other world.

¹⁰³⁷ Cf. p. 37, above.

¹⁰³⁸ Qur'an 23.36 (38). The verse is meant to apply here to the false promises of the philosophers.

that the soul has through the perception coming to it from its own essence, is identical with the promised happiness. For the vices give the soul corporeal habits and the resulting coloring. Thus, they impede it in the realization of that perception.

Now, we have already explained that happiness and unhappiness are found beyond corporeal and spiritual perceptions. The improvement (of the soul that the philosophers) have come to know is useful only in that it (produces) great joy, originating from the spiritual perception that takes place according to rational and established norms. But the happiness beyond such (joy), which the Lawgiver (Muhammad) promised us if we would act and behave as he commanded us, is something that cannot be encompassed by anybody's perceptions.

The leading philosopher, Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna), was aware of this. He expressed himself in the following sense in his *Kitab al-Mabda' wal-ma'ad*:¹⁰³⁹ "The spiritual resurrection and its circumstances are something that we may come to know by means of rational arguments and reasoning, because it proceeds in a safely natural and uniform manner. Thus, we can use (logical) arguments for it. But the bodily resurrection and its circumstances cannot be perceived by means of (logical arguments), because it does not proceed in a uniform manner. It has been explained to us by the true Muhammadan religious law. The religious law should, therefore, be considered and consulted with regard to the circumstances of (the bodily resurrection)."

Thus, as one has seen, the science (of logic) is not adequate to achieve the avowed intentions (of the philosophers). In addition, it contains things that are contrary to the religious laws and their obvious meaning. As far as we know, this science has only a single fruit, namely, it sharpens the

¹⁰³⁹This quotation has been traced by E. I. J. Rosenthal to *Avicenna De Almahad* (Venice, 1546). Cf. *al-Andalus*, XX (1955), p. 80. The *Risalah adhawiyah fi amr al-ma'ad* (Cairo, 1368/1949) contains nothing that could properly be compared to Ibn Khaldun's summary.

mind in the orderly presentation of proofs and arguments, so that the habit of excellent and correct arguing is obtained. This is because the orderly process and the solid and exact method of reasoning are as the philosophers have prescribed them in their science of logic. They employ (logic) a good deal in the physical and mathematical sciences as well as in the science that comes after them (metaphysics). Since (logical) arguments are much employed in those sciences in the way they should be employed, the student of them is able to master the habit of exact and correct arguing and deducing. Even if (those sciences) are not adequate to achieve the intentions of the (philosophers), they constitute the soundest norm of (philosophical) speculation that we know of.

Such is the fruit of this craft (of logic). It also affords acquaintance with the doctrines and opinions of the people of the world.¹⁰⁴⁰ One knows what harm it¹⁰⁴¹ can do. Therefore, the student of it should beware of its pernicious aspects as much as he can. Whoever studies it should do so (only) after he is saturated with the religious law and has studied the interpretation of the Qur'an and jurisprudence. No one who has no knowledge of the Muslim religious sciences should apply himself to it. Without that knowledge, he can hardly remain safe from its pernicious aspects.¹⁰⁴²

God gives success and guidance to the truth. "We would not be persons who are guided aright, had God not guided us."¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰⁴⁰ Bulaq corrects "people of the world" to "scholars."

¹⁰⁴¹ I.e., the craft of logic or philosophy, and not "they" referring to "doctrines and opinions."

¹⁰⁴² Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 166 f. Ibn Khaldun expressed himself in a similar vein with regard to the Qur'an commentary by az-Zamakhshari; cf. 2:447, above.

¹⁰⁴³ Qur'an 7.48 (41).

VI.31. A refutation of astrology. The weakness of its achievements. The harmfulness of its goal.

[p.3:258]

Astrologers think that astrology, with the knowledge it gives of astral powers, individually or in combination, and of astral influences upon elemental creations, enables them to know the things that are going to be in the world of the elements, before they are created. The positions of the spheres and the stars (are) thus (taken to) indicate every single kind of future event, both universal and individual.

The ancient (astrologers) were of the opinion that the knowledge of astral powers and influence is acquired through experience. 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 conjectures possible. Astral revolutions may be very long. Greatly extended periods of time are required for their repetition. Even (all) the lives¹⁰⁴⁴ in the world (combined) would be too short for (observing) them.

Some weak-minded (astrologers) take the attitude that the knowledge of astral powers and influences comes through revelation. This is a fallacy. They themselves have furnished us arguments sufficient to refute it. The clearest proof is that, as one knows, of all people, the prophets are least familiar with the crafts.¹⁰⁴⁵ They do not undertake to give information about the supernatural, unless (such information) comes (to them) from God. Why, then, should they claim to produce (supernatural information) through a craft (such as astrology) and make it the law for their followers to do so?

¹⁰⁴⁴Bulaq: "the longest lives." For the argument against astrology presented in this paragraph, cf. S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes* (Leiden, 1924), pp. 269 f.

¹⁰⁴⁵Cf. 2:383, above.

Ptolemy and his followers were of the opinion that the stars are able to indicate (the future) as the natural result of a temper they produce in the elemental existing things. He said:¹⁰⁴⁶ "(This must be so,) because the activity of sun and moon and their influence upon elemental things are so obvious that no one can deny them. For instance, the sun influences the changes and tempers of the seasons, the ripening of fruits and grains, and so on. The moon influences humidity, the water, the (process) of ripening (putrefaction) in putrescent substances and cucumbers, and so on." Ptolemy continued: "With regard to the stars that come after sun and moon, we have two approaches. One - which, however, is unsatisfactory - is to follow the tradition of the astrological authorities. The other is (to rely upon) conjecture and empirical knowledge gained through comparing each star to the sun, whose nature and influence is clearly known to us. We thus note whether a given star increases the power and temper of (the sun) at (its) conjunction (with it). If this is the case, we know that the nature of that particular star agrees with that of the sun. If, on the other hand, (the star) diminishes (the power and temper of the sun), we know that its nature is opposite to that of (the sun).¹⁰⁴⁷ Then, when we know the individual powers of the stars, we (can also) know them in combination. That happens when they look upon each other in the trine, the quartile, or other aspects. The knowledge here is derived from the natures of the signs (of the zodiac), which similarly (are known) through comparison with the sun.

"Thus, we get to know all the astral powers. They exercise an influence upon the air. This is obvious. The resulting temper of the air communicates itself to the created things below the air, and shapes sperm and seeds. Thus, (this temper) comes to underlie the body created from (sperm or seed), the soul which attaches itself to the body, pours itself into the body, and acquires

¹⁰⁴⁶As Ibn Khaldun himself says at the end of the quotation, this is not a literal quotation from the *Quadripartitum* alone, but goes back to "the *Quadripartitum* and other works." Cf also 1:226, above.

¹⁰⁴⁷Cf. Bombaci, pp. 462 f.

its perfection from the body, and all the conditions depending on soul and body. The qualities of sperm and seed are the qualities of the things that are created and produced from (sperm and seed)."¹⁰⁴⁸

(Ptolemy) continued: "Still, (astrology) remains conjectural and is not certain in any respect. It also forms no part of the divine decree - that is, predestination. It is just one of the natural causes common to all existing things, whereas the divine decree is prior to everything." This is the sum total of the discussion by Ptolemy and his colleagues. (This discussion) is found in the *Quadriiartitum* and other works.

It makes the weakness of the achievements of astrology clear. Knowledge of, or conjectures about, things that come into being can only result from knowledge of all their causes, 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. Furthermore, the astral powers are not the sole agents. There are other powers 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 powers of the particular quality distinguishing each variety within the 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.

Furthermore,¹⁰⁴⁹ in addition to a knowledge of astral powers and influences, a great amount of conjecturing and guesswork is required. Only then is (the astrologer) able to guess that a thing might happen. Now, conjecturing and guesswork are powers in the mind of the student. They are not causes

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 469 f.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 464.

or reasons¹⁰⁵⁰ of the things that come into being; Without conjectures and guesswork, (astrology) steps down from conjecture to doubtfulness.^{1050a}

Such is the situation (even) if one's knowledge of the astral powers is accurate and without defect. Now, that is difficult. The ability to calculate the courses of the stars is required in order to know their positions. Moreover, it is not proven that every star has its own particular power. The method Ptolemy used in establishing the powers of the five planets, that is, comparison with the sun, is a weak one, because the power of the sun is superior to all (other) astral powers and dominates them. Thus, one hardly ever becomes aware of an increase or decrease in the (powers of the sun) at its conjunction (with a given star),¹⁰⁵¹ as Ptolemy said. All this speaks against the assumption that it is possible to predict things that will happen in the world of the elements with the help of astrology.

Furthermore, it is wrong to assume that the stars exercise an influence on (the world) below them. It has been proven deductively in the chapter on the Oneness of God, as one has seen,¹⁰⁵² that there is no agent but God. In this connection, speculative theologians use the self-evident argument that how causes are related to the things caused is not known, and suspicion attaches to the conclusions of the intellect regarding what appears superficially to be (due to some definite) influence. Perhaps, the relationship of (the causes to the things caused) is effected by some other than the ordinary form of influence. The divine power (would seem to) tie the two together, as it does with all created things, (both) high and low, especially since the reli-

¹⁰⁵⁰Bulaq: "causes of the things that come into being, nor are they basic principles of astrology." This, at least, provides a suitable antecedent for the Arabic suffix used in the following sentence and explained here by "(astrology)." As the text stands, the only possible antecedent would be "causes or reasons," which makes no sense. Though the Bulaq text probably is the result of an arbitrary correction, "astrology" seems indeed to have been in Ibn Khaldun's mind as the antecedent of the suffix.

^{1050a} The lowest of the three kinds of knowledge, as mentioned p. 86, above.

¹⁰⁵¹Cf. Bombaci, p. 464, and above, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵²Cf. pp. 36 f., above.

gious law attributes all happenings to the power of God and does not want to have anything to do with anything else.

Prophecy also denies the importance and influence of the stars. A perusal of the legal material also attests this fact. For instance, (Muhammad) said: "No eclipse of either sun or moon takes place to indicate the death or life of anybody."¹⁰⁵³ And (God) said: "Some of My servants believe in Me. Others do not. Those who say, 'We had rain through the kindness and mercy of God,' believe in Me and do not believe in the stars. Whereas those who say, 'We had rain through such and such a constellation,' do not believe in Me, but believe in the stars," (as) the sound tradition (goes).¹⁰⁵⁴ Thus, the worthlessness of astrology from the point of view of the religious law, as well as the weakness of its achievements from the rational point of view, are evident. In addition, astrology does harm to human civilization. It hurts the faith of the common people when an astrological judgment occasionally happens to come true in some unexplainable and unverifiable manner. Ignorant people are taken in by that and suppose that all the other (astrological) judgments must be true, which is not the case. Thus, they are led to attribute things to some (being) other than their Creator.

Further, astrology often produces the expectation that signs of crisis¹⁰⁵⁵ will appear in a dynasty. This encourages the enemies and rivals of the dynasty to attack (it) and revolt (against it). We have (personally) observed much of the sort. It is, therefore, necessary that astrology be forbidden to all civilized people, because it may cause harm to religion and dynasty. The fact that it exists as a natural part of human perceptions and knowledge does not speak against (the need to forbid it). God and evil exist side by side in the world and cannot be removed. Responsibility comes in connection with

¹⁰⁵³ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 264 ff., and, for further references, *Concordance*, II, 30a.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cf. al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, I, 217, and, for further references, *Concordance*, I, 11 s. The concluding words would usually mean that the tradition is not quoted in full, but here the complete text is quoted.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For *qawati'*, cf. C. A. Nallino in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, VIII (1919-21), 739-43, repeated in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, V, 372-75.

the things that cause good and evil. It is (our) duty to try to acquire goodness with the help of the things that cause it, and to avoid the causes of evil and harm. That is what those who realize the corruption and harmfulness of this science must do.

This (situation) should make one realize that even if astrology were in itself sound, no Muslim could acquire the knowledge and habit of it. He who studies it and thinks that he knows it fully, is most ignorant of the actual situation. Since the religious law forbids the study of astrology, civilized people no longer gather to study it and to form classes¹⁰⁵⁶ for the study of astrology. Those who are eager to learn it - and they are very, very few - have to read the books and treatises on astrology in a secluded corner of their houses. They have to hide from the people and are under the watchful eye of the great mass. And then, astrology is a very complicated subject with many branches and subdivisions and is difficult to understand. How could people under such conditions acquire a mastery of it? Jurisprudence is of general usefulness in both religious and worldly affairs; its sources are easily available in the Qur'an and the accepted Sunnah, and it has been studied and taught by the great mass of Muslims. There have been classes and seminars (on jurisprudence). There has been much instruction (in it) and a great many lectures. Still, only an occasional individual in each age and generation (race) has been able to master it. How, then, can anyone learn a subject (such as astrology) that is discarded by the religious law, banned as forbidden and illegal, concealed from the great mass, its sources difficult of access, and that, after the study and acquisition of its basic principles and details, requires a great amount of support from conjecture and guesswork on the part of the student?¹⁰⁵⁷ How could anyone acquire and become skilled in such a subject in the face of all (these difficulties)? Anybody who

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. R. Dozy, *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 167. 263

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cf. Bombaci, pp. 464 f., who suggests: "... and a great amount of conjecture and guesswork that precludes (acquisition of) this (science) by the student."

claims (such astrological skill) is frustrated and has no witness to attest (to his claim), because the discipline (of astrology) is unusual in Islam and few people cultivate it. When all this is taken into consideration, the soundness of our opinion (with regard to astrology) will become clear. God "knows the supernatural (secrets), and He does not disclose to anyone His supernatural (secrets)."¹⁰⁵⁸

Some of our contemporaries had an experience of the (futility of astrology) when the Arabs overpowered the army of Sultan Abul-Hasan.¹⁰⁵⁹ They laid siege to him in al-Qayrawan. There was much unrest among the two parties, both friends and foes. On that occasion, the Tunisian poet Abul-Qasim ar-Rahawi, said:

Constantly, I ask God for forgiveness. Gone is life and ease.
 In Tunis, both in the morning and in the evening-
 And the morning belongs to God as does the evening -
 There is fear and hunger and death, Stirred up by tumult and pestilence.
 People are in rebellion and at war-
 Rarely does anything good come out of rebellion.
 The partisans of Ahmad think that perdition And ruin have descended
 upon 'Ali.¹⁰⁶⁰
 And the others say: He ('Ali) will be brought (back) To you by a mild
 zephyr.
 God is above this one and that one.
 He destines for His two servants whatever He wishes.
 O you observer of the retreating, running¹⁰⁶¹ (stars)! What did these
 heaven(ly bodies) do?

¹⁰⁵⁸Qur'an 72.26 (26).

¹⁰⁵⁹The famous event of 1948, that played such a momentous role in Ibn Khaldun's life. Cf. I:xxxix, above. Poems by ar-Rabawi are quoted in *Ibar*, VII, 270 ff., and in the *Autobiography*, pp. 29 ff.

¹⁰⁶⁰The rebellious Arabs had appointed a certain Ahmad b. 'Abd-asSalim as their ruler. Cf. R. Brun-schvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 169. Sultan Abul-Hasan's name was 'Ali.

¹⁰⁶¹Cf. Qur'an 81.15 (15 f.).

You have been putting us off while you pretended (each day)
 That today you would pay off.¹⁰⁶²
 One Thursday went by after the other. Saturday came, and Wednesday.
 Half a month, and a second decade, And a third came to an end,
 And we see nothing but false statements. Is this stupidity or contempt?
 We belong to God. We know That destiny cannot be repulsed.
 I am pleased to have Allah as my God.
 You are satisfied with the moon or the sun.
 Those roving stars are nothing but Slaves, male or female.
 Their fate is destined. They do not destine (anybody's fate).
 They have no power over mankind.
 Intellects¹⁰⁶³ erred in considering primeval What is subject to death¹⁰⁶⁴
 and nonexistence.
 They appointed as judge over (the world of) existence an element
 Created from water and air,
 Not considering sweet versus bitter,
 Both being nourished by soil and water.^{1064a}
 God is my Lord. I do not know
 What atom and vacuum are;
 Nor what the hyle is which proclaims:
 "I cannot be without form";
 Nor what existence is or nonexistence,
 Nor persistence and annihilation.
 I do not know what acquisition¹⁰⁶⁵ is except

¹⁰⁶²That is, your prediction would come true. Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 168-70.

¹⁰⁶³The rest of the poem is directed against the speculative theologians.

¹⁰⁶⁴C and D (and possibly A) read *al-kharmu*, which might possibly have the sense indicated. B seems to have a meaningless *al-hazm*. Possibly, we should read *al jazmu* "fate, death."

^{1064a}That is, things that the poet believes speculative theologians consider essentially different, such as the intellect and the world of the senses, may have the same origin, even as the opposites sweet and bitter originate from the same elements. While the intellect and the world of the senses are seemingly opposites, both are created.

¹⁰⁶⁵Cf. D. B. Macdonald in EI, s.v. "Kasb."

Something resulting from buying and selling. My dogma and religion
are

What (dogma and religion) were when the people were saints,
Since there are no details, no basic principles,

No dispute, and no doubting,

As long as one follows early Islam and the remainder.¹⁰⁶⁶

What a good thing it is to take (early Islam) as model! (The early
Muslims) were as one knows them to have been.

(In their time,) the babble (of the theologians) did not exist.

O you contemporary Ash'aris! I

Have been taught by summer and winter:¹⁰⁶⁷ I am requited for evil with
evil,

And good is the reward for good.

If I am obedient (to God), I shall be saved.

If I am disobedient, still, I have hope. I am under the control of a
Creator¹⁰⁶⁸

Who is obeyed by the (divine) throne and the earth.¹⁰⁶⁹

It¹⁰⁷⁰ is not in your writings, but

The (divine) judgment and fate have predestined it:

If al-Ash'ari were told who

The (present-day) followers of his opinions are,

He would say, "Tell them that I

Have nothing to do with what they say."

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Wa-l-baqaya* "and the remainder" has been corrected in Bulaq: "and it is taken by us as our model." However, the word would seem to refer to the remaining second generation, after the first generation of early Islam (*sadr*) had gone.

¹⁰⁶⁷ I.e., by long experience. The Arabic text has here a play on words.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Barin*, for *bari'in*. Or, perhaps we should read *barrin*, one of the names of God, meaning "a pious (God)."

¹⁰⁶⁹ The MSS have *al-bara'u* = *al-bara*, as *ath-thara'u* = *ath-thara*, but the latter word, having the same meaning, is not the one intended here.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Namely, the following statement, which gives the poem a rather biting, humorous conclusion. De Slane translates: "It is not by your writings (that events are determined), but the (divine) judgment ..."

VI.32. A denial of the effectiveness of alchemy. The impossibility of its existence. The harm that arises from practicing it.¹⁰⁷¹

[p.3:267]

Many people who are unable to earn their living¹⁰⁷² are led by greed to cultivate alchemy. They are of the opinion that it is a (proper) means and method of making a living and that the practitioners of (alchemy) find it easier and simpler (than other people) to acquire property. In fact, however, they have to pay for (their efforts) in the form of trouble, hardship, and difficulties, and in the form of persecution by the authorities and loss of property through expenditures. In addition, he¹⁰⁷³ loses standing and, eventually, when his secret¹⁰⁷⁴ is discovered, faces ruin.

They think that (in practicing alchemy) they know some gainful craft. However, they have been stimulated (to practice alchemy) solely by the thought that some minerals may be changed and transformed artificially into others, because of the matter common (to all minerals). Thus, they try to treat silver and transform it into gold; copper and tin (they try to transform) into silver. They think that it is possible in the realm of nature to do this.

There are different procedures followed by (the alchemists). These depend on the different opinions held concerning the character and form of the (alchemical) treatment and concerning the substance invented¹⁰⁷⁵ for the treatment and which they call "the Noble Stone." This may be excrements, or blood, or hair, or eggs, or anything else.¹⁰⁷⁶

¹⁰⁷¹Cf. pp. 227 ff., above.

¹⁰⁷²Cf. 1:228 f. and 2:920, above.

¹⁰⁷³Sic! One would expect "they."

¹⁰⁷⁴C: *zuhira 'ala khab'ithi*. D has *khabiyatin*. B seems to have *khaybatin* "if failure becomes apparent."

¹⁰⁷⁵Or "used as the basis."

¹⁰⁷⁶Cf. p. 227, above.

After the substance has been specified, it is treated by them along the following lines. The (substance) is pulverized with a pestle, on a solid and smooth stone. During the pulverization it is macerated in water, after drugs have been added, suitable for the purpose (the substance) is to achieve and able to effect its transformation into the desired mineral. After having been macerated, (the substance) is dried in the sun, or cooked in a fire, or sublimated, or calcified, in order to eliminate the water or earth it contains. If this process and treatment are completed to the satisfaction of the (alchemist) and in accordance with the requirements of the basic principles of alchemy, the result is an earthen or fluid (substance) which is called "the elixir." (Alchemists) think that if the elixir is added to silver which has been heated in a fire, the silver turns into gold. If added to copper which has been heated in a fire, the copper turns into silver, just as (the al-chemists), by means of the (alchemical) operation, intend it to be.

Competent (alchemists) think that the elixir is a substance composed of the four elements.¹⁰⁷⁷ The special (al-chemical) processing and treatment give the substance a certain temper and¹⁰⁷⁸ certain natural powers. These powers assimilate to themselves everything with which they come into contact, and transform it into their own form and temper. They transmit their own qualities and powers to it, just as yeast in bread assimilates the dough to its own essence and produces in the bread its own looseness and fluffiness, so that the bread will be easily digestible in the stomach and quickly transformed into nourishment.¹⁰⁷⁹ In the same way, the elixir of gold and silver assimilates the minerals with which it comes into contact to (gold and silver) and transforms them into the forms of (gold and silver).

This, in general, is the sum total of the theory (of alchemists).

¹⁰⁷⁷Cf. (Pseudo-) Majriti, *Ghayah*, pp. 7 f.

¹⁰⁷⁸Bulaq: "which includes."

¹⁰⁷⁹Cf. p. 175, above, and p. 278, below.

We find that the (alchemists) constantly experiment with the (alchemical) process and hope to find their sustenance and livelihood in it. They transmit to each other the rules and basic principles (of the treatment as derived) from the books of the leading earlier alchemists. They pass these books around among themselves and discuss the meaning and interpretation of the puzzling expressions and secrets in them. For the most part, they are like riddles. Such books are the *Seventy Treatises* of Jabir b. Hayyan, the *Rutbat al-hakim* of Maslamah al-Majriti, (the works) of at-Tughra'i, and the very well-composed poem of al-Mughayribi,¹⁰⁸⁰ and similar works. However, after all (these efforts), the (alchemists) do not get anywhere.

I once discussed something of the sort with our teacher, the leading Spanish scholar, Abul-Barakat al-Ballafigi.¹⁰⁸¹ I called his attention to a certain work on (alchemy). Reexamined it for a long time, then returned it to me and said: "I guarantee it to (the author) that he will come home a failure."

Certain (alchemists) restricted themselves to mere forgery. It may be of an obvious type, such as covering silver with gold, or copper with silver, or mixing the (two metals) in the ratio of one to two, or one to three. Or it may be a concealed type of forgery, such as treating a mineral to make it look like another similar one. Copper, for instance, may be blanched and softened with sublimate of mercury. Thus, it turns into a mineral that looks like silver to anyone but an expert assayer.¹⁰⁸²

Such forgers use their product to coin money with the official imprint, which they circulate among the people. Thus, they cheat the great mass with impunity. Theirs is the most contemptible and pernicious profession (there could be). The forgers conspire to steal the property of the people, for they

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. p. 229, above, where al-Mughayribi is called Ibn al-Mughayribi.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. i:xliv, above.

¹⁰⁸² Cf. E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Aushreitung der Alchemie*, pp. s ff.

give copper for silver, and silver for gold, so as to get exclusive possession of (other people's property). They are thieves, or worse than thieves.

Most of that sort of people here in the Maghrib are Berber "students"¹⁰⁸³ who choose for their territory remote regions and the homes of stupid people. They visit the mosques of the Bedouins and convince rich¹⁰⁸⁴ (Bedouins) that they know how to make gold and silver. People are very much in love with (gold and silver). They are eager to spend all (their money) to search for them. This (attitude) enables the (Berber students) to make a living. They must go about their activity fearfully and under the watchful eye (of the authorities). Eventually, (their) inability (to produce gold and silver) becomes evident and they are disgraced. Then, they flee to another place and start the whole business anew.¹⁰⁸⁵ They cause wealthy people to succumb to the desire of obtaining what they have to offer. In this way, they constantly work hard trying to make a living.

There is no point talking with that sort of people, because they have reached the limit in ignorance and viciousness and make a business out of thievery. The only way to cure them is for the government to take energetic measures against them, to seize them wherever they are, and to cut off their hands (as thieves) whenever their activities are discovered, for those activities mean deterioration of the currency, a matter of general concern. The currency (in circulation) is the very backbone of everyone's wealth. The ruler has the obligation to keep it intact, to watch over it, and to take energetic measures against those who corrupt it.

However, it is possible for us to talk with alchemists who do not like such forgeries, but avoid them and refrain from corrupting the currency and coinage of the Muslims. They merely seek to transform silver into gold, or

¹⁰⁸³Cf. 2:320 f., above.

¹⁰⁸⁴*Sic B (al-aghniyd'). C and D have "stupid" (al-aghbiyd').* The latter may actually be more in keeping with Ibn Khaldun's thinking, because "rich" farmers would be most unusual.

¹⁰⁸⁵Cf. Bombaci, p. 465, who suggests: "and invent new tricks."

lead and copper and tin into silver, with the help of a particular alchemical process and the elixir which results from it. We can discuss with them and investigate their achievements in this respect. yet, we know of not one in the world who has attained the goal (of alchemy) or got any desirable result out of it. Al-chemists spend their lives on the (alchemical) treatment, (using the) pestle and muller, subliming and calcifying, and running risks in collecting drugs and searching for them. They tell stories about other (alchemists) who attained the goal (of alchemy) or were successful. They are satisfied with listening to these stories and discussing them. They have no suspicions as to whether (or not) they can be considered true. They are like people who are infatuated with something and taken in by fanciful stories about the subject of their infatuation. When they are asked whether the (story) has been verified by actual observation, they do not know. They say, "We have heard (about it), but have not seen it." This has been the case with (alchemists) in every age and of every race (generation).

It should be known that the practice of this art is something very ancient in the world. Ancient and modern (scholars) have discussed it. We shall report their opinions in this connection and then state what seems to us the actual truth of the matter. God gives success to that which is correct.

We say: The philosophers base their discussion of alchemy on the condition of the seven malleable¹⁰⁸⁶ minerals: gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, iron, and *kharsini*.¹⁰⁸⁷ The question is whether these (seven metals) are different in their (specific) differences,¹⁰⁸⁸ each constituting a distinct species, or whether they differ in certain properties and constitute different kinds of one and the same species.

¹⁰⁸⁶Cf. Bombaci, p. 465.

¹⁰⁸⁷An alloy, considered to be of Chinese provenience, the exact composition of which is not known. Cf. P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 22; A. Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Warterbuch der Stoffe*(Berlin, 1960), p. 79.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Fasl*, *διαφορα*, a term of Aristotelian logic (cf. p. 142, above), could here and in the following discussion be rendered approximately by "structure."

Abu Nasr al-Farabi and the Spanish philosophers who followed him held the opinion that all (the metals) are of one and the same species and that their difference is caused by qualities, such as humidity and dryness, softness and hardness, and colors, such as yellow, white, and black. All of them are different kinds of one and the same species.

On the other hand, Avicenna and the eastern philosophers who followed him were of the opinion that the (metals) differ in (specific) - difference and constitute different species of their own, each of which exists in its own right and has its own (specific) difference and genus, like all other species.

On the strength of his opinion that all (the metals) are of one and the same species, Abu Nasr al-Farabi assumed that it is possible for one metal to be transformed into another, because it is possible to transform accidents and treat them artificially. From this point of view, he considered alchemy possible and easy.¹⁰⁸⁹

Avicenna, on the other hand, on the strength of his opinion that (all the metals) belong to different species, assumed that the existence of alchemy must be denied and is impossible.¹⁰⁹⁰ His assumption is based on the fact that (specific) differences cannot be influenced by artificial means. They

¹⁰⁸⁹Cf. al-Farabi, *Fi wujub sina'at al-kimiya'*, ed. Aydin Sayth in *Bulleten*, XV (1951), 65-79; tr. E. Wiedemann in *Journal fur praktische Chemie*, N.F. LXXVI (1907), 115-23. The brief treatise deals mainly with the problem of why works on alchemy are written so as to be comprehensible only to the initiated. (Cf. n. 1099, below.) Only very briefly at the end is reference made to (pseudo-) Aristotle's opinion that all noncombustible metals are of one species and differentiated only by their accidents. Cf. also Hajji Khalfah, *Kashf az-zunun*, ed. Flugel, V, 272 f., where al-Farabi is quoted following Ibn Bajjah, and reference is also made to Avicenna's theory.

¹⁰⁹⁰The relevant passages from Avicenna's *Shifa'* are dealt with by E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Man-deville, *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum, being sections of the Kitab al-Shifa'* (Paris, 1927), pp. 5 ff, 41 f., 54 f., 85 f. In his "Refutation of the Astrologers," Avicenna also briefly condemned alchemy. Cf. A. F. Mehren in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera* (Saragossa, 1904), p. 238. A recent publication by A. Ateş, "Ibn Sina ve Elkimiya," in *Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, I⁴ (1952), 47-71, probably contains important material on Avicenna's attitude toward alchemy. A recent article by Adnan Adivar, in the *M. Shah Presentation Volume*, is also said to deal with the same subject.

are created by the Creator and Determiner of things, God Almighty. Their real character is utterly unknown and cannot be perceived (*tasawwur*). How, then, could one attempt to transform them by artificial means?

At-Tughra'i, one of the great alchemists, considered Avicenna's statement erroneous. He objected that (alchemical) treatment and processing does not mean a new creation of a (specific) difference, but merely the conditioning of a substance for the acceptance of a particular (specific difference). After (a given substance) is conditioned, it gets (its new specific) difference from its Creator and Originator. This might be compared to the way light pours upon bodies as the result of polishing and giving (them) luster. We do not have to perceive (*tasawwur*) or know (how) this (comes about).

At-Tughra'i continued: "In fact, we know about the (spontaneous) generation of certain animals, even though we are ignorant of their (specific) differences. For instance,¹⁰⁹¹ scorpions are created from earth and straw. Snakes are created from hair. Agricultural scholars¹⁰⁹² mention that bees, when they no longer exist, are created (again) from calves, and that reeds come out of the horns of cloven-hoofed animals and are transformed into sugar cane, when the horns are filled with honey while the soil is being prepared for them (to be planted). Why, then, should it be impossible for us to make similar observations in the case of¹⁰⁹³ minerals? All that comes about by artificial means applied to a given substance. Treatment and processing conditions the substance for the acceptance of (specific) differences, no more."

(At-Tughra'i) continued: "We attempt something similar with regard to gold and silver. We take a certain matter possessing primary preparedness

¹⁰⁹¹For the problem of spontaneous and artificial generation in Muslim alchemy, see the important third chapter in P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Hayyan*, II, 97 ff. For the *generatio aequivoca* of snakes, scorpions, and bees (*bugonia*), cf., esp., II, 106 f. Cf. also E. O. von Lippmann, *Urzeugung and Lebenskraft*(Berlin, 1983).

¹⁰⁹²In the sense of "experts in works such as the *Nabataean Agriculture*."

¹⁰⁹³The following five lines are omitted by Bulaq.

for the acceptance of the *form* of gold and silver. We treat it and then we attempt to process it until it possesses fully the preparedness to accept the (*specific*) *difference of* (gold and silver)."

This is the gist *of* at-Tughra'i's discussion. He is right in his refutation *of* Avicenna.

We, however, have another starting point for refuting the alchemists. It shows that the existence *of* alchemy is impossible and that the assumptions *of* all (who defend alchemy), not only those of at. Tughra'i and Avicenna,¹⁰⁹⁴ are - wrong (Our argument) is as follows:

The (alchemical) process follows these lines: The (al-chemists) take a substance possessing primary preparedness. They use it as the basis. In treating and processing it, they imitate the way nature processes substances in mines and, eventually, transforms them into gold or silver. They (try) hard to increase the active and passive powers (in the process), so that it will be completed in a shorter time (than required by nature). It has been explained in the proper place that an increase in the power *of* the agent shortens the time needed for his activity. (Now,) it is clear that the generation *of* gold in the mine is completed only after 1,080 years, which is the period *of* the great revolution *of* the sun.¹⁰⁹⁵ If the powers and qualities used in the process are greatly increased, the time needed for the generation *of* (gold) will necessarily be shorter than (1,080 years), as we have stated.

Or, through processing, the (alchemists) choose to give the (basic) substance a form of composition to make it like yeast, and thus capable of producing the desired transformation in the processed matter. That is "the elixir," mentioned before.

¹⁰⁹⁴ One would expect al-Farabi instead of Avicenna.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Above, 2:212, we find a discussion of the "great conjunction," which is said to reoccur in cycles of 960 years and which must be something different from the great solar revolution mentioned here. The figures for the "great year" that are mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum* 892 C, are different from Ibn Khaldun's figure. The *Placita* were well known to the Arabs. Cf. the edition of the Arabic translation by `Abd-ar-Ra1:3man Badawl, *Aristotelis De anima* (Cairo, 1954), p. 141.

(Now,) it should be known that every generated elemental thing must contain a combination of the four elements in different proportions. If they were all alike in proportion, no mixture would take place. Therefore, there must always be a part that is superior to all the (others). Likewise, everything generated through mixture must contain some natural heat which is active in creating it and preserves its form. Furthermore, everything that is created in time must go through different stages and pass from one stage to another during the time *of* its creation, until it reaches its goal. For instance, man goes through the successive stages *of* semen, blood clot, and lump *of* flesh.¹⁰⁹⁶ Next, he receives his form, becomes an embryo, a (newborn) child, a suckling, and so on, until he reaches the end *of* his (development). The proportion of the parts varies in quantity and quality at every stage. Were that not the case, the first stage would be identical with the last. The natural heat, too, is different at each stage.

One may now consider through how many stages and conditions gold (must have) passed in the mine over (a period of) 1,080 years. The alchemist has to follow the action of nature in the mine and imitate it in his treatment and processing, until it is completed. (Now,) it is a condition of (every) craft that (its practitioner) perceive (and know, *tasawwur*) the goals he intends to reach with the help of that particular craft. A current saying of the sages to this effect runs: "The beginning of action is the end *of* thinking, and the end *of* thinking is the beginning of action."¹⁰⁹⁷ Thus, (the alchemist) must perceive (and know) the different conditions of gold in the numerous stages of its (development), the different proportions (of its component elements) belonging to the different stages, the resulting differences in natural heat, how much time is spent at each stage, and how much of an increase in power (is needed) to substitute for and supplant (the natural development). All this should finally enable him to imitate the action of nature in the mine or to

¹⁰⁹⁶As indicated in the Qur'an. Cf. 2:368 and 425, above.

¹⁰⁹⁷Cf. 2:415, above, where the statement is cited according to its correct form.

prepare for a certain substance a form of composition that would be what the form of yeast is for bread, active in the particular substance in proportion to its powers and quantity.

All this is known only to the all-comprehensive knowledge (of God). Human science is unable to achieve it. Those who claim to have made gold with the help of alchemy are like those who might claim the artificial creation of man from semen. If we (could) grant to someone an all - comprehensive knowledge of the parts of man, his proportions, the stages of his (development), the way he is created in the womb, if he could know all this in all its details, so that nothing escapes his knowledge, then we (would) grant him the (ability to) create a human being. But where does anyone possess such (knowledge) ?

Let us present here a short restatement of the argument, so that it can be easily understood. We say: The general lines followed in alchemy and the sum total of the claims (alchemists) make for the (alchemical) treatment are that it follows and imitates mineral nature by artificial action, until a particular mineral substance is generated, or until a substance is created that has certain powers, a (capacity to) act, and a form of composition acting upon a given substance as nature does, thus changing and transforming it into its own form. The technical action must be preceded by detailed, consecutive perceptions (*tasawwur*) of the various stages of the mineral nature one intends to follow and imitate, or in which one intends the powerful substance to be active. Now, there is an unlimited number of such stages. Human knowledge is not able to comprehend even a lesser number. It is comparable to wanting to create human beings or animals or plants.

This is the sum total of the argument. It is the most reliable argument I know of. It proves the impossibility (of alchemy), but neither from the point of view of the (specific) differences (of the metals), as above,¹⁰⁹⁸ nor from that of nature. It proves it from the point of view of the impossibility of

¹⁰⁹⁸Cf. pp. 272 f., above.

complete comprehension and the inability of human beings to have (an all-comprehensive knowledge). Avicenna's remarks say nothing of the sort.

There is another aspect to alchemy proving its impossibility. It concerns the result of alchemy. This is as follows. It was God's wise plan that gold and silver, being rare, should be the standard of value by which the profits and capital accumulation of human beings are measured. (Now,) if it were possible to obtain (gold and silver) artificially, God's wise plan in this respect would be foiled. Gold and silver would exist in such large quantities that it would be no use to acquire them.¹⁰⁹⁹

There is still another aspect (to alchemy) proving its impossibility. Nature always takes the shortest way in what it does. It does not take the longest and most complicated one. (Now) if, as (the alchemists) suppose, the artificial method were sound, shorter, and took less time than that which nature follows in the mine, nature would not have abandoned it in favor of the method it has chosen for the generation and creation of gold and silver.

At-Tughra'i's comparison of the (alchemical) process with individual similar instances noticed in nature, such as the (spontaneous) generation of scorpions, bees, and snakes, is sound, in as much as those things, as he assumes, have been (actually) observed (and thus proven). But nowhere in the world is there a report stating that anybody ever observed (the soundness of) alchemy and its method. The practitioners of (alchemy) have constantly been groping in the dark. They have found nothing but lying stories. Had any (alchemist) found a correct method, his children, his pupils, or his colleagues would have preserved it. It would have been handed down among friends. Its correctness would have been guaranteed by its later successful application. (Knowledge of) it would eventually have spread. Ourselves or others would have learned about it.

¹⁰⁹⁹ According to al-Farabi, *op. cit.* (n. 1089, above), the alchemists reserved their writings for the initiated because a mass production of gold and silver would make "social organization" impossible and deprive gold and silver of their "necessary role in mutual business dealings."

The (alchemists also) state that the elixir is similar to yeast¹¹⁰⁰ and that it is a compound for transmuting and trans forming everything with which it comes in contact into its own essence. However, it should be realized that yeast transforms the dough and conditions it for digestion. This is (a process of) corruption, and material destruction is an easy process which may be produced by the slightest of actions and of elemental (influences). However, the purpose of the elixir is to transform one mineral into a nobler and higher one. That is something creative and constructive. Creation is more difficult than destruction.¹¹⁰¹ Thus, the elixir cannot be compared with yeast.

The truth of the matter is that if it is correct that alchemy exists, as the philosophers who discuss alchemy, such as Jabir b. Hayyan, Maslamah b. Ahmad al-Majriti, and others, think, it does not (at any rate) fall under the category of natural crafts, and it does not come about by any technical process. The discussion of alchemy by (alchemists) is not like that of physics (by physicists). It is like the discussion of magical and other extraordinary matters or the wonders performed by al-Hallaj¹¹⁰² and others. Maslamah mentioned something of the sort in the *Kitab al-Ghayah*. His discussion of alchemy in the *Kitab Rutbat al-hakim* points in the same direction. Jabir's discussion in his treatises is also of the same type. This tendency of (alchemical) discussion is well known. We do not have to comment on it.

In general, (alchemy) as they understand it, has to do with universal creations¹¹⁰³ which are outside the (sphere of) effectiveness of the crafts. Wood and animals cannot be developed from their (respective matters) in a day or a month, if such is not the (ordinary) course of their creation. In the same way, gold cannot be developed from its matter in a day or a month. Its customary course (of development) can be changed only with the help of

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. p. 268, above.

¹¹⁰¹ Cf. 1:356 and 2:242, above.

¹¹⁰² Cf. p. 102, above.

¹¹⁰³ The strange *al-mawdud* is attested by the MSS. Bulaq corrects it to *al-mawdad* "matters." This might be a necessary correction (?).

something beyond the world of nature and the activity of the crafts. Thus, those who try to practice alchemy as a craft lose their money and labor. The alchemical treatment is, therefore, called a "sterile treatment." In so far as it is sound, it is the result of (powers) beyond those of nature and the crafts. It is comparable to walking upon water, riding in the air, passing through solid substances,¹¹⁰⁴ and similar acts of divine grace that are performed by saints and break through the customary course of nature. Or, it may be compared to the creation of birds and similar miracles of the prophets. God says: "And when you created something like the form of a bird from clay with my permission, and you blew into it, and the form thus became a bird with the permission of God."¹¹⁰⁵

The way in which (miracles of an alchemical nature) are performed depends on the condition of the person to whom (such miracles) are granted. They may be granted to a pious person who passes them on to someone else. They are in this case loaned to the other person, (but he, at any rate, is able to perform them). Or, they may be granted to a worthless person who cannot pass them on. In this case, they cannot be performed by someone else. It is in this sense that the performance (of alchemical miracles) is magical.

Thus, it is clear that (alchemical miracles) are the result of psychic influences and extraordinary wonders, either as miracles or acts of divine grace, or as sorcery. Therefore, all the sages who have discussed (alchemy) use puzzling expressions whose real meaning is known only to those who have delved deeply into sorcery and are acquainted with the (magic) activities of the soul in the world of nature. (But) matters breaking through the ordinary course (of nature) are unlimited, and no one could get to know them (all). God "comprehends all you do."¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰⁴Cf. 1:191, above.

¹¹⁰⁵Cf. Qur'an 5.110 (110), where the last words read: "with my permission." The phrase "with the permission of God" is found in the parallel passage, Qur'an 3.49 (43).

¹¹⁰⁶Qur'an 11.92 (94).

The most common cause of the desire to practice alchemy is, as we have stated; a person's inability to make his living in a natural way and the wish to make a living in some way that, unlike agriculture, commerce, and (handi)craft, is not natural.¹¹⁰⁷ A person without ability finds it difficult to make his living in such (legitimate occupations). He wants to get rich all at once through some (occupation) that is not natural, such as alchemy and other things. Alchemy is cultivated mostly by the poor among civilized people. (The fact that economic status is decisive for the recognition or non recognition of alchemy) applies even to the philosophers who discuss the possibility¹¹⁰⁸ or impossibility of (alchemy). Avicenna, who states that alchemy is impossible, was a great wazir and a very wealthy person, while al-Faribi, who states that it is possible, was one of those poor persons who have not the slightest success in making a living by any means. This is an obvious suspicion as to the attitude of people who are eager to try (alchemy) out and practice it.¹¹⁰⁹

God "gives sustenance. He is strong and solid."¹¹¹⁰

VI.33. The purposes that must be kept in mind in literary composition and that alone are to be considered valid.¹¹¹¹

[p.3:281]

It should be known that the storehouse of human science is the soul of man. In it, God has implanted perception (*idrak*) enabling it to think and, thus, to acquire (scientific knowledge). (The process) starts with perception

¹¹⁰⁷ Cf. 2:516, above.

¹¹⁰⁸ Bulaq: "nonexistence."

¹¹⁰⁹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 465, who translates: "... motive of suspicion that invalidates the theories of the people who ..."

¹¹¹⁰ Qur'an 51.58 (58).

¹¹¹¹ This section is not found in the earlier texts. C continues with the next section for one page, then starts on a left-hand page with this section, which is thus characterized as a later insertion. The section is incorporated in the text of D. Cf. also pp. 406 f., above.

(*tasawwur*) of the realities and is then continued by affirmation or negation of the essential attributes of the (realities), either directly or through an intermediary.

(Man's) ability to think thus eventually produces a problematic situation which it tries to solve affirmatively or negatively. When scientific picture has been established in the mind (of one person) through these (efforts), it must, of necessity, be communicated to someone else, either through instruction or through discussion, in order to polish the mind by trying to show its soundness.

Such communication takes place through "verbal expression,"¹¹¹² that is, speech composed of spoken words which God created in a limb (of the human body), the tongue, as combinations of "letters (sounds)" - that is, the various qualities of sound as broken by uvula and tongue - so that the thoughts of people can be communicated in speech. This is the first step in the communication of thoughts. As its most important and noble part, it includes the sciences. However, it comprises every statement or wish (command) that in general enters the mind.

After this first step in communication, there is a second. It is the communication of one's thoughts to persons who are out of sight or bodily far away, or to persons who live later and whom one has not met, since they are not contemporaries.

This kind of communication is written communication. Writing is figures made by the hand, whose shapes and forms, by convention, indicate the individual letters (sounds) and words of speech. Thus, they communicate thought through the medium of speech. Writing, therefore, constitutes the second step of communication and is one of its two parts. It gives information about the noblest part of thinking, namely, science and knowledge. Scholars take care to deposit all their scientific thoughts in books by means of writing, so that all those who are absent and live at a later time

¹¹¹²Or "hermeneutics."

may have the benefit of them. People who do that are authors. Everywhere in the world, written works are numerous. They are handed down among all races and in all ages. They differ as the result of differences in religious laws and organizations and in the information available about nations and dynasties. The philosophical sciences do not show (such) differences. They have developed uniformly, as required by the very nature of thinking, which is concerned with the perception (*tasawwur*) of existing things as they are, whether corporeal, spiritual, celestial, elemental, abstract, or material. These sciences show no differences. Differences occur in the religious sciences because of differences among the various religions, and in the historical sciences because of differences in the outward character of historical information.

Writing differs in that human beings have come to use different forms and shapes of it. (These differences) are called "pen" and script.¹¹¹³ There is the Himyarite script, which is called *musnad*. It is the script of the Himyar and the ancient inhabitants of the Yemen. It differs from the writing of the later Mudar Arabs, exactly as the (language written in the Himyarite script) is different from the language of (the Mudar Arabs), though all of them are Arabs. However, the habit of linguistic expression among (the Himyar) differed from that of (the Mudar Arabs). Both have their own general norms, which are evolved inductively from their (ways of linguistic) expression, and are different from the norms of the other (group). Those who do not know the habits of (linguistic) expression often are mistaken (about the relationship between the language of the Himyar and that of the other Arabs).

Another script is the Syrian script. This is the writing of the Nabataeans and Chaldeans. Ignorant people often think that because the (Nabataeans

¹¹¹³As a very detailed discussion of foreign scripts by a Muslim author, one may compare the opening pages of Ibn an-Nadim's *Fihrist*. Like the discussion of the origin and development of languages, the subject of writing may have been of some interest to jurists. Cf. also 2:378 ff, above.

and Chaldeans) were the most powerful¹¹¹⁴ nations (in antiquity), and the (Syrian script) is of great antiquity, it is the natural script (whereas all other scripts are conventional ones). This is a fanciful, vulgar idea. No action resulting from choice is a natural one. The fact is simply that (the Syrian script¹¹¹⁵ is) so old and was used for so long that it became a firmly rooted habit, thought by the observer to be a natural one. Many simpletons have the same idea¹¹¹⁶ about the Arabic language. They say that the Arabs express themselves in good Arabic and speak (it) by nature. This is a fanciful (idea).¹¹¹⁷

Another script is the Hebrew script. It is the writing of the children of Eber, the son of Shelah, who are Israelites, and of other (people).

Another script is the Latin script, the script of the Latin Byzantines (Romans). They also have their own language.

Each nation has its own particular form of writing, which is attributed to it in particular. (This applies,) for instance, to the Turks, the European Christians, the Indians, and others. (However,) only three scripts are of interest. First, Syrian, because of its antiquity, as we have mentioned. Then, there are Arabic <and Hebrew>,¹¹¹⁸ since the Qur'an and the Torah were revealed in the Arabic and Hebrew scripts and languages, respectively. These two scripts came to be (the medium of) communication for the texts (written in them, that is, the Qur'an and the Torah).¹¹¹⁹ There arose very early an interest in works composed in them, and norms for expressing oneself

¹¹¹⁴C and D: *aqdar*. This may be the more original text as compared with *aqdam*"most ancient," which appears in the Paris edition, but C and D have unusually many mistakes in this section.

¹¹¹⁵It may, however, be that Ibn Khaldun is thinking here in general terms rather than singling out the example of the "Syrian script."

¹¹¹⁶The MSS. C and D have a meaningless *r's kabir*.

¹¹¹⁷Cf. pp. 343 and 359, below.

¹¹¹⁸C and D omit "and Hebrew."

¹¹¹⁹For *matluw*, cf. 1:192 (n. 261), above.

in that language¹¹²⁰ according to its particular method (uslub)¹¹²¹ were set forth, so that the obligations of the religious law might be properly deduced from the divine speech of (the Qur'an).

Then, (thirdly) there is Latin, the language of the Byzantine (Romans). When they adopted Christianity, which, as mentioned at the beginning of this book,¹¹²² is entirely based upon the Torah, they translated the Torah and the books of the Israelite prophets into their language, in order to be able to derive the law from (Scripture) as easily as possible. Thus, they came to be more interested in their own language and writing than (in) any other.

The other scripts are of no interest. Every people employs its own particular kind of script.

Now, the purposes that must be kept in mind in literary composition and that alone are to be considered valid were restricted to seven.¹¹²³

(1) The invention of a science with its subject, its division into chapters and sections, and the discussion of its problems. Or the invention of problems and topics of research which occur to a competent scholar and which he wants to communicate to someone else, so that they may become generally known and useful. This, then, is deposited in a written volume, so that a later (generation) may have the benefit of it. This is what happened, for

¹¹²⁰ Ibn Khaldun now thinks only of Arabic and the Qur'an, paying no more attention to Hebrew and the Torah.

¹¹²¹ Cf. pp. 375 ff., below.

¹¹²² Cf. 1:476 ff., above, or 'Ibar, II, 148? C and D have a meaningless *al-kitabah*.

¹¹²³ According to p. 287, below, the following statement goes back to Aristotle. Parallels to it are found quoted in F. Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Analecta Orientalia, No. 24) (Rome, 1947), pp. 64 ff. It may be noted that the statement of al-'Almawi quoted there goes back to the '*Aridat al-akwadhi*' of Abu Bakr b. al-'Arabi, with whose work ibn Khaldun was very familiar. (Cf. 1:446, above, and p. 303, below.) Discussions of this sort can be found as early as the ninth century. Cf. alKhuwirizmi, *Algebra*, ed. F. Rosen (London, 1831), p. 2; L. C. Karpinski, "Robert of Chester's Translation of the Algebra of al-Khowarizmi" in *Contributions to the History of Science*, p. 46. No explanation seems readily available for the ascription of the passage to Aristotle. The introductions to Aristotelian philosophy, which would seem to be the most likely source, do not discuss the subject.

instance, with the principles of jurisprudence. Ash-Shafi'i was the first to discuss, and briefly to describe, the legal arguments based on the wording (of the traditions). Then, the Hanafites appeared and invented the problems of analogical reasoning and presented them fully. This (material) has been used by subsequent generations down to the present time.

(2) (A scholar) may find the discussion and works of ancient (scholars) difficult to understand. God may open understanding of them to him. He will then wish to communicate his (knowledge) to someone else who may perhaps have difficulties with (the same problems), so that all those who are worthy may have the benefit of (his knowledge). This is the interpretational approach to books on the intellectual and traditional (sciences). It is a noble chapter.

(3) Some later (scholar) may come across an error or mistake in discussions by ancient (scholars) of renowned merit and famous authority as teachers. He may have clear proof for it, admitting of no doubt. He will then wish to communicate this (discovery) to those after him, since it is impossible to eradicate a mistake (in the work in question) in view of its wide dissemination in space and time, the fame of (its) author, and the reliance people place in his learning. Therefore, he deposits this (discovery of the mistake) in writing, so that (future) students may learn the explanation of it.

(4) A particular discipline may be incomplete, certain problems or details indicated by the division of the subject of the discipline requiring treatment. The (scholar) who becomes aware of the fact will want to supply these lacking problems, in order to perfect the discipline by having all its problems and details treated and leaving no room for deficiency in it.

(5) The problems of a particular science may have been treated without (the proper) arrangement into chapters and without order. The (scholar) who becomes aware of that (situation) will arrange and improve on the problems and put every problem in the chapter where it belongs. This happened to the *Mudawwanah*, as transmitted by Sahnun on the authority of Ibn al-Qasim,

and to the *'Utbiyah*, as transmitted by al-'Utbi on the authority of the companions of Malik. In these works, many problems of jurisprudence were not mentioned in the proper chapters. Therefore, Ibn Abi Zayd improved upon the *Mudawwanah*, while the *'Utbiyah* remained unimproved. Thus, in every chapter (of the *' Utbiyah*), we find problems that belong in another, and (scholars) restricted themselves to the *Mudawwanah* and the (improvements) made on it by Ibn Abi Zayd and, after him, by al-Baradhi'.¹¹²⁴

(6) The problems of a certain science might (only) exist scattered among the proper chapters of other sciences. Some excellent (scholar) will then become aware of the subject of that particular discipline (as a subject in its own right) and of (the need of) collecting¹¹²⁵ its problems. He will do that, and a (new) discipline will make its appearance. He will give it its place among the sciences that mankind, with its ability to think, cultivates. This happened with the science of literary criticism (*bayan*).¹¹²⁶ 'Abd-al-Qahir al-Jurjani¹¹²⁷ and Abu (Ya'qub) Yusuf as-Sakkaki¹¹²⁸ found its problems mentioned more or less correctly¹¹²⁹ in the books on grammar. In his *Kitab al-Bayan wa-t-tabyin*,¹¹³⁰ al-Jahiz had already brought together many of the problems of this science. In (dealing with) them, people became aware¹¹³¹ of the subject of (this science) and the fact that it constitutes a science in its own right. (Later,) the famous works (by the literary critics mentioned)

¹¹²⁴Cf. pp. 14 f., above.

¹¹²⁵C and D: *wa-jam'*.

¹¹²⁶Cf. pp. 335 ff, below.

¹¹²⁷ Abd-al-Qahir b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman [eleventh century]. Cf. GAL, I, 287; *Suppl.*, I, 503 f. Cf. also n. 1286 to this chapter, below.

¹¹²⁸Yusuf b. Abi Bakr, 555-626 [1.160-1228/29]. Cf. GAL, I, 294 fr.; *Suppl.*, I, 516 ff. Cf. also n. 4 to Ch. I, above.

¹¹²⁹The consonants of the MSS ought possibly to be read *mustaqrabatan* and translated as suggested above.

¹¹³⁰C and D read *at-tabayyun*, a mistake by Ibn Khaldun. Judging by the situation below, p. 340, where *at-tabyin* is found in A and B, *at-tabayyun* in C and D, he had the correct reading first and later changed it to the wrong one (possibly misled by the mistake of some copyist).

¹¹³¹C and D: *tanabbaha. Leg.*, perhaps, *yunabbihu* "he (al-Jahiz,) called the attention of people to . . ."

were written on the subject. They became the basic works of the discipline of literary criticism. Later (scholars) studied (those works) and exceeded all their predecessors in (improving upon) them.

(7) Something in the main scholarly works may be too long and prolix. One will then try to compose a brief and succinct abridgment, omitting all repetitions. However, one has to be careful not to eliminate anything essential, so that the purpose of the first author will not be vitiated.

These are the purposes that must be kept in mind and not lost sight of in literary composition. All else is unnecessary, a mistake (or deviation) from the road that (all) intelligent (scholars) think must be followed. For instance, (someone may try) to ascribe the work of an earlier author to himself with the aid of certain tricks, such as changing the wording and the arrangement of the contents. Or, someone may eliminate material essential to a particular discipline, or mention unnecessary material, or replace correct (statements) with wrong ones, or mention useless material. All this shows ignorance and impudence.

Aristotle, when he enumerated the purposes (by which an author must be guided) and had come to the last one, therefore said: "Everything else is either superfluousness or greed," by which he meant ignorance and insolence.

We take refuge in God from doing what an intelligent person ought not to do. God "guides to the things that are most correct."¹¹³²

VI.34. The great number of scholarly works (available) is an obstacle on the path to attaining scholarship.

[p.3:288]

It should be known that among the things that are harmful to the human quest for knowledge and to the attainment of a thorough scholarship are the

¹¹³²Qur'an 17.9 (9).

great number of works (available), the large variety in technical terminology (needed for purposes) of instruction, and the numerous (different) methods (used in those works).¹¹³³ The student is required to have a ready knowledge of (all) that. Only then is he considered an accomplished scholar.

. Thus, the student must know all the (works), or most of them, and observe the methods used in them.¹¹³⁴ His whole lifetime would not suffice to know all the literature that exists in a single discipline, (even) if he were to devote himself entirely to it. Thus, he must of necessity fall short of attaining scholarship.

For the Malikite school of jurisprudence, this (situation) may be exemplified, for instance, by the *Mudawwanah*, its legal commentaries, such as the books of Ibn Yunus, al-Lakhmi, and Ibn Bashir, and the notes and introductions (to it)¹¹³⁵ Or (one may take) the sister work of the *Mudawwanah*, the ' *Utblyah* and the work written on it (by Ibn Rushd under the title of *al-Bayan wa-t-tahsil*;¹¹³⁶ or the book of Ibn al-Hajib and the works written on it. Furthermore, the student must be able to distinguish between the Qayrawani method (of the Malikite school) and the methods of Cordovan, Baghdadi, and Egyptian (Malikites) and those of their more recent successors. He must know all that. Only then is a person considered able to give juridical decisions.

All of (these things) are variations of one and the same subject. The student is required to have a ready knowledge of all of them and to be able to distinguish between them. (Yet,) a whole lifetime could be spent on (but) one of them. If teachers and students were to restrict themselves to the school problems, (the task) would be much easier and (scholarly) instruction would

¹¹³³ Though "terminology" is a closer antecedent for the Arabic suffix than "works," the above translation seems justified. "Method," in this context, is most likely to mean "school system," as shown by the reference to the Qayrawani, etc., "method" of Malikism.

¹¹³⁴ Cf. Bombaci, p. 466, who here as above (n. 1133) refers the suffix to "terminology."

¹¹³⁵ Cf. p. 15, above.

¹¹³⁶ Cf. *GAL, Suppl.*, 1, 662.

be simple and easily accessible. However, this is an evil that cannot be cured, because it has become firmly ingrained through custom. In a way, it has become something natural, which cannot be moved or transformed.

Another example is Arabic philology.¹¹³⁷ There is the *Book of Sibawayh* and all the literature on it; (there are) the methods of the Basrians, the Kufians, the Baghdadis, and, later on, the Spaniards; and (there are) the methods of the ancient and modern philologists, such as Ibn al-Hajib and Ibn Malik, and all the literature on that. This (wealth of material) requires a great deal from the student. He could spend his (whole) life on less (material). No one would aspire to complete knowledge of it, though there are a few, rare exceptions (of men who have a complete knowledge of philology). For instance, we modern Maghribis have received the works of an Egyptian philologist whose name is Ibn Hisham. The contents show that Ibn Hisham has completely mastered the habit of philology as it had not been mastered (before) save by Sibawayh, Ibn Jinni, and people of their class, so greatly developed is his philological habit and so comprehensive is his knowledge and experience as regards the principles and details of philology. This proves that excellence (in scholarship) is not restricted to the ancients,¹¹³⁸ especially if (one considers) our remarks about the many obstacles (on the path to mastery of a science in modern times), which the great number of schools, methods, and works presents. No! "His excellence God bestows upon whomever He wants to."¹¹³⁹ (Ibn Hisham) is one of the rare wonders of the world. Otherwise, it is obvious that were the student to spend his entire lifetime on all these things, it would not be long enough for him to acquire, for instance, (a complete knowledge of) Arabic philology, which is (but) an instrument and means (for further studies). How, then, is it with

¹¹³⁷ Cf. pp. 323 f., below.

¹¹³⁸ Muslim scholars considered it necessary to stress the idea that there was constant progress, that the ancients left much for later scholars to do. Cf., for instance, F. Rosenthal in *Osiris*, IX (1950), 559.

¹¹³⁹ Qur'an 5.54 (59); 57.21 (21); 62.4 (4). Needless to say, the word "excellence" does not have the meaning in the Quranic context that it is given here by Ibn Khaldun.

the intended fruit (of study, the acquisition of thorough and comprehensive scholarship)? But "God guides whomever He wants to guide."¹¹⁴⁰

VI.35. The great number of brief handbooks (available) on scholarly subjects is detrimental to (the process of) instruction.

[p.3:290]

Many¹¹⁴¹ recent scholars have turned to brief presentations of the methods and contents of the sciences. They want to know (the methods and contents), and they present them systematically in the form of brief programs for each science. (These) brief handbooks express all the problems of a given discipline and the evidence for them in a few brief words that are full of meaning. This (procedure) is detrimental to good style and makes difficulties for the understanding.

(Scholars) often approach the main scholarly works on the various disciplines, which are very lengthy, intending to interpret¹¹⁴² and explain (them). They abridge them, in order to make it easier (for students) to acquire expert knowledge of them. Such, for instance, was done by Ibn al-Hajib in jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence,¹¹⁴³ by Ibn Malik in Arabic philology,¹¹⁴⁴ by al-Khunaji in logic,¹¹⁴⁵ and so on. This (procedure) has a corrupting influence upon the process of instruction and is detrimental to the attainment of scholarship. For it confuses the beginner by presenting

¹¹⁴⁰Qur'an 2.142 (136), 2i s (209), etc.

¹¹⁴¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 160 f.

¹¹⁴²The word *li-t-tafsir*, which in this context cannot refer to Qur'an commentaries, is omitted in A and B, cut off in the margin of C, and missing in D. *Li-t-tafassur*; in the Paris ed., may be a misprint. It may be added here that the word translated "expert knowledge" in the following sentence also has the equivalent meaning of "knowing by heart." Cf, n. 1362, below.

¹¹⁴³Cf. pp. 18 f. and 29 f., above.

¹¹⁴⁴Cf. p. 323, below.

¹¹⁴⁵Cf. p. 148, above.

the final results of a discipline to him before he is prepared for them. This is a bad method of instruction, as will be mentioned.¹¹⁴⁶

(The procedure) also involves a great deal of work for the student. He must study carefully the words of the abridgment, which are complicated to understand because they are crowded with ideas, and¹¹⁴⁷ try to find out from them what the problems of (the given discipline) are. Thus, the texts of such brief handbooks are found to be difficult and complicated (to understand). A good deal of time must be spent on (the attempt to) understand them.

Moreover, after all these (difficulties), the (scholarly) habit that results from receiving instruction from brief handbooks, (even) when (such instruction) is at its best and is not accompanied by any flaw, is inferior to the habits resulting from (the study of) more extensive and lengthy works. The latter contain a great amount of repetition and lengthiness, but both are useful for the acquisition of a perfect habit. When there is little repetition, an inferior habit is the result. This is the case with the abridgments. The intention was to make it easy for students to acquire expert knowledge (of scholarly subjects), but the result is that it has become (more) difficult for them, because they are prevented from acquiring useful and firmly established habits.

Those whom God guides, no one can lead astray, and "those whom God leads astray have no one to guide them."¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁶Cf. p. 293, below.

¹¹⁴⁷ Bulaq adds: "with great difficulty."

¹¹⁴⁸ Qur'an 7.185 (185).

VI.36. The right attitude in scientific instruction and toward the method of giving such instruction.¹¹⁴⁹

[p.3:292]

It¹¹⁵⁰ should be known that the teaching of scientific subjects to students is effective only when it proceeds gradually and little by little. At first, (the teacher) presents (the student) with the principal problems within each chapter of a given discipline. He acquaints him with them by commenting on them in a summary fashion. In the course of doing so, he observes the student's intellectual potential and his preparedness for understanding the material that will come his way until the end of the discipline under consideration (is reached). In the process, (the student) acquires the habit of the-science (he studies). However, that habit will be an approximate¹¹⁵¹ and weak one. The most it can do is to enable the student to understand the discipline (he studies) and to know its problems.

(The teacher,) then, leads (the student) back over the discipline a second time. He gives him instruction in it on a higher level. He no longer gives a summary but full commentaries and explanations. He mentions to him the existing differences of opinion and the form these differences take all the way through to the end of the discipline under consideration. Thus, the student's (scholarly) habit is improved. Then, (the teacher) leads (the student) back again, now that he is solidly grounded. He leaves nothing (that is) complicated, vague, or obscure, unexplained. He bares all the secrets (of the discipline) to him. As a result, the student, when he finishes with the discipline, has acquired the habit of it.

¹¹⁴⁹For the following discussion of education, cf. L. Buret, "Notes marginales sur les Prolegomenes: Un Pedagogue arabe du XIV' siecle: Ibn Khaldoun," *Revue Tunisienne*, N.S. LV (1934), 23-33, and Jamal al-Muhasib, "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Education" (in Arabic), *al-Machriq*, XLIII (1949), 365-98. Cf. also above, pp. 426 ff.

¹¹⁵⁰Cf. Issawi, pp. 157-59.

¹¹⁵¹Bulaq: "partial."

This is the effective method of instruction. As one can see, it requires a threefold repetition. Some students can get through it with less than that, depending on their natural dispositions and qualifications.

We have observed that many teachers¹¹⁵² of the time in which we are living are ignorant of this effective method of instruction. They begin their instruction by confronting the student with obscure scientific problems. They require him to concentrate on solving them. They think that that is experienced and correct teaching, and they make it the task of the student to comprehend and know such things. In actual fact, they (merely) confuse him by exposing him to the final results of a discipline at the beginning (of his studies) and before he is prepared to understand them. Preparedness for and receptivity to scientific knowledge and understanding grow gradually. At the beginning, the student is completely unable to understand any but a very few (points). (His understanding is) only approximate and general and (can be achieved only) with the help of pictures (*muthul*) derived from sensual perception. His preparedness, then, keeps growing gradually and little by little when he faces the problems of the discipline under consideration and has them repeated (to him) and advances from approximate understanding of them to a complete, higher knowledge. Thus the habit of preparedness and, eventually, that of attainment materialize in the student, until he has a comprehensive knowledge of the problems of the discipline (he studies). But if a student is exposed to the final results at the beginning, while he is still unable to understand and comprehend (anything) and is still far from being prepared to (understand), his mind is not acute enough to (grasp them). He gets the impression that scholarship is difficult and becomes loath to occupy himself with it. He constantly dodges and avoids it. That is the result of poor instruction, and nothing else.

The teacher should not ask more from a student than that he understand the book he is engaged in studying, in accordance with his class (age

¹¹⁵² MSS. A, B, C, and D have "students," but one must read "teachers," with Bulaq.

group)¹¹⁵³ and his receptivity to instruction, whether he is at the start or at the end (of his studies). (The teacher) should not bring in problems other than those found in that particular book, until the student knows the whole (book) from beginning to end, is acquainted with its purpose, and has gained a habit from it, which he then can apply to other (books). When the student has acquired (the scholarly) habit in one discipline, he is prepared for learning all the others. He also has become interested in looking for more and in advancing to higher (learning). Thus, he eventually acquires a complete mastery of scholarship. But if one confuses a student, he will be unable to understand (anything). He becomes indolent. He stops thinking. He despairs of becoming a scholar and avoids scholarship and instruction.

"God guides whomever He wants to guide."¹¹⁵⁴

It is also necessary (for the teacher) to avoid prolonging the period of instruction in a single discipline or book, by breaks in the sessions and long intervals between them. This causes (the student) to forget and disrupts the nexus between the different problems (of the discipline being studied). The result of such interruptions is that attainment of the (scholarly) habit becomes difficult. If the first and last things of a discipline are present in the mind and prevent the effects of forgetfulness, the (scholarly) habit is more easily acquired, more firmly established, and closer to becoming a (true) coloring. For habits are acquired by continuous and repeated activity. When one forgets to act, one forgets the habit that results from that particular action.

God "taught you what you did not know."¹¹⁵⁵

A good and necessary method and approach in instruction is not to expose the student to two disciplines at the same time.¹¹⁵⁶ Otherwise, he

¹¹⁵³ Bulaq corrects to "ability."

¹¹⁵⁴ Qur'an 2.142 (136), 213 (209), etc.

¹¹⁵⁵ Qur'an 2.239 (240).

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf. p. 304, below.

will rarely master one of them, since he has to divide his attention and is diverted from each of them by his attempt to understand the other. Thus, he will consider both of them obscure and difficult, and be unsuccessful in both. But if the (student's) mind is free to study the subject that he is out (to study) and can restrict himself to it, that (fact) often makes it simpler (for the student) to learn (the subject in question).

God gives success to that which is correct.

You,¹¹⁵⁷ student, should realize that I am here giving you useful (hints) for your study. If you accept them and follow them assiduously, you will find a great and noble treasure. As an introduction that will help you to understand these (hints), I shall tell you the following:

Man's ability to think is a special natural gift which God created exactly as He created all His other creations. It is an action and motion¹¹⁵⁸ in the soul by means of a power (located) in the middle cavity of the brain.¹¹⁵⁹ At times, (thinking) means the beginning of orderly and well-arranged human actions. At other times, it means the beginning of the knowledge of something that had not been available (before). The (ability to think) is directed toward some objective whose two extremes¹¹⁶⁰ it has perceived (*tasawwur*), and (now) it desires to affirm or deny it. In almost no time, it recognizes the middle term which combines the two (extremes), if (the objective) is uniform. Or, it goes on to obtain another middle term, if (the objective) is manifold. It thus finds its objective. It is in this way that the ability to think, by which man is distinguished from all the other animals, works.

Now, the craft of logic is (knowledge of the) way in which the natural ability to think and speculate operates. Logic describes it, so that correct operation can be distinguished from erroneous. To be right, though, is in

¹¹⁵⁷The remainder of this section, and the following section down to p. 300, are missing in C.

¹¹⁵⁸Bulaq: "It is the existence (*wijdan*) of a motion." Cf. 1:198, above.

¹¹⁵⁹Cf. 1:197, 210, and 2:412, above.

¹¹⁶⁰I.e., the major and minor terms.

the essence of the ability to think. However, in very rare cases, it is affected by error. This comes from perceiving (*tasawwur*) the two extremes in forms other than are properly theirs, as the result of confusion in the order and arrangement of the propositions from which the conclusion is drawn. Logic helps to avoid such traps. Thus,¹¹⁶¹ it is a technical procedure which parallels (man's) natural ability to think and conforms to the way in which it functions. Since it is a technical procedure, it can be dispensed with in most cases. Therefore, one finds that many of the world's most excellent thinkers have achieved scholarly results without employing the craft of logic, especially when their intention was sincere and they entrusted themselves to the mercy of God, which is the greatest help (anyone may hope to find). They proceeded with the aid of the natural ability to think at its best, and this (ability), as it was created by God, permitted them by (its very) nature to find the middle term and knowledge of their objective.

Besides the technical procedure called logic, the (process of) study involves another introductory (discipline), namely, the knowledge of words and the way in which they indicate ideas in the mind by deriving them from what the forms (of the letters) say, in the case of writing, and from what the tongue - speech - says in the case of spoken utterances.¹¹⁶² You, the student, must pass through all these veils, in order to reach (the state where you can) think about your objective.

First, there is the way in which writing indicates spoken words.¹¹⁶³ This is the easiest part of it. Then, there is the way in which the spoken words indicate the ideas one is seeking. Further, there are the rules for arranging the ideas in their proper molds, as they are known from the craft of logic, in order to (be able to) make deductions. Then, there are those ideas in the mind that are abstract and (used) as nets with which one goes hunting for

¹¹⁶¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 168 f.

¹¹⁶²Cf. pp. 316 f., below. Cf. also 2:406 f., above.

¹¹⁶³Cf. pp. 281 f., above.

the (desired) objective with the help of one's natural ability to think (and) entrusting oneself to the mercy and generosity of God.¹¹⁶⁴

Not everyone is able to pass through all these stages quickly and to cut through all these veils easily during the (process of) instruction.¹¹⁶⁵ Disputes often cause the mind to stop at the veils of words. Disturbing quarrels and doubts cause it to fall into the nets of argument, so that the mind is prevented from attaining its objective. Rarely do more than a few (individuals), who are guided by God, succeed in extricating themselves from this abyss.

If you are afflicted by such (difficulties) and hampered in your understanding (of the problems) by misgivings or disturbing doubts in your mind, cast them of ! Discard the veils of words and the obstacles of doubt! Leave all the technical procedures and take refuge in the realm of the natural ability to think given to you by nature! Let your speculation roam in it and let your mind freely delve in it, according to whatever you desire (to obtain) from it! Set foot in the places where the greatest thinkers before you did! Entrust yourself to God's aid, as in His mercy He aided them and taught them what they did not know!¹¹⁶⁶ If you do that, God's helpful light will shine upon you and show you your objective. Inspiration will indicate (to you) the middle term which God made a natural requirement of the (process of) thinking, as we have stated.¹¹⁶⁷ At that particular moment, return with (the middle term) to the molds and forms (to be used) for the arguments, dip it into them, and give it its due of the technical norm (of logic)! Then, clothe it with the forms of words and bring it forth into the world of spoken utterances, firmly girt and soundly constructed!

Verbal disputes and doubts concerning the distinction between right and wrong logical evidence are all technical and conventional matters. Their

¹¹⁶⁴Cf. Bombaci, pp. 466 f.

¹¹⁶⁵D: "study."

¹¹⁶⁶Cf. Qur'an 2.239 290).

¹¹⁶⁷Cf p. 295, above.

numerous aspects are all alike or similar, because of their conventional and technical character. If they stop you, (you¹¹⁶⁸ will not be able) to distinguish the truth in them, for the truth becomes distinguishable only if it exists by nature. All the doubts and uncertainties will remain. The veils will cover the objective sought and prevent the thinker from attaining it. That has been the case with most recent thinkers, especially with those who formerly spoke a language other than Arabic, which was a mental handicap,¹¹⁶⁹ or those who were enamored with logic and partial to it.¹¹⁷⁰ They believe that logic is a natural means for the perception of the truth. They become confused when doubts and misgivings arise concerning the evidence, and they are scarcely able to free themselves from (such doubts).

As a matter of fact, the natural means for the perception of the truth is, as we have stated, (man's natural ability to think, when it is free from all imaginings and when the thinker entrusts himself to the mercy of God. Logic merely describes the process of thinking and mostly parallels it. Take that into consideration and ask for God's mercy when you have difficulty in understanding problems! Then, the divine light will shine upon you and give you the right inspiration.

God guides in His mercy. Knowledge comes only from God.

¹¹⁶⁸ Notwithstanding the tense used by Ibn Khaldun, the apodosis would seem to start here (against Bombaci, p. 467).

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. pp. 915 ff., below.

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf., for instance, pp. 142 ff., above.

VI.37. Study of the auxiliary sciences should not be prolonged, and their problems should not be treated in detail.¹¹⁷¹

[p.3:298]

It¹¹⁷² should be known that the sciences customarily known among civilized people are of two kinds. There are the sciences that are wanted *per se*, such as the religious sciences of Qur'an interpretation, Prophetic traditions, jurisprudence, and speculative theology, and the physical and metaphysical sciences of philosophy. In addition, there are sciences that are instrumental and auxiliary to the sciences mentioned. Among such auxiliary sciences are Arabic philology, arithmetic, and others, which are auxiliary to the religious sciences, and logic which is auxiliary to philosophy and often also to speculative theology and the science of the principles of jurisprudence (when treated) according to the method of recent scholars.¹¹⁷³

In the case of the sciences that are wanted (*per se*), it does no harm to extend their discussion, to treat their problems in detail, and to present all the evidence and (all the different) views (which exist concerning them). It gives the student of them a firmer habit and clarifies the ideas they contain which one wants to know. But the sciences that are auxiliary to other sciences, such as Arabic philology, logic, and the like, should be studied only in so far as they are aids to the other (sciences). Discussion of them should not be prolonged, and the problems should not be treated in detail, as this would lead away from their purpose, and their purpose is (to facilitate understanding of) the sciences to which they are auxiliary, nothing else. Whenever the (auxiliary sciences) cease to be (auxiliary to other sciences), they abandon their purpose, and occupation with them becomes an idle pastime.

¹¹⁷¹This section is missing in C. Cf. n. 1157 to this chapter, above.

¹¹⁷²Cf. Issawi, pp. 162 f.

¹¹⁷³Cf., for instance, pp. 28 and 49, above.

Moreover,¹¹⁷⁴ it is (also) difficult to acquire the habit of them, because they are large subjects with many details. Their (difficulty) is often an obstacle to acquiring the sciences wanted *per se*, because it takes so long to get to them. However, they are more important, and life is too short to acquire a knowledge of everything in this (thorough) form. Thus, occupation with the auxiliary sciences constitutes a waste of one's life, occupation with something that is of no concern.¹¹⁷⁵

Recent scholars have done this with grammar and logic and even with the principles of jurisprudence. They have prolonged the discussion of these disciplines both¹¹⁷⁶ by transmitting (more material) and (by adding to the material) through deductive reasoning. They have increased the number of details and problems,¹¹⁷⁷ causing them to be no longer auxiliary sciences, but disciplines that are wanted *per se*. In consequence, (the auxiliary sciences) often deal with views and problems for which there is no need in the disciplines that are wanted *per se* (and are the sole *raison d'etre* of the auxiliary sciences). Thus, they are a sort of idle pastime and also do outright harm to students, because the sciences that are wanted (*per se*) are more important for them than the auxiliary and instrumental sciences. (Now,) if they spend all their lives on the auxiliary (sciences), when will they get around to (the sciences) that are wanted (*per se*)? Therefore, teachers of the auxiliary sciences ought not to delve too deeply in them¹¹⁷⁸ and increase the number of their problems. They must advise the student concerning their purpose and have him stop there. Those who have the mind to go more deeply (into them) and consider themselves capable and able to do so, may choose (such

¹¹⁷⁴Or: "In spite of that." But "moreover" seems preferable.

¹¹⁷⁵Cf. n. 796 to this chapter, above.

¹¹⁷⁶Bulaq omits the rest of the sentence. It may be noted that the science of the principles of jurisprudence is not an auxiliary science, and Ibn Khaldun said so at the beginning of the section.

¹¹⁷⁷Bulaq: "deductions."

¹¹⁷⁸The rest of the sentence is not found in Bulaq.

a course) for themselves. Everyone is successful at the things for which he was created.¹¹⁷⁹

VI.38. The instruction of children and the different methods employed in the Muslim cities.

[p.3:300]

It should be known that instructing children in the Qur'an is a symbol of Islam. Muslims have, and practice, such instruction in all their cities, because it imbues hearts with a firm belief (in Islam) and its articles of faith, which are (derived) from the verses of the Qur'an and certain Prophetic traditions. The Qur'an has become the basis of instruction, the foundation for all habits that may be acquired later on. The reason for this is that the things one is taught in one's youth take root more deeply (than anything else). They are the basis of all later (knowledge). The first impression the heart receives is, in a way, the foundation of (all scholarly) habits. The character of the foundation determines the condition of the building. The methods of instructing children in the Qur'an differ according to differences of opinion as to the habits that are to result from that instruction.

The Maghribi method is to restrict the education of children to instruction in the Qur'an and to practice, during the course (of instruction), in Qur'an orthography and its problems and the differences among Qur'an experts on this score. The (Maghribis) do not bring up any other subjects in their classes, such as traditions, jurisprudence, poetry, or Arabic philology, until the pupil is skilled in (the Qur'an), or drops out before becoming skilled in it. In the latter case, it means, as a rule, that he will not learn anything. This is the method the urban population in the Maghrib and the native Berber Qur'an teachers who follow their (urban compatriots), use in educating their children up to the age of manhood. They use it also with old people who study

¹¹⁷⁹Cf. 2:932, and p. 109, above.

the Qur'an after part of their life has passed. Consequently, (Maghribis) know the orthography of the Qur'an, and know it by heart, better than any other (Muslim group).

The Spanish method is instruction in reading and writing as such. That is what they pay attention to in the instruction (of children). However, since the Qur'an is the basis and foundation of (all) that and the source of Islam and (all) the sciences, they make it the basis of instruction, but they do not restrict their instruction of children exclusively to (the Qur'an). They also bring in (other subjects), mainly poetry and composition, and they give the children an expert knowledge of Arabic and teach them a good handwriting. They do not stress teaching of the Qur'an more than the other subjects. In fact, they are more concerned with teaching hand writing than any other subject, until the child reaches manhood. He then has some experience and knowledge of the Arabic language and poetry. He has an excellent knowledge of handwriting, and he would have a thorough acquaintance with scholarship in general, if the tradition of scholarly instruction (still) existed in (Spain), but he does not, because the tradition no longer exists there.¹¹⁸⁰ Thus, (present-day Spanish children) obtain no further (knowledge) than what their primary instruction provides. It is enough for those whom God guides. It prepares (them for further studies), in the event that a teacher (of them) can be found.

The people of Ifriqiyah combine the instruction of children in the Qur'an, usually, with the teaching of traditions. They also teach basic scientific norms and certain scientific problems. However, they stress giving their children a good knowledge of the Qur'an and acquainting them with its various recensions and readings more than anything else. Next they stress handwriting. In general, their method of instruction in the Qur'an is closer to the Spanish method (than to Maghribi or Eastern methods), because their (educational tradition) derives from the Spanish *shaykhs* who crossed over

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. 2:430, above.

when the Christians conquered Spain, and asked for hospitality in Tunis.¹¹⁸¹ From that time on, they were the teachers of (Tunisian) children.

The people of the East, as far as we know, likewise have a mixed curriculum. I do not know what (subjects) they stress (primarily). We have been told that they are concerned with teaching the Qur'an and the works and basic norms of (religious) scholarship once (the children) are grown up. They do not combine (instruction in the Qur'an) with instruction in handwriting. They have (special) rule(s) for teaching it, and there are special teachers for it,¹¹⁸² just like any other craft which is taught (separately) and not included in the school curriculum for children. The children's slates (on which they practice) exhibit an inferior form of handwriting. Those who want to learn a (good) handwriting may do so later on (in their lives) from professional (calligraphers), to the extent of their interest in it and desire.

The fact that the people of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib restrict themselves to the Qur'an makes them altogether incapable of mastering the linguistic habit. For as a rule, no (scholarly) habit can originate from the (study of the) Qur'an, because no human being can produce anything like it. Thus, human beings are unable to employ or imitate its ways (*ushub*), and they also can form no habit in any other respect. Consequently, a person who knows (the Qur'an) does not acquire the habit of the Arabic language. It will be his lot to be awkward in expression and to have little fluency in speaking. This situation is not quite so pronounced among the people of Ifriqiyah as among the Maghribis, because, as we have stated, the former combine instruction in the Qur'an with instruction in the terminology of Scientific terms. Thus, they get some practice and have some examples to imitate. However, their habit in this respect does not amount to a good style (eloquence), because

¹¹⁸¹ Cf. 1:xxxv f., above.

¹¹⁸² Cf. 2:378, above.

their knowledge mostly consists of scholarly terminology which falls short of good style, as will be mentioned in the proper section.¹¹⁸³

As for the Spaniards, their varied curriculum with its great amount of instruction in poetry, composition, and Arabic philology gave them, from their early years on, a habit providing for a better acquaintance with the Arabic language. They were less proficient in all the other (religious) sciences, because they were little familiar with study of the Qur'an and the traditions that are the basis and foundation of the (religious) sciences. Thus, they were people who knew how to write and who had a literary education that was either excellent or deficient, depending on the secondary education they received after their childhood education.

In his *Rihlah*, Judge Abu Bakr b. al-'Arabi¹¹⁸⁴ made a remarkable statement about instruction, which retains (the best of) the old, and presents (some good) new features.¹¹⁸⁵ He placed instruction in Arabic and poetry ahead of all the other sciences, as in the Spanish method, since, he said, "poetry is the archive of the Arabs."¹¹⁸⁶ Poetry and Arabic philology should be taught first because of the (existing) corruption of the language.¹¹⁸⁷ From there, the (student) should go on to arithmetic and study it assiduously, until he knows its basic norms. He should then go on to the study of the Qur'an, because with his (previous) preparation, it will be easy for him." (Ibn al-'Arabi) continued: "How thoughtless are our compatriots in that they teach children the Qur'an when they are first starting out. They read things they do not un-

¹¹⁸³ Cf. pp. 394 f., below.

¹¹⁸⁴ Cf. 1:446, and p. 285 (n. 1123), above. His views on education, from his *Maraqī az-zulfa*, are quoted by I. Goldziher in his article, "Education," in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 206a. Progressive views on education comparable to those quoted here, are found expressed in the early period of Muslim civilization in the *Nawadir al-falasifah* by the famous Hunayn b. Ishaq, where he described what he considered to be the curriculum of Greek education.

¹¹⁸⁵ Lit., "he repeated (old things) and brought forth new (original ideas)." Thus, one might translate: "which says everything." Cf. also R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 186a.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. 2:402, above, and pp. 341, 367, 374, and 410, below.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. pp. 945 f., below, and elsewhere.

derstand and work hard at something that is not as important for them as other matters." He concluded: "The student should study successively the principles of Islam, the principles of jurisprudence, disputation, and then the Prophetic traditions and the sciences connected with them." He also forbade teaching two disciplines at the same time, save to the student with a good mind and sufficient energy.¹¹⁸⁸

This is Judge Abu Bakr's advice. It is a good method indeed. However, accepted custom is not favorable to it, and custom has greater power over conditions (than anything else). Accepted custom gives preference to the teaching of the Qur'an. The reason is the desire for the blessing and reward (in the other world resulting from knowledge of the Qur'an) and a fear of the things that might affect children in "the folly of youth"¹¹⁸⁹ and harm them and keep them from acquiring knowledge. They might miss the chance to learn the Qur'an. As long as they remain at home, they are amenable to authority. When they have grown up and shaken off the yoke of authority, the tempests of young manhood often cast them upon the shores of wrongdoing. Therefore, while the children are still at home and under the yoke of authority, one seizes the opportunity to teach them the Qur'an, so that they will not remain without knowledge of it. If one could be certain that a child would continue to study and accept instruction (when he has grown up), the method mentioned by the Judge would be the most suitable one ever devised in East or West.

"God decides, and no one can change His decision."¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁸⁸ Cf. p. 294, above.

¹¹⁸⁹ For this often-used phrase, cf., for instance, F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 297. Cf. also the rather different application of the idea in the verse:

Only the folly of youth is life,

And when it is gone, the folly of wine.

Cf at-Tawhidi, *al-Imta' wa-l-mu'anasah* (Cairo, 1959 44), 11, 180.

¹¹⁹⁰ Qur'an 13.41 (41).

VI.39. Severity to students does them harm.

[p.3:304]

This comes about as follows. Severe punishment in the course of instruction does harm to the student, especially to little children, because it belongs among (the things that make for a) bad habit. Students,¹¹⁹¹ slaves, and servants who are brought up with injustice and (tyrannical) force are overcome by it. It makes them feel oppressed and causes them to lose their energy. It makes them lazy and induces them to lie and be insincere. That is, their outward behavior differs from what they are thinking, because they are afraid that they will have to suffer tyrannical treatment (if they tell the truth). Thus, they are taught deceit and trickery. This becomes their custom and character. They lose the quality that goes with social and political organization and makes people human, namely, (the desire to) protect and defend themselves and their homes, and they become dependent on others.¹¹⁹² Indeed, their souls become too indolent to (attempt to) acquire the virtues and good character qualities. Thus, they fall short of their potentialities and do not reach the limit of their humanity. As a result, they revert to the stage of "the lowest of the low."¹¹⁹³

That¹¹⁹⁴ is what happened to every nation that fell under the yoke of tyranny and learned through it the meaning of injustice. One may check this by (observing) any person who is not in control of his own affairs and has no authority on his side to guarantee his (safety). One will thus be able to infer (from the observable facts) that things are (as I have stated). One may look at the Jews and the bad character they have acquired,¹¹⁹⁵ such that they

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. Issawi, p. 161.

¹¹⁹² Cf., for instance, 1:257, above.

¹¹⁹³ Cf. Qur'an 95.5 (5).

¹¹⁹⁴ Cf. Issawi, p. 61.

¹¹⁹⁵ Cf. 1:275 and 288, above.

are described in every region and period as having the quality of *khurj*,¹¹⁹⁶ which, according to well-known technical terminology, means "insincerity and trickery." The reason is what we have (just) said.

Thus, a teacher must not be too severe toward his pupil, nor a father toward his son, in educating them. In the book that Abu Muhammad b. Abi Zayd wrote on the laws governing teachers and pupils, he said: "If children must be beaten, their educator must not strike them more than three times."¹¹⁹⁷ Umar said: "Those who are not educated (disciplined) by the religious law are not educated (disciplined) by God."¹¹⁹⁸ He spoke out of a desire to preserve the souls from the humiliation of disciplinary punishment and in the knowledge that the amount (of disciplinary punishment) that the religious law has stipulated is fully adequate to keep (a person) under control, because the (religious law) knows best what is good for him.

One of the best methods of education was suggested by ar-Rashid to Khalaf b. Ahmar, the teacher of his son Muhammad al-Amin. Khalaf b. Ahmar¹¹⁹⁹ said: "Ar-Rashid told me to come and educate his son Muhammad al-Amin, and he said to me: 'O Ahmar, the Commander of the Faithful is entrusting (his son) to you, the life of his soul and the fruit of his heart. Take firm hold of him and make him obey you. Occupy in relation to him the place that the Commander of the Faithful has given you. Teach him to read

¹¹⁹⁶This vocalization is indicated in B, C, and D. However, no such word in the meaning required seems to exist in Arabic dictionaries. Is it, perhaps, a dialectical variant of Arabic *khurq* "charlatanry, foolishness," or a Spanish or Northwest African dialectical expression?

¹¹⁹⁷Cf. 1:261, above.

¹¹⁹⁸ Apparently, Ibn Khaldun interprets this statement to demand that "discipline" (which may mean "education" or "corporal punishment") should be applied only where- it is stipulated by the religious law, and not freely meted out by teachers. Actually, it seems to mean that where the religious law prescribes no punishment, none will result in the other world for the individual involved.

Cf. 1:260, above.

¹¹⁹⁹ Khalaf died between 796 and 805; cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, III. Ibn Khaldun's quotation is derived from al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab* (Paris, 1861-77), VI, 921 f. Cf. also al-Bayhaqi, *al-Mahasin wa-l-masawi*, ed. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), p. 617, and ash-Sharishi, *Sharh al-Maqamat* (Cairo, 1906/1889), II, 900.

the Qur'an. Instruct him in history. Let him transmit poems and teach him the Sunnah of the Prophet. Give him insight into the proper occasions for speech and how to begin a (speech). Forbid him to laugh, save at times when it is proper. Accustom him to honor the Hashimite dignitaries¹²⁰⁰ when they come to him, and to give the military leaders places of honor when they come to his salon. Let no hour pass in which you not seize the opportunity to teach him something useful. But do so without vexing him, which would kill his mind. Do not always be too lenient with him, or he will get to like leisure and become used to it. As much as possible, correct him kindly and gently. If he does not want it that way, you must then use severity and harshness.' "

VI.40. A scholar's education is greatly improved by traveling in quest of knowledge and meeting the authoritative teachers (of his time).

[p.3:307]

The¹²⁰¹ reason for this is that human beings obtain their knowledge and character qualities and all their opinions and virtues either through study, instruction, and lectures, or through imitation of a teacher and personal contact with him. The only difference here is that habits acquired through personal contact with a teacher are more strongly and firmly rooted. Thus, the greater the number of authoritative teachers (*shaykhs*), the more deeply rooted is the habit one acquires.

Furthermore, the technical terminologies used in scientific instruction are confusing to the student. Many students even suppose them to be part of a given science. The only way to deliver them from that (wrong notion) is by personal contact with teachers, for different teachers employ different terminologies. Thus, meeting scholars and having many authoritative teach-

¹²⁰⁰That is, his 'Abbasid relatives.

¹²⁰¹Cf. Issawi, p. 162.

ers (*shaykhs*) enables the student to notice the difference in the terminologies used by different teachers and to distinguish among them. He will thus be able to recognize the science itself behind the (technical terminology it uses). He will realize that (terminologies) are (merely) means and methods for imparting (knowledge). His powers will work toward acquiring strongly and firmly rooted habits. He will improve the knowledge he has and be able to distinguish it from other (knowledge). In addition, his habits will be strengthened through his intensive personal contact with teachers, when they are many and of various types. This is for those for whom God facilitated the ways of scholarship and right guidance. Thus, traveling in quest of knowledge is absolutely necessary for the acquisition of useful knowledge and perfection through meeting authoritative teachers (*shaykhs*) and having contact with (scholarly) personalities.

God "guides whomever He wants to guide to a straight path."¹²⁰²

VI.41. Scholars are, of all people, those least familiar with the ways of politics.

[p.3:308]

The¹²⁰³ reason for this is that (scholars) are used to mental speculation and to a searching study of ideas which they abstract from the *sensibilia* and conceive in their minds as general universals, so that they may be applicable to some matter in general but not to any particular matter, individual, race, nation, or group of people. (Scholars,) then, make such universal ideas conform (in their minds) to facts of the outside world. They also compare things with others that are similar to or like them, with the help of analogical reasoning as used in jurisprudence, which is something familiar to them. All their conclusions and views continue to be something in the mind. They come to conform (to the facts of the outside world) only after research and

¹²⁰² Qur'an 2.142 (136), etc.

¹²⁰³ Cf. Issawi, pp. 64-66.

speculation has come to an end, or they may never come to conform (to them). The facts of the outside world are merely special cases of the (ideas) that are in the mind. For instance, the religious laws are special cases derived from the well-known (texts) of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. In their case, one expects the facts of the outside world to conform to them, in contrast with the intellectual sciences, where, in order to (prove) the soundness of views, one expects those views to conform to the facts of the outside world.

Thus, in all their intellectual activity, scholars are accustomed to dealing with matters of the mind and with thoughts. They do not know anything else. Politicians, on the other hand, must pay attention to the facts of the outside world and the conditions attaching to and depending on (politics). (These facts and conditions) are obscure. They may contain some (element) making it impossible to refer them to something like and similar, or contradicting the universal (idea) to which one would like them to conform. The conditions existing in civilization cannot (always) be compared with each other. They may be alike in one respect, but they may differ in other respects.

(Now,) scholars are accustomed to generalizations and analogical conclusions. When they look at politics, they press (their observations) into the mold of their views and their way of making deductions. Thus, they commit many errors, or (at least) they cannot be trusted (not to commit errors). The intelligent and alert (segment) of civilized people falls into the same category as (scholars). Their penetrating minds drive them toward a searching occupation with ideas, analogy, and comparison, as is the case with jurists. Thus, they (too) commit errors.

The average person of a healthy disposition and a mediocre intelligence has not got the mind for (such speculation) and does not think of it. Therefore, he restricts himself to considering every matter as it is, and to judging every kind of situation and every type of individual by its particular (circumstances). His judgment is not infected with analogy and generalization. Most of his speculation stops at matters perceivable by the senses, and he

does not go beyond them in his mind, like a swimmer who stays in the water near the shore, as the poet says:

Do not go out too deep when swimming. Safety lies near the shore.

Such a man, therefore, can be trusted when he reflects upon his political activities. He has the right outlook in dealing with his fellow men. Thus, he makes a good living and suffers no damage or harm in the (process of making a living), because he has the right outlook.

"And He knows more than any scholar."¹²⁰⁴

This (situation) makes one realize that logic cannot be trusted to prevent the commission of errors, because it is too abstract and remote from the *sensibilia*. (Logic) considers the secondary *intelligibilia*. It is possible that material things contain something that does not admit of (logical) conclusions and contradicts them, when one looks for unequivocal conformity (between them and the facts of the outside world). It is different with speculation about the primary *intelligibilia*, which are less abstract. They are matters of the imagination and pictures of the *sensibilia*. They retain (certain features of the *sensibilia*) and permit verification of the conformity of (the *sensibilia* to the primary *intelligibilia*).¹²⁰⁵

VI.42. Most of the scholars in Islam have been non Arabs (Persians).¹²⁰⁶

[p.3:310]

It¹²⁰⁷ is a remarkable fact that, with few exceptions, most Muslim scholars both in the religious and in the intellectual sciences have been non-

¹²⁰⁴ Qur'an 12.76 (76).

¹²⁰⁵ Cf. p. 251, above.

¹²⁰⁶ In Arabic linguistic usage, the non-Arabs designated by the term '*ajam*' are primarily Persians. From the title of Ibn Khaldun's *History* (see 1:13, above), one may perhaps conclude that in his mind '*Ajam*' were mainly eastern non-Arabs, whereas the word Berber, as the most prominent group of western non-Arabs, stands for the latter. But cf. also 1:57, above.

¹²⁰⁷ Cf. Issawi, pp. 61-64.

Arabs. When a scholar is of Arab origin, he is non-Arab in language and upbringing and has non-Arab teachers. This is so in spite of the fact that Islam is an Arabic religion, and its founder was an Arab.

The reason for it is that at the beginning Islam had no sciences or crafts. That was due to the simple conditions (that prevailed) and the desert attitude. The religious laws, which are the commands and prohibitions of God, were in the breasts of the authorities. They knew their sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, from information they had received directly from the Lawgiver (Muhammad) himself and from the men around him. The people at that time were Arabs. They did not know anything about scientific instruction or the writing of books and systematic works. There was no incentive or need for that. This was the situation during the time of the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation. The persons who were concerned with knowing and transmitting the (religious laws) were called "Qur'an readers," that is, people who were able to read the Qur'an and were not illiterate. Illiteracy was general at that time among the men around Muhammad, since they were (Arab) Bedouins.¹²⁰⁸ People who knew the Qur'an were at that time called "Qur'an readers" with reference to the fact (that they were literate). They read the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which were transmitted from God, (in order to know the religious laws,) because the religious laws were known only from the (Qur'an) and from the traditions which are mostly explanations of and commentaries upon, the (Qur'an). Muhammad said: "I left among you two things. You will not go astray as long as you hold on to them: the Qur'an and my Sunnah."¹²⁰⁹

By the time of the reign of ar-Rashid, (oral) tradition had become far removed (from its starting point). It was thus necessary to write commentaries on the Qur'an and to fix the traditions in writing, because it was feared

¹²⁰⁸Cf. 2:378 and 382 f., above.

¹²⁰⁹The references given in *Concordance*, I, 270a, 1, 24, refer to different elaborations of the same theme.

that they might be lost.¹²¹⁰ It was also necessary to know the chains of transmitters and to assess their reliability, in order to be able to distinguish sound chains of transmitters from inferior ones.¹²¹¹ Then, more and more laws concerning actual cases were derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Moreover, the (Arabic) language became corrupt,¹²¹² and it was necessary to lay down grammatical rules.

All the religious sciences had (thus) become habits connected with producing and deriving (laws and norms) and with comparison and analogical reasoning. Other, auxiliary sciences became necessary, such as knowledge of the rules of the Arabic language, (knowledge of) the rules that govern the derivation (of laws) and analogical reasoning, and defense of the articles of faith by means of arguments, because a great number of innovations and heresies (had come into existence). All these things developed into sciences with their own habits, requiring instruction (for their acquisition). Thus, they came to fall under the category of crafts.

We have mentioned before that the crafts are cultivated by sedentary people and that of all peoples the Arab (Bedouins) are least familiar with the crafts.¹²¹³ Thus, the sciences came to belong to sedentary culture, and the Arabs were not familiar with them or with their cultivation. Now, the (only) sedentary people at that time were non-Arabs and, what amounts to the same thing, the clients and sedentary people who followed the non-Arabs at that time in all matters of sedentary culture, including the crafts and professions. They were most versed in those things, because sedentary culture had been firmly rooted among them from the time of the Persian Empire.

¹²¹⁰The expression of this fear is ascribed to as early a figure as the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 226. Ibn Khaldun may have in mind the story about Malik and al-Mansur. Cf. 1:34, above; also p. 325, below.

¹²¹¹Cf. 2:448 f., above.

¹²¹²Cf. pp. 345 f., below.

¹²¹³Cf. 2:353 f., above.

Thus, the founders of grammar were Sibawayh and, after him, al-Farisi and az-Zajjaj.¹²¹⁴ All of them were of non-Arab (Persian) descent. They were brought up in the Arabic language and acquired the knowledge of it through their upbringing and through contact with Arabs. They invented the rules of (grammar) and made (grammar) into a discipline (in its own right) for later (generations to use).

Most of the *hadith* scholars who preserved traditions for the Muslims also were non-Arabs (Persians), or Persian in language and upbringing, because¹²¹⁵ the discipline was widely cultivated in the 'Iraq and the regions beyond. (Furthermore,) all the scholars who worked in the science of the principles of jurisprudence were non-Arabs (Persians), as is well known. The same applies to speculative theologians and to most Qur'an commentators. Only the non-Arabs (Persians) engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic scholarly works. Thus, the truth of the following statement by the Prophet becomes apparent: "If scholarship hung suspended at the highest parts of heaven, the Persians¹²¹⁶ would (reach it and) take it."

The Arabs who came into contact with that flourishing sedentary culture and exchanged their Bedouin attitude for it, were diverted from occupying themselves with scholarship and study by their leading position in the 'Abbasid dynasty and the tasks that confronted them in government. They were the men of the dynasty, at once its protectors and the executors of its policy. In addition, at that time, they considered it a contemptible thing to be a scholar, because scholarship is a craft, and political leaders are always contemptuous of the crafts and professions and everything that leads to them.¹²¹⁷ Thus, they left such things to non-Arabs and persons of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage (*muwallad*). The latter cultivated them, and

¹²¹⁴ Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. as-Sari, who died ca. 311 [929]. Cf. GAL, I, 110; *Suppl.*, I, 170. For the other two scholars, cf. pp. 323 and 361, below.

¹²¹⁵ The remainder of the sentence appears only in C and D. D omits: "and the regions beyond."

¹²¹⁶ Lit., "people of Firs." * Cf. Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, II, 297, 420, 422, 469.

¹²¹⁷ The reference may be to 1:60, above. Cf. also pp. 410 f., below.

(the Arabs) always considered it their right to cultivate them, as they were their custom (*din*) and their sciences, and never felt complete contempt for the men learned in them. The final result, (law ever,) was that when the Arabs lost power and the non-Arabs took over, the religious sciences had no place with the men in power, because the latter had no relations with (scholarship). Scholars were viewed with contempt,¹²¹⁸ because the (men in power) saw that (scholars) had no contact with them and were occupying themselves with things that were of no interest to the (men in power) in governmental and political matters, as we mentioned in connection with the religious ranks.¹²¹⁹ The fact established here is the reason why (all) scholars in the religious sciences, or most of them, are non-Arabs.

The intellectual sciences, as well, made their appearance in Islam only after scholars and authors had become a distinct group of people and all scholarship had become a craft. (The intellectual sciences) were then the special preserve of non-Arabs, left alone by the Arabs, who did not cultivate them. They were cultivated only by Arabicized non-Arabs (Persians)¹²²⁰ as was the case with all the crafts, as we stated at the beginning.

This situation continued in the cities as long as the Persians and the Persian countries, the 'Iraq, Khurasan, and Transoxania, retained their sedentary culture. But when those cities fell into ruins, sedentary culture, which God has devised for the attainment of sciences and crafts, disappeared from them. Along with it, scholarship altogether disappeared from among the non-Arabs (Persians), who were (now) engulfed by the desert attitude. Scholarship was restricted to cities with an abundant sedentary culture. Today, no (city) has a more abundant sedentary culture than Cairo (Egypt). It is the

¹²¹⁸Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 170 f.

¹²¹⁹Cf. 1:459 f., above.

¹²²⁰Cf. R. Dozy, *loc. cit.*

mother of the world, the great center (*Iwan*) of Islam, and the mainspring of the sciences and the crafts.¹²²¹

Some sedentary culture has also survived in Transoxania, because the dynasty there provides some sedentary culture. Therefore, they have there a certain number of the sciences and the crafts, which cannot be denied. Our attention was called to this fact by the contents of the writings of a (Transoxanian) scholar, which have reached us in this country. He is Sa'd-ad-din at-Taftazani.¹²²² As far as the other non-Arabs (Persians) are concerned, we have not seen, since¹²²³ the imam Ibn al-Khatib and Nasir-ad-din at-Tusi, any discussions that could be referred to as indicating their ultimate excellence.

When one considers and ponders this fact, one will observe (in it) one of the wondrous circumstances of this world. "God creates whatever He wishes." "There is no God but Him."¹²²⁴

VI.43. A person whose first language was not Arabic finds it harder than the (native) speaker of Arabic to acquire the sciences.¹²²⁵

[p.3:315]

This is explained by the fact that all scientific research deals with ideas of the mind and the imagination. This applies to the religious sciences in which research is mostly concerned with words and the substance of which is the laws derived from the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the language used in (both the Qur'an and the Sunnah) that leads to (the formulation of) these (laws). These are all matters of the imagination. The same fact also applies to the intellectual sciences, which are matters of the mind.

¹²²¹ Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 246; above, 1:lviii.

¹²²² Cf. p. 117, above.

¹²²³ Cf. Bombaci, p. 467, and above, p. 148.

¹²²⁴ Qur'an 3.47 (42), etc., and Qur'an 2.163 (158), etc.

¹²²⁵ This section is not found in Bulaq.

Linguistic expression is merely the interpreter of ideas that are in the mind. One (person) conveys them to another in oral discussion, instruction, and constant scientific research. His purpose is to obtain the (various) habits of (all these things^{1225a}) through constant application. Words and expressions are media and veils between the ideas. They constitute the bonds between them and give them their final imprint. The student of ideas must extract them from the words that express them. For this he needs a knowledge of their linguistic meaning and a good (linguistic) habit. Otherwise, it is difficult for him to get (the ideas), apart from the (usual) difficulties inherent in mental investigation of them. When he has a firmly rooted habit as far as semantics is concerned, so that the (correct) ideas present themselves to his mind when he (hears) certain words used, spontaneously and naturally, the veil between the ideas and the understanding is either totally removed, or becomes less heavy, and the only task that remains is to investigate the problems inherent in the ideas.

All this applies to instruction by personal contact in the form of oral address and explanation. But when the student has to rely upon the study of books and written material and must understand scientific problems from the forms of written letters in books,¹²²⁶ he is confronted with another veil, (namely, the veil) that separates handwriting and the form of letters (found) in writing from the spoken words (found) in the imagination. The written letters have their own way of indicating the spoken words. As long as that way is not known, it is impossible to know what they express. If it is known imperfectly, (the meaning) expressed (by the letters) is known imperfectly. Thus, the student is confronted with another veil standing between him and his objective of attaining scientific habits, one that is more difficult to cope

^{1225a}The reference is to discussion, instruction, and the sciences, not merely to the sciences alone. "Linguistic expression" can hardly be meant, and the use of the plural "habits" would not go well with it.

¹²²⁶Cf. p. 296, above.

with than the first one. (Now,) if his habit, as far as the meaning of words and writing goes, is firmly established, the veils between him and the ideas are lifted. He has merely to occupy himself with understanding the problems inherent in the (ideas). The same relationship of ideas with words and writing exists in every language. The habits of students who learn these things while they are young, are more firmly established (than those of other people).

Furthermore, the Muslim realm was far-flung and included many nations. The sciences of the ancients were wiped out through the prophecy of (Islam) and its (holy) book. Illiteracy was the proper thing and symbol (of Islam). Islam then gained royal authority and power. (Foreign) nations served the (Muslims) with their sedentary culture and refinement. The religious sciences, which had been traditional, were turned by the (Muslims) into crafts. Thus, (scholarly) habits originated among them. Many systematic works and books were written. (The Muslims) desired to learn the sciences of the (foreign) nations. They made them their own through translations. They pressed them into the mold of their own views. They took them over into their own language from the non-Arab languages and surpassed the achievements of (the non-Arabs) in them. The manuscripts in the non-Arabic language were forgotten, abandoned, and scattered.¹²²⁷ All the sciences came to exist in Arabic. The systematic works on them were written in (Arabic) writing. Thus, students of the sciences needed a knowledge of the meaning of (Arabic) words and (Arabic) writing. They could dispense with all other languages, because they had been wiped out and there was no longer any interest in them.

We have mentioned before that language is a habit of the tongue.¹²²⁸ Likewise, handwriting is a craft, the habit of which is located in the hand.¹²²⁹ The tongue which had at first the habit of speaking another language than

¹²²⁷ Lit., "a forgotten object, a deserted ruin, and a scattered particle of dust." Cf. Qur'an 25.23 (25).

¹²²⁸ Cf. pp. 282 f., above (?), and pp. 321, 342, and 371, below.

¹²²⁹ Cf. p. 378, above.

Arabic, becomes deficient in (its mastery of) Arabic, because, as we have men tioned before,¹²³⁰ the person whose habit has advanced to a certain point in a particular craft is rarely able to master another one. This is obvious. (Now,) if (a person) is deficient in (his mastery of) Arabic, in (his knowledge of) the meaning of its words and its writing, it is difficult for him to derive the ideas from (Arabic words and Arabic writing), as has been mentioned before. Only if the early habit of speaking a non Arab language is not yet firmly established in a person when he makes the transition from it to Arabic, as is the case with small non-Arab children who grow up with Arabs before their (habit) of speaking a non-Arab language is firmly es tablished, only then does the Arabic language come to be like a first (native) language, and his ability to derive the ideas from (the words of) the Arabic language is not deficient.¹²³¹ The same applies to persons who learned non-Arabic writing before Arabic writing.

This is why we find that most non-Arab scholars in their research and classes do not copy comments (directly) from books but read them aloud. In this way they are less disturbed by the veils (between words and ideas), so that they can get more easily at the ideas. When a person possesses the perfect habit as far as verbal and written expression is concerned, he does not have to (read aloud). For him, it has become like a firmly ingrained natural disposition to derive an understanding of words from writing and of ideas from words. The veils between him and the ideas are lifted.

Intensive study and constant practice of the language and of writing may lead a person to a firmly rooted habit, as we find in most non-Arab scholars. However, this occurs rarely. When one compares such a person with an Arabic scholar of equal merit, the latter is the more efficient, and his habit the stronger. The non-Arab has trouble because his early use of a non-Arab language necessarily makes him inferior.

¹²³⁰Cf. 2:354 f., above.

¹²³¹Cf. pp. 342 f., 353, 358, 360 ff., and 391, below.

This is not in contradiction with the afore-mentioned fact¹²³² that most Muslim scholars are non-Arabs. In that connection, "non-Arab" meant non-Arab by descent. Such non-Arabs had a long (history of) sedentary culture which, as we have established, causes cultivation of the crafts and habits, including the sciences. Being non-Arab in language is something quite different, and this is what is meant here.

It is also not in contradiction with the fact that the Greeks were highly accomplished scholars. They learned their sciences in their own first (native) language and in their own writing, such as was customarily used among them. The nonArab Muslim who studies to become a scholar learns his subject in a language other than his first (native) one and from a writing other than the one whose habit he has mastered. This, then, becomes a veil for him, as we have stated.

This applies quite generally to all kinds of speakers of non-Arab languages, such as the Persians, the Turks, the Berbers, the European Christians, and all others whose language is not Arabic.¹²³³

"Here are signs for people who understand signs."¹²³⁴

VI.44. The sciences concerned with the Arabic language.

[p.3:319]

The pillars of the Arabic language are four: lexicography, grammar, syntax and style (*bayan*), and literature. Knowledge of them all is necessary for religious scholars, since the source of all religious laws is the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which are in Arabic. Their transmitters, the men around Muhammad and the men of the second generation, were Arabs. Their difficulties are to be explained from the language they used. Thus, those who

¹²³² Cf. the preceding section.

¹²³³ Cf. also p. 372, below.

¹²³⁴ Qur'an 15.75 (75).

want to be religious scholars must know the sciences connected with the Arabic language.

These sciences differ in emphasis (as to their importance) according to the different degrees (of usefulness) they possess for conveying the intended meaning of speech, as will become clear when they are discussed one by one. The conclusion will be that the first and most important of them is grammar, since it gives a clear indication of the basic principles (used in expressing) the various intended meanings. Thus, one can distinguish between subject and object, as well as between the subject of a nominal sentence and its predicate. Without grammar, one would not know on what to base giving information (about anything)

Lexicography would deserve to be first, were not most of its data constant (and restricted) to their (conventional) meanings, incapable of changing, in contrast to the case endings (in grammar) which indicate dependence, the (person or thing) that is dependent, and the (person or thing) on which (something else) depends.¹²³⁵ They always change completely and leave no trace. Thus, grammar is more important than lexicography, since ignorance of (grammar) is very harmful to mutual understanding. This is not the case with lexicography.

And God knows better.

Grammar

It should be known that language, as the term is customarily used, is the expression by a speaker of his intention. Such expression is an act of the tongue which originates in an intention to convey the meaning of speech.¹²³⁶ Therefore, (language) must become an established habit (located) in the part of the body that produces it, namely, the tongue.¹²³⁷

¹²³⁵Cf. p. 332, below.

¹²³⁶The relative clause appears in C in the margin and is incorporated in the text of D.

¹²³⁷Cf. p. 318 (n. 1228), above.

In every nation, the (formation of language takes place) according to their own terminology. The linguistic habit that the Arabs obtained in that way is the best there is. It is the one most clearly expressing the intended meaning, since many ideas are indicated in it by something else than words. There are, for instance, vowels to distinguish the subject from object and *i*-case - that is, the genitive - and (there are) letters to transform actions (verbs) - that is, motions -into essences,¹²³⁸ without need of other words. These (features) are found in no other language but Arabic. All other languages need special words to indicate a particular idea or situation. Therefore; we find non-Arabs lengthier in their speech than we would consider necessary in Arabic. This is what was meant in the following remark by Muhammad: "I was given the most comprehensive words, and speech was made short for me."¹²³⁹

The consonants, vowels, and positions (of letters [sounds]), that is, the forms of the Arabic language, came to indicate the intended meaning in a definite manner. The (Arabs) did not need a craft to teach them their meaning. It was a habit in their tongues that one generation learned from the other, as our children nowadays learn our languages.

Then Islam came. The Arabs left the Hijaz to seek the royal authority that was in the hands of (foreign) nations and dynasties. They came into contact with non-Arabs. As a result, their linguistic habit changed under the influence of the solecisms they heard non-Arab speakers of Arabic make, and it is hearing that begets the linguistic habit. Thus, the (Arab linguistic

¹²³⁸It seems that *af'al* "actions, verbs," is used here to indicate the fluid, "movable" roots, while *dhawat*"essences," refers to the static, definite categories of nouns, adjectives, and verbal forms that are meaningful by themselves and produced by prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. The statement does not refer merely to the transformation of verbs by means of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, into particular verbal forms.

¹²³⁹For the first half of the tradition, cf. the references in *Concordance*, I, 365a. Cf. also Ibn Rashīq, *'Umdah* (Cairo, 1353/1934), I, 224, and al-Mas'udi, *Muruj adh-dhahab*, IV, 165. Cf. also below, pp. 345 and 416.

habit began to) incline toward adopting forms of speech at variance with it, because (the Arabs) became used to hearing them spoken, and (their linguistic habit) became corrupted.¹²⁴⁰

Cultured people feared that the (Arab linguistic) habit would become entirely corrupted and that, if the (process of corruption) went on for a long time, the Qur'an and the traditions would no longer be understood. Therefore, they derived certain norms for the (Arab linguistic) habit from their way of speaking. (These norms are) of general applicability, like universals and basic principles. They checked all the other parts of speech with them and combined like with like. (Among such norms,) for instance, are these:

The agent has the *u*-ending.

The object has the *a*-ending.

The subject of a nominal sentence has the *u*-ending.

Then, they considered (the fact) that the meaning changes with the change of vowel (endings). For this (phenomenon), they used the technical term of *i'rab*. For the thing that necessitates the change (in meaning), they used the technical term "agent," (*'amil*), and so on. All these things came to be technical terms peculiar to the (grammarians) who set them down in writing and made a particular¹²⁴¹ craft of them. The technical term they used for that (craft) is "grammar" (*nahw*).

The first to write on (grammar) was Abul-Aswad ad-Du'ali, of the Banu Kinanah.¹²⁴² It is said that he did so upon the advice of 'Ali, who noticed that the (linguistic) habit was changing. Therefore he advised (ad-Du'ali) to protect it, and (ad-Du'ali) anxiously went about the task of fixing it accurately by means of comprehensive, inductively evolved rules.

¹²⁴⁰Cf. p. 346, below.

¹²⁴¹An additional "of their own," which appears in the earlier texts, is omitted in C and D.

¹²⁴²The legend that makes 'Ali the driving force behind the creation of Arabic grammar is often mentioned but is, of course, unhistorical, as is the role of ad-Du'ali. Cf. GAL, I, 42 and 96; *Suppl.*, I, 72 and 155; Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, pp. 40 f. (ed. Flugel); pp. 59 ff. (Cairo, 1348/1929-30). Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 262.

Later on, scholars wrote books on (grammar). Eventually, in the time of al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farahidi,¹²⁴³ in the days of ar-Rashid, people were more in need of (grammatical rules than ever before), because the (linguistic) habit was disappearing from among the Arabs. (Al-Khalil) improved the craft (of grammar) and perfected its various chapters. Sibawayh¹²⁴⁴ learned (grammar) from him. He perfected its details and increased the number of proofs and examples used in connection with it. He wrote on it his famous *Book* which became the model for everything subsequently written on (grammar).¹²⁴⁵ Short books for students were later written by Abu-Ali al-Farisi¹²⁴⁶ and Abul-Qasim az-Zajjaji.¹²⁴⁷ In them, they followed the model of (Sibawayh's) *Book*.

Then, there was much grammatical discussion. Divergent opinions originated among the grammarians of al-Kufah and al-Basrah, the two old cities of the Arabs. They used an increasing number of proofs and arguments. The methods of (grammatical) instruction also became different. There was much difference of opinion with regard to vowel endings in many verses of the Qur'an, since the grammarians held different opinions as to the basic rules of (grammar). This became a lengthy subject for students (to study). Then recent scholars came, with their method of being brief. They cut short a good deal of the long discussion, though they included everything that had been transmitted. That, for instance, was what Ibn Malik¹²⁴⁸ did in the *Kitab at-Tashil*, and others. Or, they restricted themselves to elementary rules for (beginning) students. That, for instance, was what az-Zamakhshari

¹²⁴³ He lived through most of the eighth century. Cf. GAL, I, 100; *Suppl.*, I, 159 f. Cf. pp. 325 ff., below.

¹²⁴⁴ Sibawayh died *ca.* 800. Cf. GAL, I, 100 ff.; *suppl.*, I, 160.

¹²⁴⁵ Cf. also p. 356, below.

¹²⁴⁶ Al-Hasan b. Ahmad (Muhammad), 288-377 [901-987]. Cf. GAL, I, 11, 3 f.; *suppl.*, I, 175 f. Cf. p. 313, above.

¹²⁴⁷ Abd-ar-Rahman b. Ishaq, who died *ca.* 337 [949]. Cf. GAL, I, 110; *Suppl.*, I, 170 f.

¹²⁴⁸ Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, d. 672 [1274]. Cf. GAL, I, 298 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 521 ff.

did in the *Mufassal* and Ibn al-Hajib in the *Muqaddimah*.¹²⁴⁹ They also frequently versified the subject. That was done, for instance, by Ibn Malik in two *rajaz* poems, the large and the small one, and by Ibn Mu'ti¹²⁵⁰ in a *rajaz* poem of a thousand verses (*ay'zyah*).

In general, the works on this subject are innumerable and cannot all be known, and the methods of (grammatical) instruction are varied. The method of the ancients is different from that of recent (grammarians). The methods of the Kufians, the Basrians, the Baghdadis, and the Spaniards also, are all different.

Grammar has come to the point of being allowed to disappear, along with the decrease in the other sciences and crafts which we have noted and which is the result of a decrease in civilization. At the present time, there has reached us in the Maghrib a systematic work (*diwan*) from Egypt attributed to the Egyptian scholar, Jamal-ad-din b. Hisham.¹²⁵¹ He treats in it all the rules governing vowel endings, both in general and in detail. He discusses the letters (sounds) and the individual words and sentences. He omits the repetitions found in most chapters of grammar. He called his work *al-Mughni fi l-i'rab*.¹²⁵² He indicates all the fine points of the vowel endings in the Qur'an and sets them down accurately in chapters and sections and according to basic norms all of which are very orderly. We have found in (the work) much information at-testing to (the author's) great ability and abundant knowledge of grammar. In a way, his approach follows the method of the Mosul grammarians who followed in the footsteps of Ibn Jinni and

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. 2:446, and p. 18, above.

¹²⁵⁰ Yahya b. 'Abd-al-Mu'ti az-Zawiwi, d. 628 (12311. Cf. GAL, I, 302 f.; Suppl., I, 530 f. His *Durrah al-a fiyah* was the model of Ibn Malik's famous *Alfiyah*. Cf. GAL, Suppl., I, 522.

¹²⁵¹ Abdallah b. Yusuf, 708-76111309-19601. Cf. GAL, 11, 23 ff.; Suppl., II, 16 ff. Ibn Khaldun mentioned this passage concerning Ibn Hisham to Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, II, 309. Cf. p. 289, above.

¹²⁵² The full title of the work, of which there exist many editions, is *Mughni al-labib'an kutub al-a'drib*. There is no need to assume, with de Slane, that Ibn Khaldun here combined the titles of two works by Ibn Hisham, the *Mughni* and the *I'rab* ('*an qawd'id al-i'rab*).

adopted his technical terminology for (grammatical) instruction. In this way, he has produced a remarkable work that shows his powerful (linguistic) habit and his acquaintance with the subject.

God "gives in addition to the creatures whatever He wishes to give to them."¹²⁵³

The science of lexicography

This science is concerned with explaining the (conventional) meanings of the (words of the) language. This comes about as follows. The habit of the Arabic language, as far as the vowels called *i'rab* by the grammarians are concerned, became corrupted.¹²⁵⁴ Rules for protecting the (vowel endings) were developed, as we have stated. However, the (process of) corruption continued on account of the close contact (of the Muslims) with non-Arabs. Eventually, it affected the (conventional) meanings of words. Many Arabic words were no (longer) used in their proper meaning. This was the result of indulgence shown to the incorrect language used by non-Arab speakers of Arabic in their terminologies, in contradiction to the pure Arabic language. It was, therefore, necessary to protect the (conventional) meanings of the (words of the) language with the help of writing and systematic works, because it was to be feared that (otherwise) they might be wiped out and that ignorance of the Qur'an and the traditions would result.¹²⁵⁵

Many leading philologists set out eagerly on this task and dictated systematic works on the subject. The champion in this respect was al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farahidi.¹²⁵⁶ He wrote the *Kitab al-'Ayn* on lexicography. In it, he dealt with all (possible) combinations of the letters of the alphabet, that is,

¹²⁵³ Qur'an 35.1 (1).

¹²⁵⁴ Cf. p. 346, below.

¹²⁵⁵ Cf. p. 312, above.

¹²⁵⁶ Cf. p. 323, above. For him and the other lexicographers mentioned in this chapter, cf. also J. Kraemer, "Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie," *Oriens*, VI (1953), 201-38.

with words of two, three, four, and five consonants. (Fiveconsonant words) are the longest letter combinations found in Arabic.

It was possible for al-Khalil to calculate arithmetically the total number of such combinations. This goes as follows. The total number of two-consonant words is the sum of the arithmetical progression from one to twenty-seven. Twenty seven is one letter less than the number of letters in the alphabet. For the first consonant (of the alphabet) is combined with the remaining twenty-seven letters. This results in twenty-seven two-consonant words. Then, the second letter is combined with the remaining twenty-six consonants, then the third and the fourth, and so on, to the twenty seventh consonant, which is combined (only) with the twenty eighth consonant. This results in one two-consonant word. Thus, the number of two-consonant words is the arithmetical progression from one to twenty-seven. The total can be figured out with the help of a well-known arithmetical operation - that is,¹²⁵⁷ one adds up the first and last (numbers of the progression) and multiplies the total by one-half of the number (of numbers in the progression). The resulting number is then doubled, because the position of the consonants can be inverted. The position of consonants must be taken into consideration in combining them. The result is the total number of two-consonant words.¹²⁵⁸

The number of three-consonant words is the result of multiplying the number of two-consonant words by the sum of the arithmetical progression from one to twenty-six. For every two-consonant word becomes a three-consonant word through the addition of one consonant. Thus, the two consonant words may take the place of one consonant to be combined with each of the remaining consonants of the alphabet, which number twenty-six. Thus,

¹²⁵⁷The explanation of the calculation was added by C in the margin and is found in the text of D. The number 756 for two-consonant words is also indicated in A in a marginal note.

¹²⁵⁸ I.e., $\frac{(1 + 27) \cdot 27}{2} \cdot 2 = 756$

the sum of the arithmetical progression from one to twenty-six is calculated and multiplied by the number of two-consonant words. The result, then, is multiplied by six, which is the possible number of combinations of three consonants. The result is the total number (of words of three consonants that can be made) from the consonants of the alphabet.¹²⁵⁹ The same is done with four-consonant and five-consonant words. In this way, the total number of (possible) letter combinations was calculated (by al-Khalil).¹²⁶⁰

Al-Khalil did <not?> arrange the chapters of the book according to the customary sequence of the letters of the alphabet. (Instead,) he used the sequence of the positions (in throat and mouth) in which the various sounds are produced. Thus, he started with the laryngeals. They were followed, successively, by velars, dentals, and labials. Al-Khalil put the weak consonants, which are the (so-called) airy consonants (*alif*, *w*, *y*), in the last place. Among the laryngeals, he started with *'ayn*, because it is the (sound produced) farthest (back in the throat). Therefore, his book was called *Kitab al-'Ayn*. The

¹²⁵⁹ That would be $\frac{(1+26) \cdot 26}{2} \cdot 756.6 = 1,592,136$, which, however, is much too high. Including combinations containing the same letter twice (but excluding combinations consisting of the same letter repeated three times, which do not occur), the number of three-consonant combinations would be $28^3 - 28 = 21,924$. This, of course, includes many impossible combinations.

¹²⁶⁰ Actually, as far as we know, al-Khalil did not indulge in these calculations in the *Kitab al-'Ayn*, but they were undertaken by later scholars. Cf. E. Braunlich in *Islamica*, II (1926), 74. As-Suyuti, *Muzhir* (I, 74 f., in a recent, undated, and unreliable Cairo edition), sums up the discussion as follows. According to the *Muwazanah* of Hamzah al-Isfahani (GAL, I, 145; *Suppl.*, I, 221 f.), al-Khalil stated in the *Kitab al-'Ayn* that the number of possible words of two, three, four, and five consonants is 12,305,412. There are 756 twoconsonant words, 19,650 (*sic leg.*) three-consonant words, 491,400 fourconsonant words, and 11,793,600 five-consonant words (the sum of these figures would be smaller by six than the total given before).

According to the abridgment of the *Kitab al-'Ayn* by az-Zubaydi (cf. p. 328, below), there are, as-Suyuti says, 6,659,400 possible combinations, of which 5,620 are in actual use. There are 756 (*sic leg.*) two-consonant words, of which 489 are in use. There are 19,650 three-consonant words, of which 4,269 are in use.

ancient (scholars) did such things when they selected titles for their works. They called them after the first words or phrases that occurred in them.

(Al-Khalil) then made a distinction between (letter combinations) that are not used and those that are. The largest number of (letter combinations) that are not used are among words of four or five consonants. The Arabs rarely use them because of their heaviness. Next come the two-consonant words. They have little circulation. The three-consonant words are the ones used most. Thus, they possess the greatest number of (conventional) meanings, because they are (so much) in circulation.

All this was included by (al-Khalil) in the *Kitab al-'Ayn* and treated very well and exhaustively.

Abu Bakr az-Zubaydi,¹²⁶¹ the writing teacher of Hisham al-Mu'ayyad in Spain in the fourth [tenth] century, abridged the (*Kitab al-'Ayn*) but preserved its complete character. He omitted all the words that are not used. He also omitted many of the examples clarifying words in use. Thus, he produced a very good abridgment for memorizing.

Among eastern scholars, al-Jawhari¹²⁶² composed the *Kitab as-Sihah*, which follows the ordinary alphabetical sequence. He started with *hamzah* (*alif*). He arranged the words according to their last letter, since people have mostly to do with the last consonants of words. He made a special chapter (of each last letter), and within each chapter he also proceeded alphabetically by the first (letters) of the words and listed all of them as separate entries to the end.¹²⁶³ He gave a comprehensive presentation of the (lexicographical facts of the Arabic) language in imitation of the work of al-Khalil.

Among Spanish scholars, Ibn Sidah, of Denia,¹²⁶⁴ wrote the *Kitab al-Muhkam*, a similarly comprehensive work following the arrangement of the

¹²⁶¹ Muhammad b. al-hasan, d. 379 [989]. Cf. GAL, I, 100,132 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 203.

¹²⁶² Isma'il b. Hammad, who died at the beginning of the eleventh century. Cf. GAL, I, 128 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 196 f. The title of the work is also vocalized *as-Sahah*.

¹²⁶³ The last sentence appears in the margin of C and in the text of D.

¹²⁶⁴ Ali b. Isma'il (Ahmad), ca. 398 [1007/8] to 458 [1066]. Cf. GAL, I, 308 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 542.

Kitab al-'Ayn. He wrote during the reign of 'Ali b. Mujahid. Ibn Sidah's own contribution was an attempt to give the etymologies and grammatical forms of the words. Thus, his work turned out to be one of the best systematic works (on lexicography). An abridgment of it was written by Muhammad b. Abil-Husayn,¹²⁶⁵ a companion of the Hafsīd ruler al-Mustansir in Tunis. He changed the (alphabetical) sequence to that of the *Kitab as-Sihah*, in that he considered the last consonants of the words and arranged the entries according to them. The two (works)¹²⁶⁶ are thus like real twins. Kura',¹²⁶⁷ a leading philologist, wrote the *Kitab al-Munajjad*, Ibn Durayd¹²⁶⁸ the *Kitab al-Jamharah*, and Ibn al-Anbari¹²⁶⁹ the *Kitab az-Zahir*.

These are the principal works on lexicography, as far as we know. There are other brief works restricted to particular kinds of words. They contain some chapters, or they may contain all of them, but, still, they are obviously not comprehensive, while comprehensiveness is an obvious feature in the works (mentioned), dealing with all (the possible letter) combinations, as one has seen. Another work on lexicography is the one by az-Zamakhshari on metaphoric usage, entitled *Asas al-balaghah*.¹²⁷⁰ Az-Zamakhshari explains in it all the words used metaphorically by the Arabs, (and he explains) what meanings are used metaphorically by them. It is a highly useful work.

Furthermore, the Arabs may use a general term for one (particular) meaning, but (for the expression of the same idea) in connection with particular objects, they may employ other words that can be used (in this particular meaning) only with those particular objects. Thus, we have a distinction between (conventional) meaning and usage. This (situation) requires

¹²⁶⁵ He died in 671 [1272/73]. Cf. *Ibar*, VI, 294 f.; de Slane (tr.), 11, 369 ff.

¹²⁶⁶ I.e., the works of al-Jawhari and Ibn Abil-Husayn.

¹²⁶⁷ This sentence is added in C and D. Kura's name was 'Ali b. al-Husayn, and he lived in the tenth century. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 201.

¹²⁶⁸ Muhammad b. al-Hasan, d. 321 [933]. Cf. GAL, I, III f.; *Suppl.*, I, 172 ff.

¹²⁶⁹ Muhammad b. al-Qasim, 271-328 [885-940]. Cf. GAL, I, 119; *Suppl.*, I, 182 f.

¹²⁷⁰ Cf. n. 104 to this chapter, above.

a lexicographical "jurisprudence." It is something difficult to develop. For instance, "white"¹²⁷¹ is used for anything that contains whiteness. However, the whiteness of horses is indicated by the special word *ashhab*, that of men by the word *azhar*, and that of sheep by the word *amlah*. Eventually, the use of the ordinary word for "white" in all these cases came to be (considered) a solecism and deviation from the Arabic language. Ath-Tha'alibi,¹²⁷² in particular, wrote in this sense. He composed a monograph on the subject entitled *Fiqh al-lughah* "Jurisprudence of Lexicography." It is the best control a philologist has, in order to keep himself from deviating from (proper) Arabic usage. A knowledge of the primary (conventional) meaning is not enough for (the use of proper) word combinations. It must be attested by (actual) Arabic usage. This (knowledge) is needed most by poets and prose writers, in order to avoid committing frequent solecisms in connection with the (conventional) meanings of words, whether they are used in individual words or in combinations. (Improper use in this respect) is worse than solecisms in (use of the) vowel endings. Likewise, a recent scholar wrote on homonyms and undertook to give a comprehensive presentation of them. However, he did not fully succeed, though his work contains most of the (material).

There are many brief works on the subject. They are particularly concerned with widespread and much used lexicographical materials. Their purpose is to make it easy for the student to memorize them. For instance, there are the *Alfazof* Ibn as-Sikkit,¹²⁷³ the *Fasihof* Tha'lab,¹²⁷⁴ and others. Some contain less lexicographical material than others, depending on the different views of their authors as to what is most important for the student to know.

¹²⁷¹ Bulaq adds: "in its general (conventional) meaning."

¹²⁷² Abd-al-Malik b. Muhammad, 350 [961/62] to 429 or 430 [1037-39]. Cf. GAL, I, 284 ff.; Suppl., I, 499 ff.

¹²⁷³ Ya'qub b. Ishaq, who died in or after 243 [857]. Cf. GAL, I, 117 f.; Suppl., I, 180 f

¹²⁷⁴ Ahmad b. Yahya, 200-291 [815/16-904]. Cf. GAL, I, 118; Suppl., I, 181 f.

God is "the Creator, the Knowing One."¹²⁷⁵

It¹²⁷⁶ should be known that the tradition through which (any particular) lexicographical (usage) is confirmed is a tradition indicating that the Arabs used certain words in certain meanings. It does not indicate that they invented their (conventional meanings). This is impossible and improbable. It is not known (for certain) that any one of them ever did that.

Likewise, the meanings of words cannot be established by analogy,¹²⁷⁷ if their usage is not known, although,^{1277a} for jurists, their usage may be known by virtue of (the existence of) an inclusive (concept) that attests to the applicability of (a wider meaning) to the first (word).¹²⁷⁸ (The use of the word) *khamr* "grape wine" for *nabidh*"date wine" is established by its use for "juice of grapes" and by application of the inclusive (concept) of "causing intoxication." (This is so) only because the use of analogy (in this case) is attested by the religious law, which deduces the soundness of (the application of) analogy (in this case) from the (general norms) on which it is based. We do not have anything like it in lexicography. There, only the intellect can be used, which means (relying on) judgment. This is the opinion of most authorities, even though the Judge (al-Baqillani)¹²⁷⁹ and Ibn Surayj¹²⁸⁰ and others are inclined to (use) analogy in connection with

¹²⁷⁵Qur'an 15.86(86); 36.81 (81).

¹²⁷⁶The remainder of the section is added in C and D.

¹²⁷⁷Cf. p. 26, above.

^{1277a}Lit., "in the way in which, in the reasoning of jurists . . ."

¹²⁷⁸That is, in jurisprudence, for legal purposes, a word may be given a certain meaning by analogical reasoning of some sort or other and be used in that meaning. However, this could not be done in lexicography, and no meaning gained by a process of analogical reasoning would be recognized as firmly established. A jurist might consider *nabidh* as having the meaning of *khamr*, because, like *khamr*, it can be used for something somehow connected with grapes. On this basis, a jurist might treat *nabidh* as forbidden, just as *khamr* is forbidden. But it would be improper for a lexicographer to identify the two words *khamr* and *nabidh* in this way.

¹²⁷⁹Cf. 1:43, above.

¹²⁸⁰He seems to be the famous Shafi'ite Ahmad b. 'Umar, 248-306 [863-918]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 306 f.; al-Khatib al-Baghdidi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IV, 287 ff.

(the meaning of words). However, it is preferable to deny its (applicability). It should not be thought that the establishment of word meanings falls under the category of word definitions. A definition indicates (the meaning of) a given idea by showing that the meaning of an unknown and obscure word is identical with the meaning of a clear and well-known word. Lexicography, on the other hand, affirms that such-and-such a word is used to express such-and-such an idea. The difference here is very clear.

The science of syntax and style and literary criticism¹²⁸¹

This is a 'science which originated in Islam after Arabic philology and lexicography. It belongs among the philological sciences, because it is concerned with words and the ideas they convey and are intended to indicate. This is as follows:

The thing that the speaker intends to convey to the listener through speech may be a perception (*tasawwur*) regarding individual words which are dependent and on which (something else) depends¹²⁸² and of which one leads to the other. These (concepts) are indicated by individual nouns, verbs, and particles. Or, (what the speaker intends to convey) may be the distinction between the things that are dependent and those that depend on them and (the distinction between) tenses. These (concepts) are indicated by the change of vowel endings and the forms of the words. All this belongs to grammar.

Among the things that are part of the facts and need to be indicated, there still remain the conditions of speakers and agents and the requirements of the situation under which the action takes place.¹²⁸³ This needs to be indicated, because it completes (the information) to be conveyed. If the speaker is able to bring out these (facts), his speech conveys everything that it can possibly convey. If his speech does not have anything of that, it is not real

¹²⁸¹ *Ilm al-bayan*. Cf, pp. 336 f., below, where we find an explanation of the difficulties the word *bayan* presents to the translator. Cf. also pp. 398 ff., below.

¹²⁸² Cf. p. 320, above.

¹²⁸³ Cf. p. 399, below.

Arabic speech. The Arabic language is vast. The Arabs have a particular expression for each situation, in addition to a perfect use of vowel endings and clarity.

It is known that "Zayd came to me" does not mean the same as "There came to me Zayd." Something mentioned in the first place (such as "Zayd" in the first example) has greater importance in the mind of the speaker. The person who says: "There came to me Zayd," indicates that¹²⁸⁴ he is more concerned with the coming than with the person who comes. (On the other hand,) the person who says: "Zayd came to me," indicates that he is more concerned with the person than with his coming, which (grammatically) depends on (the person who comes).

The same applies to the indication of the parts of a sentence by relative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, or determinations appropriate to the situation. It also applies to "emphatic"¹²⁸⁵ connection in general. For instance, (the three sentences): "Zayd is standing," "Behold, Zayd is standing," and "Behold, Zayd is indeed standing," all mean something different, even if they are alike as far as vowel endings are concerned. The first (sentence), without the emphatic particle, informs a person who has no previous knowledge as to (whether Zayd is standing or not). The second (sentence), with the emphatic particle "behold," informs a person who hesitates (whether he should acknowledge the fact of Zayd's standing or not). And the third (sentence) informs a person who (persists in) denying (the fact of Zayd's standing). Thus, they are all different.¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁸⁴The following three lines are found only in Bulaq.

¹²⁸⁵That is, use of the particle *inna*"behold."

¹²⁸⁶Cf. p. 345, below, where the same argument is reported in the name of Khalil's teacher, 'isa b. 'Umar ath-Thaqafi. Al-Jurjan, *Dala'il al-i'jaz* (Cairo, 1331/1913), p. 242, uses it in connection with an anecdote concerning the philosopher al-Kindi, who doubted the perfection of the Arabic language and was convinced by the above story. Cf. F. Rosenthal in *Orientalia*, N.S. IX (1942), 273. Al-Jurjan is quoted by al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha* (Cairo, 1331-38/1913-19), 1, 184.

The same applies to a statement such as: "There came to me the man," which is then replaced by the statement: "There came to me *a* man." The use of the form without the article may be intended as an honor (for the man in question) and as an indication that he is a man who has no equal.

Furthermore, a sentence may have the structure of a statement and thus be a sentence that conforms, originally (at least), to something in the outside world. Or, it may have the structure of a command¹²⁸⁷ and thus be a sentence that has no correspondence in the outside world, as, for example, requests and the different ways they (can be expressed).

Furthermore, the copula between two (parts of a) sentence must be omitted, if the second (part) has an integral place in the sentence structure.¹²⁸⁸ In this way, the (second part) takes the place of an individual apposition and is either attribute, or emphasis,¹²⁸⁹ or substitute¹²⁹⁰ (attached to the part of the sentence to which it belongs), without copula. Or, if the second (part of the) sentence has no such integral place in the sentence structure, the copula must be used.

Also, the given situation may require either lengthiness or brevity. (The speaker) will express himself accordingly.

Then, an expression may be used other than in its literal meaning. It may be intended to indicate some implication of it. This may apply to an individual word. For instance, in the statement: "Zayd is a lion," no actual lion, but the bravery implicit in lions, is meant and referred to Zayd. This is called metaphorical usage. It also may be a combination of words intended to express some implication that results from it. The statement: "Zayd has a great deal of ash on his pots,"¹²⁹¹ is intended to indicate the implied (qualities) of generosity and hospitality, because a great deal of ash is the result

¹²⁸⁷Cf. 1:76 (n. 14), 3:281 (l. 26), above; p. 378 (l. 25), below.

¹²⁸⁸*Mahall min al-i'rab* means "to form an integral *Grammaire arabe* (2d ed.; Paris, 1831), II, 596.

¹²⁸⁹The grammatical term for expressions such as "all" or "(him)self"

¹²⁹⁰The grammatical term for a corrected statement, e.g., "I ate a loafone-third of it."

¹²⁹¹Cf. Lane's *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 1154c, s. *radice* "rmd."

(of generosity and hospitality). Thus, it indicates those (qualities). All these things are meanings in addition to the (original) meaning of the individual word or combination of words. They are forms and conditions that the facts may take and that can be expressed by conditions and forms of speech that have been invented for that purpose, as required by the particular situation in each case.

The discipline called syntax and style (*bayan*) expresses the meaning that the forms and conditions of speech have in various situations. It has been divided into three subdivisions.

The first subdivision has as its subject the investigation of forms and conditions of speech, in order to achieve conformity with all the requirements of a given situation. This is called "the science of rhetoric" (*balaghah*).¹²⁹²

The second subdivision has as its subject the investigation of what a word implies or is implied by it—that is, metaphor and metonymy,¹²⁹³ as we have just stated. This is called "the science of style" (*bayan*).

(Scholars) have added a (third) subdivision, the study of the artistic embellishment of speech.¹²⁹⁴ Such embellishment may be achieved through the ornamental use of rhymed prose (*saj'*), which divides (speech) into sections; or through the use of paronomasia (*tajnis*),¹²⁹⁵ which establishes a similarity among the words used; or through the use of internal rhyme (*tarsi'*), which cuts down the units of rhythmic speech (into smaller units); or through the use of allusion (*tawriyah*) to the intended meaning by suggest-

¹²⁹²*Balaghah* means both eloquence in oral expression and good style in written expression.

¹²⁹³Cf. p. 400, below.

¹²⁹⁴Cf. pp. 401 f., below.

¹²⁹⁵For this and the following terms of the *ilm al-badi*, one may, for instance, compare G. E. von Grunebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Criticism* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 20 f. (*tajnis*); 35 (*tarsi*); 17 ff. (*tibaq*); and 2 (*'ilm al-badi'*).

ing an even more cryptic idea which is expressed by the same words;¹²⁹⁶ or through the use of antithesis (*tibaq*);¹²⁹⁷ and similar things. They called this "the science of rhetorical figures" (*ilm al-badi'*).

Recent scholars have used the name of the second subdivision, *bayan* (syntax and style), for all three subdivisions¹²⁹⁸ because the ancient scholars had discussed it first.

The problems of the discipline, then, made their appearance one after the other. Insufficient works on the subject were dictated by Ja'far b. Yahya,¹²⁹⁹ al-Jahiz,¹³⁰⁰ Qudamah,¹³⁰¹ and others. The problems continued to be perfected one by one. Eventually, as-Sakkaki¹³⁰² sifted out the best part of the discipline, refined its problems, and arranged its chapters in the manner mentioned by us at the start. He composed the book entitled *al-Miftah fi n-nahw wa-t-tasrif wa-l-bayan* "On Grammar, Inflection, and Syntax and Style." He made the discipline of *bayan* one of the parts (of the book). Later scholars took the subject over from (as-Sakkaki's) work. They abridged it in authoritative works which are in circulation at this time. That was done, for instance, by as-Sakkaki (himself) in the *Kitab at-Tibyan*, by Ibn Malik¹³⁰³ in the *Kitab al-Misbah*, and by Jalal-ad-din al-Qazwini¹³⁰⁴ in the *Kitab al-*

¹²⁹⁶ The idea of *tawriyah* is more simply expressed below, p. 401. For the very common term *tawriyah*, cf. A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen & Vienna, 1859), pp. 105 ff.

¹²⁹⁷ Not in Bulaq.

¹²⁹⁸ In this case, the word usually corresponds to "literary criticism."

¹²⁹⁹ He seems to be the Barmecide who is credited with some poetical composition in Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist*, p. 166, 1.7 (ed. Flugel); p. 236 (Cairo, 1348/1929-30). He is occasionally quoted as an authority on eloquence; cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, I, 214 and 220. However, he is not known to have had any particular significance in the sense indicated. Perhaps Ibn Khaldun made a mistake here, caused by the reference to Ja'far b. Qudamah, or Qudamah b. Jafar?

¹³⁰⁰ Cf. p. 62, above.

¹³⁰¹ Qudamah b. Ja'ar, who lived ca. 900. Cf. GAL, I, 228; *Suppl.*, I, 406 f.

¹³⁰² Cf. p. 28, 6, above.

¹³⁰³ Cf. p. 323, above.

¹³⁰⁴ Muhammad b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 666-739 [1267-1338]. Cf. GAL, I, 296; II, 22; *Suppl.*, I, 516; II, 16 f.

Idah and the *Kitab at-Talkhis*, which is shorter than the *Idah*. Contemporary Easterners are more concerned with commenting on and teaching (the *Miftah*) than any other (work).

In general, the people of the East cultivate this discipline more than the Maghribis. The reason is perhaps that it is a luxury,¹³⁰⁵ as far as the linguistic sciences are concerned, and luxury crafts exist (only) where civilization is abundant, and civilization is (today) more abundant in the East than in the West, as we have mentioned.¹³⁰⁶ Or, we might say (the reason is that) the non-Arabs (Persians) who constitute the majority of the population of the East occupy themselves with the Qur'an commentary of az-Zamakhshari, which is wholly based upon this discipline.¹³⁰⁷

The people of the West chose as their own field the (third) subdivision of this discipline, the science of rhetorical figures (*'ilm al-badi'*). They made it a part of poetical literature. They invented a detailed (nomenclature of rhetorical) figures¹³⁰⁸ for it and divided it into many chapters and subdivisions. They thought that they could consider all that part of the Arabic language. However, the reason (why they cultivated the subject) was that they liked to express themselves artistically. (Furthermore,) the science of rhetorical figures is easy to learn, while it was difficult for them to learn rhetoric and style,¹³⁰⁹ because the theories and ideas of (rhetoric and style) are subtle and intricate. Therefore, they kept away from those two subjects. One of the authors in Ifrigiyah who wrote on rhetorical figures was Ibn Rashiq.¹³¹⁰ His *Kitab al-'Umdah* is famous. Many of the people of Ifriqiyah and Spain wrote along the lines of (the *'Umdah*).

¹³⁰⁵ Cf. Bombaci, p. 467.

¹³⁰⁶ Cf., for instance, 2:348 f. and 431 f., above.

¹³⁰⁷ Cf. 2:446 f., above, and pp. 338 f., below.

¹³⁰⁸ *Alqabis* used again, pp. 371, 401, 405 f., and 409, below.

¹³⁰⁹ The first two kinds of the discipline, p. 335, above.

¹³¹⁰ Cf. 1:10 and 2:403, above, and pp. 384, 387, and 445 f., below.

It should be known that the fruit of this discipline is understanding of the inimitability of the Qur'an.¹³¹¹ The inimitability of (the Qur'an) consists in the fact that the (language of the Qur'an) indicates all the requirements of the situations (referred to), whether they are stated or understood. This is the highest stage of speech. In addition, (the Qur'an) is perfect¹³¹² in choice of words and excellence of arrangement and combination. This is (its) inimitability, (a quality) that surpasses comprehension. Something of it may be understood by those who have a taste¹³¹³ for it as the result of their contact with the (Arabic) language and their possession of the habit of it. They may thus understand as much of the inimitability of the Qur'an as their taste permits. Therefore, the Arabs who heard the Qur'an directly from (the Prophet) who brought it (to them) had a better understanding of its (inimitability than later Muslims). They were the champions and arbiters of speech, and they possessed the greatest and best taste (for the language) that anyone could possibly have.

This discipline is needed most by Qur'an commentators. Most ancient commentators disregarded it, until Jar-Allah az-Zamakhshari appeared.¹³¹⁴ When he wrote his Qur'an commentary, he investigated each verse of the Qur'an according to the rules of this discipline. This brings out, in part, its inimitability. It gives his commentary greater distinction than is possessed by any other commentary. However, he tried to confirm the articles of faith of the (Mu'tazilah) innovators by deriving them from the Qur'an by means of different aspects of rhetoric (*balaghah*). Therefore, many orthodox Muslims

¹³¹¹ For the significance of literary criticism for the problem of the inimitability of the Qur'an, cf. the work by G. E. von Grunebaum cited above, n. 1295.

¹³¹² The translation follows the reading suggested by Bulaq: *maratib al-kalam ma'a l-kamal*, which might be a necessary correction of *maratib al-kamal ma'a l-kalam*, found in the MSS. (B has *maratib al-kalam* and supplies the rest in the margin.) Perhaps we should read: *maratib al-kamal fi l-kalam ma'a t-kamal* . . .

¹³¹³ Cf. pp. 358 ff., below.

¹³¹⁴ For the following remarks, cf. 2:446 f., above.

have been on their guard against his (commentary), despite his abundant knowledge of rhetoric (*balaghah*). However, there are people who have a good knowledge of the orthodox articles of faith and who have some experience in this discipline. They are able to refute him with his own weapons, or (at least) they know that (his work) contains innovations. They can avoid them, so that no harm is done to their religious beliefs. Such persons do not risk being affected by the innovations and sectarian beliefs. They should study (as-Zamakhshari's commentary), in order to find out about certain (aspects of) the inimitability of the Qur'an.

God guides whomever He wants to guide to "an even road."¹³¹⁵

The science of literature

This science has no object the accidents of which may be studied and thus be affirmed or denied. Philologists consider its purpose identical with its fruit, which is (the acquisition of) a good ability to handle prose and poetry according to the methods and ways of the Arabs. Therefore, they collect and memorize (documents) of Arabic speech that are likely to aid in acquiring the (proper linguistic) habit. (Such documents include) high-class poetry, rhymed prose of an even quality, and (certain) problems of lexicography and grammar, found scattered among (documents of Arabic poetry and prose) and from which the student is, as a rule, able to derive inductively most of the rules of Arabic. In addition, they mention certain of the battle-day narratives of the Arabs, which serve to explain the references to (battle days) occurring in the poems. Likewise, they mention famous pedigrees and general historical information of importance. The purpose of all this is not to leave the students investigating such things in the dark about any (of the documents of) Arabic speech, about any of the (literary) methods used, or about any of the methods of Arab eloquence. Merely memorizing them does not give (a student the proper linguistic) habit, unless he first

¹³¹⁵ Cf. Qur'an 5.60 (65), 77 (81).

understands them. Therefore, he must give preference to everything upon which understanding of (Arabic literature) depends.

(Philologists) who wanted to define this discipline said: "Literature is expert knowledge of the poetry and history of the Arabs as well as the possession of some knowledge regarding every science." They meant (knowledge) of the linguistic sciences and the religious sciences, but only the contents (of the latter) that is, the Qur'an and the traditions. No other science has anything to do with Arab speech, save in as much as recent scholars who have occupied themselves with the craft of rhetorical figures (*'ilm al-badi'*) have come to use allusion (*tawriyah*)¹³¹⁶ by means of (references to terms of) scientific terminologies, in their poetry and their straight prose (*tarsil*).¹³¹⁷ Therefore, litterateurs need to know scientific terminologies, in order to be able to understand (such allusions).

We heard our *shaykhs* say in class that the basic principles and pillars of this discipline are four works: the *Adab al-katib* by Ibn Qutaybah,¹³¹⁸ the *Kitab al-Kamil* by al-Mubarrad,¹³¹⁹ the *Kitab al-Bayan wa-t-tabayin* by al-Jahiz¹³²⁰ and the *Kitab an-Nawadir* by Abu 'Ali al-Qali al-Baghdadi.¹³²¹ All other books depend on these four and are derived from them. The works of recent writers on the subject are numerous.

¹³¹⁶Cf. p. 936, above, and p. 401, below.

¹³¹⁷Cf. Bombaci, p. 467, and below, p. 970. Ibn Khaldun uses the term also in connection with the prose of government correspondence, the type of prose composition cultivated by government officials. Cf. pp. 393 f., below.

¹³¹⁸ Abdallah b. Muslim, who was born in 419 [828/29] and died between 270 and 276 [884-89]. Cf. GAL, I, 120 ff.; Suppl., I, 184 a.

¹³¹⁹ Muhammad b. Yazid, 410-485 [825/26-8981. Cf. GAL, I, 108 f.; Suppl., I, 168 f.

¹³²⁰Cf. p. 287, above.

¹³²¹ Ismail b. al-Qasim, 280-956 [893/94-967]. Cf. GAL, I, 194; Suppl., I, 202 f. For the date of his birth, 280 seems to be more likely than 288, which is also given. The *Nawadir* are also known under the title of *Amali*.

At the beginning of (Islam) singing (music) belonged to this discipline. (Singing) depends on poetry, because it is the setting of poetry to music.¹³²² Secretaries and outstanding persons in the 'Abbasid dynasty occupied themselves with it, because they were desirous of becoming acquainted with the methods and (literary) disciplines of the Arabs.¹³²³ Its cultivation was no blemish on probity or manliness. The early Hijazi Muslims in Medina and elsewhere, who are models for everybody else to follow, cultivated it.¹³²⁴ Such a great (scholar) as Judge Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani¹³²⁵ wrote a book on songs, the *Kitab al-Aghani*. In it, he dealt with the whole of the history, poetry, genealogy, battle days, and ruling dynasties of the Arabs. The basis for the work were one hundred songs which the singers had selected for ar-Rashid. His work is the most complete and comprehensive one there is. Indeed, it constitutes an archive of the Arabs.¹³²⁶ It is a collection of the *disjecta membra* of all the good things in Arab poetry, history, song, and all the other conditions (of the Arabs). There exists no book comparable to it, as far as we know. It is the ultimate goal to which a litterateur can aspire and where he must stop - as though he could ever get so far!¹³²⁷

Let us now return to the verification of our remarks about the linguistic sciences in general (terms).

God is the guide to that which is correct.

¹³²²Cf. 2:395, above.

¹³²³Bulaq and Paris have "the methods and disciplines of poetry."

¹³²⁴This sentence is added in C and D.

¹³²⁵Ali b. al-Husayn, 484'-356 [897/98-967]. Cf. GAL, 1, 146; SUPPL., I, 225 f.

¹³²⁶Cf. 3:304 (n. 1186), above.

¹³²⁷Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 171; Bombaci, p. 467. On the *Aghani*, cf. also pp. 366 f. and 389, below.

VI.45. Language is a technical habit.

[p.3:342]

It¹³²⁸ should be known that all languages are habits similar to crafts (techniques). They are habits (located) in the tongue and serve the purpose of expressing ideas. The good or inadequate (character of such expression) depends on the perfection or deficiency of the habit. This does not apply to individual words but to word combinations. A speaker who possesses a perfect (linguistic) habit and is thus able to combine individual words so as to express the ideas he wants to express, and who is able to observe the form of composition that makes his speech conform to the requirements of the situation, is as well qualified as is (humanly) possible to convey to the listener what he wants to convey. This is what is meant by eloquence.

Habits result only from repeated action.¹³²⁹ An action is done first (once). Thus, it contributes an attribute to the essence. With repetition it becomes a condition, which is an attribute that is not firmly established. After more repetition it becomes a habit, that is, a firmly established attribute.

As long as the habit of the Arabic language existed among the Arabs, an Arab speaker always heard the people of his generation (race) speak (Arabic). He hears their ways of address and how they express what they want to express. He is like a child hearing individual words employed in their proper meanings.¹³³⁰ He learns them first.¹³³¹ Afterwards, he hears word combinations and learns them likewise. He hears something new each moment from every speaker,^{1331a} and his own practice is constantly repeated, until (use of proper speech) becomes a habit and a firmly established attribute. Thus, (the child) becomes like one of (the Arabs). In this way, (Arab) languages

¹³²⁸Cf. Issawi, pp. 149 f.

¹³²⁹Cf. 2:346, and p. 292 f., above.

¹³³⁰"In their proper meanings" is found in Bulaq, *C in marg.*, and D.

¹³³¹"First" is found in Bulaq, *C in marg.*, and D.

^{1331a}The correct reading may be *samd'uht*, instead of *samd'uhum* which can be explained only with some difficulty. The meaning is hardly affected by the correction.

and dialects have passed from generation to generation, and both non-Arabs and children have learned them.¹³³²

This is (what is) meant by the common saying: "The Arabs have (their) language from nature."¹³³³ That is, they have it from (their own) original habit, and while (others) learned it from them, they themselves did not learn it from anyone else.

The (linguistic) habit of the Mudar became corrupt when they came into contact with non-Arabs. The reason for that corruption was that the generation growing up heard other ways of expressing the things they wanted to express than the Arab (ways). They used them to express what they wanted to express, because there were so many non-Arabs coming into contact with the Arabs. They also heard the ways in which the Arabs expressed themselves. As a result, matters became confused for them. They adopted (ways of expressing themselves) from both sides. Thus, there originated a new habit which was inferior to the first one. This is what is meant by "corruption of the Arabic language."¹³³⁴

Therefore, the dialect of the Quraysh was the most correct and purest Arabic dialect, because the Quraysh were on all sides far removed from the lands of the non-Arabs. Next came (the tribes) around the Quraysh, the Thaqif, the Hudhayl, the Khuza'ah, the Banu Kinanah, the Ghatafan, the Banu Asad, and the Banu Tamim. The Rabi'ah, the Lakhm, the Judham, the Ghassan, the Iyad, the Quda'ah, and the Arabs of the Yemen lived farther away from the Quraysh, and were (variously) neighbors of the Persians, the Byzantines, and the Abyssinians. Because they had contact with non-Arabs, their linguistic habit was not perfect. The Arabic dialects were used by Arab philologists as arguments for (linguistic) soundness or corruption according to the (degree of) remoteness of (the tribes speaking them) from the Quraysh.

¹³³²Cf. p. 318 (n. 1231), above.

¹³³³Cf. p. 283, above, and p. 359, below.

¹³³⁴Cf. p. 346, below.

And God knows better.

VI.46. Contemporary Arabic¹³³⁵ is an independent language different from the languages of the Mudar and the Himyar.

[p.3:344]

This is as follows. We find that with regard to clear indication of what one wants to express and full expression of meaning, Arabic (as it is spoken today) follows the ways of the Mudar language. The only loss is that of the vowels indicating the distinction between subject and object. Instead, one uses position within the sentence and syntactic combinations (*qara'in*)¹³³⁶ to indicate certain special meanings one wants to express. However, the clarity and eloquence of the Mudar language are greater and more firmly rooted (than those of present-day Arabic). The words themselves indicate the ideas. What still requires indication are the requirements of a particular situation, called "the spread of the situation."¹³³⁷ Of necessity, every idea is surrounded by situations peculiar to it. Therefore, it is necessary to indicate those situations in conveying the meaning one wants to convey, because they belong to it as attributes. In all (other) languages, the situations are as a rule indicated by expressions restricted, by convention, to (those situations). But in the Arabic language, they are indicated by the conditions and possibilities of combining words (in a sentence), such as earlier or later position (of words in a sentence), ellipsis, or vowel endings. They are (also) indicated by letters that are not used independently. Hence, the classes of speech in the Arabic language differ according to the different ways of indicating the possibilities, as we have stated before. Therefore, Arabic speech is more concise and uses fewer words and expressions than any other language. This

¹³³⁵Ibn Khaldun is thinking here of Bedouin Arabic.

¹³³⁶Cf. p. 415, below.

¹³³⁷*Bisat al-hal*"the circumstances."

is what was meant in the following remark by Muhammad: "I was given the most comprehensive words, and speech was made short for me."¹³³⁸

One may compare the story of Isa b. 'Umar.¹³³⁹ A grammarian said to him: "I find duplications in Arabic speech. The (three) sentences, 'Zayd is standing,' 'Behold, Zayd is standing,' and 'Behold, Zayd is indeed standing,' all mean the same." Isa replied: "(No! All three) mean something different. The first (sentence) gives information to a person who has no previous knowledge as to whether Zayd is standing (or not). The second (sentence) gives information to a person who has heard about it but denies it. And the third (sentence) gives information to a person who knows it but persists in denying it. Thus, the meaning differs according to the different situations (one wants to express)."

Such eloquence and stylistic (precision) has continued to this day to be a part of Arab custom and method. No attention should be paid to the nonsensical talk of certain professional grammarians who are not capable of understanding the situation correctly and who think that eloquence no longer exists and that the Arabic language is corrupt. They draw this conclusion from the corruption of the vowel endings, the rules for which are their (particular) subject of study. But such a statement is inspired by both partisan attitude and lack of ability. Actually, we find that most Arabic words are still used today in their original meanings. Arabic speech can still today express what one wants to express with different degrees of clarity. In their speeches (the Arabs) still employ the methods and the different branches¹³⁴⁰ of the (old language of) prose and poetry. There still exist eloquent speakers at (Arab) parties and gatherings. There are poets who are gifted in all the ways of the Arabic language. (The existence of) a sound taste and healthy disposition (as far as linguistic matters are concerned) attests to the fact that (the

¹³³⁸ Cf. p. 341, above.

¹³³⁹ He died in 149 [766/671]. Cf. GAL, I, 98 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 158. For the story, Cf. pp. 333 f., above.

¹³⁴⁰ A and B have "methods and power."

Arabic language is still intact).¹³⁴¹ The only part of the codified language that no longer exists is the *i'rab*, the vowel endings that were used in the language of the Mudar in a uniform and definite manner and that form part of the laws of (the Arabic) language.

Concern¹³⁴² for the Mudar language was only felt when that language became corrupt through the contact of (Arabs) with non-Arabs, at the time when (the Arabs) gained control of the provinces of the Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib. (At that time) the (Arabic linguistic) habit took on a form different from the one it had had originally. The (Mudar language) was thus transformed into another language. (Now,) the Qur'an was revealed in (the language of the Mudar), and the Prophetic traditions were transmitted in it, and both the Qur'an and the traditions are the basis of Islam. It was feared that, as a result of the disappearance of the language in which they were revealed, they themselves might be forgotten and no longer be understood. Therefore, a systematic treatment of its laws, a presentation of the analogical formations used in it, and the derivation of its rules were needed. (Knowledge of Arabic) thus became a science with subdivisions, chapters, premis-

¹³⁴¹Cf. pp. 397 f., below.

¹³⁴²Cf. Issawi, pp. 150 f. For the traditional picture of the corruption of the Arabic language, to which Ibn Khaldun has already alluded many times in the preceding pages, see, for instance, Majd-ad-din Ibn al-Athir, *Nihayah*, 1, 4: "Among (the early Muslims,) the Arabic language was preserved in a form that was correct and unaffected by defects and errors. Then, the great cities were conquered. The Arabs mixed with peoples of other races, such as the Byzantines, the Persians, the Abyssinians, the Nabataeans [Aramaicspeaking Iraqis], and other peoples whose countries were conquered by the Muslims with the help of God and whose property and persons fell to them as the prize of conquest. In consequence, the different parties intermingled, the languages became mixed, and the idioms interpenetrated. A new generation grew up. They learned as much Arabic and Arabic idiom as they needed for conversation and as was indispensable to them in discussion. They had no need for anything else. They had little interest in anything that would call for a (deeper study of Arabic). Therefore they neglected it completely. Thus (the Arabic language,) which had been one of the most important subjects of study and an obligatory necessity, was rejected and avoided and came to be considered as of no account. . . . (By the time a second generation appeared) the Arabic language had become un-Arabic, or nearly so...."

es, and problems. The scholars who cultivated that science called it grammar and Arabic philology. It became a discipline known by heart and fixed in writing, a ladder leading up to the understanding of the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet.

Perhaps, if we were to concern ourselves with the present day Arabic language and evolve its laws inductively, we would find other things and possibilities indicating what the vowel endings, which no longer exist, (used to) indicate, things that exist in the (present-day language) and that have their own peculiar rules.¹³⁴³ Perhaps, (certain rules) apply to the endings of (the words of the present-day Arabic language, only) in a manner different from that which existed originally in the language of the Mudar. Languages and (linguistic) habits are not matters of chance.

The relationship of the Mudar language to the Himyarite language was of the same type. Many of the meanings and inflections of the words of the Himyarite language were changed in Mudar usage. This fact is attested by the transmitted material available to us. It is contrary to the opinions of those whose deficient (knowledge) leads them to assume that the Mudar and Himyar languages are one and the same, and who want to interpret the Himyarite language according to the formations and rules of the Mudar language. For instance, certain of these persons assume that the Himyarite word *qayl* "leader" is derived from *qawl*"speaking,"¹³⁴⁴ and so on. This is not correct. The Himyarite language is another language and differs from the Mudar language in most of its (conventional) meanings, inflections, and vowels, (and has) the same relationship (to it) that the Mudar language has to present-day Arabic. The only difference is that the interest in the Mudar language which, we have stated, exists on account of (the connection of that

¹³⁴³ Bulaq does not have the relative clause.

¹³⁴⁴ Modern scholarship, in fact, assumes that South Arabic *qayl* is derived from the same root as *qawl*.

language with) the religious law, caused¹³⁴⁵ (scholars) to evolve and derive (its rules). There is nothing nowadays to move us to do the same (for present-day Arabic).

A characteristic feature of the language of present-day Arab (Bedouins), wherever they may live, is the pronunciation of *q*. They do not pronounce it as the urban population pronounces it and as it is indicated in works on Arabic philology, namely, where the hindmost part of the tongue meets the soft palate above it. Neither¹³⁴⁶ is it pronounced as *k* is pronounced, even though *k* is articulated in a place below that where *q* is articulated in the vicinity of the soft palate, as it is (when properly articulated). It is pronounced somewhere between *k*¹³⁴⁷ and *q*. This is the case with all Arab Bedouins, wherever they are, in the West or the East. It has eventually become their distinguishing mark among the nations and races. It is a characteristic of theirs that no one else shares with them. This goes so far that those who want to Arabicize themselves and to affiliate themselves with the Arabs imitate the Arab pronunciation of (*q*). (Arabs) think that a pure Arab can be distinguished from Arabicized and sedentary people by this pronunciation of *q*. It is thus obvious that this is the (pronunciation of *q* found in) the Mudar language. The largest and leading group of Arab Bedouins who still live in the East and the West consists of descendants of Mansur b. 'Ikrimah b. Khasafah b. Qays b. 'Aylan¹³⁴⁸ through Sulaym b. Mansur and through

¹³⁴⁵The text should probably be corrected to *hamala(t) 'ala dhalika*. Bulaq suggests: *hamala dhalika 'ala*. A has *wa-hamala . . .*

¹³⁴⁶The following reference to the pronunciation of *k* is found in Bulaq, and in the margins of C and D. The clause at the end ("as it is . . .") also appears in the other text, where it belongs to the preceding sentence, and this may be its original and correct position.

¹³⁴⁷The MSS usually do not have a dot under the *k*, which would indicate a sound like *g*. Such a dot under the *k* is, however, found in C in the passage below, p. 349, l. 32, which appears in C on a separately inserted sheet.

¹³⁴⁸The Arab authorities disagree as to whether 'Aylan was the father of Qays, or whether 'Aylin was added to the name of Qays as an epithet. Cf., for instance, Ibn Hazm, *Jamharat ansab al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1368/1948), pp. 232 ff.; *Lisan al-'Arab*, XIII, 519.

the Banu 'Amir b. Sa'sa'ah b. Mu'awiyah b. Bakr b. Hawazin b. Mansur. Now a-days, they constitute the most numerous and powerful nation of the inhabited part of the earth. They are descendants of the Mudar.¹³⁴⁹ They and all the other (Arab Bedouins) of the Banu Kahlan¹³⁵⁰ are the model for the pronunciation of *q* mentioned. It was not invented by these Arab Bedouins but inherited by them over the generations. This makes it obvious that it was the pronunciation of the ancient Mudar. Perhaps it is the very pronunciation that was used by the Prophet. 'Alid jurists made that claim. They thought that he who reads in the first *surah* the words "the straight path" (*as-sirata l-mustaqima*)¹³⁵¹ without pronouncing the *q* (in *al-mustaqim*) as is done by (present-day) Arab Bedouins, commits an error, and his prayer is not valid.

I do not know how this (differentiation in the pronunciation of *q*) came about. The language of the urban population was not invented by the urban population itself, either. It was transmitted to them from their ancestors, most of whom belonged to the Mudar, when they settled in the cities at the time of the (Muslim) conquest and later. The Arab Bedouins did not invent (their pronunciation of *q*), either. However, they had less contact with the non-Arab urban population. Therefore, the linguistic features found in their (speech) can preferably be assumed to belong to the language of their ancestors. In addition, all Arab Bedouins in the East and the West agree upon that (pronunciation of *q*). It is the peculiar characteristic that distinguishes the Arabs from halfbreeds and sedentary people.

It¹³⁵² is obvious that the pronunciation of *q* as practiced by (present-day) Arab Bedouins is the same as that of the ancient speakers (of Arabic). The place (where the sound) of *q* may be produced is wide, ranging from the soft palate to the place next to where *k* is articulated. The velar pronunciation

¹³⁴⁹Cf. Bombaci, p. 468.

¹³⁵⁰The express reference to the Banu Kahlan is not found in Bulaq.

¹³⁵¹Qur'an 1.6 (5).

¹³⁵²The remainder of the section is not found in Bulaq. C has it on an inserted sheet.

is the urban one. The pronunciation close to *k* is that of (present-day) Arab Bedouins.

This fact refutes the statement of the 'Alids that failure to pronounce the *q* in the first *surah* (as it is pronounced by present-day Bedouins) invalidates one's prayer. All the jurists of the (great) cities hold the contrary opinion. It is improbable that all of them would have overlooked this (point). The matter is to be explained as we have stated it.

We do say (however) that the Arab Bedouins' pronunciation (of *q*) is preferable and more proper, because, as we have mentioned before, its continuity among them shows that it was the pronunciation of their early Arab-Bedouin ancestors and the pronunciation of the Prophet. The fact that they assimilate *q* to *k* (in pronunciation) because of the proximity of the places where the two sounds are articulated, also makes this (assumption) appear preferable. If it were pronounced far back, as a velar, as is done by the urban population, it would not be close to *k* in its place of articulation and would not be assimilated (to it).

Arab philologists have mentioned this *q* which is close to *k*, as pronounced by present-day Arab Bedouins. They consider it a sound intermediary between *q* and *k*, and an independent sound (phoneme). This is improbable. It is obvious that it is a *q* pronounced at the end. of the wide range of articulation available for *q*, as we have stated. The (philologists) then openly denounced (that *q*) as an ugly, un-Arabic sound, as if they did not recognize that (the way in which it was pronounced) was the pronunciation of the early Arabs. As we have mentioned, it belonged to (Arab) linguistic tradition, because (the Arabs) inherited it from their ancestors, generation after generation, and it was their particular symbol. That is proof that (the way in which it is pronounced) was the pronunciation of the early Arabs and the pronunciation of the Prophet, as has all been mentioned before.

There is a theory that *q* as pronounced by the urban population does not belong to the (original) *q*-sound, but is the result of their contact with non-

Arabs. They pronounce it as they do, but it is not an Arabic sound. However, our afore-mentioned statement that it is (all) one sound with a wide (range of) articulation is more appropriate.

This should be understood. God is the clear guide.

VI.47. The language of the sedentary and urban population is an independent language different from the language of the Mudar.

[p.3:351]

It should be known that the usual form of address used among the urban and sedentary population is not the old Mudar language nor the language of the (present-day) Arab Bedouins. It is another independent language, remote from the language of the Mudar and from the language of presentday Arab Bedouins. It is more remote from the former (than from the latter).

It is obvious that it is an independent language by itself. The fact is attested by the changes it shows, which grammatical scholarship¹³⁵³ considers solecisms. Moreover, it is different in the various cities depending on the differences in terminologies used by their (inhabitants).¹³⁵⁴ The language of the inhabitants of the East differs somewhat from that of the inhabitants of the West. The same applies to the relationship of the language of the Spaniards to either of them. All these people are able to express in their own language whatever they want to express, and to explain their ideas. That is what languages and dialects are for. Loss of the vowel endings does not disturb them, as we have stated in connection with the language of present-day Arab (Bedouins).¹³⁵⁵

The fact that (the language spoken in present-day cities) is more remote from the ancient (Arabic) language than the language of present-day

¹³⁵³ Bulaq, C, and D correct '*inda sina`at ahl an-nahw* to the simpler '*inda ahl sind'at an-nahw*'grammatical scholars."

¹³⁵⁴Cf. p. 413, below.

¹³⁵⁵Cf. pp. 344 and 347, above.

Arab Bedouins is conditioned by the fact that remoteness from the (ancient Arabic) language is due to contact with non-Arabs. More contact with non-Arabs means greater remoteness from the original language. For, as we have stated, a (linguistic) habit results only from instruction, and the (new) habit is a mixture of the ancient (linguistic) habit of the Arabs and the later (acquired linguistic) habit of the non-Arabs.¹³⁵⁶ The longer people listen to non-Arab (speech) and the longer they are brought up in such a condition, the more remote from the ancient habit do they become.

In this connection, one may compare the cities of Ifriqiyah, the Maghrib, Spain, and the East. In Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib, the Arabs had contact with the non-Arab Berbers who constitute the bulk of the population (*'umran*) of (those countries). Hardly any city or group was without (Berbers). Therefore, the non-Arab (element) there gained preponderance over the language of the Arabs. Thus, there originated another, mixed language in which the non-Arab (element) was preponderant, for the reasons mentioned. (The language spoken there) is more remote from the ancient language (than other dialects).

Likewise, in the East, the Arabs gained superiority over the Persian and Turkish nations there. They had contact with them. These languages circulated among them in (the speech of) farmers, peasants, and captives whom they used as servants, wet nurses, and foster mothers. Thus, their (linguistic) habit was corrupted. With that, their language (also was corrupted, and) eventually it came to be another language.

The same (happened to) the Spaniards in their relations with the non-Arab Galicians and European Christians. The entire urban population of those zones came to speak another language, one peculiar to them and different from the language of the Mudar. It also showed (dialectal) differences within itself, as we are going to mention.¹³⁵⁷ In a way, it was another

¹³⁵⁶Cf p. 342, above.

¹³⁵⁷Cf p. 413, below.

language (and no longer Arabic), in as much as the habit of it became firmly rooted among those people (in Spain).

"God creates whatever He wishes."¹³⁵⁸

VI.48. Instruction in the Mudar language.

[p.3:353]

It should be known that the habit of the Mudar language has disappeared and become corrupted at this time. All Arab Bedouins speak a language that differs from the Mudar language in which the Qur'an was revealed. It has become another language through the admixture of non-Arab elements, as we have stated before.¹³⁵⁹

However, since languages are habits, as mentioned before,¹³⁶⁰ it is possible to learn them like any other habit. The¹³⁶¹ obvious method of instruction for those who desire to obtain the habit of the ancient (Mudar) language is to acquire expert¹³⁶² knowledge of the linguistic documents (written) in it, such as the Qur'an, the traditions, the speeches in rhymed prose and verse of the ancients and of outstanding Arabs, as well as the statements of (early) men of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage (*muwallad*) in all disciplines. Eventually, the student obtains expert knowledge of a great amount of such poetical and prose material. As a result, he is like a person who grew up among the (old speakers of Arabic) and learned from them how to express what he wants to express.¹³⁶³

After that, he may try to express his own thoughts with the expressions and in the style they would have used and to follow their ways and word arrangement, of which he has, by now, an expert knowledge. His expert and practical use (of the material) gives him the habit of (the old language).

¹³⁵⁸ Qur'an 3.47 (42); 5.17 (20); 24.45 (44); 28.68 (68); 30.54 (53); 42.49 (48).

¹³⁵⁹ Cf. the preceding section.

¹³⁶⁰ Cf. pp. 342 ff., above.

¹³⁶¹ Cf. Issawi, p. 153.

¹³⁶² *Hfz*; "to memorize, to know by heart, to be an expert in."

¹³⁶³ Cf. p. 318 (n. 1231), above.

With the increase in (his knowledge and practical use of the material,¹³⁶⁴ his habit) becomes more firmly rooted and stronger.

In addition, the student needs a healthy disposition and a good understanding of the aspirations and ways of the Arabs in (their) word combinations and in (their) efforts that those word combinations should conform to the requirements of the given situation.¹³⁶⁵ Taste attests to the fact that (these things are needed by the student), for it originates as the result of the (existence of the proper linguistic)¹³⁶⁶ habit and of a healthy disposition, as we shall mention later on. The more the student knows by heart and the more he uses (the material), the better will his utterances in prose and verse turn out to be. The (student) who has obtained these (linguistic) habits knows the Mudar language. He has a critical understanding of what constitutes good style (eloquence) in it.

This is how the (Mudar language) must be studied. God "guides whomever He wants to guide."¹³⁶⁷

VI.49. The habit of the (Mudar) language is different from Arabic philology and can dispense with it in (the process of) instruction.

[p.3:354]

The¹³⁶⁸ reason for this is that Arabic philology is merely a knowledge of the rules and forms of this habit. It is the knowledge of a quality,¹³⁶⁹ and not a quality itself. It is not the habit itself. Rather, it is comparable to a person who has a theoretical knowledge of a craft but does not know how to exercise it in practice. For instance, someone may know all about tailoring

¹³⁶⁴ *Wa-tazdadu bi-kathratiha* (= *bi-kathratihima*).

¹³⁶⁵ Cf., for instance, p. 333, above.

¹³⁶⁶ Cf. pp. 358 ff, below.

¹³⁶⁷ Qur'an 2.142 (136), etc.

¹³⁶⁸ Cf. Issawi, pp. 151-53.

¹³⁶⁹ *Kayfiyah* "know-how."

but not possess the habit of it. Such a person might explain some of the aspects of tailoring as follows: One introduces the thread into the eye of the needle; one inserts the needle into two pieces of material held together; one brings it out on the other side at such-and-such a distance; returns it to (the side) where he started; brings it out in front of the place where it first went in, so that there is some room between the first two holes. In this way, the person might go on and describe the whole operation and give a description of how to use bands, to quilt, and to cut openings,¹³⁷⁰ along with all the other aspects and operations of tailoring. But if he were challenged to do something like the (things he talks about) with his own hands, he would in no way be able to.

Likewise, a person who knows about carpentry might be asked about splitting wood.¹³⁷¹ He would say: One places the saw on top of a piece of wood; one person holds one end of the saw, and another person opposite him the other; the two alternately push and pull, and the sharp teeth of the saw cut the part of the piece of wood over which they pass back and forth, until one gets through the bottom of the wood. If such a person were challenged actually to do it, or some part of it, he might not be able to.

The same applies to the relationship between knowledge of the rules governing the vowel endings and the (linguistic) habit itself. Knowledge of the rules is a knowledge of how to use them, but it is not the actual use of them. Therefore, we find that many outstanding grammarians and skilled Arab philologists who have a comprehensive knowledge of those rules make many mistakes and commit many solecisms when they are asked to write one or two lines to a colleague or friend, or to write a complaint concerning some injustice or anything else they might want to say. They cannot put (the words) together and express what they want to say in a way that corresponds to the ways of the Arabic language.

¹³⁷⁰Cf. 2:367, above.

¹³⁷¹Cf. 2:364, above.

Likewise, we find many people who have a good (linguistic) habit and a good (ability to express themselves in) both prose and poetry, but cannot distinguish between the vowel endings of subject and object, or nominative and genitive, and know nothing about the rules of Arabic philology. This shows that the (linguistic) habit is different from Arabic philology and can completely dispense with it.

We find that some scholars who are skilled in the vowel endings have a good knowledge of how it is with the (linguistic) habit. This, however, is rare and a matter of chance. It happens mostly to those (students) who have close contact with the *Book of Sibawayh*.¹³⁷² For Sibawayh did not restrict himself to the rules governing the vowel endings, but filled his work with Arab proverbs and evidential Arab verses¹³⁷³ and expressions. Thus, his work contains a good deal of (the things that go with) teaching the (linguistic habit). Therefore, we find that the (students) who apply themselves diligently to (Sibawayh's *Book*) and come to know it, learn a good deal of Arab speech (from it). Where, and according to what arrangement, (Arab speech) is properly used becomes impressed in the (student's) memory and makes him aware of the importance of the (linguistic) habit, with the result that he is taught the habit in its entirety. Therefore, (Sibawayh's *Book*) is more instructive (than any other work).¹³⁷⁴ (However,) some of the (students) who have contact with the *Book* of Sibawayh fail to realize this. Thus, they learn philology as a craft but do not obtain a (linguistic) habit.

Students who have close contact with the books of recent scholars that have nothing of the sort but deal only with grammatical rules and contain no Arab poems or (documents of) Arab speech, for this very reason are rarely

¹³⁷² Cf. p. 323, above.

¹³⁷³ *Shawahid* "evidential verses," usually by pre-Islamic or early Islamic poets, were used to illustrate a point of grammar or lexicography.

¹³⁷⁴ Bombaci, p. 468, follows a translation by Silvestre de Sacy: "They (the students) have tried to acquire it completely through study. Thus they have succeeded in being able to express better that which they want to express."

conscious of (linguistic) habit or aware of its importance. One finds that they think they have gotten somewhere in knowledge of the Arabic language. In fact, they are farther from it than anyone else.

The Arabic philologists and teachers of Arabic in Spain are closer to acquiring and teaching the (linguistic) habit than others. They use evidential Arab verses and proverbs in this connection and investigate a good deal of (Arabic) word combinations in the classroom. Thus, a good deal of (linguistic) habit comes to the beginners early in (their) instruction. (Their) souls are impressed by it and are prepared to obtain and accept it.

Other people, such as the inhabitants of the Maghrib and Ifriqiyah and others, treated Arabic philology like any other research discipline. They did not tolerate investigations of the word combinations of Arab speech. They merely provided an evidential verse with the ending vowels, or decided in favor of one rule (against another), in accordance with theoretical requirements, and not in accordance with the usage and word combinations of the (Arabic) language. With them,¹³⁷⁵ Arabic philology thus came to be, in a way, one of the intellectual norms of logic and dialectics and (thereby) remote from the ways and habit of language.

Arabic philologists in these cities and their adjacent regions¹³⁷⁶ thus became totally estranged from the (linguistic) habit, and it was as if they had not studied the Arabic language (at all).¹³⁷⁷ The only reason was their aversion to investigating the evidential verses and word combinations and to making a discerning study of the methods of the (Arabic) language, as well as their disregard for the (necessity of) constant practice of those things by the student. In fact, (to investigate these things) is the best way to teach the habit of the (Arabic) language. The (grammatical) rules are merely means for purposes of instruction. However, (scholars) employed them as they

¹³⁷⁵ Added in C and D.

¹³⁷⁶C and D: "in those regions and the cities belonging to it."

¹³⁷⁷This sentence is not found in Bulaq.

were not intended to be employed, and caused them to become a purely scholarly discipline.¹³⁷⁸ (Thus,) they were deprived of their (real) fruit.

Our remarks in this chapter show that the habit of the Arabic language can be obtained only through expert knowledge of the (documents of) Arab speech. Thereby, the imagination of (the student) will eventually have a picture of the loom on which the Arabs wove their word combinations, so that he can use it himself. Thus, he achieves the position of one who grew up with them and had close personal contact with the ways they expressed themselves in their speech and who, thus, eventually obtains the firm habit of expressing what he wants to express in the manner in which they would have said it.¹³⁷⁹

God determines all affairs.

VI.50. The interpretation and real meaning of the word "taste" according to the technical terminology of literary critics. An explanation of why Arabicized non-Arabs as a rule do not have it.

[p.3:358]

It should be known that the word "taste" is in current use among those who are concerned with the various branches of literary criticism (*bayan*). It means the tongue's possession of the habit of eloquence. What eloquence is¹³⁸⁰ was explained above. It is the conformity of speech to the meaning (intended), in every aspect, (and this is achieved) by means of certain qualities that give this (conformity) to the word combinations. An eloquent speaker of the Arabic language chooses the form (of expression) that affords such (conformity) according to the methods and ways of Arab address. He arranges

¹³⁷⁸ Cf. Bombaci, p. 468.

¹³⁷⁹ Cf. p. 318 (n. 1231), above.

¹³⁸⁰ For *bayan* and *balaghah*, cf. pp. 335 f., above. For "taste" as a term of mysticism, cf. p. 79, above.

(his) speech along such lines so far as he is able. When he does this constantly in his use of Arabic speech, he gets the habit of arranging (his) speech along those lines. (The use of proper) word combinations becomes a simple matter for him. In this respect he hardly ever swerves from the way of Arab eloquence. If he hears a word combination that is not along those lines, he spits it out, and his ear recoils from it upon the slightest reflection. Indeed, no reflection whatever (is needed, for his reaction is) the consequence of the (linguistic) habit he has obtained.

Habits¹³⁸¹ that are firmly established and rooted in their proper places appear to be natural and innate in those places. Therefore, many ignorant people who are not acquainted with the importance of habits, think that the correct use of vowel endings and the proper eloquence of Arabs in their language are natural things. They say that "the Arabs speak (correct Arabic) by nature."¹³⁸² This is not so. (Correct Arabic speech) is a linguistic habit of (proper) speech arrangement that has become firmly established and rooted (in speakers of Arabic), so that, superficially, it appears to be something natural and innate. However, as mentioned before,¹³⁸³ this habit results from the constant practice of Arabic speech and from repeated listening to it and from understanding the peculiar qualities of its word combinations. It is not obtained through knowledge of the scientific rules evolved by literary critics.¹³⁸⁴ Those rules merely afford a knowledge of the (Arabic) language. They do not give (a person) possession of the actual habit in its proper place. This was mentioned before.

(Now,) if this is established, (we may say that it is) the tongue's habit of eloquence that guides an eloquent person toward the various aspects of (word) arrangement and toward use of the correct combinations (of words)

¹³⁸¹Cf. Issawi, pp. 164 f.

¹³⁸²Cf. p. 343, above.

¹³⁸³Cf. p. 342, above.

¹³⁸⁴Bulaq: "philologists."

corresponding to the word combinations and arrangement used by Arabs when they speak Arabic. When a person who possesses the (Arabic linguistic) habit attempts to deviate from the specific ways and the word combinations peculiar (to Arabic speech), he is not able to do so. His tongue will not go along with him, because it is not used to (improper speech), and its firmly rooted habit will not let it use it. Should any (form of) speech that deviates from the method of the Arabs and the eloquence they use in arranging their speech occur to him, he would avoid it, spit it out, and know that it does not belong to the Arabic speech that he has assiduously practiced. He may often be unable to support his attitude by arguments, as the people who know the grammatical and stylistic rules can do. But such is a matter of argumentation with the help of inductively derived rules, whereas (correct use of the language) is something intuitive,¹³⁸⁵ resulting from the constant practice of Arabic speech until such time as (the person who practices it) comes to be like one of (the Arabs).

For comparison, let us assume an Arab child who grows up and is reared among Arab Bedouins.¹³⁸⁶ He learns their language and has a good knowledge of the vowel endings and of eloquent (Arabic) expression. He masters (all) that completely, but he does not have any knowledge whatever of grammatical rules. His (correctness and eloquence of speech) is purely the result of the linguistic habit he has obtained. In the same way, the (linguistic) habit may be acquired by those who live after the time of the (ancient) Arab Bedouins, with the help of expert knowledge of, and constant occupation with, (the documents of) their speech, their poems, and addresses. This will eventually give them the (linguistic) habit and make them like persons who grew up and were reared among them. The (grammatical) rules cannot do that.

¹³⁸⁵Cf. 1:198 (n. 277), above.

¹³⁸⁶Cf. p. 318 (n. 1281), above.

This habit, if firmly rooted and established, is metaphorically called "taste," a technical term of literary criticism. "Taste" is (conventionally) used for the sensation caused by food. But, since the (linguistic) habit is located in the tongue, which is the seat of speech as it is the seat of the sensation caused by food, the name of "taste" is metaphorically used for it. Furthermore, it is something intuitively observed by the tongue, just as food is something sensually perceived by it. Therefore, it is called "taste."

If this is clear, it will make one realize that non-Arabs, such as Persians, Byzantines, and Turks in the East, and Berbers in the West, who are strangers to the Arabic language and adopt it and are forced to speak it as the result of contact with the Arabs, do not possess such taste. They have too small a share in the (linguistic) habit the significance of which we have established. They formerly had another linguistic habit - their own language - and part of their lives had gone by (before they got to know Arabic). Now, the most they can do is to occupy themselves with the individual words and word combinations in current use in the conversation of the (Muslim) urban population in their midst and which they are forced to use.

The (ancient Arabic linguistic) habit is lost to the urban population, and they are strangers to it, as mentioned before.¹³⁸⁷ They have another linguistic habit, which is not the desired linguistic habit (of the Arabs). Those who know the (Arabic linguistic) habit (merely) from rules codified in books are in no way in the possession of (that) habit. They merely know the laws governing it, as one knows (now after our preceding discussion). The (linguistic) habit can be obtained only through constant practice, becoming accustomed to Arab speech, and repeatedly (using and listening to) it.

One may hear it said that Sibawayh, al-Farisi, az Zamakhshari, and other authorities on Arab speech were non Arabs and yet possessed the (Arab linguistic) habit.¹³⁸⁸ Then one should realize that these people one hears

¹³⁸⁷Cf. pp. 851 f., above.

¹³⁸⁸Cf. pp. 313 and 319, above.

about were non-Arab only by descent. They grew up and were reared among Arabs who possessed the (Arabic linguistic) habit, or among people who had learned it from them. Thus, they were able to master (Arabic) speech to a degree that cannot be surpassed. In a way, in their early childhoods they were in the position of Arab children who grow up among Arab Bedouins and thus achieve a knowledge of all the finesses of the language and become speakers of (pure) Arabic.¹³⁸⁹ Although these (scholars) were non-Arab by descent, they were not non-Arabs as far as language and speech are concerned, because they lived in a time when Islam was in its prime and the Arabic language in its young manhood. The (linguistic) habit had not yet entirely disappeared, not even among the urban population. They assiduously devoted themselves to the constant study and practice of Arab speech. Eventually, they mastered it completely.

(However,) nowadays, when a non-Arab has contact with Arabic speakers in, the cities, the first thing he finds is that the desired Arabic linguistic habit is completely" gone, and he finds that the (linguistic) habit peculiar to them is another one and different from the Arabic linguistic habit. Assuming that he proceeds with persistence to study and memorize the speech and poems of the Arabs, in order to obtain the (linguistic habit), still, he will rarely be successful, because, as mentioned before,¹³⁹⁰ a habit the place of which was originally taken by another habit, will be defective and mutilated. Assuming (further) that he is non-Arab by descent but has had no contact whatever with a non-Arabic language, and that he now sets out to learn the (Arabic linguistic) habit through memorizing and studying, he may occasionally be successful. This, however, is rare, a fact about which the previous remarks will have left no doubt.

Those who have studied the stylistic norms (of Arabic) occasionally claim that they have given them the "taste" (of the Arabic language). This,

¹³⁸⁹Cf. p. 318 (n. 1231), above.

¹³⁹⁰Cf. 2:354 f., above.

(however,) is an error and a deception. If they have obtained any habit, it is the habit of the stylistic norms. That habit has nothing whatever to do with the habit of (linguistic) expression.

God "guides whomever He wants to guide to a straight path."¹³⁹¹

VI.51. The urban population is in general deficient in obtaining the linguistic habit that results from instruction. The more remote urban people are from the Arabic language, the more difficult¹³⁹² it is for them to obtain it.

[p.3:362]

The reason for this is that the student has previously obtained a habit incompatible with the desired (Arabic linguistic) habit, since he has grown up speaking the sedentary language, which was influenced by non-Arab (speech) to such a degree that, eventually, the original habit of the (Arabic) language was replaced by another. This (other habit) is the language of the present-day sedentary population.

Therefore, we find that teachers (attempt to) teach children the (Arabic) language¹³⁹³ first. The grammarians think that this is done through grammar. But this is not so. It is done through teaching them the (linguistic) habit through direct contact with the (Arabic) language and Arab speech. It is true that grammar comes closer (than anything else) to bringing about contact with those (things).

The more firmly rooted in non-Arab (speech habits) an urban language is and the more remote it is from the language of the Mudar, the less able are its speakers to learn the language of the Mudar and to obtain the habit

¹³⁹¹ Qur'an 2.142 (136), etc.

¹³⁹² Bulaq adds: "and the harder."

¹³⁹³ The correct text in Bulaq, C, and D.

of it. In such cases, the forces that are incompatible with (acquisition of the habit of the Mudar language) are firmly entrenched.

One may compare the inhabitants of the various regions. The inhabitants of Ifriqiyah and the Maghrib were more firmly rooted in non-Arab (speech habits) and more remote from the ancient language (than other Arabic speakers). Thus, they were altogether deficient in obtaining the habit of (the ancient language) through instruction. Ibn ar-Raqiq¹³⁹⁴ tells the story of a secretary in al-Qayrawan who wrote to a colleague of his: "O my friend and whose loss I may indeed be denied, Abu Sa'id taught me word that you had been mentioning that we was to be with those who was to come,¹³⁹⁵ but it hindered us today, and it was not possible for us to go out. The people of (my) house, those dogs, concerning the straw¹³⁹⁶ lied this falsely; there is not a single letter of that (true). I am writing to you. I am missing you."

Such was the habit of the Mudar language that those (people possessed). The facts we have mentioned explain why.

Likewise, their poems did not show the (correct linguistic) habit and were inferior. This has continued to be so to this time. There have been no famous poets in Ifriqiyah, except for Ibn Rashiq and Ibn Sharaf.¹³⁹⁷ Most of the poets there have been recent immigrants. Down to this day, their eloquence has inclined to the inferior.

The Spaniards came closer to obtaining the (linguistic) habit (than the people of Ifriqiyah), because they were greatly interested in it and saturated with poetry and prose they had memorized. They had the historian

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. 1:9, above.

¹³⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldun read: "that you were to come with the oil." But, utilizing a slight correction suggested in Bulaq, we might perhaps read: *annak nakun ma'a lladhin na'ti*. This would make much better sense and be quite in keeping with the barbaric distortion of Arabic that the author invented for the entertainment of his readers.

¹³⁹⁶ Again, Bulaq may be justified in correcting *at-tibn* to *ash-shayn*, which would mean "those dogs of nastiness," or something of the sort.

¹³⁹⁷ Cf. 1:10 and 316, above.

Ibn Hayyan¹³⁹⁸ as their leading craftsman in matters of language and standard-bearer of the (Arabic linguistic) habit. They also had

Ibn 'Abdrabbih,¹³⁹⁹ al-Qastallī,¹⁴⁰⁰ and other poets in the (time of the) *reyes de ta'ifas*. Language and literature flourished in (Spain). They were cultivated there for hundreds of years, down to the time of the dispersion and exile when the Christians gained the upper hand. Thereafter, the (Spaniards) had no leisure to occupy themselves with such things. Civilization decreased. As a result, (language and literature) decreased, as is the case with all crafts (under such conditions). The (linguistic) habit among (Spaniards) was then no longer adequate to its purpose. Eventually, it sank to the lowest point. Among the last (of the Spanish litterateurs) were Salih b. Sharif¹⁴⁰¹ and Malik b. al-Murahhal¹⁴⁰² (who was) a pupil of the Sevillian community in Ceuta, when¹⁴⁰³ the dynasty of the Banu al-Ahmar (the Nasrids of Granada) was just beginning. Spain (at that time) sent its most treasured (children and best) speakers of Arabic into exile on the (African) shore. From Sevilla, they went to Ceuta, and from eastern Spain to Ifriqiyah. But soon, their time was up. The tradition of teaching Arabic philology as cultivated by them, came to an end. (Arabic) was too hard and difficult for (the people of) the

¹³⁹⁸ Cf. 1:8 f., above.

¹³⁹⁹ Cf. 1:32, above.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ahmad b. Muhammad, Ibn Darraj, from Qastallat Darraj (Cacella in Portugal), who died *ca.* 1030. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 478; E. Levi-Provencal, *La Peninsule Iberique* (Leiden, 1938), p. 192; Ibn Bassam, *Dhakhfrah* (Cairo, 1358/1939), 11, 43 ff.

¹⁴⁰¹ Salih b. Yazid, 601-684 [1204,-1285/861]. Cf. Ibn al-Khalib, *al-Ihatah*, as quoted by M. Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (Madrid, 1760-70), II, 97.

¹⁴⁰² Malik b. 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 604-699 [1207/8-1299/1300]. Cf. GAL, I, 274; *Suppl.*, I, 484; 2d ed., I, 323 f.

¹⁴⁰³ Bulaq, A, and B have *wa-kuttāb* instead of *wa-kanāt*, which we find in C (by correction?) and D. Actually, Ibn Khaldun's earlier text may have been the more correct one. It would mean: "who were pupils of the Sevillian community in Ceuta and who had been secretaries [pl. used instead of the dual] at the beginning of the dynasty of Ibn al-Ahmar." It depends on whether this statement is factually correct, something I am not prepared definitely to assert. "Community," lit. "class," means, specifically, the community of poets and litterateurs.

(African) shore to learn. Their tongues were too twisted, and they were too firmly rooted in non-Arabic Berber (speech habits), which are incompatible with (the Arabic linguistic habit) for the reasons we have stated.

Afterwards, the (Arabic linguistic) habit came to exist again in Spain, as it had been before. There appeared there Ibn Shibrin,¹⁴⁰⁴ Ibn Jabir,¹⁴⁰⁵ Ibn al-Jayyab,¹⁴⁰⁶ and (other men of) their class. After them came Ibrahim as-Sahili at-Tuwayjin¹⁴⁰⁷ and (other men of) his class. They were followed by Ibn al-Khatib,¹⁴⁰⁸ who recently died a martyr's death as the result of denunciation by his enemies. He possessed an unequaled linguistic habit. His pupils followed in his footsteps.

In general, the (Arabic linguistic) habit plays a greater role in Spain, and instruction in it is simpler and easier (there than elsewhere), because the (Spaniards) are nowadays greatly interested in, and concerned with, philology and literature and the teaching tradition in those (subjects), as we have mentioned before.¹⁴⁰⁹ Also, non-Arabic speakers with a corrupt (linguistic) habit are only recent immigrants in (Spain), and non-Arabic (speech habits) are not the basis of the language of the Spaniards.

(On the other hand,) the Berbers on the (African) shore constitute the (native) inhabitants of the region. Their language is the language (of the country), except in the cities. (The language there) is entirely submerged in the non-Arab native idiom of the Berbers. It is difficult for them, therefore,

¹⁴⁰⁴ Muhammad b. Ahmad, 674-747 [1276-1346]. Cf. Ibn al-Khatib, *al-hatah*, II, 174 f.; Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, III, 349 f. The form Shibrin is thus indicated in C. The sources quoted print Shirin. The edition by an-Nubihî, *Kitab al-Margabah al-'ulya* (Cairo, 1948), p. 153, vocalizes Shabrin.

¹⁴⁰⁵ He would seem to be Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Ali, 698-780 [1298/99-1378]. Cf. GAL, II, 13 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 6, although he is younger than the men with whom he is mentioned.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ali b. Muhammad, 673-749 [1274-1349]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 369.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ibrahim b. Muhammad, d. 747 [1346]. Cf. Ibn Hajar, *ad-Durar al-kaminah*, I, 54, who has the wrong date 739 [1338/39]; *al-Maqqari, Analectes*, ed. R. Dozy et al. (Leiden, 1855-61), I, 589 f., 910 f.; as-Suyuti, *Bughyah* (Cairo, 1326/1908), p. 189.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Cf. I:xliv and xlix, above.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Cf. p. 303, above.

in contrast to the Spaniards, to obtain the (Arabic) linguistic habit through instruction.

The situation (of the people) of the East at the time of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties was the same as we find it in Spain, with reference to the perfection and refinement of their (linguistic) habit. At that time, apart from rare cases, they were remote from contact with non-Arabs. Therefore, the (linguistic) habit was at that time more firmly entrenched (than at any other time). Excellent poets and secretaries existed in abundant numbers, because the number of Arabs and their descendants was abundant in the East. Glance (in this connection) at the poems and prose texts of the *Kitab al-Aghani*. It is the book and archive of the Arabs.¹⁴¹⁰ It deals with their language, their history, their battle days, the Arab religious organization and the biography of their Prophet,¹⁴¹¹ the remarkable deeds of their caliphs and rulers, their poems and songs, and all the other conditions (of the Arabs).¹⁴¹² There is no book that gives more complete information about the conditions of the Arabs.¹⁴¹³

During the rule of the (Umayyad and 'Abbasid) dynasties, the (linguistic) habit remained firmly established in the East. (Poets and litterateurs of that period) were often superior to the pre-Islamic (poets and litterateurs) with regard to (their linguistic habit), as we shall mention later on.¹⁴¹⁴ Eventually, however, the Arabs lost power. Their language was wiped out. Their speech was corrupted. Their power and dynasties came to an end. The non Arabs seized power. They gained royal authority and superiority. This happened under the dynasty of the Daylam and the Saljugs. They had contact

¹⁴¹⁰Cf. p. 304 (n. 1186), above.

¹⁴¹¹Bulaq corrects "the biography of their Prophet" to "their ways of life," in order to be closer to the actual situation.

¹⁴¹²The older texts have *ma'anihin lahum* (Bulaq *maghanihin lahu*), which seems to mean "and all their other interests."

¹⁴¹³Cf. p. 341, above, and p. 383, below.

¹⁴¹⁴Cf. pp. 396 f., below.

with the urban population and¹⁴¹⁵ exceeded them in number. The earth came to be full of their languages, and non-Arab (speech habits) gained power over the urban and sedentary population. Eventually, people came to be remote from the Arabic language and the habit of it. Those who studied it were not able to obtain it. This we find to be the condition in which their language finds itself today. It affects both their prose and poetry, even if much is being produced by them in (both fields).

God "creates whatever He wishes, and His is the choice."¹⁴¹⁶

VI.52. The division of speech into poetry and prose.

[p.3:368]

It should be known that the Arabic language and Arab speech are divided into two branches. (One of them) is rhymed poetry. It is speech with meter and rhyme, which means that every line of it ends upon a definite letter, which is called the "rhyme." The other branch is prose, that is, non-metrical speech.

Each of the two branches comprises various sub-branches and ways of speech. Poetry comprises laudatory and heroic¹⁴¹⁷ poems and elegies (upon the dead). Prose may be rhymed prose. Rhymed prose consists of cola ending on the same rhyme throughout,¹⁴¹⁸ or of sentences rhymed in pairs. This is called "rhymed prose" (*saj'*). Prose may also be "straight prose" (*murasal*). In (straight prose), the speech goes on and is not divided into cola, but is continued straight through without any divisions, either of rhyme or of

¹⁴¹⁵The text from here to "urban and" (l. 21) is found in C in the margin and in the text of D. We have here an interesting example, not of homoeoteleuton omission (in the older texts), but of a homoeoteleuton addition by the author at a later stage.

¹⁴¹⁶Qur'an 28.68 (68).

¹⁴¹⁷Bulaq: "satirical." Cf. Bombaci, p. 468.

¹⁴¹⁸"On the same . . . or" is added in the margin of C, and in D.

anything else. (Prose) is employed in sermons and prayers and in speeches intended to encourage or frighten the masses.¹⁴¹⁹

The Qur'an is in prose. However, it does not belong in either of the two categories. It can neither be called straight prose nor rhymed prose. It is divided into verses. One reaches breaks where taste tells one that the speech stops. It is then resumed and "repeated" in the next verse. (Rhyme) letters which would make that (type of speech) rhymed prose are not obligatory, nor do rhymes (as used in poetry) occur. This (situation) is what is meant by the verse of the Qur'an: "God revealed the best story, a book harmoniously arranged with repeated verses (*mathaniya*). It raises goose pimples on the skin of those who fear their Lord."¹⁴²⁰ God also said: "We have divided the verses."¹⁴²¹ That is why the ends of the individual verses are called "dividers" (*fawasil*). They are not really rhymed prose, since the (rhyme) which is obligatory in rhymed prose is not obligatory in them, nor are there rhymes as in poetry. The name "repeated verses" (*mathani*) is generally used for all the verses of the Qur'an, for the reasons mentioned. It is used in particular for the first *surah*, because of the prominence (of repeated verses) in it, just as the (general) word "star" is used for the Pleiades. Therefore, the (first *surah*) was called "the seven repeated (verses)."¹⁴²² One may compare what the Qur'an commentators have said in explanation of the fact that the first *surah* is called "the repeated (verses)." One will find that our explanation deserves the preference.

¹⁴¹⁹ This is one of the purposes of rhetoric as defined in Aristotelian tradition. Cf. 1:78, above, and p. 370, below.

¹⁴²⁰ Qur'an 39.23 (24).

¹⁴²¹ Qur'an 6.97 (97), 98 (98), 126 (126). In the context, the verse means: "We have explained the signs."

¹⁴²² Cf. Qur'an 15.87 (87). Cf. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1926), pp. 26 f.

It should be known that each of these branches of poetry¹⁴²³ has its own particular methods, which are considered peculiar to it by the people who cultivate that branch and which do not apply to any other (branch) and cannot be employed for it. For instance, there is the *nasib*,¹⁴²⁴ which is restricted to poetry. There are the praise of God and prayer (*du'a'*), which are restricted to sermons, and there are the formulas of blessing (*du'a'*), which are restricted to addresses, and so on.

Recent authors employ the methods and ways¹⁴²⁵ of poetry in writing prose. (Their writing) contains a great deal of rhymed prose and obligatory rhymes as well as the use of the *nasib* before the authors say what they want to say. When one examines such prose, (one gets the impression that) it has actually become a kind of poetry. It differs from poetry only through the absence of meter. In recent times, secretaries took this up and employed it in government correspondence. They restricted all prose writing to this type, which they liked. They mixed up (all the different) methods in it. They avoided straight prose and affected to forget it, especially the people of the East. At the hand of stupid secretaries, present-day government correspondence is handled in the way described. From the point of view of good style (*balaghah*), it is not correct, since (in good style) one looks for conformity between what is said and the requirements of the given situations in which the speaker and the person addressed find themselves.¹⁴²⁶ In recent times, secretaries introduced the methods of poetry into this type of prose-with-rhyme. However, it is necessary that government correspondence be kept free from it. The methods of poetry admit wittiness, the mixture of humor with seriousness, long descriptions, and the free use of proverbs, as well as frequent similes and metaphoric expressions, (even) where none of these

¹⁴²³ "Of poetry" is added in C and D.

¹⁴²⁴ The erotic part at the beginning of a poem. Cf. I. Lichtenstadter, "Das Nasib der altarabischen Qaside," *Islamica*, V (1931), 17 ff., and in *El*, s.v.

¹⁴²⁵ Bulaq corrects to "meters."

¹⁴²⁶ Cf., for instance, pp. 333 and 354, above.

are required in (ordinary) address. The (constant) obligatory use of rhyme is also something witty and ornamental. All of this is quite incompatible with the dignity of royal and governmental authority and with the task of encouraging or frightening the masses¹⁴²⁷ in the name of the ruler. In government correspondence, what deserves praise is the use of straight prose - that is, straightforward speech with only a very occasional use of rhymed prose in places where (sound linguistic) habit can use rhymed prose in an unforced manner - and (forms of) speech that conform properly to the requirements of a given situation.¹⁴²⁸ The (existing) situations are always different. Each situation has its peculiar method (of expression. A situation may require) lengthiness or brevity, ellipsis or assertion, directness or allusion, the use of metonymy or metaphors.

Government correspondence done in the (afore-mentioned) way, that is, in a method proper to poetry, deserves censure. The only reason why (our) contemporaries do it is the fact that non-Arab (speech habits) exercise a firm hold over their tongues, and, as a result, they are unable to give their speech its proper measure of conformity with the requirements of a given situation. Thus, they are unable to use straight speech. It is a difficult task and (takes) long effort to achieve eloquence in it. They eagerly use the type of rhymed prose (mentioned), in this way covering up their inability to make their speech conform to the things they want to say and to the requirements of the particular situation (with which they deal). They make up for their (inability in this respect) by greatly embellishing (their speech) with rhymed prose and rhetorical figures (*alqab*),¹⁴²⁹ They neglect everything else.

Present-day secretaries and poets in the East use this method most and apply it in an exaggerated manner to all kinds of speech. They go so far as to tamper with the vowel endings and inflections of words when it happens to

¹⁴²⁷ Cf. p. 368, above.

¹⁴²⁸ Cf. p. 340 (n. 1317), above.

¹⁴²⁹ Cf. n. 1208 to this chapter, above.

them that these conflict¹⁴³⁰ with some paronomasia or antithesis (that they want to use). In such a case, they give preference to the paronomasia and pay no attention to the (correct) vowel ending, (preferring to) corrupt the form of the word so that it might fit the paronomasia.

When this matter is studied critically from the point of view of our preceding remarks, it will be seen that our remarks are correct.

God gives success.

VI.53. The ability to write both good poetry and good prose is only very rarely found together in one person.

[p.3:371]

The reason for this is that, as we have explained, it¹⁴³¹ is a habit (located) in the tongue. If another habit previously occupied the place of (that habit), the subsequent habit has iii, s26 not enough room to develop, because the acceptance and obtainment of habits is simpler and easier for natures in their original state. If there are other previous habits, they resist the (new habit) in the substance that is to receive the (new habit). They prevent it from being quickly accepted. Thus, there arises incompatibility. It becomes impossible for the (new) habit to develop (to perfection). This is, in general, the case with all technical habits. We have proved that fact in the proper place with an argument similar to the one used here.¹⁴³²

The same applies to languages. They are habits of the tongue which are in the same position as the crafts. It can be observed how persons with some previous non-Arab (speech habits) are always deficient in (their knowledge

¹⁴³⁰ *Yasa`ani*, as clearly indicated in B and C.

¹⁴³¹ "It" means, literally, "the problem under consideration," and refers to speech in general. Cf. pp. 318, 321, and 342, above. Though Ibn Khal dun may occasionally use the expression "poetical habit," he does not distinguish between the habits of poetry and prose in this section. Indeed, the thesis announced in the heading is not discussed at all.

¹⁴³² Cf. 2:354 f., above.

of) the Arabic language.¹⁴³³ Non-Arabs who previously spoke Persian cannot master the Arabic linguistic habit and will always be deficient in Arabic, even though they may study and (come to) know it. The same is the case with Berbers, Byzantines, and European Christians. One rarely finds among them any one who possesses a good Arabic linguistic habit. The only reason here is that their tongues previously had the habit of another language. This goes so far that a student whose native language is one of the (non-Arabic) languages, but who studies (his subjects) among Arabic speaking-people and from Arabic books,¹⁴³⁴ will never be perfect in his knowledge and attainments. The only reason is the language.

It was mentioned before that languages and dialects are similar to the crafts.¹⁴³⁵ It was also mentioned before that the crafts and the habits of them do not come together in groups. Persons who previously had some good habit¹⁴³⁶ are rarely able to become skilled in another or to master it completely.

"God created you and whatever you do."¹⁴³⁷

VI.54. The craft of poetry and the way of learning it.

[p.3:373]

This discipline is one of the disciplines connected with Arab speech. (The Arabs) call it "poetry" (*shi'r*). It exists in all the other languages. Here, however, we speak only about Arabic poetry. It is possible that the speakers of other languages, too, find in (poetry) the things they desire to express in

¹⁴³³Cf. pp. 315 ff., above.

¹⁴³⁴Not in Bulaq.

¹⁴³⁵Cf. p. 342, above.

¹⁴³⁶Bulaq: "craft."

¹⁴³⁷Qur'an 37.96 (94).

their speech.¹⁴³⁸ However, each language has its own particular laws concerning eloquence.¹⁴³⁹

(Poetry) in the Arabic language is remarkable in (its) manner and powerful in (its) way. It is speech that is divided into cola having the same meter and held together by the last letter of each colon. Each of those cola is called a "verse." The last letter, which all the verses (of a poem) have in common, is called the "rhyme letter." The whole complex is called a "poem" (*qasidah* or *kalimah*). Each verse, with its combinations of words, is by itself a meaningful unit. In a way, it is a statement by itself, and independent of what precedes and what follows. By itself it makes perfect sense, either as a laudatory or an erotic (statement), or as an elegy. It is the intention of the poet to give each verse an independent meaning. Then, in the next verse, he starts anew, in the same way, with some other (matter). He changes over from one (poetical) type to another, and from one topic to another, by preparing the first topic and the ideas expressing it in such a way that it becomes related to the next topic. Sharp contrasts are kept out of the poem. The poet thus continuously changes over from the erotic to the laudatory (verses). From a description of the desert and the traces of abandoned camps, he changes over to a description of camels on the march, or horses, or apparitions (of the beloved in a dream). From a description of the person to be praised, he changes over to a description of his people and his army. From (an expression of) grief and condolence in elegies, he changes over to praise of the deceased, and so on. Attention is paid to retaining the same meter throughout the whole poem, in order to avoid one's natural inclination to pass from one

¹⁴³⁸The text found in Bulaq, A, and B (*fihī . . . maqsudahum min kalamihim*) is better than that in C and D, which has *fihī* crossed out and reads *kalamina* instead of *kalamihim*, which makes no sense.

¹⁴³⁹Thus, as some people really believe (cf. p. 382, below), poetry may not exist in other languages than Arabic. Ibn Khaldun does not himself believe this; cf. p. 382 and, especially, pp. 412 f. Still, it is hardly correct to suggest, as Bombaci does (p. 469), that Ibn Khaldun is here saying that he is justified in restricting the discussion to Arabic poetry because of the different character of poetic expression in other languages.

meter to another, similar one. Since (the meters) are similar (to each other), many people do not notice (the need to retain the same meter).

The meters are governed by certain conditions and rules. They are the subject of the science of prosody. Not every meter that may occur in nature was used by the Arabs in poetry. The (meters used) are special ones called meters (*buhur*) by the prosodists, who restricted their number to fifteen, indicating that they did not find the Arabs using other natural meters in poetry.

It should be known that the Arabs thought highly of poetry as a form of speech. Therefore, they made it the archive of their sciences and their history,¹⁴⁴⁰ the evidence for what they considered right and wrong, and the principle basis of reference for most of their sciences and wisdom. The poetical habit was firmly established in them, like all their other habits. The (Arabic) linguistic habits can be acquired only through technical (skill) and (constant) practice of (Arab) speech. Eventually, some sign¹⁴⁴¹ of the (poetical) habit may be obtained.

Of the forms of speech, poetry is a difficult thing for modern people to learn, if they want to acquire the habit of it through (study of it as) a technique. Each verse is an independent statement of meaning suitable for (quotation) by itself. It requires a kind of refinement of the (poetical) habit, for the (poet) to be able to pour poetical speech into molds suitable to this tendency of Arabic poetry (to have verses that are units by themselves). A poet must produce (a verse that) stands alone, and then make another verse in the same way, and again another, and thus go through all the different topics suitable to the thing he wants to express. Then, he establishes harmo-

¹⁴⁴⁰ Cf. p. 304 (n. 1186), above.

¹⁴⁴¹ De Slane thinks of *shubah* "doubts (as to the technical character of the Arab poet's poetical habits)," and Bombaci, p. 469, suggests *shibh* "a semblance." C and D suggest the reading *shabahun*. However, a derivation from the root *sh-b-h* seems hardly possible. Therefore it may be suggested that Ibn Khaldun originally wrote *shiyatun* "mark, marking, detail." He used the word also above, 1:371, I. 10, and 2:73 (n. 611).

ny among the verses as they follow upon each other in accordance with the different topics occurring in the poem.

(Poetry) is difficult in its tendency and strange in its subject matter. Therefore, it constitutes a severe test of a person's natural talent, if he wants to have a good knowledge of (poetical) methods.¹⁴⁴² (The desire) to press speech into the molds of (poetry) sharpens the mind. (Possession of) the Arabic linguistic habit in general does not suffice. In particular, a certain refinement is needed, as well as the exercise of a certain skill in observing the special poetic methods which the Arabs used.

Let us mention the significance of (the word) "method" (*uslub*) as used by (poets), and what they mean by it.¹⁴⁴³

It should be known that they use it to express the loom on which word combinations are woven, or the mold into which they are packed.¹⁴⁴⁴ It is not used to express the basis (upon which) the meaning (of a statement rests). That is the task of the vowel endings. It also is not used for perfect expression of the idea resulting from the particular word combination used. That is the task of eloquence and style (*bayan*).¹⁴⁴⁵ It also is not used in the sense of meter, as employed by the Arabs in (connection with poetry. That is the task of prosody. These three sciences fall outside the craft of poetry.

(Poetical method) is used to refer to a mental form for metrical word combinations which is universal in the sense of conforming with any¹⁴⁴⁶ particular word combination. This form is abstracted by the mind from the most prominent individual word combinations and given a place in the imagination comparable to a mold or loom. Word combinations that the Arabs consider sound, in the sense of having the (correct) vowel endings and the

¹⁴⁴² Cf. Bombaci, p. 469.

¹⁴⁴³ The discussion of *uslub* continues down to p. 381.

¹⁴⁴⁴ The metaphors of mold and loom are repeated again and again in the following pages. The metaphor of the loom, in particular, is common in Arabic.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Cf. p. 335, above.

¹⁴⁴⁶ "Any" (*kull*) is added in the margin of C and in the text of D.

(proper) style, are then selected and packed by (the mind) into (that form), just as the builder does with the mold, or the weaver with the loom. Eventually, the mold is sufficiently widened to admit the word combinations that fully express what one wants to express. It takes on the form that is sound in the sense (that it corresponds to) the Arabic linguistic habit.

Each branch of (poetical) speech has methods peculiar to it and existing in it in different ways. Thus, in poetry the subject of inquiring after the traces of abandoned camps is treated in the form of direct address. For instance:

O house of Mayyah on the height, and the cliff.¹⁴⁴⁷

Or, it is treated in the form of inviting one's (traveling) companions to stop and inquire. For instance:

Stop you two, and let us inquire about the house whose inhabitants left so suddenly.¹⁴⁴⁸

Or, it is treated in the form of asking one's (traveling) companions to weep for the abandoned camp. For instance:

Stop you two, and let us weep in remembrance of a beloved and an encampment.¹⁴⁴⁹

Or, it is treated in the form of asking about the answer given to an unspecified addressee. For instance:

Did you not ask, and the traces informed you?¹⁴⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴⁷ A verse by an-Nabighah adh-Dhubyani. Cf. pp. 397 and 410, below. Cf. H. Derenbourg in *Journal asiatique*, X116 (1868), 301. Ibn Khaldun certainly did not collect these verses by himself but derived them from an older work that remains to be determined.

¹⁴⁴⁸ I have not so far succeeded in identifying the author of this verse. Doubtless he is a very famous poet, like the others quoted here.

¹⁴⁴⁹ A verse by Imru'u-l-Qays, from the beginning of his famous *mu'allaqah*. Cf. p. 410, below.

¹⁴⁵⁰ The author of this verse is still unidentified. Cf. n. 1448, above.

Or, for instance, the traces of abandoned camps are greeted by commanding an unspecified addressee to greet them. For instance:

Greet the houses near al-'Azl.¹⁴⁵¹

Or, (they are greeted) in the form of praying for rain for them. For instance:

Let a pouring rain water the traces of their abandoned camps,
And let them be covered by luxuriant verdure.¹⁴⁵²

Or, (they are greeted) in the form of asking the lightning to give them rain. For instance:

O lightning, look out over an encampment in al-Abraq
And drive the clouds there, just as she-camels are driven.¹⁴⁵³

Or, for instance, in an elegy grief is expressed in the form of asking (people) to weep. For instance:

So be it. Let the matter be described and treated as an odious one.
There is no excuse for an eye whose tears are not shed.¹⁴⁵⁴

Or, (it is expressed) in the form of stressing the importance of the happening. For instance:

Did you see whom they carried by on wooden boards?
Did you see how the light of the (tribal) council went out?¹⁴⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵¹ Another verse by Imru'u-l-qays, which is quoted by the geographers under al-'Azl. The word "houses" does not fit the meter. The original text has "litters." Cf, the poet's *Diwan*, ed. and tr. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1837), p. 47 (text), p. 70 (tr.).

¹⁴⁵² A verse by Abu Tammam. Cf. *Kitab al-Aghani* (Bulaq, 1285/1868), XV, 105.

¹⁴⁵³ Another verse by Abu Tammam. Cf, his *Diwan* (Beirut, n.d.), p. 211.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Another verse by Abu Tammam. Cf. *Kitab al-Aghani*, IX, 98; XV, 107.

¹⁴⁵⁵ This is a verse by ash-Sharif ar-Radi. Cf. his *Diwan* (Baghdad, 1306/1889), p. 155.

Or, (it is expressed) in the form of stating that (all) created things are destined to misfortune because of the loss (of the mourned person). For instance:

Verdant pastures! (You have) no protector and guardian.
Death took away the (warrior) with the long lance and the great power.¹⁴⁵⁶

Or, (it is expressed) in the form of expressing disapproval of the lifeless objects that show no grief, as in the verse of the Kharijite (poetess):

O trees of the Khabur! What is the matter with you that you are green,
As if you were feeling no grief for Ibn Tarif¹⁴⁵⁷

Or, (it is expressed) in the form of congratulating the adversary of (the deceased), that he can now rest from the force of (the deceased's) onslaught. For instance:

Rabi'ah b. Nizar, lay down (your) lances.
Death took away your adversary, who was always going on raids.¹⁴⁵⁸

There are many similar things in all branches and ways of (poetical) speech.

Word combinations in (poetry) may or may not be sentences. They may be commands or statements, nominal sentences or verbal sentences, followed by appositions or not followed by appositions, separate or connected, as is the case with the word combinations of Arabic speech and¹⁴⁵⁹ the

¹⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹⁴⁵⁷ A frequently quoted verse by al-Fari'ah bint Tarif, from the elegy in which she mourned her brother al-Walid b. Tarif, who was killed by Yazid b. Mazyad, a general under Harun ar-Rashid. Cf. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *Iqd* (Cairo, 1305/1887), II, 19; *Kitab al-Aghani*, XI, 8 ff., quoted in T. Noldeke and A. Miller, *Delectus carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890; repr. 1933), p. 99; ad-Dimashqi, *al-Isharah ila mahasin at-tijarah*, tr. H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, VII (1917), 61. Ibn Khaldan quotes the verse again, *Ibar*, III, 169.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Ash-Sharif ar-Radi, *Diwan*, p. 207.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Bulaq, A, and B have *fi*: "with regard to."

position of individual words in respect to each other. This teaches a person the universal mold which he can learn through (constant) practice in Arabic poetry. (This universal mold) is an abstraction in the mind derived from specific word combinations, to all of which the (universal) mold conforms. The¹⁴⁶⁰ author of a spoken utterance is like a builder or weaver. The proper mental form is like the mold used in building, or the loom used in weaving. The builder who abandons his mold, or the weaver who abandons his loom, is unsuccessful.

It should not be said that knowledge of the rules of eloquence suffices in this respect. We say: They are merely basic scientific rules which are the result of analogical reasoning and which indicate by means of analogical reasoning that the word combinations may be used in their particular forms. We have here scientific analogical reasoning that is sound and coherent, as is the analogical reasoning that establishes the rules concerning the vowel endings. (But) the (poetical) methods which we try to establish here have nothing to do with analogical reasoning. They are a form that is firmly rooted in the soul. It is the result of the continuity of word combinations in Arabic poetry when the tongue uses them. Eventually, the form of (those word combinations) becomes firmly established. It teaches (the poet) the use of similar (word combinations). (It teaches him) to imitate them for each word combination (that he may use) in the poetry (he produces), just as we have mentioned before in connection with speech in general.¹⁴⁶¹

The scientific rules that govern the word endings or¹⁴⁶² syntax and style (*bayan*) do not teach (poetry). Not everything that is correct according to analogical reasoning, as used in connection with Arabic speech and the scientific (grammatical) rules, is used by (poets). They use certain ways (of

¹⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Issawi, p. 154.

¹⁴⁶¹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 470. The reference is apparently to pp. 958 ff., above.

¹⁴⁶² Bulaq has "Arabic philology" instead of "word endings (grammar)." In C and D, "or" replaces an earlier "and."

expressing themselves) which are known and studied by those who have expert knowledge of (poetical) speech and the forms of which fall (automatically) under those analogical rules. If Arabic poetry is to be studied under this aspect and under the aspect of the methods in the mind that are like molds (for poetical expression), it means studying word combinations as they are used by the (Arabs). It does not mean studying the things required by analogical reasoning.

Therefore, we have stated that the molds in the mind are the result of expert knowledge of Arab poetry and speech. Such molds exist not only for poetry but also for prose. The Arabs used their speech for both (poetry and prose), and they used certain types of divisions for both kinds of speech. In poetry, these are metrical cola, fixed rhymes, and the fact that each colon constitutes a statement by itself. In prose, as a rule, (the Arabs) observed symmetry and parallelism between the cola. Sometimes, they used prose rhymes, and sometimes straight prose.¹⁴⁶³ The molds for each kind of (expression) are well known in Arabic.

The author of a spoken utterance builds his utterance in (the molds) used by (the Arabs). They are known only to those who have expert knowledge of (Arabic) speech, such that in their minds they have an absolute universal mold, which is the result of abstraction from specific individual molds. They use (that universal mold) as their model in composing utterances, just as builders use the mold as their model, and weavers the loom. The discipline of speech composition, therefore, differs from the studies of the grammarian, the stylist (literary critic), and the prosodist. It is true, though, that observance of the rules of those sciences is obligatory for and indispensable to (the poet).

When all these qualities together are found to apply to a spoken utterance, it is distinguished by a subtle kind of insight into those molds which

¹⁴⁶³ Cf. pp. 368 ff., above.

are called "methods." Only expert knowledge of both Arab poetry and Arab prose gives (that insight).

Now that the meaning of "method" is clear, let us give a definition or description of poetry that will make its real meaning clear to us.¹⁴⁶⁴ This is a difficult task, for, as far as we can see, there is no such definition by any older (scholar). The definition of the prosodists, according to whom (poetry) is metrical rhymed speech,¹⁴⁶⁵ is no definition or description of the kind of poetry we have in mind. Prosody considers poetry only¹⁴⁶⁶ under the aspect of the agreement of the verses (of a poem), with respect to the number of successive syllables with and without vowels,¹⁴⁶⁷ as well as with respect to the similarity of the last foot of the first hemistich of the verses of a poem to the last foot of the second hemistich. This concerns meter alone and has nothing to do with the words and their meaning. (The definition of the prosodists mentioned) can serve as a definition (of poetry) for them. But as we look at poetry, as including vowel endings, eloquence, meter, and special molds (of expression peculiar to poetry), there can be no doubt that the definition of (the prosodists) is not a valid (definition of poetry) for us. We must have a definition that will give us the real meaning of poetry in our sense.

We say: Poetry is eloquent speech built upon metaphoric usage and descriptions; divided into cola agreeing in meter and rhyme letter, each colon being independent in purpose and meaning from what comes before and after it; and using the methods of the Arabs peculiar to it.

The phrase "eloquent speech" in our definition takes the place of genus. (The phrase) "built upon metaphoric usage and descriptions" differentiates (poetry) from (eloquent speech), which does not have that (and which must

¹⁴⁶⁴"To us" is not found in Bulaq.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, I, 99 (Ch. xviii).

¹⁴⁶⁶ The lines following, down to "poetry" (l. 19), are not in Bulaq.

¹⁴⁶⁷ This refers to meter, while the following phrase refers to the internal rhyme of the first verse of a poem, and to rhyme in general.

be differentiated) because it is mostly not poetry. The phrase "divided into cola agreeing in meter and rhyme letter" differentiates (poetry) from the (kind of) prose speech that nobody would consider poetry. The phrase "each colon being independent in purpose and meaning from what comes before and after it" explains the real character of (poetry), because the verses of poetry can be only this way. This does not differentiate (poetry) from other things.¹⁴⁶⁸ The phrase "using the methods . . . peculiar to it" differentiates (poetry) from (speech) that does not use the well-known methods of poetry.¹⁴⁶⁹ Without them, it would not be poetry but merely poetical speech, because poetry has special methods which prose does not have. Likewise, prose has methods which do not apply to poetry. Rhymed speech that does not use those methods is not poetry. It was in this sense that most of the professors of literature whom we have met were of the opinion that the rhymes of al-Mutanabbi' and al-Ma'arri are by no means poetry, because these (two men) did not follow Arab poetical methods.¹⁴⁷⁰

The phrase in (our) definition, "using the methods of the Arabs . . ." differentiates it from the poetry of non-Arab, nations. (This is) for those who are of the opinion that poetry exists both among Arabs and among other (people).¹⁴⁷¹ (On the other hand,) those who are of the opinion that poetry exists only among the Arabs would not need the phrase. They might say instead: "using the methods peculiar to it" (omitting the words "of the Arabs").

Having finished with the discussion of the real character of poetry, we shall now return to the discussion of how poetry is produced. We say: It should be known that the production of poetry and the laws governing the

¹⁴⁶⁸Cf. Bombaci, p. 470, who stresses the fact that Ibn Khaldun explains his definition in logical terminology.

¹⁴⁶⁹Bulaq: "the Arabs" (instead of "poetry").

¹⁴⁷⁰For al-Mutanabbi', cf. GAL, I, 86 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 138 fl: For Abul-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, cf. GAL, I, 254 ff; *suppl.*, I, 449. The latter's millenary celebration in 1944 inspired an especially large amount of literature on him, and some of his works were published. Cf. also p. 386, below.

¹⁴⁷¹ Cf. p. 373, above, and pp. 412 f., below.

(poetical) craft are subject to a number of conditions. The first condition is to have an expert knowledge of its genus—that is, the genus of Arabic poetry. (This is the thing) that eventually creates a habit in the soul upon which, as on a loom, (the poet is able) to weave. The material for memorizing should be selected from the most genuine and purest and most varied (poetry),¹⁴⁷² The selection, at the least, should comprise the poetry of outstanding Muslim poets such as Ibn Abi Rabi'ah,¹⁴⁷³ Kuthayyir,¹⁴⁷⁴ Dhu r-Rummah,¹⁴⁷⁵ Jarir,¹⁴⁷⁶ Abu Nuwas,¹⁴⁷⁷ Habib (Abu Tammam),¹⁴⁷⁸ al-Buhturi,¹⁴⁷⁹ ar-Radi,¹⁴⁸⁰ and Abu Firas.¹⁴⁸¹ Most of the material would come from the *Kitab al-Aghani*, because it is a collection of all Muslim poetry and the choicest pre-Islamic poetry.¹⁴⁸²

The poetry of poets who have no expert knowledge of (the old poetical material) is inferior and bad. Brilliance and sweetness is given to poetry only with the help of memorized knowledge of much (old poetical material). Those who know little or nothing of it cannot (produce) any (real) poetry: They merely produce bad rhymes. They would do better to keep away from poetry.

After the poet is saturated with memorized (poetical material) and has sharpened his talent, in order to be able to follow the great examples,¹⁴⁸³ he

¹⁴⁷² Cf. pp. 392 ff., below.

¹⁴⁷³ Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah. Cf. GAL, I, 45 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 76 ff.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Cf. GAL, I, 48; *Suppl.*, I, 79. Cf. also 1:407, above, and below.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Cf. GAL, I, 58 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 87 ff.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Cf. GAL, I, 56 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 86 f.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Cf. 1:36, above.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Cf. GAL, I, 84 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 134 ff.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Cf. GAL, I, 80; *Suppl.*, I, 125 ff.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Cf. GAL, I, 82; *Suppl.*, I, 131 f.

¹⁴⁸¹ Cf. GAL, I, 89; *Suppl.*, I, 142 ff.

¹⁴⁸² Cf. pp. 341 and 366 f., above.

¹⁴⁸³ Lit., "to weave on the loom."

proceeds to make rhymes himself. Through more and more (practice), the habit of (rhyme making) becomes firmly established and rooted (in him).

It is often said that one of the conditions governing (poetical production) is to forget the memorized material, so that its external literal forms will be wiped out (of the memory), since they prevent the real use of (the poetical habit).¹⁴⁸⁴ After the soul has been conditioned by them, and they are forgotten, the method (of poetry) is engraved upon the (soul), as though it were a loom upon which similar such words can be woven as a matter of course.

The poet, then, needs solitude. The place he looks at should be a beautiful one with water and flowers. He like wise needs music. He must stir up¹⁴⁸⁵ his talent by refreshing it¹⁴⁸⁶ and stimulate it through pleasurable joy.¹⁴⁸⁷

In addition to the (afore-mentioned) conditions, there is another. The (poet) must be rested and energetic. This makes him more collected and is better for his talent, so that he is able to create a loom similar to that which is in his memory. It has been said: "The best time for it is in the morning right after waking up, when the stomach is empty and the mind energetic, and in the atmosphere of the bath."¹⁴⁸⁸ It has (also) often been said: "Stimuli to poetry are love and drunkenness." This was mentioned by Ibn Rashiq in the *Kitab al-' Umdah*.¹⁴⁸⁹ The '*Umdah* is especially devoted to poetry and

¹⁴⁸⁴ The Arabic suffix (unless it should be corrected to refer to "memorized material") has as its nearest antecedent "external literal forms." However, Ibn Khaldun could scarcely have meant it to refer to that.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Bulaq, Paris, and A read *istinarah* "set afire," against *istitharahin* B, C, and D.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Through music, or rather, through all the stimulants mentioned here.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Cf. 2:397 ff., above.

¹⁴⁸⁸ "Bath" and not "restfulness" (*jamam*), as suggested by Bulaq, is confirmed by the MSS and by references to the bath in Ibn Rashiq, '*Umdah*, I, 185 f.

¹⁴⁸⁹ This statement is derived from the quotations in the '*Umdah*, Ch. xxviii, but is not there to be found as such. In general, the impression prevails that Ibn Khaldun did not have a copy of the '*Umdah* at hand when he wrote the *Muqaddimah*. Cf., in particular, p. 387 (n. 1502), below.

has given it its due. No work on poetry like it¹⁴⁹⁰ has been written either before or since. (Then too,) it has been said: "If (the poet) finds it difficult (to make a poem) after all that, he should leave it for another time. He should not force himself to do it."

(The poet) should have the rhyme (in mind), when the verse is first given shape and form. He should set it down and build (his) speech on it all the way through to the end, because, if the poet neglects to have the rhyme (in mind) when he makes a verse, it may be difficult for him to get the rhyme into its proper place, for it often is loose and unstable. If a verse is satisfactory but does not fit in its context, (the poet) should save it for a place more fitting to it. Every verse is an independent unit, and all that is to be done is to fit (the verse into the context of the poem). Therefore, (the poet) may choose to do in this respect whatever he wishes.

After a poem is finished, (the poet) should revise it carefully and critically. He should not hesitate to throw it away, if it is not good enough. Every man is fond of his own poetry, since it is a product of his mind and a creation of his talent.

(The poet) should use only the most correct word combinations and a language free from all (poetic) license, since¹⁴⁹¹ the (use of it) is a defect as far as the linguistic habit is concerned. He should avoid it, because it might deprive (his) speech of eloquence. The leading authorities forbade the later-born (poets)¹⁴⁹² to use (poetic) license, since by avoiding it they might be able to obtain the most exemplary (linguistic) habit. (The poet) should also keep away, as much as he can, from involved word combinations. He should try to use only those whose meaning can be understood more quickly

¹⁴⁹⁰ "Like it" is added by Bulaq. Cf. also Bombaci, p. 470. For. Ibn Rashiq, see p. 338 (n. 1810), above.

¹⁴⁹¹ The remainder of the sentence is added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D.

¹⁴⁹² *Muwallad*, used as a technical term for persons of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage, is applied in literary criticism to designate the early poets who were born after the coming of Islam, and, more generally, all the older Islamic poets.

than the (individual) words they contain.¹⁴⁹³ The same applies to putting too many ideas into one verse, which make it somewhat complicated to understand. The choicest (verse) is the one whose words conform to the ideas (it contains) or are more copious (than the ideas). If there are many ideas, the verse becomes crowded. The mind examines the (ideas) and is distracted. As a result, (the listener's literary) taste is prevented from fully understanding, as it should, the eloquence (of the verse).¹⁴⁹⁴ A poem is easy only when its ideas are more quickly grasped by the mind than its words. Thus, our *shaykhs* used to criticize the poetry of the poet of eastern Spain, [Abu Bakr] b. Khafajah,¹⁴⁹⁵ for crowding too many ideas into one verse. They used also to criticize the poetry of al-Mutanabbi' and al-Ma'arri, because it does not follow the methods of the Arabs, as was mentioned before.¹⁴⁹⁶ Thus, the poetry of the (two men) was rhymed speech inferior to poetry. The judge in such matters is (one's) taste.¹⁴⁹⁷

The poet should also keep away from farfetched and pretentious words.¹⁴⁹⁸ (He should) also (keep away) from vulgar words that become hackneyed through usage. (The use of such words) deprives the poem of eloquence. (He¹⁴⁹⁹ should) also (keep away) from ideas that have become hackneyed by being generally known. (Their use,) too, deprives the speech of eloquence. It becomes hackneyed and almost meaningless. For instance, such phrases as "The fire is hot" and "The heaven above us" (belong in this category). The closer a poem gets to being 'meaningless, the less can it claim

¹⁴⁹³ Cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, I, 216.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Bombaci, p. 470.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Ibrahim b. Abi I-Fath, ca. 451 [1059/60] to 533 [1139]. Cf. GAL, I, 272; *Suppl.*, I, 480 f. Abu Bakr is found in A and B, whereas the words are deleted in C and D. According to a marginal note in Bulaq, its MSS seem to vacillate between Abu Bakr and Abu Ishaq, the latter being the usual patronymic of Ibn Khafajah.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Cf. p. 382, above.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Cf. p. 409, below.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 172 ff.

¹⁴⁹⁹ This and the following sentence not in Bulaq.

to be eloquent, since (meaninglessness and eloquence) are (opposing) extremes. For this reason, poetry on mystical¹⁵⁰⁰ and prophetic subjects is not, as a rule, very good. Only the best poets are good in it, and (even they) only in small (portions of such poetry) and with great difficulty, because the ideas with which such poetry deals are generally known to the great mass and, thus, have become hackneyed.

If a person, after (observing) all (these conditions), (still) finds it impossible to produce poetry, he should (try and) practice it again and again, since talent is like an udder, giving milk only when it is milked, drying up and giving little milk¹⁵⁰¹ when it is left alone and neglected.

In general, (the subject of) poetry and how to learn it is exhaustively treated in the *Kitab al-'Umdah* by Ibn Rashiq. We have mentioned (such information) on poetry available to us, as far as we were able. Those who would like to study the subject exhaustively must turn to the (*'Umdah*). It contains all one could wish. (Our remarks) should suffice to give an idea. God gives support.

People have written poems dealing with poetry and its requirements. The following poem, which, I believe, is by Ibn Rashiq, is among the best statements made on the subject.¹⁵⁰²

God curse poetry! How many
 Kinds of stupid poets have we met!
 They prefer strange (expressions) to what
 Would be easy and clear to the listener.
 They consider the absurd a sound idea,
 And vile speech something precious.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Cf. pp. 394 f., below.

¹⁵⁰¹ *Wa-yaghziru* (thus vocalized) is added in C and D. Cf. Lane's *ArabicEnglish Dictionary*, p. 2246a.

¹⁵⁰² Actually, the following poem is quoted in Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, II, 108 f., and there attributed to the same Nishi who wrote the very similar poem quoted below, p. 389 (n. 1506).

They ignore what is right in (poetry).

On account of (their) ignorance, they do not know that they are ignorant.

Not we, but others, blame them.

We, in fact, find them excusable.

Poetry is that which is harmonious in its rhymes,

Even if in (its) descriptions, it is varied.

Each part of it has the same form as the other parts.

Front and back have come to be alike in it.

Every idea in a (poem) comes to you as you

Wish it would be, if it were not. It has attained such great beauty of style that

Its beauty comes close to being clear to those who look (at it).

Its words are like faces,

And the ideas contained in it are (their) eyes.

It fulfills all the wishes one might have.

Those who recite it are adorned¹⁵⁰³ with its beauty.

When you praise a noble free man in a poem,

You should set out to be as profuse as anyone.

You should make the *nasib* easy and to the point.

You should make the laudatory (part) truthful and clear.

You should avoid whatever might not be nice to hear,

Even if it is properly put metrically.

When you satirize him,

You should consider the ways of those who use gross language blameworthy.¹⁵⁰⁴

¹⁵⁰³ *Yatahalla*, as expressly indicated in C. The reading *yatahalla* (cf. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah, loc. cit.*) is possible theoretically but not, apparently, intended here. The latter would mean: "its beauty is revealed by those who recite it."

¹⁵⁰⁴ Ibn Rashiq reads *'lfta* "you should loathe."

You should consider frank statement in (satire) medicine.
 Recourse to allusions you should consider a hidden illness.
 Whenever in (a poem) you lament those who will one day soon
 Depart, and the women who are carried away (in their litters),
 You should suppress (your) grief, You should subdue
 The tears that are stored up in (your) eyes.^{1504a}
 And when you express censure (of a friend), you should mingle
 promises
 With threats, and harshness with gentleness.
 Thus you will leave the person whom you censure
 Wary as well as assured, strong as well as weak.
 The soundest poetry is that which is outstanding in¹⁵⁰⁵ poetical
 (Form), clear and transparent.
 When recited, it must make everyone desirous (of producing something
 similar),
 And when one wishes to make a (poem like it), this must be found
 impossible.

The same subject is also dealt with in the following verses of a poet an-Nashi:¹⁵⁰⁶

^{1504a} However, since the idea expressed here is unusual and does not agree with what the following poem says in connection with the same topic, one may try this, admittedly difficult, rendering:

You should admit no consolation whatever. You should cause
 The tears that are stored up in (your) eyes (to run) smoothly.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Bulaq: "close to."

¹⁵⁰⁶ The name of the poet is added in C and D. According to Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, he is identical with the author of the preceding poem, the elder Nashi, Abul-'Abbas 'Abdallah b. Muhammad, who died in 293 [905/61. Cf. GAL, I, 123 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 188. The verses were quoted by an-Nashi in his book on poetry. Cf. al-Hugri, *Zahr al-adab* (Cairo, 1293/1876), II, 249 f.; (Cairo, 1505/1887, in the margin of Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *'Iqd*), II, 240 f. Al-Husri has two verses not found in our text and, in one place, has the verses in a different order. Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, II, 109 f., has the same transposition found in al-Husri but has no additional verses. He omits the fourth verse and the last. In this connection, it should be noted that the fourth, and the last six, verses were added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D.

Poetry is (a thing) the crookedness of whose front you have straightened out,
 And the belt of whose back you have tightened through careful revision,
 The cracks in which you have repaired¹⁵⁰⁷ through profuseness,
 And whose half-blind eyes you have opened through conciseness,
 The near and remote parts of which you have gathered together,
 And whose stagnant (well water) and spring water you have united,
 And in which you have provided, wherever required,¹⁵⁰⁸
 (Like with) like, and counterpart with counterpart.
 If you praise in a (poem) a noble, generous person,
 And repay with gratitude all the debts due him,
 You should present him with what is (most) precious and grave (in poetry)
 And distinguish him with what is important and valuable (in it).
 Thus, (poetry) should be generous in the use of its various types,
 And easy (to understand) in the (general) agreement of its various branches.
 If in (a poem) you lament dwelling places and the people who lived there,
 You should make the grieved person to shed the water of the sutures of his skull.¹⁵⁰⁹
 If you want to hint at something dubious,
 You should leave the matter midway between clear and cryptic.
 Thus you make the person who hears it mingle his doubts
 With clarity, and his conjectures with certainty.

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Wa-ra'abta*. Al-Hugri uses *la'amta*, with the same meaning.

¹⁵⁰⁸ This verse, which is found only in C and D, seems to have been read by Ibn Khaldun: *wa-'amadta minhu munajjidan man yqtdy*, but *man* makes no sense and should, at least, be corrected to *ma*. Al-Husri has *wa-'ahidta minhu li-kulli amrin yaqtadi*:, which seems to be the correct text.

¹⁵⁰⁹ For *shu'un* and its use in the meaning of "tear (ducts)," cf. J. M. Pefuela, "*Die Goldene*" des Ibn al-Munasif (Rome, 1941), pp. 77 ft.

If you censure a friend because of a slip,
 You should cover the severity of censure with gentleness.
 Thus, you will leave him civilized by mildness,
 Reassured in the face of¹⁵¹⁰ his sadness and grievances.
 (But) if you want to attack the (girl) you love,
 When she breaks with you, with seductive (poetry),¹⁵¹¹
 You should (try to) enslave her with fine and subtle (verses)
 And inflame her with (their) concealed and hidden (meanings).
 If you would apologize for a mistake you (yourself) have made,
 You should go at it (with verses somewhere) between fanciful and clear.
 Thus, your sin will turn out in the eyes of him who is affected by (your
 poetry),
 To be a censure of himself obliging him to swear (that he did nothing
 wrong).¹⁵¹²

VI.55. Poetry and prose work with words, and not with ideas.^{1512a}

[p.3:391]

It should be known that both poetry and prose work with words, and not with ideas. The ideas are secondary to the (words). The (words) are basic.

The craftsman who tries to acquire the habit of poetry and prose uses words for that purpose. He memorizes appropriate words from Arab speech, so as to be able to employ it frequently and have it on his tongue. Eventually, the habit of the Mudar language becomes firmly established in him. He becomes free from the non-Arab (linguistic habits) in which he was reared among the people of his race. He considers himself like a (half-breed) child

¹⁵¹⁰ Instead of *musta'manan*, Ibn Rashiq has *mustay'isan* (distorted in al-Husri to *mustasbiyan*): "In despair because of," which seems to be the better text.

¹⁵¹¹ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV⁶ (1869), 174.

¹⁵¹² The difficult last verse is reproduced in a rather different, and apparently quite meaningless, form in al-Husri, and is not found in Ibn Rashiq.

^{1512a} This chapter is quoted by E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London, 1902-24), 11, 86 f.

who grows up among Arab Bedouins and learns their language as a child learns it. Thus, eventually, he becomes like one of them, as far as their language is concerned.¹⁵¹³

As we have mentioned before,¹⁵¹⁴ this comes about as follows. Language is a habit concerned with speech. One tries to acquire it by repeated practice with the tongue, until one has acquired it, as is the case with (all other) habits.¹⁵¹⁵

Now, tongue and speech deal only with words. Ideas are in the mind. Furthermore, everyone may have ideas. Every one has the capacity to grasp with his mind whatever (ideas) his mind wants and likes. No technique is required for their composition.¹⁵¹⁶ But the composition of speech, for the purpose of expressing (ideas), requires a technique, as we have stated.¹⁵¹⁷ (Speech) is like a mold for ideas. The vessels in which water is drawn from the sea may be of gold, silver, shells (mother-of-pearl), glass, or clay. But the water is one and the same. The quality of the vessels filled with water differs according to the material from which they are made, and not according to the water (in them). In the same way, the quality of language, and eloquence in its use, differ according to different levels (of attainment) in the composition of speech, depending on the manner in which an utterance conforms to (the situation) that it wants to express. But the ideas are one and the same.

A person who is ignorant of the composition of speech and its methods, as required by the (Arabic) linguistic habit, and who unsuccessfully attempts to express what he wants to express, is like an invalid who attempts to get up but cannot, because he lacks the power to do so.

God "teaches you what you did not know."¹⁵¹⁸

¹⁵¹³Cf. p. 318 (n. 1231), above.

¹⁵¹⁴Cf. p. 342, above.

¹⁵¹⁵"As . . . habits" is added in the margin of C and found in the text of D.

¹⁵¹⁶"For their composition" is added in the margin of C and found in the text of D.

¹⁵¹⁷Cf. pp. 342 ff, above.

¹⁵¹⁸Qur'an 2.151 (146).

VI.56. The (linguistic) habit is obtained by much memorizing. The good quality of (the linguistic habit is the result of) the good quality of the memorized material.

[p.3:392]

We have mentioned before¹⁵¹⁹ that those who desire to learn the Arabic language must memorize much material. The quality of the resulting habit depends on the quality, type, and amount of the memorized material. Those who memorize the poetry of Arab Muslims or¹⁵²⁰ the poetry of Habib (Abu Tammam), al-'Attabī,¹⁵²¹ Ibn al-Mu'tazz,¹⁵²² Ibn Hani,¹⁵²³ or ash-Sharif ar-Radi,¹⁵²⁴ or the *Rasa'il*(prose letters) of Ibn al-Mugaffa',¹⁵²⁵ Sahl b. Harun,¹⁵²⁶ Ibn az-Zayyat,¹⁵²⁷ al-Badi,¹⁵²⁸ or as-Sabi,¹⁵²⁹ will acquire a better habit, of a higher order of eloquence, than those who memorize the poetry of such recent poets as Ibn Sahl¹⁵³⁰ or Ibn an-Nabih,¹⁵³¹ or the prose correspondence of al-Baysani¹⁵³² or the 'Imad al-Isfahani,¹⁵³³

¹⁵¹⁹Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁵²⁰"The poetry of Arab Muslims or" is added in the margin of C and incorporated in the text of D. It appears to refer to the earlier Umayyad poets.

¹⁵²¹Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 120.

¹⁵²²Cf. GAL, I, 80 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 128 ff.

¹⁵²³Cf. GAL, I, 91; *Suppl.*, I, 146 f.

¹⁵²⁴Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁵²⁵Cf. GAL, I, 151 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 233 ff. Cf. also above, 1:82. His *rasa'il* are literary essays, but Ibn Khaldun is thinking of government correspondence.

¹⁵²⁶Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 213.

¹⁵²⁷ Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Malik. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 121.

¹⁵²⁸ Al-Hamadhini. Cf. GAL, I, 93 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 150 f.

¹⁵²⁹ Ibrahim b. Hilal, 313-384 [925-994]. Cf. GAL, I, 95 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 153 f.

¹⁵³⁰ Ibrahim b. Sahl al-Isra'ili, who died in 658 [1260]. Cf. GAL, I, 273 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 483. Cf. also below, p. 450.

¹⁵³¹ Ali b. Muhammad, d. 619 [1222]. Cf. GAL, I, 261 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 462.

¹⁵³²Cf. 2:44, above.

¹⁵³³Cf. 2:45, above.

because they are inferior to the (older writers). This is obvious to the intelligent critic who has (literary) taste.

The quality of a person's own later use (of the language) depends on the quality of the material learned or memorized. After (a person has improved his material and his use of it), he can improve his habit.¹⁵³⁴ By raising the level of the memorized literary material, the resulting level (of one's habit)¹⁵³⁵ becomes higher, since nature takes (habit) as its model¹⁵³⁶ and the powers of a habit grow through nourishing it. This comes about as follows. The soul is one in species according to its natural disposition. It differs in human beings depending on (its) greater or lesser intensity in connection with perceptions.¹⁵³⁷ This difference of the (soul) is the result of the differing perceptions, habits, and colorings that condition the soul from the outside. (Such conditioning) causes its existence to materialize and transforms its form from potentiality into actuality.

(Now,) the habits obtained by the soul are obtained only gradually, as we have mentioned before.¹⁵³⁸ The poetical habit originates with the memorizing of poetry. The habit of secretaryship originates with the memorizing of rhymed prose and prose correspondence. The scientific habit originates in contact with the sciences and with various perceptions, research, and speculation. The juridical habit originates in contact with jurisprudence and through comparing the problems and considering them in detail and through deriving special cases from general principles. The mystical habit originates through worship and *dhikr* exercises¹⁵³⁹ and through inactivation of the outward senses by means of solitude and as much isolation from human beings as possible, until (the person who does that) acquires the habit

¹⁵³⁴Cf. Bombaci, p. 471.

¹⁵³⁵Bulaq corrects to "the resulting habit."

¹⁵³⁶Lit., "weaves on its loom."

¹⁵³⁷Cf. p. 157, above.

¹⁵³⁸Cf. 2:346, and pp. 292 f., 342, above.

¹⁵³⁹Cf. p. 81 (n. 471), above.

of retiring to his inner sense and his spirit and thus becomes a mystic. The same is the case with all the other (habits). Each one of them gives the soul a special coloring that conditions it.

The good or bad quality of a particular habit depends on the (condition) under which the habit originated. A high class habit of eloquence results only from the memorizing of high-class language material. This is why all jurists and scholars are deficient in eloquence. The sole reason is in the original character of the material they memorize, in the scientific rules and juridical expressions of which (their material) is full and which deviate from the proper method of eloquence and are inferior (to it). The expressions used for rules and sciences have nothing to do with eloquence. (Now,) when such memorized material is the first to occupy the mind and is large and colors the soul, the resulting habit comes to be very deficient and the expressions connected with (that material) deviate from the methods of Arab speech. This, we find, applies to the poetry of jurists, grammarians, speculative theologians, philosophers, and others who are not saturated with memorized knowledge of the purest and noblest (most genuine) Arabic speech.¹⁵⁴⁰

Our excellent colleague, Abul-Qasim b. Ridwan,¹⁵⁴¹ the writer of the '*alahmah*'¹⁵⁴² of the Merinid dynasty, told me the following story. "One day, I had a conversation with our colleague Abul-'Abbas b. Shu'ayb,¹⁵⁴³ the secretary of Sultan Abul-Hasan, who was the leading philologist of his time. I recited to him the beginning of a *qasidah* by Ibn an-Nahwi,¹⁵⁴⁴ without mentioning him as the author. (The *qasidah* runs:)

¹⁵⁴⁰Cf. Bombaci, p. 471.

¹⁵⁴¹ Abdallah b. Yusuf. Cf. *Autobiography*, pp. 22 ff., 41 ff.

¹⁵⁴²Cf. I:xli, above.

¹⁵⁴³ Ahmad b. Shu'ayb, d. 750 [1349]. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 48. The passage of the *Autobiography* is quoted by Ahmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihaj* (Cairo, 1351/1932, in the margin of Ibn FarbOn, *Dibaj*), p. 68.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Yusuf b. Muhammad, 433-513 [1041/42-1119]. Cf. Ibn al-Abbar, *Takmilat as-Silah*, ed. F. Codera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, No. 6) (Madrid, 1889), p. 740, No. 2098; Ahmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihaj*, pp. 349-51.

I did not know when I stood near the traces of the abandoned dwelling places

What the difference was between the new ones and those that were almost effaced.

(Ibn Shu'ayb) said to me immediately, 'That is a poem by a jurist.' I asked him how he knew that. He replied: 'Because he says: "What the difference was." That is a juridical expression and does not belong to the methods of (proper) Arab speech.' Full of admiration, I told him that it was indeed a poem by Ibn an-Nahwi."

Secretaries and poets are not like that. They choose carefully the material they memorize. They have contact with the methods of Arab speech with regard to prose correspondence. They select the good material from (Arab) speech.

One day, I had a conversation with Abu 'Abdallah b. al Khatib,¹⁵⁴⁵ the wazir of the rulers of Spain. He was the leading authority on poetry and secretaryship. I said to him, "I find it difficult to compose poetry when I want to, despite my understanding of (poetry) and my knowledge of the good language material in the Qur'an, the traditions, and the various (other) branches of Arab speech, although I know little by heart. It may be that I am affected by my knowledge of scientific poems and the rules of (literary) composition. I have memorized the large and the small poem by ash Shatibi on Qur'an readings and Qur'an orthography,¹⁵⁴⁶ and I know them by heart.¹⁵⁴⁷ I studied the two works of Ibn al-Hajib on jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence,¹⁵⁴⁸ the *Jumalon* logic by al-Khunaji,¹⁵⁴⁹ and many of the rules of scientific school instruction. That has filled my memory and harmed

¹⁵⁴⁵Cf. I:xliv, above. Bulaq adds "our friend," and explains that the rulers of Spain mentioned were the Banu I-Ahmar (the Nasrids of Granada).

¹⁵⁴⁶Cf. 2:441 f., above. The reference to Qur'an orthography is added in C and D.

¹⁵⁴⁷Bulaq omits the last statement.

¹⁵⁴⁸Cf. 2:428 f., and pp. 19, 29 f., above.

¹⁵⁴⁹Cf. P. 143, above. Bulaq adds: "and part of the *Kitab at-Tashil*."

the habit for which I was prepared¹⁵⁵⁰ through the good material from the Qur'an, the traditions, and (other documents of) Arab speech. It prevented my talent from developing." (Ibn al-Khatib) looked at me in amazement for a while. Then he said, full of admiration: "Would anyone but you say a thing like that?"

The remarks made in this section explain another problem. They explain why both the poetry and the prose of the Muslim Arabs are on a higher level of eloquence and literary taste than those of pre-Islamic Arabs. We find that the poetry of Hassin b. Thabit,¹⁵⁵¹ 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah,¹⁵⁵² al Hutay'ah,¹⁵⁵³ Jarir,¹⁵⁵⁴ al-Farazdaq,¹⁵⁵⁵ Nusayb,¹⁵⁵⁶ Ghaylan Dhur-Rummah,¹⁵⁵⁷ al-Ahwas,¹⁵⁵⁸ and Bashshir,¹⁵⁵⁹ as well as the literary products of the ancient Arabs of the Umayyad dynasty and the early years of the Abbasid dynasty, (including) their sermons, their prose correspondence, and their discussions with the rulers, are on a much higher level of eloquence than the poetry of an-Nibighah,¹⁵⁶⁰ 'Antarah, Ibn Kulthum, Zuhayr, 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah, and Tarafah b. al-'Abd. (They also are on a higher level) than the prose and discussions of pre-Islamic (authors). A sound taste and a healthy natural disposition¹⁵⁶¹ will confirm the (correctness of this observation) to the intelligent critic of eloquence.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun here uses the colloquial form *ista'addit* (C vocalizes *ista'addaytu*), for *ista'dadtu*.

¹⁵⁵¹ Cf. GAL, I, 37 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 67 f.

¹⁵⁵² Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁵⁵³ Cf. GAL, I, 41; *Suppl.*, I, 71.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Cf. GAL, I, 53 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 84.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Nusayb b. Rabah. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 99.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Cf. GAL, I, 48 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 80.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Bashshir b. Burd. Cf. GAL, I, 73 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 108 ff.

¹⁵⁶⁰ For him and the other famous authors of *Mu'allaqahs* (see p. 410, below), cf. GAL, I, 22 ff.; *Suppl.*, I, 44 ff. For 'Amr b. Kulthum, cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 51 f.

¹⁵⁶¹ Cf. pp. 345 f., above.

The reason for this is that (authors) who lived in Islam learned the highest form of speech (as it is found) in the Qur'an and in the traditions, which for human beings is inimitable. It entered into their hearts. Their souls were brought up on the (linguistic) methods (of this kind of speech). As a result, their nature was lifted, and their habits with regard to eloquence were elevated, to greater heights than had ever been reached by their pre-Islamic predecessors, who had not learned the (highest) form of speech and had not been brought up on it. Therefore, their prose and poetry were better in texture and of a purer brilliance than their (predecessors'). They were more solid in construction and more even in execution, because their (authors) had learned the high-class speech (of the Qur'an and the traditions). When a person thinks this (explanation) over, his literary taste will attest to its correctness, if he has taste and understands eloquence.

I once asked our *shaykh*, the sharif Abul-Qasim,¹⁵⁶² the (chief) judge of Granada in our day, why the Muslim Arabs were on a higher level (of eloquence)¹⁵⁶³ than the pre-Islamic Arabs. (Abul-Qasim) was the chief authority on poetry. He had studied (it) in Ceuta with certain¹⁵⁶⁴ *shaykh*s there who were pupils of ash-Shalubin.¹⁵⁶⁵ He had (also) made a profound study of philology and acquired a more than perfect knowledge of it. Thus, he was a man who, with his taste, could be expected not to be ignorant of (this question). He remained silent for a long while. Then he said to me, "By God, I do not know." Whereupon I said, "I shall suggest to you (an idea) concerning this problem that has come to my mind. Perhaps, it explains it." And I mentioned to him what I have noted (here). He was silent in amaze-

¹⁵⁶² Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad, as-Sabti, 697-760 [1297-1359]. Cf. Ibn al-Khattab, *al-Ihatah*, II, 129-33. Other authors prefer 761 [1359/601 as the date of his death, it would seem for no good reason. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat*, VI, 192 f. Cf. also p. 408, below

¹⁵⁶³ Bulaq actually adds "of eloquence."

¹⁵⁶⁴ Bulaq: "a number of."

¹⁵⁶⁵ Umar b. Muhammad, 562-645 [1166/67-1245]. Cf. E. Levi-Provencal, *La Peninsule Iberique*, p. 136; A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 324 f.

ment. Then, he said to me: "Doctor (*faqih*), this is a remark that deserves to be written down in gold(en letters)." After that, he (always) treated me with deference. He listened to what I had to say in class and acknowledged my excellence in scholarship.

God "created man" and "taught him clarity."¹⁵⁶⁶

VI.57. An explanation of the meaning of natural and contrived speech. How contrived speech may be either good or deficient.¹⁵⁶⁷

[p.3:398]

It should be known that the secret and spirit of speech - that is, expression and address - lie in conveying ideas. If no effort is made to (convey ideas), (speech) is like "dead land" (*mawat*)¹⁵⁶⁸ which does not count.

The perfect way of conveying (ideas) is eloquence. This is shown by the literary critics,¹⁵⁶⁹ definition of eloquence. They say that (eloquence) is conformity of speech to the requirements of the situation.¹⁵⁷⁰ Knowledge of the conditions and laws governing the conformity of word combinations to the requirements of the situation is the discipline of eloquence (rhetoric). The conditions and laws were deduced from the Arabic language and have become a sort of rules. The manner in which word combinations are used indicates the relationship that exists between two interdependent (parts of an utterance). (It does so) with the help of conditions and laws constituting the main part of the rules of Arabic. The situations that apply to the word combinations - which may be earlier or later position, determination or in-

¹⁵⁶⁶ Qur'an 55.3-4 (2-3).

¹⁵⁶⁷ This section is not found in Bulaq and A. The title reads in B: "Natural speech is more solid in construction and on a higher level of eloquence than contrived speech." The text later on differs considerably in B, on the one hand, and in C and D, on the other. In this connection, one may compare the chapter on *matbu* and *masnu* in Ibn Rashtq, *'Umdah*, I, 108-113 (Ch. xx.)

¹⁵⁶⁸ The problem of "dead lands" has greatly occupied Muslim jurisprudence throughout its existence.

¹⁵⁶⁹ B: "philologists."

¹⁵⁷⁰ Cf. p. 333, above.

determination, implicit or explicit (reference), statements used restricted or absolute, and so on - indicate the situations that envelop from outside the (existing) relationship and the persons discoursing with each other. (They do so) with the help of conditions and laws that constitute the rules of a discipline belonging to rhetoric and called the "science of idea expression" (*'ilm al-ma'ani*). Thus, the rules of Arabic are comprised under those of the science of idea expression, because the (purpose of) indicating the (existing) relationship is part of the (purpose of) indicating the situations that envelop that relationship. Any word combinations unable to indicate the requirements of a given situation because of some defect in the rules governing the vowel endings or the rules governing the ideas, are (likewise) unable to establish conformity (between themselves and) the requirements of the situation; they belong to the (group of things) of which no use is made, which belong in the category of "dead land."

After the requirements of a given situation have thus been indicated, there come the diverse ways in which the mind moves among the ideas with the help of different kinds of (word) meanings. In its conventional meaning, a word combination indicates one particular idea, but then the mind moves on to what might be the consequence of, or have as its consequence, that idea, or (what might) be similar to it and, thus, express (some idea) indirectly as metaphor or metonymy,¹⁵⁷¹ as has been established in the proper places.¹⁵⁷² This moving around causes pleasure to the mind, perhaps even more than (the pleasure) that results from indicating (the requirements of the situation) All these things mean attainment of a conclusion from the argument used to prove it, and attainment, as one knows, is one of the things that cause pleasure.

¹⁵⁷¹ Cf. p. 335, above.

¹⁵⁷² Ibn Khaldun is not referring here to his own remarks, pp. 332 ff., above, but to works on literary criticism in general.

The different ways the (mind) moves around in this way also have (their) conditions and laws, which are like rules. They were made into a (special) craft and called "the (science of) style" (*bayan*).¹⁵⁷³ (This science) is sister to the science of idea expression, which indicates the requirements of a given situation. The (science of style) has reference to the ideas and meanings of the word combinations. The rules of the science of idea expression have reference to the very situations that apply to the word combinations, as far as they affect the meaning. Word and idea depend on each other and stand side by side,¹⁵⁷⁴ as one knows. Thus, the science of idea expression and the science of style are both part of rhetoric, and both (together) produce perfect indication and conformity to the requirements of the situation. Consequently, word combinations that fall short of conformity and perfect indication are inferior in eloquence. (Such word combinations) are linked by rhetoricians to the sounds dumb animals make. The preferred assumption is that they are not Arabic, because Arabic is (the kind of speech) in which indications are in conformity with the requirements of the situation. Thus, eloquence is the basis, genius, spirit, and nature of Arabic speech.

It should further be known that in the usage of (philologists), "natural speech" means the (type of) speech that conveys the intended meaning and, thus, is perfect in its nature and genius. Just speaking is not what is meant by (natural speech) as a (kind of) expression and address; the speaker (who uses natural speech) wants to convey what is in his mind to the listeners in a complete and definite fashion.

Thus, after perfect indication (of the requirements of the situation has been achieved), the word combinations, (if expressed) according to that genius that is basic (to Arabic speech), have (their) different kinds of artistic embellishment.¹⁵⁷⁵ In a way, they give them the brilliance of correct speech.

¹⁵⁷³ Cf. p. 336, above.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Mutadayifani*, as in C and D. B has *mutatabiqani* "conform to each other."

¹⁵⁷⁵ Cf. p. 335, above.

Such (kinds of artistic embellishment) include the ornamental use of rhymed prose, the use of phrases of identical structure at the end of successive cola (*muwazanah*),¹⁵⁷⁶ allusion (*tawriyah*) to a cryptic idea by a homonym,¹⁵⁷⁷ and * antithesis, so that there will be affinity (*tajanus*) between the words and ideas (used).¹⁵⁷⁹ This gives brilliance to speech and pleasure to the ear, and sweetness and beauty, all in addition to indicating (the meaning).

This craft is found represented in the inimitable speech (of the Qur'an) in numerous passages, as, for instance:

By the night when it covers; and the day when it reveals itself.¹⁵⁸⁰

Or:

As to those who give and fear God and believe in what is most beautiful ...¹⁵⁸¹

and so on, to the end of the cola division in the passage. Or:

But as to those who deviate and prefer the life of this world . ,¹⁵⁸²

and so on, to the end of the passage. Also:

And they think that they are doing good.¹⁵⁸³

¹⁵⁷⁶ Instead of *jumal* . . . *al-ahkam* (found in the margin of C and in the text of D), B simply has *al fusul*. A similar substitution, involving the same MSS, is to be found p. 408, l. 16, and p. 406, l. 20, below. Here, the literal translation is: "creating a balance between the larger portions of speech and the cola of different character into which it is divided." However, the technical meaning of *muwazanah*, as given above, is meant. For *muwazanah*, cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Criticism*, p. 26.

¹⁵⁷⁷ The upper text that follows is that of C and D, the lower that of B.

¹⁵⁷⁹ *Tajanus*, as a technical term, usually refers to an etymological relationship between the expressions used. The clause introduced by "so that" seems to have been intended to apply only to "antithesis," not to all the rhetorical figures mentioned.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Qur'an 92.1-2 (1-2).

¹⁵⁸¹ Qur'an 92.5 ff. (5 ff.).

¹⁵⁸² Qur'an 79.87 ff. (37 ff.).

¹⁵⁸³ Qur'an 18.104 (104).

There are many similar things (in the Qur'an). (But) it comes (only) after (the meaning) has been indicated perfectly by the word combinations (as they are) basically, before the rhetorical figures occur in them.¹⁵⁸⁴

(Rhetorical figures) also occurred in pre-Islamic speech, but spontaneously and unintentionally. They are said to occur in the poetry of Zuhayr.¹⁵⁸⁵

Among the (early) Muslim (authors), they occur both spontaneously and intentionally. These (authors) did remarkable things with them. The first to have a good knowledge of the method of (rhetorical figures) were Habib b. Aws (Abu Tammam), al-Buhturi, and Muslim b. al-Walid.¹⁵⁸⁶ They very eagerly set out to achieve a (contrived) technique and did remarkable things with it.

It is (also) said that the first to concern themselves with (rhetorical figures) were Bashshar b. Burd¹⁵⁸⁷ and Ibn Harmah,¹⁵⁹⁰ who were the last (poets whose poems) are used as evidence for (the grammatical and lexicographical problems of) the Arabic language. They were followed by Kulthum b. 'Amr al-'Attabi,¹⁵⁹¹ Mansur an-Numayri,¹⁵⁹² Muslim b. al-Walid, and Abu Nuwas. After them came Habib (Abu Tammam) and al-Buhturi. Then, there appeared Ibn al-Mu'tazz. He gave the whole craft of rhetorical figures its definitive form.

Let us mention examples of natural (speech) which is free from (contrived) technique, such as, for instance, the verse of Qays b. Dharih.¹⁵⁹³

¹⁵⁸⁴ Cf. Bombaci, p. 471.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Cf. p. 397, above.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Cf. GAL, I, 77; *Suppl.*, I, 118.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Cf. p. 897, above.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Cf. GAL, I, 84; *Suppl.*, I, 134.

¹⁵⁹¹ Cf. p. 393, above.

¹⁵⁹² I.e., Mansur b. Zibriqan b. Salimah (or: Salimah b. Zibriqan), an-Namari (not an-Numayri). Cf. *Kitab al-Aghani*, XII, 16-25; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIII, 65-69.

¹⁵⁹³ Cf. GAL, I, 48; *Suppl.*, I, 81.

I go out from among the tents; perhaps, I
 Shall talk about you to my(self) in secret, being alone.

Or the verse-of -Kuthayyir:¹⁵⁹⁴

I, in my passion for 'Azzah after
 Our relationship had come to an end for me, and for her,
 Am indeed like one who hopes for shade from a cloud that, as soon as
 He settles down to his siesta, clears away.

This, indeed, is natural (poetry) that is uncontrived in its good composition and in the solidity of its word combinations. If, later on, some (contrived) technique were added upon such a foundation, its beauty would (merely) be increased.

Contrived (speech) has been frequent since the time of Bashshar and Habib (Abu Tammam) and other (authors) of their class. (They were followed) by Ibn al-Mu'tazz who gave the craft of (rhetorical figures) its definitive form. (These authors) served as models to later (writers) who used the course they had prepared and wove on their loom.

People who cultivate the craft of (rhetorical figures) distinguish numerous subdivisions and use different terminologies for the rhetorical figures (*alqab*). Many of them consider them part of rhetoric, although (these figures) are not concerned with indicating (the meaning of speech), but provide embellishment and brilliance. The early representatives of the discipline of rhetorical figures considered them not to be a part of rhetoric. Therefore, they mentioned them as part of the literary disciplines (*adab*) which have no (particular, defined) subject. This was the opinion of Ibn Rashiq in his *Kitab al-'Umdah*, and of the Spanish litterateurs. They mentioned various conditions governing the use of the (rhetorical figures). Among them, there is the

¹⁵⁹⁴Cf. 1:407 and p. 383, above. The verses are found in Kuthayyir's *Diwan*, ed. H. Peres (Algiers & Paris, 1928-30), I, 57. They are quoted, for instance, by Ibn Rashiq, *'Umdah*, II, 74; *Lisan al-'Arab*, XVI, III.

condition that they should express the intended meaning in an unforced and unstudied manner.

The spontaneous occurrence of (rhetorical figures) causes no comment, because (in such cases, the rhetorical figures) are in no way forced, and the speech (in which they occur) cannot, therefore, be criticized as (linguistically) faulty. The forced and studied use of (rhetorical figures) leads to disregard of the basic word combinations of speech and thus destroys all basis for indication (of the meaning of speech). It removes outright all eloquence and leaves speech only the (rhetorical) embellishments. This (however, actually) is the situation that is preponderant among (our) contemporaries. (But) people who have taste in eloquence despise (them because of) their infatuation with the various (rhetorical figures) and consider that (propensity an indication of their) inability to do better.

(Thus,) I heard our *shaykh*, Professor Abul-Barakat al Ballaffiqi,¹⁵⁹⁸ who knew the language and had a natural taste for it, say: "The thing I most desire is some day to see one of those who practice the different branches of (the craft of) rhetorical figures in poetry or prose, punished with the most severe punishment and publicly denounced thus giving warning to his pupils not to concern themselves with this (contrived) technique. (Otherwise,) they might fall in love with it and forget all eloquence."

Another condition (governing the use of rhetorical figures) is that they be used sparingly and in no more than two or three verses of a poem, which suffices to adorn and give it brilliance, while the use of many (such rhetorical figures) would be a blemish. This was stated by Ibn Rashiq and others.

Our *shaykh*, the sharif Judge Abul-Qasim as-Sabti,¹⁵⁹⁹ who was the chief cultivator of the Arabic language in his time, used to say: "The different kinds of rhetorical figures may occur to a poet or a secretary, but it is ugly if he uses many of them. They belong among the things that embellish speech

¹⁵⁹⁸Cf. I:xliv, above.

¹⁵⁹⁹Cf. p. 998, above.

and constitute its beauty. They are like moles on a face. One or two make it beautiful, but many make it ugly."

Pre-Islamic and. (early) Islamic prose followed the same lines as poetry. Originally, it was straight prose, considering (only) creation of a balance between the larger portions of (speech) and its word combinations, to indicate that it's balanced by means of cola into which it is divided,^{1599a} without adherence to rhyme or concern for (contrived) techniques. (This was so) until the appearance of Ibrahim b. Hilal as-Sabi', the secretary to the Buyids. He concerned himself with (contrived) techniques and the use of rhyme. He did marvelous things with it. (However,) people criticized him because of his propensity for (using such things) in government correspondence. He could do that only because his rulers were used to non-Arabic (speech) and had nothing to do with the authority of the caliphate which caused eloquence to flourish. Afterwards, the prose of later (authors) became more and more contrived. One forgot the period when straight prose had been used. Government correspondence came to be like private correspondence,¹⁶⁰⁰ and Arabic came to be like the common language. Good and bad became (inextricably) confused with each other.¹⁶⁰¹

All these (statements) show that contrived, studied, or forced speech is inferior to natural speech, because it has little concern for what is basic to eloquence. The judge in such matters is (one's) taste.¹⁶⁰²

And God created you and "taught you what *you* did not know."¹⁶⁰³

^{1599a} Cf. n. 1576, above.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Some very fine examples of such private correspondence among friends can be found in Ibn Khaldun's *Autobiography*, pp. 1031.

¹⁶⁰¹ Cf. Bombaci, p. 471. Lit., "animals guarded by a shepherd and those not guarded."

¹⁶⁰² Cf. p. 386, above.

¹⁶⁰³ Qur'an 2.239 (240).

antithesis, and other rhetorical figures (alqab)¹⁵⁷⁸ invented and enumerated (by literary critics) and for which they set up conditions and laws and which they called "the discipline of rhetorical figures" (badi').

Both the older and the more recent (literary critics), as well as those of the East and the West, have differed (with each other) in enumerating the (different) kinds and subdivisions (of the rhetorical figures), just as they have differed as to whether (the discipline of rhetorical figures) should be considered part of rhetoric or not. That (it should not) was the opinion of the Westerners. The Easterners considered it as a part of (rhetoric), but not as something basic to speech. They considered it as something that, after one has seen to the conformity of speech with the requirements of the situation, gives it brilliance and ornateness and provides it with sweetness and beauty. Without such conformity, a speech is not Arabic, as mentioned before, and no embellishment can dispense with it¹⁵⁸⁸ in (speech). Moreover, (the rhetorical figures) are derived from the language of the Arabs by using it and investigating its word combinations. Partly, they are heard (used by the Arabs), and their existence is attested. Partly, they are derived and acquired.¹⁵⁸⁹ One knows this from the works of the authorities.

When they speak about "contrived speech," they mean word combinations representing the different types and kinds of rhetorical figures. They also speak of natural speech in (their books) as speech possessing perfect indication. The two (things) are opposed to each other. This shows that the craft of (rhetorical figures) is opposed to rhetoric.

Since the craft of rhetorical figures had no (particular, defined) subject and, consequently, was not a science, the litterateurs of ancient times considered (rhetorical figures) as part of the literary disciplines and included them in literary (adab) works.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Cf. p. 337 (n. 1308), above.

¹⁵⁸⁸ The suffix could refer either to "rhetorical figures" or, as indicated above, to "conformity."

¹⁵⁸⁹ *Leg. muqtabas muktasab.*

This was done by Ibn Rashiq in the Kitab al-'Umdah.¹⁵⁹⁵ In it, he discussed the craft of poetry in an unprecedented manner. He showed how to produce poetry. He had this (subject) followed by a discussion of the rhetorical figures. The same was done by other, Spanish litterateurs.

It has been said that the first to concern himself with this (contrived) technique was Abu Tammam Habib b. Aws at-Tai. He loaded his poetry with rhetorical figures (alqab). The people after him followed him in this respect. Before (him), poetry had been free from (rhetorical figures). The pre-Islamic and the outstanding (early) Islamic poets had not concerned themselves with them in their poetry and had not made much use of them. They occur in their (poems), but only spontaneously as a gift of (outstanding linguistic) talent, and not as the result of constant practice and studied application. Healthy natures have a good taste for them. But (rhetorical figures) are found in (early poetry) only as the result of perfect conformity (of the words to the meaning), faithful regard for the rights of eloquence, and freedom from harmful, forced use of the rhetorical figures or, from crude, studied application and constant practice (of them). Thus, innate natural disposition makes it natural that embellishment (with rhetorical figures should be found) in (that poetry).

The prose of the pre-Islamic and outstanding (early) Islamic (authors), too, was a straight prose divided into cola without rhyme or meter, until the appearance of Ibrahim b. Hilal as-Sabi',¹⁵⁹⁶ the secretary to the Buyids. He concerned himself with the use of rhymed prose in (his) speech and adhered to it in (his) government correspondence, in imitation of the rhyme of poetry. He was at liberty to do so, because his rulers were used to non Arabic (speech), and he himself had the outlook of common persons, that has nothing to do with royal aspirations or with the authority of the caliphate which wants authoritative eloquence. He dealt with the lower regions of artificially

¹⁵⁹⁵Cf. 2:403 and pp. 384 and 387, above, and p. 406, below. 405

¹⁵⁹⁶Cf. p. 393, above.

adorned speech in the same way as is done in private correspondence. At the time, he was successful with it[?],¹⁵⁹⁷ and his fame grew. Afterwards, the speech of later (authors) became more and more contrived. One forgot the period when straight prose was in use to express authoritative eloquence. Government correspondence came to be like private correspondence, and Arabic came to be like the common language. Good and bad became (inextricably) confused with each other; and the nature (of authors) was unable to achieve basic eloquence in speech, because little attention was paid to it. Everybody now is infatuated with the different branches and kinds of the craft of (rhetorical figures) in poetry and prose and greatly concerned with cultivating every type of it. (But) the great rhetoricians always despised it and disapproved of its cultivation at the expense of other (things).

I have seen our shaykhs censure persons concerned with linguistic matters who occupied themselves (unduly) with (rhetorical figures). (I noticed that) they had a low opinion of them.

(Thus,) I heard our shaykh Professor Abul-Barakat al-Ballafigi, who knew the language and had a natural taste for it, say: "The thing I most desire is some day to see one of those who practice the different branches of the craft of (rhetorical figures) in poetry or prose, afflicted by the most severe punishment and publicly denounced, so that his pupils will be deterred from occupying themselves with the craft of rhetorical figures." He was afraid lest eloquence suffer from it and be forgotten.

Our shaykh, the sharif, Judge Abul-Qasim as-Sabti, who was the chief cultivator of the Arabic language and its standardbearer (in his time), used to say: "The different kinds of rhetorical figures may occur spontaneously to a poet or a secretary.

¹⁵⁹⁷ *Fa-shalat yawma'idhin na'amatuhu bi-ha.* The phrase means "to be scattered, to blow hot and cold, to die," but I fail to see what sense any of these meanings would make in the context. It could hardly be: "He died at that time, but his fame grew." Ibn Khaldun probably understood it in a positive sense, as indicated above.

Still, it is ugly if he repeats them. They belong among the things that embellish speech and constitute its beauty. They are like moles on a face. One or two make it beautiful, but many make it ugly."

All the (statements) of these excellent men consider cultivation of the craft of rhetorical figures (alqab badi'iyah) to be (linguistically) faulty, as it might deprive speech of its high eloquence. Such statements by them show that contrived speech is inferior to natural speech. We have shown here its secret and real character. The judge in such matters is (one's) taste.

And God knows better. He "taught you what you did not know."

VI.58. People of rank are above cultivating poetry.

[p.3:410]

It should be known that poetry was the archive of the Arabs, containing their sciences, their history, and their wisdom.¹⁶⁰⁴ Leading Arabs competed in it. They used to stop at the fair of 'Ukaz¹⁶⁰⁵ to recite poetry. Each would submit his product for criticism¹⁶⁰⁶ to outstanding and intelligent personalities. Eventually, (Arab poets) came to vie in having their poems hung up at the corners of the Holy Sanctuary to which they made pilgrimage, the house of their ancestor Ibrahim (the Ka'bah). This was done by Imru'u-l-Qays b. Hujr, an-Nabighah adh-Dhubyani, Zuhayr b. Abi Sulma, 'Antarah b. Shaddad, Tarafah b. al-'Abd, 'Alqamah b. 'Abadah, al-A'sha, and the other authors of the nine *Mu'allaqat*:¹⁶⁰⁷ Only a person who had enough power among his people and his group (*'asabiyyah*) and who held the proper position among the Mudar, was able to get so far as to have his poem hung up

¹⁶⁰⁴ Cf. p. 304 (n. 1186), above.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cf. A. J. Wensinck in EI, s.v. "Okaz."

¹⁶⁰⁶ Lit., "to criticize its texture."

¹⁶⁰⁷ The "suspended" poems, according to the traditional interpretation of the word. A recent summary of modern scholarly opinions as to its meaning may be found in *Bulletin des etudes arabes* (Algiers, 1946), VI, 152-58. Bulaq corrects "nine" to "seven," the number to which the *Mu'allaqat* are usually restricted. For the poets, cf. also p. 397, above.

there. This (fact) is stated in connection with the reason why such poems were called *Mu'allaqat*.¹⁶⁰⁸

Then, at the beginning of Islam, the Arabs gave up the (custom). They were occupied with the affairs of Islam, with prophecy and revelation. They were awed by the (linguistic) method and form of the Qur'an. They were (thus) silenced. For a time, they no longer discussed poetry and prose. Then, those (great happenings) continued, and right guidance came to be something familiar to the Muslims.¹⁶⁰⁹ There was no revelation (saying) that poetry was forbidden or prohibited. The Prophet listened to poetry and rewarded (the poet) for it. Under these circumstances, the Arabs returned to their old customs with regard to poetry. 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah,¹⁶¹⁰ the leading Qurashite of his time, wrote poetry of a high rank and on a high level. He often submitted his poetry to Ibn 'Abbas,¹⁶¹¹ who paused to listen to it in admiration.

Then there came great royal authority and a mighty dynasty. The Arabs approached the (caliphs) with their laudatory poems, and the caliphs rewarded them most generously according to the quality of the poems and their position among their people. They were eager to have poems presented to them. From them they learned remarkable stories, history, lexicography, and noble speech. The Arabs saw to it that their children memorized the poems. This remained the situation during the days of the Umayyads and in the early days of the 'Abbasid dynasty. One may compare the report, by the author of the *'Iqd*, about the conversation of ar-Rashid with al-Asma'i, in the chapter on poetry and poets.¹⁶¹² It shows that ar-Rashid possessed a good knowledge of the subject and was firmly grounded in it. He was concerned with

¹⁶⁰⁸Cf. Bombaci, p. 471.

¹⁶⁰⁹For the phrase used here, cf. Qur'an 4.6 (5).

¹⁶¹⁰Cf. p. 383, above.

¹⁶¹¹Cf. 1:34, above.

¹⁶¹²Cf. 1:32, above.

the cultivation of (poetry). He was able to discern good speech from bad speech, and he possessed a wide memorized knowledge of (poetry)

Later on, people came whose language was not Arabic, because they had a non-Arab (background) and a deficient knowledge of the (Arabic) language, which they had learned as a craft. (Poets) did write laudatory poems for the non Arab amirs, who did not possess the (Arabic) language, (but) they did so only in order to win their favor, and not for any other reason. This was done, for instance, by Habib (Abu Tammam), al-Buhturi, al-Mutanabbi, Ibn Hani,¹⁶¹³ and later (poets). Thus, the predominant purpose of producing poetry came to be mere begging and asking for favors, because the particular use that, as we have mentioned, the early (Arabs) had made of poetry no longer existed. This is why people of ambition and rank among later (Muslims) disdained poetry. The situation, thus, changed. Concern with poetry came to be (considered) a blemish or fault in leaders and people holding great positions.¹⁶¹⁴

God causes the change of night and day.¹⁶¹⁵

VI.59. Contemporary Arab poetry, Bedouin and urban.

[p.3:412]

It should be known that poetry is not restricted exclusively to the Arabic language. It exists in every language, Arabic and non-Arabic.¹⁶¹⁶ There were poets among the Persians and among the Greeks. (The Greek poet)

¹⁶¹³Cf. pp. 382 f, and 393, above.

¹⁶¹⁴R. Brunschvig, *La Berbrie orientale*, II, 404, shows that this statement is not correct. In fact, versemaking was always popular in Islam with everyone who laid claim to some degree of education.

¹⁶¹⁵Cf. Qur'an 24.44 (44).

¹⁶¹⁶Cf. pp. 373 and 382, above.

Homer was mentioned and praised by Aristotle in the *Logic*.¹⁶¹⁷ The Himyarites, too, had their poets in ancient times.

Later on, corruption affected the language of the Mudar, whose forms, and whose rules governing the vowel endings, had been systematized (as the pure Arabic language). The various later dialects differed according to the (more or less close) contact with (non-Arabs) and the (larger or smaller) admixture of non-Arab (elements).¹⁶¹⁸ As a result, the Bedouin Arabs themselves came to speak a language completely different from that of their Mudar ancestors with regard to vowel endings, and different in many respects with regard to the (conventional) meanings and forms of words. Among the urban population, too, another language originated, which was different from that of the Mudar with regard to vowel endings, as well as most meanings and grammatical inflections. It differs also from the language of present-day Arab Bedouins. Again, it differs within itself according to the (different) terminologies of the inhabitants of the various regions.¹⁶¹⁹ Thus, the urban population of the East speaks a dialect different from that of the Maghribis. And the language of the urban population in Spain differs from both of them.

Now, poetry exists by nature among the speakers of every language, since meters of a certain harmonious arrangement, with the alternation of (fixed) numbers of consonants, with and without vowels, exist in the nature of all human beings. Therefore, poetry is never abolished as the result of the disappearance of one particular language in this case, that of the Mudar, who, as everybody knows, were outstanding champions of poetry. In fact, every racial and dialect group among the Arab Bedouins who have under-

¹⁶¹⁷Ibn Khaldun might possibly have been thinking of the perfunctory reference to Homer in the *Hermeneutics* 21a, or perhaps of the passages in the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* where Homer is mentioned. To judge from the form of Homer's name in the MSS, especially as vocalized in C and D, Ibn Khaldun would seem to have pronounced it *Umatirash*.

¹⁶¹⁸Cf., for instance, p. 346, above.

¹⁶¹⁹Cf. p. 351, above.

gone some non-Arab influence, or the urban population, attempts to cultivate poetry and to fit it into the pattern of their speech, as much as it suits them.

Contemporary Arab Bedouins who gave up the language of their Muḍar ancestors under non-Arab influence, produce poetry in all the meters used by their Arab ancestors. They make long poems in (those meters). (Their poems) represent all the ways and purposes of poetry,¹⁶²⁰ the erotic (*nasib*), the laudatory, the elegiac, and the satirical (parts of the ancient *qasidahs*).¹⁶²¹ They switch from one subject to another in their speech (as was done in the ancient *gasidahs*). They often brusquely state what they want to say at the beginning of the poem. Most of their poems begin with the name of the poet. Then, they pass on to the erotic part (*nasib*). The Western Arabs call those poems *Asma`iyat*, after al-Asma`i,¹⁶²² the great transmitter of Arab poetry. The Eastern Arabs call it *Baddawi*¹⁶²³ (Bedouin) and *Hawrani* and *Qubaysi*[?]¹⁶²⁴ poetry. In connection with it, they often use plain melodies which are not artistic musical compositions. They sing the (poems). They call such songs *Hawranisongs*, after the Hawran, a section of the Iraq and Syria where Bedouin Arabs used to live and are still living at this time.¹⁶²⁵

The (Arabs) have another kind (of poetry) which is widely in use among them. It employs four lines,¹⁶²⁶ of which the fourth has a rhyme dif-

¹⁶²⁰MS. C breaks off here, though it has been continued by another hand through the first verses of the poem, p. 416, below.

¹⁶²¹Cf. p. 375, above.

¹⁶²²Cf. p. 1:32, above.

¹⁶²³The doubling of the d is indicated in B.

¹⁶²⁴The reference to *Hawrani* and *Qubaysi* (?) is added in D. Paris reads *Qaysi*, instead of *Qubaysi*, but the latter reading should, it seems, not be changed unless there is more evidence for reading *Qaysi*.

¹⁶²⁵Cf. p. 437, below.

¹⁶²⁶*Ghusn* "branch," actually is the technical term for the first three lines of a *muwashshallah*, whereas the fourth is called *siml*. The rhyme scheme of the stanza, as a rule, is (a-a), *b-b-b-a*, *c-c-c-a*. On the *muwashshahah* see p. 440, below.

ferent from that of the first three. The fourth rhyme, then, is continued in each stanza through the whole poem, similar to the quatrains and the stanzas of five lines which were originated by recent poets of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage (*muwallaa*).¹⁶²⁷ These Arabs show an admirable eloquence in the use of this type of poetry. There are outstanding and less outstanding poets among them:

Most contemporary scholars, philologists in particular, disapprove of these types (of poems) when they hear them, and refuse to consider them poetry when they are recited. They believe that their (literary) taste recoils from them, because they are (linguistically) incorrect and lack vowel endings. This, however, is merely the result of the loss of the habit (of using vowel endings) in the dialect of the (Arabs). If these (philologists) possessed the same (speech) habit, taste and natural (feeling) would prove to them that these poems are eloquent, provided that their (own) natural dispositions and point of view were not distorted. Vowel endings have nothing to do with eloquence. Eloquence is the conformity of speech to what one wants to express and to the requirements of a given situation,¹⁶²⁸ regardless of whether the *u*-ending indicates the subject and the *a*-ending the object, or vice versa. These things are indicated by syntactic combinations (*qara'in*) as used in the particular dialect used by the (Arabs).¹⁶²⁹ The meanings are based upon the technical conventions of people who have a particular (linguistic) habit. When the technical terminology (as it is used) in a particular (linguistic) habit is generally known, the meaning comes out correctly. And if the indicated meaning is in conformity with what one wants to express and with the

¹⁶²⁷But cf. n. 1492 to this chapter, above. Cf. M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht* (Semitische Studien, Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Nos. 13-14) (Weimar, 1897), p. 216.

¹⁶²⁸Cf., for instance, p. 399, above.

¹⁶²⁹Cf. pp. 320 f. and 347, above. For *qara'in*, cf. P. 344, above.

requirements of the situation, we have sound eloquence.¹⁶³⁰ The rules of the grammarians have nothing to do with that.

The poems of (the Arabs) show all the methods and forms of (true) poetry. They lack only the vowel endings. Most words have no vowel after the last consonant, and the subject and object of verbal sentences as well as the subject and predicate of nominal sentences are distinguished from each other by syntactic means (*qara'in*), and not by vowel endings.

One¹⁶³¹ such poem is put in the mouth of the sharif Ibn Hashim.¹⁶³² In it, he weeps for al-Jaziyah bint Sarhan and mentions her departure with her people to the Maghrib. (It runs:)

¹⁶³⁰Cf. Bombaci, pp. 471 f., who translates *dalalah* (rendered above as "meaning"), "means of expression."

¹⁶³¹ The following poems belong to the large epic cycle that became attached to the invasion of northwestern Africa by the Banu Hilal in the eleventh century. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, II, 64, and *Ibar*, VI, 18; de Slane (tr.), I, 41 f. A modern representative of the epic was published by A. Bel, "La Djazyra," *Journal asiatique*, XIX9 (1902), 289-347; XX9 (1902), 169-236; 110 (1903), 311-66. Cf. also G. Marcais, *Les Arabes en Berberie du XIe au XIVe siecle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), p. 85. The poems are often difficult to understand. In contrast to the *muwashshahs* and *zajals* quoted below, which have often been studied by modern scholars, the epic poems have received little attention. They are a primary and invaluable source for the history of northwest African Arabic. A condition for their study - which this translator regrets not fulfilling - is an intimate knowledge of present-day northwest African dialects, such as can be acquired only through many years of daily contact with the people who speak them. Perhaps such knowledge might be less helpful than anticipated, but this can only be decided after experiment.

The printed editions are of no value so far as the text of the poems is concerned. The corrections offered by the MSS are too numerous to be listed here, and have only occasionally been noted. With the help of the correct text, as indicated in the MSS, the task of translation is not as hopeless as de Slane once thought. However, the present effort - which often follows de Slane's pioneer one - is full of uncertainties, affecting many more passages than those where question marks have been inserted. The text of the poems ought to be published in transcription by a specialist in the field. The transcription given here in the footnotes uses the forms of classical Arabic as far as possible, and does not try to prejudice the case for correct transcription of the dialectical forms.

¹⁶³² He reflects the historical personality of Shukr b. Hashim, ruler of Mecca in the eleventh century. Cf. C. S. Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1888-89), 1, 60 f.

Then spoke the war hero,¹⁶³³ the sharif Ibn Hashim, concerning
 The affliction of his soul, complaining of its misfortune.
 He hastened to tell (us) how his mind has gone
 After a young Bedouin who torments (his soul), already afflicted.
 (He told) of how (his) spirit complains about its affliction,
 (How) when the morning to say farewell had come - God may destroy
 him who knows about it!
 (His spirit) felt as if a man with a scalpel had sliced down through it
 With a blade of pure Indian steel.
 It has become a bleating (sheep) in the hand of (the man who) washes it,
 Whose harshness in handling its strap is (as painful) as the thorns of
 an acacia.
 Double (fettters) hold together its feet and its head,
 And while (the washer) scrubs it, he holds it by the end of a rope [?].
 My tears have begun to flow, as if
 Controlled by the operator who turns the water wheels.
 At the least let-up, (the tears) are made to flow all the more copiously,
 (Like) the rain that pours down in sheets from the rain clouds,
 (That) flows from the plains at as-Safi
 Heavily, blocking the lightning,¹⁶³⁴ it is so abundant.
 This song of mine is preparation for a raid,
 Which has aroused even the poor people of Baghdad.¹⁶³⁵
 The crier called out the departure, and people secured (their baggage),
 And the money lenders of (the tribe) pressed the borrowers.
 Hinder her [them?] from leaving now, O Dhiyib b. Ghinim!

¹⁶³³*Abu l-hayja*, as is found in the Istanbul MS. Hamidiye 982, completes the opening verse, otherwise incomplete.

¹⁶³⁴B has something like *'anufan* (D: *'ayufan*) *wa-tahjaz al-barq*. The Bulaq text, which de Slane followed, is easier to translate but does not make much sense in the context.

¹⁶³⁵The translation is very uncertain. The preceding line could mean: "This song of mine is like the love poetry of 'Urwah." Baghdad is correctly equated with Mecca by de Slane.

Midi b. Muqarrab¹⁶³⁶ controls her [their?] journey.
 Hasan [?]¹⁶³⁷ b. Sarhan says to them: Go west!
 Drive (before you) the herds! I am their watchman.
 He urges them and drives them on, with the bleating
 [sheep?].
 Zayyan b. 'Abis, the kind, left me.
 He was not satisfied with the splendor and provision of (the) Himyar.
 He left me, who pretended to be my friend and companion,
 And I have no shield (left) to turn around.
 He says to them again: The land of Ibn Hashim
 I can protect, but not if it is parched by¹⁶³⁸ thirst.
 The entrance and territory of Baghdad are forbidden to me.
 We cannot go in or out there, and my mount is scared away from it.
 My spirit turns away from the country of Ibn Hashim
 Because of the (parching) sun. (Otherwise), death will come upon me
 in its noontime heat.
 The fires of the maids continued all night to send off sparks,
 Looking for shelter [?], while they bind¹⁶³⁹ the captive of their (charms)
 with [in?]... .

Another such poem is the mocking elegy in which the (Hilal) mourned
 the Zanatah amir, Abu Su'di al-Yafrani,¹⁶⁴⁰ their adversary in Ifriqiyah and
 the land of Zab. (It runs:)

Then spoke Su'da, she with the pure cheeks, while
 The lament among the litter-bearing camels, kneeling (ready to depart),
 renewed her grief:

¹⁶³⁶The doubling of the *r* is indicated in A and D.

¹⁶³⁷B and D vocalize Hasn, perhaps Husn, which, however, would seem to be a female name.

¹⁶³⁸Or perhaps, "causes thirst."

¹⁶³⁹*Tashudat* (as indicated in B and D); *b[?]j-rj-'-n* (perhaps: "with prattling" = *jarjarah?*).

¹⁶⁴⁰D vocalizes Yifirini. For the father of Su'di, Khalifah az-Zanati, cf., for instance, G. Marcais, *Les Arabes en Berberie du XIe au XIVe siecle*, pp. 10, 131 f., 263.

O you who ask about the grave of Khalifah az-Zanati,
 Take the description from me! Do not be stupid!
 I see him go up the river Ran [?],¹⁶⁴¹ above which
 There is a Christian¹⁶⁴² monastery [?] of a lofty construction.
 I see him where the low ground turns away from the road up the sand
 hill,
 The river to the east of him, and the patch of reeds indicating (where
 he is).
 Oh, how my soul suffers because of Khalifah az-Zanati,
 Who was the offspring of generous ancestors.
 He was killed by the fighting hero, Dhiyib b. Ghinim,
 By wounds that made (his blood) to flow (as water flows out of) the
 openings of a water bag.
 O Jaziyah!¹⁶⁴³ Khalifah az-Zanati is dead!
 Do not leave, unless you want to leave!
 Go, calumniator! We sent you away thirty times.
 And ten and six during the day (which is) little [?].

Another such poem is put in the mouth of the sharif Ibn Hashim, with
 reference to an altercation between him and Midi b. Muqarrab. (It runs:)¹⁶⁴⁴

The excellent Midi started to say:

O Shukr, we are not satisfied with you.

¹⁶⁴¹De Slane: Zan?

¹⁶⁴²The Sufi order of the 'isawiyah, which de Slane had in mind in this connection, did not yet exist in Ibn Khaldun's time. But the word "monastery" also seems uncertain. B and D have *ar-rayt* (?), instead of *ar-r-b-l*.

¹⁶⁴³This is the reading of the MSS. De Slane corrected the text to "O my woman neighbor." In fact, since it is not clear why Jaziyah should have been addressed here by Su'di, the text may have originally referred to the (male rather than female) neighbor whom Su'da addresses. The last two lines are not clear.

¹⁶⁴⁴This and the following poem appear in the order found in Bulaq, A, and B. D has the next poem first, but then has a long lacuna that extends to p. 426, l. 5. Bulaq has a rather different arrangement of the verses.

O Shukr, return to the Najd, and do not add any more censure!
 (Only) he who cultivates his own land (really) lives.
 You have kept away from us, O Shukr. You have approached others.
 You have attracted (to yourself) Arabs who wear fine garments.
 We have come to face what is destined for us
 Just as . . .

If she-camels in the seventh month¹⁶⁴⁵ can become pregnant again in
 your land,
 We Arabs here could not have more fertile ones.

Another such poem deals with the journey of (the Hilal) to the Maghrib
 and how they took it away from the Zanatah. (It runs:)

What a good friend have I lost in Ibn Hashim!
 (But) what men before me have lost good friends!
 He and I had a proud (quarrel) between ourselves,
 And he defeated me with an argument whose force did not escape me.
 I remained (dumbfounded), as if (the argument) had been pure and
 Strong wine, which renders powerless those who gulp it down.
 Or (I could be compared) with a gray-haired woman who dies
 consumed by grief
 In a strange country, driven out from her tribe,
 Who had come upon hard times and finally was rejected
 And had to live among Arabs who disregarded their guest.
 Like (her), I am as the result of humiliating experience
 Complaining about my soul, which has been killed by boredom.¹⁶⁴⁶

¹⁶⁴⁵*Ash-shawl*, which means either "she-camels in the seventh month of their pregnancy" or "she-camels seven months after they have given birth." Such she-camels usually give very little milk. Possibly the verse should be translated: "If she-camels in the seventh month give ample milk in your land." At any rate, the meaning is: We in the East cannot compete with the fertility of the West. For *shawl*, cf. also p. 421, below.

¹⁶⁴⁶Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 177 f.

I ordered my people to depart, and in the morning
 They firmly fastened the packsaddles to the backs of their mounts.¹⁶⁴⁷
 For seven days, our tents remained folded,
 And the Bedouin did not erect tent poles to set them up,¹⁶⁴⁸
 Spending all the time upon the humps of hills parallel to each other

The following verses are from a poem of Sultan b. Muzaffar b. Yahya of the Dawawidah, a subtribe of the Riyah,¹⁶⁴⁹ and one of their chieftains. He composed them when he was confined in al-Mahdiyah in the prison of the amir, Abu Zakariya' b. Abi Hafs, the first Almohad ruler of Ifriqiyah:

(The poet) speaks, when, with the coming of the morning, his weakness has left him:

May sleep be forbidden to the lids of my eyes!
 Who will help a heart that has become the ally of pain and sorrow,
 And a spirit that is tormented by love, whose illness has long been with me?

(I love) a woman from the Hijaz, an Arab Bedouin woman,
 A young kid [?],¹⁶⁵⁰ a passionate one, who is hard to catch,
 Who loves the desert and is not used to villages,
 But only (to) sandy plains where the tents receive
 The spring rains. There, she spends her winters,
 For she is tempted by the desert and in love with it.¹⁶⁵¹
 She spends the spring among lands green from the rain

(The lands) charm the eye, after they have received

¹⁶⁴⁷Sic Dozy.

¹⁶⁴⁸Sic Dozy.

¹⁶⁴⁹D has a lacuna from here to p. 426,1.5.

¹⁶⁵⁰*Gh-d-'-wiyah*, if it does not refer to a proper name of a locality, `Adawiyah? for instance, may be identical with *ghadawi*, *ghadhawi*?

¹⁶⁵¹Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 180.

Rain from the passing clouds.

How do (these clouds) shed tears of water, and how do

Gushing springs with their abundance of fresh water compete with each other in murmuring?¹⁶⁵²

(The lands are) a virgin bride with garment resplendent

Upon her and with a belt of camomile blossoms.

(They are) a desert, a plain, a vast expanse, a far place to travel,

A pasture where ostriches wander among animals led to pasture.

The drink of (the desert)¹⁶⁵³ is the pure milk of she camels in their seventh month,¹⁶⁵⁴

Which are milked in the evening.¹⁶⁵⁵ Its food is the meat of sheep [?].¹⁶⁵⁶

It has no need of gates, nor of battles whose

Ferocity turns the hair of the young men gray.

May God water the winding valleys of al-Musayjid¹⁶⁵⁷ with rain

Continuously, so that the decayed bones there come to life again.

Their recompensation (for the happiness they brought me shall be) my love. Would that I

Could relive the days that went by in their sandy hills!

The nights when the bows¹⁶⁵⁷ of youth were in my arms,

Whose arrows never missed, when I stood up (to shoot)!

And my horse, always ready under my saddle, a mare¹⁶⁵⁸

In the time of (my) youth in (my) prime, while my hand was holding its reins!

And how many fleshy beauties kept me awake! I did not think

¹⁶⁵²Dozy, *loc. cit.*, suggests "crowd upon each other."

¹⁶⁵³Sic Dozy.

¹⁶⁵⁴Cf. n. 1645 to this chapter, above.

¹⁶⁵⁵*Atim*, a plural or secondary form of *'atum*.

¹⁶⁵⁶*Jawazi*, pl. of *jawza'*?

¹⁶⁵⁷*Alwadha l-musayjid*. Whether *al-Musayjid* is a place name or means something else is not certain.

¹⁶⁵⁸For *mushaqah*, cf. p. 435 (n. 1742), below.

That there could be anything more splendid in the world than the rows
of their teeth when they smiled.

And how many other maids with full bosoms and swaying hips,
With blackened eyelids and brilliant tattooing!

My passion for them makes (me) beat myself heavily [?]

With my hand. My heart will not forget their claims (on me),¹⁶⁵⁹

Nor the fire kindled by passion that burns in my entrails,

Burns in a flame that cannot be extinguished by the water (of my tears).

O you who gave me your promise (to set me free),¹⁶⁶⁰ until when

Shall (my) life be spent in a house whose darkness makes me blind?

But I have seen the sun in eclipse for a while

And overcast, and then, the clouds (that covered it) disappeared.

Banner and flags, let them come to us and bring us luck

With the help of God! May their insignia flutter in the wind.

There come into (my) sight the warriors ready to go.

My lance on my shoulder, I march in front of them,

On the sandy plain of Ghiyath al-Farq above Shamis,¹⁶⁶¹

God's country whose hillocks I like best of all,

To a camping place at al-Ja'fariyah, near the sands,

Staying there, as long as it pleases me.

(There) we shall meet the generous leader of Hilal b. 'Amir

Whose greeting will remove all my burning thirst from me.

They are proverbial (for their courage) in the West and the East.

People attacked by them are quickly routed.

Greetings to them and to everyone under their tents!

Fate may let (it) last, as long as the pigeons coo in Ghina!

But leave that alone! Do not be grieved by something that has gone!

¹⁶⁵⁹A rather doubtful suggestion by Dozy, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 f.

¹⁶⁶⁰Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 182, who explains that the ruler who holds the poet captive is addressed.

¹⁶⁶¹This and the following place names cannot be verified.

In this world, nothing is permanent for anyone.

A poem by a recent (Maghribi Arab) poet is that of Khalid b. Hamzah b. 'Umar, the *shaykh* of the Ku'ub,¹⁶⁶² of the Awlad Abul-Layl. In it, the poet censures their enemies, the Awlad Muhalhil, and replies to verses by their poet Shibl b. Miskiyanah b. Muhalhil, in which he boasted of the superiority of his tribe to the (Ku'ub). (It runs:)

Thus speaks¹⁶⁶³ -and this is said by an unfortunate person who has smelled

The blows of abuse of critical pundits,¹⁶⁶⁴ having had to deal with the hardest of them,

Which smell to him like the stench of drainage areas [?]¹⁶⁶⁵

Who, however, (on his part) has selected the sweetest kinds of rhymes for recitation,

Well-embroidered,¹⁶⁶⁶ choice ones, of our own composition [?],¹⁶⁶⁷

With which you will find me amusing myself, when my detractors are asleep.¹⁶⁶⁸

Sieved ones (separated) from him who might criticize them¹⁶⁶⁹ as to their stanzas,

Whose ways, as well as mine, have been well established¹⁶⁷⁰ by the critical pundits.

My mentioning them (here), O noble people, serves the purpose of breaking¹⁶⁷¹

¹⁶⁶²Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientate*, I, 171.

¹⁶⁶³The name of the poet should appear here somewhere, but the poem goes on, and no name is given in the introductory verses, which extend down to l. 18.

¹⁶⁶⁴*Qifan*, pl. of *qa'if*"who goes after and draws conclusions from tracks and traces."

¹⁶⁶⁵*Yarihu bi-ha ja'wa* (= *jawa?*) *al-masabbi?*

¹⁶⁶⁶*Muhabbaratan*.

¹⁶⁶⁷The text (*min nishadina*) may not be correct.

¹⁶⁶⁸*Tajidni liya nama l-wushu multahan bi-ha* (classical: *tajiduni idha nama l-wushah multahiyan bi-ha*).

¹⁶⁶⁹*Naqida* = *naqidiha*.

¹⁶⁷⁰*Muhakkamata* = *muhkamata*.

¹⁶⁷¹The MSS have *hayyada*, but meter and meaning require *yuhayyidu*.

Blows from a young lion (Shibl), with a lamb-like answer:
 O Shibl,¹⁶⁷² there came to us¹⁶⁷³ from among nice pregnant (she-
 camels)

Several full-grown ones, whose possession is reassuring to those in
 pain,

But you appropriated them and took all you could, though you were
 not in need.

However, you said, of the people who own them, things that make those
 (camels) blameworthy.

Your statement concerning the mother of . . . ,¹⁶⁷⁴ the son of Hamzah,
 The protector of their¹⁶⁷⁵ grounds, ... the rebuilder of their ruins, (is
 wrong).

Do you not know that he raised them up after he had met

The lead [?] of the Banu Yahya and . . .¹⁶⁷⁶ which he melted [?]?

A firebrand of a leader, O Shibl, a burning one.

Have you ever seen one who (dared to) approach (the fire of) Hell¹⁶⁷⁷
 and warm himself at it?

(There are) Hell fires [?] which he extinguished, yet they started
 burning again after being extinguished,

And he extinguished them a second time, being a bold person, not
 fearing them.

And they started burning again after being twice extinguished. . . . [?]

.....

As he is in demand on account of his (heroism),

¹⁶⁷² The translation of the remainder is mere guesswork and may be completely wrong.

¹⁶⁷³ B vocalizes *jatna*, which does not fit the meter. My translation, uncertain as it is, is based on the following reading: *a-Shiblu ja'atna min habal(a) zara'ifa-qirahun* . . . That is, Shibl had boasted that his tribe had robbed the Ku'itb of some animals and, in addition, had heaped scorn upon them.

¹⁶⁷⁴ The word is not quite clear in the MSS. It could be something like *al-Mi'tamin*, which does not make sense or fit the meter. Whatever it may be, the word seems to be descriptive of the poet Khalid b. Hamzah, who boasts of himself and his tribe.

¹⁶⁷⁵ The suffix may refer to "mother," but apparently the whole tribe is meant.

¹⁶⁷⁶ The word *'allaq*, used here, appears to occur again below, p. 426, 1.4.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *Falaq*. Cf. *Lisan al-'Arab*, XII, 186, I. 10.

Thus, the men of the Banu Ka'b, on account of whom he is feared, are to be avoided.

It has, thus, become clear to him who has sense that they stretch out to the limit

And that they belong¹⁶⁷⁸ among the greatest things he has to fear.

Verses on censure from the same poem:

Whenever you brag about what you possess, I possess more because¹⁶⁷⁹

My possession consists of the firm tie and connection of glory.

I¹⁶⁸⁰ have a dignity [?]¹⁶⁸¹ with the help of which I can repel every group [?]¹⁶⁸²

With swords from whose necks (backs) hostile people back away.

If property is the requirement for brides,

We are able to woo them with (booty gained at) the points of (our) spears.

Their dowry¹⁶⁸³ consists of nothing less than slender, lean,

Bluish-grey (horses), as quick in their movements as the tongues of vipers.

O my cousins, humiliation is not for young men to appreciate (Whose very) captives ride mounted when they travel.

They know that fate will stalk them

Without doubt, since the world quickly changes.

Verses on women departing in their litters, from the same poem:

In departing women,¹⁶⁸⁴ crossing deserts, not fearing hostile people,

¹⁶⁷⁸ *Leg. min* instead of *'an*?

¹⁶⁷⁹ *Wa-lidha taghanaytu'na aghna li-annani.*

¹⁶⁸⁰ D sets in again.

¹⁶⁸¹ *Wana = anah?*

¹⁶⁸² *Mabda'*, as vocalized in the MSS, to be connected with *bid'ah*? The only meaning indicated in the dictionaries for *mibda'*, "knife," does not seem to fit here.

¹⁶⁸³ *Naqduha.*

¹⁶⁸⁴ *Bi-za'nin* (thus vocalized in B and D), pl. of *za'inah*.

Cutting through tracts of land in a much feared environment,
The eye sees-tell Shibl!-(dear) acquaintances.

Every wild cow¹⁶⁸⁵ has for friends those who are able to get her [?]¹⁶⁸⁶

You see¹⁶⁸⁷ their people in the early morning [?]¹⁶⁸⁸ carry them

With every¹⁶⁸⁹

There are some people killed every day because of them among the
signs erected in the desert [?],¹⁶⁹⁰

And the promiscuous [?] libertine has no chance to kiss them.¹⁶⁹¹

Here is a wise maxim from (Maghribi Arab) poetry:

It is stupid of you to seek the impossible.

It is correct to keep away from those who keep away from you.

Let people close their doors to you!

Mount the backs of (your) camels, and God will open a gate (for you).

In the following verse Shibl refers to the fact that the Ku'ub trace their pedigree back to Tarjam:

Both the old and the young descendants of Tarjam

Make everybody complain of their violence.

The following poem is a poem by Khalid,¹⁶⁹² in which he blames his tribesmen (*ikhwan*) for allying themselves with the Almohad *shaykh* Abu

¹⁶⁸⁵ Used as a metaphor for beautiful women.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Possibly, *muhtaziha*. *Haziya*, however, is not ordinarily construed with the accusative. The MSS have *mhtznh* = *muhtadinha* "take her unto themselves (?)."

¹⁶⁸⁷ Or: "The eye sees ..."

¹⁶⁸⁸ *Ghatta s-sabahi* = *ghada* . . . (?)

¹⁶⁸⁹ The following words seem to refer to camels.

¹⁶⁹⁰ *Fi l-arama*, probably to be connected with '*rm*, *aram*, but there are other possibilities (p1. of *ri'm*?), all equally dubious.

¹⁶⁹¹ *Wa-ra l fajiru l-manzaju 'annu* (= '*anhu*) *rudab(a)ha*.

¹⁶⁹² The name is indicated only in D. Cf. p. 423, above, Khalid's break with Ibn Tifragin (cf. l:xli, above) came in A.D. 1354. Cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I, 175. The word *ikhwdn* can hardly mean "brothers," though there were differences of opinion between Khalid and his brothers.

Muhammad b. Tafragin who had seized control of Tunis from his charge, the Sultan of Tunis, Abu Ishaq, the son of Sultan Abu Yahya. This happened near our own times. (The poem runs as follows:)

Well-informed, the generous hero, Khalid, gives a speech
 Worthy of an orator. What he says is always correct,
 The speech of a sage, an intelligent speech, without
 Confusion. One cannot escape (the logic of) what he says.¹⁶⁹³
 I have conceived an intelligent idea, not for any compelling reason .
 And not in order to cause trouble that would result in reproaches.
 I have kept (the speech) as a treasure [?]¹⁶⁹⁴ What a good thing to have
 it was,
 A treasure of thought! Every treasure is discovered [sooner or later?].
 (Now,) I openly come out with it and speak about things
 Done by men related (to us) in the tribe,
 The Bane Ka'b, our closest blood relatives,
 Our cousins, both the old and young men.
 When the country was conquered, some of (its inhabitants) were treated
 by us
 As true friends and as hospitably received neighbors.
 Others were defended by us against their adversaries.
 You know that what I say is supported by the truth.¹⁶⁹⁵
 To others we gave part of our own property
 As a reward. That is written down in the official decree.¹⁶⁹⁶
 Others came to us in need. Our high-mindedness
 Made us generous to them and we gave them ample (gifts).
 Others attacked us with malice.

¹⁶⁹³ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 183.

¹⁶⁹⁴ *Kanzi?* A marginal note in B, which is partly cut away in my Photostat, seems to have *mustakhrij al-kanz*.

¹⁶⁹⁵ *Leg. yu'in-hu sawab?*

¹⁶⁹⁶ Cf. Dozy's discussion of the verse, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 f.

We reproved them,¹⁶⁹⁷ until the things with which they were concerned disappeared.

.....

.....

Others complained about the servants of an important person¹⁶⁹⁸ Who closed the door to them when decisions were being made in the halls.

Against the former, we protected the latter.¹⁶⁹⁹ He required them to let them in

Against the will of the master of al-Yalifi and Rabab.¹⁷⁰⁰

All the while, we sought to exalt

Them. We never let down a veil to betray (them).

We took the land of Tarshish (Tunis) under our protection as our possession after

We had risked (our) swift (horses) and (our own) necks for it

. . . of possessions those which were outside

Of the control of their rulers who had . . .

With the help of the resistance of the chiefs of our tribe,

The Bane-Ka`b . . .

They helped us against any hostile coalition.

They freed us from the fetters of any (unpleasant) occurrence,

Until those among them who did not have so much as a lamb came to be

Affluent and abundantly blessed with goods,

And used the captive (women) who were sold dear¹⁷⁰¹ by the people who owned them

And dressed in different kinds of silk. They drove (riding) animals . . .

Numerous ones . . .

¹⁶⁹⁷ *Naqamnahu?*

¹⁶⁹⁸ That is, Ibn Tafragin.

¹⁶⁹⁹ *Fa-sunnahu?*

¹⁷⁰⁰ As a marginal note in B explains, these men were Ibn Tafragin's officials. A reads Yiliqi, D Baliqi.

¹⁷⁰¹ *Al-muthmanat.*

They acquired large stocks of different kinds of animals,¹⁷⁰²
 Such as can only be met with at special times.
 They came to be similar to the Barmecides of old,
 Or to the Hilal in the time of Dhiyib.¹⁷⁰³
 They came to be our shields in every important danger,
 Until the enemy's fire (of war) turned into a blaze.
 (Then,) they left home under the cover of darkness, but they did not fear
 Blame, because the home of noble persons is never subject to censure.
 They clothed the tribe in fur pelisses to cover it,
 While they themselves-would that they knew it wore mean coats.
 There is also among them a spy [?]¹⁷⁰⁴ who has not got the (right)
 information.
 My opinion about his forgetfulness¹⁷⁰⁵ is that his mind is deranged.
 He holds suspicions about us that do not apply to us.
 Let us wish that he may have several avenues to earn forgiveness!
 He is wrong, and so are all those involved with him in his error,
 As is established. Those who hold evil suspicions are blameworthy.
 Oh,¹⁷⁰⁶ how to find consolation (over the death of) the hero Bu
 Muhammad (b. Tafragin),
 Who used to give away thousands without counting it!
 (His) servants are afflicted by his (loss). They thought of
 His appearance, so long as he lived, like the appearance of (rain) clouds.
 (Now, however,) they run in search of watering places under the (rain)
 clouds,

¹⁷⁰² Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁷⁰³ Dozy, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁰⁴ *Ja'isun?*

¹⁷⁰⁵ *Leg. wa-dhahlu hukmi lu anna . . . (?)*

¹⁷⁰⁶ The following verses assume that Ibn Tafragin is dead, and highly praise him. Thus, they must belong to some other poem, since the preceding verses, as we were told at the beginning of the quotation, are directed against him. He died in October, 1364; cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale*, I,180.

(But) find that all they had hoped to find is a mirage.
 When he gave gifts, he knew what was appropriate.
 Even when he gave little, it was right.
 We have no hope ever to be consoled,
 Since the arrows of death struck him down.
 The broad land of Tarshish (Tunis) has become too strait
 For him, and the setting sun is gone with the scattered clouds.
 He [?] will soon depart from it

.....
 And from maids with charming eyes, slender, coquettish ones,
 Who were reared behind curtains and behind veils.
 He is haughty when they are, and he is gay when they are,
 Under the influence of the beautiful (music of) the *ganun* and the sound
 of the rebec.¹⁷⁰⁷
 They lead him astray, because he has no (longer) any certainty (of
 himself). And often
 He talks (with them), even as though he were a young man.
 He spent (happy) days with them. (His) orders were obeyed.
 There was delicious food and good drinks.
 Now, past friendship no longer is available to Ibn Tifrigin.
 Instead of it, he received only death.
 If he has outstanding intelligence, (even) a raven [?] dare enter the deep
 sea.
 Unforeseen events require men of action,
 Great ones, until the people are welded together,
 And (until) the snatched lances and quivers are red (with blood),
 And (until) the slave (young man) who wants to gain our royal authority
 comes to
 Repent and does not come to be sound... .

¹⁷⁰⁷ Cf. 2:396, above.

O you who eat¹⁷⁰⁸ bread and like to season it,
 You mixed and seasoned the good stuff with poison.¹⁷⁰⁹

'Ali b. 'Umar b. Ibrahim, a contemporary chieftain of the Banu 'Amir, one of the subtribes of the Zughbah, censures his cousins who aspire to the leadership of his clan in the following poem:¹⁷¹⁰

. . . Sweet¹⁷¹¹ verses of poetic speech,
 Well embroidered, like pearls in the hand of a craftsman
 When all are in order on the silken thread (on which they are strung),
 I bring them (here)¹⁷¹² to show the reasons for what happened,
 While there appeared the departure¹⁷¹³ of the camels with their litters,
 (causing) a separation [?],
 That resulted in (the splitting of) the mother tribe into two tribes, and
 the staff
 Is split-May we never meet people who would condemn (us) for it!
 But on the day, when the(ir evil) intention¹⁷¹⁴ went away
 with them, my heart
 Felt a sting (like) that of the thorn of the tragacanth,
 Or like that of the fiery sparks the smith makes,¹⁷¹⁵
 Kindled by them among curved tongs.
 Or rather, (my) heart is in the hands of a (wood) splitter [?]¹⁷¹⁶

¹⁷⁰⁸ *Wakilun = akilun?*

¹⁷⁰⁹ I would not know how this verse fits the context. The only explanation that suggests itself, again, is that Ibn Khaldun or his informant combined selections from different portions of one poem or from different poems.

¹⁷¹⁰ B has a number of explanatory notes in the margin.

¹⁷¹¹ The opening half of the first verse is not given.

¹⁷¹² *Ana ja' biha minni.*

¹⁷¹³ Cf. p. 457 (n. 1758), below.

¹⁷¹⁴ Or possibly: "their trenches (of their tents)," from the root *n'y*; or "their removal," from the same root.

¹⁷¹⁵ *Abras ai-bh'my*, explained in B as *sharar al-haddad*.

¹⁷¹⁶ *Leg. qa'idin?* The MSS have *qabidin* "the one who grasps (it)." Or *qabid* may be some unknown technical term, relative to an occupation?

Who brought them the saw for (wood) cutting, a stupid one.¹⁷¹⁷
 Whenever I say: Let us be spared the pain of separation, I am visited
 and
 Encircled by someone [?] who announces the separation.
 O that place, which was yesterday (still) populated
 With a large tribe and group, while there were many slaves (there);
 Servants who bind up (the horses) tightly for the riders¹⁷¹⁸ in
 tournaments [?],
 Some of whom, in the darkness of the night, are awake and (others)
 asleep;
 And cattle whose gathering pleases those who see (the cattle),
 Whenever (the cattle) appear from plain or mountain path;¹⁷¹⁹
 And crows¹⁷²⁰ whose young ones frighten even (or, please only) their
 parents;¹⁷²¹
 And herds¹⁷²² upon herds of wild cows and ostriches.
 Today, (however), there is nothing there except owls around it,¹⁷²³
 Wailing over the traces of abandoned camps there and the round
 hillocks.¹⁷²⁴
 I stood a long time there questioning¹⁷²⁵ the (scene)
 With a weak eye, while (my) tears flowed copiously.
 All I got from it was a feeling of desolation in my heart
 And sickness, for reasons that I know, and (my heart) has become
 deranged [?].¹⁷²⁶

¹⁷¹⁷ *Ghushan*, explained in B as *jahil*.

¹⁷¹⁸ Perhaps *li-l-khutta*, pl. of *khatin*, in the sense indicated above. Or *li-l-khuta* "for (causing them to go in short) steps"?

¹⁷¹⁹ *Kuzam*, explained in B as *ath-thanaya*. Cf. also n. 1745, below.

¹⁷²⁰ *Ghudhf*, explained in B as *ghurab*.

¹⁷²¹ *Dayasim-ha yaru'u murabbiha*. They frighten them because they are so ugly.

¹⁷²² *Attalaw*, or *allaw*, explained in B as *jama'at*.

¹⁷²³ The verse seems to be defective.

¹⁷²⁴ *Hutam* (or rather *hutham* - cf. n. 1755, below) is explained in B as *al-kuda al-mustadirah*.

¹⁷²⁵ *Nasal-ha* = *as'al-ha*.

¹⁷²⁶ *Wa-hama*. Or is the word the plural of *wahm* "hallucinations" or, perhaps, "nightmares"?

Now then, you should bring greetings¹⁷²⁷ to Mansur Bu 'Ali
 And after greetings, there is well-being.¹⁷²⁸
 Say to him: O Abul-Wafa',¹⁷²⁹ who is the evil spirit [?] of your [pl.]
 opinions,
 You [pl.] entered dark, deep waters,
 Turbulent ones; which cannot be measured with the rod. They just
 Flow over land and hills.
 You were not (able to) measure off in them a measure to guide you.
 Swollen waters cannot be crossed by swimmers.
 There have helped-preparing for your undoing by entering them
 Certain vile men without intelligence.
 O raiders,¹⁷³⁰ they made a mistake, and they will not Last.
 There are no worlds¹⁷³¹ that persist. ... would¹⁷³² you could see how
 their opinions
 Are a stopgap,¹⁷³³ and like rags¹⁷³⁴ that cannot be repaired,
 Without usefulness or desirability.¹⁷³⁵ At the outpost on high
 There are places that are no places for them to occupy.
 By the Prophet and the House and its corners that
 Are visited¹⁷³⁶ at all times and in every year,

¹⁷²⁷ *Wa-min ba'di dhd taddi* (= *tu'addi*). Both B and D have the marginal note *t/ml*, but *taddi* apparently is the necessary plural *taddlu* (modern *teddlu*). Cf. W. Margais, *Le Dialecte arabe pane a Tlemcen* (Paris, 1902), p. 74.

¹⁷²⁸ I.e., a favorable atmosphere for taking advice.

¹⁷²⁹ If the translation of the preceding verse is correct, he would be identical with Bu 'Ali Mansur.

¹⁷³⁰ In a note apparently referring to *ya ghuzwata*, B explains the word as "O children of our father." However, the poet is said to address his cousins.

¹⁷³¹ *Leg. dunan* instead of *dny'*.

¹⁷³² The beginning of the verse is incomplete. The preserved words *a-la 'annahum* make no sense to me.

¹⁷³³ It is doubtful whether *sad* (*sic* B) can be understood in this sense, as "a bad repair job."

¹⁷³⁴ *Rafta(h)* is explained in B as *khiraq*.

¹⁷³⁵ The MSS have *khlw'l-ghb'wbgh'*. I wonder whether this can be read *khalwu l-ghina wa-(l)-bugha*.

¹⁷³⁶ The MSS have *alladhi-wa-mazaraha*. This stands for classical *allott mazaraha*, but the dialectical form seems uncertain.

If life lasts in me¹⁷³⁷ for the . . .¹⁷³⁸ of the nights,
 You shall taste a bitter-tasting¹⁷³⁹ wine.
 . . .¹⁷⁴⁰ we follow¹⁷⁴¹ the deserts perseveringly,
 With every spear a narrow path, and (with every) sword,
 And (with) every horse, (quick) like the winds, that runs fast,¹⁷⁴²
 Worthy to carry upon itself a young man of noble birth,
 And (with) every bay (steed) with short tail and mane,¹⁷⁴³ which
 gnashes its teeth,
 And in harness continuously champs (the) bit.
 The sterile earth will be pregnant with us for a while,
 And then give birth to us¹⁷⁴⁴ from every narrow mountain path,¹⁷⁴⁵
 With heroes, and strong-bodied camels, and lances
 Coming in huge numbers while the enemy assembles tumultuously.
 I hold them back [?], being the commander¹⁷⁴⁶ who leads them,
 With my sharp spear a sign for wars.
 We¹⁷⁴⁷ shall go after your pastures like greedy falcons,¹⁷⁴⁸
 So that you will pay back the debts you owe (us, your) creditors,
 When the owl of the plain, O Amir Bu 'Ali,

¹⁷³⁷ D vocalizes *biyyah* = *bi*?

¹⁷³⁸ The meaning of *budd* escapes me. It might possibly be "cutting through (the desert in) the night." The beginning of the following verse reads *w'n bdh'*, to be corrected to *wa-min buddiha* "and as the result of cutting through (the desert in) them"?

¹⁷³⁹ *Khamt* and *ash-sh(u)ka`* are explained in B as *al-murr* and *ash-sharab*, respectively.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Cf. n. 1738, above.

¹⁷⁴¹ The word is left without diacritical points in A and B. *D* has *tly*; possibly *natli* (classical *natlu*), as translated above, or *nabla* (classical *nabhi*) "we are wearing out"?

¹⁷⁴² *Mushaqa*, *shadayah*, and *'abir* are explained in B as *al faras*, *ar-riyah*, and *sabiq*, respectively. For *mushaqa*, cf. also n. 1658 to this chapter, above.

¹⁷⁴³ *Muktafid* (or *muktafad*) has the following marginal note in B: *mukhtaram* [no diacritical points given] *shabbahahu bi-dhalika li-qisar dhaylihi washa'rihi*.

¹⁷⁴⁴ That is, will spew us forth.

¹⁷⁴⁵ *Kuzam* is explained in B as *ath-thanaya*. Cf. n. 1719, above.

¹⁷⁴⁶ *Aqid al-qawm* is explained in B as *amiruhum*.

¹⁷⁴⁷ *Wa-nahna*. Cf. modern *hna*.

¹⁷⁴⁸ The text reads *adrash al-buza*, which does not fit the meter. B explains *adrash* as *shirar al-buzah*. The *al-buza* in the verse may be an explanatory gloss that entered the text.

Meets hungry hunters starving for meat.¹⁷⁴⁹
 Also, Bu Hammu¹⁷⁵⁰ bought a stumbling race horse,
 And he let precious horses in great numbers go.¹⁷⁵¹
 He let men go whose neighbor (guest) never sees any wrong (done to
 him)
 And who do not knuckle under, fearing¹⁷⁵² the enemy, humble ones.
 Why do you not set them up (help them), and they will
 (then be able to) follow their intended course.¹⁷⁵³
 They are the glory of the Zughbah, first and last.
 How often has a camel-driver stirred their¹⁷⁵⁴ (women) departing in
 the camel litters toward the desert,
 Between the level ground and the hillocks,¹⁷⁵⁵
 After him¹⁷⁵⁶ who crosses the elevations of the desert . . .¹⁷⁵⁷
 When the departure [?] of the camels with their litters . . .¹⁷⁵⁸
 And how much booty do they bring (back) when they follow him,
 The ally of glory, the best vintage of all [?!]¹⁷⁵⁹

¹⁷⁴⁹ *Quram is* explained in B as *shadid ash-shahwah ila l-lahm*. The meaning seems to be: When we, bloodthirsty, come to your habitat, which will be ruined by us and henceforward be inhabited only by owls.

¹⁷⁵⁰ B explains: "The ruler of Tlemcen and the middle Maghrib." The 'Abd-al-Wadid Abu Hammu (see above, 1:1 f.) supported the enemies of the poet, as would appear from this passage.

¹⁷⁵¹ A and D have: *wa-khalla l-jiyada l-ghaliyati kusam*. B has: *wa-khalla l-ghiyada l-ghaliyati tusamu* "and he let the precious young (women) go and be put up for sale"?

¹⁷⁵² *Yarji* = *yarjiu*, or perhaps *tarjt*, as fem. referring to the broken plural.

¹⁷⁵³ *Wa-yaqdiu shu/awrahum. Al-qadd* and *ash-shwr* are explained in B as *al-istiqamah* and *al jihah al-maqsudah*, respectively.

¹⁷⁵⁴ The MSS here have the dual, which fits the meter only with difficulty and can hardly be understood without resort to the improbable assumption that the poet is including his hostile cousins as part of his tribe.

¹⁷⁵⁵ *Hutham is* explained in B as *al-kuda*, as above, n. 1724.

¹⁷⁵⁶ As the following shows, this is the sing. *qatta'*, and not the pl. *qatta'*.

¹⁷⁵⁷ *As-suwa* is explained in B through *jam' suwah, wa-huwa al-qafir*. The *bk maya'il* that follows may mean "who possesses (or does) something."

¹⁷⁵⁸ *Liya* (= *idha*) *nada tarku z-za'inina rumam*. B explains *nada* as *rkb li-l-ghazw*. As above, p. 432 (n. 1713), *tarku is* indicated in A and D. Could it be *barku* "kneeling camels"?

¹⁷⁵⁹ *Sajjaj* and *ghuyam* are explained in B as *khariq ash-sharab* and *ashsharab*, respectively.

And when kings come to tyrannize him and to be unfair,
 He departs early in the morning, traveling¹⁷⁶⁰ while it is still dark.
 Farewell¹⁷⁶¹ to you from an eloquent (poet), who understands
 The song of the dove and the wailing of the pigeon.

The following poem is a poem of the Arab Bedouins of the Syrian desert in the region of the Hawran. It was (composed) by a wife whose husband had been killed and who sent to his Qaysite allies, instigating them to seek revenge for him:

The valiant tribeswoman, Umm Salamah, speaks
 About a dear person-God frighten those who do not mourn for him!
 She spends long nights unused to sleep,
 Full of grief, and sorrow is wherever she turns,
 Because of what happened in her house and family.
 In one moment, separation (from her husband who was killed) changed
 her position.
 You have lost Shihab-ad-din, all you Qays,
 And you have neglected to take revenge. Is that (your) friendship for
 her?
 I said, when they sent me a letter to cheer me
 And to cool the fire burning in my heart:
 "What a shame,¹⁷⁶² to comb forelocks and beards,
 And not to protect the beauty of white-skinned virgins!"

The following verses are by a man of the tribe of Hulubba,¹⁷⁶³ of the
 Judham Bedouins of Egypt:¹⁷⁶⁴

¹⁷⁶⁰ *Y-j-dh-y* is explained in B as *yasiru*.

¹⁷⁶¹ This appears to be the last verse of the poem, but there must have been many more verses.

¹⁷⁶² *A-ya hayn*.

¹⁷⁶³ The vocalization is uncertain, but the meter seems to require a closed syllable after the *l*. The name is occasionally read Halba'.

¹⁷⁶⁴ The following verses are found only in D. The author reproaches his tribe for not supporting him, while other tribes do.

Thus speaks ar-Rudayni-ar-Rudayni¹⁷⁶⁵ speaks truth -

Preparing well-constructed, original verses:

O you who are coming upon a she-camel,¹⁷⁶⁶

A strong one, filling out the fine saddle straps,¹⁷⁶⁷

One that (is fit to) carry a young man who does not consider sleep something to be earned without toil

By him¹⁷⁶⁸ who possesses great qualifications, is clever, and knows what is going on!

If you come from¹⁷⁶⁹ the tribe Hulubba, a group

Ever ready to excel in fighting when someone struts into war,¹⁷⁷⁰

And¹⁷⁷¹ (from) my people, the Banu Manzur-may I never taste the loss of them! -

A group of people representing all mankind, the rallying point of the weak and fearful,

I myself (personally) having all my experience from the Banu Raddad¹⁷⁷²

- May my God protect them against serious setbacks! -

(Then, let me inform you:) There has come to me, together with the caravan, confusing information

And (news of) divided intentions and contradictory opinions.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Ar-Rudayni, apparently the poet's name, also means "spear." The meaning of the parenthesis may be something like "the sword decides."

¹⁷⁶⁶ The exact meaning of the word *ʔdhyh* used here escapes me.

¹⁷⁶⁷ That is, a fat one. D has *mlw'l-ls*, which apparently is to be interpreted as *mil'i n-nisa'*.

¹⁷⁶⁸ This translation presupposes genitives depending on *maghnam*, which, however, might not be absolutely necessary, since the poem (if vocalized according to classical rules) shows also rhymes on *-fu(n)*, against the more frequent *-fi(n)*. At any rate, the endings were not, apparently, pronounced.

¹⁷⁶⁹ D has the pl. *ji'tum*, while the Paris edition reads the simpler and possibly more correct sing. *ji'ta*.

¹⁷⁷⁰ *Birazyatin in-zafa* (in D spelled as one word) *li-l-harb za'ifun*.

¹⁷⁷¹ The verse is not found in Paris. In D it reads:

Wa-qawmi Bani Manzurin la dhuqtu faqdahum

Lufufi l-wara malqa da'ifin wa-kha' fin.

¹⁷⁷² Thus, the poet belongs to the Raddad family, of the Manzur clan, of the Hulubba subtribe, of the Judham tribe.

How can I (alone) stay the injustice (being done me), while you¹⁷⁷³
 are a group,
 (Riding upon and disposing over) every neighing horse with a long
 mane?
 <I hope and pray>¹⁷⁷⁴ that you may all reach a decision,¹⁷⁷⁵
 Even if¹⁷⁷⁶ (your) property and life perish in its (execution).
 I have 'Ubayd b. Malik (as support) among the high leaders,¹⁷⁷⁷
 In whom there is high nobility, with command over the people,
 And (I have) true friends in the leaders of the Al Muslim,
 While I (suffer) from my own people many unpleasant things.¹⁷⁷⁸

There¹⁷⁷⁹ are many such poems. They circulate among (Arab Bedouins). Some tribes cultivate them. Others, including, for instance, most of the contemporary chiefs of the Riyah, Zughbah, and Sulaym,¹⁷⁸⁰ and others, disdain cultivating them, as we explained in the section on poetry.¹⁷⁸¹

The Spanish *muwashshahs* and *zajals*

Poetry was greatly cultivated in Spain. Its various ways and types were refined. Poems came to be most artistic. As a result, recent Spaniards created the kind of poetry called *muwashshah*.¹⁷⁸²

¹⁷⁷³ Addressing his tribe.

¹⁷⁷⁴ The beginning of the verse is not preserved.

¹⁷⁷⁵ D: *ra'yan yalummukum*.

¹⁷⁷⁶ *Wa-law anna*, as in the Paris edition. D omits *wa-*.

¹⁷⁷⁷ D: *dhuran*.

¹⁷⁷⁸ D: *wa-'na min dhura qawmi kathiru l-'ajarfi*. Paris has a different text, which may be translated "Whose amir supports all tribes." ¹⁷⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷⁹ This paragraph is not found in Bulaq.

¹⁷⁸⁰ The reference to the Zughbah and Sulaym appears only in B, not in A or D.

¹⁷⁸¹ The reference appears to be to pp. 410 ff, above.

¹⁷⁸² The following section has received much attention from modern scholars interested in Arabic lyric poetry and its relationship to the medieval poetry of Christian Europe. Two works that will be systematically referred to in the notes that follow are the pioneer study by M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht* (see n. 1627, above), and the recent treatment of the subject by A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* (n. 1565, above).

The *muwashshahah* consists of "branches" (*ghusn*) and "strings" (*simt*)¹⁷⁸³ in great number and different meters. A certain number (of "branches" and "strings") is called a single verse (stanza). There must be the same number of rhymes in the "branches" (of each stanza) and the same meter (for the "branches" of the whole poem) throughout the whole poem. The largest number of stanzas employed is seven. Each stanza contains as many "branches" as is consistent with purpose and method. Like the *gasi-dah*, the *muwashshahah* is used for erotic and laudatory poetry.

(The authors of *muwashshahahs*) vied to the utmost with each other in this (kind of poetry). Everybody, the elite and the common people, liked and knew these poems because they were easy to grasp and understand. They were invented in Spain by Muqaddam b. Mu'afa al-Qabri,¹⁷⁸⁴ a poet under the amir 'Abdallah b. Muhammad al-Marwani. Ahmad¹⁷⁸⁵ b. 'Abdrabbih, the author of the *'Iqd*, learned this (type of poetry) from him.¹⁷⁸⁶ (Muqaddam and Ibn 'Abdrabbih) were not mentioned together with the recent (authors of *muwashshahahs*), and thus their *muwashshahahs* fell into desuetude. The first poet after them who excelled in this subject was 'Ubadah al-

¹⁷⁸³ Cf. p. 414, above. Hartmann, pp. 110 f., tries to give this passage too literal an interpretation.

¹⁷⁸⁴ For this rather enigmatic personality who, according to Ibn Khaldun, must have lived *ca.* A.D. 900, cf. Hartmann, pp. 71 f.; Nykl, pp. 31, 36, 386 f.; E. Teres in *al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 156; J. Rikabi, *La Poesie profane sons les Ayyubides* (Paris, 1949), p. 172 f.

B reads the name in a form something like Muqaddam b. Mu'afir at-Tirmidhi. A and D have Mu'afir al-Qabri. The name of the alleged inventor of *muwashshahat* poetry in Spain is not altogether certain.

¹⁷⁸⁵ A and D have 'Abdallah. B has 'Abdallah, which, however, is corrected in the margin to Ahmad. Hartmann, p. 23, makes the very improbable suggestion that the author of the *'Iqd* and the Ibn 'Abdrabbih meant here are two different persons. Cf. also as-Suyuty *Al-Wasa'il ila ma'rifat al-awa'il*, ed. R. Gosche, *Die Kitab al-awa'il* (Halle, 1867), pp. 18 f. As-Suyuti's authority is the *Mughrib* of Ibn Sa'id. Ibn Bassam already identified this Ibn 'Abdrabbih with the author of the *'Iqd*. Cf. his *Dhakhirah*, 12 (Cairo, 1361/1942), 1 f.

The particular work by Ibn Sa'id that was Ibn Khaldun's source for this chapter is now said to have been found, but more detailed information is not yet available. Cf. n. 1810, below.

¹⁷⁸⁶ For this passage, cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 477.

Qazzaz,¹⁷⁸⁷ the poet of al-Mu'tasim b. Sumadih, the lord of Almeria. Al-A'lam al-Batalyawsi¹⁷⁸⁸ mentions that he heard Abu Bakr b. Zuhr¹⁷⁸⁹ say that all authors of *muwashshahahs* are indebted to the following verses which 'Ubadah al-Qazzaz happened to make:

Full moon-Late morning sun-Bough on a sandhill -sweet smelling musk:

How perfect-how resplendent-how exuberant-how fragrant!¹⁷⁹⁰

No doubt - he who sees her - falls in love with her - has lost Out!¹⁷⁹¹

It is believed that no contemporary from the time of the *reyes de taifas* preceded ('Ubadah) as author of *muwashshahahs*.

('Ub idah) was followed by Ibn Arfa'-ra'sah,¹⁷⁹² the poet of al-Ma'mun b. Dhi n-Nun, the lord of Toledo. It has been said that he did very well with the beginning of his famous *muwashshahah*, where he says:

The lute sings - the most original melody. - Wild brooks running through -the lawns of gardens

and at the end, where he says:

¹⁷⁸⁷ According to S. M. Stern, "Muhammad b. 'Ubadah al-Qazzaz," *al Andalus*, XV (1950), 79-109, the poet of the lines quoted would be Muham mad b. 'Ubadah. He lived in the eleventh century.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. al-Qasim, who died in 642 or 646 [1244/45 or 1248/49]. Cf. Hartmann, p. 88 (n. 2); as-Suyuti, *Bughyah*, p. 185; Hajji Khalifah, *Kashf az-zunun*, II, 119. His name appears as Ibrahim b. Muhammad, which seems to be an error, in Ibn Farhun, *Dibaj*, p. 80, in the biography of his pupil, al-Labli, 613-691 [1216/17-1292]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 967.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Malik, who died in 595 or 596 [1199-1200]. Cf. GAL, I, 489; *Suppl.*, I, 893; Nykl, pp. 248 ff. His age at death is given as sixty in one source but elsewhere as close to, or over ninety. Cf. also pp. 443 ff., below. MSS. A, B, and C all have Zuhayr, instead of Zuhr.

¹⁷⁹⁰ *Leg.* with A, B, and D: *anamm*.

¹⁷⁹¹ Nykl, p. 392, follows Hartmann, p. 89, in translating the last line (*qad haram*): "falls in love-with none but her." It should be noted that B and D vocalize *hurim*!

¹⁷⁹² Cf. Hartmann, pp. 26 f., 168; Nykl, pp. 201 f., where the name is vocalized Ibn Irfa' Ra'suh. The vocalization *ra'sah* is indicated in B and D. Poems by this author and by some of the other authors of *muwashshahahs* mentioned here are also found in Ibn al-Khatib's *Jaysh at-tawshih*. Cf. S. M. Stern, *Les Chansons mozarabes* (Palermo, 1953), pp. 51 ff.

You are bold and do not submit-Perhaps you are al-Ma'mun-who frightens the companies (of the enemy) -Yahya b. Dhi n-Nun.

There was much competition (in *muwashshah* poetry) during the reign of the Veiled (Almoravid) Sinhajah. Original things were produced at that time. The champions in the race were al-A'ma at-Tutili¹⁷⁹³ and Yahya b. Bagi.¹⁷⁹⁴ One of the "gilded"¹⁷⁹⁵ *muwashshahahs* of at-Tutili is the following:

How can I be patient, when the way signs (fill me with) emotion,
And the caravan in the desert with the chaste and tender (maids) is gone?

A number of *shaykhs* have mentioned that Spaniards interested in (*muwashshah* poetry) tell how a number of authors of *muwashshahahs* once gathered in Sevilla, each of them with a very artistic *muwashshah* poem of his own composition. Al-A'ma at-Tutili stepped forward to recite his poem. He began with his famous *muwashshahah*:

Laughing and revealing (teeth like) pearls - showing a face beautiful like the moon - time is too narrow to hold (the beauty of the beloved) - but my bosom encloses it.

(When the assembled poets heard that,) Ibn Baqi tore up his *muwashshahah*, and all the others followed suit.¹⁷⁹⁶

Al-A'lam al-Batalyawsi mentioned that he heard Ibn Zuhr say: "The only *muwashshah* poem I ever envied the poet is the following lines by Ibn Bagi:

¹⁷⁹³ He died in 520 [11261. Cf. GAL, I, 271; *Suppl.*, I, 480; Hartmann, pp. 15 f., 160 f.; Nykl, pp. 254-58. [* *Diwan*, ed. Beirut, 1963].

¹⁷⁹⁴ He died in 540 [11451. Cf. Hartmann, pp. 31 ff.; Nykl, pp. 241-44; E. Garcia Gomez in *al-Andalus*, XIX (1954), 43-52.

¹⁷⁹⁵ This is corrected in Bulaq to "refined." But "gilded" seems to be the correct reading, as a technical term for a special kind of *muwashshah* poetry. Cf. Hartmann, p. 15 (n. 2).

¹⁷⁹⁶ Cf. Nykl, p. 256. For the famous verses, cf. also Ibn Sana'al-Mulk, *Dar at-tiraz*, ed. Rikabi (Damascus, 1949), pp. 25, 43 f.

Look at Ahmad-at the peak of glory - which cannot be reached (by anyone else)! - The West caused his rise - Show us someone like him - O East!"¹⁷⁹⁷

In the time of (at-Tutili and Ibn Bagī), there lived the gifted *muwashshahah* poet Abu Bakr al-Abyad.¹⁷⁹⁸ In their time, there also lived the philosopher Abu Bakr b. Bajjah,¹⁷⁹⁹ the author of famous melodies. There is a famous story that relates how he attended the reception of his master Ibn Tifalwit,¹⁸⁰⁰ the lord of Saragossa, and had one of his singing girls recite the following *muwashshahah* of his own composition.^{1800a}

Let the train (of your robe) drag wherever it will-and add drunkenness (with the love of your beloved)^{1800b} to drunkenness (with wine)!

This greatly moved (Ibn Tifalwit), to whom the praise was directed. Then, (Ibn Bajjah) finished the poem with these words:

Let God raise the banner of victory - for the distinguished amir Abu Bakr!

When the song was over, Ibn Tifalwit was heard to exclaim: "How moving!" He tore his garments (as a sign of joyous emotion) and said: "What a beautiful beginning and end!" And he swore the most binding oaths that Ibn Bajjah should walk home upon gold. The philosopher was afraid that

¹⁷⁹⁷ Cf. Nykl, pp. 243 f. Cf. also Ibn Sa'id, *El Libro de las Banderas de los Campeones*, ed. and tr. E. Garcia Gomez (Madrid, 1942), pp. 48, 193.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Like most of the poets mentioned in the pages that follow, he is very little known, so far, from other sources.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Cf. p. 116, above.

¹⁸⁰⁰ The vocalization Tiwalfit is found in D. The recent edition of Ibn Sa'id, *Mughrib* (Cairo, 1953), p. 61, vocalizes Tayfulwit.

^{1800a} D adds: "beginning."

^{1800b} A has correctly *minhu*. B, D, and Bulaq have *minka*.

it would not end well, so he employed the ruse of putting gold in his shoes and walking home on that gold.¹⁸⁰¹

Abul-Khattab b. Zuhr¹⁸⁰² mentioned that in the salon of Abu Bakr b. Zuhr, the afore-mentioned *muwashshahah* poet Abu Bakr al-Abyad was mentioned. One of those present spoke slightly of him, whereupon (Abu Bakr b. Zuhr) said: "How can one speak slightly of a person who made the following poem."¹⁸⁰³

I get no pleasure out of drinking wine - on meadows of camomile flowers - unless one with slender hips - when he bends down in the morning-or in the evening - says: Why does the evening drink (*shamfil*) - beat my cheek - and why does the north wind (*shamal*) blow - so that it bends-the well-proportioned bough - that my garment covers?

This is what makes hearts vanish - The way he walks throws me into confusion - O glance, sin more and more! - O red lips, and the fine teeth of his! - Cool the thirst - of a sickly lover - (who) will not give up (his) love pact with his (beloved) - and will not cease - in every condition - hoping to be united with him - though he is unapproachable."

Subsequently, at the beginning of the Almohad dynasty, Muhammad b. Abil-Fadl b. Sharaf¹⁸⁰⁴ became famous. Alms [?]¹⁸⁰⁵ b. Duwayridah said: "I saw Hatim b. Sa'id¹⁸⁰⁶ begin a poem thus:

A sun in conjunction with a full moon: - Wine and a boon companion.

¹⁸⁰¹ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 30 f., 184; Nykl, p. 253. Cf. also the version of the story given by Ibn al-Khatib, *al-lhafah*, I, 244 f.

¹⁸⁰² Cf. Nykl, p. 341. Hartmann, p. 7 (n. 1), suggests that Ibn Zuhr is in this case an error for Ibn Dibyah, d. 633 [1235]. Cf. GAL, I, 310 9.; *Suppl.*, I, 544 f.

¹⁸⁰³ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 6 ff.; Nykl, pp. 246 f., 392 f.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Cf. Hartmann, p. 58. Is he identical with Abul-hasan b. al-Fadl, quoted below, p. 448?

¹⁸⁰⁵ Sic A and B. D has al-Hasan, which looks like a simplification.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Cf. Hartmann, p. 21. The famous poem is quoted in full by Ibn Sana'al-Mulk, *Dar at-Tiraz*, pp. 26, 45 f.; * as-Safadi, *Wafi*, IV, 41 f.

Further, Ibn Hardus,¹⁸⁰⁷ who made the following poem:

O night of union and happiness -by God, return!

(Further,) Ibn Mu'ahhil,¹⁸⁰⁸ who made the following poem:

A holiday is not made by a (fine) dress and scarf - and the smell of perfume - A holiday is when one meets - with the beloved."

(There was also) Abu Ishaq ad-Duwayni.¹⁸⁰⁹ Ibn Sa'id¹⁸¹⁰ said: "I heard Abul-Hasan Sahl b. Malik say that (Abu Ishaq) came to Ibn Zuhr when (the latter) was advanced in years. He wore rustic clothes, as he was living at Hisn Istabbah.¹⁸¹¹ He was not recognized. (Abu Ishaq) sat at the very end of the room. The conversation was in progress, and he recited *a muwashshah* of his own composition in which the following verses occurred:

The antimony of darkness runs - from the white eyeball of dawn - in the morn - and the wrist of the river - is clad in garments of green (plants) - from the marshes.

Ibn Zuhr stirred and asked: 'You can make such verses?' (Abu Ishaq) replied: 'Try me.' Whereupon (Ibn Zuhr) asked who he was. He told him, and (Ibn Zuhr) said: 'Come up.'¹⁸¹² Really I did not recognize you.' "

Ibn Sa'id continued: "The champion of the whole group was Abu Bakr b. Zuhr. His *muwashshahahs* are known in the East and the West." He said: "I heard Abul-Hasan Sahl b. Malik say that people asked Ibn Zuhr: 'If you

¹⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 37 f.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Hartmann, p. 42, and Nykl, p. 341, read Ibn Muhal.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Cf. Hartmann, p. 19.

¹⁸¹⁰ The historian, 'Ali b. Musa, of the thirteenth century. Cf. GAL, I, 336 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 576 f. He evidently is Ibn Khaldun's most important source for this section, as well as for certain other information. Cf. 1:22 (n. 58), 1:118 (n. 67), 1:120 (n. 80), and p. 441 (n. 1785), above.

¹⁸¹¹ Estepa, which, however, is elsewhere spelled Iqtabbah. D vocalizes Astabbah.

¹⁸¹² That is, "take a seat of honor."

were asked what is your most original *muwashshahah* (what would you say)?' (Ibn Zuhr) replied: 'I would say the following poem:

Why does the infatuated person-not wake up from his drunkenness? -
How drunk he is - without wine!¹⁸¹³ - Why is the grieved person full of
longing - home sick? - Will our days along the canal - and our nights -
ever return - when we enjoyed the balmy breeze -fragrant as Darin¹⁸¹⁴
musk-and when we almost - received new life - from the beauty of the
pleasant spot? - A river which is given shade - by splendid large trees
along it - with thick green foliage - and the water runs - (carrying) on
its surface and submerged under the water-fallen myrtle (leaves).'¹⁸¹⁵

Afterwards, Ibn Hayyun¹⁸¹⁶ became famous. He composed the following famous *zajal*:

His arrow is more dangerous than death - whether shot by the hand or
by the eye.¹⁸¹⁷

He also wrote the following couplet:

I was created beautiful and am known as a skillful archer.
Hence, I do not stop fighting for a moment.
I do, with these two eyes of mine,
What my hand does with the arrow.¹⁸¹⁸

¹⁸¹³ The following three cola (to "homesick") are found only in Bulaq. A, B, and D have an empty space.

¹⁸¹⁴ "Darin musk" is a proverbial expression in ancient Arabic poetry. Darin is said to have been a seaport on the Persian Gulf to which the eastern trade brought perfumes. Cf. al-Bakri, *Mu'jam ma sta jam* (Cairo, 1945-51), pp. 558 f.; Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, II, 537; *Lisdn al-'Arab*, XVII, 10.

¹⁸¹⁵ Cf. Nykl, p. 250; J. Rikabi, *La Poesie profane sous les Ayyubides*, p. 183. Rikabi suggests that the "canal" may be a proper name (Khalij), and he translates *yuhayyina* "were greeted" (instead of "received new life"). The first line of the poem is referred to by Ibn Sa'id, *Mughrib*, p. 266.

¹⁸¹⁶ Cf. Hartmann, p. 27; Nykl, pp. 342 f.

¹⁸¹⁷ Cf. Nykl, *loc. cit.* Perhaps one might translate: "His arrow is always ready to be shot (*yufawwaq . . . bin*), whether by the hand or by the eye ('in)." D, however, vocalizes *bayn* and '*ayn*.

¹⁸¹⁸ Cf. Nykl, *loc. cit.*

Together (with Ibn Zuhr and Ibn Hayyin), al-Muhr b. al-Faras became famous at that time in Granada. Ibn Sa'id said: "When Ibn Zuhr heard his poem:

By God, what a splendid day it was - at the river of Hims (Sevilla) on those meadows! - We then turned around to the mouth, of the canal - breaking the musk seals - on (the bottles of) golden wine - while the cloak of evening was being folded up by the hand of darkness.¹⁸¹⁹

he said: 'We could not invent such a (beautiful comparison as that of the) cloak!' "

Mutarrif lived in the same place as (al-Muhr). Ibn Sa'id reported, on the authority of his father, that Mutarrif came to Ibn al-Faras, who got up to honor him. When Mutarrif told him not to do that, Ibn al-Faras replied: "What - not get up for the poet who made these verses:

Hearts are smitten - by well-aimed glances.

- Say, how can you remain - without emotion?"¹⁸²⁰

Later, there was Ibn Hazmun¹⁸²¹ in Murcia. Ibn ar-Ra.'is mentioned that Yahya al-Khazraji¹⁸²² came to his salon and recited *a muwashshahah* of his own composition. Ibn Hazmim said to him: "*A muwashshahah* is not *a muwashshahah*, until it is entirely free from forced (artificiality)." When Yahya asked: "How, for instance?" Ibn Hazmun replied: "As, for instance, the following verses of mine:

O you who are keeping away from me - to be united with you - is there a way? Or do you think - your love can be forgotten - by the heart of the (love)sick person?"¹⁸²³

¹⁸¹⁹ Cf. Hartmann, p. 71; Nykl, p. 343.

¹⁸²⁰ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 72 f.; Nykl, p. 343.

¹⁸²¹ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 38 ff.

¹⁸²² Cf. Hartmann, pp. 63 f. Instead of Ibn ar-Ra.'is, Bulaq reads Ibn ar-Rasin.

¹⁸²³ Cf. Nykl, p. 342.

Abul-Hasan Sahl b. Malik in Granada.¹⁸²⁴ Ibn Sa'id said: "My father used to. admire his poem (which reads):

The brook of the morning in the east - turns into a sea everywhere - and the doves cry out plaintively to each other - as if they are afraid of drowning - and they weep in the early morning among the foliage (of the trees)."

At that time, Abul-Hasan b. al-Fadl¹⁸²⁵ became famous in Sevilla. Ibn Sa'id, on the authority of his father, said: "I heard Sahl b. Malik say to (Ibn al-Fadl): 'O Ibn al-Fadl, you excel (*fadl*) among the writers of *muwashshahahs* with these verses of yours:

Alas for a time that has passed - In the evening, passion is finished and gone - I am alone against my will, not willingly - I spend the night by the bright - burning fire of tamarisk coals - in my mind embracing those remnants of the abandoned camps - in my imagination kissing their traces.' "

Ibn Sa'id continued: "I heard Abu Bakr b. as-Sabuni¹⁸²⁶ recite his *muwashshahahs* to Professor Abul-Hasan ad-Dabbaj¹⁸²⁷ many times, but I heard (ad-Dabbaj) praise him highly only for the following verses:

Swearing by the love of him who keeps (me) off: - The night of one consumed by longing has no dawn - The morning is frozen and does not flow¹⁸²⁸ - My night, I think, has no morn - Is it correct, O night,

¹⁸²⁴ Cf. Hartmann, p. 80; Nykl, p. 350. Cf. also p. 445, above, and p. 459, below.

¹⁸²⁵ Cf. Hartmann, p. 85. Identical with Mullahmad b. Abil-Fadl, p. 445, above?

¹⁸²⁶ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 43 f.; Nykl, p. 247.

¹⁸²⁷ Ali b. Jabir, 566-646 [1170/71-1248]. Cf. Ibn al-Abbar, *Takmilat as-Silah*, p. 683, No. 1910.

¹⁸²⁸ *Jamada s-subhu laysa yuttarad*, as vocalized in D. De Slane's suggestion, "The morning is not generally praised" (because it means the end of the lovers' meeting), does not seem to fit the context here.

that you are eternal - Or, have the tips of the wings of the eagle¹⁸²⁹ been clipped - so that the stars of heaven do not run their course?"

One of the best *muwashshahahs* by Ibn as-Sabuni runs:

What is the matter with the person in love who pines away in grief?
Woe unto him! The physician who should have cured him made him ill.
His beloved avoids him - and then, slumber imitates the example of the
beloved in this respect (and also avoids him).

Sleep treats my eyelids cruelly, but I do not weep for it, except (that
having no sleep) means loss of (seeing) the image (of the beloved in
my dreams).¹⁸³⁰

The (hoped for) meeting (with the beloved) today was a disappointment
for me (as it did not take place), just as he wanted it. What a sad
meeting!

But I do not blame him who keeps me off, in the form of reality or
unreality.¹⁸³¹

Among the people of the (African) shore, Ibn Khalaf al-Jaza'iri¹⁸³² be-
came famous. He is the author of the famous *muwashshahah*:

The hand of morn has lighted - sparks of light - in the braziers of the
flowers.

(Another author from northwestern Africa is) Ibn Khazar al-Baja'i.¹⁸³³
One of his *muwashshahahs* runs:

Some fortunate circumstance greeted you with a smile from the teeth
of time.

¹⁸²⁹ With reference to the constellations called *Nasr* "Eagle."

¹⁸³⁰ B is missing from here to p. 454, l. 17.

¹⁸³¹ I.e., in reality or in dreams.

¹⁸³² Cf. Hartmann, p. 33.

¹⁸³³ Cf. Hartmann, pp. 34 f. The form of this poet's name seems not quite certain. He was from Bougie.

A muwashshahah by a recent poet is that of Ibn Sahl,¹⁸³⁴ a poet first in Sevilla and later on in Ceuta. The following verses are from his poem:

Does the gazelle of al-Hima¹⁸³⁵ know that it inflamed (*hamd*) - the heart of a lover which it-has made its dwelling place? - Now, it is afire and throbbing, like a firebrand with which- the east wind plays.¹⁸³⁶

Our afore-mentioned friend, the wazir Abu 'Abdallah b. al-Khatib, who was in his day the (leading) poet of Spain and the Maghrib, wove on (Ibn Sahl's) loom. He thus said:¹⁸³⁷

May the abundant rain, as it pours down, benefit you,
 O time of the meeting in Spain!
 My meeting with you is but a dream
 In (my) slumber, or a furtive moment.
 Time presents such a diversity of wishes,
 That proceed in a prescribed order,
 One by one, or two by two,
 Like groups (of pilgrims) whom the festival calls (to Mecca).
 Rain gave a generous sparkle to the meadow.
 So that brilliant flowers are smiling in it.
 An-Nu'man transmits on the authority of Ma'-as-sama',
 Exactly as Malik transmits on the authority of Anas.¹⁸³⁸
 Beauty has clothed the (beloved) with an embroidered garment
 That makes him look scornfully upon the most splendid dress,
 On nights when I would have covered the secret of (my) love

¹⁸³⁴ Cf. pp. 92 and 393, above; Hartmann, pp. 71 ff.

¹⁸³⁵ Cf. Nykl, p. 45. Al-Hima is often used as a cover name for the place where the poet himself lives.

¹⁸³⁶ Cf. Nykl, pp. 344 f.

¹⁸³⁷ Cf. Nykl, p. 366.

¹⁸³⁸ I.e., an-Nu'min b. (?) Ma'-as-sama', a sixth-century Lakhmid ruler of al-Hirah on the Euphrates; Malik b. Anas, the famous jurist; *annu'man* "anemone"; *ma'-as-sama'* "water of heaven," meaning rain. Thus, the verse means that flowers follow naturally and reliably upon rain.

With (their) darkness, had there not been the suns of gleaming white (faces).

On (such occasions), the star of the cup inclined and fell
In a straight course with happy results.

A desirable situation, with which there is nothing wrong, except
That it passed as quickly as a glance of the eye,
Just when (we) were enjoying being together,¹⁸³⁹ or as suddenly as
The (disappearance of the) watchful stars ushers in the morning.
Shooting stars fell upon us, or The eyes of narcissuses affected us.
What else could a man (wish) for who has escaped (from sorrow),
So that (the beauty of) the meadow¹⁸⁴⁰ could gain a place (in him) ?
The flowers seize this opportunity
Of being safe from his trickery, and do not fear him.
Then, the water (of the brook) whispers with the pebbles.
Every lover is alone with his friend.

One beholds the rose, jealous and annoyed (because of the beauty of the beloved),

Covering itself, flushing with anger, with its (red color).

One sees the myrtle, intelligent and understanding,
Listening clandestinely with sharp ears.¹⁸⁴¹

Dear (fellow-) tribesmen from Wadi al-Ghada,¹⁸⁴²

In my heart there is a place where you live.

My longing for you cannot be encompassed by (even) the widest space;
I do not care to distinguish its East from its West.

Bring back the past times of intimacy,

And you will liberate (me) who cares for you from his sadness.

¹⁸³⁹ Bulaq: "sleeping."

¹⁸⁴⁰ D has *ad-dahr* "fate, eternity."

¹⁸⁴¹ Lit., "ears of a horse," possibly referring also to the shape of myrtle leaves?

¹⁸⁴² Wadi al-Ghada is identified by geographers with a certain place in northern Arabia called Buwayrah. Cf. al-Bakri, *Mu jam and sta jam*, pp. 285, 999; Yaqut, *Mu jam al-buldan*, I, 765. Here it seems to be a cover name for the river of Granada.

Fear God, and revive a passionate lover
 Whose life spends itself with (each) breath.
 His respect for you made his heart a prison.
 Would you want that prison to be destroyed?
 In my heart, one of you is near
 In wishful thought, while he is far away.
 A moon whose rise in the west caused
 Unhappiness (for me) who is deeply in love with him, while he himself
 is happy!
 The virtuous and the sinners know no distinction,
 When they love him, between the divine promise and the divine
 threat.¹⁸⁴³
 He charms with his eyes, with red lips sweet as honey.
 He roams in the soul like (life-giving) breath.
 He aimed his arrow, said: "In the name of God,"¹⁸⁴⁴ and let fly.
 Thus, my heart became the prey of the wild beast (of passion).
 Even when he is unfair and (my) hope is disappointed,
 So that the heart of the lover melts with longing,
 Still, he is the first (best) beloved of my soul.
 As it is no sin to love one's beloved,
 His orders are executed and obeyed
 In bosoms¹⁸⁴⁵ that he has rent (with love's pain), and hearts.
 (His) glance sits in judgment over them, and he has his way.
 He does not heed, in connection with the poor weak souls (of his
 lovers),
 Him who renders justice to the one who is treated unjustly, against the
 one who treats him unjustly,

¹⁸⁴³ That is, love for him cancels the distinction between virtuous persons, to whom Paradise is promised, and sinners threatened with punishment in Hell.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV 6 (1869), 190 f.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Lit., "ribs."

And who rewards pious (souls) and (punishes) the evildoer.
 What is the matter with my heart? Whenever the east wind blows,
 It has a new attack of longing.
 On the tablet (of destiny) was written for (my heart)¹⁸⁴⁶
 These divine words: "My punishment, indeed, will be severe."¹⁸⁴⁷
 It is worried and ill,
 But, still, always very eager for torturing (emotions).
 A burning (passion) is kindled in my bosom
 A fire among dry stubble.
 It has left only a little of (my) lifeblood,
 Just as the morn remains after the last darkness of the night.
 Submit, O my soul, to the decision of destiny,
 And use the time (that is left) in (thinking of) my return (to God) and
 repentance.
 Do not think back to a time that has passed,
 When (I received) alternately (from the beloved) favors long gone, and
 reproaches.
 Address now the gracious master,
 Who was inspired with the success (announced) in the heavenly
 prototype (of the Qur'an),
 Who is noble in end and origin,
 The lion of the flock,¹⁸⁴⁸ the full moon of the assembly,
 Upon whom victory descends, as
 The revelation descends by means of the holy spirit.¹⁸⁴⁹

¹⁸⁴⁶ De Slane: "for (my beloved)." This would be correct if the verse were found before that preceding it. Was this, possibly, its original position?

¹⁸⁴⁷ Qur'an 14.7 (7).

¹⁸⁴⁸ That is, "a lion among sheep." However, the metaphor intended may have been "lion of the thicket," i.e., courage.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib* (Cairo, 1304/1886-87), IV, 199, quotes ten more verses. Cf. de Slane and Hartmann, p. 65.

The attempts at *muwashshahs* by Easterners are obviously forced. One of the best *muwashshahs* they happened to produce is by Ibn Sana'-al-Mulk al-Misri.¹⁸⁵⁰ It became famous in the East and the West. It begins:

O my beloved, lift the veil (which covers) the light - from (your) face,
So that we may behold musk (black eyebrows) on camphor (white skin)
- in pomegranates (red cheeks).

Encircle, O clouds, the crowns of the hills -with ornaments,
And give them as bracelets winding brooks.

Muwashshah poetry spread among the Spaniards. The great mass took to it because of its smoothness, artistic language, and the (many) internal rhymes found in it (which made them popular). As a result, the common people in the cities imitated them. They made poems of the (*muwashshah*) type in their sedentary dialect, without employing vowel endings. They thus invented a new form, which they called *zajal*. They have continued to compose poems of this type down to this time. They achieved remarkable things in it. The (*zajal*) opened a wide field for eloquent (poetry) in the (Spanish-Arabic) dialect, which is influenced by non-Arab (speech habits).

The first to create the *zajal* method was Abu Bakr b. Quzman,¹⁸⁵¹ even though *zajal* poems were composed in Spain before his time. But the beauty of the *zajal* became evident, its ideas took on their artistic shape, and its elegance became famous, only in Ibn Quzman's time. He lived in the days of the Veiled (Sinhajah Almoravids). He is (indisputably) the leading *zajal* poet.

Ibn Sa'id said: "I saw his *zajals* recited in Baghdad more often than I had seen them recited in the cities of the West. And," continued Ibn Sa'id,

¹⁸⁵⁰ Hibatallah b. Jafar, 545-608 [1150-1211]. Cf. GAL, I, 261; *suppl.*, I, 461 f. For the following verses, cf. Hartmann, pp. 47 f., who thinks that the last two lines belong to a different poem. The verses are not found in the recent edition of Ibn Sana'-al-Mulk's *Dar al-tiraz*, cited above, n. 1796.

¹⁸⁵¹ Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Malik, d. 555 [1160]. Cf. GAL, I, 272 f.; *Suppl.*, I, 481 f.; E. Levi-Provençal in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1944), pp. 105-118; Nykl, pp. 266 ff.

"I heard Abul-Hasan b. Jahdar al-Ishbili,¹⁸⁵² the leading contemporary *zajal* poet, say: 'No leading *zajal* poet has produced a *zajal* like that of Ibn Quzman, the principal *zajal* artist, (which he made on the following occasion) He had gone to a *park* with-some of his friends, and they were sitting in an arbor. In front of them was the marble statue of a lion. From its mouth water flowed down over blocks of stone set in steps. Whereupon Ibn Quzman said:

An arbor that is standing upon a platform-like a portico,
 And a lion that has swallowed a snake-thick as a thigh,
 And opens its mouth like a man-who loudly breathes his last,
 And (the snake) goes from there on blocks of stonemaking a great noise.' "

Although Ibn Quzman had his residence in Cordoba, he often came to Sevilla and spent a good deal of time along the river there. It happened that one day a group of noted *zajal* poets came together and took a boat ride on the river for recreation. They were accompanied by a handsome lad from one of the wealthy leading families of the place. They were together in a boat fishing and made poems describing their situation. 'Isa al-Balid led off with the following verses:

My heart desires freedom, but cannot get it,-for love has checkmated it.
 You can see that (my heart) has become completely miserable - and is restless and also suffers greatly.
 It is affected by¹⁸⁵³ loneliness for eyelids dark with antimony,
 Those eyes are what make it miserable.¹⁸⁵⁴

Then, Abu 'Amr b. az-Zahid al-Ishbili said:

¹⁸⁵² Cf. Nykl, p. 350, and below, p. 458.

¹⁸⁵³ Abu, meaning literally, "loneliness for . . . blames it." The translation suggested by de Slane and Dozy, "It is lonely for the eyelids dark with antimony, that are absent," seems hardly possible.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 194 f.

He is caught. All those who enter the ocean of passion are caught.¹⁸⁵⁵
 You can see what causes him pain and difficulties.
 He wanted to play with love. Many people have died in that game.

Then, Abul-Hasan al-Muqri' ad-Dani said:

A nice day, everything about which pleases me: - Drinks and handsome
 (boys) surround me.

The finch sings in the willow tree - while a fish in the pot is my
 reward.¹⁸⁵⁶

Then, Abu Bakr b. Martin said:

You (he [?]) want(s) it to be true when you (he) say(s): "I have to go
 back

To the river," you (he [?]) announce(s) [?], "and recreation and
 fishing."¹⁸⁵⁷

Those are not fish that he wants to hook

The hearts of men are in his little net.

Then, Abu Bakr b. Quzman said:

When he rolls up his sleeves to cast (his little net),

One sees the fish run in his direction.

They do not want to fall into it.

They want only to kiss his little hands.¹⁸⁵⁸

¹⁸⁵⁵ Cf. Dozy, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸⁵⁶ Cf. Dozy, pp. 196-98.

¹⁸⁵⁷ A and B read:

Al-haqq trid hadith baqa-li 'ad

Fi l-wad tajhar[?] wa-n-nazah wa-s-sayad

The word read here as *tajhar* appears in A as something like *b[?]-i-m-y-r*. D reads the second line as follows: *Fi l-wad an-nazih wa-l-burl wa-s-fayad*. This does not seem possible, metrically. It means: "To the enjoyable river and the fish and fishing." However, it would seem likely that instead of *tajhar* "you announce," some adjective describing the river should be read here.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Cf. Nykl, p. 313.

In the eastern Spain of their time, Yakhlaf¹⁸⁵⁹ al-Aswad composed fine *zajals*, for instance:

I was caught. I was afraid to be caught.
Love has brought me into difficulties.

(Later on) in (this poem) he says:

When I look into the brilliant, resplendent face (of the beloved), its redness reaches its limit.

O student of alchemy, alchemy is in my eye.
I look with it at silver, and it turns into gold.¹⁸⁶⁰

After these (poets) came a period in which Madghallis¹⁸⁶¹ was the champion. He accomplished marvelous things in *zajal* poetry. The following verses are from his famous *zajal*¹⁸⁶² that goes:

And a fine rain that falls-and beats the rays of the sun.¹⁸⁶³
The one appears silvery,¹⁸⁶⁴ and the other golden.
The plants drink and get drunk - the boughs dance and are excited.
They want to come to us - Then, they are ashamed and go back.

¹⁸⁵⁹ The first letter is indicated as y in A, B, and D, although Nykl, p. 351, following Bulaq, reads Mukhallaf. W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter, "Neue Materialien zum Zagal," *Oriens*, III (1950), 275, have Yakhlaf b. Rashid, but it seems that they do not consider this man identical with the person mentioned here. Cf. also *Oriens*, III (1950), 302 (n. 1), 315.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 198 f.; Nykl, p. 351. The same idea is also expressed by other poets; cf., for instance, the verses quoted by as-Safadi, *al-Ghayth al-musajjam* (Cairo, 1505/1887-88), I, 12.

¹⁸⁶¹ He lived in the second half of the twelfth century. Cf. W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter in *Oriens*, V (1952), 269-3m. The vocalization of the name is not quite certain. Hoenerbach and Ritter prefer Mudghalis. However, a double I is indicated in MSS. B and D.

¹⁸⁶² Cf. Nykl, p. 310; Hoenerbach and Ritter in *Oriens*, V (1952), 301. The last line is found in A and B, but not in D.

¹⁸⁶³ For the second colon, Nykl and also Hoenerbach and Ritter have suggested the following translation: "and the rays of the sun that beat (the air)."

¹⁸⁶⁴ Hoenerbach and Ritter read the active: "overlays with silver . . . with gold."

A fine *zajal* of his is the following:¹⁸⁶⁵

The bright sunlight has come, and the stars are confused.¹⁸⁶⁶ - Let us get up and shake off laziness!

A little mixed¹⁸⁶⁷ wine from a bottle seems to me sweeter than honey. .

O you who censure me for my behavior! May God let you behave according to your words!

You say that (wine) -generates sin and that it corrupts the intellect.

Go to the Hijaz! It will be better for you:

What leads you into such superfluous (talk) with me?

Go you on the pilgrimage (to Mecca) and visit (Medina),

But let me be engrossed in drinking!

If one does not have the power and ability (to behave),

Intention is more effective than action.

They were succeeded in Sevilla by Ibn Jahdar.¹⁸⁶⁸ He showed himself superior to (all other) *zajal* poets on the occasion of the conquest of Majorca, when he composed the *zajal* that begins:

Those who oppose the oneness of God will be wiped out by the sword.
I have nothing to do with those who oppose the truth.¹⁸⁶⁹

Ibn Sa'id said: "I met (Ibn Jahdar). I also met his pupil al-Ya'ya',¹⁸⁷⁰ the author of the famous *zajal* that begins:

Would that, when I see my beloved, I might tempt his ear with a little message:

Why did he adopt the neck of the little gazelle and steal the mouth of the partridge?¹⁸⁷¹

¹⁸⁶⁵ Cf. Nykl, p. 310; Hoenerbach and Ritter in *Oriens*, V (1952), 290 f.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Cf. p. 460, below.

¹⁸⁶⁷ *Shurayb(a)*, as vocalized in B and D; cf. also A.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Cf. p. 455, above. The event described falls in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Cf. Nykl, p. 350.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Sic B and D. A has no dots. Bulaq: al-Ma'ma'.

¹⁸⁷¹ Cf. Nykl, p. 350.

They were succeeded by Abul-hasan Sahl b. Malik,¹⁸⁷² the leading literateur. Also, (still) later, (close) to the present time, there was our friend, the wazir Abu 'Abdallah b. al-Khatib, the leading poet and a prose writer without peer in Islam. A fine poem of this type by him is the following:

Mix the goblets and fill mine, so that I may start all over again!¹⁸⁷³
 Money was created only to be squandered.¹⁸⁷⁴

A poem in Sufi style in the manner of the Sufi ash Shushtari¹⁸⁷⁵ (by Ibn al-Khatib) is the following:

Between sunrise and sunset, love poems of various kinds were composed.
 Gone are (the mortals) who (were created and) had not been before.
 There remains (God) who never ceases.¹⁸⁷⁶

Another fine poem in this sense by (Ibn al-Khatib) is the following:

To be away from you, son - is my greatest misfortune.
 When I can be near (*qurb*) you - I let my boat (*qarib*) drift.

A contemporary of the wazir Ibn al-Khatib in Spain was Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-'Azim,¹⁸⁷⁷ from Guadix. He was a leading *zajal* poet. He wrote a *zajalin* which he imitated Madghallis' verse: "The bright sunlight has come, and the stars are confused."¹⁸⁷⁸ It runs as follows:

Dissipation is permitted, you clever fellows,

¹⁸⁷² Cf. pp. 445 and 448, above.

¹⁸⁷³ I.e., with drinking.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 202; Nykl, p. 366.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Ali b. 'Abdallah, d. 668 [1269]. Cf. GAL, I, 274; *Suppl.*, I, 483 f.; Hartmann, pp. 87 f.; L. Massignon, in *Melanges offerts a William Marçais* (Paris, 1950), pp. 251-76.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Cf. Nykl, p. 364.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Cf. Nykl, p. 362.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Cf. p. 458, above.

Since the sun entered into Aries.
 Thus, commit a new immorality every day!
 Don't let a boring period intervene between them!
 Let us go after them at the Genil,¹⁸⁷⁹
 Upon the verdant meadows there!
 Let Baghdad alone and do not talk about the Nile!
 I like these regions here better,
 A plain which is - better than an expanse of forty miles.¹⁸⁸⁰
 When the winds blow over it to and fro,
 No trace of dust is found,
 Not even enough to apply as antimony to the eyes.
 How could it be different, since there is no pleasant spot here
 Where the bees do not swarm.¹⁸⁸¹

At the present time, the *zajal* method is what the common people in Spain use for their poetry. They even employ all fifteen meters for poems¹⁸⁸² in the vulgar dialect and call them *zajals*. For instance, we have the following verses by a Spanish poet:

A long time, years, I have loved your eyes.
 But you have no pity and no softness in your heart.
 You can see how my heart has become, because of you,
 Like a ploughshare in the smiths' hands.
 Tears¹⁸⁸³ stream down. Fire burns.
 Hammers to the right and the left.

¹⁸⁷⁹ The river of Granada, the Darro (Arabic: Nahr Falum), unites at Granada with the Genii. Cf. E. Levi-Provencal, *La Peninsule Iberique*, p. 30.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁸⁸¹ I.e., there are flowers everywhere. For Dozy's different suggestion, see pp. 202 f. of his article, and *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, 1, 549a.

¹⁸⁸² Cf. p. 374, above.

¹⁸⁸³ De Slane explains that the lover's tears are here compared to drops of water sprinkled on the fire in a forge, to obtain greater heat.

God created the Christians to be raided,
But you raid the hearts of (your) lovers.

At the beginning of this century, an excellent representative of this method was the litterateur Abu 'Abdallah al Lushl.¹⁸⁸⁴ He wrote a poem in which he praised Sultan Ibn al-Ahmar:¹⁸⁸⁵

Morning has come. Get up, O my boon companion, let us drink
And be gay, after we have been moved by music!
The gold ingot of dawn has rubbed (its) red color
Against the touchstone of the night. Get up and pour (the wine)!
You will find (it) to be of pure alloy, white and clean.
It is silver, but the red color of the dawn made it golden.¹⁸⁸⁶
(Wine) is a currency that has great circulation among mankind.
The light in the eyes (of the beloved) is acquired from the light of (that
currency).
This is the day, O my companion, when we can (really) live.
By God, how pleasant is a young man's life on (such a day)!¹⁸⁸⁷
The night, too, is for kissing and embracing,
Turning over and over on the bed of (love) union.¹⁸⁸⁸
A good time has come now after a stingy one.
Why should it¹⁸⁸⁹ let good fortune escape its hands?

¹⁸⁸⁴ Muhammad b. Muhammad, ca. 678 [1279/80] to 752 [1351]. Cf. Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihatah*, II, 195-99.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Nykl, p. 343. The ruler to whom the poem is addressed is one of several Muhammads of Granada. Cf. p. 465 (n. 1904), below. Muhammad III reigned at the beginning of the century, from 701 to 708, but it remains uncertain whether he is meant here.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 203-205, suggests a slightly different translation.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Cf. Bulaq. De Slane: "One has to work during the day, but rich people have it easy," makes little sense in the context.

¹⁸⁸⁸ For this and the following verses, cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 ff.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Dozy thinks that the pronoun refers to the poet, but since the poet speaks of himself in the first person, this is not probable. The reference is to "time."

As one¹⁸⁹⁰ swallowed its bitterness in the past,
 So one now drinks its delectable (wine) and eats fine food.^{1890a}
 The watcher asks: You litterateurs, why do we
 See you so generous¹⁸⁹¹ with wine and love?
 Those who censure me are astonished by it,
 But I say: You people, why are you astonished?
 Could anyone but a sensitive (poet really) love a handsome (boy), .
 As, by God, we find it said and stated in writing?
 Beauty can be acquired only by a cultured poet
 Who deflowers virginal (beauty) and does not bother with (beauty) that
 has belonged to others before.¹⁸⁹²
 The cup is forbidden, but only to those Who do not know how to drink
 it.
 Intelligent, delicate [?],¹⁸⁹³ or dissolute people
 Are forgiven the sins they may commit in this respect.
 There is one whose beauty captivates me, and I cannot captivate it with
 the choicest words.
 A handsome fawn, fat enough to put out the coals (on which it is
 roasted),
 While it sets my heart afire with (burning hot) tamarisk coal.
 A (handsome) gazelle, who so moves the hearts of lions when they see
 it,
 And even when they do not see it but only imagine (they see it), they
 run away.
 She then revives them when she smiles,
 And they are gay, after having been sad.

¹⁸⁹⁰ The passive is indicated in B.

^{1890a} To be understood figuratively: Times were bad, but now they are good.

¹⁸⁹¹ Dozy: "produce (verses)."

¹⁸⁹² Thus, a poet is entitled to love.

¹⁸⁹³ A, B, and D read *wa-l-khnkr*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 410a.

She has a little mouth like a seal ring and a row of white teeth.
 The preacher of the people¹⁸⁹⁴ demands (in his sermon) to kiss them.
 What a necklace of pearls and corals (those teeth are), O man.
 Well strung and not pierced!
 A darkish down on her lips,¹⁸⁹⁵ which want something.¹⁸⁹⁶
 To compare it with musk would be an insult.
 Hair black as the raven's wing
 Which (even) the nights when I am separated from her consider
 remarkable,¹⁸⁹⁷ falls down
 Upon a body, milk white, whiter
 Than any ever got by shepherd from his flock,
 And two little breasts. I did not know before
 That anything could be so firm.
 Under the fat (bosom), there is a slim waist,
 So slim that it could hardly be found when one looks for it.¹⁸⁹⁸
 It is slimmer than my religion, as I might say.
 Come, look at your slave, my lady! I do not lie in this respect.^{1898a}
 What religion remains to me, and what intelligence?
 You deprive those who follow you of both the one and the other.
 She has buttocks as heavy as a watcher¹⁸⁹⁹
 When he observes and watches a lover.¹⁹⁰⁰

¹⁸⁹⁴ *Khatib al-ummah*, as in B and Bulaq.

¹⁸⁹⁵ De Slane translates *sharib* "eyebrow." However, even though the author clearly is speaking of a girl, he seems to use a description common in connection with handsome boys.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Namely, to be kissed.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Even in comparison with the darkness of the gloomy nights of separation, her hair must be considered remarkably dark.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Cf. Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 157.

^{1898a} Or rather, "Do you think that your slave is a great liar?"(?)

¹⁸⁹⁹ A watcher is "heavy" in the sense of being a nuisance.

¹⁹⁰⁰ The following two verses were omitted by mistake in the Paris edition. The first, which I have not been able to translate, reads:

*In lam yunaffar ghurza-u yanqashi`
 Fi tarf disa wa-'lnby[?] taslabu.*

.....

 The place becomes a castle when you are here,
 But when you are away, it seems to me a cave.¹⁹⁰¹
 Your good qualities are like those of the Amir,
 Or like the sand, who could count it?
 He is the pillar of the cities. He speaks pure Arabic.
 He is outstanding in knowledge and actions.
 He is an original poet, and how well he writes!
 How he pierces with his lance the breasts (of the enemy)!
 How he smites their necks with the sword!
 Heaven envies him four of his qualities.
 Who could count his (qualities), tell me, or estimate them?
 The sun (envies) his light, the moon his ambition,
 The rain his generosity, and the stars his position.
 He rides on the steed of generosity¹⁹⁰² and gives free rein
 To enterprise and zeal in being (generous).
 Every day, we put on the robes of honor that he gives us.
 With the perfume of his high glory we consider (the day) perfumed.
 His kindness is showered upon everybody who comes to him.
 He lets no one who approaches him go home with empty hands.
 He brought out the truth that had been concealed.
 Falsehood can (now) no longer conceal it.
 He rebuilt the crumbling pillar of piety (toward God) Which time had
 ruined.
 He is feared when he is met, just as one puts one's hope in him.

¹⁹⁰¹ *Qabd* = *qabw*, or perhaps = **cavo*?

For suitable meanings of *qabw*, and for its pronunciation *qbd* in northwestern Africa, cf., for instance, W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 421.

¹⁹⁰² The Arabic text has here an untranslatable play on words.

In spite of the kindness of his face, how forbidding he can be!
 He goes to war laughing, and war is frowning.
 He is superior. No one in the world is superior to him.
 When he draws his sword among the engines of war,¹⁹⁰³
 No second stroke is needed where he strikes.
 He is the namesake¹⁹⁰⁴ of the chosen (Prophet Muhammad). God
 Selected and chose him to be ruler.
 One can see that he is caliph, the commander of the Muslims.
 He leads his armies and is an ornament of his cavalcade.
 All heads bow and obey the chief.
 Indeed, they desire to kiss his hand.
 His house, the Band Nasr, are the full moon of the time.
 Their glory (steadily) rises and (never) sets.
 They go far in loftiness and nobility.
 They do not go far in humbleness and shame.¹⁹⁰⁵
 Let God preserve them, as long as the firmament revolves.
 And the sun rises and the stars sparkle,
 And as long as this poem shall be sung to music,
 O sun of the harem, that never sets.¹⁹⁰⁶

The urban population of the Maghrib then created a new poetical form in meters with internally rhyming couplets,¹⁹⁰⁷ similar to the *muwashshah*. They wrote poetry in this form in their sedentary dialect, too. They

¹⁹⁰³ Cf. R. Dozy in *Journal asiatique*, XIV6 (1869), 212 f.

¹⁹⁰⁴ The poem is addressed to one of the Nagrids of Granada, by name Muhammad. Cf. p. 461 (n. 1885), above.

¹⁹⁰⁵ The parallelism with the preceding verses hardly permits de Slane's translation: "But they draw near (to God) through their humbleness and modesty."

¹⁹⁰⁶ Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 213, points out that the last line occurred in an earlier poem by Ibn az-Zaqqaq, d. 528 [1134]. Cf. GAL, *Suppl.*, I, 481; Nykl, pp. 231-33. It was quoted by al-Maqqari, *Analectes*, II, 196. Ibn az-Zaqqaq, however, probably was not the first to use it.

¹⁹⁰⁷ The rhyme scheme is *ab-ab-cd-cd*.

called it "local meter."¹⁹⁰⁸ The first to create the form was a Spaniard who settled in Fez, by name Ibn 'Umayr. He wrote a fragmentary piece in the manner of the *muwashshahah*, in which he only rarely¹⁹⁰⁹ disregarded the rules of the vowel endings. It begins:

On the bank of the river, the plaint of a dove
 Upon a bough in the garden near morn made me weep.
 The palm of morning was wiping off the ink of darkness,
 And the drops of dew were flowing among the teeth of the camomiles.
 I had gone to the meadows early in the morning. The dew was scattered
 about there
 Like jewels strewn over the bosoms of maidens.
 The tear of the water wheels was being shed
 Like snakes wriggling around fruit.
 The boughs are all twisted like an anklet around the thigh.
 All of this surrounds the meadow like a bracelet.
 The hands of the dew break through the folds of the calyxes,
 And the winds carry a breeze from off (the flowers), which smells like
 musk.
 The ivory of the clear sky is covered by the dark musk of the clouds.
 The zephyr draws his train over (the flowers) and spreads their
 perfume.
 I saw the dove in the foliage on a branch.
 It had wetted its feathers with drops of dew.
 It cooed plaintively, like a lovesick stranger.
 Urban Poetry in the Contemporary Maghrib
 It had covered itself with its new plumage as with a cloak,
 But with its beak red and its leg colored.
 It had a necklace of well-arranged strings of jewels.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Cf. 2:223, above.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Sic D. The earlier texts have "never."

It was sitting between the boughs like a lovesick person,
 Using one wing as a cushion, and the other to cover itself.
 It had come to complain about the passion in its heart,
 And, on account of it,¹⁹¹⁰ had put its beak to its breast and cried.
 I said: O dove, my eye can no longer slumber.
 Please, will you not stop crying and shedding tears?
 The dove replied: I cried, until my tears ran dry.¹⁹¹¹
 I cry plaintively all the time, without tears,
 For a young bird that flew away from me and did not return.
 I have been familiar with crying and grief since the time of Noah.
 This is faithfulness, I say, this is fidelity.
 Look, my eyes have become (red) like sores.
 But you (human beings), if one of you is afflicted, after a year,
 He says: I have had enough of this weeping and mourning.
 I said: O dove, if you had plunged into the ocean of misery (in which
 I am),
 You would cry and mourn for me with tears and sighs.
 And if your heart felt like mine,
 The boughs upon which you are sitting would be reduced to ashes.
 How many years is it today that I suffered separation (from my
 beloved),
 So that it is altogether impossible for the eyes (of anybody) to see
 me?¹⁹¹²
 My body is covered with thinness and disease.
 My thinness conceals me from the eyes of spectators.
 If death should come to me, I would die on the spot.
 Those who are dead, my friends, at last enjoy rest.

¹⁹¹⁰ *Leg. minh?*

¹⁹¹¹ Cf. Dozy, op. cit., p. 214.

¹⁹¹² Because I am so greatly shrunken.

(The dove) said to me: If the rivers in the meadows¹⁹¹³ were to moan
Out of the (great) fear that I harbor for (my beloved), the soul would
be returned to the heart.¹⁹¹⁴

I am discolored by my tears. This whiteness
Will always be like a necklace around my neck to the day of the (last)
convocation.

As for the tip of my beak, its story is known:

It is like a bit, of flame, while (the rest of my) body is (gray as) ashes.
All,¹⁹¹⁵ kinds of doves cry and mourn for me.

He who experiences the anguish-of being kept apart and separated
(from his beloved) might (well) mourn.^{1915a}

O joy of this world, farewell to you,

Since we find no rest or place of repose in you!

The inhabitants of Fez liked it and applied this method in their poetry. They omitted the vowel endings with which they were not familiar. This kind of poetry gained a wide diffusion among them. Many of them excelled in it. They used several forms, the *muzawwaj*, the *kazi*, the *mal'abah*, and the *ghazal*.¹⁹¹⁶ They differ according to the arrangement of the rhyming couplets and the contents the poets want to express in them.

A *muzawwaj* poem is that of Ibn Shuja`, an outstanding Maghribi poet, from Taza:

Money is the ornament of the world and the strength of the soul.

It makes faces that are not beautiful, beautiful.

¹⁹¹³ *Al-awdah bi-r-riyad.*

¹⁹¹⁴ The meaning of this verse seems to be that if nature were to give an audible expression of grief commensurable with the dove's feelings, it would be so tumultuous that it would wake the dead.

¹⁹¹⁵ The remaining lines of the poem are found only in D, not in Bulaq, A, or B

^{1915a} *Nah*, although D has *bah*. The latter may mean, "shows (it)."

¹⁹¹⁶ *Muzawwaj* means approximately "couplet." D reads *mamzuj*, Bulaq *muzdawij*. *Kazi* is not known. *Mal'abah* is "plaything." Cf. Greek *παίγιον*. See 2:220f., above. *Ghazal* is commonly used as "love song."

Lo, anyone who has plenty of money to spend
 Is made a spokesman and given a high rank.
 Whoever has a great deal of money is great, even if he be small.
 And the mighty man becomes small when he becomes poor.
 The one thing warps my breast, and the other makes it jealous.
 It would burst, if there were not the (possibility of) recourse to destiny.
 A man who is great among his people may (have to) seek refuge
 With a man who has no pedigree and no influence.
 Such a reversal causes me sadness,
 And because of it I put my garment over my head to conceal (myself)
 [?].
 Thus, the tails have come to be in front of the heads,
 And the river borrows water from the water wheel.
 Did the weakness of man do that, or the corruption of time?
 We do not know which we should blame more.
 Someone came to be addressed¹⁹¹⁷ as "Father of someone"
 And "please!" and how (long it took) before he replied!
 We have lived, thank God, long enough to see with our own eyes
 The souls of princes in the skins of dogs.
 Many with very great souls may have weak (material) foundations.
 They are in one place, and glory is in another.
 Whereas people see them as old fools, they see themselves
 As the outstanding personalities of the country and (its) solid
 foundation.

The (Maghribi) method is represented by the following verses from a *muzawwaj* poem by Ibn Shuja':

He whose heart goes after the handsome (ones) of this day will be tired
 (and disappointed).

¹⁹¹⁷ In order to honor him.

You had better leave off or beauty will use you for a plaything.
 There is no handsome (beloved)¹⁹¹⁸ among them who ever promised
 something and did not break his promise.
 Few are those to whom you can be faithful, and who are faithful to you.
 They are proud toward their lovers and refuse (them).
 They deliberately set out to break people's hearts.
 When they enter into a liaison, they break it up in their own good time.
 When they make a promise, they break it in any case.
 There is a handsome (youth) with whom I have fallen in love.
 I have set my heart on him.
 I have made my cheek the shoe for his foot.
 I have given him a place in the center of my heart.
 I said: O my heart, honor him who has taken up residence in you!
 Think little of the humiliation that you suffer!
 For you cannot escape being affected by the frightful power of
 passion.¹⁹¹⁹
 I have given him power over me. I am satisfied to have him as my
 master.
 If you¹⁹²⁰ could see my condition when I see him!
 I am like a beetle upon the surface of a pond,
 Which turns over in it and suffocates like a little (round fruit).¹⁹²¹
 I know at once what is in his mind.¹⁹²²
 I understand what he wants before he mentions it.
 I try to get (for him) what he wants, even if it be
 Grape juice in spring, or early wheat in the winter.¹⁹²³

¹⁹¹⁸ *Maliha*. It is not, however, necessary to translate, with Dozy (*Journal asiatique*, XIV 6, 215):

"There is none among you who ever promised something to a lover."

¹⁹¹⁹ For this and the following verses, cf. Dozy, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹²⁰ I.e., the heart.

¹⁹²¹ *N'arja' mithl dhurruha fi wajh-al-ghadir Tadur bu wa yatfattas bi-hal-al jaru.*

¹⁹²² The meter requires: < *ma*, or *esh* > *bi-sabq-ad-damtr*:

¹⁹²³ Cf. Dozy, *loc. cit.*, and *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 261a.

I go to fetch it,¹⁹²⁴ even if it be in Isfahan.

Whenever he says: "I need something," I say to him: "You'll get it."

And so on.

Another (Maghribi) poet was 'Ali b. al-Mu'adhdhin of Tlemcen.

An outstanding poet in Zarhun,¹⁹²⁵ in the region of Meknes, close to the present time, was a man known as al Kafif (the blind one). He produced original specimens of these types of poetry. The best poem of his that sticks in my memory is a poem on the trip of Sultan Abul-Hasan¹⁹²⁶ and the Merinids to Ifriqiyah. In it, he describes their rout at al-Qayrawan. He consoles them about it and cheers them by describing what happened to others, but first he blames them because of their raid against Ifriqiyah. It is *a mal'abah*, a variety of this sort of poetry. The beginning is one of the most original examples of how to indicate eloquently the purpose of a poem right at the start. This is called "excellence of beginning" (*bara'at al-istihlal*). His verses run:

Praised be He who holds the hearts of amirs

By their forelocks at any moment and time.

If we obey Him, He gives us much help.

If we disobey Him, He punishes (us) with all kinds of humiliation.

He goes on, until, after the transition (*takhallus*),¹⁹²⁷ he comes to inquire after the armies of the Maghrib:

Be a sheep, but do not be a shepherd!

For a shepherd is held responsible for his flock.

Start with a prayer for him who called (us)

To Islam, the gracious, exalted, perfect (Prophet),

For the right-guided caliphs, and the men of the second generation!

¹⁹²⁴ *Nasuqu*.

¹⁹²⁵ Cf. G. S. Colin in EI, s.v. "Meknes."

¹⁹²⁶ The event referred to took place in 1348. Cf. I:xxxix, above.

¹⁹²⁷ *Takhallur* is the transition from the erotic to the laudatory part of a poem. Cf. Lane's *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 2786c, s. *rad. nsb*.

Afterwards, mention whatever you like, and speak out:
 O pilgrims,¹⁹²⁸ cross the desert
 And describe the countries with (their) inhabitants!
 Where did the intention of the Sultan lead
 The army of brilliant, beautiful Fez?
 O pilgrims, by the Prophet whom you visited
 And for whose sake you traversed the sand hills of the desert,
 I have come to ask you about the army of the West
 That perished in black Ifrigiyah,
 And about the (ruler) who provided you (for your pilgrimage) by his
 gifts
 And made the desert of the Hijaz a place of luxurious living.
 There¹⁹²⁹ has come up something like a dam facing a slope,
 And a gorge is cleft after the water of a deluge [?].¹⁹³⁰
 It (the army) is crushed like Sodom and trampled into the earth [?].
 Tell me now, did Zughar¹⁹³¹ become their jailer?
 If the region from near Tunis
 To the country of the West were an Alexandrian obstacle¹⁹³²
 Built (across the world) from the East to the West,
 With one layer of iron, and a second of bronze,¹⁹³³
 Still, the birds should answer us,
 Or the wind should bring us special news from them.
 Vexing and bad things,

¹⁹²⁸ The Moroccan poet asks pilgrims returning from Mecca for information about events in a region they had to pass through. In Islam, pilgrims were always the transmitters of news and political information.

¹⁹²⁹ The poet now describes the obstacles that might, he imagines, prevent him from obtaining the information.

¹⁹³⁰ *Wa yufyar shawt ba'd ma tufan.*

¹⁹³¹ A daughter of Lot, after whom the Dead Sea is named *Bahr Zughar*, here signifying the desert?

¹⁹³² Referring to the famous Dam of Gog and Magog built by Alexander. Cf. 1:162, above.

¹⁹³³ Cf. 1:75 (n. 10), above.

If they were recited . . .
 Stones would run with blood and burst,
 Hillocks¹⁹³⁴ would tumble and be carried away by a torrent.
 Let me know with your penetrating intelligence
 And think it over for me completely [?] in your heart,
 If you know, whether a pigeon or messenger
 From the Sultan has become known, and speak out seven times [?]
 About the announcement of 'Abd-al-Muhayman al-Ghawwas [?]
 And (further) indications spread (from) atop the minarets.
 They are indeed people, naked, unprotected,
 Ignored, with no place and no power.
 They do not know how to picture (their) failure,
 Or how they (might have) entered the city of al-Qayrawan.
 O my Lord Abul-Hasan, we come to the gate (court)
 On a definite matter: Let us go to Tunis!
 We are enough for you, and you do not need the Jarid and the Zab.
 What do you have to do with the Arabs of dark¹⁹³⁵ Ifriqiyah?
 Do you not know the story of 'Umar, the son of al-Khattab,
 The Faruq, conqueror of villages, the treacherously (assassinated
 caliph)?
 He took possession of Syria, the Hijaz, and the crown¹⁹³⁶ of Khosraw
 (the 'Iraq),
 And he conquered a part of the entrance to Ifriqiyah.
 He was a person of great renown [?],¹⁹³⁷

¹⁹³⁴ *Leg. al-qiran.*

¹⁹³⁵ *Ghawbas*, from the root *gh-b-s*?

¹⁹³⁶ The "crown of Khosraw" does not mean the Persian Empire, but "crown" *taj* stands here for *taq* "arch." The allusion is to the famous architectural monument, mentioned by Ibn Khaldun, 1:101, 356, and 2:239, 242 f., above.

¹⁹³⁷ Possibly one should read:

Kan dha dhukrat lu kathrat dhikra.

And still he used to say: "In (Ifriqiyah), our friends will be divided."¹⁹³⁸
 This Faruq, the emerald of all beings, Pronounced himself thus
 concerning Ifriqiyah. It remained quiet to the time of 'Uthman.
 Ibn az-Zubayr¹⁹³⁹ conquered it according to verified information.
 When the spoils from it arrived at the government office,
 'Uthman died, and the atmosphere changed for us.
 People were divided under three amirs.
 Something (better) treated with silence came to be (considered true)
 faith.
 If that was the situation in the days of the pious (early Muslims),
 What shall we do in later times?
 The experts in *jafr*¹⁹⁴⁰ in their little booklets,
 And in the history of their Mercury¹⁹⁴¹ and Saturn,
 Mention in their pamphlets and verses-
 (Experts such as) Shiqq and Satih¹⁹⁴² and Ibn Murranah¹⁹⁴³
 -That, when Merin's creatures have to lean
 On the walls of Tunis, Merin loses its importance.
 And remember what¹⁹⁴⁴ the chief minister,
 The influential 'Isa b. al-Hasan, said to me.
 He said to me: I ought to be the person who knows,
 But when fate comes, eyes are blind.
 I tell you: What brought the Merinids
 From the capital of Fez to the Dabbab Arabs?

¹⁹³⁸Cf. 1:333, above.

¹⁹³⁹According to the historians, 'Abdallah b. az-Zubayr participated in the conquest of Ifriqiyah and killed Gregory (Jirjir), the Byzantine governor, in the battle of Sbeitla in 647/48. Cf. also *Ibar*, VI, 108; de Slane (tr.), I, 209.

¹⁹⁴⁰Cf. 2:194 and 209 ff., above.

¹⁹⁴¹Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 442b.

¹⁹⁴²Cf. 1:219 and 2:202, above.

¹⁹⁴³Cf. 2:220, above.

¹⁹⁴⁴Or: "And we remember."

May our lord profit from the death of Bu Yahya,
The Sultan of Tunis and master of al-'Unnab!¹⁹⁴⁵

Then, he began to describe the trip of the Sultan and his armies, to the end of that, and then on to the end of the whole affair with the Arabs of Ifriqiyah, using in his description every kind of remarkable, original (expression).

The inhabitants of Tunis also produced *mal'abahs* in their dialect. However, most of them are bad. Nothing has stuck in my memory, because they are so bad.

The common people of Baghdad also had a kind of (popular) poetry. They called these poems *al-mawaliya*. (The *mawaliya*) have many subdivisions. They are called *al Hawfi*,¹⁹⁴⁶ *Kan-wa-kan*, and *Dubayt*. All the different meters recognized by them are used for these poems. Most of the verses are couplets of four "branches" that rhyme with each other.

The Egyptians followed the Baghdadis in this respect. They produced remarkable poems of this type. They rivaled (each other in) expressing in them all the methods of rhetorical expression as required by their dialect. They produced marvelous things.

I¹⁹⁴⁷ have seen it stated in the *Diwan* of Safi-ad-din al-Hilli that a *mawaliya* has the meter *basit* and consists of four rhyming "branches." It is also called *sawt* "tune" and *baytan* "double verse." It was invented by

¹⁹⁴⁵"Jujube -trees," referring to Bone.

¹⁹⁴⁶*Al-Hawfi* is known as a kind of song native to modern Tlemcen, in particular. Cf. W. Marcaais, *Le Dialecte arabe pane a Tlemcen*, pp. 205 ff. Bulaq corrects *al-Hawfi* to *al-Quma*, and it would seem that in fact Ibn Khaldun should not have written *al-Hawfi* here, but *al-Quma*, as the latter is well known, like the other terms mentioned, as a kind of *mawallya*.

For the popularity of this poetry in thirteenth and fourteenth century Baghdad, cf. Ibn Kathir, *Bidyyah*, XIII, 31; XIV, 120, 155.

¹⁹⁴⁷The following quotation from 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. Saraya al-Hilli, 677-749 [1278-13491-cf. GAL, II, 159 f.; *Suppl.*, II, 199 f.-is not from his often-printed *Diwan*, but from his still unpublished 'Alil *al-hali*, as appears from the remarks of Hartmann, p. 218, and W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter in *Oriens*, III (1950), 268.

the people of Wasit. *Kan-wa-kan* has one rhyme (throughout) and different meters in its hemistichs. The first hemistich is longer than the second. The rhyme letter must be accompanied by one of the weak letters (*i, u, a*). It was invented by the Baghdadis. The following (*kan-wa-kan*) is recited:

In the winking of the eyelids we have a conversation that is self-explanatory.

The mother of the dumb (child) understands - the language of the dumb.¹⁹⁴⁸

End of the quotation from Safi-ad-din.

The most remarkable poem of the sort that has stuck in my memory is that of an (Egyptian) poet. (It runs:)

This wound is still fresh - and the blood is still flowing - and my killer,¹⁹⁴⁹ dear brother - has a good time in the desert - They said: We shall avenge you - I said: This is worse - He¹⁹⁵⁰ who wounded me shall heal me - That will be better.

Another poet says:

I knocked at the door of the tent. She said: Who is knocking? - I said: One enamored, no robber or thief.

She smiled - A flash like lightning came to me from her teeth - I returned perturbed, drowned in the ocean of my tears.

Another poet says:

¹⁹⁴⁸ B reads:

Lana bi-ghamz al-hawajib-hadith tafsiru minnu

Wa-umm al-akhras ta'rif-bi-lughat al-khursan.

Umm al-akhras in B is a correction of *umm al-'s*. D reads *umm al-ahdab* "mother of the hunchback," and adds a superfluous *wa-6d*. The correctness of the reading *umm al-akhras*, found also in A, and the meaning of the second verse became clear to me *only* after I received a copy of W. Hoenerbach's edition of al-Hilli's *Atil* (Wiesbaden, 1956). Cf. there pp. 152 f.

¹⁹⁴⁹ The "killer" is the beloved, and the "wound" is caused by the pangs of love.

¹⁹⁵⁰ The remainder of this poem is not found in Bulaq.

There was a time in our relationship when she could not guarantee me that she would not depart. And when I complained about my passion, she said: I would give (my) eye for you.

But when someone else, a handsome youth, caught her eye, I reminded her of our relationship, but she (merely) said: I am in your debt.¹⁹⁵¹

Another poet describes *hashish* as follows:

A choice intoxicant whose effect always lasts with me - It makes wine, wine merchant, and cupbearer superfluous.

It is an old strumpet whose viciousness¹⁹⁵² inflames me - I conceal it in my intestines, and it comes out of my eyes.

Another poet says:¹⁹⁵³

You who like to be united with the children of love, *nab* - how much pain will separation cause to the heart, *awwah ah* (Oh, ouch).

I deposited my heart *haw-haw*,¹⁹⁵⁴ and my patience is bah-Everybody is *kakh* in my eye. Your person is *dah*.

Another poet says:

I called her, while gray hair already enveloped me: Give me a loving kiss, O Mayyah.

She said, having burnt out the inside of my heart, I would not think that such cotton could ever cover the mouth of a person who is still alive.¹⁹⁵⁵

Another poet says:

¹⁹⁵¹This refers to the eye that she promised to give him, if she were ever to be unfaithful to him. Thus, she owes him the eye, but now does not want to pay her debt.

¹⁹⁵²*Leg. qubh-ha'*

¹⁹⁵³The following two poems are not found in D.

¹⁹⁵⁴Sic A. B has *huhu*. The sense of the meaningless words can easily be supplied by the listener or reader.

¹⁹⁵⁵The white beard is compared to the cotton stuffed into the mouth of the corpse before burial.

He saw me and smiled. The rain clouds of my tears preceded the lightning (smile of his brilliant teeth) - He withdrew the veil. The full moon seemed to rise.

He lowered his dark hair. The heart got lost in its net - He led us aright again with the thread of dawn coming from where his hair was parted.

Another poet says:

O camel driver, shout at the animals - and stop at the dwelling of my beloved ones shortly before dawn!

Call out among their tribe: Let him who wants the (heavenly) reward - rise and pray for a deceased person who was killed by separation (from the beloved).

Another poet says:¹⁹⁵⁶

The eye with which I was observing you, spent the night - observing the stars, and fed on sleeplessness.

The arrows of separation hit me and did not pass me by - My solace - Let God give you a great reward - is dead.

Another poet says:¹⁹⁵⁷

In your district, O cruel pretty ones, I loved - a gazelle that afflicts ferocious lions with pensiveness.

A bough that captivates chaste girls when it bends - and when it lights up, the full moon cannot compare with it.

The following poem is one of the poems called *dubayt*:

¹⁹⁵⁶In A and B the following two poems come after the *dubayt*.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Instead of the next poem, D has another that runs:

The dove said to the falconer: Set me free! *I did not harm you. So, why do you use me as bait? You send out the falcon to wound me with its claw, And after I have suffered all the pain, you slaughter me!
Qal al-hamam ila-l-bazdari sarrihni Ma li `alek adhiya kam tulawwihni Wa-tursil al-baz bi-mikhlabu tujarrihni Wa-ba'd sabri 'ala-l-alam tudhabbihni.

At the beginning of the third line, the meter requires a correction. Instead of *wa-tursil al-baz*, one should read *wa-tursilu* (or, perhaps, *tursil al-baz*).

The one whom I love has sworn by the Creator - that he would send his apparition in the early mornings.¹⁹⁵⁸

O fire of my desire for him, burn - all night. Perhaps he will be guided by the fire.

It should be known that taste as to what constitutes eloquence in connection with such poetry is possessed only by those who have contact with the dialect in which (a particular poem) is composed, and who have had much practice in using it among the people who speak it. Only thus do they acquire the habit of it, as we stated with regard to the Arabic language.¹⁹⁵⁹ A Spaniard has no understanding of the eloquence of Maghribi poetry. Maghribis have none for the eloquence of the poetry of Easterners or Spaniards, and Easterners have none for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribis. All of them use different dialects and word combinations. Everybody understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people.

"In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the difference of your tongues and colors, there are, indeed, signs for those who know."¹⁹⁶⁰

¹⁹⁵⁸The early morning slumber, when the lover dreams of his beloved, is meant here.

¹⁹⁵⁹Cf. pp. 358 f., above.

¹⁹⁶⁰Qur'an 30.22(21). The quotation is omitted in D.

CONCLUDING REMARK

[p.3:481]

We almost strayed from our purpose. It is our intention (now) to stop with this First Book which is concerned with the nature of civilization and the accidents that go with it. We have dealt - as we think, adequately - with the problems connected with that. Perhaps some later (scholar), aided by the divine gifts of a sound mind and of solid scholarship, will penetldte into these problems in greater detail than we did here. A person who creates a new discipline does not have the task of enumerating (all) the (individual) problems connected with it. His task is to specify the subject of the discipline and its various branches and the discussions connected with it. His successors, then, may gradually add more problems, until the (discipline) is completely (presented).

"God knows, and you do not know."¹⁹⁶¹

The author of the book - God forgive him!-says: I completed the composition and draft of this first part, before revision and correction,¹⁹⁶² 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.

Knowledge comes only from God, the strong, the wise.

¹⁹⁶¹Qur'an 2.216 (213), 232 (232); 3.66 (59); 24.19 (19).

¹⁹⁶²For this Ibn Khaldun needed a large library, such as he did not have at his disposal at Qal'at Ibn Salamah where the *Muqaddimah* was written. Cf. *Autobiography*, p. 230.

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