IBN KHALDUN'S CYCLICAL THEORY ON THE RISE AND FALL OF SOVEREIGN POWERS: THE CASE OF OTTOMAN EMPIRE

MURAT ÖNDER*

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University

FATİH ULAŞAN**

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University

ABSTRACT

Ibn Khaldun, who is known as one of the 14th century leading theorists in Islamic political thought, has highly influenced the scholars with his thoughts on economics, history, sociology and philosophy. Due to his opinions and findings, Stowasser regarded him as a father of social sciences. One of his most impressive ideas is the cyclical theory which defines the rise and fall of sovereign powers (dynasties, empires, civilizations, states). The cyclical theory assumes that sovereign powers are like living organisms, they are born, grow up, mature, and die. To explain this pattern, Ibn Khaldun uses his umran and asabiyya concepts. Umran and asabiyya are the glue of the cyclical theory which explains the birth and death of sovereign powers. There are other cyclical theories focused on the rise and fall of sovereign power used by Arnold Toynbee, Oswald Spengler, Giambattista Vico and Sima Qian. These four theories will be compared to Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory with similarities and differences. Also, in the light of Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory, the reasons why and how Ottomans could survive, unlike a lot of strong dynasties in Anatolia, conquered and replaced states and empires as a simple beylik (principality), rose as an empire and later collapsed have been analyzed.

Keywords: Umran, Asabiyya, Cyclical Theory, Ibn Khaldun, Ottoman Empire

* Prof. Dr., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration, monder@ybu.edu.tr

** Ph.D. Candidate, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Institute of Social Sciences, fatih_ulasan@hot-mail.com

231

EGEMEN GÜÇLERİN YÜKSELİŞ VE ÇÖKÜŞÜ ÜZERİNE İBN HALDUN'UN DÖNGÜ TEORİSİ: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZ

İslam düşünce tarihinin öncü teorisyenlerinden biri olarak bilinen İbn Haldun iktisat, tarih, sosyoloji ve felsefeye dair düşünceleriyle bilim dünyasını derinden etkilemiştir. Onun düşünceleri ve bulgularından dolayı Stowasser onu sosyal bilimlerin babası olarak tanımlamıştır. Onun en etkileyici fikirlerinden biri egemen güçlerin (hanedanlıklar, imparatorluklar, uygarlıklar, devletler) yükseliş ve çöküşlerini açıklayan döngü teorisidir. Döngü teorisi egemen güçlerin yaşayan bir organizma olduğunu ve insanlar gibi doğduğunu, büyüdüğünü, olgunlaştığını ve öldüğünü varsayar. Ayrıca bu modeli açıklamak için İbn Haldun asabiyet ve ümran kavramlarını kullanır. Ümran ve asabiyet ulusların döngü teorisinin tutkalıdır ve bu kavramlara göre egemen güçler doğar, gelişir ve ölür. Egemen güçlerin doğuş ve çöküşüne ilişkin Arnold Toynbee, Oswald Spengler, Giambattista Vico ve Sima Qian gibi tarihçilerin de döngü teorileri vardır. Bu 4 teori İbn Haldun'un döngü teorisiyle karşılaştırılarak bezerlikler ve zıtlıklar irdelenmiştir. Ayrıca, İbn Haldun'un döngü teorisi ışığında Osmanlı devletinin doğuşu ve yükselişi tartışılarak neden ve nasıl Anadolu'daki birçok güçlü beyliklerin aksine Osmanlıların hayatta kaldığı, basit bir beylik olarak devlet ve imparatorlukları fethettikleri ve yerine geçtikleri, imparatorluk olarak yükseldikleri ve çökmelerinin nedenleri analiz edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ümran, Asabiye, Döngü Teorisi, İbn Haldun, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

INTRODUCTION

A cyclical history or the recycling of history is not new in the history and even it dates back to ancient Greece. The vision that history is not teleological and is not governed by a geist belongs to ancient Greece. For example, Aristotle is popular about the cyclical theory of history, because his theory depends on the argument that any social or political system is not stable and people, for that reason, cycle among regimes (Hughes, 2011). Also the cyclic theory can be found in the various dialogues of Plato, more especially in the Statesman, Republic, Timaeus and Critias (Nelson, 1980:8). But later a lot of philosophers, academicians, and thinkers have discussed this theory and created their own theories. One of the most popular thinkers of cyclical theory was Ibn Khaldun. He can be called as a 14th century Islamic jurist, academician, and lawmaker whose ideas and thoughts on society, politics, social science, and the philosophy of history have influenced highly philosophers, scholars and thinkers in the world for the past eight centuries. Stowasser (1984:185) said that Ibn Khaldun has also been called "the father of social science" and "the founder of positive or historical or truly scientific social science" in the Islamic world.

History, to Ibn Khaldun, is a cyclical process in which sovereign powers come to existence, get stronger, lose their strengths and are conquered by other sovereign powers over time. More precisely, every community is uncivilized at the beginning and tries to acquire the power around its own territory. The power depends on the stronger asabiyya than other communities' asabiyyat. Asabiyya is very powerful because people from the same asabiyya tend to protect each other at all cost and due to their wild natures, they are strong and competent fighters. Asabiyya and wild nature which trigger the success in fighting and prevent communities from embracing the comfortable life's disadvantages walk arm in arm. If one of them decelerates, the other one acts in the same way. These features which do not degenerate are enough to invade communities which have the less asabiyyat and civilized communities which are tired of fighting and lose their wild natures. However, over time the less civilized communities which defeat others are always inclined to imitate the more civilized societies. Due to that, the wild communities lose their nature, get used to luxury and lastly are replaced by less civilized societies having stronger asabiyyat. And this cycle is infinite (İbn Haldun, 2016).

Cyclical theories have been developed by philosophers, historians and scholars around the world. Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory, Sima Qian's dynastic cycle theory, Giambattista Vico's civilization theory, Oswald Spengler's civilization theory and Arnold Toynbee's civilization theory are prominent theories in the area of the rise and fall of the sovereign powers. Although they have many similarities, due to their time and conditions, there are some differences which separate them from each other and make them unique.

Ibn Khaldun defines the downfall as a usual process and says that states, dynasties, nations and civilizations are like humans so that they are born, grow, die and others take over their places and they face the same results and this process repeats itself again and again. Besides, he predicts that sovereign powers last for about 120 years and then collapse (İbn Haldun, 2016). Kıvıl-cımlı (1965:158) states that generally dynasties more or less fit into the categorization of 120 years. For example, Abbasids (111 years)[1], Umayyads (91 years), Memluks (135 years) and Ghaznavids (166 years) are the good examples of this theory (Cairn, 1971). But this theory was not true for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire has been one of the supreme empires in history and had an enormous life span which is 624 years (1299-1923). They were the defender of faith in Islam and had the title of Caliph. This speech of Ibn Khaldun may be a symbolic expression which is that he wanted to say that sooner or later the sovereign powers would collapse one day by experiencing certain periods, these periods generally would take 120 years and only extra motivation in the right time, wise decisions, strong tradition, extra morality and extra ordinary leaders could extend sovereign powers' life spans. Maybe he defined so as a result of his limited observations of his time. Moreover, he observed mainly small states and dynasties and he acknowledged his limited knowledge (İbn Haldun, 2016: 58 and 370-373).

In the Ottoman Empire, Ibn Khaldun's opinions were precious for the statesmen, scholars, thinkers and historians (Onder and Memis, 2017). Especially some of them are well-known. They are Kınalızâde Ali Efendi (1510-1572), Koçi Bey (17. century), Kâtib Çelebi (1609-1657), Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895), Mustafa Naîmâ Efendi (1655-1716), Mithat Pasha (1822-1884), Nâmık Kemal (1840-1888) and so on (Okumus, 2009: 144,158,172,179). Some of them created their ideas by taking benefits from Ibn Khaldun's ideas and some of them tried to find a solution in order to

---

1   111 years were the real independent time before the Turks controlled Abbasid

curb the downfall of Ottomans. Ottomans provided the first translation of Muqaddimah in Turkish. Seyhülislâm Pîrîzâde Mehmed Sahib Efendi translated the first five chapters and Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895) translated the last chapter. The first translation was published in Cairo in 1859 and the second one with the first translation was published in Istanbul in 1860-61 (Okumus, 2009:142-143).

This study covers the topic in three main parts. Firstly, Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory on the rise and fall of the sovereign powers is explained with the terms of umran and asabiyya. Umran and asabiyya are the main concepts to understand his theory. Secondly, Ibn Khaldun cyclical theory is compared to other cycle theories on the rise of sovereign powers (Sima Qian's dynastic cycle theory, Giambattista Vico's civilization theory, Oswald Spengler's civilization theory and Arnold Toynbee's civilization theory) and similarities and differences are depicted. Thirdly, the applicability of the Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory on the Ottoman Empire is discussed and the reasons why and how Ottomans could survive, unlike a lot of strong dynasties in Anatolia, rose as an empire and collapsed are analyzed according to the cyclical theory of Ibn Khaldun.

IBN KHALDUN'S CYCLICAL THEORY

Ibn Khaldun created the science of civilization, society or culture ('Ilm al-'Umran or Umran) in order to define and analyze the history of human beings. To make the science functional, he uses asabiyya which is considered as group feeling, esprit de corps, and a kind of the spirit which boosts the bonds among people. This cohesion makes the group stronger and the asabiyya's main aim is to create a state. Therefore, the strength of asabiyya plays a determining role in the rise and fall of sovereign powers.

History is a cyclical process in which sovereign powers come to existence, get stronger, lose power and are collapsed by another power. The main item which controls all the process is the condition of asabiyya. Primitive people are the origin of the society and have the strong asabiyya. This society is uncivilized and just struggles for immediate needs. In order to defend themselves from dangers coming from environment, animals or other humans, they have to improve themselves as strong warriors and they need to learn to survive even in the hardest conditions. Also, they have the strong relations with relatives and close friends. The reason is that the human is a social an-

imal and, to survive, they also need other people. These relations are pure and fiduciary and the blood tie is the strongest part of the social cohesion. When people develop, people start civilizing and losing these features which they have in the primitive life (İbn Haldun, 2016).

Sovereign powers have about 120-year life spans which take three or four generations. The reason for this is that over time, generations change and when the time passes, the coming generations forget about the previous generations' motivations and values gradually. Fundamental principles and values of sovereign powers are established by first generations. The second generations just follow former. The third generations forget all the values of their ancestors. The last generations cause the sovereign powers to collapse. But the sovereign powers may continue to live more if the reasons which destroy the states do not take place in 120-year life spans. Also, Ibn Khaldun explained periods or stages which sovereign powers experience in their life spans. There are five historical stages of dynasties and every stage has main traits (İbn Haldun, 2016: 370-373 and 378-381).

Table 1: Five general historical stages of Ibn Khaldun on the rise and fall of sovereign powers

Subject	Features
The Foundation	Stage of success, strong asabiyya, bond of lineage, uncivilized society, high chivalry, competent fighters, the importance of dignity and pride, unworthy of wealthy, a leader which is the first among equals and with limited power, heroism, high loyalty to leader, the strong obedience to tradition and religion, badawa period (rural life), taking the full control of subjects and the obedience of subjects, starting collecting tax, sending envoys to other states, defending its own borders (soldier superiority), no stronger power in its own land
The personalization of power	A leader with absolute power, the beginning of asabiyya of reason, professional army, the desire of individual loyalty just for a leader
The growth and expansion **(Leisure and tranquility time)**	Leisure and tranquility, big achievements in architecture, literature, science and art, the beginning of hadara (urban life), no threat from outside or inside, wealthy state, tax and agricultural regulations, new laws, the beginning of luxury life, the strongest level of the state, supporting arts and science and crafts, artistic development, sharing the money with subjects, the efforts to flourish a state, strong economy, general welfare
Stagnation **(Satisfaction and peacefulness time)**	Satisfaction and peacefulness, the leaders desiring to imitate their ancestors' actions, longing for the past, inexperienced leaders with weak characters, incompetent bureaucracy, the desire of luxury, lack of courage, unwillingness to war, comfortable life, lavish lifestyle, money desire, reached natural borders, bad habits.
The decline and dissolution **(Waste and squandering time)**	Waste and squandering, a state with senility disease, lack of money, unfaithful soldiers, unmoral lifestyle, imitating stronger states, blaming for ancestors' actions, lack of stronger asabiyya to keep a state under control and to defend.

Source: İbn Haldun (2016). Ibn Khaldun Mukaddime I

UMRAN AND ASABIYYA

Umran

Umran can be explained in two ways. One of them is that umran can be called as a revolution which cast coincidence out of history (Meriç, 1992). Umran helps illuminating the history which is covered by the clouds of superstitions and myths and umran can make historical events reasonable (Albayrak,2000). This was a big step in explaining history during that time.

The second one is that umran means cooperation. Also, umran can include the meaning of culture (hars) (Fındıkoğlu,1961). People tend to live together and social life is vital for them. A single person is prone to dangers from outside and is very hard to live alone. For example, a person should do farming, do agriculture, protect himself from dangers (other humans or animals), make weapons, build a shelter and make clothes to survive. Furthermore, the God did not give humans a thick and furry skin, big teethes, enormous power or extraordinary senses like animals to survive. In nature humans are vulnerable and a single person cannot do them alone. People should come together, cooperate, and share the responsibilities and duties with others. When umran occurs, they should choose a leader to protect them from enemies. Since hostility and cruelty are the part of human nature even in the same community, they can attack and kill each other due to several reasons. Due to this, a leader should create a law so as to make people obey and live peacefully. Additionally, he should take the authority and in this way a state can be established. The power which creates the state and makes it continue is the authority and in this way umran can flourish and develop (İbn Haldun, 2016:125-128).

Badawa (desert life) (uncivilised culture) and hadara (urban culture) (Sedentary culture) (civilized culture) have life spans (İbn Haldun, 2016:785). When people get umran, people who are Bedouins[2] live in the uncivilized way, which means that their aims are to satisfy their needs just to survive. In this stage, they do not need luxury. This is called as badawa and as the simple life. If over time their products increase and their products become more than needed, people get rich. Therefore, they start building big houses, eating various foods and wearing good and stylish dresses. Moreover, even their jobs become various. People who do agriculture or animal husbandry naturally need to live out of the settled areas because settled areas do not

---

2   In Ibn Khaldun's terminology, Bedouins are uncivilized people.

have the wide fields for agriculture and pastures to breed animals and they should live outside of settled areas in an uncivilized way. Yet, more civilized people can trade and perform crafts and arts. Uncivilized culture transforms into civilized culture, umran gets bigger, hadara starts and civilized people start to live in luxury. But, over time, people corrupt due to money desire and people have immoral behaviors and want to have more money, start being dishonorable, have bad habits and try to find ways to earn more money by producing lesser. These situations cause the economy to be worse and rising expenditures, higher taxes, which decrease the amount of production, and lower revenues take place. These make people poor. At the same time, since people are used to live in luxury, they do not want to lose luxury, their desires want more (sins, marital infidelity, etc.) and they start doing immoral acts to earn more. Lie, theft, robbery, cheating, etc. get common. Finally, sedentary culture gets destroyed (İbn Haldun, 2016:273-273 and 786-788).

Badawa and hadara are natural. Hadara is more complicated than badawa. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun adds that badawa comes before hadara and badawa is the origin of urban and civilized life. Badawa's aim is to reach hadara. Bedouins tend to be better people than civilized people because they do not have luxury and abundance to satisfy desires (İbn Haldun, 2016: 274-279). For example, they do not have money desire, and do not have bad habits. The reason is that they work to survive. In addition, Bedouins are more courageous than civilized people. The reason for that is that civilized people are protected by administrators and they have big walls to protect themselves from attacks but Bedouins are prone to attacks and they just trust themselves. Moreover, laws and punishments created by humans and forced by administrators in sedentary culture make civilized people less brave and durable (İbn Haldun, 2016: 281-284).

Table 2: Badawa (Rural) and Hadara (Urban) Lifestyles

Badawa (Rural Lifestyle)	*Hadara (Urban Lifestyle)*
The first and the most primitive society type, the origin of civilization, states, cultures etc, uncivilized life	The last and the most developed society type, the highest and last state of civilizations, states, cultures etc., civilized life
Low population and low density, nomads and Bedouins' lifestyle	High population and high density, the creation of cities,
Less intelligent, more honest, more courageous, self-confident, self-sufficient, rough character	More intelligence, less honest, cunning, less courageous, more dependent, softer character
No job diversity, limited jobs helping people to survive (animal husbandry and agriculture)	Highly varied job opportunities (arts, crafts, fashion, sciences etc.)
Limited and self-sufficiency income, bare necessities of living	Plus value, lavishness, luxury, comfortable life
Blood tie (blood based relationship), strong relations between clan members, the high importance of blood purity, the higher importance of lineage, strong sense of group solidarity, tribalism	Bond of reason (asabiyya of reason), lack of blood purity, the lesser importance of lineage, different bond types (religion, nation, group bonds(jobs)), less sense of group solidarity
No bad habits	Guilty pleasures, deteriorated moral values
The strong loyalty to religion, customs and traditions	Giving less importance to religion, customs and traditions
The high importance of dignity and honor. The less importance of money	The less importance of dignity and honor, the high importance of money
The loyalty to informal social rules, less formal rules and less punishments by authorities	The less obedience of formal rules, more laws by authorities
The prevalence of illiteracy or minimal education	The demand for education, higher education level

Source: İbn Haldun (2016). Ibn Khaldun Mukaddime I

Asabiyya

Asabiyya term is not so clear and some researchers regard it as blood bond, solidarity, the group solidarity, social cohesion and tribalism. This is not a just feeling but a collective action (Hassan, 2011). The social unity or cohesion takes place spontaneously in clans or tribes and religion ideologies make this social cohesion much stronger. Asabiyya's core is lineage (İbn Haldun, 2015:27-28). Lineage makes people highly trustable, especially in hard conditions and scarcity making people connect with each other more. People can even take the risks of wars for lineage. When people start living in urban areas, asabiyya and lineage diminish over time (İbn Haldun, 2016: 287 and 289-291). Uludağ (2013:78-79) says that asabiyya makes solidarity and cooperation stronger and is the spiritual bond. People, who were slaves in the past but became free later, had asabiyyat with the clan which made them free and refugees had asabiyyat to the clan which protected them. Their bonds seemed like blood bonds (İbn Haldun, 2016: 287-288).

The thing protecting people from attacks, defending their rights and uniting them in a community is asabiyya. However, at the same time, every community needs authority to rule. The authority can be taken by leadership or absolute power (monarchy). Leadership is different from monarchy. Leadership can be seen in Bedouins, come from blood bond like monarchy, clans having the strongest blood bond and power obtain the leadership, generally there is no the use of force and is voluntarily given. Yet, monarchy has an authority and rule with force and power. Asabiyya's ultimate aim is to obtain authority (monarchy) to create a state and it means that leadership transforms into monarchy. (İbn Haldun, 2016: 309-310 and 785). However, every dynasty having asabiyya does not have any state. The reason is that a dynasty having the stronger asabiyya takes the power to control other clans, collect taxes and protect its borders (İbn Haldun, 2016: 320,401). To have a stronger asabiyya, a clan should have enough power (fighters), strong leadership and a religion or a tradition.

On the other hand, although asabiyya boosts the social and group solidarity, at the same time it plays a destructive role in a society. This is called as social conflict theory. This is one of the key points to understand the rise and fall of sovereign powers in Ibn Khaldun's theory. Thus, social conflict theory is both constructive and destructive. For example, in a society a stronger social cohesion has ideas or ideologies and can destroy, eliminate or change other social groups or ideologies according to its own ideology

and ideas. If this persuasion or oppression process goes beyond the limit, it becomes the hegemony. Antonio Gramsci mentioned that hegemony took place as the synthesis of consent and coercion. Coercion can be called as the apparatus of government and consent can be called as civil society (Önder, 2006). When the group takes the power by the stronger asabiyya, it imposes its own ideology by consent or coercion (Tok, 2003: 244).

CYCLICAL THEORIES ON THE RISE AND FALL OF SOVEREIGN POWERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The cyclical theories assume that sovereign powers are living organisms and they are born, grow up, come to maturity, and die like humans. Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory, Sima Qian's dynastic cycle theory, Giambattista Vico's civilization theory, Oswald Spengler's civilization theory and Arnold Toynbee's civilization theory are main theories on the area of the rise and fall of the sovereign powers. These five theories analyze the sovereign powers according to their own times and conditions. All of them have some unique features which reflect their times and their social structures. These four theories will be compared to Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory and similarities and differences will be shown. Also, the most important features of these five theories will compared to each other in tables.

Sima Qian's Dynastic Cycle

About a thousand years ago Sima Qian (145-87 B.C.?) articulated the dynastic cycle which implied the rise and fall of ruling groups over time in China and recurred under similar and repetitive patterns. In this cycle, a charismatic and courageous leader takes the power with the Mandate of Heaven and helps their people achieve prosperity. Population starts increasing. Over time, with unskillful assistants, the leader treats people unfairly and taxes are raised. Corruption becomes rampant with natural disasters and overpopulation and famine occur. The famine triggers the subjects to rebel and the leader loses the Mandate of Heaven. Potential powers try to take the power, one of them emerges victorious and the cycle begins anew (Dudley, 2017:31).

The cycle generally has 4 periods as genesis, expansion, prosperity and decline. The cycle's most important point is the Mandate of Heaven. It was believed that China was created and was protected under the supervision

of the highest deity called as Heaven and a ruler of China was selected by Heaven to protect people, ruled the state and the ruler was called as the son of Heaven. The most important concern of Heaven was welfare of people and when a ruler neglected people and made them suffer, people had a right to overthrow him. Although a ruler seemed like a decision of the mysterious force (Mandate of Heaven), the thing which decided a ruler's future in the throne was moral. The most important issue on changing dynasties was moral (Chang, 1990:34, 35).

Although Ibn Khaldun's theory and Sima Qian's dynastic cycle are generally similar, they have some differences. Ibn Khaldun argues that the cycle takes about 120 years and this means three or four generations (İbn Haldun, 2016:372).   In dynasty cycle in China there are longer cycles like about 200-300 years (Poston, Lee, Chang, Mckibben and Walther, 2006:2). The reason was that Ibn Khaldun created his cyclical theory by observing medieval North African states. Because there were many potential invaders relative to sedentary farmers in Maghrep, he found the average cycle very short (Dudley, 2017, 31). Also, dynasty theory takes the legitimate from Mandate of Heaven but Ibn Khaldun's cycle takes the legitimate from asabiyya. Also, the reason of the downfall is generally lack of asabiyya although Sima Qian's dynastic cycle considers that moral triggers the dissolution. Mainly Ibn Khaldun makes the cycle generalize in the form of asabiyya because asabiyya term is very wide and well enough to explain all possibilities which can happen in the rise and fall of sovereign powers.

Arnold Tonybee's Civilization Theory

Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) who was the prominent British historian around the world defined Ibn Khadun as the sole point of light and the one outstanding personality of Islamic thought (Sumer, 2012:254). He analyzed the rise and fall of   civilizations (Andean, Sinic, Minoan, Sumer, Mayan, Indic, Hittites, Hellenic, Western, Orthodox Christian (Russia), Far Eastern (Korea/Japan), Orthodox Christian, Far Eastern, Iranian, Egyptian, Arab, Hindu, Mexic, Yucatec, Babylonian, four abortive civilizations as Abortive Far Western Christian, Abortive Far Eastern Christian, Abortive Scandinavian, Abortive Syriac and five arrested civilizations as Polynesian, Eskimo, Nomadic, Ottoman Empire, Spartan), in his book called as a *Study of History.* This book like the Muqaddimah illustrates the historical process as cyclical.

A creative minority is the key for the development and copes with challenges. However, a dominant minority is the sign of the decline. Toynbee mentions that civilizations generally collapse due to internal decline unlike external attacks. Over time, a creative minority turns into a degenerated dominant minority, internal proletariats which are very crowded oppose to the dominant minority, external proletariats who live outside the borders refuses to accept incorporation with the civilization and the civilization declines (Toynbee, 1962). However, Ibn Khaldun states that generally there are two ways for the decline. One of them is attacks coming from outside. This group has a stronger asabiyya and is more uncivilized. Secondly, governors who carry out their jobs in the far places of the state establish rebelliously his own state over his ruler's lands when the ruler loses his power, because the ruler firstly starts losing the control in the far places to the capital. But generally, Ibn Khaldun mentions external attacks.

Toynbee generally mentions a civilization experiences six stages which are genesis, expansion, breakdown, downfall, universal state, and universal church. Toynbee explained his ideas about the rise and fall of civilizations with challenge and response theory. It says that every group has some challenges to grow and to be successful. The response of the group determines its future. As long as the group overcomes challenges successfully, the group continues to flourish. Toynbee adapted this theory into the rise and fall of civilizations. He considers that every civilization has or will have firstly environmental, later internal and external challenges to overcome. If a civilization is successful, it grows. Still, the growth is limited and every civilization will experience the breakdown and fall apart. In order to boost his life, the civilization transforms itself into a universal state and when it reaches the peak, it will turn into a universal church. The Rome Empire can be given as the example for this theory. The challenge of the Rome Empire was its neighboring states and barbarian clans which reject to comply with them. The Romans took them under control and the Rome Empire reached the peak of growth. After this peak, due to the lack of challenge, Rome started getting weaker. Luxury and comfortable life made them lose their dynamism and chivalry. Thus, the breakdown and downfall of the Roman Empire occurred. Then the universal state was established with the name of Italy. After that, the universal church came in existence as the Roman Catholic Church (Quito, 1929: Part 2, Chapter 1 Arnold Toynbee).

Toynbee has different thoughts on important issues. He does not support the analysis of asabiyya which is considered as the monopoly of the nomads or external proletariat (Toynbee, 1956:85, 474-475). He thinks that sedentary people can have a strong asabiyya. Also he does not agree with the idea that asabiyya which is a product of nomadic lifestyle makes nomads more skilful than sedentary people except for five empires (Amorites, Chaldians, Arabs in seventh-eighth century, Mongol Empire and Ottoman Empire). He regards the nomads as external proletariats living on the edge of civilizations and does not consider them as innovative or creative. In addition, he is reluctant to accept Ibn Khaldun's view that nomads could be the leading factors in either the formation or the fall of civilizations (Irwin, 1997:468-469).

Giambattista Vico's Civilization Cycle Theory

About three centuries later after Ibn Khaldun, Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) illuminated the world with his knowledge like Ibn Khaldun. Vico is called as the founder of the philosophy of history in the eighteenth century. He explained his ideas in the book of the New Science (Principi d'una Scienza nuova) in 1725. One of his outstanding ideas is a cyclical theory of history (ricorsi) which is mainly called as a theory of social change (generally developments of states, cultural differences). As a person experiences certain stages as childhood, adolescence and maturity, a state or culture also experiences certain stages: the Age of the Gods, the Age of Heroes and the Age of Men.

His classification starts with the age of the gods. This stage can be called as the childhood of human society. In this age, religious principles are dominant and people are governed by religious governments. The affections of auspices and oracles are highly effective as a way of communication with god and people shape their lives according to them. The second stage is called as the age of the heroes, because the heroic virtues (piety, physical strength and aristocratic superiority) are effective in this stage. The stronger is the source of law. Patriarchal leaders who take the power from religious leaders form aristocratic commonwealths and create a noble class which rules the government. However, divine power is still effective. After the rise of patriarchal leaders, the conflict occurs between the patriarchal rulers and plebeians or masters and servants. This conflict causes the third stage which is the age of

men and the rule of law is based on reason. The equality of people occurs in this age. The people's commonwealths come to existence and philosophies take the place of religious beliefs. However, over time, the people's commonwealths and philosophies contaminate, skepticism surrounds the society. People are captivated by their pleasures (lavishness, greed, jealousy and pride). Freedom is used to make people slave and liberty turns into despotism. Wars start and the extinction of the civilization occurs. After a few people survives from this catastrophe, they adjust their behaviors, return to the old beliefs and the past and a civilization or state starts from the beginning again (Muhammad, 1980:202 and 204; Vico, 1984).

Vico and Ibn Khaldun have similar ideas. Firstly, both of them think that there is a cyclical movement from primitive culture to civilized culture, and in turn from civilized culture and again to primitive culture. Vico and Ibn Khaldun mention that the history traverses in time by witnessing every state's rise, growth, maturity, breakdown, and downfall (Vico, 1984: 104). In addition, Ibn Khaldun mentions that in badawa (nomadic life) people need just necessities in order to survive. But when the badawa transforms into hadara (civilised culture) conveniences and luxuries are needed. Also, he considers that in badawa people' characters are harsh and tough because of the environment of the nomadic life. Later, due to luxury, their characters soften. Over time, moral is corrupted and have bad habits. The same view is summarized by Vico: "Men first feel necessity, then look for utility, next attend to comfort, still later amuse themselves with pleasure, hence grow dissolute in luxury, and finally go mad and waste their substance. The nature of people is first crude, then severe, then benign, then delicate, and finally dissolute" (Vico, 1984:70).

In addition, Vico and Ibn Khaldun have the same ideas about rulers' behaviors and group solidarity and divine power. Over time the patriarchs of Vico and the tribal chiefs of Ibn Khaldun which has a chance to take the power separates from counterparts and become authoritarian. Ibn Khaldun's asabiyya and Vico's commonwealth are similar. Both of them resemble group solidarity and aim to unite some units in a society. As the divine power, Ibn Khaldun mentions it as Allah, but Vico calls it providence. Although Ibn Khaldun says that Allah affects people directly by causality and flourish the world by the hand of the human, Vico says that affection can happen indirectly and is not easy to understand (Avcı, 2008; Vico, 1984; Akkaş, 2003:59).

To Ibn Khaldun, history is repeated circles with a slight forward movement, while Vico imagines the history as a regular alternation between progress and regression in an upward spiral movement. Ibn Khaldun took the information from North Africa or Islamic history. However, Vico focussed on the history of Rome Empire and Europe. Vico thinks that the role of religion and God's will are fundamental to human cohesion. Without religion, there is no basis for social life. However, Ibn Khaldun says that the religion is very important for a society, but without that, people can organize well. His theory is based on politics, psychology, history and sociology, economy and environment. Moreover, unlike Vico, Ibn Khaldun does not say anything about a class struggle. Vico generally wrote about human history and he started from Adam (the first human) and the biblical deluge. But Ibn Khaldun did not determine a historical starting point (Vico, 1984; Muhammad, 1980: 206-207).

Oswald Spengler's Civilization Theory

In 1918, Spengler (1880-1936) wrote his masterpiece titled "The Decline of the West". In his book, history is based on civilization and civilization is the peak point of a culture. Also, he describes a civilization as a living organism and a civilization experiences the certain stages in its lifespan which is same as the life stages of people: childhood, adolescence, adulthood and senescent periods. He thinks that it takes about a thousand years. After a thousand years, later if a civilization is still alive, the reason is that it adapts other religion's myths and features. His theory was influenced by Plato, Vico, Aristotle, Goethe and Nietzsche. He generally mentions eight high cultures which are Sumero-Babylonian, Egyptian, Indian, Sinic, Maya/Aztec, Classical, Magian, and European/American. In his theory, he divides epochs into three and they are titled as Spiritual, Artistic, and Political. Each one is generally separated into four seasons which are spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Also, culture characterizes the stages of rise and growth which symbolizes spring, summer, and autumn while civilization characterizes the stages of decline which symbolizes winter. Each one takes roughly 250 years (Al Tarawneh, 2017: 87 and 88; Spengler, 1926 and 1928).

In his theory, value-judgments of aesthetic, intellectual and scientific accomplishments are highly used and they portray how and in which circumstances the rise and the decline of civilizations begin. He mentions that a civilization is seen as the peak point of the culture and every civilization has

different customs, cultures, value judgments and worldviews. Due to that, their developments are different and these features bestow civilizations a unique feature which he calls as a "soul". But this can make a difference between Ibn Khaldun and Spengler because every civilization has different features. For example, Spengler thinks that the history is chains of unconnected civilizations and there are not certain reasons for the ascent of civilizations. This prevents making generalization for civilizations. However, Ibn Khaldun considers that every society has roughly a same nature and experiences similar situations (Borthwick, 2011:5-7; Turner, 2015: 7-10).

Spenger's main focus is on aesthetic and technical accomplishments more than governance, urbanization, and social dynamics. He makes a mention of a state in the late culture phase. Also, he does not try to understand the culture's birth and which circumstances decides which cultures survive. However, Ibn Khaldun built his theory on governance and social dynamics. Asabiyya is the wick of social dynamics and asabiyya's aim is to create a state. In addition, Ibn Khaldun was sure that in a society the clan having the strongest asabiyya takes the authority. Spengler and Ibn Khaldun consider that development, urbanization, and the concentration of wealth in one hand are the major causes of downfall. In addition, Spengler says that a civilization is the main goal of a culture, it is the peak, and when it is done, the beginning of decline starts. Also, he sees rationalization for the sign of decline. It means that a culture becomes rational and gets rid of the myths, traditions and religions. It is clear that the religion is very important for Spengler and Ibn Khaldun and they think that a religion is a kind of glue keeping people together. For example, in Europe, Spengler considered that the decline started in the 18th century and the reason was people who underestimated the religion and cultural values and questioned old myths. Spengler separates a culture into four phases which are inspired religiosity, a lyrical and poetic phase, a prosaic philosophic phase and a downfall. To Ibn Khaldun, establishing a state is the main aim. He considers that when a group establishes a state by a stronger asabiyya and urbanization with absolute power and after a stagnation period, the decline is unavoidable. Ibn Khaldun used the decaying asabiyya for the reason of decline. Also, unlike Spengler, Ibn Khaldun insists that external attacks can also be destructive (Spengler, 1926 and 1928; Galtung and Inayatullah, 1997:98-104; Turner, 2015:6-9).

Table 3: The Comparison of Cycle Theories

Theories	Life span	The reasons of the rise	The reasons of the decline	The sovereign power's type
Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory on the rise and fall of sovereign powers	*120 years*	*1. Stronger asabiyya* *2. Taking the full control of subjects and the obedience of subjects* *3. Collecting tax* *4. Sending envoys to other states* *5. Defending its own borders (soldier superiority)* *6. No stronger power in its own land*	*1. Losing stronger asabiyya and the erosion of asabiyya* *2.Luxury addiction* *3.Insufficient governance* *4. Satisfaction* *5. Unskillful army* *6. A weak economy*	*1.Dynasty* *2.State* *3.Empire* *4.Civilization*
Giambattista Vico's civilization cycle	*-*	*1. The providence's decision* *2. Class conflict* *3. Commonwealths*	*1. The providence's decision* *2. Bad habits* *3.Lavishness, greed, jealousy and pride* *4. Oppressive ruling* *5. Corrupted philosophies* *6.The Erosion of Commonwealths*	*Civilization*
Oswald Spengler's civilization theory	*1000 years*	*Aesthetic, intellectual and scientific accomplishments*	*1.Lack of the myths, traditions and religions* *2.development, urbanization, and the concentration of wealth*	*Civilization*

Arnold Tonybee's civilization theory	–	1. Challenge and respond (dealing with problems well) 2. Creative minority 3. The lessons taking form the mistakes of other civilizations and embracing useful traditions, religions, lifestyle, art etc. from other civilizations or cultures	1.Challenge and respond (unable to deal with problems well anymore) 2. Erosion of religious and cultural values 3.Erosion of unity 4.Dominant minority (the erosion of creative minority)	*Civilization*
Sima Qian's dynastic cycle	*200–300 years*	1.Persuading subjects and proving that you have the mandate of heaven 2.Spreading prosperity	1. Natural disasters 2. Overpopulation 3. Incompetent rulers 4. The alteration of the Moral values 5. High taxes	*Dynasty*

***Source:** Adapted from the literature*

250

Table 4: Cycle Theories by the Stages and the Analyzed Civilizations, States, and Dynasties

Theories	Stages	Analyzed civilizations, states and dynasties
Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory on the rise and fall of sovereign powers	5 stages: The Foundation (conquest and success), personalization of power, the growth and expansion (leisure and tranquility), stagnation (contentment and peacefulness), and decline and dissolution (waste, squandering)	Medieval North African and Moorish Spain dynasties
Sima Qian's dynastic cycle	4 stages: Genesis, Expansion, Prosperity and Decline	The Xia, Shang, Zhou, Qin and Han dynasties
Oswald Spengler's civilization theory	4 stages: Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter	8 High Cultures: Babylonian, Egyptian, Indian, Chinese, Mayan/Aztec, Greek/Roman or Classical, Arab and, finally, Faustian (Western civilization)
Arnold Tonybee's civilization theory	6 stages: Genesis, Expansion, Breakdown, Downfall, Universal State, and Universal Church	Andean, Sinic, Minoan, Sumer, Mayan, Indic, Hittites, Hellenic, Western, Orthodox Christian (Russia), Far Eastern (Korea/Japan), Orthodox Christian, Far Eastern, Iranian, Egyptian, Arab, Hindu, Mexic, Yucatec, and Babylonian, Four 'abortive civilizations' as Abortive Far Western Christian, Abortive Far Eastern Christian, Abortive Scandinavian, Abortive Syriac) and five 'arrested civilizations' as Polynesian, Eskimo, Nomadic, Ottoman Empire, Spartan)
Giambattista Vico's civilization cycle	3 stages: The Age of the Gods, the Age of Heroes and the Age of Men	Early Greek states, Roman Empire and European civilizations

Source: *Adapted from the literature*

THE CASE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Sovereign powers have about 120-year life spans and this takes three or four generations for Ibn Khaldun. Over time generations change, next generations forget about the previous generations' motivations and values gradually. They are established by the foundation's values of the first generation and the second generation follows it because they see how this sovereign power is created. But the third generation forgets all the values of ancestors and the last generation causes the sovereign powers to collapse. But the states may continue to live more if the reasons which destroy the states do not take place in 120-year life spans (Cairns, 1971). For Ibn Khaldun, these reasons emerge in two ways. One of them is the attacks coming from outside. These groups have stronger asabiyyat and are more uncivilised. As an example, the victory of Seljuks over Ghaznevids can be given. Seljuks established their state over the ashes of Ghaznevids with the battle of Dandanaqan by taking its lands, human resources, administrative traditions. In brief, the features which made Ghaznevids a state were taken by Seljuks (Çetin and Çağ,2015: 69-70). Secondly, governors who carry out their jobs in the far places of the state establish rebelliously his own state over their rulers' lands when the rulers lose their power, because the rulers firstly start losing the control in the far places to the capital. These governors wage a war against the rulers, later other domestic powers (generals, clans etc.) and each other to take the control in all lands. Over time, generally one of the governors with stronger asabiyya wins and takes the heritage of the destroyed state. As an example, in the Zengi state, Nureddin Zengi the sultan appointed Selahaddin Eyyubi to Egypt as a governor. Egypt was the far place of the state. After the sultan died, Selahaddin Eyyubi carried out a revolt and occupied Zengi state and established the Eyyubi State over the ashes of the Zengi state.

Ibn Khaldun explained periods or stages which sovereign powers experience in their lives spans. There are five historical stages of sovereign powers and every stage has main features. (İbn Haldun, 2016: 370-373 and 378-381). The example of the Ottoman Empire is used for this theory and five historical stages of sovereign powers and their main traits are used to understand whether Ibn Khaldun theory can be applied to the Ottoman Empire or not.

The Foundation Period of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1453)

Every dynasty is Bedouins at the beginning and by the help of its nature and strong asabiyya, can invade civilized dynasties. In the foundation period, uncivilized communities (clans, dynasties, beyliks) win wars against enemies, do not collect high taxes and try to have the throne. The leaders are brutal to enemies coming from outside. The notion of leadership is used in this period and the rulers are not powerful in their clans. This means that rulers need other clans' power and respect clan chiefs' thoughts and ask their opinions. Moreover, the leaders treat the public kindly (İbn Haldun, 2016: 601,791 and 379) and have close relationships with the public. The power which creates a sovereign power is asabiyya and heroism also comes from asabiyya (İbn Haldun, 2016:373 and 590). Asabiyya is very important bond for a sovereign power. When the bond is closer, people can take more risks for each other. When the trust connects with the values like courage and zeal, they have a more potential to win wars. Also, to become true leaders, the leaders should collect tax, take the full control of subjects and gain the obedience and trust of subjects, send representatives to other states, defend their own borders (military superiority), and there should not any stronger power in their own lands (Çetin and Çağ, 2015:43-44).

In Anatolia, Ottomans began its journey as a tribe titled Kayı and Anatolian Seljuks granted them lands near the Byzantine Empire (or the Roman Empire) to fight under Seljuk's order and fight for jihad against Byzantines. After Ottomans won Koyunhisar War against Byzantines in 1302, and under the leadership of Osman Bey, Ottomans started a serious and independent power in the land (İnalcık, 2016: 10, 12 and 16-17). The successes of Ottomans in this period were analyzed by many historians. One of these thinkers was Ibn Battuta (1304- 1368 or 1377), a Moroccan explorer travelled a lot of cities, empires and states throughout the world. He observed that, of the newly established beyliks, the richest and the most powerful beylik was Ottomans, because Bithynia, in north-western *Anatolia,* was very wealthy as agricultural and urban bases and Ottomans was a warrior nation (Dunn, 2012:152). Also, Herbert Gibbons proposed that an Ottoman race occurred from the mixture of Greek, Balkan inhabitants and Turkish idolaters (non-Muslims) in his book titled as Foundation of Ottoman Empire. Later Polytheist Turks and Christians chose Islam. This thesis is called as the religious transformation hypothesis. Also, he thought that this foundation was based on Byzantine-Christian origins and administrative traditions

(Gibbons, 1998: 41-42). He basically considered that the growth of Ottomans and the coalescence with local people were not normal in the very short time and just this race thesis could explain this because the inhabitants did not consider them as foreign people and they thought that they came from the same root. However, Köprülü adopted the Historical Continuity Thesis and argued that the Ottoman Empire was established totally on Islamic and Turkish factors. The empire should be called as the extension of Anatolian Beyliks and the Seljuk Empire. He proposed that the driving force in the establishment and growth of the Ottoman Empire was the victory of Malazgirt in 1071. In addition, he said that Turkish-Islamic guilds, intellectuals, warriors coming for jihad/Ghaza were very important for the fast growth (Köprülü, 1999:153). In addition, Paul Wittek considered that Ghaza was the key of the growth for Ottomans to give dynamism for conquests, attacks and reforms (Alatas, 2014:94). He thought that Ghaza/jihad did not only mean a war for a religion and this could be the way of spreading Islam and conquests to expand the land and population. Halil İnalcık extended the Wittek Ghaza thesis. He stated that Ottomans had a strong Ghaza power, a lot of Turkmens who migrated to Anatolia joined Ottomans for Ghaza and they protected non-Muslims by showing the religion tolerance. All the things helped Ottomans progress faster (İnalcık, 2016:8 and 12-13).

Byzantines were civilized people, lost their wild nature, got used to living at ease and became less coordinated and less brave. But Ottomans were hordes who were uncivilized. Therefore, they had a stronger asabiyya and they were more courageous and better fighters. It is easy to understand this situation from a war between Ottomans and Byzantines, which is Koyunhisar war (1302). A beylik won the army of the empire. Especially after the Koyunhisar war Byzantines regarded the beylik as an important enemy (İnalcık, 2016:16-17). This can show the deterioration of Byzantines.

Ibn Khaldun considers that when Bedouins establish a state with asabiyya and power, they tend to gain respect rather than wealth and they take less tax from the public. When a state is used to luxury in hadara, it tends to impose more tax, forces the public to pay heavy taxes and its economy deteriorates (İbn Haldun, 2016: 570-573). Also in the foundation of a state Ibn Khaldun mentions that leaders share the power with the other members of the family. There was not a personalization of the power. As an example, Osman Bey governed the beylik together with other family members and took the decisions together (İnalcık, 2008). Ottomans captured a lot of cities from

Byzantines because the subjects of Byzantines were very tired of paying high taxes and Byzantines neglected their interests. When Ottomans conquered cities, they did not put high taxes on the public and they treated them well. The Ottoman won the confidence of many Byzantine subjects (Agoston and Masters, 2009:109). There can be two main reasons for this behavior. First, Ottomans regarded them as its own part and they wanted to be permanent in the lands. Secondly, Ottomans which were less civilized and they did not have any institution to impose taxes. Also, Ottomans which were uncivilized needed less for living because they were not used to the luxury (İbn Haldun, 2016: 572-573, 601). For instance, before Murad I, any prisoner of war was not taken by sultans and the sultans did not take any income from them (Compofee en Anglous par une Societe de Gens de Lettres, 1999:90).

Ibn Khaldun says that newly established states are willing to take the traditions, arts, religions, lifestyle from more civilized states conquered by them. In the foundation period, Ottomans generally took the administrative traditions of the Seljuk Empire. They took lessons from the Seljuk Empire and adopted its administrative institutions. For example, until Alparslan, Seljuks were governed by two learders (Tuğrul and Cağrı Bey). The state is the common property of the leader's family. Also, unlike Ottomans, in other coastal beyliks, the beyliks were the common properties of the leaders' families. But Bayezit I killed his brothers in order to collect the power in one hand (Köprülü, 1991: 107). Also Seljuks' gulam system and igta system were modified by Ottomans as the devshirme system (child levy system) and the timar system.

The Personalization of Power (1453-1512)

In this stage, leaders may be seen as cruel due to the cautions taken but the most important thing is to reduce the power of other potential leaders. They take on the duties of a monarch and they start becoming kings/sultans with absolute power. They make the other clans which helped them in the establishment of states weaker and they want to make sure that their sons take the power in the future after they die. Leaders start having slaves and employ people to strengthen their own positions. In this way, they take all the power and do not share it like before. Leadership turns into monarchy and leaders need to prove their authority to everyone to unite them. In the previous period, the leaders fought for enemies coming from outside but

in this period, the enemies are inside. These people who are considered as enemies by leaders generally come from the same clans/beyliks or grow up with leaders. They have special relationships with leaders and they may fail in respect for leaders (İbn Haldun, 2016:379, 396). Also, there can be other powerful noblemen which may threat the thrones of leaders. Because of these reasons the leaders make them powerless and look for people who obey them definitely. If leaders do not do that, even the decisions taken by leaders may be questioned and this hurts their own states and leaders' authorities badly. The solution is that leaders start sharing power with slaves and people who do not come from the same clans as leaders' clans and give them important positions in the state. In addition, over time, people who are governed forget the beginnings of their own states, they cannot separate truth from lies, they feel obliged to rulers and rulers' enemies become the public's enemies (İbn Haldun, 2016: 340-341 and 392-393).

This period in Ottomans started after Mehmet II (1444–46 and 1451–81) conquered Constantinople and he achieved to unite the lands which were in Europe and Anatolia. Mainly in this time the sultan's authority was enforced by his servants recruited from slaves which were captured in wars and came from the devshirme system. But, previously, Marcher-Lords were autonomous on the Balkan frontier, the administration was in the hands of the Turks, but they were largely independent of the sultan's authority. Mehmet II desired to take the full power. He took over all the power after he conquered Constantinople. He killed people who had potentials to resist his authority or changed their places. He punished janissaries revolting when he ascended the throne. He dismissed a lot of soldiers and he increased janissaries from 5.000 to 10.000. He killed even Candarli Halil Pasha who governed Ottomans for 16 years so as to take over all the power and so as to take the power from the Turkish aristocracy. Except for Karamani Mehmed, he chose all the grand viziers from slaves and charged slaves to important positions (İnalcık, 2016: 116-118). These slaves came from the slave institution (devsirme system). Ottomans took the children of Christian subjects, teaching the customary and Islamic law. Under the child levy system, the children aged generally 8 to 20 years old were taken periodically at variable times and numbers. The children taken became the Janissaries which were the sultan's elite soldiers and some of them were also educated as government officials (Agoston and Masters, 2009:183). A variety of races, especially in the army, were useful for discipline. *Nizamülmülk also warned that soldiers*

should not come from the same race because they become lazy (Nizamülmülk, 1999: 72). This idea explains the transition from asabiyya of lineage to asabiyya of reason. Murat I created the janissary system in order to recruit prisoners of wars to the army without spending money, to make the newly conquered lands unable to revolt. Mehmet II modified the system and used the system to boost his authority. These actions were very useful because slaves did not have the power to take the sultan's place, they do not have enough asabiyya due to lack of the strong blood bonds and everybody knew that they were slaves. Also, when they were killed, they did not have enough relatives to take revenge.

Ibn Khaldun says that when a dynasty flourishes to the highest luxury and extend the borders of the land, the other members of the dynasty are excluded from the power. Some dynasty members can choose to flee. When the leader's power gets weaker, the dynasty members who fled gets stronger and they can divide the state into two. This situation reduces the lifespan of the dynasty (İbn Haldun, 2016:593). Mehmet II took some vital decisions to make the empire longer. Fratricide was very effective. He legitimated the act of executing the male members of the dynasty so as to curb a disorder (İnalcık, 2016: 120). Also, Mehmet II took this caution to prevent them from reaching enough power to challenge the state. This decision is absolutely vital for the empire's future. If the leader does not kill his dynasty's male members who are dangerous for the empire, they can have a big army with asabiyya (blood bond) by the help of some powerful government officials who do not like the current leader. Also in this possible war, a lot of warriors for jihad would die and umran would get weaker. Thanks to Mehmet II, this warrior potential generally was used for just enemies, especially non-Muslims to spread the Islam.

The Period of Growth and Expansion (1512-1579)

This stage is called as the time of leisure and tranquility and leaders enjoy the royal authority. Moreover, there are big achievements in architecture, literature, science and arts. Leaders make the military powerful in order to make enemies afraid. The leaders take decisions by themselves. The leaders focus on subjects' problems. Also, leaders increase their own income and spend money for the public (İbn Haldun, 2016:380). In this time, the state defeats the enemies coming from inside and outside and is very wealthy.

This time is interim period between hadara and badawa (or the beginning of hadara) and this period has features from hadara and badawa. People achieved the luxury and were civilized but they did not lose martial power. Normally this time is not long because, when people reach luxury, they can easily get used to luxury and lose their original features. It is clear to understand that the state is still powerful and leaders have talented and independent. Also, the asabiyya of lineage is still effective. This means that the power of the military and their spiritual power are high.

In the Ottoman Empire, this time was long and remarkable because of the heritage of the previous periods, wise bureaucrats, religion influence, talented sultans and relatively weak enemies. Especially, the sultans who were magnificent fighters, had the religious passion of the fighters for jihad/Ghaza, and had the tolerance toward different faiths and beliefs and traditions of the conquered states were the key values for the growth. One of the best ways to win people's hearts is to respect the freedom of religion. Some examples can be given to prove this. İnalcık says that, to Kritovoulos and Taci Beyzade Ca'fer, Mehmet II said that jihad/Ghaza was our mission like our ancestors in the meeting in which the decision of conquest of Constantinople was given (İnalcık, 2016:109). Moreover, it is commonly known that Sultan Mehmed II gave the privilege the Greek Orthodox Church and appointed a patriarch as the head of the Orthodox Church (Agoston and Masters, 2009: 238-239). Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) expanded the empire's lands to spread and protect Islam. In 1512 Ottomans's lands were 341,100 square miles but in 1520 its lands became 576,900 square miles (Agoston and Masters, 2009:511). He defeated the Memluks, took the title of the Caliph and made the asabiyya of reason stronger in Islam. Therefore, he began creating an imperial Sunni Islamic dominion by the help of a number of religious schools. People graduating from these schools spread the orthodox Islam. Also, Suleyman I (1520–1566) had the high jihad motivation and he spent a quarter of his reign in 13 campaigns (Agoston and Masters, 2009:541). When Süleyman I captured Baghdad in 1535, he endowed Shii shrines and hosted Shii clergymen. In addition, the Ottoman governors granted patronage to Shii clergymen and shrines (Agoston and Masters, 2009:529). Under Suleyman I Islam was nested into the empire and magistrates spread Islam to every place of the Ottoman lands (Barkey, 2007:11). Ottomans spread Islam effectively because the religion made asabiyya stronger and made people fight by risking their life. Also, the religion can help people solve their problems peacefully and help them

unite for one aim. Ibn Khaldun says that if a leader wants subjects to accept his ideas, he needs a strong asabiyya (İbn Haldun, 2016: 348,349). Also if your aim is to spread religions and sects, you should have the asabiyya bond (İbn Haldun, 2016:429). It was clear to understand from this situation that asabiyya was strong in Ottomans.

Furthermore, in this time, to Ibn Khaldun, leaders share the wealth with subjects and focus to flourish states. This time reflected the Ottoman Empire as the growth period in architecture, literature, science and arts. The time of Süleyman I can be defined as the Magnificent Century in economic development, justice, expansion, and trade especially in arts and cultures. Among the most magnificent successes there were many mosques and other buildings. Some of them were built by Mimar Sinan (1539–1588) who was one of the most important architects of the Ottoman Empire. Also, the other important developments and advancements took place in many fields (in ceramics, music, manuscript painting, literature, art education, textiles, and calligraphy). There were many main artistic and commercial centres. For example, Cairo was famous for the manufacture of carpets, Baghdad for the arts of the book, Bursa for silks and textiles, and Iznik for ceramics (Yalman, 2002).

The Period of Stagnation (1579-1730)

Every dynasty can obtain a certain amount of lands and they cannot have more. Every state should send representatives coming from its own state to the lands which were conquered because these lands need protection and taxes should be collected. When they do not have any person to send, it means that the state reached its natural borders (İbn Haldun, 2016:354). After this time, states start deterioration from inside. Ibn Khaldun mentions that in this period, due to the incapability of leaders, the power of sovereign powers starts diminishing. Following Süleyman's death, the sultans became less talented and active for wars. But due to an extraordinary vizier who was Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, the growth continued for a little while. But in this stage sultans were not willing to go to wars and less cared about government affairs. This triggered the deterioration. Especially Ahmet I (1603-1617)'s law helped this situation happen. Ahmet I legitimized that the wisest and the oldest male in the dynastic family could be the sultan of the Ottoman Empire and he tried to curb the execution of Sultan's brothers and sons. In addition to this, after Ahmet I, the potential sultans to the throne did not go

to administer a province. Instead of that they were trained, were educated and lived in Istanbul (Sakaoğlu, 1999:200). The situation gets worse because without any training in the field they become less capable. Due to this, sultans started being incapable of sustaining noteworthy values of integrity in the management of the Ottoman Empire and they became less responsive to public opinion because they did not get to know the public and the administration of the empire. The incapability of sultans triggered the dependency of the sultans to the viziers. Moreover, old members of the dynasty can be less willing to do reforms and take less risks to make the empire powerful than young members of the dynasty. This weakened the dynamism of the empire.

Also, this stage is called as satisfaction and peacefulness. Generally, leaders are happy with what his predecessors did and they consider that they should follow their ancestors' steps. One of the most important aims is to stay in peace. Leaders rely on the traditions of his ancestors and try to imitate their movements. Basically, they do not do anything new and just would like to maintain their power. Also in this period and after this period, some rulers generally are incapable of ruling the state due to his young ages, inexperience, weak characters, luxury etc. Leaders do not take care of the government administration and viziers or other powerful statesmen govern the state. When they start taking the control over sultans, it is very hard to take the power from them (İbn Haldun, 2016). In the Ottoman Empire, the mothers of princes and the mothers of sultans intervened the government policies and they governed the empire instead of sultans. Only the exceptional leader in this time was Murad IV who governed the empire as a sultan between 1623 and 1640. He took the power back from his mother who was Kösem Sultan and janissaries who were rebellious in recent times obeyed the sultan. But if a state start decaying, nobody and nothing can prevent the state from decaying. This process can be delayed but it does not stop. For example, in 1402 Ottomans lost the Ankara war against Timurids and had very tough times. But Ottomans did not collapse because the structure of Ottomans was very strong and the asabiyya was powerful. In that time, Ottomans looked like a young person with flu and they got rid of it fast. But in this time Ottomans were like an old man with flu and every flu makes a trouble.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun says that a state forgets their primitive nature in this period. Martial power gets weaker when the state enjoys luxury. For example, if a person lives in luxury, he does not want to walk thousands of kilometers with his weapons in order to go to wars nor jihad/holy war. The reason

is that when the state obtains wealth, people leave their primitive life and start getting used to luxury. A community just deserves to have the state by working hard and when they achieve their aims, they start losing their zeal to work more because their aims are completed. Also, the community tends to imitate their leaders. It means that if leaders spend money lavishly, the community follows them and later because of lavish lifestyle, leaders need to collect more taxes and social life starts collapsing (İbn Haldun, 2016).

In addition, the expansion (jihad/ghaza) which halted made the deterioration easier. Jihad (ghaza) became the character of Ottomans, was infiltrated highly into the Ottoman culture, and likewise created dynamism. Ibn Khaldun stated that the transformation of rural lifestyle to urban life style comes with the deterioration of fighting desire. When the sultans refused to go to wars and stayed at their palaces, the Ottoman Empire changed its character and worldview. Ottomans lost the empire's foundation values and got lazy. Tulip period (1718-30) is a good example to describe this stage's lavish lifestyle and this time shaped the point of view of Ottomans. This period can be called as pleasure and enjoyment time. Governors and elites enjoyed pleasures of parties and prosperity. In parties, governors enjoyed poems and sometimes some foreign diplomats were invited to these parties. Also, Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30) and elite class spent building many lavish summer residences and extravagant houses. But the public was very angry with the governors, the elite class and the sultan because they were poor and economy was very bad. They did not take care of the public's needs. The reaction of the public increased significantly and the revolt under the leadership of Patrona Halil took place and it put an end to the Tulip period (İnalcık, 2016:7-10, IV. volume).

The Period of Decline and Dissolution (1730-1922)

This stage is known as waste and squandering. Leaders spend forebears' fortune and live in luxury. In the last stage, talented people do not support leaders. Due to this, they have to entrust low-class followers concerning the essential matters of the state and dissipate the authority of his forebears. Senility disease covers dynasties and states, which cause their destructions. In the previous period, the leaders imitate his ancestors' actions and ideas but in this period, they blame their wrong actions. This is the last period which destroys the state. All the features which the fourth period has get worse in this time and it goes until the downfall. This time is the process of destruction of all values including asa-

biyya. Ibn Khaldun insists that the decline comes with administrative, economical, military and spiritual erosions. The decline is a complex situation. Also, Bernard Lewis who is an expert of Islam agrees with Ibn Khaldun. He says that Ottoman's government, the leaders and military are responsible for the decline but we should not forget about the affection of moral, social and cultural erosion (Lewis,1958). When asabiyya gets weaker, leaders need the sword power rather than the pen power. It means that they need the power of the military desperately like in the time which the state established. Leaders employ professional soldiers with money. Because these soldiers do not choose death for money, the military gets weaker. Moreover, since leaders spend much money for their desires, economy gets weaker and the government put more taxes on people. In addition, economic crises do not make them have a big army. When they are attacked by other states, the leader has to spend a lot of money for the army. Due to the situation of the army and lack of martial power they lose wars (İbn Haldun, 2016: 367-368, 380-381, 532 and 596).

Tulip period was the serious signal which meant that Ottomans were inclined to embrace westernization. In the previous period, Ottomans considered that imitating their ancestors were enough to save the empire and Ottomans underestimated Europe but in this period, they understood that the civilization of Europe, especially in technology, was better than the Ottomans' civilization and they acknowledged their superiority gradually (İnalcık,2016: 3-4, IV. volume). Firstly, the decline of the Ottoman armed forces, defeats in wars and the loss of territories forced Ottomans to make reforms. Ibn Khaldun says that losers always tend to imitate winner's lifestyle, traditions, dresses (İbn Haldun, 2016:325-326). Because of that Ottomans carried out reforms. However, to Ibn Khaldun, even if the leaders try to carry out reforms and rehabilitations to curb the downfall, old habits and traditions prevent reforms and rehabilitations from being successful. Senility is a natural process and cannot be prevented (İbn Haldun, 2016: 596-597). For example, Sultan Selim III established permanent embassies in the European capitals, was interested in the European education and tried to strengthen the army with reforms. But these reforms were not successful mainly because of janissaries. But Sultan Mahmut II abolished the janissaries who were generally against reforms, especially about the army and might cause defeats due to lack of discipline. He created the French regimental system in military, and established military training schools. But this time the empire lost some wars generally due to lack of janissaries since the new army was not ready. Later, major reforms in government, education, agriculture, administration

and law were made in the time of constitutional movements. But the empire could not get any success because the public and civil servants resisted reforms. For instance, Vidin riot occurred because of land reforms in this time (İnalcık, 2016:15-16, IV. volume). In addition to this, in 1909 the riot (31 mart) took place by Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)'s supporters who were against the second constitutional era in 1908 (İnalcık, 2016:19, IV. volume). As is seen, in the time of senility the empire was old like an old person and an old person cannot be young again. But sometimes they can behave like a young man but this lasts for a little time (İbn Haldun, 2016:596-597). For example, Abdulhamid II remarkably protected the empire against enemies for 33 years. Also, he used the caliphate effectively. After Abdulhamid II, the empire started losing a number of lands in a little time. Ibn Khaldun says that when a state loses lands, the state gets smaller and at last the centre is invaded. However, sometimes even if the state has a lot of lands and do not lose many of their lands, when the centre of the empire is captured, other lands cannot save the empire. For instance, when a heart stops, the other organs cannot survive (İbn Haldun, 2016:355). The same situation can be seen in the Ottoman Empire. In 1918, allied powers invaded Istanbul with their naval forces. Even in that time, allied powers could not capture all the lands of Ottomans. But invading Istanbul was enough to control Ottomans. In the event of authority gap, every group wants to take over the authority. The head of a group which took over the authority was Mustafa Kemal Pasha and he established Turkey in 1923.

CONCLUSION

Ibn Khaldun is the leading theorist in Islamic political thought and even today his theories are valid and acceptable in explaining current events. He is also known as the father of social science and positive social science. In his life, he had many opportunities to observe many states and cities. In different states, he worked at courts to observe the public, was a scholar to observe the future generations and became a high-ranking government official to analyze states' institutions. Additionally, he had an opportunity to observe Bedouins' lifestyles. Then he wrote his magnificent book as Kitab al-'Ibar, especially introduction part which is Muqaddimah. His book, Muqaddimah, is not only a magnificent historiography but also a very comprehensive political theory.

In Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun explains his political and cyclical theory in detail. In brief, Bedouins conquer lands and they take over the power. The

new leaders have the solidarity with society, but after a while, they strive for all authority. Later, they start governing subjects through his assistants. After a while, asabiyya weakens within the society. Luxury begins to affect ethical life. Rising expenditures cause higher taxes, which decrease the amount of production and ends up with lower revenues. At last, civilizations and states are destroyed by more dynamic and uncivilized Bedouins or powers from inside.

Four cyclical theories were compared to Ibn Khaldun's theory and it is clear that according to time, civilizations, cultures and states which were analyzed, five theories have similarities and differences. Generally, they think that sovereign powers are living organisms similar to today's theories of ecologists and after a certain point, the decline is inevitable. The comparative analysis states that there were significant similarities between Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory and the other four theories. Khaldun's ideas coincided with Western theorists and Chinese theory. Also, the progresses of developments are linked and have materialistic perspectives. Furthermore, each theory reflects the unique social pillars in terms of social change.

The Ottoman Empire was used as an example in this study. Ibn Khaldun's cyclical theory was successful in explaining the rise and fall of Ottomans. But his prediction (120 years or three or four generation) was not right about Ottomans. The reason can be that he did not observe big states except for Memluks and he did not also witness its downfall. He just analyzed Arab and Barbary states. His experience was not enough for a big state combining a lot of states' values and its various internal dynamics. But his theory can be used to understand the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empires because he created a general theory which summarizes sovereign powers' general lifecycle and stages. His theory can be re-evaluated with the dynamism of knowledge and science rather than physical dynamism.

REFERENCES

Ágoston G. & Masters B. (2009). *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*. New York USA, Infobase Publishing.

Akkaş, S. Ö. (2003). *Giambattista Vico'nun 'Yeni Bilim' Adli Eserinin Felsefe Tarihindeki Yeri*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Ankara University.

Alatas, S. F. (2014). *Applying Ibn Khaldun: The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology*. Routledge, New York.

Albayrak, A. (2000). Bir Medeniyet Kuramcısı Olarak İbn Haldun. *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, 9*(1).

Al Tarawneh, F. (2017). The Collapse of Western Civilization: A Comparative S through the Theories of Challenge and Response to the Philosopher Arnold Toebney and the Theory of the Collapse of Western Civilization of the Philosopher Oswald Spengler Study. *Asian Social Science, 13*(7), 83.

Avcı, A. (2008). İbni Haldun ve G. Vico Karşılaştırmasında Doğalcı ve Tinselci Tarih Felsefesi. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Akdeniz University.

Barkey, K. (2005). Islam and toleration: Studying the Ottoman imperial model. International *Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 19*(1-2), 5-19.

Borthwick, S. M. (2011). The Decline of Civlizations: WB Yeats' and Oswald Spengler's New Historiography of Civilization. *Comparative Civilizations Review, 64*(64), 4.

Cairns, G. E. (1971). *Philosophies of History: Meeting of East and West in Cycle-Patterns Theories of History*, Greenwood Press, Connecticut.

Chang, S. H. L. (1990). *History and legend: Ideas and images in the Ming historical novels*. University of Michigan Press.

Compofee en Anglous par une Societe de Gens de Lettres (1999). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi,* (Translated by Şiar Yalçın), Sarmal, Istanbul.

Çetin, A. and Çağ. G. (2015). *İbn Haldun Umranında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*. Lotus, Istanbul.

Dunn, R. E. (2012). *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century*, University of California press.

Dudley, L. (2017). *The Singularity of Western Innovation: The Language Nexus*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Fındıkoğlu, Z. F. (1961). *İçtimaiyat 2: Metodoloji Nazariyeleri*. İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Yay., İstanbul.

Galtung, J., & Inayatullah, S. (Eds.). (1997). *Macrohistory and macrohistorians: Perspectives on individual, social, and civilizational change*. Westport: Praeger.

Gibbons, H. A. (1998). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluşu*, (translated by Ragıp Hulusi), 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları. Ankara.

Hassan, Ü. (2011). *İbn Haldun Metodu ve Siyaset Teorisi* - Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara.

Hughes, C. (2011). The Recycling of Time and the End of History. *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies, 8*(1).

İbn Haldun (2016). *Ibn Khaldun Mukaddime I*. (Translated by Arslan Tekin). İlgi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık Istanbul, İlgi Kültür Sanat

İbn Haldun (2015). *İbn Haldun ve Mukaddime*.Yason Yayıncılık (Ed. Taşkın Köksal) Ankara.

İnalcık, H. (2007). Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Kurucusu Osman Beg. *Belleten, 71*(261), 479-537.

İnalcık, H. (2016). *Devlet-i Aliye Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar-1 Klasik dönem (1302-1606) Siyasal, kurumsal ve ekonomik gelişim*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

İnalcık, H. (2016). *Devlet-i Aliye Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar- IV âyânlar, tanzimat ve meşrutiyet*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

Irwin, R. (1997). Toynbee and Ibn Khaldun. *Middle Eastern Studies, 33*(3), 461-479.

Kıvılcımlı, H. (1965). *Tarih Devrim Sosyalizm*. Tarihsel Maddecilik Yay.

Köprülü, F. (1991*). Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluşu*, TTK Yayınları.

Köprülü, F. (1999). Osmanlı Devleti'nin kuruluş ve gelişmesinde itici güçler, *Osmanlı I, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları*, 153-160

Lewis, B. (1958). Some reflections on the decline of the Ottoman Empire. *Studia Islamica,* (9), 111-127.

Meriç, C. (1992). Bu Ülke, İletişim Yayınları.

Muhammad, M. R. (1980). Ibn Khaldūn and Vico: A Comparative Study. *Islamic Studies, 19*(3), 195-211.

Nelson, H. W. (1980). *Kykloi: cyclic theories in ancient Greece*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Portland State University.

Nizamülmülk (1999). Siyasetname, (Translated by Mehmet Altay Köymen). Ankara.

Okumuş, E. (2006). Ibn Haldun'un Osmanlı Düşüncesine Etkisi. *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi, 15*, 141-185.

Önder, M. (2011). What accounts for changing public trust in government? A causal analysis with structural equation model. *Journal of US-China Public Administration, 8*(2), 154-165.

Onder, M. (2006). How local conditions affect the existence and capacity of the nonprofit sector: a test of competing theories. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Florida State University.

Onder, M. and Brower, R. S. (2004). Nonprofit Lifecycles: Stage-Based Wisdom for Nonprofit Capacity. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 33*(1), 171-175.

Onder, M. and Memis Z. (2017). Abdusselam El-Amasi'nin Siyasetnamesi: Tuhfetü'l Umera ve Minhatü'l Vüzera/Siyaset ve Yönetim Ahlaki (The Politics of Abdusselam El-Amasi: Tuhfetu'l Umera ve Minhatu'l Vuzera/Political and Administrative Ethics). *Uluslararası Amasya Alimleri Sempozyumu /International Amasya Scholars' Symposium*, (Amasya, 21-22 Nisan: 253-266).

Poston, D. L. and Lee, C. F. and Chang C. F. and Mckibben S. H., and Walther C. S. (2006). *Fertility, Family Planning and Population Policy in China, USA and Canada*, Routledge.

Quito, E. S. (2017). *Critique of historical theory*. Anvil Publishing, Incorporated via PublishDrive.

Sakaoğlu, N. (2007). *Bu mülkün sultanları: 36 Osmanlı padişahı*. Oğlak Yayıncılık ve Reklamcılık.

Spengler, O. (1926). *Decline of the West. Volume I: Form and Actuality*. (translated by Charles Francis Atkinson) New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Spengler, O. (1928). *Decline of the West. Volume II: Perspectives of World History*. (translated by Charles Francis Atkinson). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Stowasser, B. (1984). Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: The Rise and Fall Of States And Civilizations. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi, 39*(1). 185-190.

Sumer, B. (2012). Ibn Khaldun's Asabiyya for Social Cohesion. *Electronic Journal of Social Sciences*. *11*(41).

Tok, N. (2003). An Essay on Gramsci's Concept of Civil Society. *İktisadi ve idari Bilimler Dergisi*, 3-4.

Toynbee, A. (1956). *A Study of History*, 3, Oxford University Press.

Toynbee, A. (1962). A Study of History, 5. Oxford University Press.

Turner, H. (2015). *A Comparison of the Historical Worldviews of Oswald Spengler and Ibn Khaldun*. Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakif University. Alliance of Civilization Institute. M.A Course of History of Comparative Thought.

Uludağ, S. (2013). *İbn Haldun Hayatı Fikirleri Eserleri Biyografi*. Ankara, Harf Eğitim.

Vico, G. (1984). *The new science of Giambattista Vico*. (Translated by T. G. Bergin T.G. and Fisch M. H.). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Yalman, S. (2002). *The Art of the Ottomans before 1600*. In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/otto1/hd_otto1.htm (October 2002) taken on January 9, 2017.