History before Islam: a manuscript of Ibn Ḥaldūn

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التاريخ قبل الإسلام: مخطوط لابن خلدون

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باحث متخصص في الدراسات الإسلامية

ملخص

منى وجدت نسخ خطيّة لعملٍ تراثيٍّ من نوعٍ معينٍ زمنيّ متلاصقّة على تطور أفكاره من خلال نسخته المتعمقة، فقد تلقى تلك النسخ الضوء على منهج نشوء ذلك المؤلف. وهذا هو الحال مع نسخ خطيّة ثلاثة للكتاب (العبر) لابن خلدون الذي يتناول فيه تاريخ العالم القديم. ومن ثم عملنا على تتبع تاريخ إحدى هذه المخطوطات ودراسة علاقتها بالنسختين الأخريتين من خلال الوقوف على بعض النماذج المختارة منها لتبيان انعكاس تطور فكر المؤلف في تناها. كما عملنا على الإجابة على التساؤلات المتعلقة ب زمن التأليف: هل يمكن تتبع التواريخ المرتبطة بالمخطوطات الثلاثة وترتيبها زمنيًا؟ وهل يمكن الحديث عن مسودة المؤلف بوصفها النسخة الأم التي تم النقل عنها، أم أنه من الوارد أن ابن خلدون عمل على عدة نسخ من وقت لآخر؟ إن غاية هذا البحث هو بيان ضرورة عدم قصر تخصصات المخطوطات على الجوانب الكودولوجية وحدها.

Abstract

Whenever manuscripts of a work exist that the author worked on himself over a certain time this may shed light on the way he created his work. This is the case with three manuscripts of Ibn Ḥaldūn's history of the ancient world. We follow the history of one manuscript and study its relation to the other two by drawing on a few examples chosen to illustrate how this manuscript can mirror the author's development of his theme. One question we try to answer is timing. Is it possible to follow the dates connected with the manuscripts and arrange them in chronological order? Will it be possible to speak of the author's draft as the source from which some of the manuscripts have been copied or is it conceivable that he worked on several copies from time to time? Our aim is to show that manuscript studies must not be limited to codicology alone.

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1 It has been possible to prepare this paper only with the generous help of colleagues and friends who gave access to the manuscripts in their possession and lent their support in many ways. My thanks are due to colleagues in Topkapi Sarayi, al-Ḥizāna al-Ḥasanīya, al-Maktaba al-waṭanīya li-l-Mamlaka al-Mārībiya and the British Library. Last but not least I have to thank my friend professor Ibrāhīm Šabbūb for his inspiration and support which have kept me on the trail of Ibn Ḥaldūn for more than two decades.
Kitāb al-‘ībar\(^2\), the world history of ʾAbd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥaldūn (732-808/1332-1406) has long been regarded as disappointing when compared to the famous Muqaddima where the same author gives an elaborate introduction to history\(^3\). Indeed, only after he had written the ʿībar others seem to have applied in their works what Ibn Ḥaldūn is describing in the Muqaddima as the social and economic factors underlying the development of society and kingdoms\(^4\). Why did Ibn Ḥaldūn himself restrict his Kitāb al-ʿībar to political and military history mainly and to the general description of dynasties and peoples? I would say that in his lifetime, when his work as a historian was only one among many facets, he simply did not have the intention or the time to do much more than to list what he regarded as historical facts. This alone meant to search for and read a great number of sources many of which he could consult only after moving from Tunis to Egypt in 784/1383. To collect historical data in al-Qāhirā (Cairo) was an opportunity for him to learn about history on a scale much broader than what was known to him before.

With the exception of the parts where Ibn Ḥaldūn wrote as a historian of his own time, the importance of Kitāb al-ʿībar as a whole lies in the possibility to follow its famous author on his way of figuring out a comprehensive picture of history for himself. By comparing some of the sources of Ibn Ḥaldūn that are extant today to what the author gleaned from them, the modern reader can imagine the way he worked; at the same time we begin to understand the difficulty he faced in his attempt to arrive at a consistent sequence of events and to identify historic persons with variant names written in several differing ways even in one and the same text. His sources provided much detail and gave information often contradictory within themselves or conflicting with the narrative of other sources. What added to these difficulties was the often poor quality of the copies of such sources that he had to rely on.

In this paper we will concentrate mainly on a manuscript containing part 3 of the ʿībar. This part is the first following the Muqaddima and deals with history before Islam\(^5\). The manuscript in question is one


\(^5\) See Ğuz ʿ3 (Tunis 2013) of the 14 volume edition (note 2 above). The page references to "al-ʿībar 3" given in what follows relate to this edition.
of three known to us today that the author has worked on himself\(^6\). Any papers that could be regarded as the author's notebook or draft for *al-\'Ibar* 3 have not come down to us.

Ibn Ḥalḍūn had been writing the *Mugaddima* and a first version of the *\'Ibar* while living in Qal`at Ibn Salāma\(^7\) (from 776/1375 to 780/1379) and added to it when in Tūnis (until 784/1382). He obviously was proud enough of what he had achieved with this work that he thought it worthy to be presented to the Ḥafṣid ruler in Tūnis Abu `l-\'Abbās Aḥmad (reigned 771-796/1370-1394) in recognition of the latter's kind reception\(^8\). The manuscript volumes of this work are not known today. However, Naṣr al-Ḥūrīnī, the editor of the first complete Arabic printing of the *\'Ibar*, saw a copy of it in al-Qāhira around the middle of the 19th century\(^9\).

After moving to Egypt Ibn Ḥalḍūn won the favour of the first in the line of the Circassian sultans (al-\'ārākīsa), al-Malik az-Zāhīr Saīf ad-Dīn Barqūq (reigned 784-791/1382-1389 and 792-801/1390-1399), who supported him in many ways. He continued to work on his history and broadened its scope considerably. To honour his benefactor and retain his goodwill Ibn Ḥalḍūn produced a new copy of the *\'Ibar* in 14 parts and seven volumes and gave it the title *al-Kitāb az-Zāhīrī fi \'l-\'Ibar bi-\'aḥbār \'{Arab wa-\'l-\'Agam wa-\'l-Barbar*. This copy, which we designate by the letter Z, was completed in 797/1395 and is preserved intact in two libraries in Istanbul\(^10\). It has many additions and entries in the author's own hand\(^11\).

In 799/1396 sultan Barqūq sent a delegation to the Maghrib equipped with presents for the rulers of Tūnis, Tilimsān (Tlemcenc) and Fās\(^12\). Ibn Ḥalḍūn as a native of North Africa had advised Barqūq on

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\(^6\) The manuscripts of the entire work that were used for the critical edition have been presented by Ibṛāhīm Ṣabbūḥ in his prefaces to *al-\'Ibar* 1, 31*-129* and *al-\'Ibar* 3, 19*-72*.

\(^7\) Located south of Faranda (Frenda), province of Tiyyat (Tietar), in modern Algeria.


\(^9\) This is understood from his citation of a lengthy dedication to Abu `l-\'Abbās Ahmad (on the margins of p. 6-8 of vol. 1 of al-Ḥūrīnī's edition, Būlāq 1867) which he says, is taken from a manuscript written by a maghribī copyist (p. 6, note 8). Toward the end of the lengthy note (p. 8) al-Ḥūrīnī says, *al-nasabat al-maktūra μυκέτη* عن هذه النسخة المنقوطة من خرائط الكتب القاسية. This means that he understood the copy containing the dedication to Abu \'l-\'Abbās Ahmad to give an abbreviated version of the copy he relied on, one that was copied from one kept at the \"Fās library\". The same note had been published before in al-Ḥūrīnī's separate edition of the *Mugaddima*, Būlāq 1858; reproduced in *al-\'Ibar* 1, 13*.

\(^10\) The two parts of the *Mugaddima* are held by the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (number 863 of the Damat Ibrahim Paşa koleksiyonu). The remaining 12 parts, bound in 6 volumes are found in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (number A. 2924).

\(^11\) See the description of ms. Z by Ibṛāhīm Šabbūḥ in *al-\'Ibar* 1, 96*-113*. According to Šabbūḥ (p. 102*) it is rather likely that Z was never given to al-Malik az-Zāhīr.

\(^12\) The aim was to be supplied with horses that could be used to defend areas under Mamlūk control against invading Mongol armies. Their leader Tīmūr (reigned 772-807/1370-1405) who had led campaigns in Persia and neighbouring countries already threatened to invade to Syria.

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Werner Schwartz
details of this mission and he took it as an opportunity to add his own gift to those of the sultan. He had another copy made of the ‘Ibar to be presented to the Marinid ruler in Fās, Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad. This is manuscript Q, of which we will speak in more detail in the main part of the present paper.

Finally there is a third manuscript copy of the ‘Ibar, of which only one volume survives. It is kept in the British Library and designated by letter B here and in the edition of 2013. This volume contains parts 3 and 4 of the ‘Ibar. It is likely that other volumes existed along with this one, but no trace of them has been found so far. B carries no date but in view of many entries by the author in his own hand it must have been copied before the latter's death (808/1406). Judging from the completeness of the text it is very likely that it is the youngest of the three manuscripts. Just like the mss. Z and Q it has been written in the East but its script lacks the elegance of the other two. In contrast to them B uses diacritical points in most cases where this is necessary and adds vowel signs here and there, and especially with non-Arab names. Whether this means that the copyist of B was more faithful in following the author's papers or whether he added diacritics and vowels on his own account can only tentatively be decided when looking at each case individually.

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When in 799/1396 Ibn Ḥaldūn prepared a seven volume copy of the ‘Ibar for the Marinid sultan, copying must have started a few months before the delegation departed. He expressly demanded that

13 He reigned 796-799/1393-1396 and died before the delegation could reach him. It was welcomed instead by his successor Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (r. 799-800/1396-1397).

14 Cf. a short description by Šabbūḥ, al-‘Ibar 3, 32*. It is filed in the BL under number Add. 23,271 without any indication of its origin. But there is provenance information in the manuscript itself. A stamp on the back of the first of two folios bound before fol. 1 of the original ms. says, “Purchased of M” Taylor April 1860”. This indicates that B is one of the Arabic manuscripts of Robert Taylor (1788-1852), British resident in Bagdad, which were sold to the British Museum by his son-in-law T. K. Lynch in 1860; there are 246 mss. according to https://www.qdl.qa/en/arabic-manuscripts-collection-british-library (last seen 8 Nov. 2017). Taylor, with a pencil, made a lot of notes on the margins and added numbers to folios 1 through to 215. The first note on fol. 1a is name, “RTaylor”, the second just beneath reads as follows: "Second part of the Kitab ul Arab or Book of the Arabs, Bagdad 22 February 1842”. It is likely that there was more provenance information on the upper half of fol. 2a but this was obscured by black ink. Two identical seals on fol. 2b are unidentified; they are different from “Robert Taylor’s seal. Add MS 23570, f. 62r” as shown on the web page cite above and where Taylor's name is given as عبد الله.

15 One of the scribes whom Ibn Ḥaldūn employed for several parts of al-‘Ibar left a date at the end of volume 5 of ms. Q giving his name as ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Walad al-Faḥṭūrī (otherwise called Ibn al-Faḥḥār; cf. al-‘Ibar 1, p. 122*) with a date not fully intelligible anymore but giving the month of Ramāḍān 798 which is equal to the interval of June 8th to July 7th, 1396. Cf. Lévi-Provençal, p. 163 (see note 16). This would leave about half a year for the remaining two volumes before the date of the endowment; see the following.
his work be kept indefinitely in the Ḥizānat al-Qarawīyīn, the library of the great Friday mosque in Fās. To ensure this he had a document of endowment (taḥbīṣ or waqfīya) inscribed on the first page of each of the seven volumes, dated 21. ʿṢafar 799 / 23. November 1396, signed by two witnesses and by himself. In it he set the rules for the use of the volume. While it was understood that it was meant to be read in the mosque or its library usually, a trustworthy person could be allowed to take it out on condition of leaving a dependable deposit (rahn waṭīq) to ensure adherence to the rule, namely to return it after a maximum delay of two months, this being enough to read or copy it.

A fine building had been erected to house the library’s books by sultan Abū ʿInān in 750/1349. Ibn Ḥaldūn himself had spent some time studying at the Gāmiʿ al-Qarawīyīn and was well acquainted with the learned society frequenting this important centre. It must have been his aim to share his work with the scholars and students there, some of whom he knew personally. Indeed, the seven volumes were received into the library and became popular among those who visited al-Qarawīyīn, as may be judged from the numerous manuscript copies of al-ʿIbar which may be traced back to them.

However, the seven volumes of the work shared the fate of many books that were declared to be religious endowments and designated to be kept indefinitely in the institution where they were placed. Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Maqqarī, who was imām and muftī at al-Qarawīyīn between 1613 and 1617 is the last who confirms that he saw the eight (!) volumes of al-ʿIbar there. When renewed interest in Ibn Ḥaldūn in the 19th century prompted the search for reliable manuscripts there was no news anymore of the full set of volumes being kept in Fās. A list of Arabic books kept in al-Qarawīyīn, which was

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16 Évariste Lévi-Provençal was the first to publish one of these taḥbīṣ documents (from vol. 5) in photographic reproduction, to transcribe and translate it (“Note sur l'exemplaire du Kitāb al-ʿIbar offert par Ibn Haldūn à la bibliothèque d'al-Karawīyīn à Fès”, Journal Asiatique 203, 1923, p. 161-168). The same taḥbīṣ from volume 5 has been printed from a more recent photograph in al-ʿIbar 1, p. 17 and repeated in al-ʿIbar 3, p. 45*. The taḥbīṣ from volume 7 has been reproduced on the following page, al-ʿIbar 3, p. 46*.

17 This building was last refurbished in 2004 along with the larger library building built right next to it after World War I.

18 at-Taʾrīf p. 313.


20 The last volume according to him contains the author’s autobiography (وَقَدْ عَرَفَ فِي أُخْرَى بِفِصْه). Abu-ʿl-ʿAbbās Ahmad al-Maqqarī, an-Nafḥ at-tīb min ǧuṣn al-Andalus ar-rāḥib, ed. by ʿĪlṣām ʿAbbās, Bairūt 1968, vol. 6, p. 191. But the autobiography is bound with volume 7 in Q as in other mss. So, if “eight volumes” is no error, the only explanation would be that one of the other volumes had been split into two.

21 Jacob Grāberg de Hemsö, consul for Sweden and Norway in Ṭangīa (Tangier) since 1816, was told that the only reliable and complete copy and containing the dedication by the author himself could be found in Fās. We cannot take this as confirming the existence of all volumes since no number is given and he did not visit Fās himself. When Grāberg demanded that a copy of this ms. should be made for him, he did not receive it before he had to leave for Tripoli in 1822. He reported this to the Asiatic Society in London in its session held on January 21st, 1832 (“An Account of the Great Historical Work of the African Philosopher Ibn Ḥaldūn”, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 3, 1834, p. 389).
History before Islam: a manuscript of Ibn Ḥaldūn

printed with a preface by Alfred Bel in 1917, can be read as recording only two volumes. When Lévi-Provençal visited the library (in 1920?) he briefly saw two volumes only, the third and the fifth. In 1961 only Muḥammad al-Fāṣī is the first to report that there remain three volumes of the work in the library, all of them displaying the document of endowment signed by the author. He fails to mention which of the volumes he saw and whether he inspected them himself.

After visiting the library in 2008 I can confirm that of seven only three volumes are left, all of them in a deplorable state. Volume 1, 2, 4 and 6 are missing. Vol. 3 (numbered 73) is incomplete at the end.

Some fifty years ago, in a misguided attempt at preservation it was laminated, meaning that all folios are now covered in plastic sheets. This did more harm to the manuscript than contribute to its stability. It will take many months and a lot of patience for a skilled conservator to save and preserve what is left. Table 1 (photograph taken in 2008) shows vol. 3 bloated after laminating.

Table 1: Volume 3 of ms. Q

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22 This list was drafted by two local scholars; *Bānūmaš yaštāt al-bayān al-kutub al-ʼarabīya al-mauğūda bi-ḥizānat ġāmi’ al-Qarawiyin bi-ʼāṣimat Fās*, Fās 1917, p. 100 under number 1266. The French title gives 1918 as the date of printing; *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée d’El-Qarouiyine à Fès*.

23 Lévi-Provençal, p. 163 (see note 16). His description of vol. 5 seems to indicate that this one was still complete when he saw it. Concerning the other volume (vol. 3) he writes: "commençant à la dynastie omayyade, il s’arrêterait au chapitre intitulé: "وصول السلطان محمد إلى بغداد" (referring to p. 492 of vol. 3 in al-Hūrūfī’s edition, Būlāq 1867). This is correct, or to be more precise: The last page of vol. 3 of ms. Q is numbered 478 and its bottom line corresponds to the last line of p. 493 in the Būlāq edition: "وكان آغا جحشيون الأرباطي [في] الخرب واستهد السلطان". Here the text breaks off, lacking the text from p. 494 to p. 543 (Būlāq) corresponding to pp. 501-610 of part 6 of the critical edition (2010).


25 See note 23.
Table 2: The last page in volume 3 of ms. Q
Table 3: Page 177 in volume 5 of ms. Q

Table 4: Volume 7 of ms. Q viewed from top left corner
Volume 5 (numbered 72) has received the same treatment and is laminated from start to end. Just as in vol. 3 huge page numbers have been stamped throughout (Table 3).

In comparison vol. 7 looks the worst at first glance. However, it has escaped lamination and has no apparent loss of pages. The holes and tears visible here are quite common in Moroccan manuscripts, the climate favouring the spread of insects in all organic material that is left unattended.

So of the seven volumes sent by Ibn Ḫaldūn in 799/1396 only three remain in Fās. Contrary to the author's will and the laws governing Islamic endowment all the others have been taken or have vanished somehow after al-Maqqarī wrote about them in the second decade of the 17th century.

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There remained another volume, of which Ibrāhīm Šabbūh had obtained a microfilm from Morocco to be used in his great project of publishing the first critical edition of al-'Ibar. He had given me a paper print made from the microfilm to work on the part of al-'Ibar dealing with history before Islam. But what I had before my eyes at that time was almost impossible to read. However if anything it proved that this volume must exist somewhere.

If the manuscript itself was not at Fās anymore it must be possible to locate it in another library. Information found on the first frame of the microfilm led the way. It had a number, "9684 II" and the name of a library, "al-Ḥizāna al-Ḥasanīya" which is the name of the king's library located in the royal domain Agdāl in the capital ar-Ribāṭ (Rabat). I was granted permission in 2007 to work in the library and was able to inspect what had been volume 2 of al-'Ibar, now being a heap of loose folios carrying the number 9684 II. That those papers stemmed from the same manuscript Q of which three volumes were identified in the library of al-Qarawanīya was easy to see. The text written in the elegant style of Ibn al-Faḥhar dealt with pre-Islamic history and the history of the Arabs, the Prophet and the first four ḥulafā’. The paper was of the same kind and format and there were 27 lines per page as in the other volumes. There is no doubt that this was part of ms. Q. At al-Ḥasanīya library high quality scans of a first series of folios were made. With the support from the departments for conservation and for reproduction of the national library this job was completed the following year by scanning all that remained of the manuscript. Differing contrast and colours in the examples shown on the next pages are

26 This remains to be verified, since this volume was not available to the editors of parts 13 (2012) and 14 (2010) for their work on the critical edition. Note: What has been said of the three volumes is true for the time of my last visit to Fās in 2008. The conservation department of the library may have started work on one or more of the volumes since.
due to the scans having been made under varying conditions with at least three different scanners or cameras.

Having seen volume 7 before (Table 4 above), the remnants of volume 2 looked worse still. The 206 folios were numbered using pencil, but the numbers were given just as the folios were found, that is in total disorder. After establishing the correct sequence no new numbering was introduced yet because it is hoped that more folios might still be found in Fās or ar-Ribāṭ and will be added.

Establishing the correct order was not difficult because the text could be compared to manuscripts Z and B and to the Būlāq edition. But it was necessary to determine exactly how many folios were missing and at which places. After putting the folios into correct order, a close inspection of those instances where the folios provided uninterrupted text revealed that every tenth leave had a number written in the upper left corner, except in cases where the paper's corner had been torn off. For an example look at Table 5 above where the twenty-fifth (ﺍﻟﺨﺎﻣﺲﻭﺍﻟﻌﺸﺮﻭﻥ) can be discerned in the upper left corner of fol. 58a. As there is no exception to this it can be concluded that each quire
(kurkūs) thus counted contained five double folios. When folded every quire had 10 folios or 20 pages as shown in the sketch. The last quire in this manuscript is numbered twenty-eighth on fol. 200a. Based on this and checking against the amount of text known from the other manuscripts it is possible to say that the 28 quires equaled 280 pages; see the list at the end of this paper. Today there exist not more than 206 folios of the original. Of the first part relating the history before Islam only 65 folios are extant of previously 95. The second part, devoted to the first Islamic era still has 141 folios of previously 154.

We are familiar with seeing the first and last folios in manuscripts being damaged more than the rest because of being exposed to mechanical rubbing and dirt. Folios had the chance to be damage is noticeable in many damage is due to the larvae of the paper. This has resulted in especially on the bottom entire folios became loose but their original location can that have writing on them is can be compared to other Table 6 have all been related type and has no watermarks. will have been similar to mss. margins, in spite of being are narrower than in the other is quite different. With 27 between Z (22 lines) and B of course and follows Nash double page.

Table 6: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fragments


28 The number of pages in the original may have differed slightly of course, if we imagine that quires at the beginning and the end of the ms. may have had fewer than 10 folios each.

29 Although consistent mostly throughout the pages of the same ms. no standard number of lines is discernible in the copies Ibn Ḥalduñ had made from al-ʿIbar. Even when Ibn al-Ḥajr, the same scribe as in Q, was employed (as for instance in ms. Ǧ of al-Muqaddima written only slightly later than Q in 799/1397 with 29 lines, see al-ʿIbar 1, p. 127*; or ms. A of al-Muqaddima, copies by him with 25 lines, al-ʿIbar 1, p. 32*).
The last line of the left page (Table 7; fol. 169a) ends with the words, *wa-ṣtaqarrat firaq an-nasārā ʿalā hādīhi ṣalātā*. This is the
end of a chapter about Jesus and the Christians (al-ḥabar ʿan šaʾn ʿĪsā b. Maryam ..., see al-ʿIbar 3, p. 358). The wording in this sentence is identical with Z from which Q is said to have been copied30. However in ms. Q the next chapter titled al-ḥabar ʿan al-Furs follows immediately31. In Z the text ends with the same words and the lower part of the page is left free by the scribe for Ibn Ḥaldūn to insert the genealogy of Jesus in his own hand. In ms. B we read at the end of the chapter, wa-ʾstaqarrat firaq an-naṣāʾrāʾ ʿala ʾl-firaq at-ṭalāʾa al-malikiyya wa-ʾl-yaʿqūbiyya wa-ʾn-nastūriyya which is more precise. Following this B gives a full page for the author to insert a genealogical table with slight variants as against Z.

This example gives an idea of the importance of ms. Q for illustrating how Ibn Ḥaldūn was continuously working on several copies of al-ʿIbar. In this case he had worked on his draft to arrive at the wording cited from Q. When Q was sent off to Fās the author made a change by adding the genealogy in a first version. This was inserted at the usual place which is the end of a chapter, summing up the genealogical information in graphic form that has been discussed in the preceding pages. The genealogical table was then copied to ms. Z where appropriate space had been left. We may speculate that the scribe Ibn al-Fahḥār simply failed to leave this space open when copying from Z to Q or that he relied on the author's draft himself before this was amended. Finally more changes were made, which were then copied to ms. B.

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30 See below.

31 This is the same as in Būlāq 2 (1), p. 153.
There are several instances in the same chapter (al-Ḥabar ʿan ʿIṣā, al-ʿIbar 3, p. 333-358) which illustrate how the author continued his work and made amendments in one or more manuscripts. See Table 8 for the chapter's first two
pages. Some of the changes he made here were due to the fact that he discovered a new source called by him *Kitāb Ya’qūb b. Yūsuf an-Naṣṣār*32.

We find additional text of considerable length added on the margins of Q, and in one instance on a slip of paper which has been inserted because the margins did not offer enough space (Table 8 on the lower part of fol. 165a and Table 9). These additions are absent from Z while B has them in much the same wording within the running text.

When working on the critical edition of the *Muqaddima* Ibrāhīm ʿIbrāhīm ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ahmad printed in Būlāq 1, p. 6 and is true certainly for the first half of the *Muqaddima* (see al-ʿIbar 1). When comparing the first half of volume 2 of ms. Q to Būlāq 2 (1) some convergence can be observed, the most notable being the absence of a number of genealogical and dynastic tables (*mušaǧǧarāt*) in both: The genealogy of Jesus (compare al-ʿIbar 3, p. 395-360), the ancestry of Dārā b. Sanaḥsār in the table

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33 The Būlāq edition it seems was based on ms. of North African origin mainly deriving from Q. This can be concluded from the dedication to the Maḥmūd ruler in Fās, Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ahmad printed in Būlāq 1, p. 6 and is true certainly for the first half of the *Muqaddima* (see al-ʿIbar 1). When comparing the first half of volume 2 of ms. Q to Būlāq 2 (1) some convergence can be observed, the most notable being the absence of a number of genealogical and dynastic tables (*mušaǧǧarāt*) in both: The genealogy of Jesus (compare al-ʿIbar 3, p. 395-360), the ancestry of Dārā b. Sanaḥsār in the table
check this assumption. Comparing all three manuscripts of part three, however, we cannot confirm that Q had been copied from Z. When checking some ninety relevant instances where Q either has additional text or is lacking such in comparison to Z and B, there is no statistically significant indication that Q is closer to Z. From this and the general impression gleaned from working on the critical edition we must conclude that convergence and divergence among the three mss. cannot be taken to prove a direct dependence of one of them on one of the other two. Even though Z had been completed first (797/1395) and Q had been dispatched to Fās a little more than two years later (799/1396), Ibn Ḥaldūn seems to have continued to make amendments on both of them and on B, which must have been completed not long after Q.

The detailed analysis of the three manuscripts of al-ʿIbar that recount history before Islam and in particular the study of ms. Q sheds some light on the way Ibn Ḥaldūn was working. He gathered information from a multitude of sources all of whom he used as testimony for historical constellations and events. His sources were of very diverse origin and included texts that had primarily religious meaning for his contemporaries such as the Qurʾān, the Ḥadīṯ, the Torah, the Gospels and related texts. He relied on Arab historians as well as on historians of Iranian, Sabian, Jewish and Christian background. As may be expected, most important for him were the great historians at-Ṭabarī (224-310/839-923) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956). He was particularly fond of the latter's broad interest and knowledge of both the Muslim world and of countries beyond its boundaries. When faced with confusing information about Ancient Egypt he regretted the bad state of al-Masʿūdī's books which he had to work with. He continued to search for additional sources and gleaned information from them to be inserted in al-ʿIbar until only a year before his death.

In writing about peoples and kingdoms before Islam or outside the Muslim realm Ibn Ḥaldūn was limited in his use of sources to what was available in his own language, Arabic. He was well aware for the Furs of the second ṭabaqa (al-ʿIbar 3, p. 390) and the tables for the Roman emperors before and after the adoption of Christianity (al-ʿIbar 3, p. 502-503 and 530). Part of this information but not all is lacking in Z as well. I hope to deal with this in more detail in a critical edition of genealogical and dynastic tables contained in part 3 of al-ʿIbar.

Būlāq 2 (2) which deals with the first phase of Islamic history (cf. al-ʿIbar 4, 2007) has no such tables at all, the reason being that this section had to be based on a rather deficient ms. of Eastern provenance (see Būlāq 2 (2), p. 190). In contrast to Būlāq 2 (2) the second half of volume 2 of ms. Q has 11 such tables but has lost the last one which is the genealogy of the Prophet and the colophon preceding it. Compare al-ʿIbar 4, p. 665-666.

34 It may suffice to give only the basic figures. 57 instances where Q has text, Z has the same in 27 cases and in 30 Z has none; B: 30 with text, 27 without. In 31 instances text is missing in Q; Z: 14 without, 17 with text. B: 9 without, 24 with text. If we compare Z and B alone we can look at 170 instances. Here we notice that B has 79 cases with added text missing in Z. This may indicate that against the 62 cases with added text in Z and not given in B, there is a basis perhaps to conclude, that work continued on B longer than on Z.

35 See above for examples.

36 al-ʿIbar 1, 50. For an overview of sources for history before Islam see al-ʿIbar 3, p. 73 ff.

that writing foreign names in Arabic script would not be adequate. He tried to use a spelling close to what he thought was their native pronunciations. He even devised special diacritics to be used for a kind of phonetic transcription. In part 1 of al-ʿIbar, the Muqaddima he gives a brief introduction to the problem and his attempt to solve it. From this it can be realized how he got the idea. In his North African environment he had become used to hear Berber names pronounced by Berbers; so he could spell them with letters modified to adequately represent the native pronunciation. Later on in Egypt he may have met Iranians, Jews or Turks who gave a pronunciation for names in their languages that he could only try to represent with special letters. This had its limitations especially where names of far-gone times were found written in the sources. In Ibn Ḥaldūn's perception they were more often distorted than not. While he is well aware that other languages are using their own scripts, the idea of transcribing from a foreign script without dealing with pronunciation does not seem to have occurred to him, most likely perhaps because of his ignorance of foreign languages.

As a historian of pre-Islamic times he was not the first to be constantly confronted with the task of identifying historical figures whose names came in several spellings or even in forms completely different one from the other. He could not simply rely on what his sources said, but had to figure out which narrative essentially matched the narrative in another source and to extract what he judged to be the factual sequence of events. This in turn could lead to identifying one and the same historic person with several names coming with their distinct narrative in multiple sources. Part three of al-ʿIbar documents his permanent struggle of dealing with sources difficult to reconcile.

38 al-ʿIbar 1, p. 52-54.
39 al-ʿIbar 2, p. 440-441 he speaks about scripts and peoples using them.
Table 10: Volume 2 of ms. Q, fol. 174a
Historic persons could be defined by their position in a chain of rulers or their dynastic relationship with their ancestors. This he laid out chapter after chapter in the description of ancient kingdoms, citing parallel narratives only if they were found to be incompatible with each other. For himself and for his readers it was important to sum up the result at a chapter's end in order to offer easy access to this kind of basic information for every historic era, without having to read the lengthy chapters relating to it.

To achieve this Ibn Ḥaldūn listed foreign as well as Arabic names in the form of trees (mušāḡḡarāt) denoting genealogical as well as dynastic relationship⁴⁰. In most cases he took care to write these himself, adding diacritical punctuation, vowel signs and numbers in red ink to establish the actual sequence of rulers.

The genealogy of the Kayānid rulers of Iran (Table 10)⁴¹ may serve as an example here. Q is does not agree with all detail that we find in Z or B but has a mušāḡḡar with some distinct variants. Descendancy from Manīšahr is left unmentioned and two names, Kai Ağğū son of Kai Nabah are added, counted third and fourth king of the dynasty. This is the small branch to the right, branching off from Kaiqāwus counted second king⁴². The other two branches are identical to mss. Z and B except for numbers 3 and 4 given to Kainabah and Kai Üğī b. Kainiyūs which Q has used in the branch described above. It is likely that Q offers the earliest attempt by Ibn Ḥaldūn to give a graphic presentation of this dynasty which he then changed to the form seen in Z and B⁴³.

Conclusion

To find the traces documenting some of the steps taken by Ibn Ḥaldūn in writing about pre-Islamic history, a detailed reading of his manuscripts is necessary. Data derived from comparative scrutiny of the manuscripts when seen in the context of information derived from the author's biography can reveal how he developed his work step after step. Of course examples like those given here will never enable us to follow every single addition or correction made, but they can shed light on the way Ibn Ḥaldūn worked. Extending this analysis to other parts of al-ʿIbar may provide more findings that will lead to improve our understanding of the author. Volume 7 of the manuscript that is kept in al-Qarawīyīn in Fās may be of particular interest in this context. This is because it contains the author's autobiography

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⁴⁰ He gives good description of this in al-ʿIbar 3, p. 35. His words indicate that this method was something unfamiliar to his readers and needed explanation.

⁴¹ The history of this mythical dynasty is described in the chapter titled الطبقرة الثانية من الفرس وهم الکینیة, al-ʿIbar 3, p. 374 ff.

⁴² Būlāq 2 (1), p. 165 has a tree that can be understood to reflect what we read in Q. Some names have been distorted and are far from what the author wrote.

⁴³ The details of how the Kayānid history is described in the text is beyond the subject of the present paper. For general information see "Kayānids", Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition, Leiden 1978, vol. 4, p. 809 and "Kayānīn" with related articles in the Encyclopaedia Iranica (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kayanian-parent).
History before Islam: a manuscript of Ibn Ḥaldūn

in a version, perhaps the first, which he finished before 21. Șafar 799 / 23. November 1396, while continuing to amend it in other extant manuscripts.

There is a slight chance that parts of the first copy of al-ʿIbar which Ibn Ḥaldūn presented to the Ḥafṣid ruler in Tūnis sometime between 780/1379 and 784/1382 will still be discovered in future, since it or a copy made from it was seen in al-Qāhirah around the middle of the 19th century. Likewise the discovery of folios or even of another volume of manuscript Q remains a possibility. Such discoveries would certainly add to our knowledge of the history of textual development of al-ʿIbar.

List of folios in volume 2 of ms. Q

This relates to the text now edited as al-ʿIbar 3 and 4.

q numbers of the quires, with Arabic writing if present
** hypothetical numbering of folios in the once complete ms.
F modern numbers found in 2008 written on the folios with pencil
— separator between folios

Where no F number is following after ** the original leave is lost. Where quire numbers are placed within square brackets either the leave is lost or no trace of the original numbering is visible.

(al-ʿIbar 3)

q[1] **1 — **2 — **3 — **4 — **5 — **6 — **7 — **8 — **9 — **10
q[2] **11 — **12 — **13 — **14 — **15 — **16 — **17 — **18 — **19 — **20
q[3] **21 — **22 — **23 — **24 — **25 — **26 — **27 — **28 empty folio of different paper {28 folios missing at the beginning} — **29 F1 — **30 F2
q[4] **31 {1 folio missing} — **32 F3 — **33 F4 — **34 F5 — **35 F6 — **36 F150 — **37 — **38 — **39 — **40
q[5] **41 — **42 — **43 — **44 — **45 — **46 — **47 — **48 — **49 — **50
q[6] **51 — **52 — **53 — **54 — **55 — **56 — **57 — **58 — **59 — **60 {24 folios missing}
q[7] **61 F151 — **62 F152 — **63 F153 — **64 F154 — **65 F155 — **66 F156 — **67 F157 — **68 F158 — **69 F159 — **70 F160
q[8] **71 F161 — **72 F162 — **73 F163 — **74 F164 — **75 F165 — **76 F166 — **77 F167 — **78 F168 — **79 F169 — **80 {1 folio missing}
Werner Schwartz

q9 (تاسعة) **81 F170 — **82 F171 — **83 F172 — **84 F173 — **85 F174 — **86 F175 — **87 F176 — **88 F177 — **89 F178 — **90 F179
q10 (عشرة) **91 F197 — **92 F180 — **93 F181 — **94 F182 — **95 — **96 {2 folios missing} — **97 F183 — **98 F184 — **99 F185 — **100 F186
q11 (حادي عشرة) **101 F187 — **102 F188 — **103 F189 — **104 F190 — **105 F191 — **106 F192 — **107 F193 — **108 F194 — **109 F195 — **110 F103
q12 (ثاني عشرة) **111 F102 — **112 F69 — **113 F70 — **114 F71 — **115 F72 — **116 F73 — **117 F74 — **118 F75 — **119 F76 — **120
q[13] **121 {2 folios missing} — **122 F140 — **123 F133 — (al-Ibar 4) **124 F134 — **125 F135 — **126 F136 — **127 F137 — **128 F138 — **129 F123 — **130 {1 folio missing}
q14 (رابع عشرة) **131 F77 — **132 F78 — **133 F79 — **134 F80 — **135 — **136 {2 folios missing} — **137 F81 — **138 F82 — **139 F83 — **140 F84
q[15] **141 F124 — **142 F125 — **143 F126 — **144 F127 — **145 F128 — **146 F129 — **147 F130 — **148 F131 — **149 F132 — **150 F101
q[16] **151 F122 — **152 F141 — **153 F142 — **154 F143 — **155 F144 — **156 F145 — **157 F146 — **158 F147 — **159 F148 — **160 F104
q17 (سابع عشرة) **161 F85 — **162 F86 — **163 F87 — **164 F88 — **165 F89 — **166 F90 — **167 F91 — **168 F92 — **169 F93 — **170 F94
q18 (ثامن عشرة) **171 F139 — **172 F106 — **173 F107 — **174 F108 — **175 F109 — **176 F110 — **177 F111 — **178 F112 — **179 F113 — **180 F105
q19 (تاسع عشرة) **181 F196 — **182 F114 — **183 F115 — **184 F116 — **185 F117 — **186 F118 — **187 F119 — **188 F120 — **189 F121 — **190 F7
q20 (العشرون) **191 F8 — **192 F9 — **193 F10 — **194 F11 — **195 F12 — **196 F13 — **197 F14 — **198 F15 — **199 F16 — **200 F17
q21 (حادي والعشرون) **201 F18 — **202 F19 — **203 F20 — **204 F21 — **205 F22 — **206 F23 — **207 F24 — **208 F25 — **209 F26 — **210 F27
q22 (ثاني والعشرون) **211 F28 — **212 F29 — **213 F30 — **214 F31 — **215 F32 — **216 F33 — **217 F34 — **218 F35 — **219 F36 — **220 F37

21
History before Islam: a manuscript of Ibn Ḥaldūn

q23 (الثالث والعشرون) **221 F38 — **222 F39 — **223 F40 — **224 F41 — **225 F42 — **226 F43 — **227 F44 — **228 F45 — **229 F46 — **230 F47
q24 (الرابع والعشرون) **231 F48 — **232 F49 — **233 F50 — **234 F51 — **235 F52 — **236 F53 — **237 F54 — **238 F55 — **239 F56 — **240 F57
q25 (الخامس والعشرون) **241 F58 — **242 F59 — **243 F60 — **244 F61 — **245 F62 — **246 F63 — **247 F64 — **248 F65 — **249 F66 — **250 F67
q[26] **251 — **252 — **253 — **254 — **255 — **256 — **257 — **258 — **259 — **260 [10 folios missing]
q27 (السابع والعشرون) **261 F68 — **262 F149 — **263 F95 — **264 F96 — **265 F97 — **266 F98 — **267 F99 — **268 F198 — **269 F199 — **270 F100
q28 (التام والعشرون) **271 F200 — **272 F201 — **273 F202 — **274 F203 — **275 F204 — **276 F205 — **277 F206 — **278 empty folio of different paper — **279 — **280 {3 folios missing}