

# The Tribe and the Relationship between the Qur'anic Jahiliyya and Ibn Khaldun's Nomadism

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The aim of this paper is to widen the focus of Ibn Khaldun's treatment of religious and theological concepts and locate them within the wider context(1) of the major social theory outlined in the *Muqaddama*,(2) which views the relationship between nomadism and civilisation as a dialectic, which, in my opinion, is on a par with the *jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic)/Islam dialectic in the Holy Qur'an.

Hence my reading of nomadism in the *Muqaddama* and the religious concept of *jahiliyya* in the Qur'an are both motivated by a social dynamic. The approach adopted will

consist of an examination of the widely accepted notion of *jahiliyya* in the Qur'an and an exposition of Ibn Khaldun's view of 'nomadism' as set out in the *Muqaddama*, followed by a comparative analysis and conclusions.

## **The Qur'anic Jahiliyya as a Space between Two Cities**

The entry under j.h.1 in Lisan Al-Arab states: 'Al-Jahiliyya, the period of non-Islam. They also say "the ignorant *jahiliyya*" but this is an exaggeration. *Al Majhal* is the featureless desert. Land that is *majhula* is without landmarks or mountains. A she-camel which is *majhula* has never given milk or is neglected with no distinguishing features.' These are the main meanings of *al-jahiliyya* in Lisan Al-Arab but what is the common factor that links the religious and non-religious meanings of the term?

One of the main semantic components of *al-jahiliyya*, according to Lisan Al-Arab, is the ignorance of religion or the antithesis of religion, ‘which is rightful guidance’. Rightful guidance can only be achieved through knowledge; in other words, ignorance will accomplish nothing without knowledge. What then impels people to be ignorant of religion? Is it a matter of subjective traits like repudiation and arrogance or objective factors like ignorance of the messenger or the message?

In order to answer these questions, I consulted the entry k.f.r in Lisan Al-Arab (since ignorance of religion is unbelief or *kufur*) and found the following: ‘The *kafir* is one who lives in a land far from human society and it is narrated that Mu'awiya said: “The unbelievers are tomb-dwellers.” According to Al-Azhari: ‘*kufur* are villages remote from cities and people of knowledge, ignorance is widespread

among them and they are quick to fall into error and heresy. They are like the dead detached from the social world.’

It seems that unbelief is on a par with ‘the featureless desert’ or ‘the she-camel with no distinguishing features’. We are dealing with virgin space, the space of the interval (*fitra*) between two prophets or the period when Allah's messengers were absent - a period characterised by silence, weakness, despondency and a lack of religious devotion and zeal.

*Al-Jahiliyya* appears to be a characteristic of those who dwell in deserts or unknown lands and, if we accept the commonly held view that religion is organically linked to the city and its foundation, we can easily conclude that *jahiliyya* is a result of remoteness from religion. We are thus dealing with two opposing spaces: the city *qua* religion(3) and the desert wastelands of ignorance (*jahiliyya*).

Etymologically the word *jahiliyya* seems to denote the space extending beyond the city, whose inhabitants are unbelievers. However, research reveals that there are two kinds of unbelievers: the farmers and the Arabs of the desert.

In this connection, it is worth noting that the link between agriculture and unbelief was widespread in ancient civilisations. Early Christians called the peasants unbelievers and in the Jewish faith the period before the witness of the prophets was termed the time of the farmers.(4) On the other hand, the Arabs of the desert, as they are called by Ibn Taymiyya, (5) are described in the Qur'an as 'the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy.' (6) This meaning of *al-jahiliyya* parallels that in the verses of the Holy Qur'an containing the root j.h.l and its derivatives. The forms *tajhaluna* and *yajhaluna* occur in six verses of the Meccan suras; the derivation *al-jahil* appears once in a Medinan sura; *jahiluna* and *jahilina* occur nine times (seven times in the Meccan suras and

twice in the Madinan suras); *jahulan* once in a Madinan sura; *bijahala* four times (twice in Meccan and twice in Madinan suras); and finally *al-jahiliyya* occurs four times in Medinan suras.

A study of these derivatives in their Qur'anic contexts reveals the following:

· In the Meccan suras there is a consistent link between the root j.h.l and the term *al-qarya* (village), which demonstrates the close association between village dwelling and ignorance of religion. Indeed, the village is generally viewed pejoratively in the Qur'an on account of the iniquity and unbelief of its inhabitants because of their ignorance of religion. The village is thus part of the world of unbelief(7). In Surat Yusuf, both the village and the desert are characterised as part of the world of unbelief(8). The unbelief of desert and village dwellers is given historical credence in Surat Al-A'raf v.138, where the Children of Israel are depicted as 'moving into

ignorance' when they crossed the Red Sea from Egypt into the land of Syria, which was known as the land of unbelief (*kufur*). It was from Syria that 'Amr ibn Lahiy Al-Khaza'i gathered the idols to bring to the Ka'aba, as mentioned in the biographies of the Prophet, and who earned the nickname 'unbeliever' bestowed upon him by the Prophet(9).

· The unbelievers (or the inhabitants of this space) have certain attributes and characteristics: they are deaf and dumb (Surat Al-An'am v.40 and Surat Al-Niml v.82); blind (Surat Al-Niml v.83); like cattle (Surat Al-Firqan v.44); their men are sodomites (Surat Al-Niml v.57) and their women are ostentatious (Surat Al-Ahzab v.33). In this connection, certain theologians also mentioned dwellers in remote areas where Islam had not penetrated in relation to their fate on the Day of Resurrection, saying that they would not enter paradise or hell but would be rounded up with the livestock. The predilection of the inhabitants of the world of unbelief for

sodomy is evidence by their sexual disorientation and lack of hygiene. For example under the root k.f.r, Lisan Al-Arab describes one who has undergone menstruation as entering *kufr* (unbelief) (10).

· The ostentation of the women of the *jahiliyya* is linked to the tendency of the Bedouin to excessive ornamentation eg. on their riding saddles and sword handles, which can be seen as compensation for the absence of writing in their culture(11). Such motifs could also be used to distinguish between the different tribes. In this connection, we can draw a parallel between the Bedouin love of ornamentation and the ‘over-elaboration’ in city life, which, according to the *Muqaddama*, can lead to cultural decline and a reversion to life in the desert.

· A people with such attributes and characteristics cannot but be enemies of the prophets, ‘likewise did we make for every



Messenger an enemy.’ (12) The histories of the prophets mention that the Messengers failed every time they tried to discharge their mission in the plains and deserts(13) and that Allah never sent a Messenger to the Arabs of the desert(14).

- This space of unbelief is like a prison for its inhabitants, which explains the Prophet Yusuf's joy (Sura Yusuf v.100) as a result of his release from prison and his brothers' escape from the desert into metropolitan Egypt, an escape which paralleled men's passage from *jahiliyya* (ignorance) to Islam.

- In the Madinan suras, the *jahiliyya* is linked to the distinctive attributes of the unbelievers: supposition, opinion, ostentation and zealotry. Each of these attributes contrasts with a corresponding attribute among the believers, the unbelievers' supposition contrasts with the believers' faith, the formers' opinion with the latter's laws of God, the

ostentation of the unbelievers' women with the purity of the female believers and the formers' zealotry with the latter's piety. Taken together, these sets of attributes define two distinct groups, each with its customs and values: the community of the city (Al-Madinah Yathrib) and the Arabs of the desert(15). As is well known, Muhammad's emigration to Madinah led to the foundation of the Islamic *umma* (community) with its distinctive religious and political groupings.

· We are dealing with the clearly defined space described in Surat Al-Ghashiyya:

17. Do they not look at the Camels, How they are made?

18. And at the Sky, How it is raised high?

19. And at the mountains, How they are fixed firm?

20. And at the Earth, How it is spread out?

21. Therefore do thou give Admonition, for thou art one to admonish(16).

· The key to these verses lies in the nature of their interrogative meaning, for they are not an invitation to marvel at the wonders of God's creation, as most commentators have suggested, but rather an appeal to unbelievers to remember the harsh nature of existence as a deterrent against their unbelief. Dr Hussain Mu'nis expressed the same opinion in his detailed analysis, pointing out that the camel mentioned in the above verses was not simply an animal but a symbol of the nomadic life and its environment with its 'endless sands, hills, depressions, clear blue sky and camels.'(17) In short, we are dealing with Deleuze and Guttari's concept of pure space. (18)&(19) Thus, the period between two messengers is tantamount to the space extending outside the city and, in particular, the space between two cities. Al-Tha'alibi referred to this notion in his *Stories of the Prophets* when he wrote about the first Prophet Adam's journey from India to Mecca to visit the House that Allah fore-

ordained him to build (the Ka'aba): 'and everywhere his feet touched became settled land beyond which were the wastelands and deserts.' (20)

## **Ibn Khaldun's Nomadism, which includes Agriculture and Pastoralism**

Regarding his definition of the nomad (*al-badu*), Ibn Khaldun writes:

*In a previous chapter we characterised the Bedouin as being engaged in tillage and animal husbandry. By necessity they are restricted in their nutrition, clothing, dwellings and way of life, eschewing luxuries. Those of them that are engaged in agriculture have a higher status than those engaged in camel rearing. The inhabitants of villages and mountain-dwellers are mostly Berbers and Persians. Those who make their living by grazing animals like sheep and cows are*

*generally camel-riders and are termed pastoralists, while those who rear camels live in more remote areas and are accordingly more wild and unsophisticated. Town-dwellers regard them disparagingly and look down upon them. Such are the Arabs of the desert(21).*

We term this definition of the Bedouin as ‘Khalidunian’, given that many researchers are not satisfied with his incorporation of the village and agriculture under the rubric of nomadism. In this regard, Hussayn Mu'nis considers that Ibn Khaldun differs sharply from other sociologists and historians, who view pastoralists and agriculturalists as separate communities, both formally and functionally(22). Others have supported this dichotomy to a greater or lesser degree(23).

Consideration of such dichotomies leads us to a comparison of the two phenomena.

## **Detailed comparison**

### **Tribal Solidarity**

The following characteristics ascribed to the Bedouin in the *Muqaddama* can all be subsumed under the rubric of tribal solidarity.

#### **1. 'Wildness'**

The Bedouin can be located on a cline between 'wildness' and sedentariness, according to his closeness to or remoteness from the city. The more the Bedouin moves away from the city, the 'wilder' he becomes. As already mentioned, Ibn Khaldun adopts a three-fold classification of the Bedouin, ranked from the least nomadic (agriculturalists) to the most nomadic (camel rearers)(24). This classification, which reflects the nature of the terrain, takes the city as the optimum environment, which enjoys status and stability

with the resultant benefits in religion, politics, culture and economy, to each of which Ibn Khaldun devotes a chapter in the *Muqadamma*.

This linking of the Bedouin with ‘wildness’ and the city with civilisation ties in with the Qur'anic descriptions of the unbelievers as blind, deaf and dumb, prey to erroneous delusions, sexually deviant and enamoured of ostentation. In short, they are no more than beasts.

## **2. Courage**

One of the characteristics of the Bedouin is courage. This is a negative quality rather than a positive one, as may appear at first glance. The presence of this quality among the Bedouin is indicative of their unsophisticated state outside the framework of the city: ‘The Bedouin, because of their solitariness, wildness and remoteness, as well as their

renunciation of civilisation, depend upon themselves for protection.’(25) Courage, insofar as it is a mixture of fortitude and apprehension, is one of the characteristics of the people of the *jahiliyya*, one of the meanings of j.h.l being ‘anger’ and ‘violence’, as is well known. A factor that underlines the negative meaning of ‘courage’ is that it is not mentioned in the Qur'an and is never stipulated by theologians as a necessary requisite of a Muslim warrior, because of its association with the *jahiliyya* period.

### **3. Goodness**

What does Ibn Khaldun mean by ‘The people of the desert are nearer to goodness than the people of the city’? At first sight this seems to be a straightforward comparison between the Bedouin and city-dwellers but, in fact, Ibn Khaldun is comparing the Bedouin as raw material, with the potential of becoming civilised if they ‘migrate’ to the city, with city-dwellers who have become corrupted by



civilisation. In other words, the Bedouin are potential entrants into that state of goodness conferred by the city, while city-dwellers have already entered into sin and corruption(26). It is no coincidence that Ibn Khaldun completes this comparison by alluding to the ‘migration of the Arabs of the desert’, (27) which, in this context, refers to the need to civilise the Bedouin since they are in a state of nature. This is confirmed by the Prophet's saying: ‘All newborn children are born in a natural state and it is their parents who subsequently bring them into the Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian faith.’ This pre-civilised natural goodness of the Bedouin is also commented on by Ibn Taimiyya when he writes: ‘The Arabs of the desert before Islam were naturally predisposed to goodness although unable to put it into practice.’(28)

In the final analysis, ‘wildness’, ‘courage’ and ‘goodness’ are simply the product of the chief attribute of the Bedouin, which according to Ibn Khaldun is ‘tribal solidarity’.

Tribal solidarity is a survival mechanism triggered by the harsh economic and environmental conditions in which the Bedouin live, and emerges as a means of protecting the group with a common or perceived tribal ancestry. Ibn Khaldun comments: 'Because of their remoteness and isolation and their renunciation of the protection of the city, the people of the desert depend upon themselves for their defense, not relying on or trusting others in this regard.' (29) By its nature, tribal solidarity is organically linked with war(30), which is a feature of Bedouin life(31).

The presence of tribal solidarity entails the absence of government, religion, the city and knowledge, as well as the absence of brotherhood(32) and socialisation. Similarly, the Qur'anic *jahiliyya* is symptomatic of violence, war (one of the meanings of *kufr* in Lisan Al-Arab is 'donning weapons'), ignorance, remoteness from the city, zealotry and distrust. In both the Qur'anic *jahiliyya* and

Ibn Khaldun's *badawa* (nomadism), living in the city is enough to actualise the innate potential of the Bedouin for goodness (Ibn Taymiyya's natural predisposition), since socialisation in the city (state or *umma*) has the effect of dissolving the 'wildness' and fanaticism of the Bedouin and engendering in them the quality of 'brotherliness'.

## **Jahiliyya/Nomadism: a Working Hypothesis**

Why then are the people of the *jahiliyya*/nomads depicted in such a negative way as primitive and wild?

It is clear that Ibn Khaldun did not devote the same attention to Bedouin society as he did to civilised society, portraying it in a defective and inexact fashion. Does this mean that he made a hasty judgement about Bedouin society, as Hussain Mu'nis claims? Or is it that

agriculture in his era was a poor means of making a living, practiced by wretched people as Muhammad Abid Al-Jabri asserts?(33)

We do not believe that Ibn Khaldun was unaware of the conditions of the Bedouin of his age or the preceding era (the migrations of the Bani Hilal and Bani Salim from Arabia to the Maghreb lands, the fall of the Muwahhad dynasty, the fall of the caliphate at the hands of the Moghuls, Tamerlaine's invasions). Nasseef Nassar explains the conundrum in terms of Ibn Khaldun's overriding belief that 'the origin of the state lay in nomadism and, as such, its internal structure was of no concern to him.' (34)

It is our contention that Ibn Khaldun was only interested in nomadism as a working hypothesis to highlight the virtues of the city and civilisation, in exactly the same way that the *jahiliyya* in the Qur'an refers not so much to actual recorded events as to stories of an

obscure past, whose value is more didactic than historical(34). This explains the diverse opinions of commentators in their definitions of ‘the first *jahiliyya*’ mentioned in Surat Al-Ahzab (the period between Adam and Noah, between Abraham and Enoch, and between Abraham and Moses etc.). It also explains the paucity of details about the *jahiliyya* in the Qur'an, compared with poetry and history. Finally, our thesis explains the lack of any positive details of the *jahiliyya* in the Qur'an, which would be contrary to historical reality. The image of the ‘ignorant *jahiliyya*’ is necessary to bring out the light of Islam and its virtue for the worlds,(35) just as Islam represents civilisation and *jihad* for the Arabs of the desert.

Ibn Khaldun's imprecise depiction of nomadism can be explained in terms of his view that, historically, the Bedouin aspires to civilisation, insofar as it is the true and rightful meaning of his existence. ‘For Bedouin life lacks the civilisation of the town and the city.’

Hence Ibn Khaldun sees nomadism as civilisation's negative pole, constituting a perennial threat to its existence, and as a mere working hypothesis to highlight the positive aspects of communal life in the city.

In fact, the Bedouin *qua* primitive and wild nomad is a theoretical construct rather than a historical truth(36). That the Bedouin is an abstraction and an idea, rather than a living reality, can be seen for a number of reasons(37):

- Although nomadism is defined in terms of movement from one place to another, this is an incorrect definition since the nomad moves in his own space(38).

- In spite of its apparent simplicity, Bedouin life is the subject of competing definitions including migration, wandering, roaming, transhumance etc.

- Although for Ibn Khaldun nomadism is the origin of civilisation, the Bedouin has no

history since it is cities that create history. (According to Deleuze and Guattari, the history of the defeat of the Bedouin is the history of the victory of the state and religion).

## **The Nomadism/Civilisation Dialectic as an Explanatory Principle**

This comparison between the concepts of *jahiliyya* and nomadism could not have been made had not Ibn Khaldun - contrary to his predecessors and contemporaries(39) - realised that the *jahiliyya* was not so much a historical period as a geographical space; the Bedouin space or, to be precise, the space of the Arabs of the desert(40). Ibn Khaldun expatiates on the features of the Arab *jahiliyya* (by which he means the desert Arabs) in the manner that has been described previously. 'They only inhabit open spaces ... because of their wild nature.' (41) Consequently, if they conquer a city, it soon becomes corrupt 'because they are a wild community, among whom savagery is

endemic.’ (42) They are the most ungovernable since they are ‘the wildest of all nations living in the wilderness ... and because of this wildness they do not easily submit.’(43)

In Ibn Khaldun's view, Bedouin nature can only be changed by religion, and history affords many examples. The desert Arabs formed into a governed community when religion conferred upon them the blessing of obeisance to laws for the common good. Rulers succeeded each other and the state grew in power and influence. When Rustum saw the Muslims assembling for prayers he said: ‘Umar has defeated me. The dogs know manners.’(44) History also records that at the demise of the Arab state, the Arabs renounced religion, forgot obeisance to the law and returned to their former wildness, lawlessness and ungoverned state(45).

This similarity, or even identity, between nomadism and the *jahiliyya* is paralleled by



the similarity between religion and city, inasmuch as this is a political/religious space, which is the antithesis of tribal fanaticism(46). ‘Wildness’ and ignorance are erased and the city and its infrastructure are established etc. Thus, nomadism is to the *jahiliyya*, what civilisation is to religion.

Ibn Khaldun used this dialectic to explain in the *Muqaddama* many events in Islamic history, as well as the rise and fall of the Islamic state. Among the former we could mention Ibn Khaldun's cogent explanation of the success of the Arab conquests in Iraq, where towns and cities were built, in contrast to their failure in Ifriqiyya where the campaign was at the mercy of tribalism and dissension(47).

It is clear that people of the town are more receptive to religion than people of the desert with their conflicting tribal loyalties. This principle applies not only to Islamic history

but the history of other peoples(48) since ‘every nation has its cities and its nomadism, the nomadism of the Arabs of the desert. For the Byzantines, the nomads were the Armenians, for the Persians the nomads were the Kurds. For the Turks the nomads were the Tartars and so on.’ (49) Therefore, each nation is prey to the eternal struggle between the desert and the sown and between Islam and *jahiliyya*, ie. between religion and ignorance(50?).

## **Conclusion**

Why then was the Qur'anic *jahiliyya* ‘rotten’ and without a single redeeming feature among its people? Why were the nomads in the *Muqaddama* a defective community, a kind of anti-civilisation and why were the Bedouin depicted as wild and worthless? Why were these two concepts reduced to mere working hypotheses in each case?

We believe that the Qur'anic treatment of the *jahiliyya* and Ibn Khaldun's treatment of nomadism exemplify a historical law in human affairs that necessitates the adoption of a new extreme position so as to advance beyond the old order. So it was in Islam, from Ibn Khaldun's perspective of history, arising from the ashes of what the Bedouin had destroyed in his era, and so it was in the European Renaissance.

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### **Notes:**

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1. Naseef Nassar, in his analytical dialectical interpretation of Ibn Khaldun's thinking, considers that most commentators on the *Muqaddama* adopt a piecemeal rather than a

comprehensive approach. See Khaldun, I 1994, *Realism*, Dar Al-Tali'a, Beirut,, p15

2. For other opinions on Ibn Khaldun's major theory in the *Muqaddama* see Hussayn, T, Al-Dawla and Al-Husri, S, *Tribalism*.
3. Many linguists believe that the 'm' in 'madina' is superfluous and hence the root of the word is d-i-n rather than m-d-n. See Hijazi, M. F, *Arabic Linguistics*, Maktaba Gharib, p209. Similarly, most historians and anthropologists accept an organic link between religion and city, especially in their origins. See in particular Fustel De Coulanges, Raoul Lonis and our remarks on the relationship between the city and religion in early Islam in *Religion and ideology*, Dar Al-Tali'a, Beirut, 2005, p38ff.
4. Max Weber
5. Al-Faqqi, M. H. (ed.) 1369 AH, *The need for the true path to counter the opinions of sinners*, Cairo, p147.
6. Surat Al-Tawba v.97.

7. The word *qarya* (village) appears in several places in the Qur'an with the meaning of 'city', for example in Surat Al-Isra v.16: 'When We decide to destroy a population, We (first) send a definite order to those among them who are given the good things of this life and yet transgress; so that the word is proved true against them: then (it is) We destroy them utterly.' In our opinion, the matter pertains to those in the last stages of civilisation who have passed from goodness to evil and corruption ie. from the city to the desert.

8. Sura Yusuf vv.82–100.

9. Hisham, I 1990, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*, (eds.) Al-Saqa, Al-Abyari and Shalbi, Beirut,, Part 1 Vol. 1 p75.

10. Among compilations of the Prophet's Hadith we find many hadith teaching the Bedouin the rules of hygiene, to the extent that one of the tribe of Quraish scornfully addressed the desert Arab followers of the Prophet thus: 'Your Prophet

has taught you everything, even the rules of defecation.'

See for example: Muslim, Cleanliness, 57-58; Al-Darmi, Cleanliness, 4 and Al-Nisa'i, Cleanliness. 13.

11. Deleuze, G and Guattari, F. *Traite de nomadologie*, p471.
12. Surat Al-An'am, v.112
13. ibid.
14. Al-Jahiz, A. U. (ed.) 1988, *The book of animals*, (commentary) Harun, M. H, Dar Al-Jeel, Beirut, vol. 4, pp476-478.
15. Yathrib was none other than a copy of Mecca and it was for this reason that the Prophet migrated there. This may also explain his tolerance of the Quraish after the conquest of Mecca since he recognised their administrative skills in the state he founded in Madinah. History shows many examples of the administrative skills of the Quraish in the Arab state.

16. Linguists differ more over the meaning of interrogation than in grammatical or derivational forms. See in this regard Yusuf, U 2003, *Polysemy in the Qur'an*, Sihr lil-Nashr, Tunis, p172 ff.
17. *The history of Quarish: A study of how Islam made the smallest Arab tribe into the mightiest tribe in the history of mankind*, Dar Al-Manahil – The Modern Era. 2002 p.30ff.
18. In this translation we have relied on Ibn Khaldun who refers to 'Al-basa'it' in the *Muqaddama* in the sense of extensive lands with no barriers on them. See Khaldun, I 2005, *Al-Muqaddama*, (ed.) Al-Shaddadi, A, Casablanca, vol1, p246.
19. Deleuze, G & Guattari, F, op. cit.
20. Al-Nisapuri Al-Tha'alibi, A. M, I 2000, *Stories of the Prophets or Ara'is Al'Majalis*, Dar Al-Fikr, Beirut, p37.
21. Khaldun, I, op. cit, *vol1*, pp193-194.

22. *Civilization*, 'Alam Al-Ma'rifa' Series, 1978No. 1. Kuwait, Pp144-145.
23. See Al-Zaid, H 2004, *Nomads and nomadism in the Qur'an, Hadith and Traditions*, Dirasat Series, No. 7, Dar Al-Amin, Cairo, P.111ff. Also see Al-Wardi, A, *Ibn Khaldun's Logic*, p105.
24. *Al-Muqaddama*, Vol1 p209.
25. *ibid*, p200.
26. *ibid*, p146.
27. See chapter on Migration of the desert Arabs in Al-Sarkhasi, *Sharh Al-Sir Al-Kabir*, (ed.) Al-Din Al-Munajjid, S 1960, Cairo, vol1.
28. Taymiyya, I, *The Need for the true path to counter the opinions of Sinners*, p161.
29. Khaldun, I, *op. cit*,vol1, p200.
30. Hence the most exact translation of 'asabiya' in French is 'esprit de corps'.



31. On the relationship between the Bedouin and war, as well as that between the state - enemy of the Bedouin - and war, see Deleuze, G.

32. One of the meanings of 'al-ukhuwwa' is weakness or collapse, a meaning that contradicts, or at least is contrary to the sense of valour and solidarity. Another meaning refers to hobbling or taming in the word 'al-aakhiyya', in which two ends of a stick are fixed into a wall, the middle forming a loop to which animals are attached. Ibn Sikkit says, 'or both ends of a rope are embedded in the ground the middle forming a loop to which animals are attached.' Its plural is 'awaakhin'. One says, the animal is hobbled with an aakhiyya. Al-Samarra', I 1990, *Fi shi'ab al-'arabiyya*, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Mu'asir, Beirut, Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, p101.

33. Al-Jabbari, A. 'A 1971, *Tribalism and state: outline of Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Islamic History*, Dar Al-Thaqafa, Casablanca, p30.

34. Khaldun, I, *Realism*, p238.
35. In the dialogue between Yezdigird and Al-Mughayyara ibn Zarara before the battle of Qadisiyya, in reply to Yezdigird, who had reproached the Arabs for their lack of wealth, lack of numbers and hunger, Al-Mughayyara said, ‘You have described us incorrectly, for our hunger was nothing like hunger. We ate beetles, scorpions, and snakes and considered them our food. Our houses were on the ground and our clothes were spun from camel and sheep's wool. Our religion was fighting one another.’ Al-Tabari, M. I. J 1967, *History of nations and kings*, (ed.) Ibrahim, M. A. F, Beirut, vol.3, pp499-500. It is evident that Al-Mughayyara is intending to denigrate the *jahiliyya* past of the desert Arabs in order to emphasise the light of Islam.
36. It is well known that man in a state of nature, as conceived by the Social Contract philosophers (Hobbes, Spinoza, Rousseau etc.), was simply a theoretical

construct to bring out the value of the Social Contract in human terms.

37. For more details, see Deleuze, G and Guattari, F, op.cit.

38. For more details see Deleuze and Guattari's distinction between movement (displacement of a body from one place to another) and speed (absolute property of an indivisible body occupying a wide space in a vortex within which it can appear at any point).

39. Ibn Taymiyya writes, 'The word *jahiliyya* even if originally an adjective is usually used as a noun' *The Need for the true path to counter the opinions of Sinners*, p77.

40. It is striking that since 1911 the Wahhaabis of the Arabian Peninsula have started to abandon living in tents and have begun to settle in brick-built houses called *hajar* (the verb h-j-r in old Sabaean means 'to be established and stable' as explained in our book, *Religion and Ideology*, p48). Tribal groups in the Najd have begun to imitate

each other in quitting desert life, which has come to be known as *al-jahiliyya*. The inhabitants of the *hajar* are termed *Al-Ikhwān*. (Wahba, H, 'The Arabian Peninsula in the 20th century' from Al-Wardi, A, op. cit, p101).

41. Khaldun ,I, *Al-Muqaddama*, vol1, p246.
42. *ibid*, p247.
43. *ibid*, p251.
44. *ibid*, p252.
45. *ibid*, vol1.
46. One of the best historical indications of this is that Arabs, after the conquests, began describing their affiliations in terms of their place of residence, not just in terms of lineage. *ibid*, vol1, p200.
47. *ibid*, vol1, pp277-278.
48. *ibid*, p278
49. Taymiyya, I, op. cit, p147.

Al-Rayhan Al-Bayruni, A 1983, *Reason and unreason in India*, Alam Al-Kutub p20, 132, 439.