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Understanding Scriptural Citations in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*

Abstract

The scholars of Ibn Khaldūn are well familiar with frequent citations of the Qur'an in the Muqaddimah. *However, they have tended to see these either as rhetorical embellishments or more generally as reflections of the Qur'anic injunction to reflect on history for moral lessons* ('ibrah). *Consequently, the possibility that certain Qur'anic citations may hold greater meaning and significance in Ibn Khaldūn's life and thought has been largely ignored. The key difficulty for reading scriptural citations differently in the* Muqaddimah *pertains to their allusive nature: Ibn Khaldūn quotes Qur'anic verses without making their meaning explicit. I draw on the work of Quentin Skinner to suggest a thorough-going approach to understanding the meaning of these citations in the context of Ibn Khaldūn's thought and intellectual culture. I illustrate this approach and its significance by discussing the notion of* khalq-i-jadīd *(Divine novelty in creation) in the* Muqaddimah.

Keywords: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, scripture, Quentin Skinner, *khalq jadīd*

Introduction

The lack of careful scholarly attention to scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* seems especially problematic when the work is set alongside the *muqaddimāt (prolegomena*) of contemporaneous histories from the Islamicate Mediterranean. The *Muqaddimah* cites significantly more verses in the opening section compared to regional contemporaries, who rarely quote any verses. The courtier histories of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī Zar' (d. 1310–1320) and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marzūq (1310–1379), the *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās* (*The Qirṭās Garden*) and *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīh fī ma'āthir wa maḥāsin Mawlānā Abī al-Ḥasan* (*The Authentic Collection of Reports on the Feats and Merits of Our Master Abū al-Ḥasan*) lack any quotations of Qur'anic verses in their *muqaddimāt*. Likewise, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jaznā'ī (d. 14th century)'s local history of Fez known as *Zahrat al-ās* (*The Myrtle Flower*) feels no need to cite scripture in its opening sections. Ibn Abī Zar''s *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* and al-Jaznā'ī's *Zahrat al-ās* are quite concise in their introductions, limiting themselves to a traditional *ḥamd (praise of God)* and *na't (praise of the Prophet)* followed by praise for the dynasty and the full titles of their work.[1] The

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absence of scriptural citations in the *muqaddimah* of Ibn Marzūq's *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* is especially striking, since it is relatively long and contains a discussion of *khilāfah (caliphate* or *legitimate Islamic rule)*. Ibn Marzūq could have used scripture to bolster his support for the Marīnids as legitimate Islamic rulers, but he did not do so.[2]

However, an exceptional parallel to the use of scripture in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* is Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *al-Iḥāṭah fī akhbār Gharnāṭah (The Comprehensive Source on Reports about Granada)*. Like Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb cites scripture both directly and indirectly in the *muqaddimah* of this text, especially in support of studying and writing works of history.[3] Nevertheless, these citations pale in comparison to the far more frequent references to scripture that proliferate the *Muqaddimah,* both in its introduction (*muqaddimah*) and the different chapters that follow. The remarkable frequency of scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* thus deserves special scholarly attention.

I draw on the work of Quentin Skinner to suggest a throughgoing approach to understanding the meaning of these citations in the context of Ibn Khaldūn thought and intellectual culture. Instead of reading them as mere rhetoric or a reflection of pious adherence to the Qur'an, I propose that different interpretive possibilities be put to the test of contextual evidence. The key challenge for understanding scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* pertains to their allusive nature: Ibn Khaldūn quotes Qur'anic verses without making their meaning explicit. To address this difficulty, a certain scriptural citation must first be read in its internal textual context. Next, the various meanings and appropriations of the same citation in relevant contemporaneous texts needs to be considered. Finally, to the degree possible, one may look for corroborative evidence from the author's life. I illustrate this approach and its significance by discussing the notion of *khalq jadīd* (Divine novelty in creation) in the *Muqaddimah*. However, a discussion of earlier approaches to scriptural citations in Islamic historiography is in order.

To date, there is not a single dedicated study on the use of scriptural citations in Islamic historiography or the *Muqaddimah*. However, given the fact that Qur'anic verses proliferate medieval historical texts, scholars have occasionally reflected on their significance. In his seminal work on Ibn Khaldūn, Mahdi discussed quotations of Qur'an and *aḥādīth* concerning *'ibrah* (moral lessons) in the introductions (*muqaddimāt*) of medieval Arabic histories. In Mahdi's view, Muslim historians used these citations depending on their intellectual background: "traditional-religious" historians used scriptural citations merely to appease fellow theologians who saw historiography as a distraction from the serious demands of religion; on the other hand, historians who came under the influence of Greco-Islamic philosophy and Persian wisdom literature expanded the meaning of the Qur'anic term *'ibrah* to connote reflection on history for political, religious, moral and philosophical wisdom.[4] While instructive, Mahdi used few sources to draw a dichotomy between "traditional-religious" and Persianate Greco-Islamic historians. He also assumed a timeless "theological" opposition to history writing in medieval Muslim society. Quite rightly, Ibn Khaldūn scholars Yves Lacoste and Irwin have pointed to the influence of the political philosopher Leo Strauss (1899–1973) on Mahdi. Writing in a post-Nazi era, Strauss viewed established authority with suspicion. While scholars may be justifiably suspicious of expressed intentions

based on literary tropes, [5] Mahdi followed Strauss in assuming—a now discredited—timeless presence of a hostile religious orthodoxy to which such citations were always addressed.[6] This is an ahistorical approach which stereotypes the contexts in which medieval Muslim historians wrote.

Tarif Khalidi, a student of Mahdi and an esteemed scholar of Islamic historiography, developed Mahdi's ideas on medieval Islamic historiography with much greater detail and precision, using a broader range of sources. In Khalidi's opinion, the Qur'an was a source of reflecting over historical patterns, and hence historical theory and narrative. However, he is careful to insist that the Qur'an merely encouraged reflection on history for deriving moral lessons. For Muslim historians to *in fact* reflect on historical patterns using Qur'anic verses, they needed generations of literary culture and experience with political institutions. Thus, Ibn Khaldūn's reflections on historical patterns were Qur'an-inspired, but only as a culmination of centuries of Muslim intellectual culture.[7] Khalidi's work thus sets the stage for an analysis of the *Muqaddimah* for its use of the Qur'an as a source of historical reflection. However, given the broad scope of Khalidi's work, his analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's life and work was exceedingly brief. I draw on his insights on the Qur'an's role in Islamic historiography, but propose that we look for stronger contextual evidence, both in relevant texts and the personal circumstances of Ibn Khaldūn.

Other scholars have furnished brief statements on the significance of scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* that I do not find very helpful. For the historian Aziz al-Azmeh, Qur'anic verses in the *Muqaddimah* functioned as proof-texts, and hence as sources of truth, not unlike their use in Islamic legal thought. They often end a discussion, acting as rhetorical "whips" to bolster earlier arguments.[8] Al-Azmeh's terse discussion does not adequately address how medieval Muslim historians used scriptural citations. Were they deriving truth from scripture and using it to reflect on history, or were they *merely* using scripture to bolster their historical claims as true? Likewise, Irwin has observed that citations of scripture in the *Muqaddimah* serve largely as section-ending punctuation.[9] Both Al-Azmeh and Irwin ignore the significance of scripture as a means of reflecting over history.

The scholarly neglect of significant scriptural allusions in the *Muqaddimah* may be due to the terms in which scholars have commonly assessed Ibn Khaldūn's thought and legacy. While scholars working on medieval European historiography over the past fifty years have turned to understanding the personality and mindset of medieval historians in their own terms,[10] most Ibn Khaldūn scholars have spent their time and energy in evaluating his life and work in terms of modernity and secularity. Pioneering studies on Ibn Khaldūn by orientalists such as Émil-Félix Gautier, Alfred von Kremer and Vincent Monteil argued for the mediaeval historian's brilliance as a "modern" thinker ahead of his time. They did so by dismissing or downplaying his medieval theological commitments.[11] In response, noteworthy scholars such as Fuad Baali, Aziz al-Azmeh and Irwin have labored to show that the seemingly modern ideas of Ibn Khaldūn in fact had theological foundations, and were hence not as impressive and rigorous as earlier thought.[12] They have sought to refute orientalist and Arab-nationalist views of Ibn Khaldūn as a modern and secular genius out-of-place in his own time. I propose that we step away from questionable

assumptions about theology as an impediment to intellectual innovations to explore how scriptural ideas may have functioned as a creative source of personal meaning in Ibn Khaldūn's reflections on history.

Reading Scriptural Citations in the *Muqaddimah*

To study Ibn Khaldūn's frequent citations of the Qur'an in the *Muqaddimah,* I propose that we follow Quentin Skinner in taking citation practices as public acts of conveying *intended* meaning in the context of prior, established meanings.[13] In my reading of Skinner, I take his approach as a three-step process of reading citations as context dependent.[14] Each step involves relating citations to a specific type of context. First, the citation is analyzed by relating it to the discussions in which occurs, attending both to its placement in the text and apparent meaning. This is context that is "internal to the text." Scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* involve direct and indirect quotations from the Qur'an. They are deployed chiefly for rhetorical purposes, but *may* serve as inspiration for interpreting the world and its events in a personally meaningful way. This is far from obvious merely from the occurrence of scriptural citations, since their intended meaning varies with the context of the discussion. To show that *certain* scriptural citations count for more than instruments of literary rhetoric, they must first be related to the discussion in which they are cited. Next, one must see how the same citations are used in other parts of the *Muqaddimah*.

Secondly, the author's use of the citation is compared to its established meanings in prior texts. Attention to this context "external to the text" shows how the author intervenes in ongoing discussions, often in an unstated and subtle way. One must consider various sources and genres of writing to understand the range of established meanings for specific scriptural terms in the *Muqaddimah. Tafsīr* literature is instructive because it shows how, over the course of several centuries and from various intellectual perspectives, Muslim scholars interpreted this Qur'anic notion across the Muslim world; in North Africa, Spain and elsewhere. In chronological order, the *tafsīr* works that may prove relevant include the following: the traditions-based *Jāmi' al-bayān* of Ṭabarī (839-923); the philological *al-Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī (1074-1144); the Ḥanbalī tafsīr of Ibn al-Jawzī (1116-1201) entitled *Zād al-masīr*; the philosophical *tafsīr* works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1150-1210) and Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1201–1274), the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* and *al-Tibyān* respectively; the traditions-based works of al-Qurṭubī (1214-1273) and Ibn Kathīr (1300-1373), namely the *al-Jāmi'* and *Tafsīr al-qur'ān*; the philological and philosophical *Anwār wa asrār* of Bayḍāwī (d. 1286); Abū al-Ḥasan Al-Khāzin's (d. 1340) Sufi *tafsīr*, the *Lubāb al-ta'wīl.* Closer to Ibn Khaldūn's time and place, one may look at the philological exegesis of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (1256-1344) in his *al-Baḥr al-mūḥīṭ* and the Mālikī *tafsīr* of Ibn 'Arafah (1316-1401), Ibn Khaldūn's contemporary and rival.

A final step that I adopt from Skinner's writings involves relating details from an author's life to provide *corroborative support* for the analysis based on internal and external context. I term this "personal context." The reason why biographical details offer only corroborative support is that their connection to Ibn Khaldūn's ideas is not always explicit or unequivocal. Nevertheless, there is enough in our sources on Ibn Khaldūn that allows us to make a strong case for rethinking the relationship

between his life and thought. For this purpose, our chief sources are the *Muqaddimah* and the *Autobiography*. In reading the latter, the insights of Allen James Fromherz—a historian of the Middle East and North Africa—are particularly instructive. Contrary to much scholarship on Ibn Khaldūn, Fromherz has noted that the *Autobiography* is in fact not short on self-revelation.[15] Rather, it expresses deeply felt emotions within the norms of Ibn Khaldūn's learned culture, in which poetry and allusive prose played an important role.[16]

Khalq jadīd *in the Muqaddimah*

By recognizing the significance of Qur'anic ideas in the *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldūn's historical reflections can be seen as a kind of philosophical theology that responds to the problem of human suffering given the existence of an all-powerful, benevolent and intervening God. This way of reading the *Muqaddimah* offers the advantage of resolving the puzzle of the Black Death's brief yet vital appearance in the *Muqaddimah*. As Ibn Khaldūn specialists Farid Alatas and Stephen Frederick Dale have noted, Ibn Khaldūn mentions the destruction caused by the Black Death in the opening sections of the *Muqaddimah* as a motive for writing history, yet confusingly, he fails to return to the subject anywhere later in the text.[17]

While Ibn Khaldūn does not explicitly refer to the Black Death after mentioning it in the opening passages of the *Muqaddimah,* the scriptural ideas he cites with the Black Death do *recur* in later discussions. To be more specific, it is the notion of *khalq jadīd (new creation)* based on verse 35:16 of the Qur'an that serves as a key to understanding an important link between Ibn Khaldūn's life and thought. The verse translates as follows: "If He (God) wills, he can do away with you and bring forth *khalq jadīd*." As we shall see, Ibn Khaldūn's citations of this verse are striking for their placement in some of the most important passages in the *Muqaddimah*. Key opening passages cite 35:16 while relating the tragic circumstances following the Black Death that led to the writing of the *Muqaddimah.* Other passages repeat the same verse at crucial points of Ibn Khaldūn's elaboration of his theories on historical change. Furthermore, the Black Death features prominently in our most informative source on Ibn Khaldūn's life and personality, namely the *Autobiography*.[18] In this text appended to the *Kitāb al-'ibar,* Ibn Khaldūn frequently associates the Black Death with the traumatic loss of friends and family.[19] Indeed, the Black Death led to the loss of peace and stability in Ibn Khaldūn's young adulthood, inaugurating an unending cycle of difficulties that the author experienced throughout his life. Thus, we have strong textual indications about theological ideas in scripture that respond to troubles in the historian's life and help him reflect on history.

The citations of verse 35:16 in the *Muqaddimah* may serve various functions. To begin with, they allude to earlier debates on the Qur'anic notion of *khalq jadīd,* prominent especially in the domains of *tafsīr* and Sufi thought. They may also serve to express and apply Ibn Khaldūn's own understanding of *khalq jadīd* in a way that is at once theoretically instructive and personally meaningful.

To establish the significance and meaning of *khalq jadīd* in the *Muqaddimah,* we can the three-step method I have earlier proposed. A close reading of the phrase within the *Muqaddimah* shows that this phrase several times in important parts of the *Muqaddimah.* Ibn Khaldūn's favoured way of mentioning *khalq jadīd* is by

citing verse 35:16, "If He (God) wills, he can do away with you and bring forth *khalq jadīd* (a new creation)." The verse appears as a concluding statement in Ibn Khaldūn's elaboration of his cyclical view of dynastic rise and fall, implying a Qur'anic view of creation in cycles.[20] Furthermore, the other passages in which Ibn Khaldūn cites 35:16, he discusses promising new developments and future possibilities immediately after a matter-of-fact like discussion of social and political decline. These hopeful changes include the replacement of weak and sinful nations by vigorous and virtuous ones,[21] the development of new institutions of scientific learning and education setup as mortmain endowments by the Mamlūks in Egypt,[22] the emergence of new urban centres of culture and achievements in scientific learning following losses in older centers of civilization,[23] and future visions of a resurgence of Muslim naval and political dominance in the Mediterranean.[24] It is noteworthy that when Ibn Khaldūn discusses these matters, he also cites Qur'anic refrains on God's independent power to make things happen as He pleases,[25] and to create and sustain conditions that guide events to particular outcomes.[26]

While Ibn Khaldūn uses Qur'anic ideas to give hopeful theological meaning to political, economic and cultural history, it is important to turn to the connotations these Qur'anic notions carried in the Islamic traditions familiar to Ibn Khaldūn. The phrase *khalq jadīd* was discussed previously in *kalām,* Sufi and *tafsīr* traditions. Similarly, the emphasis on God's untrammeled power to create as He pleases was a hallmark of Ash'arī *kalām.* Reading these sources and comparing their view of *khalq jadīd* can provide further insight into Ibn Khaldūn's peculiar understanding of *khalq jadīd.*[27]

The foremost difficulty in relating Ibn Khaldūn's ideas to earlier discourses is that our historian does not always name his sources. This was common practice during his times. For instance, take the discussion of *khalq jadīd* in Sufi texts before and during Ibn Khaldūn's time. A unique Sufi understanding of this idea was theorized by the famous Sufi master, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī (1165–1240), whose followers discussed it under the rubric of *tajdīd al-khalq (renewal of creation).*[28] Subsequently, Ibn al-'Arabī's ideas on the subject become popular and generalized throughout the Muslim world, often without mention of any sources.[29] To resolve such a difficulty, one would have to study Ibn al-'Arabī's articulation of *khalq jadīd* and compare it with Ibn Khaldūn's use of same phrase in the *Muqaddimah*. Further insights can be gained by examining Ibn Khaldūn's sources on Ibn al-'Arabī to assess the historian's familiarity with this Sufi understanding of *tajdīd al-khalq*.

The final step in our reading involves consideration of the author's biographical context. Indeed, in the *Autobiography*, Ibn Khaldūn expresses his love for his teachers, family and friends as well as grief over losing many of them to the Black Death and political violence.[30] He is not shy in sharing how his debilitating trauma at losing his family in a shipwreck broke his spirit to continue as Mālikī Chief Qāḍī (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) in Cairo.[31] Moreover, he frequently articulates feelings of loneliness and helplessness, as in his flowery speech to the famous Turco-Mongol conqueror Tīmūr (1336–1405).[32] It is in the backdrop of such feelings of suffering that one may read citations of *khalq jadīd* in the *Muqaddimah* as a means of seeking hope.

Conclusion

Earlier scholars have read scriptural citations in the Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* either as mere rhetoric or a reflection of pious adherence to the Qur'an's injunction to reflect on history. Instead, I have proposed that different interpretive possibilities be put to the test of contextual evidence. This article has drawn on the work of Quentin Skinner to suggest a throughgoing approach to understanding the meaning of scriptural citations in the context of Ibn Khaldūn thought and intellectual culture. The main difficulty for understanding scriptural citations in the *Muqaddimah* is their allusive nature, for Ibn Khaldūn quotes Qur'anic phrases and verses without clearly indicating their meaning. To address this difficulty, a certain scriptural citation must first be read in its internal textual context. Next, the various meanings and appropriations of the same citation in relevant contemporaneous texts needs to be considered. Finally, to the degree possible, one may look for corroborative evidence from the author's life.

I have illustrated this approach and its significance by discussing the notion of *khalq jadīd* (Divine novelty in creation) in the *Muqaddimah*. I have shown that the idea of *khalq jadīd* is crucial indeed, for it appears in important theoretical discussions in the *Muqaddimah*. As the next step in interpretation, I have indicated sources in which the notion of *khalq jadīd* and its equivalent terms were being discussed prior to Ibn Khaldūn's writing. Finally, I have discussed biographical sources which provide support to the contention that *khalq jadīd* helps Ibn Khaldūn respond to the problem of human suffering given the existence of an all-powerful, benevolent and intervening God.

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[7] Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8–13, 233.

[8] Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn: An Essay in Reinterpretation* (New York: CEU Press, 2003), 53–54.

[9] Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018), 161.

[10] My interest in turning to the personality and mindset of Ibn Khaldūn as a means of appreciating his ideas on history follows broad trends in medieval historiography over the past fifty years. When history emerged as an academic discipline housed in universities in the nineteenth century, professional historians turned to medieval histories merely as sources for an accurate reconstruction of the past. Working with notions of scientific objectivity modeled on the pioneering historical studies of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), scholars usually ignored the intentions, mindset and social context of medieval historians. Justin Lake, "Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography," *History Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 89; See also Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell, *Leopold Von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, 1st edition (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse Univ Pr, 1990); Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History: Edited with an Introduction by Georg G. Iggers*, ed. Georg G. Iggers (London ; New York: Routledge, 2011); By contrast, later scholars such as Gabrielle Spiegel, Nancy Partner and Roger Ray focused on understanding medieval histories in their own literary, social and political contexts. Moving away from claims to objective history, these scholars were interested in how history writing works as a means of identity construction, political argument and personal meaning. The personality and mindset of medieval historians, along with their use of fiction and narrative strategies, have thus acquired central importance in studies on medieval historiography. Lake, "Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography"; Lake, "Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography"; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, New Ed edition (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); see also the various contributions in Bernd-Christian Otto, Susanne Rau, and Jörg Rüpke, eds., *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*, *History and Religion* (De Gruyter, 2015), https://www.degruyter.com/view/title/514460; Nancy F. Partner and

Sarah R. Foot, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, 1 edition (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013).

[11] Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, 168–71; Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb, "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 7, no. 1 (1933): 24–25; see also Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn in Modern Scholarship: A Study in Orientalism* (London: Third World Centre for Research & Publishing Ltd, 1981).

[12] Fuad Baali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (SUNY Press, 1988), 43–51; Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn: An Essay in Reinterpretation*, vii–viii, 10, 53–56 and passim.; Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, xii–xiii.

[13] For Skinner's classic statement of this position and the centrality of "linguistic context" in his method, see Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics : Regarding Method*, 1st Edition, vol. 1 (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 86 ff.

[14] This is based on my reading of Skinner's important essays on method, updated and cross-referenced in Skinner, *Visions of Politics*; for criticisms of Skinner, the development of his ideas and his responses to critics, see James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989); I have also benefited from the discussion on "context" in Dominick Lacapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," *History and Theory* 19, no. 3 (1980): 245–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/2504544.

[15] Allen Fromherz, *Ibn Khaldun: Life and Times* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 39–40.

[16] See Dwight F. Reynolds, ed., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Annotated edition edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), especially Chapter Four.

[17] Syed Farid Alatas, *Ibn Khaldun* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 16; Stephen Frederic Dale, *The Orange Trees of Marrakesh: Ibn Khaldun and the Science of Man* (Harvard University Press, 2015), 7, 13.

[18] On the various titles, textual variations and differing placements of the Autobiography in manuscripts of the Kitāb al-'ibar, see 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn and Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane, Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A. H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's "Autobiography," With a Translation into English, and a Commentary* (University of California Press, 1952), 6–20.

[19] 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Riḥlatu Ibn Khaldūn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ishbīlī*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt Ṭanjī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2004), 36–64.

[20] M, I, 280/249; M, II, 301/265. Here as in the rest of the article, M denotes the Muqaddimah, followed by volume number and the pages of Rosenthal's English edition and Quatremère's Arabic edition. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., Bollingen Series 43 (New York, Pantheon Books, 1958); 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun: Texte Arabe*, ed. Etienne Quatremère, vol. 3 (Paris: Benjamin Duprat, 1863).

[21] M, II, 293–297/257–262, 333–334/294–295.

[22] M, II, 434–435/384.

[23] M, II, 274–276/237–239, 293–297/257–261, 394–395/352, 431–433/380–383; M, III, 117–118/92–93, 289–290/249–250, 315/274.

[24] M, II, 46/40.

[25] M, II, 276/239, 334/295, 394–395/352; M, III, 118/93, 315/274.

[26] M, II, 297/261; M, III, 290/249–250.

[27] Undertaking this is beyond the scope of the present article which is limited to outlining and illustrating an interpretive method.

[28] For instances of Ibn al-'Arabī's explication of this notion, see Ibn al-'Arabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, trans. R. W. J. Austin, New edition (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 153–55, 193, 255; for scholarly descriptions of this idea in Ibn al-'Arabī and his followers, see Toshihiko Izutsu, "The Concept of Perpetual Creation in Islamic Mysticism and Zen Buddhism," in *Mélanges Offerts à Henry Corbin*, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 133 ff.; William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (State University of New York Press, 1989), 18–19.

[29] See Michel Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn 'Arabi's Doctrine," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi Society* 9 (1991): 36–57; Alexander D. Knysh, "Ibn Al-'Arabī in the Muslim West: A Prophet in His Own Land?," in *Ibn'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 167–200.

[30] Note especially the frequent mention of death and longing in Ibn Khaldūn's discussion of teachers, family and friends. Ibn Khaldūn, *Riḥlatu Ibn Khaldūn*, 36–64.

[31] Ibn Khaldūn, 208.

[32] Ibn Khaldūn, 291–92.