

IBN Khaldun's Social Structure Analysis

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MEHMET DEVRIM TOPSES

CANAKKALE ONSEKIZ MART UNIVERSITESI, TERZIOGLU KAMPUSU, FEN-EDEBIYAT FAKULTESI SOSYOLOJI BOLUMU, KEPEZ/CANAKKALE/TURKEY

ABSTRACT The aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive examination of the sociological methodology of Ibn Khaldun's social structure analyses. In this paper, which is a theoretical study consisting of literature investigation, two of the Turkish translations of Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah are analyzed and furthermore various works on Ibn Khaldun's methodology have been made use of. This paper will argue that Ibn Khaldun follows a rationalist method based on observation, and he seeks causal relations between for social phenomena. It will further argue that Ibn Khaldun analyzes social structure through the human-nature relationship. The main reason of naming Ibn Khaldun as the "harbinger of modern social sciences" is the modern methodology he employed in 14th century. We expect that this paper would contribute to studies focusing on the historical foundations of social sciences.

1. INTRODUCTION

The primary reason why Ibn Khaldun is regarded as the contemporary pioneer of the modern sociology is the scientific methodology he employed to investigate social phenomena in the 14th century. When considered in depth, one can name many Eastern and Western historians having been accounting for social events in and before the 14th century. Besides, methodology of history was to present a cursory record and mere narrative transfer of social events. However, methodology of Ibn Khaldun was to rationally analyze social events by setting interrelations between social phenomena and historical facts. His evident purpose was to examine all social events including the interrelation between law, politics and economy within the scope of their own natural principles. Moreover, the accuracy of historical phenomena cannot be assessed simply by relying on the reporter's reliability. Social events cannot be understood via religious dogmas. According to Ibn Khaldun, ones who choose to evaluate and accept historical events through faulty methods are always away from social realism. In this sense, the methodology in "ilm al-umran" of Ibn Khaldun has a scientific authenticity in explaining social phenomena.

The present study attempts to as holistically as possible investigate Ibn Khaldun's methodology to investigate social events. A considerable portion of the literature of modern sociology dealing with Ibn Khaldun's methodology discusses the issue within a narrower scope. Some of these studies are limited to questioning the way Ibn Khaldun criticized philosophy, whereas some merely discussed his attempt to find causal relationships between social events. Furthermore, there are some which only feature his criticism towards Mu'tazilah and Messai philosophy to draw conclusions about his scientific understanding. Actually, scholar's focus on tiny pieces falls short in explaining his scientific style. Evaluation of Ibn Khaldun's methodology entails the analysis of socioeconomic and cultural structure of Tunisia in the 14th century because all of the movements of thoughts throughout the human history have been closely related to the social structure in which they have blossomed and flourished.

The current study is a descriptive one based on literature review. Muqaddimah was determined to be the primary source; moreover, studies featuring scientific approach of Ibn Khaldun were also included in the corpus of the study. It consists of three basic parts following an overall introduction, first of which discusses cultural and economic structure of Tunisia in the 14th century. The second part presents an overarching analysis of science classification which was developed by Ibn Khaldun himself and constituted the theoretical basis of his methodology. The last part deals with methodological principles of his ilm al-umran. Ibn Khaldun does not offer three clear-cut fundamental methodological principles. The fact that ilm al-umran is comprised of three basic methodological principles is a finding elicited in the present study, which is expected to make theoretical contributions to the sociological literature in terms of the content of the current sociological methodology and evaluation of its general history.

2. ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF ORIEN-TAL CIVILIZATIONS IN THE 14TH CENTURY

Ibn Khaldun, considered as the founder of social sciences in the 14th century thanks to his attempts to account for social events from a causal viewpoint, was born in Tunisia in 1332. Then Tunisia was characterized by the rapid growth in the coastal cities due to the Mediterranean trade route. Weaving industry that steadfastly grew stronger in Europe as of the 13th century maximized the demand for raw material, which motivated Italian and French cities to trade with the northern Africa. Then, Tunisia used to export olive oil and tanned leather of high quality not only to Egypt and Arabia but also Venice and Florence, and import such goods as grains, lumber and weapons. The most evident result of Tunisia's commercial activities in the Mediterranean is the emergence of a new social class who used to conduct business in this country and accordingly came to prosper (Gürkan, 1967, p. 225; Batseva, 2008: 91). Ibn Khaldun was a son to a family who did not have vast fields in its property, but was totally dependent on income from governmental services or commerce. His teachers from whom he learnt his first lessons were Andulisian (Uludağ, 2011, p. 21; Hassan, 2010, p. 98). In this sense, Ibn Khaldun can be regarded as a representative of the new social class who supported the removal of barricades before commercial economy against the privileges of large tribes of landlords over vast lands in northern Africa.

Ibn Khaldun proposes rationalism as the principal method to explain social phenomena. Oriental civilizations of the 14th century were characterized by a weakening and vanishing tradition of free thought and rationalism. Meşşai philosophy, prioritizing human mind in understanding natural and social phenomena, prevailed in the oriental civilizations only from the 9th to 12th century (Cevizci, 2009, p. 223; Timuçin, 1992. p. 260). It can be observed that after the 12th century, Meşşai philosophy lost its strength, the Islamic Eşari philosophy, which attempted to explain social events and phenomena relying on revelations, grew stronger, and totally overruled other philosophical paradigms in the period of Ibn Khaldun (Öz,

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2011, pp. 328-333; Hançerlioğlu, 1977, p. 130). Ümit Hassan (2010) expresses that at that time free thinking was crushed by feudalized ideology, and revelationalist/dogmatic thinking suppressed all other movements of thought and patterns of behaviour (pp. 82-97). This makes it clear to understand the improbability of survival of an advanced oriental historicism in the 14th century independent of religious dogmas and political constraints.

3. THEORETICAL BASIS OF IBN KHALDUN'S METHOD-OLOGY

The primary concern of Ibn Khaldun was to account for human history, which cannot be done through mere narration and knowledge transfer. Historicism requires being knowledgeable about natural laws of a society. Ilm al-umran, dealing with social life, is the principal helper of historiography. For Ibn Khaldun, ilm al-umran is a discipline investigating social realism within the scope of causality. The primal reason why Ibn Khaldun is deemed to be the pioneer of sociology in the 14th century is not his attempt to account for the social life, but the scientific methodology he adopted to do so. In fact, there are Medieval Western scholars who attempted to account for society just as historians in Ancient Greece, China and Rome did. Besides, the shared concern of those endeavours was the fact that they accounted for the society from a coincidental, narrative point of view or by correlating it with human or divine will. The discerning property of ilm al-umran is its reliance on human mind, its attempt to causally correlate concrete events and phenomena and its foregrounding materialistic elements of social realism in human history. It is clear to see that three fundamental methodological principles which bestow scientificity to ilm al-umran is theoretically based on Ibn Khaldun's classification of sciences.

3.1. Classification of Sciences

Ibn Khaldun classifies sciences into two, philosophical or intellectual (hereinafter agli) and transmitted (hereinafter nagli). Nagli sciences include Quran, its interpretation and recitation, hadiths, jurisprudence, theology (dialectics and kalam), sufism. As Ibn Khaldun puts it, such techniques as rationalization and interpretation cannot be practised in nagli sciences, based on Quran and hadiths and good deeds of the Muslim prophet Mohammed. Revelation is absolute and unquestionable. The one and only area where logic can be used in naqli sciences is to discover the origins of hadiths and words of Allah in Quran. To clarify, in nagli sciences human mind can only be used to logically substantiate religious laws which are revealed by Allah and the prophet (Haldun, 2009, p. 783). Also, besides being incapable of philosophically interpreting holy words and hadiths, human mind is too limited to appreciate "spiritual facts" (Haldun, 2009, p. 782). In this sense, it can be realized that Ibn Khaldun criticizes Ibn Rüşd's efforts to rationally interpret religious orders and Mu'tazilah school aiming to reconcile religion and human mind (Haldun, 2009, p. 838; Hassan, 2010, pp. 91-97).

Ilm al-umran discerns itself from nagli sciences with its methodology. What really matters for Ibn Khaldun is not to learn about but account for natural and human phenomena. The attempt to understand nature and human entails denial of presuppositions and evaluation of objective reality within the scope of its own natural laws (Hassan, 2010, p. 118; Haldun, 2013a, p. 108). Because man is inclined to evaluate nature and society from their own point of view, they cannot see natural and social phenomena in a natural surrounding. Therefore, transmission and cursory narration are unacceptable in accounting for historical and social phenomena. On the other hand, philosophy, only dependent on fictitious (speculative) explanations, is too impotent to account for events and phenomena (Haldun, 2009, pp. 950-956). Thus, according to Ibn Khaldun, ilm al-umran is an attempt to account for social realism independently of prejudices, philosophical and speculative endeavours to understand and narration, instead only relying on observation integrated with rationalism (Haldun, 2009, pp. 204-207). Ibn Khaldun opposes to criticizing and

interpreting godly facts with human mind and to evaluating natural and social phenomena via narrative transmission and cursory discussion.

4. METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF ILM AL-UMRAN

For Ibn Khaldun, the term "umran" refers to "social life" incorporating the interrelations between law, politics and economics (Haldun, 2013a, p. 111); therefore, "ilm al-umran" can be defined as a discipline whose research area comes to cover all dimensions of social life. The primary problematization is how and by which method to examine social life. In "ilm al-umran", Ibn Khaldun makes use of three methodological principles; namely, rationalism, causality, and material factors. The significance of these principles for ilm al-umran is elaborated on in the following parts.

4.1. Rationalism

Ibn Khaldun is of the belief that explanation of social life cannot be based on transmitted knowledge. Transmitting is a type of story telling which does not concern itself with realism (Haldun, 2011, p. 165). Moreover, personal inclinations or beliefs set barriers between social facts and man (Haldun, 2013a, p. 107). Every man can reason to find correct data concerning social events. The principle concern is to observe and examine social events and phenomena within the scope of their own laws (Haldun, 2013a, p. 108). "If reporter of social and historical events and phenomena knows about their nature, then this is likely to help him/her discriminate "the right" from "the wrong" (Haldun, 2011, p. 200). For instance, "if we had not overlooked the fact that every nation should hold an army that it could feed or capabilities of overcrowded armies are very limited, we would not have believed all the overrated and exaggerated findings of Mesudi and many other historians about the military population and legendary achievements of Israelis (Haldun, 2011, pp. 165-166). Likewise, "even if Mesudi mentions a spectacular city of copper in the Tafilalet plain, if we are aware of the impossibility to build a city of metal, we could easily see that the transmitted knowledge is groundless (Haldun, 2013a, p. 110). In brief, what really matters and is functional in "ilm al-umran" is the rational and observational investigation of social reality within the context of its own laws rather than the reliability of the transmitter, which constitutes the first principle of "ilm al-umran".

4.2. Causality

In the literature of sociology, causality is defined as the search of concrete elements that give rise to a certain phenomena (Marshall, 1999, p. 523). Causal explanation of social events is among the principles of "ilm al-umran". Ibn Khaldun states that a society and its history have laws just like the nature, and social life can only be investigated in the event that these laws are exposed (Haldun, 2011, p. 199). According to Ibn Khaldun, the future of human life cannot be accounted for by magic and prophesy. An accurate understanding of a social event requires knowing about its palpable causes (Haldun, 2013a, p. 250). According to Hassan, such a stance has probably resulted from the fact that Ibn Khaldun must have observed a dialectic process in nature. In fact, Khaldun believes that among the two basic characteristics of all phenomena in the universe are as follows; firstly, they are in a constant formation and transformation process, and secondly they are interconnected with the bond of causality. Therefore, social events cannot be considered independently of operational laws of natural phenomena (Hassan, 2010, p. 132). Actually, it can be observed in Mugaddimah that Ibn Khaldun dealt with various social and political events not in a cursory and talelike fashion, but in consideration of the causal links between them. To be more precise, apart from the classification of sciences, the entire Mugaddimah is comprised of causal explanation of social phenomena. Following cases would be quite explanatory to better portray the causality in "ilm al-umran":

4.2.1. Geographical Characteristics and Development of Civilization

In close relation to various geographical features, Ibn Khaldun empirically investigates the development and anthropological characteristics of civilizations that spread across different parts of the world. The earth is divided into seven geographical regions due to climatic features and soil fertility. Of the seven regions, the most prosperous and the advanced civilization (state, science, art, agricultural fertility) is found in the third, fourth and fifth regions with favourable climatic conditions.

On the other side, people in very cold or hot regions have remained "wild". Moreover, geography has always been very influential in the development of human characteristics. High temperature in the extremely hot regions causes spirit to expand and feel ecstatic and lazy. People in warm hamams (a kind of traditional bath) feel the same way as people in hot regions. However, in cold regions people are very concerned about their futures. They better appreciate time and labour. For example, Ibn Khaldun observed that Moroccan people stockpile food adequate enough to sustain them for 2 years. In the regions of scarcity, people are healthier than those on rich and fertile lands because food profusion disrupts the operation of human body and makes humans lazy. Lastly, Ibn Khaldun figured out that depending on the distance to the sun and its rays' effect, skin colour of the people in hot regions is dark, while people in cold areas have whiter complexion (Haldun, 2013a, pp. 185-201; Haldun, 2011, pp. 259-275).

The effect of geographical factors on people is concerned with technical developments. For example, it can be asserted that the effect of geography on human beings has subsided thanks to strong and durable buildings, air conditioners, medication, seeds and the like. Besides, if technical capabilities in the 14th century is compared and contrasted with the present time, then geographical effects on humans well discussed by Ibn Khaldun can better be appreciated. In effect, the causal link established between geography and humans by Ibn Khaldun weakens the explanatory capabilities of methods connecting the developments of civilizations with racial-biological causes.

4.2.2. Structural Development of the State and Bureaucracy

Titles and ranks can be defined as special attributions referring to relative positions of administrators in a given political organization. In consideration of historical development of states, it can be observed that some new titles have emerged in a political organization, or some have become obsolete, while others have fallen out of favour. For example, "chieftain" was in common use once, but now such titles as "vice president" showed up in parallel with the development of civilization. Similarly, there were times when some titles and ranks in the Ottoman Empire became popular, but later forgotten. According to Ibn Khaldun, structural changes in bureaucratic organization are independent of man's will. Determinative criterion in the use of titles and ranks is the concrete historical facts of a society, not the wishes, achievements, or failures of an administrator (Hassan, 2010, p. 334). In other words, the main influential factor determining the functionality of titles and ranks in bureaucracy is the new requirements faced in the course of the structural development of political organizations.

To exemplify, Ibn Khaldun thinks that emergence of an authority in a political body to collect governmental revenues was required by the fact that state's assets should be managed by able hands. Necessity to enumerate and deliver assets has given way to the favourable setting for the emergence of new titles and ranks assigned to manage fiscal procedures (Haldun, 2013b, p. 145). "Viziership" is an office that resulted from the need for an advisory or supplementary position that appeared as a state grew larger and stronger. In the Abdulvadogullari state, such a position as viziership did not exist once because economic and political ramifications were not so advanced as to necessitate the emergence of such titles and ranks (Haldun, 2013b, pp. 143, 149). It is only after labour division and differentiation became more evident that public security systems developed, improved and became more specialized in the Andulisian Umayyad State. Plus, in the Abbasids who became more advanced in administrative structure, viziership was a more respected and important position than it was in Umayyads (Haldun, 2013b, p. 137). Another example by Ibn Khaldun is about admiralty. In the age of ignorance, Arabs were a primitive and nomadic population and totally ignorant of maritime practices. As political structure became more organized and powerful, they prevailed over other non-arab communities, so expansion of their sovereignty entailed specialization in maritime affairs (Haldun, 2013b, p. 157). As is seen, Ibn Khaldun accounts for changes in bureaucratic organization in close relation to palpable historical phenomena.

4.2.3. Social Basis of Breakdown of Blood Relations

Social cohesion ("assabiyah" as coined by Ibn Khaldun) refers to the solidarity-cooperation relationship resulting from kinship. Süleyman Uludağ translated this concept as "kinship". People who are somehow related to each other establish a naturally occurring solidarity relationship on voluntary basis in the face of hardship and threat likely to arise from the surrounding and nature. Furthermore, the bond of relation concept of Ibn Khaldun covers not only blood relations (ie. biological features) but also sociocultural characteristics. The relation that would form between a slave and his/her master is no inferior than the biological one (Haldun, 2013a, p. 273; Haldun, 2011, p. 335). By observing arabic tribes living in deserts and highly fertile regions, Ibn Khaldun concluded that blood relation is still predominant in rural and nomadic societies, while bloods are intermingled so that contamianted in urban areas. Khaldun believes that the primary cause of the dissolution of blood relation is the geographical and socioeconomic conditions in the settled region. Poverty and drought distance local people from rest of the world, but bring them closed to each other to form a naturally occurring solidarity. That is, every society in an infertile region should take good care of itself. Improved civilization components, settlement in fertile areas, and harnessment of drought have made many lineages intermingle. Actually, regions characterized by prosperity and welfare draw scores of people to themselves, which reduces sensitivity to and played down the importance of kinship by blood relation (Haldun, 2013a, pp. 275-276; Haldun, 2011, pp. 336-337).

4.2.4. Social Cohesion and State as an Institution

Ibn Khaldun supports that state is a response to an eminent requirement of a social organization. Society needs a state as a strong institutional authority both to secure lives and properties and to seek remedy. Main drive giving rise to state as an institution is the social cohesion. Family and tribal organizations with stronger relational bonds rule over other families or tribes, and establish a state organization that is supposed to embrace the entire society (Haldun, 2013a, p. 299; Haldun, 2011, pp. 349-351). According to observations of Ibn Khaldun, dominance struggle between families or tribes is a natural law and does not originate from such superficial causes as the dispute over assets and properties. Ibn Khaldun thinks that the establishment of such a powerful authority is a clear-to-see advancement of social life (Haldun, 2013b, p. 47; Haldun, 2011, p. 350). Thus, social relations get rid of chaos and base itself on a sounder, more acceptable and legal ground.

4.2.5. Social Structure and Human Characteristics

"Social structure" refers to interaction between all social institutions and geography. Ibn Khaldun observed that there was a strong relationship between social structure and human characteristics. In rural and nomadic societies with scarce resources which have not transformed into a civilization yet, people are more daring and courageous. "Courage is the natural outcome of a life style with hardships" (Haldun, 2013a, p. 263). However, in urban life where civilization is quite improved and people have prospered, characteristics

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such as courage and resilience are likely to vanish. Prosperity and an advanced security system reduce daily concerns of urban people and ease them down. People lose their belligerent trait and give up their weapons. They become less interested in the environment. For Khaldun, the difference between urban and rural people's characteristics is quite similar to that between tamed and wild animals. Such animals as deer, cow and donkey are robust and resilient in the wild nature. After domestication, they come to exhibit reckless behaviour patterns (Haldun, 2011, p. 330; Haldun, 2013a, p. 297). While associating human characteristics with certain life conditions, Ibn Khaldun regards this interaction as a natural law that governs other animals as well.

4.2.6. The Interaction of Sciences and Arts with Social Structure

For Ibn Khaldun, basic needs are prioritized over others (Haldun, 2013a, pp. 257-258). In other words, human desires the must-haves at first. Advancements in science and art in a society can only be achieved after necessary vital requirements are satisfied. In societies that have not been able to institutionalize as a state or a civilization, one cannot expect to find subtle tastes and curiosity but basic vital concerns. Likewise, in states where people can never or barely provide livelihood or which have lost its power, it is impossible for sciences and arts to be sustainably productive. For instance, as Khaldun puts it, scientific advancements of Islamic civilization in the 7th century could only be achieved after a highly institutionalized state structure was established to better organize production and trade. Similarly, in Andulisia, educational and scientific system collapsed after the economic stagnation and downfall (Hassan, 2010, pp. 142-143). As is seen, Ibn Khaldun establishes a linear correlation between civilization level and scientific and artistic activities.

Besides, it should be kept in mind that the causal relationship that Ibn Khaldun establishes between social events and phenomena in ilm al-umran is absolutely based on observation. His findings are philosophical, fictional and speculative evaluations. In Muqaddimah, events and phenomena are explained with a specific emphasis on scores of examples taken out from various tribes, families and states. For example, in order to provide a thorough examination of the effects of geographical features on civilizations, all communities living in the seven geographical regions are listed by their names and their life styles are described in a detailed way. Similarly, to historically account for the transformation of social cohesion into an institutionalized state, observational data obtained from Umayyad and Abbasid are presented. As a matter of fact, what makes Ibn Khaldun the forerunner of contemporary sociology is his effort to account for social events and phenomena by relying on observation and concrete data. The following part provides insight into Ibn Khaldun's methodology to explain social events by emphasizing their observable features.

4.3. The Significance of Material Factors in Social Structure

The subject of ilm al-umran is the social life which incorporates the interrelations between geography, law, politics and economics. Generally speaking, Muqaddimah is based on a thorough analysis of social life. Understanding Ibn Khaldun's methodology of accounting for social life requires knowing how he defines social life. Ibn Khaldun considers human as an innately social creature due to his/her biological features. He/ she has to collaborate with others to provide protection and lead a safe life in the face of harsh natural conditions. Human needs others' help to satisfy his/her meanest demands let alone the most vital ones, therefore it is impossible for him/ her to lead a lonely life. "This is why 'umran' is important; it is the outcome of people's need to live in a related community (Haldun, 2011, pp. 213, 253; Haldun, 2013a, p. 121). That is, Ibn Khaldun regards society as an outcome of vital and material necessities arising from the nature itself rather than as a voluntary formation established by human will. Society is

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comprised of a set of relation systems established between nature and human to provide the vital needs.

Ibn Khaldun states that just like every living creature, humans opt for providing resources vital and indispensible for themselves. As these needs are met, humans get more interested in higher life forms and adopt new life perspectives. For example, in nomadic and poor rural communities, people do not desire to "lead a glamorous life", "organize fun-to-do activities", or "eat cooked food". The only thing they care about is "to have a full stomach", "to be in a sound and secure surrounding" and "to survive". Changes in life styles can only be observed in prosperity and a secure environment. Ibn Khaldun concluded from his observations that differences in people's life styles underlie the cultural and political differentiations (Haldun, 2013a, p. 253; Haldun, 2011, p. 323). Generally speaking, this finding signifies that Ibn Khaldun regards value systems in a society as a reflection of basic life activities.

Causal links that Ibn Khaldun makes use of to account for social phenomena rely on concrete or material social facts. Such a methodology is employed in Muqaddimah to discuss the transition from "chieftain" into "king", development of bureaucracy, martial instruments and techniques. Ibn Khaldun's revealing social cohesion as the main cause does not signify that he brings forward human intellect, will and emotions in explaining the development of civilization. If social cohesion is essential for the establishment of a state, then it is geographical and economic factors that are influential in strengthening or destroying this cohesion. Economic hardships and plights considerably help invigorate solidarity and cooperation between relatives. After achieving a satisfactory level of prosperity, various races get intermingled and kinship-based social cohesion gets corrupted. Ibn Khaldun's findings on how social cohesion breaks down are based on his observations of Arabic tribes (Haldun, 2013a, pp. 275-278; Haldun, 2011, pp. 335-337). In this sense, it can be claimed that Ibn Khaldun has conducted his analyses by relying on geographical and material factors shaping daily life practices.

5. CONCLUSION

"Social science" refers to empirical investigation of the interrelation between social events and phenomena. Coincidence-based interpretation and cursory description of social variables are excluded from this definition. The reason why Ibn Khaldun is considered to be the forerunner of the 19th century western social sciences is his endeavour to account for social phenomena from a scientific viewpoint. First of the characteristics of his scientificity is his causal methodology to describe personal and social features of members of the society in close relation to the legal, political and economic events in the social structure. Secondly, he makes use of rationalism and observation rather than dogmatic/transmitted knowledge while establishing the causal links between social events and phenomena. Understanding phenomena within the context of their own natural laws is Ibn Khaldun's primary concern. Lastly, it is obvious that he accounts for a social structure with an emphasis on material processes because main factor bringing about the social structure is not human's will, ethical stance or emotions, but his/her biological weakness in the face of wild nature. Therefore, humans are necessarily interdependent. Emergence of subtle tastes for science and art along with a flourishing civilization is directly proportionate to the satisfaction of the basic needs.

Scientific methodology suggested in ilm al-umran by Ibn Khaldun relies on his classification of sciences. To be more precise, this classification is the most evident theoretical basis of ilm al-umran. Ibn Khaldun accepts the accuracy of knowledge passed over by revelation, which is the subject matter of naqli sciences, but refused to discuss them through reasoning. Human mind is very limited in consideration of the universe, and is not able enough to discuss the accuracy of divine facts.

Besides, Ibn Khaldun opposes to the explanation of social events and phenomena via naqli information. Human-induced phenomena cannot be evaluated by means of belief-oriented data. Methodological differentiation between naqli and aqli sciences can be considered as a product of his attempt to reconcile with revelationist sects and to open up a scientific way for ilm al-umran in the presence of the mind-revelation conflict which became more powerful in the Islamic population of the 14th century.

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