

## Ibn Khaldun's *Religionswissenschaft*: Exploring the Sources in the *Muqaddimah*

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### Abstract

Ibn Khaldun is one of many Muslim scholars in the study of Islamic history and civilization, who is popularly known for his *Muqaddimah*. The *Muqaddimah* is meant to be an introduction to the voluminous *Kitab al-ʿIbar*. Yet, the creation of *Muqaddimah* includes information on the study of human, which includes information on the non-Muslim religions. By including information on the non-Muslim religions in his *Muqaddimah*, this means that there are specific sources used by Ibn Khaldun for this purpose. In any research writings, credible and reliable sources of information are among important elements in determining a valid, useful and accurate research finding. Through the use of qualitative content analysis on *Muqaddimah* text, this article explores Ibn Khaldun's sources of information on the non-Muslim religions. Two typologies of Ibn Khaldun's sources are relayed in this article, namely their main forms and their religious origin. In terms of main forms of sources, there are two main forms of sources found in the *Muqaddimah*, namely critical observation and textual sources. While for their religious origin, Ibn Khaldun's sources of other religions could be divided into three main types, namely first, Muslim sources, second, Christian sources and third, Jewish sources. This article opines that these sources are proofs of Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, altogether of his understanding of knowledge and religion, as integrative or in *tawhidic* manner. It is possible to conclude that due to this integrative or *tawhidic* understanding, Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* has been recognized as amongst world's great literatures and referred by many international scholars until today.

*Keywords:* Ibn Khaldun, *Religionswissenschaft*, *Muqaddimah*, sources and integrative.

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ibn Khaldun is one of many Muslim scholars in the study of Islamic history and civilization. Ibn Khaldun's full name is al-<sup>°</sup>Allāmah Walī al-Dīn Abū Zayd <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn (Ibn Khaldūn 1979 and Mohammad Abdullah Enan 1997:3). Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis on 1 Ramaḍān 732AH / 27 May 1332AD (Ibn Khaldūn 1979 and Schmidt 1978:34). He was a “medieval scholar famed for his philosophy of history and insights into the rise and fall of civilizations” (Campo 2009:334). This genius Muslim figure is popularly known for his unique *magnum opus*, namely *Muqaddimah*. The *Muqaddimah* is unique as stated by Oliver Leaman as follows: “*The Muqaddima* is intent to put everything in its place” (Zaid Ahmad 2003: x-xi).

According to <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān Badwī (1917-2002), a prominent Egypt biographer and historian, there are eight writings which are ascribed to Ibn Khaldun (<sup>°</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān Badwī 2006). In brief, these eight writings of Ibn Khaldun are as follows: 1) *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal Fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, 2) Abridgement of Ibn Rushd's writings on philosophy, 3) *Taqyīd Fī al-Manṭiq*, 4) *Kitāb Fī al-Ḥisāb*, 5) *al-Ḥilal al-Marqūmah Fī al-Lumā<sup>°</sup> al-Manzūmah*, 6) Commentary of al-Būshirī's *Qaṣīdah al-Burdah*, 7) *Shifā' al-Sā'il Fī Tahdhīb al-Masā'il*, and lastly is his *magnum opus* 8) *Diwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar Fī Ayyām al-<sup>°</sup>Arab wa al-<sup>°</sup>Ajam wa al-Barbar wa Man <sup>°</sup>Āṣarahum Min Dhawī al-Sultān al-Akbar*. This includes two important fractions from the *Diwān*, namely *Muqaddimah* and *al-Ta<sup>°</sup>rīf Bi Ibn Khaldūn Wa Riḥlatuhu Gharban Wa Sharqan* (al-Ṭabbā<sup>°</sup> 1992:54-59 and <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Rahman Badwi 2006:33-77).

## 2.0 IBN KHALDUN'S RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT

The *Muqaddimah* is principally meant to be an introduction to the voluminous text of *Maghrib* history, namely *Kitab al-<sup>°</sup>Ibar*. Yet, the creation of *Muqaddimah* includes information on the study of human, which simultaneously includes information on *Religionswissenschaft*. *Religionswissenschaft* is originally German language for the ‘Science of Religion’ or the ‘Study of Religion.’ It is a firmly rooted academic discipline and constituted by other disciplines of knowledge as its methodology of study, for example the history of religions, sociology of religion, anthropology of religion, psychology of religion and phenomenology of religion (Pummer 1972:91 and Ort 1968:191–192).

Ibn Khaldun's purpose for the creation of *Muqaddimah* is actually related to the purpose of writing his *Tārīkh*. This is due to the fact that *Muqaddimah* is the first volume of his *Tārīkh*, namely *Diwān al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar Fī Ayyām al-<sup>°</sup>Arab wa al-<sup>°</sup>Ajam wa al-Barbar wa Man <sup>°</sup>Āṣarahum Min Dhawī al-Sultān al-Akbar* (n.d.). Ibn Khaldun elaborates that his purpose for the creation of *Muqaddimah* is to analyse and describe the history of the Arabs and the Berbers in Maghrib. He states:

*“I based the work on the history of the two races that constitute the population of the Maghrib at this time and people, its various regions and cities, and on that of their ruling houses, both long-and short-lived, including the rulers and allies they had in the past. These two races are the Arabs and the Berbers (Ibn Khaldun 1967 1:10-11).”*

Though the *Muqaddimah* is principally meant to be a lengthy introduction to the voluminous text of history of the Maghrib, nevertheless, the creation of the book also includes information on the study of human. In one way or another, the study of human could never escape from touching the instrumental aspects of religions from being discussed. Human history is not only made from cultural, political, commercial and educational activities, but also religious. In Ibn Khaldun's words, his remarks are as follows:

*“Therefore, today, the scholar in this field needs to know the principles of politics, the (true) nature of existent things, and the differences among nations, places, and periods with regard*

*to ways of life, character qualities, customs, sects, schools, and everything else...He must be aware of the differing origins and beginnings of (different) dynasties and religious groups, as well as of the reasons and incentives that brought them into being and the circumstances and history of the persons who supported them (Ibn Khaldun 1967 1:55-56)."*

The same path was also shown by the previous famous Muslim historiographers and historians, such as Abū °Abdillāh Muḥammad Ibn °Umar Ibn Wāqid al-Wāqidī (130-207AH), Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhūrī (d. 278/279AH), Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (224-310AH) and Abū al-Ḥasan °Alī Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn °Alī al-Mas°ūdī (282/283-345AH), which their works were referred by Ibn Khaldun. For instance, though al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (1984) focuses on the history of war during the days of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, however he also includes the details of other religions, especially of the *Mushrikūn* (polytheists) of Mecca (al-Wāqidī 1984). The same also goes to al-Balādhūrī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Mas°ūdī, where their studies of religions have caught the attention of some modern researchers. Specifically, al-Mas°ūdī's study of other religions has been discussed by modern scholars such as Ahmad Shboul (1979), Sulaymān °Abdullāh al-Shuwaykat (1986), and Majdan Alias' (2011) through their theses and journal articles.

Ibn Khaldun's study of other religions here refers to his expositions and clarifications of the religions of Judaism, Christianity, Magianism, and Sabeanism. This also includes Ibn Khaldun's views on religion, such as his views on the interrelationship between °*asabiyyah* and religion, on *al-nas °ala dīn mulūkihim* (the common people follow the religion of their rulers), *al-insan ibn ma'lūfihi wa °awā'idihī la tabī'atihi wa mizājihī* (human is a child of his customs and not of his natural disposition), *al-Imāmah Wa al-Dīn* (leadership and religion), and *Ghāyah al-Hayāh ya°nī al-Sa°ādah Fī al-Dīn* (the purpose of life, which is happiness is in religion) (Ibn Khaldun 1967 and Ibn Khaldūn 2014).

Furthermore, there are also previous researches and academic papers by modern scholars of religious study and historiography that highlight the same discussions on the study of religions in the *Muqaddimah*. These scholars discuss on multiple aspects related to Ibn Khaldun's study of religions such as his study of Judaism, Christianity, Jesus, Bible and views on religion. For instance, Walter J. Fischel (1902-1973), Solomon Pines, Kalman Bland, Steven M. Wasserstrom, Muhammad Azizan Sabjan and Martin Whittingham concentrate on the specific issues, such as Ibn Khaldun's usage of Jewish sources and his knowledge of the Bible (Fischel 1958:147-171; Pines 1970:265-274; Bland 1983:189-197; Wasserstrom 1999:164; Muhammad Azizan Sabjan 2010; and Whittingham 2011:209-222). Whilst scholars such as Bryan S. Turner, Charles Issawi (1916-2000) and Syed Omar Syed Agil discuss on Ibn Khaldun's views on the role that religion plays in society, politics, culture and economics (Turner 1971:32-48; Issawi 1963:131 – 139; Black 2005:165-182 and Syed Omar Syed Agil 2008:301–307). In praising Ibn Khaldun's study of other religions, Walter J. Fischel, a scholar of Oriental Jewry and Islamic studies of the University of California, says:

*Ibn Khaldun's detailed knowledge of early church history shows how and to what degree he, the orthodox Muslim, could detach himself from the fetters of his own faith and penetrate into the theological and doctrinal differences of another religion. Indeed among the Arab-Muslim scholars who attempted such a study, it was Ibn Khaldun, the great Muslim thinker of the fourteenth century, who achieved astounding scholarly objectivity in regards to the various non-Islamic religions (Fischel 1967:137).*

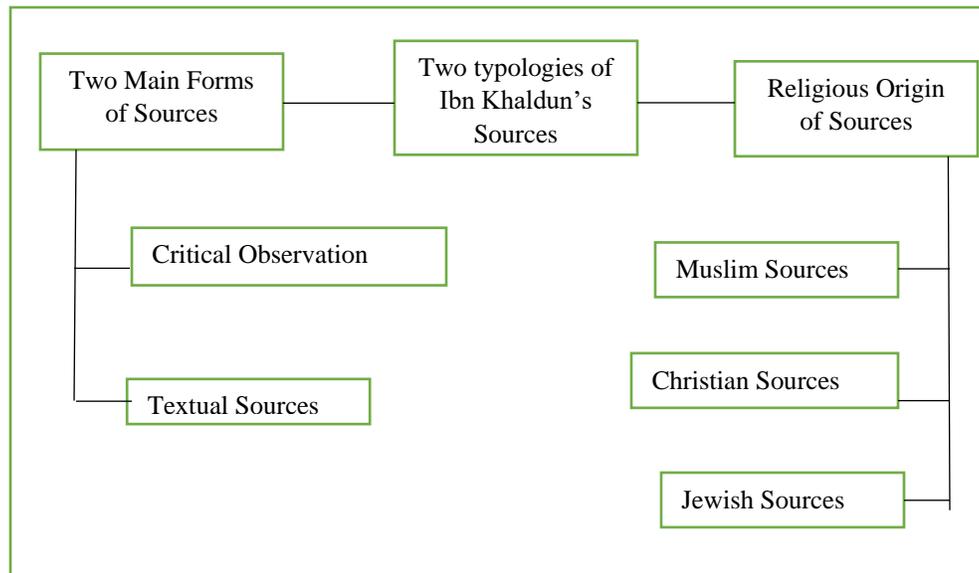
### 3.0 SOURCES ON THE OTHER RELIGIONS IN THE MUQADDIMAH

By including information on non-Muslim religions in his *Muqaddimah*, this means that there are specific sources used by Ibn Khaldun for this purpose. In any research writings, credible and reliable sources of information are among important elements in determining a valid, useful and accurate

research finding. Through the use of qualitative content analysis on *Muqaddimah* text, this article explores Ibn Khaldun’s sources of information on the non-Muslim religions as enshrined in this work.

There are two typologies of Ibn Khaldun’s sources, namely their main forms and the religious origin of these sources. In terms of these sources main forms, there are two main forms of sources found in the *Muqaddimah*, namely critical observation and textual sources. Whilst, in terms of religious origin, Ibn Khaldun’s sources of other religions could be divided into three main types, namely first, Muslim sources, second, Christian sources and third, Jewish sources.

Figure 1: Two typologies of Ibn Khaldun’s sources



## 4.0 Two typologies of Ibn Khaldun’s Sources

Ibn Khaldun’s purpose for the creation of *Muqaddimah*, as aforementioned in the previous paragraph, is to produce a historical book of his own, which corrected the problems and wrong facts in the books by previous historians such as al-Wāqidī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Mas‘ūdī. “For Ibn Khaldun, therefore, historical ideas should reflect reality; that is, they should conform to, or cohere with, the rules that govern social organisation” or known as the *‘umrān* science (Donnelly and Norton 2011: 29). The reality or truth, as understood by Ibn Khaldun, is made up from the deeper knowledge of the ‘cause and reason for an event,’ whereby not only from ‘just knowing the event’ (Ibn Khaldun 2014). Towards this purpose, his endeavour requires many sources of knowledge such as suggested in this article, namely: critical observation and textual sources.

### 4.1.1 Critical Observation

Most scientific pursuits for knowledge are not only acquired through experimentation and examination. Scientific pursuits that rely on empiricism also include observation as one of its methodologies. By observation here, it refers to a scholarly learning from an attentive watch over a significant event for a period of time. Some benefits of observation are direct access to the subject of study and giving the whole view of the subject of study, including its location, action and environment (Hammond and Wellington 2013: 111-114).

In Faghirzadeh’s analysis, critical observation is considered as the first source of data in any sociological undertakings. Information or results from the observation must be weighed for their consistency with the universal principles in many disciplines of knowledge, namely psychology, history,

biology, geography and logic (Saleh Faghirzadeh, 1982: 21-22). Ibn Khaldun uses observation in determining the nature and attributes of social phenomenon, which enriches his grasp and discussions on history. Observation to Ibn Khaldun is used not only for collection of information *per se*, but also for comparative study between nations, between periods of time and also to unveil the reason for an event (ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī 2014: 199-202 and Muhsin Mahdi 2016). In Saleh Faghirzadeh’s analysis: “*Ibn-Khaldun believed that scientific research requires (1) accurate observations; (2) logical and objective methods; (3) gathering data from the present or past; (4) careful recording and (5) the courage of careful description and reporting*” (Saleh Faghirzadeh 1982: 18).

In describing Ibn Khaldun’s observation, it consists of two important levels: first, observation on the workings of any social activities and events. Second, observation on the reason for these social activities and events (ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī 2014: 200). Specifically, Ibn Khaldun travels and journeys, along the North African and Arab counties enriched his observation and research for his *Muqaddimah*. For instance, his visit to Spain in meeting Pedro, a Christian leader of Granada; visit to Jerusalem, and befriended Abraham Ibn Zarzar, a Spanish Jew scholar of his time; all these were among the experiences that filled his observation on the other religions (Fischel 1967; Ibn Khaldūn 1979; Nāṣīf Naṣṣār 1981; al-Nabhān 1998). In praising Ibn Khaldun, Philip K. Hitti (1886-1978), a Professor of Arabic studies at Princeton University describes:

*“His strength lies in his first hand, intimate knowledge of North Africa-Arab and Berber-Egypt, and Granada, all of which he treats with an amazing degree of restraint and objectivity. Rarely does he flatter a personal friend or be little an enemy (Hitti 1968: 251).”*

It is worth noting here that although Muslims were the major population of the countries where Ibn Khaldun journeyed through and stayed; there also existed other non-Muslim communities such as the Jews, Christians, Magians, and Sabeans. This is also evidently prescribed in the Qur’ān and historical texts (al-Qur’ān al-Karīm, al-Baqarah 2:67; al-Ḥajj 22:17; Hitti 1946; Tritton 2008; Levy-Rubin 2011). For instance, in the Qur’ān, Allah clearly lists six different religions as follows: Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Sabeanism, Magianism (al-Majūs) and polytheism (*al-Mushrikūn*). Allah says: “*Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabeans and the Christians and the Magians and those who associate (others with Allah) – surely Allah will decide between them on the day of resurrection; surely Allah is a witness over all things*” (al-Qur’ān al-Karīm, Sūrah al-Ḥajj 22:17). It is possible to say here that these four non-Muslim communities, namely Judaism, Christianity, Sabeanism, and Magianism; which are mentioned in his *Muqaddimah* are probably based from this specific verse of the Qur’ān.

According to Philip K. Hitti, even in the pre-Islamic period, the Arab land is the cradle of the Semites, which represents an international relation between people of various languages, cultures and religions such as Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Hebrews, Sabaeans and Nabataeans (Hitti 1946:3-86). Whilst, in the studies by A. S. Tritton and M. Levy-Rubin on the Covenant of ʿUmar R.A., both describe that Muslim relationship with the non-Muslim has begun as early in the period of the Prophet PBUH and further developed during the expansion of Islamic empire (Tritton 2008; Levy-Rubin 2011). Therefore, a critical observation on religions along the North African and Arab countries could unveil various religions, including these six faiths as addressed in the previous paragraph. It is interesting to note here that the same focuses on these six religions are also made by some earlier Muslim historians or predecessors of Ibn Khaldun such as al-Ṭabarī (224–310AH / 839–923AD) in his *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* (2007), al-Masʿūdī (d. 346AH / 957AD) in his *Murūj al-Dhahab Wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar* (2005) and Ibn al-Athīr (544-606AH) in his *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh* (1987).

There are many places in the *Muqaddimah*, where Ibn Khaldun exhibits his critical observation on religions and its related matters. For instance, in all religions, being good is considered as among the main teachings. In comparing between the Bedouins or the Nomads from the sedentary or the city

people, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Bedouins are closer to being good than the sedentary people. This argument is justified by Ibn Khaldun in subchapter four of chapter two of his *Muqaddimah* from using his critical observation on the lives of both communities, namely the Bedouins and the sedentary people. Sedentary people are concerned with all sorts of pleasures such as life luxury, occupation and worldly desires. Due to these kinds of pleasures, their souls are inflicted with bad qualities, which eventually caused them to lose their self-restrain or self-control over lustful matters. Whilst, the Bedouins are only concerned with the needs and the necessities of life. Being not exposed to the luxurious life, their self-restrain or self-control over lustful matters is well maintained. Furthermore, they are tightly bound to follow the traditional customs of the Bedouin life. Interestingly, this fact or theory is also perceived by Ibn Khaldun to relate with his theory of stages of civilization decay. He asserts: “It will later on become clear that sedentary life constitutes the last stage of civilization and the point where it begins to decay. It also constitutes the last stage of evil and of remoteness from goodness. It has thus become clear that Bedouins are closer to being good than sedentary people” (Ibn Khaldun 1967; Ibn Khaldūn 2014).

Another example of Ibn Khaldun’s critical observation is found in subchapter twenty-three of chapter two in his *Muqaddimah*. Here, the title says: *Fī Anna al-Maghlūb Mūla<sup>c</sup> Abada Bi al-Iqtidā’ Bi al-Ghālib Fī Shi<sup>c</sup>ārihi Wa Zīyyihi Wa Niḥlatihi Wa Sā’ir Aḥwālihi Wa <sup>c</sup>Awā’idihi* (which means: the vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive mark(s), his dress, his occupation, and all his other conditions and customs). In this specific discussion, Ibn Khaldun uses one of his favourite theories or maxims to justify why the oppressed or the colonized is accustomed to follow its oppressor or colonizer, namely: *al-<sup>c</sup>Āmmah <sup>c</sup>Alā Dīn al-Malik*, which means: the common people follow the religion of the ruler. He justifies his theory and discussion here from his observation on two events. First is the influence imposed by parents to their children, second, is the influence imposed by the Galicians (the ruler) over the Spaniards (the people) in terms of their dress, emblems, and most of their customs. Based on both events, both the children and the Spaniards are psychologically and culturally enforced to follow their superiors. Therefore, if there is any question why the subordinates are prone to imitate their superiors, Ibn Khaldun’s answer is for one to look at the psychological and cultural factors including education, laws, custom and inner feeling (Ibn Khaldun 1967; Ibn Khaldūn 2014). Evidently, such rationalization by Ibn Khaldun in unveiling the reasons why subordinates are prone to imitate their superiors is achievable through critical observation.

#### 4.1.2 Textual Sources

Following the tradition of other scholars of history or historiography, Ibn Khaldun also utilizes a large number of texts for the creation of his *Muqaddimah* and *Tārīkh*. In the modern study of history, generally, sources of history could be divided into two main types, namely primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are the main sources for historical research, namely first hand source of information of any undertaken historical study such as manuscript, government report, archaeological findings, or stone inscription. Whilst, secondary sources are the writings of other historians that are related to the undertaken historical research such as textbook, journal article, and historical research report (Collingwood 1970; Shafer 1974; Qasim Ahmad 1991; Berg 2001; Ishak Saat 2010; Donnelly and Norton 2011).

According to Fischel’s analysis of *Tārīkh* or *Kitāb al-<sup>c</sup>Ibar*, Ibn Khaldun’s sources of other religions could be divided into three main types, namely first, Muslim sources, second, Christian sources and third, Jewish sources (Look: *Figure 1: Two typologies of Ibn Khaldun’s sources*). Muslim sources here include 1) the Qur’ān, 2) Hadīth, 3) works of al-Ṭabarī, 4) al-Mas<sup>c</sup>ūdī, 5) al-Suddī, 6) Suhaylī, 7) Ibn al-Kalbī, 8) Ibn Ishāq, 9) al-Bayhaqī, 10) Ibn Sa’īd al-Maghribī, 11) Ibn <sup>c</sup>Asākir, 12)

Hamzah al-Aṣḥānī, 13) Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 14) al-Jurjānī, 15) Ibn Qutaybah, 18) Ibn Ḥazm, 17) al-Shahrastānī, 18) Ibn al-Athīr, 19) Abū al-Fidā' and others (Fischel 1967, 116).

Among Ibn Khaldun's Christian sources are 1) Canonical Gospels, 2) The Book of Jacob, 3) Ibn al-ʿAmīd's *Majmūʿ al-Mubārak*, 4) *Tārīkh* of Abū Shākir Buṭrus and 5) work of al-Musabbihī, 6) work of Eutycus (Saʿīd ibn Bīṭrīq) and 7) Paulus Orosius' *Historiae Adversus Paganos*. Whilst, among Ibn Khaldun's Jewish sources are 1) Torah, 2) *Isrāʾīliyyāt* of Himyarites Jew converts (such as Kaʿb al-Aḥbar and Wahb ibn Munabbih) and 3) *Hebrew Chronicle of Yūsuf ibn Kuryūn* (Fischel 1967, 116-119). For example, Ibn Khaldun confesses his reference to the Torah as follows:

وقد توهم بعض النسابين ممن لا علم لديه بطبائع الكائنات أن السودان هم ولد حام بن نوح اختصوا بلون السواد لدعوة كانت عليه من أبيه ظهر أثرها في لونه وفيما جعل الله من الرق في عقبه وينقلون في ذلك حكاية من خرافات القصاص ودعاء نوح على ابنه حام قد وقع في التوراة وليس فيه ذكر السواد وإنما دعا عليه بأن يكون ولده عبيداً لولد إخوته لا غير.

*Which means: Genealogists who had no knowledge of the true nature of things imagined that Negroes are the children of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they were singled out to be black as the result of Noah's curse, which produced Ham's colour and the slavery God inflicted upon his descendants. It is mentioned in the Torah (Genesis 9: 25) that Noah cursed his son Ham. No reference is made there to blackness. The curse included no more than that Ham's descendants should be the slaves of his brothers' descendants (Ibn Khaldun 1967).*

In the previous paragraph, it is clear that Ibn Khaldun refers to the Torah in authenticating whether there is any curse into black made by Noah in the Torah upon his son, Ham. Obviously, in the Torah, there is no curse upon Ham to turn into black is mentioned, except Noah's curse that Canaan (son of Ham) to be the slave of his other brothers (Shem and Japheth). This is evident in the story of Noah mentioned in the Torah, Genesis 9:18–29 as follows:

[18] And the sons of Noah, that went forth from the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth; and Ham is the father of Canaan. [19] These three were the sons of Noah, and of these was the whole earth overspread. [20] And Noah the husbandman began, and planted a vineyard. [21] And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. [22] And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. [23] And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. [24] And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. [25] And he said: Cursed be Canaan; / A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. [26] And he said: Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem: / And let Canaan be their servant. / [27] God enlarge Japheth, / And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; / And let Canaan be their servant. [28] And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. [29] And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years; and he died. (Hebrew-English Tanakh The Jewish Bible 2009, Genesis 9:18–29).

In addition, this study also analyzes ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī's Alphabetical Index (*al-Fihrist al-Abjadī*) of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* and finds that there are one hundred and three written works cited by Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah* (Ibn Khaldun 2014 3:1338-1407). These written works include great masterpieces of many disciplines in Islamic sciences such as: *Murūj al-Dhahab Wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar* of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 346AH / 957AD) in history, *al-Aḥkām al-Ṣulṭāniyyah Wa al-Wilāyāt al-Dīniyyah* by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī (364-450AH / 974-1058AD) in Islamic politics, *al-Burhān Fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* by ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Yusuf al-Juwaynī (419-478AH) in Islamic principles of jurisprudence, and *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī (450-505AH) in Islamic Sufism.

Interestingly, from all these one hundred and three written works, two cited works are identified as main written works in the Muslim study of religions, which are referred by Ibn Khaldun for his *Muqaddimah*. These two Muslim works are *al-Fiṣal Fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal* by Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī (384-456AH / 994-1064AD) and *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* by °Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (476-548AH / 1086-1153AD). These two works are among main references for the Muslim scholarship in the study of religions. For instance, *al-Fiṣal Fī al-Milal wa al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal* describes the teachings of non-Muslim religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and also highlights some positions of Islam on the teachings of these both religions (Ibn Ḥazm 1996). Whilst, al-Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal* is more like an early Muslim encyclopaedia of other religions, which describes the histories and teachings of world religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Magianism, Sabeanism, *Mazdakiyyah*, *Mānawiyyah* and Hinduism (al-Shahrastānī 1993).

Despite of the one hundred and three written (103) works mentioned in the *Muqaddimah*, it is possible to believe that Ibn Khaldun also refers to other sources of textual materials on other religions. This is possible based on reading Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh*, which also includes many other written works which are not mentioned directly in the *Muqaddimah*. The *Muqaddimah* is in reality a prolegomenon to the whole voluminous *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-°Ibar*. This means that there are more references of Ibn Khaldun for the *Muqaddimah* through the whole voluminous *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-°Ibar*, than only those mentioned in the *Muqaddimah*.

For example, in Ibn Khaldun's second volume of *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-°Ibar*, he mentions sources such as from al-Ṭabarī (224 – 310AH / 839 –923AD), Ibn al-Athīr (544-606AH) and *al-Tawrāh* (*Torah*) by mentioning 'qāla al-Ṭabarī, qāla Ibn al-Athīr and fī al-Tawrāh.' It should be noted here, as also suggested by Fischel and other researchers on Ibn Khaldun's study of other religions, it is in the second volume of his *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-°Ibar* that Ibn Khaldun puts forward many information regarding other religions such as Judaism, Christianity, Sabeanism and Magianism (Ibn Khaldun n.d.; 2000). However, this article does not look into details to the volumes of Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-°Ibar*, due to the fact that this study only focuses on *Muqaddimah*. Yet, this study suggests that this possibility might be worth taken into investigation, in other studies especially in tracing the sources of reference used by Ibn Khaldun in his study of other religions.

## 5.0 IBN KHALDUN'S INTEGRATIVE OR TAWHIDIC EPISTEMOLOGY

From analysing Ibn Khaldun's sources for the non-Muslim religions, this article opines that these sources are not merely references for Ibn Khaldun's *Religionswissenschaft*. Nevertheless, they are also proofs of Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, altogether of his understanding on the relationship between knowledge and religion, as integrative or in *tawhidic* manner. Integrative or *tawhidic* manner here means that Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, which regards both *naqlī* (revealed) and *°aqlī* (rational) knowledge are complementing each other. It is possible to conclude that due to this integrative or *tawhidic* understanding that Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* has been recognized as amongst world's great literatures and referred by many international scholars until today.

Many Muslim scholars generally sourced to Islamic revelations, namely *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* and *al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah* in understanding other religions. For both *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* and *al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah* are not only replete with information on specific and focused discussion of Islamic beliefs and practices, but also convey a lot of information on the other religions. For instance, according to Muḥammad Diyā' al-Raḥmān al-A°zamī, in the Quran, Allah clearly lists six different religions as follows: Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Sabeanism, Magianism (*al-Majūs*) and polytheism (*al-Mushrikūn*) in the verse 17, Sūrah al-Ḥajj, chapter 22. Interestingly, almost one third of the Quran

covers the stories of these religions, namely mentioning the beliefs, practices, sources of these religions and information of their deviation from the way of truth (al-A<sup>c</sup>zamī 2003: 16).

In this sense, Ibn Khaldun also refers to the *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* and *al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah* for such information in his *Muqaddimah*, which includes here his information on the other religions. In this study, an analysis was made on the Indexes of Quranic Verses and Prophetic Traditions (*Fihrist al-Āyāt al-Qur'āniyyah wa Fihrist al-Aḥādīth wa al-Āthār*) in Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karamī's review of *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*. This study found that out of 224 Qur'ānic verses cited in Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-<sup>c</sup>Ibar*, 144 verses were addressed in the first volume or in the *Muqaddimah*. Whereas for Prophetic traditions (*al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah*), out of 303 Prophetic traditions cited in Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh*, 158 Prophetic traditions were addressed in the *Muqaddimah* (Ibn Khaldun n.d.: 2127-2139).

Statistically, more than half of Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic traditions, which are cited in Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh* or *Kitab al-<sup>c</sup>Ibar*, could be found in his *Prolegomena* or in the *Muqaddimah*. Most of the time, Ibn Khaldun uses these Qur'ānic verses as the final sentences for his written chapters and subchapters. These Qur'ānic verses are used as his final sentences to relate to the discussion he addressed in the main text, showing his mastery of both *naqlī* (revealed) and *<sup>c</sup>aqlī* (rational) sciences; or his integrationist way.

Nevertheless, this study recognizes that there are disagreements between scholars in the Khaldunian studies, especially among the Western orientalist in acknowledging the integrationist or *tawhidic* way of Ibn Khaldun throughout his *Muqaddimah*. For instance, Fuad Baali and Ali Wardi in their analysis of *Muqaddimah*, claim that “Ibn Khaldun was completely secular or realistic in his thought-style. When he discusses purely religious matters, he jumps surprisingly from a materialistic attitude to a spiritual one, from rationalism to mysticism” (Fuad Baali and Ali Wardi 1981: 28 and Ali Husayn Wardi 1950). In the words of Lutfi Sunar and Faruq Yaslicimen:

*The major difficulty in the anachronistic readings of Ibn Khaldun appears to be the misinterpretations in Ibn Khaldun's comprehension of religion. One of the pioneering sociologists in Turkey, Ziyaeddin Fahri Findikoğlu (1951:69–71) states that there are two dominant opinions in the orientalist literature about Ibn Khaldun's understanding of science and religion. According to the first opinion, every single social phenomenon that Ibn Khaldun discusses is connected with the Holy Qur'an and consequently connected with the will of God. On the other hand, the defenders of the second opinion argue that Ibn Khaldun, though carried the good manners of Islamic education as a sincere Muslim, interpreted the social phenomena in a realist way depending on reason and experiment. Accordingly, he used the verses of the Qur'an as justificatory tools for escaping from possible bigoted reactions. The primary representatives of the first group in the modern scholarship were H.A.R. Gibb and G. Richter; while the representatives of the second group were Gumplovicz and A. Von Kremer (Lutfi Sunar and Faruq Yaslicimen 2008, 415).*

From analysing *Muqaddimah*, especially on its Chapter Six that discusses on branches of knowledge, this study opines that Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, altogether his understanding of knowledge and religion is of integrationist or *tawhidic* way. Integrationist or *tawhidic* here means in a manner that regards both *naqlī* (revealed) and *<sup>c</sup>aqlī* (rational) knowledge that complementing each other. This is evident from his use of sources throughout the *Muqaddimah*, which sourced to the Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic traditions in various places. Furthermore, in his description of various sciences that exist in his time in Chapter Six of *Muqaddimah*, he clearly signifies both types of sciences as follows: first, philosophical sciences (*al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm al-Falsafīyyah al-Hikmiyyah*) and second, traditional-conventional sciences (*al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm al-Naqliyyah al-Waḍ'īyyah*). Ibn Khaldun says:

*The various sciences that exist in contemporary civilization. It should be known that the sciences with which people concern themselves in cities and which they acquire and pass on through instruction, are of two kinds: one that is natural to man and to which he is guided by*

*his own ability to think (al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Ulūm al-Falsafīyyah al-Hikmiyyah), and a traditional kind that he learns from those who invented it (al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Ulūm al-Naqliyyah al-Waḍʿīyyah) (Ibn Khaldun 1967).*

These both are two main types of knowledge that became the concern of people in Ibn Khaldun's time, which they are acquired through the means of education, and passed on through generations from teaching and learning (Ibn Khaldun 1968; al-Ḥuṣṣī 1968, 485-508; ʿImād al-Dīn Khalīl 1983; al-Shikāh 1992; Ibn Khaldūn 2014). In other words, it is impossible for Ibn Khaldun to list such detailed information of both *naqlī* (revealed) and *ʿaqlī* (rational) knowledge, without firstly studying and learning them.

Any reader of *Muqaddimah* could find such rich information provided by Ibn Khaldun in his lines of word. Ibn Khaldun's exposition and discussion of an issue or topic sometimes could be penetrated from many disciplines of knowledge, namely philosophy, history, economics, sociology, psychology and politics. In Schmidt's word:

*"In examining the factors of history he does not look only without, but also within. He extends his researches into the psychological realm... Even religion, so far as it manifests itself, he draws within the circle of man's social life. He recognizes, but does not exaggerate, the importance of the individual psyche and the group psychology. If there is a positive philosophy, based on the ascertainable facts of science, Ibn Khaldun is, in spite of his Muslim orthodoxy, a philosopher as much as Auguste Comte, Thomas Buckle, or Herbert Spencer. His philosophy of history is not a theodicy as Hegel's. There are indeed numerous quotations from the Koran, inserted in appropriate connections. They may have been designed to give the impression of accordance with Holy Writ (Schmidt 1978:24)."*

In sum, his unique method in treating history as his focus of study, so as in treating religious issues, was shaped through his exceptional scholarship achievement in many fields, namely: *ʿaqīdah*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, history and philosophy. By combining his maturity and steadfastness in all disciplines of study, he also embarks on the 'why', instead only on the 'what' and 'how' questions. For that reason, he evidently subscribes his method as scientific, which he calls as *ʿumrān* study (Ibn Khaldun 2005 1:56; Ibn Khaldun 1967 1:77–78; Ibn Khaldun 2002: Lxviii). In short, his *ʿumrān* study attempts to bring together the revealed (*naqlī*), rational (*ʿaqlī*) and empirical (*tajrībī*) research methods into his sociohistorical study of religions. Conclusively, such paradigm is of paramount importance for an in-depth research, especially in proposing Islamic science for this postmodern era.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

To conclude, Ibn Khaldun is one of many Muslim scholars in the study of Islamic history and civilization. This genius Muslim figure is popularly known for his unique *magnum opus*, namely *Muqaddimah*. The *Muqaddimah* is principally meant to be an introduction to the voluminous text of *Maghrib* history, namely *Kitab al-ʿIbar*. Yet, the creation of *Muqaddimah* includes information on the study of human, which simultaneously comprises of information on *Religionswissenschaft* or the 'Study of Religion.'

There are two typologies of Ibn Khaldun's sources of other religions, namely their main forms and their religious origin. In terms of these sources main forms, there are two main forms of sources found in the *Muqaddimah*, namely critical observation and textual sources. Whilst, in terms of religious origin, Ibn Khaldun's sources of other religions could be divided into three main types, namely first, Muslim sources, second, Christian sources and third, Jewish sources.

From analysing Ibn Khaldun's sources for the non-Muslim religions, this article opines that these sources are not merely references for Ibn Khaldun's *Religionswissenschaft*. Nevertheless, they are also proofs of Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, altogether of his understanding of knowledge and religion, as

integrative or in *tawhidic* manner. Integrative or *tawhidic* manner here means that Ibn Khaldun's epistemology, which regards both *naqlī* (revealed) and *ʿaqlī* (rational) knowledge are complementing each other. It is possible to conclude that due to this integrative or *tawhidic* understanding that Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* has been recognized as amongst world's great literatures and referred by many international scholars until today.

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