

IBN KHALDUN AND HIS POLITICAL ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

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Ibn Khaldun is renowned Muslim scholar of fifteen the 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 muslims families who had made the Peninsula their home, left for north west Africa where the Banu Hafs were Ascendant ; But on their fall they left for Tunis, and it was in that city that Ahdu-r-Rahman, who is world famous as Ibn Khaldun was born the auspicious first of ramzan, 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 go 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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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-Ballafiqi 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 Muhammad 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 Abdullah at the Bejaue on the Mediterranean, but Abdullah'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 work the Muqadimah or Prolegomena which really form the first volume of his Kitab-ul-ibar 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 information 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 a century after he had left it. Amir of Tunis Abdull 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 was to board 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

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 at 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 Zainud-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 1388, 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

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, namely,

- (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 understand 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

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

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

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 through out 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

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 tribe 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 coercion 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

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 is 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

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 and 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 it 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 one 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,

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.

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-Ballafiqi, 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. *Dawlat* (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. I2I 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

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.

²⁰ Muqaddimah, Vol. II, Chapter 5.

²¹ Issawi, *op. cit.*, p.77.

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