

Analytical Study of the Role of the Industry of Religion of Ibn Khaldun, Discipline and Technology of the Self of Foucault in Power Domination

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ABSTRACT

In some point of view, neither Michel Foucault nor Ibn Khaldun are considered philosophers in the conventional classifications, but both are very important in intellectual and, of course, in philosophical contexts, especially for those who are interested in the deep study of human life from the perspective of political thought. The main concern of two thinkers, one in the 14th century, the other in the 20th century, is the issue of power, although neither of them provided a precise definition of it. In this article, an attempt has been made to show the place of power and domination in the political thought of both thinkers by examining the thoughts of two thinkers. And in search of an answer to this question, how did *Asabiyyah* and industry of religion in Ibn Khaldun's thought and social control through self-technology and discipline in Foucault's thought lead to the expansion of the domination of power? This article is written by analytically comparing the opinions of two thinkers based on Ibn Khaldun's most important book called *Muqaddimah* and Foucault's late works.

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As soon as they forgot religion, they also left politics.
(Muqaddimah, 968, 290).

Ibn Khaldun begins his great work with a classification that includes human life in his time period and in the geographical area that is now called North Africa and the West of the Middle East. He saw human life in terms of Hadara (civilized or urban life) or Badwa (tribal life). Under special attention to the government, Ibn Khaldun also draws the strong dependence of his thought on the subject of politics. He says: the government and the Sultan(king) are the biggest market in the world and the mother of all markets, and society and prosperity originate from it. Wealth circulates between the sultan and the serf (people) (Muqaddimah, 1968, 551) Without a well-managed country, then human life is not complete (Harliana, 2017, 150) These sentences emphasize Ibn Khaldun's special view on government and state, which can be seen in many places in the book. To the extent that there is no subject in his book without regard to government or sultan (king), Ibn Khaldun has been called as the founder of economics, civilization, sociology and philosophy of history because of the artistic mixing of matters of these new sciences in his work. In this article, the issues that belong to politics from Ibn Khaldun's point of view have been discussed. Although he appears to be a positivist, in matters of government, as a Muslim he distinguishes between two types of government. First, the ideal government at the time of the rise of Islam (the rule of Muhammad, p.b.u.h and the 4 caliphs after him, which we call Sadr Islam) and second, the secular government based on Asabiyyah, which arose after the era of Sadr Islam, and continued until his era. He uses the term transition from caliphate to kingship to separate these 2 types of government (Muqaddimah, 1968, 387).

The basic characteristic of the second type is suppression, from the suppression of other Asabiyyahs that have failed, to the suppression of the spirit of courage and bravery of civilized people through the development of various industries such as the religious industry to expand the domination of the rulers or governors. Of course, from Ibn Khaldun's point of view, Asabiyyah is a kind of dominance-seeking spirit that is based on kinship and blood ties, and its most important goal is the establishment of a kingdom. And any issue that reduces the Asabiyyah, reduces the power of the kingdom or government.

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be noted is that Asabiyyah and bravery are considered virtues and values in all periods and parts of tribal life and have a positive function for the tribe or Il.

But by achieving the main goal of Asabiyyah, the establishment of the kingdom, Asabiyyah itself became an issue of control in the mind of the Sultan (King). According to Ibn Khaldun, when Asabiyyah is reduced to the minimum, the kingdom (Saltanat) also declines and is defeated by rivals who have more Asbiyyah. Michel Foucault, on the other hand, considers the technology of self as an agent of domination, which is achieved through its presentation to the community. Asabiyyah, reduces the power of the kingdom or government.

He calls the tradition of confession in Christianity and monasticism a kind of ground for the realization of domination and describes the continuation of this technique or technology (which started in monasteries) to dominate subjects in hospitals, workshops, schools, etc. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Foucault says, religious disciplinary methods were used in factories to enforce order. It seems that there is a significant relationship between Asbiyyah and Foucault's discipline and punishment, in such a way that, after the establishment of the kingdom and the consolidation of the foundations of the government, the demand for Asbiyyah was reduced. on the other hand, both technology(technique) of the self and the realization of order (discipline) over the people (serfs) cause domination, albeit through religious and educational industries that contribute to the emergence of civilization (urbanization). This factor works by reducing the spirit of bravery, courage and struggle. Meanwhile, the ideal type of man is described in the Muqaddimah with the characters of courage and bravery and struggle.

It can be argued that before the establishment of the kingdom, Asabiyyah acted as a technology of self for the benefit of the soul of the community. Of course, after the establishment of the kingdom, Asabiyyah itself was introduced as an obstacle against the expansionism of the Sultan(king), which must be controlled. Finally, it must be attaition that Ibn Khaldun lives in 14th century that its important characterite is chaos in governing in muslim counries after mongol attaks, decline of khalephs (relogious governmet on whole muslims). And unique kind of government is kingdom(monarchy) in the world. The method of this research is a combination of historical description and analytical comparison. First, the time period and historical conditions of Ibn Khaldun's life are explained, based on the Muqaddimah, then the similar topics of two thinkers that are focused on domination and power are collected and analyzed, and finally, the relationship between topics such as technology of the self, order and discipline, the industry of religion and domination is analyzed.

1. Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldūn, in full Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Khaldūn, (born May. .27, 1332, Tunis [Tunisia]—died March 17, 1406, Cairo, Egypt), the greatest Arab historian, who developed one of the earliest nonreligious

philosophies of history, contained in his masterpiece, the *Muqaddimah* ("Introduction"). He also wrote a definitive history of Muslim North Africa (britannica.com). His thoughts and ideas have been the subject and inspirations of a countless lot of research done around the globe by numerous scholars (Haraliana, 2017, 151). The famous historian Arnold Toynbee declared that Ibn Khaldun's book, *Muqaddimah*, is the greatest book of its kind (Bolton, 2017). Some consider the Italian philosopher Vico (1668-1744) to have been the founder of the philosophy of history; others give credit to the French philosopher Montesquieu (1689-1755). In fact, the Arabic philosopher and historian Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) was the first pioneer to discover that history, like any other science, required research (philosophynow.org). Of course, epistemological studies of the work of Ibn Khaldun are not very advanced, and the comparisons that have been drawn between his conceptions and those of various ancient and modern thinkers remain quite superficial (Cheddadi, 2005). Of course, he has been mentioned as a pioneer or founder in many sciences such as sociology, but his greatest fame is related to the science of history (Sajad, 2022, 1-9)

1-1. Ibn Khaldun's methodology

Ibn Khaldun believed in the primacy of action and senses over thought (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 792), so we call him a positivist. At least he was a positivist in historiography and civilization (Jamshidiha, 2010, 3). Since issues such as observations, tangible results, etc, are meaningful in positivism, Ibn Khaldun considers *asabiyyah* (an empirical and observable matter) as the center of all political actions, so it can be claimed that he was a positivist in this field. Although he is clearly an idealist in describing the era of Sadr Islam, he was also against philosophy, astronomy and alchemy, because he believed that such sciences spread in big cities and were harmful to religion. Finally, he was against deduction and theoretical thinking and was in favor of observation and senses (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 1087).

The most important difference between Khaldun and other thinkers of that period is the breadth of his views, so that he emphasizes both the influence of geographical factors on human existence and thinking and the influence of his inner self. As mentioned before, Ibn Khaldun can be classified in the group of positivists, but in his thoughts, we can see two important exceptions that arise from his religious beliefs. First, the separation of the government in the era of Sadr Islam (including the government of Muhammad, peace be upon him and the 4 caliphs after him, Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali) from the rest of the Islamic era until his own time. He believed that in that period there were miracles (*Khawareq*) that human intellect (reason) and wisdom could not explain.

He also considers matters such as sacrifice (*Isar*), inattention to governance, people's full attention to spiritual issues to be the difference between those period and other Islamic historical periods. The second exception in his positivist view was the belief in God's help (unseen help) in the lives of Muslims, which refers the outcome of events to God's will according to the verses of the Qur'an.

1-2. Ibn Khaldun's Main Concerns

He has two important concerns, the first is a scientific concern based on the understanding of historical cycles (Önder, 2017, 120), and the second is a normative and ethical concern based on the revival of the spiritual life of the early Islamic period (Sadr Islam). One of the commentators of Muqaddam believes that Ibn Khaldun was not interested in the old (traditional) political philosophy, because that philosophy is only in search of utopia and does not have answers to everyday (common) questions. He attributes this opinion to a letter that Khaldun wrote to his friend and, asking dozens of questions about how all this chaos and riots happened, he curses fate and destiny (Lascoste, 2007, 69). Regardless of this letter, it can be concluded from the Muqaddimah that Khaldun seeks to revive the Sadr Islam period, although he does not provide any definite method for its revival (although it can be guessed through the unification of Muslims and Islam). Of course, Ibn Khaldun had political thoughts. According to Ibn Khaldun, politics is a mechanism that teaches human beings to achieve the salvation of the world and the hereafter. Without a well-managed country, then human life is not complete (Haraliana, 2017).

1-3. Asabiyyah

Asabiyya(asabiyyah) is an Arabic word, originally meaning "spirit of kinship" (the asaba are male relations in the male line) in the family or tribe¹. And its main aim is kingdom (Damian, 2004, 64). One of the definitions of Asabiyyah can be related to the importance of descent. Descent is a blood link that connects a person to his ancestors. Of course, this issue is not noteworthy today, rather today is important in modern society (walajahi, 2019, 17). It seems that an important factor of social coherence and making and definition of us against others was the descent and kinship relations in the old world (before modernity). The relationship that made tribal life possible. Based on the work of Ferdinand Tunis, tribal life can be classified as Gemayenshaft(community) against Gezelshaft(society) (springborg, 1986, 186).

Il and decsent is a joint point of the inner and outer world in tribal life that gives meaning and goals to people. Humans are enclosed in a common soul in their clan and descent (tribal life). In fact, descent and lineage are actualized in tribal life. Asabiyyah is the driving force of a country and is the basis of a country or dynasty. However, according to Ibn Khaldun, when a country or dynasty reaches a steady state, development will attempt to destroy 'assobiyyah'. The strength of a country depends on the strength of 'assobiyyah' (Harliana, 2017, 142).

From Ibn Khaldun's point of view, Asabiyyah is a common and collective will to power and its continuity. Just as after the establishment of the government (kingdom) that Asabiyyah decreases, the government (for example, monarchy) declines. He looks at the Asabiyyah as the permanent agent and the reason for wars why, so it is an identity factor for tribes and, of course, is a factor in dominating other identities (tribes or Asabiyyahs) (MuqaddimaH, 1968, 316).

Of course, Yves Lascoste (Fench Geoploitician) tries to explain the Asabiyyah through its function in the political, social and economical structure of tribal government in that period, how the members of tribes gain economic and political benefits by obeying the tribe (Lascoste, 2007, 36). In a pragmatistic point of view, it seems that Asabiyyah is a main factor in the adoption of human (member of tribe) to their environment (biological and political) and solving the basic and fundamental needs and demands like security, development of territory, war, defence and domination entail the asabiyyah.

In the *Muqaddimah*, Asabiyyah is described as an internal form of power (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 238). That is, power presents itself in Asabiyyah (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 241). Power is outside of asabiyyah, but its meaningfulness is based on it, and finally, Khaldun looks at asabiyyah as a means of realizing and objectifying power. From Khaldun's point of view, customary education (traditional or non-religious) leads to reduction of asabiyyah and, accordingly, the decrease of the community's power, because he believes that power comes (it is produced or emerges) from antagonism, which is based on demarcating between oneself and the others and draw the border between us and others (continuous demarcation), in other words asabiyyah. As education can blur the borders, then it can reduce power finally. While we know that realization of education requires some kind of openness for others to learn, this point can be the origin of distancing from asabiyyah in relation to others. Therefore, it can be said that the lineage of science is not always the same as the blood lineage (descent or Tabar) of a human.

Definitely, Khaldun shows the inseparability of internal social ties in the tribe with political issues in the *Muqaddimah* and says: Government (Saltanat or monarchy) is the natural goal of the tribe and it is not a voluntary matter, but the order of the world necessitates its realization (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 387). Also, Abed Al-Jabari emphasizes the political role of the tribe, when he classifies the foundations of Arab reason, which are: tribalism, booty, and dogmatic belief (Masoudi, 2010).

1-4. Industry of Religion

As the religious faith decreased among the people and they obeyed the rulings and orders of the governor (Sultans), religion (Shariat) gradually turned into knowledge (science) and industry (craft) that should be learned through education (*talim wa tarbiat*). The trend towards urbanization and civilization reduced their courage and bravery (*Muqaddimah*, 1968, 283) This issue will be explained under the section on religion and domination. It is mentioned here only to emphasize the relationship between Ibn Khaldun's methodology and industry (craft).

As it is said before, Ibn Khaldun used observation and induction to study social order and arrangement. His observations and study of Arab and North Africa's history, the sultan's control (domination) over all Muslim affairs, especially education of religion and, on the other hand, dependence of all issues on power and Muslims' deviation from pure religious experience in the

sadr islam (Muqaddimah, 1968, 643) leads him to the conclusion that something called religion has been suspended in favor of religion industry. he emphasizes the relation between the industry of religion (Sanaate Mazhab) and domination, where he says religion has become an industry (Sanat) for education. He hinted at the Sadr Islam period and the Arabs' history, to mention pure Islam, and wrote: " They could not get the heart (lab al-albab) of Islam and left only some wrong customs after converting to Islam (Muqaddimah, 1968, 643). It can be seen as the difference between religion and industry of religion (Sanaate Mazhab) from Ibn Khaldun's view.

2- Michel Foucault

2-1. Methodology of Foucault

Foucault is known as Poststructuralism. It represents a set of attitudes and a style of critique that developed in critical response to the growth and identification of the logic of structural relations that underlie social institutions. It is a set of attitudes, helping us better understand, interpret, and alter our social environment by calling established meanings into question, revealing the points of ambiguity and indeterminacy inherent in any system, rejecting the rationalistic piety that all systems are internally coherent and circle around an unchanging center, showing how discourses are carriers of power capable of turning us into subjects, and placing upon us the burden of ethical responsibility that accompanies the acceptance of freedom. Following Foucault, poststructuralism invites an inquiry into how discourses, texts, and acts of communication are always implicated in relations of power that act upon possible actions (oxfordre.com)¹.

Foucault's main concern in many of his works is genealogy and the history of thought. For example, in the order of things, he writes: establishing of discontinuities is not easy task even in history in general and it is certainly even less so for the history of thoughts (Foucault, 1994, 50), however Foucault's main idea is power. Of course, his thoughts regard the kinds of domination that exist, mainly those which arise in modernity, power-knowledge, biopower (Foucault, 2021) and discipline that is hired in this article. Foucault emphasizes the discontinuities (breaks) in human history (Dreyfus, 2008, 19) that have created different regimes of truth (Lorenzini, 2015) and actually shaped different historical periods.

2-2. Technology (Technique) of the Self and Discipline

By accepting Habermas' theory of triple interests, Foucault added his technology of the self (Foucault, 2021) to these three elements and said: In my opinion, the common point between the way others know people and lead them and the way people know and lead themselves can be called government. Government, in the works and writings of Foucault, is a governing method that emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries, and it is characteristic of modern societies, yet its main goal is the population. Political economy is the main form of its science, and its basic technical tool is

¹ For more info see: <https://oxfordre.com/communication/display/10.1093/>

the security system. The idea of the government (state) is an analytical process through which the meaning of power is reproduced. order in Foucault's thought is for subjects' discipline. Of course, in the pre-modern period, the goal was the body but, in the modern period, the goal is domination of minds to turn them into objects. The government is seeking to spread this epistemological frame.

This is how Foucault describes the three pillars of domination for the realization of social order:

1. Servant at home, based on the all-pervading, heavy, non-analytical and unlimited domination that was established in the form of the individual will of the master and her whims.
2. Serfdom, based on obedience, coded, mostly based on work products and signs of obedience.
3. Asceticism, austerity whose function is to guarantee withdrawal and not to increase usefulness. Foucault describes the birth of body art as the historical moment of discipline, an art whose aim is not only to enhance the body's skills or intensify its domination, rather, it was to shape a relationship that would make it (body) more submissive within the same mechanism as it is more useful and vice versa (Foucault, 1998, 172).

Discipline increases the physical forces of the body (in the framework of economic utility) and decreases these forces in the political framework. It separates power from the body and domination from that hard relationship.

3- Discussion

3-1. Ibn Khaldun's and Foucault's Opinion on the Role of Domination and Suppression of Power in Realizing the Framework of Civilization

Discipline increases the physical forces of the body (in the framework of economic utility) and decreases these forces in the political framework. It separates power from the body and domination from that hard relationship. Most writings by Foucault talk about power and its concrete links, like biopower, power-knowledge. His topics have the highest relationship with government issues. For example, he discusses social rejection at his birth in prison and shows that it has a public function for realization of order and discipline. it could be found among Arab tribes, from Sadr Islam to Khaldun, the same issues with the same function. Something like joining (Helf and Istilhaq or Javar) and exclusion or rejection (khal) from a tribe in order to control the survival of the tribe and clan lineage (Il) (Tabari, 1976, 124). But Ibn Khaldun studied the type of formation and decline of states and governments in a detailed and scrutinizing way. He presents a category for types of government:

1. Natural government and state management: Forcing people to do the things of life according to their desire and lust;

2. Political government (sultanat or kingdom): forcing everyone to follow the requirements of rational opinion in attracting worldly interests and avoiding its harm;
3. Caliphate state: forcing people to share Sharia in its benefits in this world and the next. And therefore, succession from the owner of the Shari'ah is for the purpose of guarding religion and the politics of worldly affairs are related to religion (Muqaddimah, 1968, 365).

The permanent formation of the country is only possible through the power of domination, and the conquest and power are achieved by the Asabiyyah and composition of the hearts of the people for development or taking the country only by God's will to establish his religion (Muqaddimah, 1968, 301). 2. When the dominant Asabiyyah appears, it tries to calm down the rest of the Asabiyyah (Muqaddimah, 1968, 326), and it seems that traditional education (that involves the religious) is one of the best ways to suppress the rest of the nervousness because it makes them urban and civilized. It destroys their fighting power. Ibn Khaldun considers the existence of nervousness as a constant reason for conflicts and disputes (Muqaddimah, 1968, 316). After domination, the desire that exists in the nature of humans emerges in him and with the requirements of statehood comes along, which is autocracy (Muqaddimah, 1968, 317).

Comfort and calm are natural parts of governing (traditional kingdom, monarchy) because the country is to be gained by the developmentalism of a race(nation) and its main goal is domination, power and governing. When the goal is achieved, they stop trying, although inviting religion was another fundamental faculty that intensified the Asabiyyah and is considered as source and factor in the establishment of government (state). In fact, religion's faculty intensifies the Asabiyyah (Muqaddimah, 1968, 302). The country(government) is made by Asabiyyah and itself comes from the gathering of tribes and populations but in such a way that the strongest population (tribe) defeat others and dominate them.

Ibn Khaldun believes that the foundation of the country (governing) is based on two things: 1. Asabiyyah or army; 2. Wealth (Muqaddimah, 1968, 568). Ibn Khaldun emphasizes here, on economic factor of government, that is made by security so that itself is a product of order and discipline. He so emphasizes on surplus production in another place of book (Muqaddimah, 1968, 754) and says: Civilization is produced in the shadow of storing something in excess of one's consumption needs, and this becomes the cornerstone of creating civilization. We know that this could only happen with discipline and here he comes close to Foucault's word that believe, controls are applied to increase human economic efficiency and khaldun says that civilization begins with efficiency of production that conduct to surplus production.

4. Ibn Khaldun's and Foucault's Opinion on the Role of Religion in Expanding the Conquest of Power and Domination

As soon as they forgot religion, they also moved away from politics (Muqaddimah, 1968, 290).

4-1. Transition from caliphate to kingdom

Ibn Khaldun, quite frankly, hinted at the transition from the caliphate system in Sadr Islam to a political government (saltanat or kingdom) that caused so many disasters and difficulties in Muslim countries. Of course, Ibn Khaldun is not alone in emphasizing on this transition, but someone like Ibn Taqtaqi in his history book (*Tarikh E Fakhri*) writes the same opinion too (Fakhri, 2011, 52). It is worth considering that Ibn Khaldun no longer considers the governors(states) as religious but secular governments (kingdom or Saltanat) (Muqaddimah, 1968, 387). In fact, he describes the governing kingdom's system as something like bureaucracy that causes the decrease of Asabiyyah (Muqaddimah, 1968, 464). And Asabiyyah that due to that, today, people look at community, cooperation, differences and dispersion from the perspective of habit and observe it well, was not important. The soul of the people was digested in the spirit of Islam, because the faith in Islam had covered all the people and the condition was so unnatural that issues of governing and successor were forgotten (depreciated). In the Sadr Islam period, governing was based on breaking of habits (miracles and unnaturality), but after that, the government turned to be based on habits, as it was before Islam was raised.

In fact, after the Sadr Islam period, the force to maintain the country, and the government (Mulk) and construct a force for it was Asabiyyah (Muqaddimah, 1968, 409), and religion is just a subject to protect and transfer to future generations. Issues that, after Sadr Islam, were in control of the governor, like: 1. Determine Pish-namaz (The one who prays in the mosque and people follow him); 2. Determine of Mofthi (jurist or Faqih); 3. Permission for teach in main mosques; 4. Determine the guardian of the ruler(governor)that separate governor from people; 5. (Muhtaseb) He who walks in the city and punishes anyone who acts against Sharia or religion); 6. Determine of the Judges and the most important issue, the process of separating the governor from people in every field, like a praying ceremony where people sit on the ground to pray and the ruler sits in a higher place and preaches (Muqaddimah, 1968, 422). These factors caused the transition from the caliphate system to a kingdom, and better to say, as Abed Aljaberi mentions, a kind of positivist racism that depends on deduction spread (Vasfi, 2004, 81-82).

The differentiation of two kinds of epistemologic systems can be seen through Alan Badio's (French philosopher) view. The occurrence of truth in Abrahamic religions is just the opposite to Christian Gnosticism, where truth is exclusive to a certain group. In Abrahamic religions, there is a kind of pure democracy in spreading the truth that anyone can be the audience of this event and accept it in any situation. Badiou considers the truth to be something completely new and

happening, but knowledge is a repeated and habitual thing, and therefore he says that knowledge is of the kind of addition, but truth is of the kind of subtraction¹.

This affair shows itself in the early era of Islam, but after that, every issue belongs to the government and is the subject of it, especially religion itself and its integration with politics (according to the wide range of governance duties like: determine of Pishnamaz, Judge, Faqih, Muhtaseb) that event of truth becomes knowledge, affairs that are usual and repetitive.

4-2. Industry of Religion (Sanaat e Mazhab) and Domination

One of the usual definitions of producing power refers to antagonistic separation of friend-enemy's (Agamben, 2022, 93) and Ibn Khaldun believed that if Asabiyyah (we showed before that is based on antagonistic logic) it, accompanied with religion, would be stronger (Muqaddimah, 1968, 304). And it should not be denied in any way that the Companions (Sahaabe) of the Prophet, even though they mentioned the religion and the Sharia, never diminished their stubbornness and bravery, and that they were more stubborn, stronger and braver than all the people, because when Muslims took their religion directly from God (Shaare) due to encouraging and threatening commands that Shaare (God) calls for them, their protector and ruler comes from their own souls. Their religious conscience was considered the best ruler (Muqaddimah, 1968, .238). Therefore, their leader was not obtained through technical education or education. Rather, it was only in the light of learning the rules of religion and its customs, and they learned them in such a way that they inspired their souls to follow them, and this was the reason for the penetration of the beliefs of faith and affirmation in them. Therefore, their stubbornness, strength and courage were still firm and stable as before, and the face of them martyrdom and courage were not scratched by the nails of discipline and obedience (Muqaddimah, 1968, 239).

From this statement of Ibn Khaldun, it can be concluded that the education of his time was like a veil between the individual and the truth. Ibn Khaldun considers the conversion of religion into an industry of religion (Sanaat e Mazhab) and the need to learn it, as the reason for reducing the intensity of their bravery. Of course, according to the principle of nervousness, it should be emphasized that bravery and courage are the ideal characteristics of Ibn Khaldun's attention. Likewise, Ibn Khaldun somehow considers the governor's order(rule) and customary or traditional teachings (school teachings) to be equal or probably from the same source, and for this reason, he calls them a source of destruction of courage and stubbornness. (Muqaddimah, 1968, 239). By dividing the ruler (leader) into internal and external, Ibn Khaldun considers any matter subject to the command of an external ruler to be the cause of the destruction of human courage. The ruler and deterrent of customary teachings and the industry of religion is alien and outside of human nature. The religion (Shari'a) rules are not destructive, because their deterrent is inherent, but the

¹ for more info, look at www.thesis11.com/farhadpurmorad/Alanbadio

decrees of rulers and customary teachings are among the factors that weaken souls and break them apart, because it will cause their babies and the elderly to suffer if the Bedouins avoid the rulers' orders, education and customs and this issue makes them brave. Ibn Khaldun considered one of the effects of education to discipline the student's mind as well as create the characteristics of his personality. It seems that according to Khaldun, religion is an industry for adapting the individual to the community, and the Muhtasib has the duty of this constant adaptation to the rules of collective discipline in society.

And through this repetition and habit, a sensual internalization in person (*Malekeh e Nafs*) is formed, which, according to Ibn Khaldun's interpretation, the important goal of industries (crafts) is the appearance of this same internalization (*Malekeh e Nafs*). In fact, the goal of becoming religious here is to conform to the group and be obedient, and according to Ibn Khaldun, this atmosphere is different from the atmosphere that existed in the early days of Islam. He says that without obtaining this internalization (*Malekeh*), an industry such as knowledge (or religion) cannot be realized, because he considers learning to be different from becoming a scientist and caused by the lack of the same internalization (*Malekeh*). In fact, Ibn Khaldun draws two different worlds. One is the era of Sadr Islam, which is the era of breaking the habit and truth of Alan Badio, and the other is the repetitive and accustomed positivist world after the Sadr of Islam, where power relations can be understood in a positivist way, and industry is defined and exploited under the power relations.

Focusing on technique of self, Foucault proposes the use of an old-religious method of architecture, which is the cells of monasteries. The general characteristic of monasteries, as Foucault explains about the factory, is the loss of privacy of individuals in order to improve the productivity and monitorability of the subjects (Foucault, 2021, 101) Something similar can be found in *Asabiyyah*. *Asabiyyah* is the appearance of the collective spirit of a nation or tribe in the mind of a person, so that the life of the clan and tribe is more important than the life of an individual. In fact, in neurosis, a person does not care about whether things are right or wrong, he only cares about conforming to the collective spirit. the daily prayer schedule is an old tradition. No doubt, the monastic communities had provided its exact model. This pattern was quickly spread, which includes the following: 1. Determining sections; 2. obliging to certain occupations; 3. regulating cycles of repetition (Foucault, 2021, 188). It soon reached colleges, schools, workshops and hospitals. New disciplines were included in the old designs even in the 19th century when they wanted to use the villagers in crafts and jobs, and to get them used to working in the workshop, they sometimes got help from religious communities because religious sects have been teachers of discipline for centuries. The function of disciplinary power is more to combine than to extract. It is more of a forced relationship with the production machine rather than forced exploitation (Foucault, 1998, 84).

Through this subjugation technique (Assujettissement), a new object was being formed. This new object was a natural body, a tame but productive body (Dreyfus, 2008, 244) the bearer, of force, at the disposal of authority and not the passage of animal spirits, the trained body and not the body of a rational mechanic (Foucault's Foucault, 2021, 193). A very important point to note is that Foucault considers obedience in the monastery to include all aspects of life. On March 19, 980, Foucault considered the two basic tasks that characterize the Christian guidance of conscience in monastic institutions to be 1) to obey and 2) to not hide anything. In Christian guidance, if you have to obey, this obedience is not for an external purpose, but for a permanent and continuous state of obedience. In monastic life, the supreme good is not self-mastery, but connection to divine perfection. In this life, thoughts are more important than actions. He should constantly focus his thoughts on God and control the flow of thoughts. This area of self-care is prior to any kind of action, as well as prior to will and even prior to desire. This issue also shows itself in Ibn Khaldun's thought in a place where he says that the length of stay of a seeker of knowledge in schools should be 16-4 years (Muqaddimah, 1968,878).

Wherever it raises Asabiyyah, it is accompanied by admiration for the control of power over people. In this care, the monk does not seek to discover the truth or falsity of the proposition, but rather the nature of the existence of his thoughts, whether these thoughts have a godly or satanic color (Foucault, 2021, 101). From this statement by Foucault and, of course, Ibn Khaldun's repeated emphasis on the primacy of action, it is possible to analyze an important part of the history of the authoritarian tradition in such a way that man under the rule of governments has been considered as a normal man and any kind of departure from this circuit has led to rejection from the society. Finally, religion in the despotism period, subjugated and dominated by power, and in this authoritarian tradition, religion turns to the industry of religion and plays an undeniable role in the continuation of domination.

Conclusion

Foucault says that people do not come to the truth under the influence of the will to power, but by an interpretation of the truth within the framework of the desire for power, which makes it possible to dominate others. On the other hand, as he also says in the description of Panopticon (Mozaffari, 2021), monitoring of people is one of the most important functions of power. He believes that as a result of discipline, an individual becomes a collective person, so that domination becomes possible, and this issue is well explained in the Asabiyyah and tribal life mentioned by Ibn Khaldun. In addition to the fact that in Islamic countries, religion is under the authority and control of power, as Ibn Khaldun says, it is also a kind of reinforcement of Asabiyyah. In fact, when he talks about the industry of religion, in addition to his reference to the normalization (and Malekeh) of religious actions and thoughts for a Muslim, he claims that this reduces one's courage and

bravery and it can also be pointed out that Ibn Khaldun is talking about a deterministic reading of Islam itself, which reproduces itself in the form of religious education.

We should note that Ibn Khaldun lives in a period when the comparative (deduction) thinking of the political issue, i.e., proving the necessity of obeying the Creator through obeying his representative (Jamshidiha, 2010, 3) casts a shadow on Muslims and shapes their entire political thinking (Vasfi, 2017, 81) so that it can be claimed that other type of political thinking almost does not exist abroad.

On the other hand, in this period, all societies find meaning in relation to the political issue and the issue of power. Power is in the possession of a person, his mind acts as the whole subject and he has absolute authority to declare war, expansionism, peace, murder, change of religion (Othman's dream and the emergence of the Ottoman dynasty, Shah Ismail's dream and change of religion in Iran)) and .. and their people and lands are practically considered the king's personal property. As an example, we can point to the topic of murder. We know that murder is forbidden in all religions, but most of the rulers have reached the kingdom by killing one or possibly the people of a city. After kingship, this ruler considered his duty and mission to protect the lives and property of believers (Muslims, Christians and Jews). And while we know that often, there was no distance and border between the personal treasury of the king and the country. These two propositions clearly show that power has dominated every type of existence, and religion has not been an exception. In addition to the fact that in Islamic countries, religion is under the authority and domination of power, as Ibn Khaldun says, it is somehow reinforcing *Asabiyyah*. Foucault's statement about desirable subjectification in Christianity (Foucault, 2021, 119), which has a direct relationship with the above reception (conformity with the crowd), can be seen in Ibn Khaldun's definition of the inverse relationship between courage (transcendence) and prosperity and abundance of blessings in *Asabiyyah*. Also, it should be noted that loyalty in *Asabiyyah* and confession in monasticism both serve to control the dominated subject. Seeking salvation definitely means having self-concern, but this concern must have the form of self-sacrifice. It is almost equivalent to the feeling that a person reaches in *Asabiyyah*, giving up himself for a group of us. Of course, this discussion can also include *Asabiyyah* and civilization, that the power suppresses such subjects so that they are obedient. Foucault does not consider obedience in Christianity for an external goal, but for a state of permanent and continuous internal obedience. Something that can be seen both in *Asabiyyah* and in the industry of religion, which, of course, the result of both of them is the preparation of the subject or human being for domination. It has been a fluent issue of study recently. For example, Firahi says: Islamic Fiqh (jurist) has been written in an authoritarian context (Firahi, 2014, 14)

With these interpretations, it can be claimed that the industry of religion that Ibn Khaldun talks about is similar in nature to Foucault's technology (technique) of self, and when Foucault talks

about discipline and control, it is the same thing that Ibn Khaldun formulated in the term of Asabiyyah.

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