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INTERSUBJECTIVE SOCIAL SCIENCE AND DIVINE FOUNDATIONS IN INDONESIA: A CIVILISATIONAL READING OF IBN KHALDŪN AND KUNTOWIJOYO

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ABSTRACT

Muslim civilisational consciousness has historically evolved through three interrelated phases: the theological (*Islamic*), the political (*Islamdom*), and the socio-historical (*Islamicate*). These phases represent distinct yet interconnected modes of reasoning through which Muslims have understood religion, power, and historical experience. From sociological and historical perspectives, these cycles of civilisational reason were critically examined by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) and, in the Indonesian context, by Kuntowijoyo (1943–2005). This study addresses two central questions: how do Ibn Khaldūn’s and Kuntowijoyo’s conceptions of civilisational cycles compare, and what implications do their ideas hold for contemporary Indonesian society? Employing a qualitative document-based methodology, the study analyses primary texts—*al-Muqaddimah* by Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo’s writings on the historical periodisation of Indonesian Muslims—using a comparative–evolutionary

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analytical framework. Comparative analysis identifies convergences and divergences in their civilisational reasoning, while evolutive analysis traces the transformation of historical consciousness within Indonesian Muslim society. The study advances the concept of intersubjective social science with a divine foundation, a framework that integrates spiritual consciousness, ethical self-reflection grounded in prophetic ethics, and divine guidance as constitutive elements of social analysis. This approach challenges positivist and secular paradigms in the social sciences by repositioning revelation, morality, and inner ethical awareness as legitimate epistemic sources. By synthesising Ibn Khaldūn's theory of social cohesion and civilisational decline with Kuntowijoyo's prophetic social science, the paper contributes to the development of a civilisationally grounded social science relevant to Indonesia's intellectual and socio-religious context.

KEYWORDS: Ibn Khaldūn, Kuntowijoyo, Civilisational Theory, Islamic Sociology, Prophetic Ethics, Intersubjective Social Science.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Muslims' historical awareness of civilisational periodisation has undergone three major stages, namely the theological, political, and historical-cultural. The theological phase refers to Islam as a doctrine (*Islamic*). Subsequently, Islam is perceived as a caliphate with political authority (*Islamdom*) before subsequently becoming modern states.² Finally, these earlier stages were historically mediated through social and cultural processes, giving rise to what is today conceptualised as

² Muhammad Zainor Ridho, "From Caliphate to Modern State: A Reflection of Ibn Khaldun's Thought", *Ulumuna* 23, no. 1 (2019): 48–70, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v23i1.345>.

the Islamicate civilisational sphere.³ According to Tibi⁴ and Bayat,⁵ these three cycles described as *Islam*, *Islamism*, and *Post-Islamism*. In sociological terms, this trajectory corresponds with broader theories of the periodisation of human thought and social consciousness.⁶ Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) was among the earliest thinkers to articulate a systematic theory of the stages of human reasoning and social development. As a polymath, he made foundational contributions not only to sociology but also to history, political thought, philosophy of social science, and jurisprudence. In the present study, however, Ibn Khaldūn is examined primarily through his sociological lens⁷—not to diminish his wider intellectual legacy, but to situate his thought within a civilisational analysis of social reasoning. Ibn Khaldūn identified three principal forms of social cognition: *'aql tamyīzī* (discriminative reasoning), *'aql tajrībī* (empirical reasoning), and *'aql nazārī* (speculative–rational intellect).⁸ Drawing inspiration from Ibn Khaldūn's civilisational sociology,, Kuntowijoyo (1943-2005) proposed a tripartite model of historical consciousness experienced by Indonesian Muslims, namely myth, ideology, and science.⁹ These stages reflect a transition from symbolic religious awareness to ideological mobilisation, and finally to a reflective, knowledge-based engagement with religion and society.

³ See, M. Amin Abdullah, *Islamikasi Indonesia: Filsafat Ilmu Memahami Pancasila* (Islamicate of Indonesia: The Philosophy of Science Understanding Pancasila) (Yogyakarta: Litera Cahaya Bangsa, 2025).

⁴ See, Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam* (London: Yale University Press, 2012).

⁵ See, Asef Bayat, ed., *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁶ Mukerrem Miftah Shafi, "A Critical Appraisal of Marshal Hodgson's View of Islam Vis-à-Vis Cumulative and Discursive Traditions", *The Journal of Humanity and Society* 1, no. 2 (2018): 33–50, <https://doi.org/10.12658/M0234>.

⁷ Mehmet Soyer and Paul Gilbert, "Debating the Origins of Sociology: Ibn Khaldun as a Founding Father of Sociology", *International Journal of Sociological Research* 5, no. 1 (2012): 13–30, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264385117>.

⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah* (Introduction) (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1947), 374.

⁹ Kuntowijoyo, *Identitas Politik Umat Islam* (Islamic Political Identity) (Bandung: Mizan Press, 1997), 66–67.

A sustained comparative analysis between Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo has not been adequately undertaken in existing scholarship. While a direct comparison between the two figures may appear disproportionate given their distinct historical and disciplinary contexts, revisiting Ibn Khaldūn's theory of social reason through the interpretive lens of Kuntowijoyo remains both viable and intellectually productive. This is because both thinkers share several foundational convergences. First, both operated within an Islamic worldview grounded in spiritual and ethical values. Second, both sought to integrate Islamic normative principles into the social sciences. Third, both advanced a holistic conception of the human being that preserves the equilibrium between material embodiment and spiritual-rational consciousness. Their primary divergence lies in disciplinary orientation: Ibn Khaldūn approached society as a sociologist, whereas Kuntowijoyo wrote as a historian.

While earlier studies have examined Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo independently, few have explored how their respective insights may be synthesised to articulate a divinely grounded, innersubjective social science within a civilisational framework. This study addresses that lacuna. Accordingly, the present research revisits Ibn Khaldūn's thought through the interpretive horizon of Kuntowijoyo in order to examine cycles of civilisational reason and their implications for Indonesian Muslim society.

This study employs qualitative textual analysis.¹⁰ Research data are divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar*,¹¹ *al-Muqaddimah*,¹² and *al-*

¹⁰ Glenn Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method", *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27–40, <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>.

¹¹ Yves Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldoun, Naissance de l'histoire, Passé Du Tiers Monde* (Paris: Francois Maspero, 1966), 198–99. The term '*ibar*' means 'the permeating reason' or 'semipermeability' as stated in Rolston's words: "*The conflicts between scientific and religious interpretations arise because the boundary between causality and meaning is semipermeable*". Holmes Rolston, *Science and Religion: A Critical Survey* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1987), 1–2.

¹² Ibn Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 234; P.A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality* (New York: Harper, 1947), 31.

Ta'rif bi Ibn Khaldūn,¹³ as well as Kuntowijoyo's *Paradigma Islam* (Islamic Paradigm),¹⁴ *Dinamika Sejarah Umat Islam* (Dynamics of Islamic History),¹⁵ and *Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia* (Periodisation of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims).¹⁶ Secondary sources consist of authoritative and relevant scholarly literature.¹⁷ Data were thematically categorised and comparatively analysed to identify convergences and divergences in the two thinkers' conceptualisations of social reason.¹⁸ The findings are presented as a conceptual synthesis constituting the study's principal contribution.

1.1. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) and Kuntowijoyo (1943-2005): Sociologist and Historian

Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis, the capital of Tunisia in the Middle East, on the 27th of May, 1332 to a genuine Ḥaḍramawt Arab family.¹⁹ In addition to Tunisia, three significant geographical affiliations in Ibn Khaldun's life journey are Algeria, Marrocco, and Egypt.²⁰ Six centuries later, Kuntowijoyo was born in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, one of the eastern countries, on the 18th of September, 1943 to a Javanese

¹³ Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), 12–23.

¹⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi (The Islamic Paradigm: Interpretation for Action)* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 1991), 1–10.

¹⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Internal Umat Islam (Internal Dynamics of Muslims)* (Yogyakarta: Shalahuddin Press, 1993), 11–20.

¹⁶ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia: Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu (Periodization of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims: Myth, Ideology, and Science)", 2001, 1–24.

¹⁷ Felipe Silva Martins et. al., "Secondary Data in Research – Uses and Opportunities", *Revista Ibero-Americana de Estrategia* 17, no. 4 (2018): 1–4, <https://doi.org/10.5585/ijsm.v17i4.2723>.

¹⁸ N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 34–35.

¹⁹ B. Lewis, *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 825.

²⁰ Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018).

family that is no longer genuine as it had assimilated with Islam (Javanese-Muslim).²¹ Unlike Ibn Khaldūn, who is widely regarded as the founding figure of sociology, Kuntowijoyo was a historian, humanist, and Muslim intellectual educated within the Muhammadiyah tradition. Ibn Khaldūn passed away in 1406 at the age of seventy-four,²² while Kuntowijoyo died in 2005 at the age of sixty-two.²³

Ibn Khaldūn may be described as a religiously grounded sociologist who articulated a form of Qur'ānic social science, whereas Kuntowijoyo developed what he termed prophetic social science.^{24,25,26} Both figures functioned as social philosophers operating within a civilisational epistemology, though their disciplinary emphases differed.

In constructing their respective social theories, both thinkers adopted a dualistic-equilibrium epistemology,^{27,28,29} maintaining a dynamic balance between material and spiritual dimensions. Ibn Khaldūn employed the dialectic of *badāwah* and *ḥaḍar* (*a'rāb* and

²¹ M. Fahmi, *Islam Transendental: Menelusuri Jejak-Jejak Pemikiran Islam Kuntowijoyo* (Transcendental Islam: Tracing the Traces of Kuntowijoyo's Islamic Thought) (Yogyakarta: Pilar Media Press, 2005), 22.

²² Ibn Khaldun, *Riḥlah Ibn Khaldūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2004), 37.

²³ Wan Anwar, *Kuntowijoyo: Karya dan Dunianya* (Kuntowijoyo: His Work and World) (Jakarta: Grasindo Press, 2007), viii.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁵ Anwar Efendi, "Values of Social Sufism in the Short Story "Burung Kecil Bersarang di Pohon" (A Little Bird Nesting on the Tree) by Kuntowijoyo", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 4 (2015): 93, <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n4s2p93>.

²⁶ Pradana Boy ZTF, "Prophetic Social Sciences: Toward an Islamic-Based Transformative Social Sciences", *IJIMS, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 95–121, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v1i1.95-121>.

²⁷ Moh. Pribadi, *Pemikiran Sosiologi Islam Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun's Islamic Sociological Thought)* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2014), 30.

²⁸ Carool Kersten, *Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas, and Values* (London: Hurst and Company, 2015), 177–188.

²⁹ Kuntowijoyo, *Islam Sebagai Ilmu: Epistemologi, Metodologi, dan Etika* (Islam as a Science: Epistemology, Methodology, and Ethics) (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Press, 2006), 34.

'*arāb*),³⁰ while Kuntowijoyo articulated the rural–urban *desa-kota* (rural-urban) continuum.³¹

Beyond sociology, Ibn Khaldūn contributed extensively to political economy, law, geography, and jurisprudence, with *Muqaddimah*³² standing as his most influential work. Kuntowijoyo's scholarly focus centred on history, with his doctoral dissertation *Social Change in an Agrarian Society: Madura, 1850-1940*³³ marking a pinnacle of his academic contribution. Arnold Toynbee famously described Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* as "the greatest work of its kind ever created by any mind in any time or place."³⁴ Kuntowijoyo, meanwhile, gained prominence through *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi untuk Aksi*, which has been recognised by historians as a mature and methodologically sophisticated work.³⁵ Both thinkers employed social philosophy as an analytical instrument. However, Ibn Khaldūn conceptualised stages of human intellect— '*aql hayūlī*, '*tamyīzī*, '*tajrībī*, and '*nazarī*'³⁶—whereas Kuntowijoyo proposed stages of 'human awareness', namely myth, ideology, knowledge.³⁷ In addition, Kuntowijoyo introduced two influential concepts: the

³⁰ Khalil 'Abdul Karim, "*Syari'ah: Sejarah Perkelahian Pemaknaan (Shari'ah: History of the Battle of Meaning)*," trans. Kamran As'ad (Yogyakarta: LKiS Press, 2003), 27–30.

³¹ Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Internal Umat Islam (Internal Dynamics of Muslims)*, 21.

³² Pribadi, *Pemikiran Sosiologi Islam Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun's Islamic Sociological Thought)*, 30.

³³ Muhammad Zainal Abidin, *Paradigma Islam Dalam Pembangunan Ilmu Integralistik: Membaca Pemikiran Kuntowijoyo (The Islamic Paradigm in the Development of Integralistic Science: Reading Kuntowijoyo's Thoughts)* (Banjarmasin: IAIN Antasari Press, 2016), 72.

³⁴ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 172.

³⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi (The Islamic Paradigm: Interpretation for Action)*, 7–10.

³⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah (Introduction)*, 374.

³⁷ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia: Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu (Periodisation of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims: Myth, Ideology, and Science)", 16.

knowledgisation of Islam and prophetic social science.³⁸

According to Kuntowijoyo, the knowledgisation of Islam reconnects text and context so that revelation and historical reality correspond meaningfully.³⁹ Prophetic social science, meanwhile, is grounded in three values: *amr bi al-ma'rūf* (emancipation), *nahy 'an al-munkar* (liberation), and *tu'minūna bi-Allāh* (transcendence). This model seeks to transcend the limitations of liberalism, Marxism, and reductionist religiosity by integrating moral, social, and transcendent dimensions.⁴⁰

This study argues that prophetic social science requires further epistemic deepening through prophetic ethics, defined as the cultivated conscience (*rūh*), moral intuition, and what Peter Berger terms the “sacred canopy.” The sacred canopy functions as a protective moral structure that shields human society from both unrestrained desire and transient materialism. The innersubjective conscience embodies prophetic virtues—*ṣidq*, *amānah*, *tablīgh*, and *faṭānah*—which continue beyond the Prophetic era as ethical dispositions embedded within human moral consciousness.

In this respect, innersubjective social science emerges as a civilisational project, integrating divine orientation, ethical introspection, and historical awareness to guide social analysis. Rather than merely describing society, it seeks to re-anchor social science within a moral–civilisational horizon, where knowledge serves both truth and collective well-being.

³⁸ Media Zainul Bahri, "Expressing Political and Religious Identity: Religion-Science Relations in Indonesian Muslim Thinkers 1970-2014", *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 56, no. 1 (2018): 173, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2018.561>.

³⁹ Kuntowijoyo, *Islam Sebagai Ilmu: Epistemologi, Metodologi, dan Etika (Islam as a Science: Epistemology, Methodology, and Ethics)*, 34.

⁴⁰ Kuntowijoyo, "Ilmu Sosial Profetik: Etika Pengembangan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial (Prophetic Social Sciences: The Ethics of the Development of the Social Sciences)", *Al-Jami'ah* 61, no. 1 (1998): 70, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.1998.3661.63-77>.

2.0. THE CYCLES OF CIVILISATIONAL REASON: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To maintain conceptual focus, only the most relevant aspects of the literature are highlighted here, while further descriptive details are omitted for brevity. Whereas much of the existing scholarship on Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo examines cycles of civilisation as historical or sociological phenomena, this study instead foregrounds the cycles of *civilisational reason*—that is, the evolving modes of human cognition, awareness, and epistemic orientation within historical contexts.

Ibn Khaldūn introduced a rich vocabulary to describe the dynamics of social and intellectual life, including *fiṭrah* (innate human nature), *‘aṣabiyyah* (social cohesion),⁴¹ *‘ilm* (knowledge), *badāwah* (nomadic life), *ḥaḍar* (sedentary life), *madīnah* (city), *mujtama‘* (society), *ḥaḍārah* (civilization).⁴² Most significantly for this study, he articulated stages of human intellect: *‘aql hayūlī* (imperfect reason), *tamyīzī* (discriminative reason), *tajrībī* (experimental reason), and *nazarī* (knowledge-based reason). By contrast, Kuntowijoyo developed a distinct yet complementary set of concepts related to the cycles of historical consciousness, including synchronic and diachronic analysis, the three stages of religious awareness,⁴³ the Islamic paradigm, the objectification and knowledgisation of Islam, and prophetic social science.⁴⁴ Although articulated in different terminologies, both thinkers were ultimately concerned with how

⁴¹ Asmat Wazir et. al., "Ibn Khaldun Theory of *‘Aṣabiyyah* and the Rise and Fall of the Mughals in South Asia", *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 17, no. 2 (2022): 159–169, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol17no2.12>.

⁴² Saleh Ben Tahar Machouche and Benaouda Bensaid, "Ethics in Muslim Writing and Research Methodology: The Case Ibn Khaldun's Scholarly Writing", *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 17, no. 2 (2022): 39–52, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol17no2.4>.

⁴³ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Historical Methodology) (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Press, 1994), 33–50.

⁴⁴ Bahri, 'Expressing Political and Religious Identity', 173.

human reason evolves within civilisation under ethical and metaphysical guidance.

Ibn Khaldūn may be understood as proposing four cycles of civilisational reason—with the first cycle (*'aql hayūlī*) articulated here as an analytical extension by the present study—namely *'aql hayūlī*, *tamyīzī*, *tajrībī*, and *naẓarī*.⁴⁵ Several Southeast Asian scholars have examined these stages descriptively.⁴⁶ Ismail, for instance, focused on *'aql tamyīzī*, *tajrībī*, and *naẓarī*.⁴⁷ Che Zarrina similarly identified three primary levels: the discriminative, experimental, and theoretical intellects.⁴⁸ Ibrahim interpreted these as introductory, experiential, and speculative modes of reasoning.⁴⁹ However, such readings tend to emphasise intellectual progression toward perfection (*ḥaqīqat insāniyyah*) without fully situating these stages within a broader civilisational epistemology.⁵⁰

In contrast, Kuntowijoyo proposed four cycles of historical reason—again with the fourth stage analytically extended in this study—namely myth, ideology, knowledge, and integration of knowledge. These stages correspond broadly to social formations such as agrarian communities,⁵¹ ideologically mobilised groups, educated

⁴⁵ Annalisa Verza, *Ibn Khaldūn and the Arab Origins of the Sociology of Civilization and Power* (Switzerland: Springer Nature AG, 2021), 170, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70339-4>.

⁴⁶ Norafifah Ab Hamid et. al., "Studies on Ibn Khaldun by Muslim Scholars in Malaysia", *Afkar Special Issue* 1, no. 2 (2020): 92, <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.sp2020no1.3>.

⁴⁷ Ahmad Munawar Ismail, "Pengetahuan dan Pembentukan Manusia Sempurna (Knowledge and Formation of the Perfect Man)", in *Falsafah Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy)* (Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan and Buku Malaysia Berhad, 2015), 200.

⁴⁸ Che Zarrina Sa'ari and Mohd. Kamil Hj. Ab Majid, "Epistemologi Islam Menurut Ibn Khaldun", *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 12, no. 1 (2000): 84–85.

⁴⁹ Ibrahim Abu Bakar, "Falsafah dan Klasifikasi Ilmu (Philosophy and Classification of Science)", in *Falsafah Ibn Khaldun* (Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan and Buku Malaysia Berhad, 2015), 20.

⁵⁰ Ismail, "Pengetahuan dan Pembentukan Manusia Sempurna (Knowledge and Formation of the Perfect Man)", 204.

⁵¹ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia:

classes, and professional knowledge communities.⁵² These stages correspond broadly to social formations such as agrarian communities, ideologically mobilised groups, educated classes, and professional knowledge communities. The final stage, integration of knowledge, was closely linked to the transformation of Indonesian State Islamic Institutes into State Islamic Universities in the early 2000s. While Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo converge on four epistemic stages—‘*aql hayūlī*–myth, *tamyīzī*–ideology, *tajrībī*–knowledge, and *nazarī*–integration—their frameworks differ from other civilisational models such as Bennabi’s triad of man, soil, and time.⁵³

Regarding ‘*aql hayūlī*, Ibn Khaldūn writes: *fī al-hālah al-ūlā qabla al-tamyīz fa-huwa hayūlī li-jahlihi bi-jamī‘ al-ma‘ārif* (in the initial stage before discernment, humans are entirely *hayūlī* because they are ignorant of all knowledge).⁵⁴ Prior to discernment, humans remain at an animalistic level of existence. Through divine benevolence, however, they are endowed with the faculties of hearing, sight, and hearts, as stated in the Qur’ān: “It is He who created for you hearing, sight, and hearts.”⁵⁵ With these faculties, humans enter the stage of ‘*aql tamyīzī*. Ibn Khaldūn explains: *wa hādhā al-fikr innamā yaḥṣul ba‘da kamāl al-ḥayawāniyyah wa yabda’ min al-tamyīz* (human reasoning emerges after the completion of animal faculties and begins with discernment).⁵⁶

The next stage, ‘*aql tajrībī*, refers to knowledge generated through trial, repetition, and lived experience (*tajrīb* deriving from

Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu (Periodization of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims: Myth, Ideology, and Science)", 7.

⁵² Ibid., 3.

⁵³ M. Bennabi, *Šūrut al-Naḥḏah* (The Conditions of the Renaissance) (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 45; El-Mekdad Shehab and Abdelkouddous Smati, "The Psycho-Sociological Perspective on Civilization: Insights from Malik Bennabi Theory", *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 19, no. 1 (2021): 21–32, <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.19.2021.192>.

⁵⁴ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 374.

⁵⁵ *The Qur’ān*, chapter 67 (“The Sovereignty”), verse 23.

⁵⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 374.

jaraba, to try).⁵⁷ The final stage, *'aql nazarī*, is described by Ibn Khaldūn as the capacity to perceive existence in both its empirical (*shāhid*) and metaphysical (*ghayb*) dimensions.⁵⁸ This dual recognition of material and metaphysical realities necessitates an epistemological apparatus beyond positivist social science. Accordingly, al-Jābirī's tripartite epistemology—*bayānī* (textual-objective), *burhānī* (rational-analytical), and *'irfānī* (spiritual-innersubjective)—offers a complementary framework for analysing Islamic intellectual traditions.⁵⁹

Ziauddin Sardar raises a critical question: how can Muslim societies move beyond the binary of “Westernisation” versus “Islamisation”? He argues for a creative reclamation of Islamic intellectual values through dynamic engagement with other traditions that have partially preserved the Qur'ānic spirit of inquiry. Such reclamation must be forward-looking rather than nostalgic, focusing on renewing and reapplying civilisational principles in contemporary contexts.⁶⁰ This integrative vision requires the full deployment of human faculties—“hearing, sight, and hearts”—including the metaphysical dimension. Ibn Khaldūn refers to this as *ghayb*,⁶¹ while Kuntowijoyo terms it the *transcendental*.⁶²

The recognition of metaphysical reality underscores the necessity of including God as a constitutive element in the development of innersubjective social science, particularly in two interrelated dimensions: (a) ethical orientation toward others within cultural contexts, and (b) mutual perspective-taking achieved through meaningful communication.⁶³

⁵⁷ Ibid., 374.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 374.

⁵⁹ See Muḥammad 'Abīd al-Jābirī, *Takwīn al-'Aql al-'Arabī* (Beirut: al-Markāz al-Thaqāfi al-'Arabī, 1990).

⁶⁰ Ziauddin Sardar and Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education: From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2018), 21.

⁶¹ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 374.

⁶² Kuntowijoyo, *Islam Sebagai Ilmu (Islam as Science)*, 34–38.

⁶³ Lynda D. Stone et. al., "The Relational Habitus: Intersubjective Processes in

Finally, a key distinction emerges between the two thinkers. While Kuntowijoyo presents the cycles of civilisational reason in a largely linear progression, Ibn Khaldūn conceptualises them as cyclical and recursive. The sequence moves from *'aql hayūlī* (myth), to *'aql tamyīzī* (ideology), to *'aql tajrībī* (knowledge), and culminates in *'aql nazārī* (integration of knowledge). At this final stage, reality is apprehended through multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary lenses,⁶⁴ encompassing both *wujūd* (empirical existence) and *ghayb* (metaphysical reality).⁶⁵ This integrative epistemology distinguishes Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo from positivist Western social science,⁶⁶ which confines knowledge to empirical objects alone. By contrast, their civilisational frameworks affirm that authentic social understanding must integrate both empirical and metaphysical dimensions, including the recognition of God as a source of meaning, orientation, and ethical order.⁶⁷⁶⁸

Learning Settings", *Human Development* 55, no. 2 (2012): 65–91, <https://doi.org/10.1159/000337150>.

⁶⁴ M. Amin Abdullah, "Religion, Science, and Culture: An Integrated, Interconnected Paradigm of Science", *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 52, no. 1 (2014): 175–203, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.521.175-203>.

⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 203.

⁶⁶ M. Rodinal Khair Khasri, "Retracted: The Role of Subjects in Kuntowijoyo's Transformative Thought and It's Relevance to the Islamic Social Transformation", *Jurnal Filsafat* 30, no. 2 (2020): 261, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.54911>.

⁶⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), 374.

⁶⁸ Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Esai-Esai Agama, Budaya, dan Politik Dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Transendental* (Muslims Without Mosques: Essays on Religion, Culture, and Politics Within the Frame of Transcendental Structuralism) (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2001), 9–29.

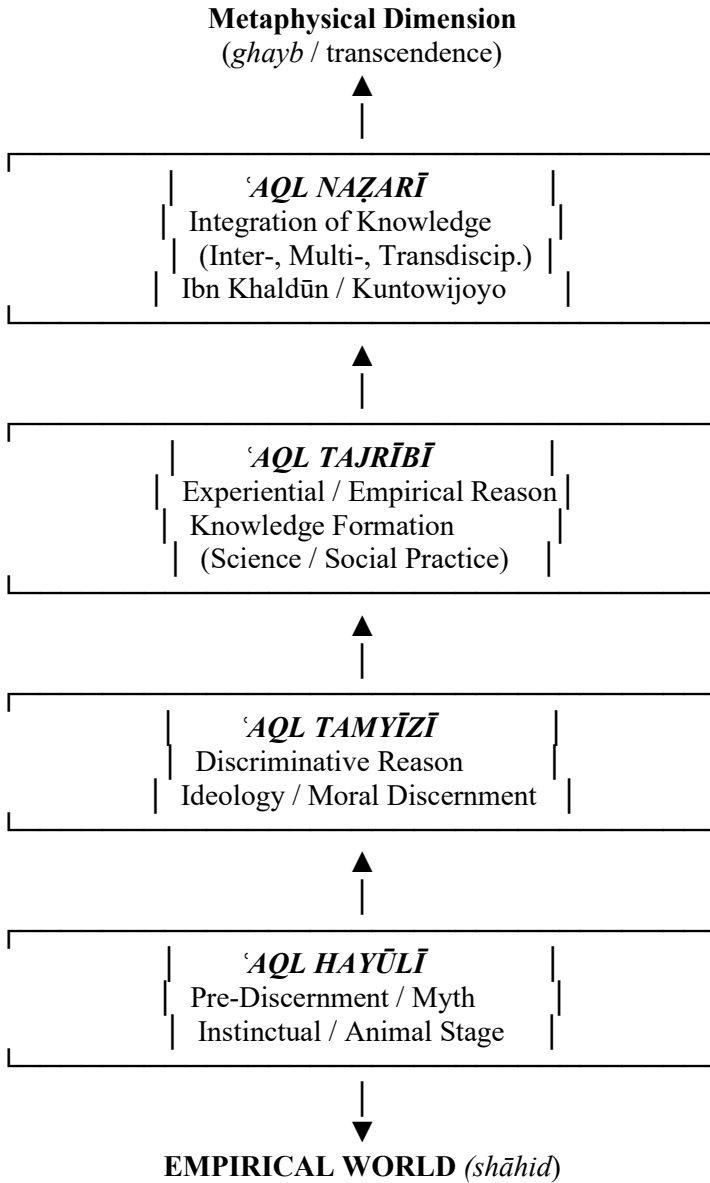


Figure 1: Cycles of Civilisational Reason in Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo

Figure 1 illustrates the cycles of civilisational reason as articulated by Ibn Khaldūn and re-read through Kuntowijoyo's historical framework. The model depicts four epistemic stages—'aql hayūlī, 'aql tamyīzī, 'aql tajrībī, and 'aql nazārī—which represent progressive yet cyclical forms of human awareness within civilisation. While the lower stages remain closely tied to empirical reality (*shāhid*), the highest stage ('aql nazārī) integrates empirical and metaphysical dimensions (*ghayb*), enabling a holistic and innersubjective understanding of social reality. This framework demonstrates that Islamic social thought does not terminate at positivist empiricism but culminates in epistemic integration grounded in ethical, spiritual, and civilisational consciousness.

3.0. SOCIAL SCIENCE BASED ON HUMAN-MIND AWARENESS: FROM 'AQL HAYŪLĪ (MYTHICAL PHASE) TO 'AQL TAMYĪZĪ (IDEOLOGICAL PHASE)

To avoid unnecessary repetition, this section summarises the core conceptual framework only once, before applying it comparatively in subsequent sections. Ibn Khaldūn conceptualised the development of human intellect through four stages—'aql tamyīzī, tajrībī, and nazārī⁶⁹—as a means of understanding social and civilisational development. While classical discussions typically focus on the latter three stages, this study retains 'aql hayūlī as a foundational phase to capture the pre-discursive and mythical dimension of social consciousness.

Kuntowijoyo proposed three periods in the development of

⁶⁹ Moh. Pribadi, "Ibn Khaldūn's Social Thought on Bedouin and Ḥaḍar", *Al-Jāmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 52, no. 2 (2014): 417–33, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.522.417-433>; Moh. Pribadi, "Tahapan Pemikiran Masyarakat Dalam Pandangan Ibn Khaldun", *Sosiologi Reflektif* 11, no. 2 (2017): 29–50.

religious consciousness among Indonesian Muslims: myth, ideology, and science. This study extends his framework by introducing a fourth phase—knowledge integration—thereby allowing a more systematic alignment with Ibn Khaldūn’s epistemological schema. The integration of Ibn Khaldūn’s sociological framework with Kuntowijoyo’s historical periodisation brings together sociology and history into a unified civilisational model grounded in the evolution of human reason and consciousness.

This fourfold model of civilisational reason remains largely unexplored in contemporary Muslim scholarship, with the partial exception of Pribadi’s study, which focuses solely on Ibn Khaldūn’s theory of intellect without engaging its broader historical and civilisational implications. By contrast, the present study examines the cycles of civilisational *reason*—rather than civilisation as a material entity—thereby foregrounding epistemic, moral, and metaphysical dimensions of social development.

Table 1.0 below illustrates the integration of the four cycles of civilisational reason as derived from Ibn Khaldūn and Kuntowijoyo. The phase of *‘aql hayūlī*, corresponding to the mythological period, is marked by indifference to empirical facts, reliance on social consensus as normative authority, irrational modes of reasoning, a localised scope of life (village/*baduwi/kawulo*),⁷⁰ structural modes of analysis, and utopian objectives.

The phase of *‘aql tamyīzī*, corresponding to the ideological period, is characterised by subjective interpretations of reality, prioritisation of group interests, deductive rationality, a national scope centred on urban life (city/*ḥadar/wong-cilik*), cultural methods of analysis, and ambitions of total reconstruction.

The phase of *‘aql tajrībī* corresponds to the emergence of scientific knowledge. It is marked by objectivity, inductive reasoning,

⁷⁰ A.E. Priyono, "Periferalisasi, Oposisi, dan Integrasi Islam di Indonesia: Menyimpak Pemikiran Kuntowijoyo (Peripheralisation, Opposition, and Integration of Islam in Indonesia: Embracing Kuntowijoyo’s Thoughts)", in *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi (slamic Paradigm: Interpretation for Action)* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 1998), 25.

humanitarian norms, empirical research methods, international or cosmopolitan scope (cosmopolitan city/*'umrān*/citizenship), and a commitment to partial reconstruction based on observable realities.⁷¹

The final phase, *'aql nazarī*, represents the integration of knowledge. It is distinguished by intersubjective understanding, global ethical orientation (world city/*tamaddun*/global citizens), abductive reasoning, multidimensional and technological methodologies, integralist analysis, and systemic reconstruction of civilisation. Importantly, these phases do not unfold in a strictly linear fashion.⁷² Within any given period—particularly in the phase of knowledge integration—mythological, ideological, and mono-disciplinary patterns of thought may re-emerge.

In the Indonesian context, the mythological phase (*'aql hayūlī*) was closely associated with agrarian society and persisted until approximately 1900. During this period, religious consciousness was shaped by mystical narratives, such as the myth of the *Ratu Adil* (Just King)⁷³, which emerged as a symbolic response to colonial oppression and poverty.

Table 1.0: Four Cycles of Civilisational Reason of Ibn Khaldun and Kuntowijoyo

⁷¹ Pribadi, *Pemikiran Sosiologi Islam Ibn Khaldun* (Ibn Khaldun's Islamic Sociological Thought), 199.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 200.

⁷³ Damardjati Supadjar, "Konsep Keadilan Sosial di Balik Mitos Ratu Adil (The Concept of Social Justice Behind the Myth of Ratu Adil)", *Jurnal Filsafat* 1, no. 19 (1994): 4–5.

Ibn Khaldun	Kuntowijoyo	Fact	Norm	Character	Scope	Method	Analysis	Objective
' <i>Aql Hayūlī</i>	Myth	Do not care	Social Consensus	Irrational	Local Village <i>Baduwi Kawulo</i>	Structural	Normative	Utopian
' <i>Aql Tamyīzī</i>	Ideology	Subjective	Group Interests	Rational Deductive	Nasional City <i>Ḥaḍar Wong-Cilik</i>	Cultural	Factual	Total Reconstruction
' <i>Aql Tajrībī</i>	Knowledge	Objective	Humanitarian Interests	Inductive	International Cosmopolitan <i>'Umrān Citizen</i>	Research Critical	Empirical	Partial Reconstruction
' <i>Aql Naẓarī</i>	Knowledge Integration	Inter-Subjective	World Interests	Abductive Imagination	Global World City <i>Tamaddun World Citizen</i>	Multi-Dimensional Technological	Integralist	Systemic Reconstruction

Source: (Ibn Khaldun 1947 and Kuntowijoyo 2001

*Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation,
International Islamic University Malaysia (ISTAC-IIUM)
<https://journals.iium.edu.my/shajarah/index.php/shaj>*

The ideological phase (*'aql tamyīzī*) arose around 1900⁷⁴ and continued until the mid-1960s⁷⁵. This period witnessed the rise of political movements and mass organisations initiated by the trading community, including Syarekat Islam (SI)⁷⁶ and Masjumi⁷⁷, alongside competing ideologies such as Communism and Marhaenism. Whereas the mythological phase centred on charismatic leadership, the ideological phase shifted Islamic activism from rural to urban settings and emphasised organised movements, doctrinal clarity, and collective identity.⁷⁸

Religiosity during the ideological phase was predominantly subjective and legalistic, often prioritising internal coherence over intergroup understanding. While juristic and theological frameworks were crucial at this stage, they proved insufficient for engaging pluralistic and intersubjective realities characteristic of later civilisational phases. This limitation underscores the necessity of moving beyond ideological religiosity towards integrative modes of reasoning capable of accommodating ethical universality, empirical knowledge, and metaphysical awareness.

3.1. Social Science Based on Moral-Intellectual Awareness of Humanity: From '*Aql Tajrībī* (Phase of Knowledge) To '*Aql Naẓarī* (Phase of Knowledge Integration)

The stage that follows *'aql tamyīzī* is the period of knowledge, or *'aql tajrībī*. Whereas the mythological and ideological phases are oriented towards authority, belief, and mobilisation, the defining concern of the

⁷⁴ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia: Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu (Periodization of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims: Myth, Ideology, and Science)", 5.

⁷⁵ Kuntowiyoyo, *Dinamika Sejarah Umat Islam (Dynamics of Islamic History)* (Yogyakarta: Shalahuddin Press and Pustaka Pelajar Press, 1994), 29–39.

⁷⁶ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia: Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu (Periodization of the History of Religious Awareness of Indonesian Muslims: Myth, Ideology, and Science)", 9.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

knowledge phase is the systematic cultivation of societal awareness through institutions, disciplines, and methods of inquiry. In this phase, the central organising principle shifts from the *state* to the *system*,⁷⁹ reflecting a transition from ideological mobilisation to structural and epistemic consolidation.

In the Indonesian context, the period of knowledge (*'aql tajrībī*) began to emerge in the 1960s, though its fuller manifestation became visible in the 1990s. A notable institutional marker of this phase was the establishment of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, ICMI), which signalled the growing role of educated Muslim professionals in public life. According to Kuntowijoyo, one of the defining features of this period is the demand for Islam to function as an *objective* religion—accessible beyond confessional boundaries and capable of being articulated in a manner that transcends subjective group interests.

At the global level, this phase coincided with the rise of the Islamisation of knowledge discourse, which sought to reorient modern disciplines through Islamic epistemic and ethical frameworks. Concrete manifestations of this development may be observed in fields such as Islamic economics, Islamic psychology,⁸⁰ applied politics, and contemporary religious thought. Within religious discourse, this period called for Islam to become simultaneously objective in outward engagement and reflexive in inward orientation.⁸¹

Several approaches to Islamisation were articulated by contemporary Muslim thinkers, including Muḥammad Kamāl Ḥassan, Ismā'īl Rājī al-Fārūqī, Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr, and Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas. Al-Attas defined Islamisation as “the liberation of man first from magical, mythological, animistic, and national–cultural traditions, and then from secular control over his reason and language.”⁸² This formulation underscores the epistemic and moral

⁷⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁸¹ Ibid., 14.

⁸² See, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Nature of Man and the Psychology of the Human Soul: A Brief Outline and A Framework for an Islamic Psychology and*

dimensions of the knowledge phase, situating intellectual reform as a prerequisite for civilisational renewal.

The period of knowledge (*'aql tajrībī*) is thus characterised by the imperative for Islam to assume an objective stance as a worldview capable of generating and sustaining social sciences and religious studies. Taha Jābir al-'Alwānī interpreted this objectivity as an awareness of scientific reasoning grounded in ethical responsibility. According to al-'Alwānī, Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual project emerged precisely in response to the stagnation of Islamic civilisation; by founding a science of society, Ibn Khaldūn sought to provide Islamic civilisation with the intellectual and cultural tools necessary for renewed historical agency.⁸³

If subjective religiosity (*'aql tamyīzī*) is marked by committed involvement and insider identification,⁸⁴ objective religiosity (*'aql tajrībī*) assumes the position of reflective observation. Here, the subject is able to adopt an analytical distance, employing scientific methods such as field observation, data collection, comparison, and systematic inquiry. Ibn Khaldūn described this mode of reasoning as *'aql tārikhī 'ilmī*⁸⁵—a historical–scientific intellect capable of discerning patterns within social reality.

The spatial and civilisational scope of *'aql tajrībī* is captured by Ibn Khaldūn's concept of *'umrān*.⁸⁶ The science of *'ilm al-'umrān* integrates three interrelated pillars: the Creator, humanity, and the

Epistemology (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1990); Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Meaning and Experience of Happiness in Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993).

⁸³ Taha Jabir al-Alwani, *Islamic Thought: An Approach to Reform* (London-Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2006), 52–53.

⁸⁴ Russell T. McCutcheon ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 33–44.

⁸⁵ Kuntowijoyo, "Periodisasi Sejarah Kesadaran Keagamaan Umat Islam Indonesia: Mitos, Ideologi, dan Ilmu", 19–20.

⁸⁶ Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 184; Baali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), 11,13; Tarif Khalidi, *Classical Arab Islam: The Culture and Heritage of the Golden Age* (Princeton, N.J: The Darwin Press, 1985), 121.

environment.⁸⁷ Long before modern civilisational theory, al-Fārābī had articulated a conception of civilisation (*‘umrān*) and human settlement (*madaniyyah*) as constitutive of human existence within the broader inquiry into being.⁸⁸ In modern scholarship, this civilisational domain may be analytically paralleled with Marshall Hodgson’s notion of the *Islamicate* (*Islamikasi*).⁸⁹

Hodgson introduced the terms *Islamdom* and *Islamicate* to distinguish religious Islam from the wider social and cultural formations historically associated with Muslim societies.⁹⁰ He restricted the term “Islam” to the religion itself, while employing “Islamicate” to refer to cultural, artistic, intellectual, and social phenomena connected to Muslim civilisation but not reducible to religious doctrine.⁹¹ This analytical distinction resonates with Muslim historical practice, wherein religion and culture were consciously differentiated, even within deeply pious societies.⁹²

The concept of the *Islamicate* is closely related to Islamic universalism or cosmopolitanism.⁹³ The concept of the *Islamicate* is closely related to Islamic universalism or cosmopolitanism. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamic civilisation reaches its creative zenith when a balance is maintained between normative religious commitments and intellectual freedom for all members of society,

⁸⁷ Mahayudin Yahaya, “Umran and Modern Theories of Development: A Comparative Study”, *International Journal of Education and Social Science* 4, no. 7 (2017): 40; Abdul Qayyum Abdul Razak et. al., “The ‘Umranic Thoughts of Ibn Khaldun”, *Afkar* Special Issue 1, no. 1 (2020): 113–136, <https://doi.org/10.22452/>

⁸⁸ Anthony F. Shaker, “Philosophy and Human Inheritance in a Post-Western World”, *Journal of Philosophical Theological Research* 22, no. 85 (2020): 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.22091/jptr.2020.5273.2274>.

⁸⁹ Markus Dressler et. al., “Islamicate Secularities: New Perspectives on a Contested Concept”, *Historical Social Research* 44, no. 3 (2019): 7–34, <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.44.2019.3.7-34>.

⁹⁰ Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Conscience, and History in A World Civilization* (Vol. 1. *The Classical Age of Islam*) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 58.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 84.

including non-Muslims. Such cosmopolitanism is dynamic and creative, encouraging the pursuit of truth across boundaries while allowing Islamic values to manifest in concrete social forms rather than remaining confined to speculative abstractions.⁹⁴

The fourth phase—knowledge integration (*'aql nazari*)—marks a qualitative transformation in the organisation of knowledge. In Indonesia, this phase began in 2002 with the institutional transformation of State Islamic Institutes (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*, IAIN) into State Islamic Universities (*Universitas Islam Negeri*, UIN).⁹⁵ This shift signified a move from monolithic disciplinary structures towards integrative epistemic models.⁹⁶ Universities such as UIN Jakarta, UIN Yogyakarta, UIN Malang, UIN Bandung, UIN Makassar, UIN Surabaya, and UIN Semarang developed diverse frameworks—such as reintegration of knowledge,⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia dan Transformasi Kebudayaan (Cosmopolitan Islam: Indonesian Values and Cultural Transformation)* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute Press, 2007), 11.

⁹⁵ Akh Minhaji, *Tradisi Akademik di Perguruan Tinggi (Academic Traditions in Higher Education)* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2013), 81; Mohammad Muslih and Muhammad Taqiyuddin, "The Integration of Science and Religion: Analysing Research Paradigms in Indonesian State Islamic Universities through A Lakatosian Lens", *Afkar* 27, no. 1 (2025): 165–202, <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol27>.

⁹⁶ Deden and Ruswanto Makbuloh, "A Model of the Integration of Science in State Islamic Universities in Indonesia", in *Proceedings of the 1st Raden Intan International Conference on Muslim Societies and Social Sciences (RIICMuSSS)*. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, vol. 492, 2019, 156.

⁹⁷ Azyumardi Azra, "IAIN di Tengah Paradigma Baru Perguruan Tinggi (IAIN in the Middle of the New Paradigm of Higher Education)", in *Problem dan Prospek IAIN: Antologi Pendidikan Tinggi Islam (Problems and Prospects of IAIN: Anthology of Islamic Higher Education)*, ed. Komaruddin Hidayat and Hendro Prasetyo (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Islam, 2000), 13–15; Azyumardi Azra, "Reintegrasi Ilmu-Ilmu Dalam Islam", in *Integrasi Ilmu dan Agama: Interpretasi dan Aksi (Integration of Science and Religion: Interpretation and Action)*, ed. Zainal Abidin Bagir (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2005), 210–11.

integration-interconnection,⁹⁸ tree of knowledge,⁹⁹ wheel of knowledge,¹⁰⁰ cedar cell of knowledge,¹⁰¹ connected twin towers, and diamond gem of knowledge integration models—all of which share a commitment to *theo-anthropo-cosmocentrism*.¹⁰² In Malaysia, a comparable milestone may be identified in the establishment of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation (ISTAC) in 1987.¹⁰³

The period of knowledge integration requires what may be described as *intersubjective religiosity*. Its ethical orientation emphasises values that sustain pluralistic coexistence in a globalised world, including compassion, justice, sincerity, mutual assistance,

⁹⁸ Sutrisno, "Integrating Science and Islam: A Case Study of State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia", in *Critical Issues and Reform in Muslim Higher Education*, ed. Rosnani Hasyim and Mina Hattori (Gombak: IIUM Press, 2015), 178–97.

⁹⁹ Imam Suprayogo, *Paradigma Pengembangan Keilmuan Perspektif UIN Malang* (Paradigm of Scientific Development from the Perspective of UIN Malang) (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2006), 20–25.

¹⁰⁰ Nanat Fatah Natsir, *Pandangan Keilmuan UIN: Wahyu Memandu Ilmu (UIN's Scientific Perspective: Revelation Guides Knowledge)* (Bandung: Gunung Djati Press, 2006), 30–40.

¹⁰¹ Azhar Arsyad, "Buah Cemara Integrasi dan Interkoneksi Sains dan Ilmu Agama (Pine Fruit Integration and Interconnection of Science and Religion)", *Hunafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* 8, no. 1 (2011): 11–22, <https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v8i1.82.1-25>.

¹⁰² Toto Suharto, "The Paradigm of Theo-Anthropo-Cosmocentrism: Reposition of the Cluster of Non-Islamic Studies in Indonesian State Islamic Universities", *Walisongo* 23, no. 2 (2015): 251–282.

¹⁰³ Anton Ismunanto, "Revitalisasi Pendidikan Pemikiran Islam: Studi Kasus Pemikiran al-Attas dan ISTAC Malaysia (Revitalizing Islamic Thought Education: A Case Study of al-Attas' Thought and ISTAC Malaysia)", *Jurnal at-Ta'dib* 11, no. 1 (2016): 145–66, <https://doi.org/10.21111/at-tadib.v11i1.649>.

patience, humility, and concern for the public good.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵¹⁰⁶ It discourages domination, exclusion, and moral absolutism, advocating instead empathy (*verstehen*), dialogue, non-violence, and solidarity. This phase may be characterised as an enlightened form of rationality—*'aql jadīd istiqlālī'*¹⁰⁷—in which moral consciousness (*akhlāq-budi*) and rational reflection (*'aql-budi*) are harmonised.

Taken together, the four cycles articulated by Ibn Khaldūn—*'aql hayūlī*, *'aql tamyīzī*, *'aql tajrībī*, and *'aql nazārī'*¹⁰⁸—can be coherently aligned with Kuntowijoyo's stages of religious consciousness: mythic, ideological, scientific, and integrative. These cycles represent not merely historical phases but evolving modes of human reason and moral awareness that shape the trajectory of Islamic civilisation across time and space.

3.2. Towards Innersubjective Social Science with a Divine Foundation in Indonesia

In this study, inner-subjective social science refers to a framework that integrates spiritual consciousness, ethical introspection, and divine orientation as foundational elements for interpreting social reality. It is

¹⁰⁴ Kuntowijoyo, "Epistemologi dan Paradigma Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora Dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Islam (Epistemology and Paradigms of the Humanities from the Perspective of Islamic Thought)", in *Menyatukan Kembali Ilmu-Ilmu Agama dan Umum (Reuniting Religious and General Sciences)*, ed. Jarot Wahyudi (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2003), 34.

¹⁰⁵ Kuntowijoyo, "Ilmu Sosial Profetik: Etika Pengembangan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial (Prophetic Social Sciences: The Ethics of the Development of the Social Sciences)", 10.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah (Introduction)*, 6; Fathiyah Hasan Sulaiman, *Pandangan Ibn Khaldun Tentang Ilmu dan Pendidikan (Ibn Khaldun's Views on Science and Education)* (Bandung: Diponegoro Press, 1987), 11; Syed Farid Alatas, "Agama dan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial (Religion and Social Sciences)", *Ulumul Qur'an* 5, no. 2 (1992): 45.

¹⁰⁷ Abdullah, "The Intersubjective Type of Religiosity", 79–94.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah (Introduction)*, 128–29; Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), ixxx.

positioned within religion-and-humanities scholarship¹⁰⁹ as a philosophical–civilisational approach, rather than as a purely methodological add-on. In broad terms, religious reasoning in the humanities may be discussed through three registers: subjective, objective, and intersubjective modes of religiosity. Subjective and objective approaches are often associated with modern moral philosophy and epistemology (including post-Kantian trajectories),¹¹⁰ whereas intersubjectivity emerged prominently within phenomenology and hermeneutics as a way to account for meaning that is shared, negotiated, and socially mediated.¹¹¹ In this study, “inner-subjectivity” is introduced as a further deepening of the intersubjective register, drawing on the moral interiority emphasised in prophetic ethics, Sufi moral psychology, and the *‘irfānī* (gnostic–spiritual) epistemic tradition.¹¹² This is not to collapse social science into mysticism, but to argue that civilisationally grounded interpretation must account for both the interior and exterior dimensions of the human being.¹¹³

The period of knowledge integration provides a conceptual opening for an intersubjective orientation to social science. From the perspective of *‘aql nazārī*, reality is approached through two

¹⁰⁹ Abdullah, "The Intersubjective Type of Religiosity", 79–94.

¹¹⁰ An in-depth elaboration on Moral Law can be found in Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason* (New York: Macmillan, 1985).

¹¹¹ Phenomenology is a kind of philosophical approach which was originally popularised by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). On its way, it was then developed and used by the study of religions called an approach of Phenomenology of Religion. See more James L. Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religion: Key Figures, Formative Influences and Subsequent Debates* (London: T & T Clark International, 2006).

¹¹² See, Akhmad Hasan Saleh Rahmah and Sri Nur Rahmi, "The Influence of Sufism on Social Practices in Contemporary Muslim Societies: A Case Study in Indonesia", *Journal of Noesantara Islamic Studies* 1, no. 4 (2024): 214–232, <https://doi.org/10.70177/ijnis.v1i4.1396>.

¹¹³ Husni Muadz, *Anatomi Sistem Sosial: Rekonstruksi Normalitas Relasi Intersubjektifitas-Rekognitif Dengan Pendekatan Sistem* (Anatomy of Social Systems: Reconstruction of the Normality of Intersubjective-Recognitive Relations Using a Systems Approach) (Mataram: IPGH Press, 2013), 247.

interrelated dimensions: the empirical (external) and the metaphysical–moral (internal). This differs from classical positivism, which typically restricts analysis to empirically observable objects. Moreover, the knowledge-integration horizon requires a systemic linkage between three relations: (i) subject–object (human–world), (ii) subject–subject (human–human), and (iii) subject–God (human–Divine). This triadic linkage is proposed as a distinctive civilisational feature of knowledge integration, enabling social inquiry to remain empirically attentive while ethically and spiritually oriented.¹¹⁴¹¹⁵

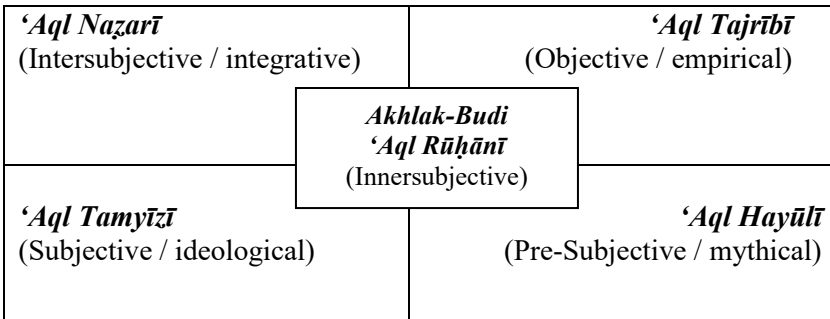


Figure 2.0: Divine-Based Innersubjective Social Science

Figure 2.0 illustrates the interpenetration of four realms of reason—‘aql hayūlī (myth), ‘aql tamyīzī (ideology), ‘aql tajrībī (science/knowledge), and ‘aql nazārī (knowledge integration)—all of which are oriented around a central moral–spiritual axis identified as *akhlak-budi* or *‘aql rūḥānī* (inner-subjective reason). Rather than treating these realms as strictly linear or successive stages, this study conceptualises them as co-present and mutually conditioning registers of civilisational reasoning, capable of recurring cyclically within society.

While Figure 2.0 schematically represents the structural relationship between the four registers of reason and their inner-

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 317–318.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 319.

subjective centre, the following discussion elaborates the philosophical, ethical, and civilisational implications of this configuration, particularly through the concepts of intersubjectivity, innersubjectivity, and divine accountability.¹¹⁶

In this configuration, intersubjective relations remain dialogical and reciprocal, since social actors encounter one another as subjects rather than objects. Yet the figure also foregrounds a vertical axis of meaning, represented by *'aql rūhānī*, which anchors ethical responsibility and moral restraint beyond purely horizontal social negotiation. This inner-subjective axis signifies the interior moral conscience (*akhlak*) that animates outward rational practice (*budi*), ensuring that intellectual, ideological, and scientific reasoning do not operate in ethical isolation.¹¹⁷

In this sense, innersubjectivity functions as a reinforcement of intersubjectivity. It represents a cognitive and moral stance through which scholars navigate the dialogue between objective and subjective dimensions when confronted with the complexities of social life.¹¹⁸ This dialogue spans domains such as science, religion, and culture, and necessitates collaboration across disciplinary boundaries. Accordingly, critical engagement and interdisciplinary critique are not peripheral but integral to deepening social understanding. Intersubjectivity has been articulated through concepts such as *rapprochement*, *intersubjective testability*,¹¹⁹ *family resemblance*,¹²⁰ and *tashkik al-wujūd* (creative imagination),¹²¹ all of which integrate

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 321.

¹¹⁷ *The Qur'ān*, chapter 32 ('The Prostration'), verse 9.

¹¹⁸ Joseph A. Bracken, *Subjectivity, Objectivity, and Intersubjectivity: A New Paradigm for Religion and Science* (Pennsylvania: Templeton Press, 2009), 21–30.

¹¹⁹ Ian G. Barbour, *Issues in Science and Religion* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 50–60.

¹²⁰ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 11. See, also, M. Amin Abdullah, "Metode Filsafat Dalam Tinjauan Ilmu Agama: Tinjauan Pertautan antara Teori dan Praksis (Philosophical Methods in the Review of Religious Studies: An Overview of the Links between Theory and Praxis)", *Al-Jami'ah* 1, no. 46 (1991): 85–86, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.1991.046.82-94>.

¹²¹ Rolston, *Science and Religion: A Critical Survey*, 12–24.

three dimensions of knowing: subjective (firstness), objective (secondness), and intersubjective (thirdness).¹²² Within this study, the intersubjective domain is framed as a “third space” mediating between the empirically grounded sociology of Ibn Khaldūn and the historico-ethical critique articulated by Kuntowijoyo. Whereas subjective–objective relations tend to dominate heroic or rationalistic traditions, intersubjectivity is associated here with the *‘irfānī* or wisdom tradition; their integration is treated as a mode of *ta’wīl ‘ilmī*,¹²³ a scientific–interpretive synthesis that holds empirical inquiry and moral meaning together.

Intersubjective social science¹²⁴ may further be understood as existing within and ‘in-between zone’ (*‘ālam barzakh, mithāl, khayāl*),¹²⁵ also known as Nusantara Social Science or “third space”.¹²⁶ This realm functions as a site where cultural differences intersect, enabling the emergence of new identities through ongoing exchanges among groups shaped by marginalisation and exclusion.¹²⁷ Hybridity,

¹²² Kim Knott, "Insider/Outsider Perspectives", in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. John Hinnells (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 12–15; Kim Knott, "Spatial Theory and Method for Study of Religion", *Temenos* 41, no. 2 (2005): 27–30; Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 225.

¹²³ M. Amin Abdullah, ‘Al-Ta’wil Al-‘Ilmi: Kearah Perubahan Paradigma Penafsiran Kitab Suci (Al-Ta’wil Al-‘Ilmi: Towards a Change in the Paradigm of Interpretation of the Scriptures)’, *Al-Jam’iah* 39, no. 2 (2001): 391, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2001.392.359-391>.

¹²⁴ M. Amin Abdullah, "The Textual-Theological and Critical-Philosophical Approach to Morality and Politics: A Comparative Study of Ghazali and Kant", *Diskursus: Jurnal Filsafat dan Teologi* 4, no. 2 (2005): 151.

¹²⁵ Kholid Al Walid et. al., “Reframing Religious Experience through *‘Ālam al-Mithāl*: A Philosophical and Mystical Perspective in Islamic Thought”, *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 15, no 1 (2025): 148–171, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2025.15.1.148-171>.

¹²⁶ Baedhowi, "Dinamisasi ‘Ruang antara’ Praktik Kosmologi dan Sufisme Dalam Kesenian: Sebuah Model Kearifan Lokal Komunitas Budaya Lereng Merapi (The Dynamics of the ‘Space Between’ the Practice of Cosmology and Sufism in Art: A Model of Local Wisdom of the Merapi Slope Cultural Community)", 2015, 463.

¹²⁷ Homi K. Bhaba, *Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 2–3.

in this context, is not merely cultural mixture but an ethical strategy for transforming difference into coexistence through shared values, recognition, and restraint.

Beyond this intersubjective horizon, the study identifies the emergence of *innersubjective consciousness* as a further development. This phenomenon arises alongside intersubjective consciousness in the context of integrated-knowledge transformations within Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia.¹²⁸ Innersubjective consciousness is reflected in the resurgence of spiritually grounded movements that emphasise the cultivation of inner moral integrity (*rūhāniyyah*). Initiatives such as the International Consultation of Islamic Religion (*Musyawahar Internasional Agama Islam*, MIAI), organised by Jam'iyatul Islāmiyah (JmI),¹²⁹ exemplify this trend. Such gatherings bring together academics, bureaucrats, diplomats, and intellectual leaders to reaffirm the importance of strengthening the inner subject through what is sometimes described as *ruhiology* or *ruhioscience*.¹³⁰¹³¹ The moral qualities of *ṣiddīq*, *amānah*, *tablīgh*, and

¹²⁸ Ahmad Muttaqin, "Islam and the Changing Meaning of Spiritualitas and Spiritual in Contemporary Indonesia", *Al-Jami'ah* 50, no. 1 (2012): 23–56, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2012.501.23-56>.

¹²⁹ See, <https://jamiyyatulislamiyah.or.id/>

¹³⁰ Waryani Fajar Riyanto, "The Role of Jam'iyatul Islamiyah Organization in Strengthening Religious Moderation in Indonesia (Systems Theory Approach)", *Millatī, Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 6, no. 2 (2021): 171–188, <https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v6i2.6114>.

¹³¹ Achmad Ushuluddin et. al., "Shifting Paradigm: From Intellectual Quotient, Emotional Quotient, and Spiritual Quotient Toward Ruhani Quotient in Ruhiology Perspectives", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 1 (2021): 139–162, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i1.139-162>. See also, Achmad Ushuluddin et. al., "Understanding Ruh as a Source of Human Intelligence in Islam", *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* 11, no. 2 (2021): 103–117, <https://doi.org/10.18848/2154-8633/CGP/v11i02/103-117>. See Iskandar, "Restorasi Ruhiologi dalam Pendidikan Holistik Abad 21 (Spiritual Restoration in 21st Century Holistic Education)", *Orasi Ilmiah Profesor (Professor's Scientific Oration)* in UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi, 2025, 1–26. Iswandi Syahputra and Waryani Fajar Riyanto, "Ruhani Communication: Revealing Conscience-Based Prophetic Values in Jam'iyatul Islamiyah, Indonesia", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 1, no. 2 (2025): 1–25.

faṭānah are articulated as prophetic ethical values that inform conscience, integrity, and responsibility in public life. In this framing, innersubjectivity constitutes a “fourth space” that deepens the intersubjective “third space” by explicitly incorporating divine accountability as the foundation of moral reasoning.

The notion of a “divine foundation” may be further clarified through Hassan’s articulation of the Islamic worldview as fundamentally theistic and ethical, in contrast to secularist or atheistic alternatives. This worldview originates in the belief that existence itself is the product of the will, design, and purpose of the One Creator, and that any serious engagement with society and knowledge must therefore begin with an understanding of humanity’s relationship to God.¹³² Within this framework, the ethical dimension is also linked to the concept of *kitāb* inscribed within the human self—an inner moral register that guides conscience and accountability. Here, *kitāb* is understood not merely as textual scripture but as an inward moral inscription embedded in the heart, resisting manipulation and demanding ethical consistency in social relations.¹³³

Against this background, two dominant models of Islamic social science may be identified. The first approaches problems within Muslim societies using modified concepts derived from Western social science. The second goes further by deriving theories, concepts, and methodologies directly from Islamic intellectual history, grounding social science in an Islamic *Weltanschauung*.¹³⁴ Yet both models remain limited if confined to object–subject or subject–object relations alone. Building on Mu‘ādh’s proposal of subject–subject and subject–God relations, this study advances a third model: innersubjective

¹³² Kamal Hassan, "The Islamic Worldview", in *Towards a Positive Islamic World-View: Malaysian and American Perceptions*, ed. A.M. Yaacob and A.F.A. Rahman (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia, 1994), 11–33.

¹³³ Abdullah, "Integritas Penegak Hukum dan Hakim Dalam Perspektif Agama (The Integrity of Law Enforcement Officers and Judges from a Religious Perspective)", 1–28.

¹³⁴ Syed Farid Alatas, "Reflections on the Idea of Islamic Social Science", September 3, 2015, 60–86.

Islamic social science. Within this framework, social reality is interpreted through three integrated forms of awareness—cognitive (subject–object), recognitive (subject–subject), and trans-recognitive (subject–God).¹³⁵

In the Indonesian civilisational context, this triadic model resonates deeply with the nation’s historical synthesis of religion, culture, and moral governance. It aligns with Indonesia’s philosophical self-understanding, in which public reason is neither secularly detached nor theologically coercive, but ethically oriented and spiritually accountable. In this sense, innersubjective social science offers not only an analytical framework but also a civilisational orientation for interpreting Indonesian social life—one that remains empirically attentive, ethically disciplined, and grounded in a shared moral horizon shaped by transcendence.

4.0. CONCLUSION

This study advances the concept of innersubjective social science with a divine foundation as a distinctive contribution emerging from the Indonesian intellectual and civilisational context. Innersubjective social science is understood here as a framework that integrates spiritual consciousness, ethical introspection, and divine orientation as foundational elements in the interpretation of social reality. Through a comparative engagement with the sociological thought of Ibn Khaldūn and the historico-civilisational perspective of Kuntowijoyo, the study demonstrates that neither subjective moral commitment nor objective scientific analysis alone is sufficient to account for the complexity of social life. Rather, their synthesis points towards an innersubjective mode of reasoning that reconnects social knowledge with moral responsibility and transcendental accountability.

The analysis shows that the cycles of civilisational reason—*‘aql hayūlī* (myth), *‘aql tamyīzī* (ideology), *‘aql tajrībī* (scientific knowledge), and *‘aql nazarī* (integration of knowledge)—should not

¹³⁵ Muadz, *Anatomi Sistem Sosial (Anatomy of Social Systems)*, 247.

be read as linear or successive stages. In the Indonesian context, these cycles operate in a circular and spiral manner, frequently overlapping and re-emerging within society. This dynamic pattern reflects Indonesia's plural civilisational experience, where mythic, ideological, scientific, and integrative forms of reasoning coexist and interact rather than replace one another. The study further argues that these four cycles reach their ethical and civilisational maturity when oriented around *akhlak-budi* or *'aql rūḥānī*, which functions as the inner moral-spiritual axis of social reasoning.

By conceptualising *akhlak* as the inner, metaphysical dimension of moral conscience and *budi* as its outward rational and sensory expression, the study situates intersubjective consciousness within a deeper innersubjective horizon. In this sense, intersubjectivity—understood as dialogical and reciprocal engagement among subjects—moves towards innersubjectivity when it is grounded in divine orientation and ethical self-accountability. Because this inner-subjective dimension originates from and must include the role of God, the study characterises it as an innersubjective social science with a divine foundation. This framing does not reduce social science to theology; rather, it restores the moral and spiritual dimensions that discipline reason, restrain power, and orient knowledge towards the common good.

The implications of this study extend beyond theoretical synthesis. It offers a civilisational reading of Islamic social science that is particularly relevant to Indonesia, where religious plurality, cultural hybridity, and moral governance continue to shape public life. By proposing innersubjective social science as an alternative epistemic orientation, the study contributes to ongoing efforts to formulate social sciences that not only explain social phenomena (intersubjective) but also cultivate moral integrity and spiritual awareness (innersubjective). Such an approach holds potential for enriching future research agendas, pedagogical models in Islamic higher education, and broader discussions on civilisational renewal.

Ultimately, this study argues that the development of social science grounded in ethical consciousness and divine accountability is

not a retreat from scientific rigor, but a necessary expansion of it. Innersubjective social science offers a framework in which knowledge serves not only analytical clarity but also human dignity, moral responsibility, and humanity's journey towards God as the Creator.

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