

SUFI METAPHYSICS: AN APPRAISAL IN SUBCONTINENT PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: The article starts with a definition of metaphysics both traditional and modern, giving a relationship between religion and metaphysics. There is also preliminary discussion on the nature of Islamic mysticism or Sufism as such. This followed by main body of the article i.e Sufi metaphysics and its various sections. In the account on Sufi concept of God a distinction has made between *wahdat al wujud* and *whadat as shuhud*. Then there is a section on Sufi concept of soul. The Sufis lay immense emphasis on the purification of soul for Divine knowledge. Sufi concept universe is very comprehensive as it numerates and explains which different *Alams* are referred to by the Sufi. These *Alams* correspond to the (Seven heavens) of the Qur'an. Sufi concept of man describes a story of man attainment of greater and grater purification right from his creations onwards, briefly describing the concept of perfect manhood in Islam. The article ends with the Sufi concept of love or *ishaq* of Allah which in its intensity metamorphoses the spiritual personality of man

The term "metaphysics" is highly controversial due to its association with the various disciplines. Since the term metaphysics is associated with the various disciplines naturally it bears different meanings that are diversified in nature also. Therefore, it is not an easy task to define metaphysics. My intention is to delineate something about metaphysics at the out set and then proceed to discuss the subcontinent Sufi metaphysics. Historically it is conceived that the term metaphysics was used first in philosophy by Andronicus of Rhodes in 70 B.C. The main difficulty is that the different thinkers have used this term in their own ways and there is no universal criterion to apprehend metaphysics. Some have utilized metaphysics as a branch of philosophy, like epistemology, theology, cosmology axiology and so on. In ancient period philosophy¹ was generally equated with metaphysics* and there was no sharp boundary between these two subjects. Some have understood metaphysics as subject of supernatural or supra physical study, hence it is quite different from the study of the phenomenal objects. Its supernatural dealings differentiate it from the other subjects. But metaphysics does not

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shifting of power from one Group Mind to another more active.

¹⁸ Muqaddimah, p. 148 ff; Issawi, pp. 117-18.

¹⁹ Compare Ibn abi'r-Rabi's views on governmental changes; Sherwani, Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration, 6, edition, pp. 53-54.

⁷ Muqaddimah, Vol. II, Chapter 5.

²¹ Issawi, op. cit., p.77.

²² E.L.J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in medieval Islam, p.106.

References

¹ Ferdinand III, King of Castile, 1199-1252. We are fortunate in having an autobiography of Ibn Khaldun, which has been edited by at-Tanji as Cairo, 1951. See Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, New York, 3 Vols. n.d., p. xxix, f. n., 2. Rosenthal has given a detailed and critical account of Ibn Khaldun's life on pp. xxix-lxvii.

² Al-Maqqari, author of the famous history of Spain, *Nafhu't Tib*, died in 1057-8. Al-Ballafigi, who has been quoted a number of times in Ibn Khaldun's great work, died in 1370.

³ Muhammad V, King of Granada, 1354-59; 1362-91. Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon, 1350-69. Al-Maqqari dedicated his book the *Nafhu't-tib* to Ibnu'l Khatib. Ibnu'l-Khatib lived, 1313-74.

⁴ Maliku'z-Zahir Barquq, King of Egypt, 7-12-1381-20-6-1399. Maliku'n-Nasir Zainu'd-din Faraj, King of Egypt, 20-6-1399-19-5-1422.

⁵ Ibn Khaldun's mortal remains lie buried in the cemetery outside the Bab-en-Nasr in Cairo.

⁶ Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III, quoted in Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History*, p.x.

⁷ Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, Introduction, Calls Ibn Khaldun "the first writer to treat history as a proper object of a special science."

⁸ Bodin, author of *De Republica*, 1530-1596. Montesquieu, author of *Esprit des Lois*, 1689-1775.

⁹ For a list of the countries covered by these zones see Charles Issawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.

¹⁰ Rosenthal, *Ibn Khaldun, the Muqaddima*, Vol. I, p. 167.

¹¹ I have preferred to render *badawi* and *hazari* by "nomadic" and "urban" rather than by "Bedouin" and "sedentary" as in Rosenthal's translation; for the word "Bedouin" has acquired a distinct Arab connotation, and the word "sedentary" usually means inactive. Issawi has rightly used "nomadic" for "badawi"; but I have again preferred "urban" to his "sedentary," as *urbs* or the City was the pivot of the later social organization.

¹² Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, I, 254.

¹³ *Muqaddimah*, Beirut edition, 1886, pp. 109, ff.

¹⁴ 'Asabiyah has been rendered into English as "Solidarity" by Issawi and as "Group feeling" by Rosenthal. I have preferred to translate it by the epithet "Group Mind" as 'Asabiyah is not a mere passive feeling or a mere sense of solidarity but it is an active force working through the mind or the group. *Daulat* (pl. *dawal*) is the word used by Ibn Khaldun for the State. The word *Mulk* is not used for a country but only for dominion or domination.

¹⁵ Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, I, 289.

¹⁶ Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 121 ff; 134 ff.

¹⁷ How true this is even today. How many so-called "noble" houses are wiped out when the centre of political gravity shifts from one group to another, and "Houses" and even dynasties once regarded as "noble" are forgotten in the wake of political upheavals which, in Ibn Khaldun's parlance would be the

military, religious and cultural factors; (v) Parallel existence of a State founded on the doctrine of a “prophetic law-giver” and a State founded on human need for political association; (vi) The distinction between the law of the Shariah and man-made laws; (vii) Part of Religion in the life of a State; (viii) Cycle of the origin, peak, decline and fall of a State.²² In him we see the erudite statesman and political philosopher merged into one, and it was perhaps due to this happy aggregation of his natural capacities that he has created a special place for himself in the field of historical philosophy. It is no wonder that a man of such world-wide experience and such remarkable caliber should have forestalled later European political and economic thinkers in his breadth of vision, power of analysis and inventive mind.

have some idea of Ibn Khaldun's breadth of vision. He has devoted a whole chapter to the economic factors governing the life of an individual or a group. He deals with such factors as agriculture, the meaning, methods and different kinds of commerce, transportation of goods, hoarding and its evils, prices, crafts and professions, (which arise mostly when a population has settled down and become urban in character), including among others, calligraphy, book production, singing and music. Under each craft he is careful to give its economic value and the profits which might accrue to the individuals practicing it and to the society in general.²⁰

He upholds the right of property by the theory that when once a man has acquired the possession of anything no other person may appropriate it without giving an equal value in exchange. In the same way if a person follows a certain craft or profession, then whatever he acquires from such a profession is his own. He is quite clear that when there is a greater demand for the products of a certain craft the value of it would rise and there would be a greater concentration of effort on the part of the craftsman to improve its quality. Ibn Khaldun is clear that even if the supply of a commodity falls short of general demand, the rich would go in for the commodity and gladly pay a fancy price for it.

Ibn Khaldun strikes a modern note when he says that wealth is not an individual product but the result of a continuing process affected by inheritance, personal endeavor and the protection afforded by the State. Money or bullion even of precious metals is not wealth proper, for even the most precious of them have merely a better exchange value. "It is Society, acting through human labour, which brings them to light and increase or decreases their quality."²¹ He has a clear conception of the interplay of the laws of supply and demand so that many persons devote their time to its mass production duty like vegetables is not grown to such an extent as is therefore priced higher.

Ibn Khaldun's Importance in the Field of Political Thought:

These are only a few of the numerous theories propounded by the great thinker. He was certainly a pioneer in the whole field of the science dealing with the rise, growth and decline of human societies. He was also out of the first Muslim historians to have evolved the principles of historical criticism. A modern writer says that the importance of Ibn Khaldun consists in a number of "novel insights of permanent value and significance," and enumerates the following main features: (i) Distinction between rural and urban ways of life; (ii) 'Asabiyah as the driving force of political action; (iii) Islam as a universal human civilization; (iv) Interdependence of economic,

nobility and pride in one's family.¹⁷

States:

When a State is formed by interplay of Group Minds it soon reaches its limits in the matter of extent. It should also be noted that the life of a State, or rather its basis, is generally limited to three generations or, on the average, to one hundred and twenty years. Like human beings the State is also prone to the accidents of birth, growth, decay, and death. The Group idea begins among the people when men lead healthy, robust lives in the open air, respect their women-folk and keep other neighbouring groups in awe by their valour and hardihood, and time comes when by their superior qualities they overpower their enemies and begin to rule over them. This is the beginning of the second stage in the development of a State. Where formerly the rural group was accustomed to overcome difficulties and lead a strenuous life it now acquires resources to lead a life of opulence, and builds mansions and cities. A new phenomenon comes about that while the people become indolent real power is concentrated in a leader (or a group of powerful oligarchy). The Group Mind, which brought about the formation of the State, begins to disappear, and no feeling but that of submission to the command of the ruler is either known or tolerated. The State now reaches its third and final stage when people become more effete and effeminate, and only a distant memory of the past remains. The ruler, who was virile in the second stage of development, himself becomes lazy and unperceiving, and surrounds himself with favorites as his advisors and mercenaries as his protectors, the end soon comes, and the State, which was once a source of awe to its neighbours, finally falls a prey to one of them.¹⁸

Looking back upon the history of nations we find that this analysis is not without a good deal of truth. The history of any country may be divided into a number of periods, certainly not water-tight but fairly marked all the same. They may be summarized as the foundation of the State with all the might of the component population, the leadership of a chief or king, followed by absolutism in government, with all power of action depending on one single person. This leads to a condition in which the people either begin to lead a life of ease and carelessness or else begin to clamour for popular rights. In the former case the prediction of Ibn Khaldun generally comes true and the State dies a natural death, while in the case of the second alternative and the success of the popular experiment, a new State in effect takes the place of the cycle begins to work over again.¹⁹

Some Economic Problems:

Although purely economic problems hardly come within the purview of this article, it is well to describe some of them if only to

character.¹⁴

Asabiyah or Group Mind:

One of the great contributions of Ibn Khaldun is his theory of Asabiyah or Group Mind. It is the active element which makes a group not merely to remain independent but also to make other groups with weaker group mind subservient to it. He says that the State, *daulat*, is founded on two moral principles, the active Group Mind and Religion. There is no doubt that the mission of a Divine Messenger has potentiality of a tremendous binding force, and if the mission is successful it may lead to the creation of Asabiyah and finally of the State itself. It is for this reason that Ibn Khaldun considers religious faith to be one of the forces which help the foundation of State, while it is quite possible for a group with an active Group Mind to acquire Mulk or domination over another. The simplest form of a Group Mind would be based on consanguinity, either real as in the case of a family, or artificial as in the case of a whole tribe, but the essential thing is that there should be an active Group Mind ready to hold its own against other groups. Ibn Khaldun instances the case of *mawah* or clients who attached themselves artificially to certain families or tribes, and then their Group Mind became part and parcel of the Group Mind of the family or bribe as the case may be. The desideratum of Asabiyah is the sense of oneness, the resolve to work together for common purposes and in no case to be dominated by another group. It is Asabiyah which makes the tribes of the desert retain their independence which lasts only so long as it exists; in the same way a family can hold its own against others only so long as it retains its Asabiyah. In the long run heterogeneity may not be a bar to independent existence if the people have got that Group Mind apart from their consanguinity. He says that the active Group Mind "produces the ability to defend oneself to offer opposition to protect oneself and to press one's claims".¹⁵

With the extension of territory and the formation of States it would be discovered that it was not just one group with the active mind, for now we have the conflict of a number of such group minds and the final domination of one such group owing to its objective activity. What happens is that the special power generated by the coaction of one group subdues all other groups and thus becomes supreme in relation to other groups within its orbit.¹⁶

Ibn Khaldun lays such a great stress on active Group Mind that he bases even "nobility" on whether those who claim to be noble have a share in the "Asabiyah of the ruling group. A man can be proud of his *Bayt* or "House" only when he can count distinguished persons as his ancestors, and at the same time those belonging to it have certain personal qualities, leading to their participation in the Group Mind. When these qualities disappear and with it all sense of

becomes opulent and tend to have similar evil qualities; but then their desires would touch only the fringe of complicated necessities and in course of time they tend to urbanism. It follows that the nomads lead a comparatively more moral life than those who have settled down.

Ibn Khaldun says that, besides being more normal, nomadic peoples are more self-reliant and more courageous than urban peoples. They have to rely on their own powers for their defence, not on the military arm of the Government. While the nomadic tribals carry weapons and leave their protection and the protection of their homes to Government. Generations pass till those living a settled life forget the use of weapons altogether and when calamities befall they do not know what to do. It is the desert people who are ever ready to repel attacks, are accustomed to austerity and would do any thing to remain free.

Ibn Khaldun strikes a curious note when he says that reliance not only on the military arm of the government but also on laws and the legal system destroys the bravery and fortitude of a people who have settled down in a region. The needs of a Nomadic people are few and they manage to live a free life by means of mutual understanding, or else by dint of native force, but in the case of the urbans there are continued conflicts necessitating laws and dominance by a ruler. If the laws are just, not much harm is done to the individual as he is then led by own qualities. But if they are oppressive and continue to be so, they sap the courage of the people and they tend to become timid and effete.

The Science of Sociology:

The transition from the rural to the urban naturally exercised the mind of Ibn Khaldun to the laws which govern society, and it is here that he lays the foundations of the science of Sociology which was not recognized in Europe till the middle of the nineteenth century. He describes the conditions governing human society in general, and says that man is distinguished from mere animals (i) by virtue of his intellect; (ii) by his need for an all-pervading ruler, (for without him it would be impossible to keep society intact); (iii) by his search for means of subsistence; (iv) by his desire to live along with fellow human beings, which in the long run, leads to permanent abodes in towns and cities. Here he presents an enigma which occurs to man time and again throughout the ages but which is still unsolved. He says that although it is the achievement of civilized life and culture which is the objective towards which man is always moving, it is this very advancement which leads to corruption both at the individual and the collective levels, accentuation of the difference between man and man and between nation and nation, and finally to war, bloodshed and slaughter.¹³ As had been noted above, these differences are intensified by the effect of the geographical position of various countries resulting in the effect of climate on the individual and collective

instance, are the Yemen, South Arabia, Hijaz, Yamama etc.

He is quite candid that the colour of skin is not due to the race being descended from a white or a coloured progenitor like Ham or Japheth, but to the composition of the air caused by great heat which is again the result of the sun being constantly at the Equator. Similarly the northern races have blue eyes, freckled skin and blonde hair owing to the composition of the air.

It is therefore only natural that the inhabitants of the central zones have the capacity of living an organized existence needing not merely political groupings called States but also political leadership culminating in royal authority. They also respond to religious teachings as well as natural sciences. Among these Ibn Khaldun counts Greeks, Roman, Persians, Jews, Chinese and Indians.

It hardly needs any proof that the quality and quantity of food are directly affected by the fertility of the soil as well as the amount of space which can be set aside for cultivation. There are those who live on the fringe of deserts, or where there is not enough space for cultivation, and they have to work harder and generally live on meat and milk products. They are therefore physically healthier and mentally more alert, while those who have plentiful of grain and other varieties of food are generally duller and prone to greater comfort. For the consumption of excessive quantities of food generates superfluous matter causing the dullness of mental capacities, and this naturally reacts on the social life of the people.

Ibn Khaldun's theories regarding the effect of climate on human societies are interspersed with illustrations from the animal world as well as the history of various human races, and while he is fully analytical, he does not fail to buttress his arguments by illustrations from the political facts before him.¹¹

Nomadic and Urban:

Ibn Khaldun says that the social transition of man is generally from the nomadic to the urban. In the nomadic stage man make his living on agriculture taking the form of vegetable and grain growing, while some subsist on animal husbandry, bee-rearing and silk worms. All these professions are essentially peculiar to the desert. The production is more or less at the subsistence level and there is hardly any trade beyond the confines of the region. Subsequent improvements in various processes lead to the accumulation of wealth increase in comfort, better food and clothing and finally to larger buildings, which make life more sedentary. Here a turn comes in the life of a people. Further accumulation of wealth means a tendency to pleasure seeking and worldly desires, and "their souls are coloured with all kinds of blameworthy and evil qualities."¹² Naturally the nomads may also

might have gone through the hands of interested persons, or collected for purposes different to that which he has in view. But perhaps more than anything else, conditions may have changed – nay, must have changed – since the data were collected, and it would be necessary to apply the conclusions arrived at to conditions at hand with full consideration of this important factor, otherwise anachronism would result. He enumerates certain other important factors which might become sources of error in historical evaluation. The historian might not grasp the intention of the earlier writer fully and thus have a false belief in the value of what he has left. He should take care neither to praise his “heroes” too much nor to take the writings of earlier authors without a critical analysis, especially when they laudate any person. He should not exaggerate the position of the person whom he considers to be a maker of history, and should be careful regarding such exaggerations as have come down to him.

Effect of Climate on Socio-political structure:

This leads us directly on to the theory of the geographical and atmospheric background of human society and political formation which Sheldon has propounded. It should be remembered that this was nearly two centuries before its reiteration by Bodin and more than three centuries before its development by Montesquieu.⁸ He meticulously divides the habitable earth known to him into seven zones, and includes in them not merely Africa, the Arab regions and the regions of southern and eastern Asia as far as northern China, but also Spain, France, England and practically the whole of Europe. It is on such world-wide data that he bases his conclusion.⁹ He begins with the axiom that north and south (the latter, meaning the equatorial regions) represent opposite extremes of cold and heat, while the regions in the centre of the two are moderate in temperature giving rise to arts, crafts, and sciences, distinguished by fine building, good clothing foodstuffs and fruits; and even the animals living in these regions are of a well-proportioned bodily character.¹⁰ Human beings are also well-proportioned, moderately fair in colour and of good qualities. They use the very best of tools and implements, and their coins are made of the two leading minerals, gold and silver.

On the other hand, in regions away from the temperature zones, either south or north, the conditions are different. Those living in the south, away from the temperate zone, have their buildings made of clay and reed, while most of them go about naked. Ibn Khaldun says that the condition of those living right in the north is also of a low standard, except those who have adopted Christianity or Islam as their way of life. He says that there are exceptions to this rule, especially in the regions which are situated close to the sea, for the resultant humidity moderates the influence of the regional heat. Such, for

The Prolegomena:

As has been stated above, the Muqaddimah forms the first book of the Kitabu'l Ibar. The author himself says right in the beginning, that it consists of six sections, name'y,

- (i) Human society in general including man's physical environments;
- (ii) Nomadic Societies (if they be named such);
- (iii) States and their government ;
- (iv) Rural and urban ;
- (v) Means of subsistence and economic activity; and
- (vi) Learning in general.

This division follows a logical pattern: a discussion of the natural environments of man and its effect on his personal and social habits, then step through nomadic and undeveloped societies to urban societies and their further development. The argument is mostly analytical and it may be that the whole of the Universal History, which follows the Prolegomena, furnishes instances of the theories propounded. Ibn Khaldun had before him a number of states, distinct in culture, languages, history, environments and administration, and form conclusions which make the Prolegomena "the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place".⁶

Views on History:

Quite obviously the author deals with history in the first instance. He analyses history and says that it involves speculation and an endeavour to reach the truth as well as to find out the series of causations which go to the formation of existing state of thing, and which lead him to a near generalization of probable causes and effects.⁷ To the Superficial observer " the dry bones of history" appear only to give a list of events in time gone by, but such an observer, if he may be given that name, forgets that history makes us understands inner meaning of these events. When we have a number of facts resulting from more less similar causes we can conclude that such instances would help us in getting at almost identical results. He is however, careful to point out that in order to be useful posterity history should deal with the social and political development of a people and not merely with the actions of a few individual, and thus comes near the modern enunciation of the utility of a study of history.

Ibn Khaldun, however, points out of the pitfalls which would beset a historian, and in this we perceive the analytical acumen of which he was a master. In order to marshal his facts a historian should be careful regarding the data which have been handed to him, for they

holy cities of Islam which he undertook him 1387 – 88 he made Cairo his permanent home.

When Ibn Khaldun reached Cairo he was received with open arms by the King, Malikuz Zahir Barquq of the Circassian Mameluke dynasty. The Malik was great patron of learning, and was the founder of a number of renowned educational institutions, such as the Qamhiya college and the Zahiriya college he was appointed as lecturer at the ancient university of al-Azhar then professor of Maliki jurisprudence at Qamhiya college, where he began teaching on 19 March, 1384, and finally professor of the Apostolic Traditions and Jurisprudence at the Zahiriya college he was all the time working on his magnum opus, the *Kitabu'l'ibar* which he was bringing up to date. In August 1384 he was appointed the Maliki judge of Egypt and he filled the new post with dignity and severity, eradicating bribery and corruption which was evidently rampant in the land. He thus made many enemies, and they were able to persuade the king to revert him to the professorship of Maliki jurisprudence. The last act of Barquq before his death in June 1399 was to make Ibn Khaldun the Maliki chief justice of Cairo once more.

Barquq was succeeded by his ten year old son Malikun-Nasir Zainu'd-din Faraj.⁴ The period between Faraj's succession and Ibn Khaldun's death was one of great turmoil. Although Ibn Khaldun intended to spend the evening of his life in quietude this was not to be, for the Mongol conqueror Timur was knocking at the gates of Egypt after his phenomenal expedition to India in 1398, and was actually besieging Damascus. The boy King Malikun-Nasir himself went to Syria taking with him a number of eminent statesmen and jurists, one of whom was Ibn Khaldun, and the story goes that when it came to negotiations with the Mongol emperor, he was one of the persons who were lowered into the city by long ropes, face to face with Timur, Ibn Khaldun made a great impression on him by reading such passages from his *Universal History* as actually concerned him and asking to correct any mistake which he might have made in his account. Timur wanted to talk Ibn Khaldun into his service as there was no one who knew more about Africa than him, but he declined. He was then asked to write a geographical account of North West Africa with which request he complied. But on his return to Egypt in March 1401 he wrote along letter to the Merinid ruler in Fez in which he furnished him with detailed information of the history of the Mongols and the personality of Timur.

From 1401 to 1405 Ibn Khaldun led a chequered life. He was re-appointed Maliki Chief Justice in April 1401, deposed, then reappointed in July 1402, again deposed, then reappointed and he was in harness when he died on 17 March 1406.⁵

Prophet, Arabic literature, grammar, rhetoric and prosody. When he was barely 24 he was appointed by the ruler Tunis, Abu Ishaq II, as Sahibu'l Alamah in charge of putting the royal signet to farmans. But the Tunis soon became too small for the adventurous spirit of Ibn Khaldun, and quietly moved on to the court of Abu Inan Of Fez In 1353. It was at Fez that he met the great historian al-Maqqari and the scholar al-Ballaḥiqi for whom he had great respect.² The restless that was in him made him roam about for one capital to another he was Granada as fiefholder of Muḥammad V, who appointed him head for political mission to Pedro the cruel of castile in 1364. Granada was then virtually ruled by Ibn Khatib the author of the history of Granada. Pedro wanted annex the services of a learned man like Ibn Khaldun and actually offered the restoration of his ancestral property at Seville but Ibn Khaldun refused.³ He was unhappy even at Granada and when he saw that the wazir, Ibn Khatib, could not see eye to eye with the position Ibn Khaldun began to hold, he recrossed the straits of Gibraltar and entered into the service of Hafsid Abdul-lah-at the Bejaye on the Mediterranean, but Abdul-lah's death again made him wrong about now to Fez, then to Granada again and finally to the land of Peace, Qal-at ibn Salamah in the African desert within the territory granted to the Berber tribe of Aulad Arif now in the Algerian province of Oran. Here he sat down in earnest and it was in November 1377 that he put finishing touches to his great the Muqadimah or Prolegomena which really form the first volume of his Kitab-ul-abar or Universal History. This Monumental work is in 8 large volumes and is our principal authority for the history of Maghrib in particular.

But Qal-at at Abu Salamah soon began to jar on Ibn Khaldun's mind as he was completely isolated and sorely missed the absence of libraries and learned men with whom he could compare notes. We may therefore conclude that the mass of info as contained in the Prolegomena must have been supplied from notes taken before he came to the Qal-at or else stored in his memory and conclusions reached must have been his very own. Anyhow he moved from the desert to the place of his birth Tunis, towards the end of 1378 a quarter of century after he had left it. Amir of Tunis Abdul Abbas was impressed by his knowledge as well. As his natural affinity to the city of his birth allowed him to settle down there and pursue his studies. Soon he impressed the amir by his hard work and wealth of knowledge and thus created much heart-burning in court circles. He made to Mecca and boarding a ship on the way to the east, actually disembarked at Alexandria en route to Cairo where he arrived on 6 January 1383. He had virtually completed his massive history while at Qal-at Abu Salamah and it was during the early period of his stay at Cairo that he put his finishing touches to that great work except for pilgrimage to the

IBN KHALDUN AND HIS POLITICAL ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

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Ibn Khaldun is renowned Muslim scholar of fifteenth century. He is famous for his trend setting contribution towards Political-Social and economic thoughts. His famous book *al-Maqadamah* is actually a foreward to his book on history. *Kitab al-ibar*. Ibn Khaldun has dilated upon human society in this physical environment, Nomadic Societies, States and their government, rural and urban life, means of subsistence and economic activity and learning in general. All the above issues have been discussed in this article.

Background and life sketch:

Waliudin Abu Zaid 'Abdu'r-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. Jabir B. Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdu'r-rahman Ibn Khaldun, one of the greatest thinkers of the middle ages belonged to a family which had migrated from Hadramaut in South Arabia to Spain almost immediately after its conquest by the Muslims in 711. The progenitor of the family Khaldun settled down at Carmona, but it was not long before the family shifted to nearby Seville where the Banu Khaldun made a mark in the political and intellectual life of the region. Seville fell to Ferdinand III of Castile 1248, but perhaps sensing the catastrophe the family like so many other Muslim families who had made the Peninsula their home, left for north west Africa where the Banu Hafsi were Ascendant; But on their fall they left for Tunis, and it was in that city that 'Abdu'r-Rahman, who is world famous as Ibn Khaldun was born the auspicious first of Ramadan, 732/27.5.1342.¹ He had good education having been schooled by learned men, most of whom were refugees from Spain. But in Point of fact he continued to add to his knowledge from whatever source came in his way right up to the end of his life. He was in a way lucky as Merinid conquest of Tunis in 1347 brought quite a train of scholars there and Ibn Khaldun did not fail to take full advantage of their presence.

Tunis was then of the centre of African learning and culture much in some way as Paris became the center of European learning and culture. He soon mastered the Qur'anic sciences, the traditions the

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- 14: Al Quran 22:39-40
 - 15: Al Quran 2-190
 - 16: Al Quran 4:75
 - 17: www.darululloom-deoband.Com/english/teaching/index3.htm
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 - 18: Ibid.
 - 19: Al Quran 22: 40
 - 20: Al Quran 2:190-193.
 - 21: Abu-Dawood, Kitabul-Jihad.
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 - 24: Dr, M. Imtiaz Zaffar, "Violence Terrorism and Teachings of Islam" p: 46-47.
 - 25: Dr, M. Imtiaz Zaffar, "Violence Terrorism and Teachings of Islam" p: 47
 - 26: Al Quran 6:L106
 - 27: Al Quran 15-94-95
 - 28: Al Quran 16:125
 - 29: Al Quran 50:39
 - 30: Al Quran 2:109
 - 31: Al Quran 5:13
 - 32: Al Quran 29:46
 - 33: Al Quran 42:15
 - 34: Dr. Muhammad Imtiaz Zaffar, "Violence Terrorism and Teachings of Islam" p: 49-50.
 - 35: Ibid p-50

Narrated Ibn Abbas (RA): The Prophet (PBUH) said, "The most hated persons with Allah are three (1). A person who deviates from the right conduct in the Harm, (2) a person who seeks that the traditions of the period of ignorance should remain in Islam, (3) and a person who "seeks to shed somebody's blood without any right". (47)

References

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- 2: Summarized Sahih Al-Bukari 10
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- 4: Maulana Maududi, 'Al-Jihad Fil-Islam' P-23
- 5: Al Quran, 5:32
- 6: Al Quran, 25:68
- 7: Al Quran, 6:151
- 8: Al Quran, 16:59
- 9: Al Quran, 81:8-9
- 10: Mufti Muhammad Ashiq Elahi Muhajir Madni, 'Tafsir Anwarul Bayyan' V:II, p-227
- 11: Syed Asad Gillani, "Methodology of Prophet Muhammad's Islamic Revolution" September 5,1988
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Ans: No, it does not appear to you because you are on the receiving end of Jihad. But to me, it is very, very clear. For 14 years, there was Jihad in Afghanistan. I was the one handling the Afghanistan Mujahideen and they had access to every capital of the world. Was there a single instance of a Russian plane being hijacked, or a Russian embassy being bombed, or a Russian woman being molested, or a Russian man being kidnapped? Not one.

Q: What about Americans own role in creating the Mujahideen?

Ans: American cannot create Mujahideen. The Mujahideen are a product of the time. If you continue to occupy land that belongs to other peoples, if you continue to oppress them, then it is Jihad. Jihad is a liberation struggle. It is the Muslim name for Liberation.

Q: How would you describe him now? You said he was a Mujahid then? Is he still a Mujahid?

Ans: Now the Taliban says, Ok, let's put him on trial. But America is shying away from the question of trial. They are simply saying, "Hand him over to us."

Q: Would you call Bin Laden a terrorist?

Ans: No, until he is proven otherwise. If he is proven not to be a mujahid, but a terrorist. But then, how can I describe him as a terrorist? There is no evidence as yet. If there is hard evidence, then I would be the first one to say that he is a terrorist among the rank of Mujahideen. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

Conclusion

In this chapter, after detailed discussion, by the valuable references it has been proved that Terrorism and Jihad have no slight relation to each other. Both terms in their origin and definition are opposite to each other and must not be confused to each other.

In Islam, Jihad is only for the sake of Allah and is operated only to maintain peace on the earth with justice and tranquility. The Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) said in his famous saying:

عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال: ابغض الناس إلى الله ثلاثة ملحد في الحرم، ومبتغ في الإسلام سنة الجاهلية، ومطلب دم امرئ، وبغير حق ليهرق دمه.

- 1: The teaching of Islam about killing a non-Muslim is jihad.
- 2: Islam teaches the hatred and legitimizes fight against their religions and their followers.
- 3: It encourages intolerance towards the followers of other religions. All the three breed terrorism.

All the three allegations about Islamic Shariah are misconceived and motivated by malice and ignorance. Jihad finds a place in the teaching of Islam, but not for killing non-Muslims. There is no provision encouraging perpetual hatred and fight against the followers of other religions. Linking Islam, a religion of peace with terrorism itself amounts to an act of terrorism. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

Soon after 9/11 an interview on 14-09-2001 was made from Pakistan's former inter-services Chief Hamid Gul by Harinder Bawga. In that interview two questions were asked relating to the difference between Jihad and *terrorism*. The interview goes thus:

Q: Have you had a chance to meet Osama bin Laden?

Ans: A long time back, about eight years ago, he was not a terrorist then but a Mujahid at that time.

Q: Not a terrorist but a Mujahid! I mean, what is the difference?

Ans: At least, you should understand. Invoking the right of the oppressed, an enslaved nation, to be up in arms and throw away the yoke of slavery, that is Jihad. And terrorism is taking innocent lives, and that is not on. And that is not in our book.

Q: But there is a very thin line between jihad and terrorism.

Don't you think so?

The super powers get their decisions endorsed by the international body. The United Nations has not been successful so far in enunciating and enforcing a definition of terrorism that may serve as guiding principle for action against terrorist activities. From December 18, 1972 to January 18, 2002, the issues related to terrorism were discussed at various occasions, but clarity and unanimity on the subject remained elusive. As a result the meanings of terrorism according to one party are resistance, or movement for freedom and defense of democracy and liberty to the other. After the attack on World Trade Center in USA on Sept 11, 2001 and brutal and aggressive bombing on Afghanistan by USA, issue was discussed again by United Nations on January 18, 2002. The session was attended by forty nations. All participants agreed on the serious threat from terrorism and stressed its immediate eradication. However, a few countries, particularly Arab countries invited the attention of the participants that concept of terrorism should be defined for effective action against the threat. No clear and convincing reply came from any quarter. There was a deliberate attempt to evade the issue. Arab countries upheld their stand that the resistance of Palestinians against foreign occupation of their lands cannot be called '*terrorism*'. Illegitimate seizure of foreign territory is the worst type of organized terrorist activity. Mr. Stark, the head of the UN committee diverted the discussion by stating the "organized terrorism" is not a legal expression and the Security Council should not be dragged in political battles. (44)

It indicates that the superpowers and under their influence U.N.O and its Security Council desire to continue ambiguity and confusion about the '*Definition of Terrorism*' for keeping the option to act according to their interests and requirements. The powers fully realize that if the real cases of the malady are revealed, they shall be found among the culprits. Present terrorist activities are the logical reaction of their own misdeeds. Terrorist activities caused by malice, ill will and dishonesty, are being projected falsely as rooted in the teachings of Islam. In that context, ill-willed reference is made to three issues of Islamic Shariah.

The Campaign launched against the institution of the jihad, attributes it tantamount to terrorism. It is based on ill will and prejudice. The enemies have coined the derogatory word "Jihad" for Mujahidines. Our so-called thinkers in the obedience of the enemies call it "Jihadi Culture" instead of Jihad. They are also using the term Jihadi for Mujahid. While differentiating, the combatant and non-combatant the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.), instructed, not to do any harm to non-combatant, women, children, diseased, stoics, cloistered, the custodians of temples and worshippers. On the eve of departure of Mujahiden the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) advised them thus. ⁽⁴³⁾

At this time what is happening in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir and Afghanistan. This should be viewed in the light of the saying of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W) and be decided. What is terrorism? Who is bleeding? Whose habitations are being destroyed? Whose young men are dying? And whose women are being assaulted?

If the conscience of the mankind is not dead, if the ears and tongues are not deaf and dumb, If the eyes are not blind, if the virtue is not illuminated, and if the justice and tranquility is not to be rare, it is not very difficult to know who is terrorist and who is peace lover in the world prevailing scenario.

Confusion about Terrorism

A question arises: why such confusion about the definition of '*terrorism*'? If seriously considered, it appears that the confusion has been deliberately created and is being disseminated on a large scale as a part of defined plan. There is universal unanimity in the campaign for targeting a particular religion and community. The rival forces control ninety-nine percent of the media. Therefore instead of defining terrorism on the basis of principles, might or use of power has become a governing principle in defining '*terrorism*'. The conduct of the government of USA, China, Russia, Israel, Burma and Philippine are glaring examples of such partial conduct.

It is tragedy that the super powers are holding the United Nations organization as 'hostage'. The organization is not in a position to undertake any just and effective action that is against their wishes and interests.

‘The nefarious acts called terrorism’ are alien to the spirit and ethos of Islam. Terrorism is the product of contemporary age dominated by the west particularly Europe. It has flourished on their soil. The intellectuals, writers and politicians of the west introduced it in the East. The terms, Fundamentalism and Totalitarianism as employed by the west have no place in Islam. The votaries of communist system promoted Totalitarianism. Fundamentalism grew and flourished in the context of the conflict between the church and the state. With the help of powerful media, the two have been linked with Islam. That is grave injustice.” (41)

Islam is a religion of peace and tranquility, but it does not mean to suffer cruelty and violence stoically. It intends that the Muslims should not commit cruelty and atrocities. They should not shed unfair blood, they should not do harm to any man’s life and property. They shouldn’t have such a measure as would fall under violence and terror. As for as the suppression of oppression and combat of terrorism is concerned, this “Din” of peace and tranquility allows to stop the bloodshed and to combat terrorism. This very thing is called ‘Jihad’. (42)

Jihad means curbing of disturbance and violence and putting an end to suppression.

Terrorism is an act of disruption and cruelty. Jihad is the defense of right and establishment of justice. Terrorism is incessant murder and ceaseless destruction while jihad is combat against aggression and resistance against the destructionists. The benevolent cherisher of the world has permitted the Muslims to stand against the cruel, the murderer and the terrorist steadfastly. Their Rab (The Cherisher) shall help them and bless them with victory over the cruel. Terrorism is a negative behavior while Jihad is a positive principle of life. Jihad is made obligatory for the protection of collective existence of the Muslim Ummah and it is irreversible and irrevocable Islamic government will be responsible for its arrangement.

In short, Jihad is a strategy of defense against the terrorism. Only Jihad can counterfeit the act of terrorism, committed by an individual or group or a state as jihad tantamount to terrorism? As regards the killing, the instructions given by the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) bear a distinguished significance in the history of man.

To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged; and verily Allah is most powerful for their aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defense of right, for no cause except that they say, 'our Lord is Allah'. Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would be surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid his (cause) for verily Allah is full of strength, exalted in might, (able to enforce his will). (38)

بِسئَلونك عن الشهر الحرام قتال فيه قل قتال فيه كبير وصدعن سبيل الله وكفر به والمسجد الحرام واخراج اهله منه اكبر عند الله والفتنة اكبر من القتل ولا يزالون يقاتلونكم حتى يردوكم عن دينكم ان استطاعوا ومن يرتدد منكم عن دينه فيمت وهو كافر فأولئك حبطت اعمالهم فى الدنيا والاخرة واولئك اصحاب النار هم فيها خالدون.

They ask you concerning fighting in the prohibited month. Say fighting therein is grave (offense); but grave is it in the sight of God to prevent access to the sacred Mosque and drive out its members, Tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter. Nor will they cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can. And if any of you turn back from their faith and die in unbelief, their works will bear no fruit in this life and in the Hereafter, they will be companions of the fire and will abide therein. (39)

The conditions of war explained in the cited verses were called to be the prohibitions of war by at-Tabri. He mentioned these as the prohibitions of al-shahr al-Haram, (the prohibited month) al-Balad al-Haram (the prohibited city) and al-Ihram (the prohibition while weaning speed custom of pilgrimage) (40)

According to these prohibitions Muslims cannot initiate war in the mentioned time, place and state but the offence on them should be retaliated as a realistic and pragmatic policy of warfare.

Difference Between Jihad And Terrorism

After a detailed discussion about Islamic concept of Jihad and the nature and definition of terrorism, the conclusion is very much logical.

a free hand to charge against enemies but an unambiguous parameter was determined to observe. This structure was devised in the light of tribal and moral considerations of Arab society and Islam. Allah commanded to wage war in his path but warned against transgression. Such conditions and observations instructed to pursue in the verses regarding the permissibility of war are detailed below. ⁽³⁵⁾

واقتلوهم حيث تقتنمهم واخرجوهم من حيث اخرجوكم والفتنة اشد من القتل ولا تقتلوه عند المسجد الحرام حتى يقتلوك فيه فان قاتلوكم فاقتلوهم كذلك جزاء الكافرين ه

“And slay them where ever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter, but fight them not at the sacred mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. ⁽³⁶⁾

The prohibited month for the prohibited month and so for all things prohibited there is a law of equality. If then one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress you like wise against him. But fear God and know that God that God is with those who restrain themselves.

الشهر الحرام بالشهر الحرام والحرمات قصاص فمن اعتدى عليكم فاعتدوا عليه بمثل ما اعتدى عليكم واقفوا الله واعلموا ان الله مع المتقين - ه

ان عددة الشهور عند الله اثنا عشر شهراً فى كتاب الله يوم خلق السموت والارض فيها اربعة حرم ذلك الدين القيم فلا تظلموا فيهن انفسكم وقاتلوا المشركين كافة كما يقاتلونكم كافة واعلموا ان الله مع المتقين ه

The number of months in the sight of God is twelve (in a year) so ordained by him the day He created the heavens and the earth; of them four are sacred; that is the straight usage. So wrong not yourselves therein, and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together. But know that God is with those who restrain themselves. ⁽³⁷⁾

اذن للذين يقاتلون بانهم ظلموا وان الله على نصرهم لقديره الذين اخرجوا من ديارهم بغير حق الا ان يقولوا ربنا الله ولو لا دفع الله الناس بعضهم ببعض لهدمت صوامع وبيع وصلوات ومساجد يذكر فيها اسم الله كثير اولينصرن الله من ينصره ان الله لقوى عزيزه -

inflict wrong (and injury): but say, 'we believe in the revelation; our Allah and your Allah is one; and it is to him we bow (In Islam).⁽³²⁾

فلذلك فادع واستقم كما امرت ولا تتبع اهواءهم وقل امنتم بما انزل الله من كتاب وامرت لا عدل بينكم الله ربنا وربكم لنا اعمالنا ولكم اعمالكم لا حجة بيننا وبينكم الله يجمع بيننا وابه المصير ه

Now then, for that (reason) call (them to the faith) and stand Steadfast as thou art commanded, nor follow thou their vain desire; but say; I believe in the book which God has sent down and I am commanded to judge justly between you, God is our Lord and your Lord. For us (is the responsibility for) our deeds and for you for your deeds. There is no contention between you and us. God will bring us together, and him is (our) final goal.⁽³³⁾

Earlier four verses were revealed in Makkah while the latter were revealed in the beginning of Madinian life of the Prophet (S.A.W.) First two of the earlier four categorically pronounce to avoid confrontation with unbelievers third teaches about the methodology of preaching and fourth warns that the Muslims should not be instigated to war by non-believers. It advises that even if they (non believers) tell lies and try to flare you up you should be calm and patient and never be aggressive.

Latter four verses again teach to be tolerant in the new scenario of Medina where Muslims were first time interacting with Jews had their Shariah and thought themselves superior to the Makkan non-believers. Here again the policy of Muhammad (S.A.W.) in the light of the divine injunctions, was of being in low profile for the establishment of a stable Muslim society and state.

⁽³⁴⁾

Permission of War within Ancient Moral Parameters

Dr. Imtiaz Zafer further states; Islam is a pragmatic religion. In the process of its development and establishment it barred its followers to wage war and emphasis remained on the policy of tolerance and general amnesty but when enemies of Islam crossed all limits, the divine command immediately responded to tackle the situation in appropriate manners when the threats of unbelievers became intolerable, Muslims were allowed to stand up for their defense. Even this defensive warfare was not

Therefore expound openly what thou art commanded, and turn away from those who join false gods with God. For sufficient are we unto thee against those who scoff. (27)

ادع الى سبيل ربك بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة وجادلهم بالتى هي احسن ان ربك هو اعلم بمن ضل عن سبيله وهو اعلم بالمهتد ين هـ

Invite (all) to the way of the Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching, and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious for thy Lord Knowth best, who have strayed from his path and who receive guidance? (28)

Bear, then, with patience, all that they say, and celebrate the praises of the Lord, before the rising of the sun and before (its) setting (29)

فاصبر على ما يقولون وسيق بحمد ربك قبل طلوع الشمس وقبل الغروب -
ودكثيرا من اهل الكتاب لو يردونكم من بعد ايمانكم كفارا حسدا من عند انفسهم من بعد ما تبين لهم
الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حتى ياتي الله بامر ه ان الله على كل شى قدير ه

Quite a number of the people of the book wish they could turn you back to infidelity after ye have believed, form selfish envy, after the truth have become manifest unto them: but forgive and over look, till God accomplish his purpose for God hath power over all things. (30)

فبما نقضهم ميثاقهم لعنهم وجعلنا قلوبهم قسية يخرقون الكلم عن مواضعه ونسوا حظا مما ذكروا به ولا
زال تطلع على خائنة منهم الا قليلا منهم فاعف عنهم واصفح ان الله بحب المحسنين ه

But because of their breach of their covenant we cursed them, and made their hearts grow hard. They changed the words from their (right) places and forget a good part of the message that was sent to them, nor wilt thou cease to find them- barring a few ever bent on (new) deceits: but forgive them and over look (their misdeeds): for God loveth those who are kind. (31)

ولا تجادلوا اهل الكتاب الا بالتى هي احسن الا الذين ظلموا منهم وقولوا انا بالذى انزل البنا وانزل
اليكم والهنا والهكم واحد ونحن له مسلمون ه

And dispute ye not with the people of the book, except with means better (then mere-disputation), it be those of them who

evolution is found in each and every injunction of Islam. The gradual development coincides with the general progress of human comprehension and social progress. The Muslim community was prepared in psychological and moral terms to accept new commands. The example of the prohibition of use of liquor is an appropriate citation in this context. Same has been witnessed by Rudolph Peters and Firestone regarding Quranic ruling about war. They name it 'a classical evolutionary theory of war' The Quran contains a number of verses that command Jihad and Qital for Muslims. These verses were revealed on the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) at different occasions in his life of 23 years. A keen study of these verses exposes a grand contextual and situational arrangement in the revelation. The teachings have been identified in three progressive stages, non-confrontation; war within the ancient strictures and lastly, the command to fight unbelievers. ⁽²⁴⁾

Non- Confrontation

The Prophet (S.A.W.) of Islam started his mission of apostleship at the age of forty and lived for thirteen years in Makkah. He could convince small number of people for his message and most of them belonged to the poor and oppressed class of the society. He and his companions faced great resistance from the affluent clans and elites of Makkah. A number of the fellows of Muhammad (S.A.W.) were slaves and they had to suffer unbearable oppression from their infidel masters. The Prophet (S.A.W.) who was on his way to increase the number of his faith-fellows through preaching, never thought of responding the brutalities of the chiefs of Makkan tribes in the same coins. He adopted a realistic approach. He was in constant contact of Allah during those years and he would have thought to take revenge on the atrocious and brutal conduct of Quraish relying on the hope of his help and assistance. There were no such injunctions leading to combat and fight nonbeliever but at least eight verses revealed to the Prophet (S.A.W.) to adopt policy of non-confrontation. ⁽²⁵⁾

Follow that thou art taught by inspiration from the Lord: there is no God but He and turn aside from those who join gods with God. ⁽²⁶⁾

فاصدع بما تؤمر واعرض عن المشركين ه انا كفيناك المستهزين ه