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# Writing the Biography of Ibn Khaldūn

## 1 Introduction

Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) is undoubtedly one of the most important and prominent figures not only in the history of the Muslim world but also in world history. A huge number of studies have been conducted on Ibn Khaldūn so far, making it almost impossible to cover all of them, even if limited to his masterpiece, the *Muqaddima*, that is, the introduction to his history, *Kitāb al-Ibar*.

Nevertheless, relatively little attention has been paid to his life and biography. In his recently published biography of Ibn Khaldūn, Allen James Fromherz writes that “[t]he only existing biographies are translations of Ibn Khaldun’s autobiography or cursory discussions of the outlines of his life”.<sup>1</sup> While Fromherz’s book is advertised as “the first complete, scholarly biography of Ibn Khaldun in English”,<sup>2</sup> it too has relied for the most part on Ibn Khaldūn’s autobiography, the *Ta’rīf*. This also holds true for the two more recent biographical studies of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the *Ta’rīf* is one of the most detailed autobiographies in pre-modern Islamic literature and provides invaluable information, as Fromherz argues, about Ibn Khaldūn himself. It is the definitive primary source for the studies on Ibn Khaldūn. As pointed out by Walter Fischel, however, the *Ta’rīf* does not convey “the whole, complete, and comprehensive story of his [Ibn Khaldūn’s]

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1 Fromherz 2010, 39.

2 Fromherz 2010, back cover.

3 Alatas 2013; Irwin 2018.

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**Note:** This is based on a paper read at the following academic gatherings: 5th World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, Seville, July 2018; 2nd German-Japanese Workshop on Mamlukology, Waseda University, Tokyo, December 2018; and lastly, International Congress “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, CSIC, Madrid, December 2018. I am grateful to the participants of these gatherings for their discussions and comments, and especially to Josef Ženka for his valuable advice and help, as well as to Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas for giving me the opportunity to participate in their congress at the “last minute” and for inviting me to contribute to this volume. The research for this study was supported by the FY2018 Asian History Research Aid of JFE 21st Century Foundation and JSPS KAKENHI (18H00719).

private life and activities”; rather, it is “a ‘selective’ account, written by Ibn Khaldūn as he wanted to be seen and judged by posterity”.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the biographies of Ibn Khaldūn by his contemporary and near-contemporary authors, which provide additional data, are no less important than the *Taʿrīf*. Nevertheless, these “external Arabic sources” – as they are called by Fischel – most of which were produced not in Ibn Khaldūn’s native region, the Maghrib, but in the Mamlūk sultanate where he spent his last years, have not yet been fully explored and evaluated. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the “external Arabic sources” on Ibn Khaldūn and their relations to each other to illumine what kind of data about Ibn Khaldūn can be learned from them. This chapter also seeks to shed light upon how their authors obtained these data. Thus, it explores how wide the intellectual networks were at the time, as well as what the relationship was between the western Arab world (the Maghrib and al-Andalus) and the eastern Arab world (the Mashriq), considering they are areas that are often treated separately.

## 2 Contemporary authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus

The well-known vizier and historian of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713–776 H/1313–1374-5 CE),<sup>5</sup> includes in his work on Granada, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, a biographical account covering Ibn Khaldūn’s earlier years up to about 769 H/1367 CE and citing a number of letters exchanged between them.<sup>6</sup> This account includes several unique details. For instance, the genealogy of Ibn Khaldūn mentioned by Ibn al-Khaṭīb is slightly different from that given by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Taʿrīf*.<sup>7</sup> According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khaldūn’s genealogy is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī; Ibn Khaldūn, however, does not refer to Muḥammad, the grandson of Khaldūn (Ibn Khaldūn’s eponymous ancestor) and presents Ibrāhīm as Khaldūn’s grandson. As Ibn Khaldūn admits that some of his ancestors’ names

<sup>4</sup> Fischel 1967, 162; Fischel 1956, 288.

<sup>5</sup> On him, see Bosch-Vilá, “Ibn al-Khaṭīb”, *EF*; Robinson 2009; Lirola Delgado *et al.* 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 497–516. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions in the last part of Ibn Khaldūn’s biography that he sent a letter to Ibn Khaldūn in Biskra (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* [1965], 516). This is presumably the letter dated 2 Jumādā I 769 H (25 December 1367 CE) that Ibn Khaldūn quotes in his autobiography (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* [1951], 115–122).

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 1.

are left off, his genealogy as given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb is certainly more accurate. Indeed, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's version was adopted by later biographers. Ibn al-Khaṭīb also lists the early writings of Ibn Khaldūn, including a commentary on the *Burda* – the ode of the Prophet Muḥammad composed by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694–696 H/1294–1297 CE) – and a treatise on logic, an abridgement of the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 H/1209 CE), as well as a book on calculation.<sup>8</sup> None of them were mentioned by any other persons including Ibn Khaldūn himself, but his holograph manuscript of *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn*, the abridgement of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, was discovered, edited and published in 1952. Furthermore, Ibn al-Khaṭīb provides a small but interesting piece of information on Ibn Khaldūn's private life: Ibn Khaldūn had a European concubine named Hind in Granada.<sup>9</sup>

Abū al-Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar (ca. 725–807? H/1324–1404-5? CE) was a descendant of the Naṣrīd refugees to the Marinids.<sup>10</sup> He includes Ibn Khaldūn's *qaṣīda* poetry with a biographical note in the anthology *Nathīr al-jumān*, which was composed in 776 H/1374 CE.<sup>11</sup> In this biographical note, Ibn al-Aḥmar discusses Ibn Khaldūn's early career and praises his talents, such as his knowledge of modern and ancient history (*ma'rifa bi-l-tawārikh al-ḥadītha wa-l-qadīma*), thus indicating that Ibn Khaldūn was engaged in studying history quite early. In addition, Ibn al-Aḥmar quotes the *qaṣīda* poetry which Ibn Khaldūn had sent from prison to the Marinid ruler Abū 'Inān (r. 749–759 H/1348–1358 CE) to ask for his pardon; Ibn Khaldūn only mentions five verses of the poetry in his autobiography.<sup>12</sup>

In his biographical dictionary of the secretaries, *Kitāb Mustawdi' al-'alāma wa-mustabdi' al-'allāma*, Ibn al-Aḥmar describes Ibn Khaldūn as jurisprudent (*faqīh*), writer of the ruler's official signature (*kātib 'alāma*) in Tunis, and chief minister (*ḥājib*) in Bijāya (Béjaïa). Moreover, whereas he admires Ibn Khaldūn's

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 507–508; see also Rosenthal 1967, xlv–xlv; Fischel 1956, 289–290.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 501–507; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rayḥanat al-kuttāb* (1980–81), 2: 226–232; see also Grammatico 2006, 150–151.

<sup>10</sup> On him, see Manzano Rodríguez 2009; Shatzmiller 1982, 95–105.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-jumān* (1976), 297–310; Badawī 1962, 272–279. It should be noted that Badawī mistakes *Nathīr al-jumān* for Ibn al-Aḥmar's other work, *Nathīr farā'id al-jumān fī naẓm fuḥūl al-zamān*, which contains no biographical account of Ibn Khaldūn.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf* (1951), 67. Ibn Khaldūn says that this poetry was originally about two hundred verses long, but Ibn al-Aḥmar quotes 107 verses. As Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, the editor of the *Ta'rīf*, surmises, Ibn Khaldūn may have forgotten the number of the verses of his poem or Ibn al-Aḥmar may not have quoted the entire poem, but only a part of it. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf* (1951), 67, n. 1.

abilities on the one hand, he states on the other hand that Ibn Khaldūn was expelled due to his ambition for leadership.<sup>13</sup> In the biography of Ibn Khaldūn's brother, Yaḥyā, in the same work, Ibn al-Aḥmar also mentions that Yaḥyā's assassination was caused by Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar composed *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* after at least 789 H/1387 CE,<sup>15</sup> that is, after Ibn Khaldūn had presented the first version of his history to the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad II (r. 772–796 H/1370–1394 CE) during 781–782 H/1379–1381 CE;<sup>16</sup> however, Ibn al-Aḥmar did not mention this work.<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar simply may not have known of it. Otherwise, he may have been deliberately silent; he appears to have become unsympathetic to Ibn Khaldūn later, as can be inferred from *Mustawdi' al-'alāma*; this was perhaps influenced by the hostile attitude of the Tunisian jurist and rival Ibn 'Arafa (716–803 H/1316–1401 CE) toward Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>18</sup>

Still Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* was read in the Maghrib. One of his contemporaries, Ibn al-Sakkāk (d. 818 H/1415–6 CE), who assumed the post of *qāḍī al-jamā'a* (chief judge) in Fez, used Ibn Khaldūn's ideas in his works, although he did not refer to the name of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, an anecdote concerning Ibn Khaldūn is found in a biographical work on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (710–771 H/1310–1–1370 CE)<sup>20</sup> and his two sons, which is assumed to have been written at the

13 Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* (1964), 64–65.

14 Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* (1964), 65. In 769 H/1368 CE the Zayyānid ruler Abū Ḥammū II (r. 760–791 H/1359–1389 CE) asked Ibn Khaldūn to join his court in Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldūn instead sent Yaḥyā to Tlemcen, where Yaḥyā later offended the eldest son of Abū Ḥammū II and was murdered in 780 H/1378–9 CE. On Yaḥyā, see Bel, “Ibn Khaldūn, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā”, *EP*.

15 While Manzano Rodríguez 2009, 56, states that this work was composed between 789 H/1387 CE and 796 H/1393 CE, Shatzmiller 1982, 49, 98, speculates that it was written in 1393–1396.

16 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 229–230, 233; Rosenthal 1967, lvii, cv.

17 See also Shatzmiller 1982, 49–50.

18 On Ibn 'Arafa, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Warḡhammī, see Idris, “Ibn 'Arafa”, *EP*; Rosenthal 1967, lvi–lvii; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 232–233; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-uqūd* (2002), 3: 223–225; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 9: 240–242. Abdesselam Cheddadi refers to the possibility that because of Ibn 'Arafa's hostility towards Ibn Khaldūn, the *Ibar* was “received with a resounding silence by the intellectual community” in Tunis (Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān”, *EP*).

19 Bencheekroun 1974, 356–357; al-Azmeh 1982, 160. On Ibn al-Sakkāk, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib (Abī al-Barakāt) al-Miknāsī al-'Iyāḍī, see Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 238; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 481–482; Bencheekroun 1974, 383–387.

20 On him, see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 62–64; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 430–445; on him and his family, see also Bencheneb, “al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī”, *EP*.

end of the 8th/14th century.<sup>21</sup> According to this work, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Sakkāk were in the house of al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī on the day one of his sons was born in 757 H/1356 CE; al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī made the name (*ism*) of his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān after Ibn Khaldūn and the agnomen (*kunya*) Abū Yaḥyā after Ibn al-Sakkāk.<sup>22</sup> This anecdote indicates that the young Ibn Khaldūn was already so highly venerated by al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī that the latter named his son, who also became prominent, after him. The possibility cannot be excluded that the anecdote was fabricated later. Nevertheless, it is also recorded in another work written in the Maghrib.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the anecdote circulated to some degree in the Maghrib, and Ibn Khaldūn was still remembered there to be at least an outstanding scholar for some time after he went to the East.

### 3 Contemporary authors in the Mashriq

In the Mashriq, particularly in Mamlūk Cairo and Damascus, we find numerous references to Ibn Khaldūn. *Ta’riḫ al-duwal*, the chronicle of Ibn al-Furāt (735–807 H/1334–5–1405 CE), the Egyptian historian, is unfortunately only fragmentally extant, and its last part covers the years from 789 H/1387 CE to 799 H/1397 CE,<sup>24</sup> while Ibn Khaldūn arrived in Egypt in 784 H/1382 CE and died there in 808 H/1406 CE. Nevertheless, it provides some details about Ibn Khaldūn. For example, it states that Ibn Khaldūn became a Ṣūfī at al-Khānqāh al-Baybarsiyya in Cairo in 791 H/1389 CE for a single day, so as to be appointed *shaykh* of this *khānqāh*, following the stipulations of the founder.<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Furāt also states that Ibn Khaldūn was one of those with whom Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-Ustādār

<sup>21</sup> This work is entitled *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* by the editor, but it is more appropriately called *Manāqib al-Sharīf Abī ‘Abd Allāh wa-waladayhi*, based on one of its manuscripts (see *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* [2017], 34–37). The editor attributes the work to a son of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī al-Thaghri (d. 810 H/1407–8 CE) and he further infers from the agnomen (*kunya*) of al-Qaysī that the author’s name may have been ‘Abd Allāh (*Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* [2017], 38–46).

<sup>22</sup> *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* (2017), 281–282.

<sup>23</sup> Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 252–253 (biography of Abū Yaḥyā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī), and 482 (biography of Ibn al-Sakkāk). On Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, see below.

<sup>24</sup> On Ibn al-Furāt and his chronicle, see Massoud 2007, 34–38.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’riḫ al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 65; Fischel 1956, 293; Fischel 1967, 27–28.

(d. 799 H/1397 CE),<sup>26</sup> the majordomo of the Mamlūk sultan Barqūq (r. 784–791 H/1382–1389 CE, 792–801 H/1390–1399 CE), deposited his monies. Twenty thousand *dīnārs* were found in Ibn Khaldūn's house when Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd was imprisoned and his properties were confiscated.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Ibn al-Furāt mentions that he learned from the Egyptian historian Ibn Duqmāq (745–809 H/1349–1407 CE) that Ibn Khaldūn told the latter that he had been informed of the ascent of the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 796–837 H/1394–1434 CE) to the throne in Tunis, and the arrest of Abū Fāris's uncle who was a rival.<sup>28</sup> Ibn Duqmāq's chronicle *Nuzhat al-anām* was “the backbone” of Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rikh al-duwal*. Since this text is also only fragmentally extant, it is difficult to ascertain how much Ibn al-Furāt owed to Ibn Duqmāq. However, at least some of Ibn al-Furāt's accounts about Ibn Khaldūn seem to have been based on his own observations, as he was also contemporary with Ibn Khaldūn and “added his own massive material” to Ibn Duqmāq's chronicle.<sup>29</sup>

In his chronicle, the Syrian historian Ibn Ḥijjī (751–816 H/1350–1413 CE)<sup>30</sup> leaves a brief obituary notice of Ibn Khaldūn. In it, Ibn Ḥijjī writes that Ibn Khaldūn's birthday was 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja 732 (15 September 1332) and notes having been told by al-Tādhilī that Ibn Khaldūn was seven days older than him.<sup>31</sup> This al-Tādhilī or al-Tādilī can be identified as Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who was born on 29 Dhū al-Ḥijja 732/21 September 1332 and died on 18 Jumādā II 803/4 January 1401.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Ibn Ḥijjī must have calculated Ibn Khaldūn's birthday, though he was off on one day – it should be 22, not 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja. In any case, the date provided by al-Tādhilī is not correct, since Ibn Khaldūn himself gives the other date, as will be seen below.

The Syro-Egyptian scholar, official, and historian al-'Aynī (762–855 H/1361–1451 CE)<sup>33</sup> includes a relatively detailed necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle,

26 On him, see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 477; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 329; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 11: 213–214. For the *ustādār al-'āliya/al-sultān* (the supreme/sultanic majordomo) in the Mamlūk sultanate, see Igarashi 2017.

27 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 435–436; Fischel 1956, 293–294; Fischel 1967, 79–80, 164.

28 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 365. On Ibn Duqmāq and his relations to Ibn al-Furāt, see Massoud 2007, 28–38.

29 Massoud 2007, 29.

30 On him, see Massoud, “Ibn Ḥijjī”, *EP*.

31 Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta'rikh* (2003), 726.

32 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 195–196; see also Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 4: 246–247; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 150; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 1: 155–156.

33 On al-'Aynī and his chronicles, see Nakamachi 2005; Marmon, “al-'Aynī, Badr al-Dīn”, *EP*.

*ʿIqd al-jumān*.<sup>34</sup> He mentions Ibn Khaldūn's birth year erroneously as 733 H, not 732 H, yet he follows Ibn Khaldūn's public career in the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and Egypt, and he does not forget to refer to Ibn Khaldūn's history consisting of seven volumes, as well as his meeting with Timūr (d. 807 H/1405 CE) in Damascus. At the end, al-ʿAynī notes that Ibn Khaldūn was suspected of disgraceful matters (*umūr qabiha*), although what was meant by "disgraceful matters" is not entirely clear (see below).

Al-ʿAynī's rival, al-Maqrīzī (ca. 766–845 H/1364–1442 CE),<sup>35</sup> provides some details about Ibn Khaldūn's life in his chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*. For instance, he tells that the Mamlūk *amīr* Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī (d. 792 H/1390 CE),<sup>36</sup> with whom Ibn Khaldūn became acquainted soon after his arrival in Cairo, played a significant role in Ibn Khaldūn's success; but Ibn Khaldūn does not refer to his personal relationship with this *amīr*.<sup>37</sup> Al-Maqrīzī also mentions briefly Ibn Khaldūn's meeting with Timūr and notes that some of those captured by the Timūrid army in Damascus were emancipated through Ibn Khaldūn's mediation.<sup>38</sup> In general, however, al-Maqrīzī devotes surprisingly few words to his master in his chronicle. The necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in it is strikingly brief, occupying just two and half lines in the printed text.<sup>39</sup>

By contrast, al-Maqrīzī devotes many pages to Ibn Khaldūn in the biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿuqūd*.<sup>40</sup> While his main sources were Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* and Ibn Khaldūn's *Taʿrīf*, al-Maqrīzī adds some details in his own work. For instance, he gives a more detailed account about Ibn Khaldūn's relationship with the *amīr* Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī in *Durar al-ʿuqūd* than in the *Sulūk*. According to al-Maqrīzī, the *amīr* introduced Ibn Khaldūn to the sultan Barqūq, who then appointed Ibn Khaldūn as professor at al-Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya in al-Fustāṭ.<sup>41</sup> Al-Maqrīzī also states that Ibn Khaldūn was in al-Ḥanbūshiyya in al-Fayyūm, Middle Egypt, a *waqf* (endowment) property for al-

34 Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fols. 81v–82r; see also Badawī 1962, 287–288.

35 On him, see Bauden 2014. On al-Maqrīzī's relations to Ibn Khaldūn, see Irwin 2003.

36 On this *amīr*, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 3: 38; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 404; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 3: 57–61; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm* (1929–72), 12: 120.

37 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 3: 480, 517; Fischel 1956, 297–299.

38 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 3: 1052, 1056; see also Badawī 1962, 310.

39 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 4: 24.

40 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 383–410. Before Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī published the entire manuscript of *Durar al-ʿuqūd* that was in his private collection, he edited the biography of Ibn Khaldūn included in his manuscript. See al-Jalīlī 1966.

41 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 395.

Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya, when he was summoned to be appointed the Mālikī chief judge in Cairo for the second time.<sup>42</sup> In the *Taʿrīf*, Ibn Khaldūn himself recounts that he stayed in al-Fayyūm at that time to collect his harvest (*li-ḍamm zarʿi*).<sup>43</sup> Thus, he directly obtained his salary and ration for professorship at this *madrasa* from the *waqf* property, although it seems to have been uncommon; usually, the administrative members of an institution collected the harvest and distributed it among the staff. In any case, al-Maqrīzī praises Ibn Khaldūn's *Ibar*, particularly its *Muqaddima*, so highly that he describes it as “the cream of knowledge and learning” (*zubdat al-maʿārif wa-l-ʿulūm*) and “the outcome of good insight and intelligence” (*natījat al-ʿuqūl al-salīma wa-l-fuhūm*).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, he mentions approximately twenty anecdotes at the end of the biography, beginning each with the phrase “Ibn Khaldūn told us” (*ḥaddathanā* [or *akhbaranā*] *Abū Zayd*). For example, Ibn Khaldūn reported that he heard from the Naṣrid ruler Muḥammad V (r. 755–760 H/1354–1359 CE, 763–793 H/1362–1391 CE) that Pedro I of Castile (r. 1350–1369) was killed by his half-brother in their grapple during peace negotiations.<sup>45</sup> In the biography of Pedro in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, al-Maqrīzī refers to this story of Pedro's death, while he also mentions another version, according to which Pedro was arrested and executed.<sup>46</sup> In the *Ibar*, which was al-Maqrīzī's main source for the biography of Pedro, Ibn Khaldūn wrote the latter version only.<sup>47</sup> The Egyptian encyclopedist al-Qalqashandī (756–821 H/1355–1418 CE), who often cites the *Ibar* in his work, also does not refer to this account; rather, he merely mentions that Pedro's brother defeated Pedro and killed him.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it seems that al-Maqrīzī heard most, if not all, of the anecdotes that he collected at the end of the biography of Ibn Khaldūn orally from Ibn Khaldūn. Overall, al-Maqrīzī relied heavily on Ibn Khaldūn in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE),<sup>50</sup> the Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar and jurist, wrote biographies of Ibn Khaldūn in some of his works. For

<sup>42</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 396.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 347.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 403.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 404–405.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 1: 482–486. Mayte Penelas' paper “al-Maqrīzī and Christian Spain”, presented at the conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, dealt with this issue, on which she is preparing an article.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar* (1956–60), 4: 377–378, 394; 7: 679–680.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (1913–19), 5: 269; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar* (1956–60), 4: 394. On al-Qalqashandī, see Bosworth, “al-Qalqashandī”, *EP*; Berkel 2009.

<sup>49</sup> See Ito 2015.

<sup>50</sup> On him, see Rosenthal, “Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī”, *EP*.



Ibn Khaldūn's necrology in his chronicle *Inbā' al-ghumr*, Ibn Ḥajar relied on al-ʿAynī's *ʿIqd al-jumān*, for the most part.<sup>51</sup> Consequently, he repeated al-ʿAynī's mistake in Ibn Khaldūn's birth year, although he obtained an *ijāza* (license) from Ibn Khaldūn, in which the latter dated his own birthday explicitly as 1 Ramaḍān 732 (27 May 1332).<sup>52</sup> Along with *ʿIqd al-jumān*, Ibn Ḥajar consulted Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* but erroneously stated the name of Khaldūn's son as ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, not ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. On other occasions, Ibn Ḥajar gives some details about Ibn Khaldūn's life in Egypt. For example, we learn from this chronicle that Ibn Khaldūn's two sons, Muḥammad and ʿAlī, survived a shipwreck in Alexandria in 786 H/1384 CE, while his five daughters drowned.<sup>53</sup> About this incident, Ibn Khaldūn merely mentions in his autobiography that he lost his family, children, and possessions while travelling from Tunis to Cairo because of a storm.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar cites the Mamlūk sultan Barqūq's comment on Timūr and the Ottomans, and adds that he heard Ibn Khaldūn saying repeatedly that "there is nothing more fearful for the ruler of Egypt than the Ottomans";<sup>55</sup> however, for this episode Ibn Ḥajar seems to have relied on al-Maqrīzī, who transmits Barqūq's comment from an *amīr*, without referring to Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>56</sup> It is not clear why Ibn Ḥajar attributed Barqūq's comment on the Ottomans to Ibn Khaldūn. As Ibn Ḥajar says, he may have heard it from Ibn Khaldūn, who told it as if it had been his own statement; or Ibn Ḥajar may have confused al-Maqrīzī with Ibn Khaldūn as his source; or he may have indicated Ibn Khaldūn's prescience here, as Robert Irwin points out.<sup>57</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar's biography of Ibn Khaldūn in the supplement to his own biographical dictionary, *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina*, is almost the same as the necrology in *Inbā' al-ghumr*.<sup>58</sup> However, the account in his biographical dictionary of the judges in Egypt, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, is different and more detailed.<sup>59</sup> The *Rafʿ al-iṣr* was mainly based on the biographical dictionary of the Egyptian judges by Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Bishbīshī (762–820 H/1361–1417 CE), which appears

51 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 5: 327–332; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 339–340; see also Badawī 1962, 285–287.

52 Ritter 1953, 83, plate XVII.

53 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 2: 163; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 291.

54 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 259.

55 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 3: 247–248; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 492; Irwin 2018, 106.

56 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 1: 445.

57 Irwin 2018, 106.

58 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 172–173.

59 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (1998), 233–237; see also Badawī 1962, 279–285.

to have been lost.<sup>60</sup> For Ibn Khaldūn's biography, moreover, Ibn Ḥajar consulted al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd* and Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*. In this biography, Ibn Ḥajar mentions Ibn Khaldūn's genealogy as in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* and dates his birthday correctly as 1 Ramaḍān 732 H. He gives the same information as that found in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿuqūd* – for example, Ibn Khaldūn was in al-Fayyūm because of his salary for the professorship at al-Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya – as well as some unique information, based on al-Bishbīshī: for instance, Ibn Khaldūn later settled in a house by the Nile where “he delighted in the company of singing girls and young men and married a woman who had a mentally disturbed younger brother and the disgraceful things multiplied” (*tabassaṭa bi-l-sakan ʿalā al-baḥr wa-akthara min samāʿ al-muṭribāt wa-muʿāsharat al-aḥdāth wa-tazawwaja imraʾa lahā akh amrad yunsab li-l-takhlīṭ fa-kathurat al-shanāʿa ʿalayhi*).<sup>61</sup> What al-ʿAynī meant by the similar words “disgraceful matters” (*umūr qabīḥa*) was probably the things that al-Bishbīshī and Ibn Ḥajar mentioned, as Ali Oumlil and Robert Irwin surmise.<sup>62</sup> In any case, Ibn Khaldūn's biography in *Rafʿ al-iṣr* includes many harsh words about him.<sup>63</sup> This is at least partly due to al-Bishbīshī's critical view of Ibn Khaldūn; however, Ibn Ḥajar himself was also critical of Ibn Khaldūn in some cases, such as the fact that he stubbornly clung to a Maghribi-style clothing instead of adopting the Egyptian-style clothing of the judges.<sup>64</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Bishbīshī worked as deputy for al-Maqrīzī when the latter was the *muḥtasib* (prefect of markets).<sup>65</sup> Al-Maqrīzī praises al-Bishbīshī's biographical dictionary of the judges and mentions that he associated with al-Bishbīshī for several years.<sup>66</sup> Thus, it is not clear why al-Bishbīshī had an almost opposite view on Ibn Khaldūn from al-Maqrīzī.

<sup>60</sup> On al-Bishbīshī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 357–358; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 7: 287; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 3: 149; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1934–36), 5: 7. On the relation of al-Bishbīshī's work to Ibn Ḥajar's *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Iʿlān* (1349/1930-1), 105–106; Rosenthal 1968, 428.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (1998), 236; Irwin 2018, 106; see also Fischel 1956, 291, n. 3. The English translation is based on Robert Irwin's.

<sup>62</sup> Based on Oumlil 1962, 135–136, Robert Irwin mentions that al-ʿAynī “implausibly accused Ibn Khaldūn of presiding over an immoral household and of being a homosexual” (Irwin 2018, 107). Oumlil's sources are Ibn Ḥajar's *Rafʿ al-iṣr* and al-ʿAynī's *ʿIqd al-jumān*. Neither of them, al-ʿAynī in particular, charged Ibn Khaldūn with the immorality and the homosexuality so explicitly as Oumlil and Irwin write.

<sup>63</sup> See Morimoto 2002, 125–130, where further accounts in Ibn Ḥajar's *Rafʿ al-iṣr* are cited.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (1998), 235; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 5: 332; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 340; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 173.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 7: 287; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 3: 149.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 357–358.

In his *Ta'rikh*, the Syrian jurist and historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779–851 H/1377–1448 CE)<sup>67</sup> refers to some details about Ibn Khaldūn. Quoting Ibn Duqmāq's history, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba tells the anecdote that Ibn Duqmāq met a clever boy with Ibn Khaldūn, and he notes that according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, this boy died young.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also reports Ibn Khaldūn's meeting with Timūr, citing an eyewitness account as a source.<sup>69</sup> Concerning the shipwreck involving Ibn Khaldūn's family, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's description is a little different than that of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.<sup>70</sup> They may have quoted a same source (perhaps Ibn Duqmāq's history, although this cannot be substantiated) differently or they may have relied on different sources. Unfortunately, the published version of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's history, which is an abridged version, contains no necrology of Ibn Khaldūn; the manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's historical works require further investigation.<sup>71</sup>

In the biography of the mystic thinker Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560–638 H/1165–1240 CE) in his biographical dictionary, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*, Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāṣī (775–832 H/1373–1429 CE), the historian of Mecca, cites Ibn Khaldūn's opinion about Ṣūfism: Ibn Khaldūn distinguished between the early “orthodox” and later “heretical” Ṣūfism and criticized the latter, counting Ibn al-ʿArabī among the advocates of the latter.<sup>72</sup> In addition, al-Fāṣī makes reference to Ibn Khaldūn's history on several occasions.<sup>73</sup>

His other biographical dictionary, *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd*, includes the biography of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>74</sup> In this work, al-Fāṣī names some of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers and states that Ibn Khaldūn learned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256 H/870 CE) from

67 On him, see Darwish 1994; Reisman 1998; Massoud 2007, 81–85, 142–146, 183–189.

68 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 1: 130–131.

69 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 4: 182.

70 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 1: 138; cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 2: 163; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 291.

71 On the state of the art of the historiographical studies on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, see Reisman 1998; Massoud 2007, esp. 81–85, 142–146, 183–189.

72 Al-Fāṣī, *al-ʿIqd* (1958–69), 2: 178–181; Knysh 1999, 191–192. Allen James Fromherz has expressed doubt about the reliability of this report (Fromherz 2010, 126–127). However, Ibn Khaldūn's opinion cited by al-Fāṣī “is consistent with what is found in the *Muqaddima*”, as Robert Irwin argues (Irwin 2018, 115–117, also 195–196). In addition, Fromherz does not seem to have examined al-Fāṣī and mentions him erroneously as “a scholar from Fez who claimed to have met Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt” (Fromherz 2010, 126). On al-Fāṣī, see Rosenthal, “al-Fāṣī”, *EP*. Although his family stemmed from Fez (therefore, the attributive [*nisba*] “al-Fāṣī”), Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāṣī was born in Mecca and studied with Ibn Khaldūn probably in Egypt.

73 Al-Fāṣī, *al-ʿIqd* (1958–69), 1: 441, 443–444, 465; see also Rosenthal 1967, lxvi, n. 80.

74 Al-Fāṣī, *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd* (1990–97), 2: 513.

Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī (680–771 H/1281–1370 CE).<sup>75</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Khaldūn had great respect for al-Balafīqī.<sup>76</sup> In his autobiography, however, Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions that he learned from al-Balafīqī *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/796 CE), without referring to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.<sup>77</sup> Based on Ibn Khaldūn's own writing (*bi-khaṭṭihī*), the Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar al-Sakhāwī (see below), lists the same teachers of Ibn Khaldūn as al-Fāsī does.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, it is assumed that al-Fāsī and al-Sakhāwī used a writing of Ibn Khaldūn (*ijāza*?), and not his autobiography, as their source of information. Moreover, from *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd*, we learn that Ibn Khaldūn gave an *ijāza* not only to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī but also to Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī (775–859 H/1374–1455 CE);<sup>79</sup> I could find no information about al-Marāghī's relation to Ibn Khaldūn in the other sources I consulted.<sup>80</sup>

## 4 Later authors in the Mashriq

Many references to Ibn Khaldūn continue to be found in Egypt and Syria in the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries. These references were based on earlier accounts.

Ibn ʿArabshāh (791–854 H/1389–1450 CE) was born in Damascus, captured, and carried with his family to Samarqand by the Tīmūrid army.<sup>81</sup> He later returned to the Mamlūk sultanate, where he wrote his famous Arabic biography of Tīmūr. In it, Ibn ʿArabshāh gives two accounts of Ibn Khaldūn's meeting with Tīmūr. The source for one of them seems to have been an eyewitness account.<sup>82</sup> The other

<sup>75</sup> On Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Balafīqī, see Puente 2012; Puente, “al-Balafīqī”, *EP*. In the edition of *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd*, his *nisba* is spelt erroneously as al-Bulqīnī; moreover, Ibn Khaldūn's teacher of the Qurʾānic sciences was not Ibn Nizāl (?) but Ibn Burrāl (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʾrīf* [1951], 15–17, 309–310).

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 157 (biography of al-Balafīqī). See also Rosenthal 1967, xlii.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʾrīf* (1951), 305.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1934–36), 4: 145.

<sup>79</sup> On Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ* (1934–36), 7: 162–165.

<sup>80</sup> It is possible that this information was added later by the copyist of a manuscript of *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd*. See al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd* (1990–97), 2: 513, n. 4; see also the editor's introduction to *Dhayl al-Taḳyīd* (1990–97), 1: 25–29.

<sup>81</sup> On him, see McChesney 2006.

<sup>82</sup> Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjāʾib al-maḳdūr* (1986), 252–255; see also Badawī 1962, 306–308.

account was presumably based on hearsay knowledge of Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography, since Ibn 'Arabshāh recounts that he heard about Ibn Khaldūn's history but did not read it.<sup>83</sup>

In his biographical dictionary, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, the Egyptian historian Ibn Taghribirdī (ca. 812–874 H/1409–10–1470 CE) apparently relied on *Durar al-'uqūd* of his master al-Maqrīzī, as is often the case with his work.<sup>84</sup> His obituary notice of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, was based on al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and *Durar al-'uqūd*.<sup>85</sup> On other occasions in this chronicle, Ibn Taghribirdī makes fewer references to Ibn Khaldūn than al-Maqrīzī does in the *Sulūk*.

As the Egyptian copyist, money-changer, and historian Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (819–ca. 900 H/1416–1494 CE) himself reveals, the source for the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle *Nuzhat al-nufūs* was al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*, on which he relied generally for the later years.<sup>86</sup> On other occasions concerning Ibn Khaldūn as well, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī seems to have borrowed from *'Iqd al-jumān*. For example, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī mentions that a robe of honor was given to Ibn Khaldūn for the confirmation of his post as chief judge at the end of the year 801 H/1399 CE, which is found only in al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*.<sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī also states that the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–808 H/1399–1405 CE, 808–815 H/1405–1412 CE) married the daughter of the *amīr* Balāṭ al-Sa'dī in 803 H/1401 CE and that Ibn Khaldūn did not attend their wedding ceremony; again, al-'Aynī is the sole reference for this incident.<sup>88</sup>

In his biographical dictionary, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, al-Sakhāwī (831–902 H/1427–8–1497 CE)<sup>89</sup> relied mainly on the works of his master Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr* and *Inbā' al-ghumr*.<sup>90</sup> Thus, he named Khaldūn's son erroneously as 'Abd al-Raḥīm, not 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as Ibn Ḥajar did in his *Inbā' al-ghumr* (see above), although al-Sakhāwī also consulted al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd*. Moreover, al-

<sup>83</sup> Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-ma'qūr* (1986), 452–454.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 7: 205–209; see also Badawī 1962, 288–291. On Ibn Taghribirdī, see Popper, “Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, Ḍiamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghribirdī”, *EF*. On Ibn Taghribirdī's reliance in his *Manhal* on al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd*, see Ito 2015, 321–322.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm* (1929–72), 13: 155–156.

<sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 221. On Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and his sources, see Mas-soud 2007, 133–136, 175–176.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 20; cf. al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fol. 26r.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 114; cf. al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fol. 53v.

<sup>89</sup> On him, see Petry, “al-Sakhāwī”, *EF*.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 4: 145–149; see also Badawī 1962, 292–299.

Sakhāwī quoted some comments about Ibn Khaldūn by the latter's contemporaries such as Ibn 'Ammār (768–844 H/1367–1441 CE).<sup>91</sup> Further data on Ibn Khaldūn's activities and personal relations are to be found scattered in this work, as Franz Rosenthal has shown.<sup>92</sup> In the *I'lān*, his treatise on the historiography, al-Sakhāwī gives the same accounts as those found in the *Ḍaw'* concerning the *'Ibar* and the *Muqaddima*, while he mentions only in the former work that a copy of the *'Ibar* was in the Bāsiṭiyya library in Cairo.<sup>93</sup>

In his chronicle *Nayl al-amal*, the Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Malaṭī (844–920 H/1440–1514 CE) seems to have derived the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn from Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* and possibly also al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*, but he made mistakes. For example, the attributive (*nisba*) "al-Qurashī" is included in Ibn Khaldūn's genealogy; also, Ibn Khaldūn's birth year should be 733 H, according to Ibn Ḥajar and al-'Aynī, not 736 H as given by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ.<sup>94</sup>

The Egyptian jurist and polymath al-Suyūṭī (849–911 H/1445–1505 CE) presumably relied on Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* for the biography of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>95</sup> The last Mamlūk Egyptian chronicler, Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930 H/1448–1524 CE), borrowed the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn from al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's *Nayl al-amal*, and he repeated the mistakes of the latter.<sup>96</sup> The sources of the Syrian scholar and prosopographer Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (1032–1089 H/1623–1679 CE) for the biography of Ibn Khaldūn were Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* and Ibn Taghribirdī's *Manhal*.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> On him, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 8: 232–234. Ibn 'Ammār studied part of the *Muqaddima* with Ibn Khaldūn (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* [1934–36], 8: 233; Rosenthal 1968, 44).

<sup>92</sup> Rosenthal 2000.

<sup>93</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān* (1349/1930–1), 71, 94–95, 151; Rosenthal 1968, 370, 407, 497–498; see also Badawī 1962, 299–301; cf. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 4: 147. On al-Madrasa al-Bāsiṭiyya or al-Jāmi' al-Bāsiṭī and its founder Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl (784–854 H/1382–3–1451 CE), see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (2002–2004), 4: 351–354; *al-Khiṭaṭ* (1853), 2: 331; Igarashi 2013.

<sup>94</sup> 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl al-amal* (2002), 3: 133–134. On 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, see Massoud 2007, 67–69.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* (1967–68), 1: 462. On al-Suyūṭī, see Spevack 2009.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* (1960–75), 1/2: 754. On Ibn Iyās, see Brinner, "Ibn Iyās", *EF*; Massoud 2007, 69–76.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (1931–32), 7: 76–77. On Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, see Rosenthal, "Ibn al-'Imād", *EF*.

## 5 Later authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus

In contrast to the Mashriq, Ibn Khaldūn was not often referred to in the Maghrib and al-Andalus in the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries, which was also the case in the preceding century. According to Mohamed B. A. Bencheekroun, the Moroccan scholar Ya‘qūb b. Mūsā (or ‘Abd Allāh) al-Saytānī (?) criticized Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddima* in his commentary of the didactic poetry of the inheritance laws (*farā’id*).<sup>98</sup> The Andalusī judge and jurist Ibn al-Azraq (d. 896 H/1491 CE) based his treatise on politics *Badā’i‘ al-silk fi ṭabā’i‘ al-mulk* on the *Muqaddima*, which Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (see below) pointed out.<sup>99</sup> Ibn Khaldūn’s early writing on Ṣūfism, *Shifā’ al-sā’il li-tahdhīb al-masā’il*, continued to be mentioned by the Maghribī scholar and Ṣūfī Aḥmad Zarrūq (846–899 H/1442–1494 CE) and others until the early 19th century CE.<sup>100</sup>

As for biographical notices, the Moroccan polygraph Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī (960–1025 H/1553–1616 CE)<sup>101</sup> includes Ibn Khaldūn in his biographical dictionary of the prominent persons of Fez.<sup>102</sup> It is an abridgment of Ibn Khaldūn’s biography in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa*, although Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī adds that Ibn Khaldūn died in 808 H/1405–6 CE.

The West African jurist and biographer Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (963–1036 H/1556–1627 CE)<sup>103</sup> consulted Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa* and al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’*

**98** Bencheekroun 1974, 357; see also Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn”, *EF*. Bencheekroun reads the *nisba* of the author as al-Sitānī and calls the title of his work *Muntahā al-bānī wa-murtaqā al-ma’ānī*. Carl Brockelmann reads the *nisba* as al-Bustānī (or al-Sabtānī) and calls the title of the work *Muntahā al-qānī wa-murtaqā al-ma’ānī* (Brockelmann 1996, S1: 666). On Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Saytānī, see further Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 558; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 621. He flourished presumably in the first half of the 9th/15th century as his disciple ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kāwānī is said to have died in 860 H/1455–6 (Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* [1973], 404).

**99** Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 561. On Ibn al-Azraq, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, and his relations to Ibn Khaldūn, see further al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 9: 20–21; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 699–704; Isahak 2010; Delgado Pérez 2009; Bencheekroun 1974, 356–357; al-Azmeh 1982, 146, 156–158; Abdessselem 1983, 17–37; Simon 2002, 19–21; Cheddadi 2002, xl; Alatas 2013, 102–103; Irwin 2018, 162.

**100** Cheddadi 2002, xxii; Özer 2017, xxvi. On Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zarrūq al-Burnusī, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 1: 222–223; Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 128–131; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 130–134; Brockelmann 1996, 2: 253–254; Brockelmann 1996, S2: 360–362; Kugle, “Zarrūq, Aḥmad”, *EF*.

**101** On him, see Deverdun, “Ibn al-Qāḍī”, *EF*.

**102** Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 410–413; see also Badawī 1962, 301–303.

**103** On him, see de Moraes Farias, “Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī”, *EF*.

without specifying the latter in his biographical dictionary.<sup>104</sup> He also refers to Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography but merely mentions that Ibn Khaldūn had troubles with Ibn 'Arafa and his followers in Tunis.

Al-Maqqarī (ca. 986–1041 H/1577–1632 CE) was born in Tlemcen, was active in Morocco, and later left Fez for Egypt and Syria, where he compiled the history of al-Andalus, *Nafh al-ṭib*.<sup>105</sup> Thus it may be not appropriate that he is counted as an author in the Maghrib. In any case, al-Maqqarī inserts the biography of Ibn Khaldūn into the *Nafh al-ṭib*.<sup>106</sup> In this instance, his biography is largely a citation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*; however, he adds that Ibn Khaldūn was sent as envoy from Granada to Pedro I of Castile.<sup>107</sup> Concerning Ibn Khaldūn's later life in Cairo, he quotes a note by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Bā'ūnī (777–870 H/1376–1465 CE), member of a prominent Syrian family,<sup>108</sup> who had mistakenly written that Ibn Khaldūn died in 807 H, not 808 H. Al-Maqqarī also recounts that he saw the eight-volume copy of Ibn Khaldūn's history, the *Ibar*, which contained a note in Ibn Khaldūn's own hand. Indeed, al-Maqqarī often cites the *Ibar* in his *Nafh al-ṭib*.

## 6 Concluding remarks

First, we have confirmed the importance of the external Arabic sources which Walter Fischel pointed out. They provide additional data on Ibn Khaldūn's life and activities, which are not found in his autobiography. We learn from them, for example, that he had a concubine in Granada; that he had at least two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alī, and five daughters; that he married again in Cairo; and that he sometimes went to the countryside to collect the harvest.

We can also gain knowledge from these external sources about the contemporary views on Ibn Khaldūn. On the one hand, most of his contemporaries and near-contemporaries praised his talent and ability. His *Ibar* was well known and often cited, although the real worth of it, particularly that of its *Muqaddima*, “was not fully recognised in the Muslim world until the late nineteenth century”.<sup>109</sup> Beside al-Maqrīzī, al-Fāsī, Ibn al-Azraq, and al-Maqqarī, al-Qalqashandī should be

<sup>104</sup> Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 250–252; see also Badawī 1962, 303–306.

<sup>105</sup> On him, see Lévi-Provençal/Pellat, “al-Maḥḥarī”; Fierro/Molina 2009.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 6: 171–192; see also Badawī 1962, 253–272.

<sup>107</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 6: 191.

<sup>108</sup> On him, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 1: 26–29. On the al-Bā'ūnī family, see Frenkel, “al-Bā'ūnī”, *EP*.

<sup>109</sup> Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn”, *EP*.



added to those who made considerable use of the *‘Ibar*.<sup>110</sup> On the other hand, some of his contemporaries criticized Ibn Khaldūn as too ambitious and stubborn, which apparently indicates an aspect of his personality.

Second, we have examined the relations between the external sources. On the whole, authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus relied mainly on works written in the West, whereas authors in the Mashriq relied on works written in the East.

However, to what extent did this really reflect the intellectual network or communication of that time? We can assume some human, material, and informational exchanges between the West and the East. Every year, many Muslims from the West went through Egypt and Syria to Mecca for the *ḥajj*, and a number of scholars and *Ṣūfis* travelled over lands in search for teachers, masters, colleagues, libraries, assemblies, and jobs. As for material exchanges, Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent copies of his *Iḥāṭa* and other works to Cairo to be placed as a *waqf* (donation) at the Khānqāh Sa‘īd al-su‘adā’.<sup>111</sup> Later, the Maghribi *ḥadīth* scholar, preacher, and statesman Ibn Marzūq (d. 781 H/1379 CE) added a note to this manuscript of the *Iḥāṭa*, after he moved to Cairo.<sup>112</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s son ‘Alī also made additions to it when he visited Cairo.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, al-Maqqarī found in it the reading notes of al-Maqrīzī and al-Suyūṭī, among others.<sup>114</sup> When Ibn Marzūq’s grandson visited Cairo, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī gave him a manuscript that his grandfather had written in Cairo.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, there were lively letter exchanges among intellectuals. Ibn Khaldūn himself had a great deal of correspondence with Ibn al-Khaṭīb.<sup>116</sup> Finally, we should not forget that the intellectual network extended across not only political but also religious boundaries. The Jewish physician and astronomer Ibn Zarzar, for example, was acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn and praised him before Pedro I of Castile when Ibn Khaldūn visited Seville for a diplomatic mission.<sup>117</sup>

Hence, should we suppose that it depends on the genre? As Ibn Khaldūn himself states,

<sup>110</sup> See Björgman 1928, 83.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf* (1951), 121; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 105.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 362. On Ibn Marzūq, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, see Hadj-Sadok, “Ibn Marzūq”, *EF*; Peláez Rovira 2006.

<sup>113</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 301–302.

<sup>114</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 106.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 362.

<sup>116</sup> See Fromherz 2014.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf* (1951), 85.

Some later historians [...] showed a tendency toward greater restriction [...] They brought together the happenings of their own period and gave exhaustive historical information about their own part of the world. They restricted themselves to the history of their own dynasties and cities.<sup>118</sup>

Thus, there was certainly a gap, more or less, in the historiography of the western and eastern Arab world.<sup>119</sup> However, how deep was this gap, in comparison with the gap between the Arab world and the “Persianate societies” or the “Persianate world” stretching east and north of Iraq to include Iran, Central Asia, and India, which formed distinctive Persianate cultural traditions, particularly in the Mongol and post-Mongol periods? It seems that Ibn Khaldūn came to be known in the Persianate world only much later because premodern Persian historiography paid little attention to the regions west of Iraq.<sup>120</sup> In addition, what were the other disciplines such as jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* studies, Sūfism, philosophy, medicine, and astronomy like? To answer these questions, further research is required on how wide and dense an intellectual network or communication in the Islamic or Islamicate world in the post-classical period from the 12th century CE through to the early 16th century CE could have been, while taking into account the differences in genres and individuals.<sup>121</sup>

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**118** Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar* (1956–60), 1: 4; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1967), 1: 8. The English translation is Franz Rosenthal’s.

**119** However, it is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī’s *Durar al-ʿuqūd* includes the biographies of many “foreigners”, as Joseph Drory points out. I would like to thank Professor Drory for being generous and showing me his paper “Foreign Rulers in al-Maqrīzī’s Biographical Dictionary *Durar al-ʿUqūd*”, which was presented in May 2013 in the 22nd International Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras at Ghent University, Belgium, which I did not attend. Al-Maqrīzī may have attempted to write a kind of world history, keeping in mind Ibn Khaldūn’s statement quoted above. Whatever the case may be, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* deserves further investigation. I am preparing a paper on “Africans” in this biographical dictionary.

**120** The Timūrid Persian historiography did not refer to Timūr’s meeting with Ibn Khaldūn (Fischel 1952, 4). The Urdu and the Persian translations of Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddima* were published respectively in 1924–1932 and in 1957–1959 (Fischel 1967, 9). It should be explored when Ibn Khaldūn became first known in Iran.

**121** In this context, the concept of “Islamic (or Islamicate) republic of letters” should also be revisited. Muhsin J. al-Musawi recently provided several impressive examples that attest to this concept (al-Musawi 2015). However, was such an Islamic consciousness really as pervasive in every genre as he argues? For an overview of the cultural connections over time, see Romanov 2017.

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