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Address: **Humanities faculty, Tarbiat Modares University, Nasr, Jalal AleAhmad, Tehran, Iran. P.O.Box: 14115-139**

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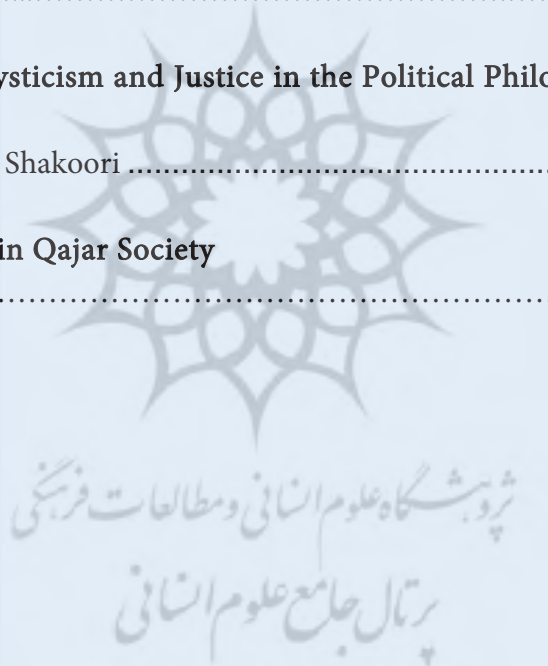
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The Convergence of Mysticism and Justice in the Political Philosophy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani

Bahram Zahedi¹, Abolfazl Shakoori²

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Abstract

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani is a great Muslim mystic of the 8th century AH (14th century AD). He has left several manuscripts focusing on mystical teachings and we can recognize his attitude toward the issue of justice in these works. Therefore, the main question of this article is: what is the relationship between mysticism and justice in the political thought of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani? Our hypothesis is that, there is a positive longitudinal relationship between mysticism and justice in the thought of Hamadani. According to the foundations of his ontology and anthropology and his definition of mysticism and human's felicity, the issue of justice itself is one of the pillars of the voyage toward God. The data of this research are gathered by the library method. Also, we have used Abd al-Qahir Jurjani's method The Theory of Order, to obtain an integrated knowledge about various components of Hamadani's thought as well as Franklin Le Van Baumer's The Climate of Opinion, to deepen the historical aspects of our research. Findings of this research show that by using The Theory of Order, we can clearly see the link between mysticism and justice in Hamadani's thought. Moreover, the study of the intellectual atmosphere of the time shows that majority of Muslim mystics, considered the issue of justice as one of their teachings.

Keywords: Mysticism; Monotheism; Justice; Perfect Man's *Wilayah*; Felicity.

¹. Ph.D. Student of Political Science/Political Thought, Department of Political Science, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran. B.Zahedi@modares.ac.ir

². Associate Professor, Department of Political Sciences, Tarbiat Modares University. Tehran, Iran (Corresponding Author) a.shakoori@modares.ac.ir

1-Introduction

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (714-786 AH, 1314-1384 AD), also known as Amir-i-Kabir, Shah-i-Hamadan, Apostle of Kashmir, Hazrat-i-Amir Jan and..., is one of the leaders of the Kubrawi Sufi order and one of the greatest characters of the history of Islamic mysticism. Amir-i-Kabir has played an incomparable role in expanding Islam in the Indian subcontinent, especially in Kashmir. He also wrote numerous books and essays in Khatlon region (the main center of his teachings, which today is located in Tajikistan), Kashmir and... which these books have particular importance in the study of the history of mystical thinking and political thought in Islam. The reason for this importance is that he could meet many of elder Sufis of his era by traveling to many parts of the Muslim world, and in fact he had gathered a summary of the teachings of most mystics of the time and he could create an extensive network of scholars and followers - especially in eastern Islamic world- to spread out mystical teachings on a large scale. There are several names of the rulers and local kings of Khorasan, Turkestan and Kashmir, among these disciples and Mir Sayyid Ali's letters to them are full of the reflections of mystical political doctrines (Riaz, 1991: 121)

These teachings, at least in Kashmir, led to establish a new civilization based on the religion of Islam and showed that the educational and spiritual teachings of a Muslim mystic, along with his practical actions, can play a fundamental role in the creation of a new society and the establishment of a new civilization (Riaz Khan, 1968). Despite high position of

Hamadani in the history of Islamic mysticism, the subject of his political thought and his political thought has not been sufficiently explored and investigated. Therefore, researching in this field seems necessary. In this research, we aim to reconsider the position of the issue of justice -as one of the most fundamental issues of political thought- in the intellectual structure of Hamadani and discover its relation to his mystical teachings. In fact, the main question of this research is: what is the relation between mysticism and justice in the political thought of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani? Our hypothesis is that there is a positive longitudinal relation between mysticism and justice in the intellectual structure of this mystic. According to the principles of his ontology and anthropology and his definition of mysticism and human's felicity; the issue of justice itself is one of the pillars of the voyage toward God. In order to gain a deeper understanding of Hamadani's thoughts, we have to pay attention to the historical context of his life and thought. Hence, in this research, we briefly discuss the position of justice in the thoughts of other Muslim mystics in the early and middle Ages of Islam.

2- Literature Review

The issue of justice in Hamadani's thought and its relation to his mystical ideas has not been studied independently so far. There are nine articles -most in Tajikistan- that have been written about the political thoughts of Hamadani in general. Also, we will introduce three books in which some sections have

been devoted to this subject. An article has been published in Iran entitled *Andishe-i-siasi-i- Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani* (the political thought of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani) by Abd al-Reza Ahmadi (Ahmadi, 2004: 69-78). The author in this article, focuses on the book of *Zakhirat-al-Moluk* and says that Hamadani describes his favorite political system by a righteous ruler with good morals. Hence, morality and religious issues are found almost in all of his political opinions.

Other papers were written by researchers from Tajikistan (ten papers) and Pakistan (one paper). Hotam Asozodah introduces the most extensive work of Amir-i-Kabir, in his article *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani va Zakhirat al-Moluk-i- Eoo* (Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his *Zakhirat-al-Moluk*) and states that the writer of *Zakhirat-al-Moluk* gives effective advices to everyone, especially rulers, by exemplifying the lives of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the great figures of Islam and the prophets before the last one (Muhammad PBUH) (Asozodah, 2011: 67-77). The same author devoted a short section in his book *Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Pazhuheshi Dar Ahval va Asar* (Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, a research in his life and works) entitled *Describing a just Shah in the works of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani* (Asozodah, 2015: 126-136).

Kholiqzadah has dedicated a chapter to the political and legal ideas of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani in *Nazaria-i- Idarah Koni-i- Sharqi*¹ (Theory of Eastern Governance). In this chapter, he highlights the emphasis of

Shah-i-Hamadani on the obligation to observe justice and kindness by a ruler and respect for the rights of his subjects (Kholiqzadah, 2017: 205-241). Mohir Khoja Sultonov, one of the first researchers who revived the works of Hamadani in Tajikistan, refers to political and social dimensions of his mystic tradition in an article entitled *Falsafa-i- Ijtimai-i- Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani* (social philosophy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani) (Sultonov, 2011: 27-45) and believes that the theory of a just, wise and beneficent ruler, has enveloped almost all his works (Sultonov, 2011: 32). Abd al-Rahman Muhammadov and Abd al-Rahman Qurbonov have noted the conditions of the monarchy in Hamadani's opinion in the article *Siasat va Aiin-i- Dawlatdari az Negah-i- Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani* (Politics and Order of Governance from the Perspective of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani) and they state that, according to Hamadani's belief; the ruler will be suffered in the other world without these conditions (Mohammadov and Qurbonov, 2011: 134-122).

In 1994, one of the issues of a scientific journal in Tajikistan (АХБОРИ АКАДЕМИЯИ ИЛМҶОИ ҶУМҶУРӢИ ТОҶИКИСТОН) was dedicated to Hamadani. Articles by Shirzad Abdullohev, Kh. Nazarov, Mohammad Qurbonov, Hotam Asozodah and Jabbor Sharif among other articles are related to Hamadani's political thought. The authors in the first collection of articles on Hamadani tried to address the high position of Hamadani in the history and culture of the Islamic world and Muslims political thought

¹ Idarah Koni in Tajik dialect of Persian language means management and governance.

(Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan, 1994).

Sayyid Hussain Shah Hamadani -a Pakistani scholar and a descendant of Mir Sayyid Ali- devoted a chapter to the political philosophy of this mystic, in *Shah-i-Hamadani, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani* (Hamadani, Sayyid Hussain Shah, 1995: 27-36). In this article, he points out the merger of Hamadani's moral and religious philosophy with his views on state and government and believes that the central point of his political philosophy is social justice (Hamadani, Sayyid Hussain Shah, 1995: 27). The author explains that in his letters constantly Mir Sayyid Ali insists on the protection of the rights of subjects, the implementation of the Shariah of Islam, and the equality of Muslims. In thought of Hamadani, a good ruler should prevent the rising of animal nature (wild trait) in the human community by preserving the rules of Islam and stopping the tyranny of oppressors (Hamadani, Sayyid Hussain Shah, 1995: 30).

Also, he noted the resemblance of Hamadani's political philosophy to Plato's political philosophy and noted the similarity of their thoughts with those of one of the Iranian thinkers who lived in the Indian subcontinent, namely, Abolfazl Allami (d. 1011 AH) -the thoughtful minister of Akbar Shah-i- Gurkani (Hamadani, Sayyid Hussain Shah, 1995: 31).

3- Research Method

A. *The Theory of Order from Abd al-Qahir Jurjani:*

Abd al-Qahir Jurjani is a fifth century (AH) thinker who is one of the greatest linguists and scholars of rhetoric in the history of

Islamic civilization and some scholars consider him the founder of the linguistic revolution in Arabic language (Sayyid Qasem and Hadi, 2014: 111-129). His main theory entitled the Theory of Order, which has explained in the book *Dalail-al-I'jaz fi al-Quran*, states that, in order to understand the meaning of any text, it should be seen in an integrated form and in its entirety. For understanding the meaning of a text, we have to see a text in a general coherence or in a conflation among the constructive elements of the text in accordance with the principles of syntactic science. In this way, we can understand the author's purposes (Jurjani, 2004: 349-381). Because of the attention to the integrity of a text and the mentality of its author, this theory has considerable similarities to the well-known theory of hermeneutic circle of Schleiermacher. But the point of the Theory of Order, in relation to the hermeneutic circle theory, is that it is not based on relativistic epistemological assumptions. It can be said that the researcher, when applying the hermeneutic circle theory, practically has to accept relativistic assumptions, while this is not true about the theory of order. Therefore, we use this method to understand the meaning of Hamadani's writings in an integrated and coherent form.

B. *The Theory of The Climate of Opinion of Franklin Le Van Baumer:*

The contemporary historian Franklin Le Van Baumer (1913-1990) tried to gain a better understanding of human being and world with a deep look at the parts of human history. In his detailed book, *Main Currents of Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present*, he

narrates the story of some of remarkable adventures of the Western mind from the first Middle Ages to our present day, that is the age of anxiety (Van Baumer, 2010: 17). And he uses intellectual history to illustrate this long period of time, which could be a very good way in historical studies. In this way, he tries to identify a historical age based on common thoughts at that certain time. In order to realize this goal, it is necessary to know what he calls The Climate of Opinion or intellectual atmosphere of the time. He defines this particular term: A complex set of assumptions and perceptions on which the majority of people of a given society think, talk and act (Van Baumer, 2010: 21-22). In this study, we try to understand Hamadani's intellectual structure and his historical context, so we use this method and try to review the intellectual atmosphere of the time. Of course, with regard to the writing space of an article, we do not consider all kinds of thinkers in that era, but only consider the thoughts of the Muslim mystics in the early and middle ages of Islam, by focusing on the issue of justice in their thoughts. In order to do this, we will identify the intellectual atmosphere of the time in the perspective of the relationship between mysticism and justice.

C- Collection of data:

In this study, the research data were gathered using the library method. For that matter, both published works and manuscripts of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani were considered.

4. The Intellectual Atmosphere of Time in

Terms of Relationship between Mysticism and Justice

Before explaining Hamadani's mystics, we have to mention the mystics of earlier time, namely those who were followed by Hamadani and his contemporaries. Hasan Basri (21-110 AH) is one of the most important of these figures. The members of Kubrawi Tariqah² -the Tariqah that Hamadani belongs to- like many other Sufi orders, hold that he (Hasan Basri) is one of the chains of the spiritual connection to Imam Ali (AS). Hence the mystical-political letter of Hasan Basri -addressed to the Caliph of the time, Omar bin Abdal-Aziz- is one of the best documents for examining the link between mysticism and justice among Muslim mystics. This letter was written in the year 99 AH. Hassan Basri says:

O' Caliph! Know that Allah hath ordained the just leader, as the one who is the rectifier of every perversity and the enemy of every oppressor ... and the helpmate of every oppressed and the protector of every anguished... O' Caliph! A righteous leader is as a kind father, kind to his children ... O' Caliph! A just leader is the patron of orphans and supporter of the poor. He nurtures their children and nourishes their adults... O' Caliph! Remember the death and the divine account after that ... then prepare yourself for after death and the great panic ... O' Caliph! Remember the resurrection day and the day when what is in the hearts will be disclosed. The secrets will be revealed and the file of actions will be brought up. O' Caliph! Therefore, now that the time has not yet come and the hope of salvation is not expired

² Tariqah means Sufi order.

and you have the opportunity, don't rule the servants of God like an ignorant man and do not rule over them as oppressors and do not let the arrogant ones dominate over the oppressed people (Badawi, 2010: 220-221).

A few hundred years after Hassan Basri, Abd al-Qadir Gilani (470-561 AH), emphasized the convergence of mysticism and justice in his mystical literature. In the fifty-first session of his preaching on the tenth day of the month of Islamic calendar, Sha'ban (545 AH), in a completely political and justice-minded sermon, -after pointing out the true meaning of life and death- he named all the lovers of mundane world, walking dead and then he attacked the evil scholars and the oppressor kings with biting sentences. He admonished them the temporariness of this world, eternity of the hereafter and the value of asceticism and piety. This sermon has a special significance because we can identify the connection of the mystical theories with consideration to the social lives of the servants of God, by some short sentences and directly from the mouth of one of the main figures of the history of mysticism and Sufism (Gilani, 2013: 286, 290).

We can elaborate many things about the link between mysticism and justice in the thoughts of Muslim mystics, but here we briefly mention the thoughts of three other mystics in the era of Hamadani. Sayyid Sadruddin Musa, son of Sheikh Safiuddin Ardabili, quoted from his father that once Sheikh Tajeddin Ibrahim Zahed-i- Gilani (615-700 AH) -Master and Murshid of Sheikh Safi- was in Dashtavand of Noshahr (located in the current Republic of Azerbaijan), the Ilkhanid king, Sultan

Ghazan Khan, -who was one of the first Muslim Mongol kings- came to meet Sheikh Zahed. Among the topics that Sheikh Zahed brought up on that day was the issue of justice:

Sheikh asked again to the sultan: Son! Do you have a treasury? The sultan said yes. Sheikh said: What is in your treasury? The sultan said: Gold, silver, jewelry and the likes. Sheikh Zahed said: No! This is not the treasury. Your treasure is a good agent, because when you send him to bring the gold, he brings the gold with a prayer. By gold, fill the treasury and by people's prayer fill your bag (spiritual bag for doomsday). It means that he does his duty justly and fairly, so people will pray for you (Ardabili, Ibn-i-Bazzaz, 1994: 206-208).

Azizuddin-i-Nasafi (d. 700 AH) and Sheikh Najmuddin-i- Razi, (also known Dayah) (573-654 AH), define mysticism in their works in a way that necessarily associates with justice. Nasafi introduces the second duty of the perfect man -after knowing and closeness to God- is to try for justice and promotion of God's law among the people and the ameliorate of social affairs. (Nasafi, undated:11) Sheikh Najmuddin-i-Razi states that if the government is adorned by justice and righteousness and accompaniment of religion and the world - such as the rule of divine prophets like David (AS) and Solomon (AS)- this rule and power will be the link between mortal kingdom and real immortal realm (paradise) (Njamuddin-i- Razi, 2014: 212-219).

As it was seen through the review of the intellectual atmosphere of the time, there has been a strong link between mysticism and justice in the thoughts of the great mystics of

the Muslim world. Now we have to look for this link in more details in the works of Hamadani.

5. Monotheistic Worldview, the Basis of Ontology of Hamadani

For a deep understanding of the intellectual structure of Hamadani, we must first begin with his attitude towards the universe and existence, because for him, all other phenomena have meaning within this existence. He understands -as other mystics who believe in the unity of existence- the whole being as the radiance of God's unrivalled existence. He sometimes explains the reality of existence like the manner of complex mystical texts (Hamadani, manuscript 4274/22 of Malek library). And sometimes he describes this issue by a simpler manner because understanding the mystic monotheism is difficult for common people. What is common between these explanations is the monotheistic insight to the world and to the mankind. In other words, -based on the fundamental teachings of Islam- he introduces a creator for this being, which is unique and unparalleled, without having any similarity. He is the old who has not a starting point, the everlasting who has not the end, the anterior that his superiority has not primordium, the eternal that his existence has no limit, the appearance that there is no obstacle for cognition his identity except (our) incapability and astonishment, the inner being that no one knows his secrets and ... (Hamadani, 1979: 12).

In Hamadani's view, the whole of existence has meaning and life, under the light of the manifestation of such God. The

ontological use of the words 'light' (نور), 'light manifestation' (تجلی نوری) and 'illumination' (اشراق) by Hamadani, reveals the depth of his acquaintance with the Illuminative Wisdom (حکمت اشراق) of Shahabuddin Suhrawardi (549-587 AH) (Hamadani, Manuscript 4274/11 Malek).

Also, we can clearly see, in some of his works the ontological attitude of the unity of existence of Muhiyiddin-i- Ibn Arabi and his followers. As we see in the book *Asrar al-Nuqtah* (Secrets of the Point), he explains deeply the issue of existence with a mystical view. Also he has used in this book terms such as Absolute Hidden Identity (هویت غیبی), Rahmani's Breath (نفس رحمانی), the Setting of Names and Traits (تعین اسماء و صفات), the Standing Entities (اعیان ثابتة), the Quintet Positions (حضرات خمس).

Seeing unity in the multiplicity of the universe and the aggregation of all levels of existence at the point is the basis of the thought governing this book. Hamadani holds that the central point is a symbol of Absolute Oneness (احدیت مطلقه) and The Truth of the Hidden Identity (حقیقت هویت غیبی) and the center of precipitation of existential graces from the formless truth (کانون ریزش فیوضات ابداعی از حقیقت بی تعین) (Hamadani, 2014-A: 33).

Also, Hamadani describes in *Risala-i-Vojudiyya* (Existential Treatise) the emanation of divine graces and the emergence of creation on the basis of the manifestation of God's essence on God's essence itself (Hamadani, manuscript 4274/22). In this ontological system, the mundane world has the lowest degree of existence and the passage of life for the pleasures of this fictitious world has not a

result except bitterness, disgrace and opprobrium (Hamadani, 2014-A: 31). In fact, in terms of Hamadani, the world is valuable only if it be used as a farm that we sow our acts in order to reap the products of our human worldly life in the Permanent Hereafter (Hamadani, 1979: 17).

6- The Exemplum of Spirit as a Bird and Divine Anthropology of Hamadani

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, introduces the truth of existence as the manifestation of the essence of God, also exemplifies the human being as a bird who has lost his bright and cheerful nest and is currently in the prison of mundane world. For example, in one of his prayers, he says:

«کریمما و پادشاهها! به آب دیده مهجوران بادیه محبت ...
سیمرغ روح را که طائر هوای عالم غیب است در جولان
فضای ساحات قدس، سرور قرب کرامت فرمای... الهی!
مسجونان سجن طبیعت را از عذاب آلام نیران حرمان
نجات بخش و محبوسان قیود شهوات را از محنت بند
غفلت و هوا خلاص ده.» (Badakhshi, 1995: 306)

(Oh munificent God! Oh my lord! For the sake of the tears of outcasts of the plain of love... give to my spirit -who is a bird of heaven- the happiness of being in your vicinity by flying in sanctum sanctorum... oh my God! Redeem the prisoners of the prison of mundane world from the torture of fire of desperation and liberate the inmates of the chains of lust from the sadness of bonds of neglect and desires)

Also, he once again uses this allegory in *Risala-i- Haqiqat-i- Iman* (the treatise on the truth of faith), to refer to the captivity of mankind in the world and also mentions the

possibility of returning to the origin of existence. In this treatise, he likens man to a hawk from the Sanctum world (or sacred heaven) and warns him not to eat the carrion of world as a dog, since his dignity is flying towards the beauty and glory of God (Hamadani, manuscript 4250/26 Malek: sheet 82 b). He used the same allegory in his poems:

باز اوج کبریایی مانده اندر دام کام
دام و دانه بر در و خرم به حضرت باز شو
گر همای قاف قریب بال همت برگشای
در فضای لا مکان با قدسیان انباز شو
قفل این در شد علایی^۳ و کلید آن نیاز
گر نیازی داری اینجا بر سریر ناز شو
(Riaz, 1991: 471)

In one of his anthropological treatises, he also sees the spirit of human (روح) as the source of good morals and the soul (or ego) (نفس)^۴ as a mind of filthy characteristics and he sees the path of salvation from bad soul (نفس اماره), is divine love (Hamadani, 2015, vol. 2: 243) and basically knows the difference between the human being from the animal in the essence of the love of the truth (God) and the flame of the fire of love (Hamadani, 2009: 44). In fact, from the point of view of Hamadani, a human will become a real human when he illuminates his heart through the light of divine love. Even the true existence of a man is based on the same love and affection, because according to the ontological view of Hamadani, submerging in the mundane world and forgetfulness of the origin of being, means staying at the lowest level of existence and in another

³ Alayi (علایی) is the poetical pen name of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani.

⁴ For more study about the difference between soul and spirit, look at: Qusta bin Luqa, 2017: 4-31 and 75-79.

concept, this means staying in the desert of non-existence:

هر آن جان کز غمش بر وی رقم نیست
ندیمش در دو عالم جز ندم نیست
دلی کز درد او درمان نسازد
وجود او به معنی جز عدم نیست
(Ranjbar, 2015: 86)

7. Felicity of Human

Given the ontology and anthropology explained above, it is clear that Hamadani believes that human felicity depends on the closeness to the source of beauty, glory and origin of existence and he tries to introduce, in various writings, the path of this proximity. He says in a letter to Bahramshah -the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshan regions- that God has determined for mankind an infinite journey and a dangerous and endless way that has many lodging places, but in general, six places are in the way of the passengers of the survival world (the immortal life after death):

The loins of the father, the womb of the mother, the space of the universe, the grave, the scenes of doomsday and at the end, Paradise or Hell, the place of eternal blessings or sufferings (Hamadani, Manuscripts 4250/23 Malek and 4274/19 Malek). Hamadani reminds his audience that, it is the third place which is the place of examination of human existence and the acquisition of eternal felicity or misery (Hamadani, Manuscripts 4250/23 Malek and 4274/19 Malek).

In his chosen poetry from Attar's *Mantiq-al-Tair*, He also shows a special interest in description of the way of human happiness in the form of Haft Shahr-i- Eshq (The Seven Cities of Love): quest, love,

knowledge, spiritual satiety, monotheism (unity), amazement and ultimately poverty and annihilation (Hamadani, on the annotation of the manuscript 6075/10, Manuscripts Center of the Central Library of Tehran University).

Hamadani, in *Chehel Maqam-i- Sufiyya* (Forty Positions of Sufis) and *Manazel al-Salekin* (the stages of passengers toward God), explains the lodging places of the way of man's felicity -namely the way of cognition and proximity- with more details. At the first book, forty lodging places have been introduced (Hamadani, Manuscript 4250/16) and at the second one, hundred places have been introduced (Riaz, 1991: 188-189). In *Risala-i- Eteqadia* (Treatise on Beliefs), he emphasizes on compliance with the Islamic law, like many of his other works, but here we see a further explanation of the issue. He explains that in order to reach the goal of Shariah -which is the spiritual felicity of human- it is necessary to understand the esoteric (inward) aspect of Islamic laws and realize it in the human's spirit. Hamadani believes that the true purpose of religion will not be realized without spending these three layers: Shariat (Islamic laws), Tariqat (Islamic mystical orders) and Haqiqat (Truth) (Hamadani, 2007: 241-262) albeit Hamadani knows that those who have fallen out of exoteric aspect of religion (means Islamic laws), with the pretext of its spirituality are ignorant people who have lost their way.

Hamadani believes that the person, who correctly proceeds with the divine path, will reach to real humanity and will be placed at a higher position than the best angels, and

quite contrary, those who do not follow this path will wander in the desert of aberrance:

«عارفان وصل تو مغبوط اشراف ملک
مدبران درگهت، سرگشته تیه ضلال»

(Hamadani, 4250/34 the Malek Library: First sheet; and Ranjbar, 2015: 84)

Hamadani explains in *Risala-i- Dah Qaidah* (Ten Rules) -which is in fact the translation and comments on *Osul al-A'asharah* (Ten Principles) from Sheikh Najmuddin Kubra- the ten basic principles for the best and most complete type of Sufism: repentance, asceticism, reliance to God, contentment, hermitage, remembrance God (zikr), attention, patience, meditation and eventually satisfaction (Najmuddin Kubra, 1983).

This question concerns the place of justice, and political and social responsibility in Sufism, when the path of human felicity passes through such mystical practices and spiritual conduct. Isn't there any place for political and social responsibility as some authors misperceive? They think that the mystic -who looks at the world as a caravanserai- has no political thought (Tabatabai, 2006: 205-226). So, we should answer this question: Is there any place for these concepts such as justice in Hamadani's path?

In order to answer this questions Hamadani's definition of mysticism need to be studied more carefully.

8. The Meaning of Mysticism

Hamadani, introduces in his *Zikriyya* treatise, the four foundation of Sufism: purity, reliance to God, repentance and justice. He then refers to the meaning of exoteric and esoteric aspects of each one. Shah-i- Hamadan considers in this treatise, - while expressing the mystical meanings for justice- the necessity of avoiding neglected wealthy and ignorant dead-hearts according to the Quran's commandments⁵ (Hamadani, 2009: 66). And he believes that it is not justice to look at miserable contemptuously (Hamadani, 2009: 66). Shah-i- Hamadan gradually elaborates in his treatise on *Futuwwat* (Magnanimity), -which has a very obvious social and legal aspects- why and how a Sufi, should pay attention to social issues. Hamadani calls *Futuwwat*, the principle of all the degrees of Sufism, because *Futuwwat* involves all the levels of ethics (Hamadani, 2010: 155). He believes that the entire degrees and dimensions of *Futuwwat*, is related to the rights of the servants of God (Hamadani, 2010: 165-166). According to a hadith, he states, the creations of God are the family of God and the most loving one by God is the one who helps, more the family of God. (Hamadani, 2010: 165-166) He calls Imam Ali (as) a perfect model of *Futuwwat* and the source of the spring of *Futuwwat* and the mine of munificence and humanity (Hamadani, 2010: 165). And by quoting from Junaid-i- Baghdadi, he states that the truth of *Futuwwat*, is that make your existence as much as you can a mean for the kindness and comfort of the servants of Allah (Hamadani, 2010, 157)

⁵ «فأعرض عنمننوا لبعنذكرنا ولميرد إلا الحياة الدنيا»: So avoid those who turn away from Our remembrance and who

desire nothing but the life of the world (An-Najm, verse 29).

With such an attitude to mysticism, paying attention to the lives of other servants of God is one of the basics of Sufism. Therefore, the condition of the legitimacy of government according to Hamadani's thought is the attempt of rulers to respect the divine orders and serve the servants of Allah (Hamadani, 1974: 35-64). In such a rationale, obligation to observe justice and kindness is his cornerstone of political and social doctrines (Hamadani, 1979: 217).

9. Justice

As stated at the beginning of this article, some of the disciples of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani were political leaders, including Sultan Qutb al-Din Shahmiri, the king of Kashmir, Mohammad Bahramshah, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshan, Sultan Ghiyath al-din, the ruler of Pakhli, Sultan Tughanshah, the ruler of Kunar. There are plenty of admonition letters of Hamadani to them and some of his treatises such as *Maktubat-i-Amiriyya* and *Bahramshahiyya* are entirely devoted to this subject matter. Hamadani mentioned, at the beginning of his detailed book, *Zakhirat al-Moluk*, that he wrote it on the request of a number of kings and rulers of Islam and some of the great persons who try to advance religious issues in people lives. (Hamadani, 1979: 2)

The Political literature of Hamadani, in many pages of the book, show the convergence of mysticism and justice. Of course, this convergence becomes comprehensible through several elements of Hamadani's thought in the Order and Compilation-employing Jurjani's Theory of Order. It means that the ontological and anthropological system of Hamadani,

together with his definition of felicity and mysticism should be viewed in its entirety and as one integrated construct and ultimately bringing them together with what he says on justice in this book.

In the first four chapters of the book- which have totally educational and soul purifying - he exemplifies ethics, austerities and efforts of the prophets and early Muslims. By these examples, he tries to make his audience mentally prepared to accept right words about political and social issues. Then he goes to the fifth chapter entitled orders of ruling and monarchy and Emirate and the rights of the Subjects. In this chapter, he describes the way of governance of the Prophets and Muslims of the early days of Islam and states that, despite having power and control over the kingdom, they mortified their souls (namely their egoism), and they patiently tolerated the difficulties and inconveniences of the world and "made great efforts to expand justice, kindness and compassion to the people" (Hamadani, 1979: 250). He then distinguishes between two types of government:

The ruler or the king, who rules by justice and kindness and attempts to implement religious laws, is the chosen person from God and the shadow of Allah and the caliph of Rahman and if he falls back from the way of justice and kindness and forgets the servants of God and follows his own desires and allows religious laws to be neglected, he is the agent of antichrist (Dajjal), he is the enemy of God and the prophet, and he is the caliph of Satan. Eternal felicity belongs to the one who rules fairly and mindfully, the one who knows where he has come from and where he

goes to, and what is the purpose of this coming and going (Hamadani, 1979: 250)

In order to clarify the mind of his audience about the path of justice and kindness, Shah-i- Hamadan mentions ten conditions for the government. Then he immediately mentions twenty rights that Muslims have on their government. The rights he believes if not be implemented, the ruler will not be saved from the doom of the hereafter. The two elements of adherence to the divine law and the just conduct are observable within all these conditions and rights (Hamadani, 1979: 252-285). He believes the first condition of ruling is that the ruler should imagine himself as one of the subjects in every circumstance (Hamadani, 1979: 253) and the first right of the subjects to the king is that the king treats all the Muslims humbly (Hamadani, 1979: 267). It is interesting that in expressing these rights, Hamadani mentions detailed points such as the lifestyle of a just ruler; construction of bridges, caravansaries and mosques; the affairs of the poor, especially orphans; and the necessity of the ruler's attention to the behavior of his agents. In order to get closer to understand the meaning of justice by Hamadani, it would be proper to look at a summary of the conditions of good governance and the rights of God's servants (عباد الله) in this government.

A. Conditions of Good and Just Governance:

1. The ruler should imagine himself as one of his subjects in every circumstance and should see others as a ruler over himself; hence, the ruler should not implement any verdict that he deems unfair for himself.

2- The ruler should believe that the best worship is to fulfill the needs of Muslims.

3- The ruler should follow the behavior of Rashidun caliphs in eating and clothing and prevents himself from eating lavish dishes and putting on luxury dresses. As when Amir al-Momenin Ali (AS) became caliph, he went to the market and bought a shirt for three Dirhams and then cut parts of that shirt which he deemed useless and luxury and said: this way it is more suitable for a humble man and more proper for a leader of the believers.

4. In his ruling and judgment, he should speak tolerantly and should not infuriate without a reason and not become bored of listening to lengthy arguments and should not feel dishonored by talking to the weak and needy people.

5. He should consider only God's satisfaction in his actions and should be aware that after his judgments, whatsoever, some will be dissatisfied with him. If he works in the way of God's satisfaction and does not fear the anger of the people in straightway, God will be satisfied with him and God himself will satisfy the people.

6. The ruler should not be unaware of the peril of ruling and should know that it is a mean by which he can reach to either eternal happiness or eternal misery. Hamadani goes on about this condition: Most of the kings of the time are arrogant to the ephemeral government and they have destroyed their religion for their own soul's desires. in accordance with a hadith, Hamadani points out that if a ruler is righteous and just, the reward of his one day just ruling will be equal to the prayers of all people in his territory.

7- The ruler should have the tendency of companionship with the pious people and scholars. Of course, here, Hamadani warns about evil and worldly-minded scholars and calls them the devastators of the religion.

8. Should not frighten people by arrogance; rather attract the love of his subjects by doing justice and kindness and compassion for the weak and subordinates.

9. Should not neglect to investigate his agents and shouldn't assign wolf-character oppressors to dominate the oppressed people.

10. The tenth condition is sagacity [Understanding and Intelligence]. It is imperative that the ruler carefully investigate the events of the time and in the context of understanding and intellect, should specify the truth of every event. If it were a clear religious matter, he should act on that issue through the religious law, and if it were an unclear and complex problem, he should find out its secret under the light of the sagacity and should not trust the words of the tattlers in that matter (Hamadani, 1979: 252-259).

B- Twenty Muslims' Rights to a Just Leader:

1- The ruler should be humble with all Muslims.

2- Should not listen to the words of the common people about each other, because the result of it is turmoil (Fitnah) and remorse, particularly the words of the corrupted and the deceitful people.

3- If the ruler becomes angry for the wrong of a person and if there was the possibility of forgiveness, he should not delay his pardon for more than three days, unless the cause of

the wrath of the ruler is that the accused was trying to blemish the religion.

4- The justice and kindness of the ruler should be widespread over all of the subjects.

5- The ruler should not enter the people's homes without their consent.

6- The ruler should not have same expectations from different people on the issue of decorum and face all classes of people. The ruler should expect every people at their own cultural level and would excuse them of not adhering to eloquence, rhetoric and good speech.

7- Should treat the elders respectfully, especially the pious ones during congregations and he should look at the children with compassion.

8- Should stay on his pledges to Muslims.

9- Should speak calmly and with smile to everyone especially the weak.

10- The ruler should treat people fairly, as he would expect fairness from people.

11- Should attempt to resolve the hostilities between Muslims.

12- Should cover petty wrongdoings of people as much as possible.

13- The ruler should not make acts that could be perceived as sinful; otherwise it would permeate those acts among people.

14- Should intercede to provide living necessities for Muslims.

15- Should prioritize the poor and weak over the rich and worldly-minded and should get along more with the poor and divine men

16. Should not neglect the conditions of needy people and should attempt to fulfill their needs particularly cares for the orphans.

17. Should secure the roads of Muslims from the fear of bandits.

18. Should build bridges and caravanserais wherever it is needed, as his possibilities.
19. Should construct a mosque in each region of Muslims and appoints Imam and Mu'azzin and provides their livelihoods.
20. Should not ignore the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice and admonish common people and the elite, in religious matters. It is imperative for the ruler to prohibit sins by his power of decree (Hamadani, 1979: 266-284).

After what we mentioned about the conditions and rights for good and just governance, we might consider the spirit of these conditions and rights, by referring to a verse of the Qur'an. That is the verse that Hamadani begins the fifth book of *Zakhirat Al-Muluk* by it:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَابْتِئَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ (٩٠ نحل)
(Indeed Allah enjoins justice and kindness and generosity towards relatives and He forbids indecency, vice and aggression. He advises you, so that you may take admonition. Surah An-Nahl, Verse 90)

10- The Perfect Man's *Wilayah* (Rule Based on Spiritual Superiority), Way of Felicity and Criterion of Justice

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani holds the realization of all such aforementioned goals, depends on the obedience to the perfect man and his *Wilayah*, because the perfect man is an epitome of divine essential identity and a perfect description of the divine names and attributes (Hamadani, Manuscript 4274/22 Malek: sheet 121 A and Hamadani, 2015, Volume 2: 248).

The Wali (friend) of God (means same perfect man) is the gist of the world

(Hamadani, Manuscript 4274/24 Malek: sheet 127 b). The most prominent example of the perfect man, in the viewpoint of Hamadani is Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), -the gist of beings and the lord of Cosmos- (Ranjbar, 2015: 48). Also, other friends of God (Awlia) can fly above heavens through the obedience to Mohammad because everyone who follows the way of the lover, will arrive to the beloved (Hamadani, manuscript 4250/26: sheet 88 A). For Hamadani, the original instance of these obedience and reaching to the beloved, is Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (AS), whom Hamadani has shown the prominences of this second perfect man, in two treatises entitled *Al-Sabe'ih Fi Fazail-i Amir al-Momenin* (Riaz, 1991: 205, 501-522) and *Al-Arba'in Fi Fazaili Amir al-Momenin* (Riaz, 1991: 201; Hamadani, 2014-B). The heart of the perfect man, is the mirror of the manifestation of God's light and for this reason, anyone who has come to the dignity of the perfect man, -perforce- the true rule (*Wilayah*) will be for him:

«هر که مست عالم عرفان بود

بر همه خلق جهان سلطان بود»

Everyone who is a drunken man of mysticism/ is the king of all the creations (Hamadani, manuscript 6075/10, Tehran University, originally it is a verse of the Attar's *Mantiq al-Tair*).

In the thought of Shah-i-Hamadani, the guidance of people belongs to prophets and awlia (Walis= the friends of God) (Hamadani, 1974: 58) and the purpose of expanding justice in society is the cultivation of man toward perfection and the voyage toward God. Hamadani believes that achieving the true knowledge about God is

the culmination of perfection of man and the purpose of creation, and: the purpose of all sciences and prophets and revelation of the holy books is the knowledge of the transcendental essence (God) (Hamadani, manuscript 4274/3).

11. Conclusion

Our main question in this study was: concerns the relationship between mysticism and justice in the political philosophy of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. To answer this question, -by using The Theory of Order of Abd al- Qahir Jurjani- we put together different sections of Hamadani's prose and verses, and reviewed them. It was seen in this way that the monotheist ontology of Hamadani and his definition of man, constitute the main bases of his intellectual system. He sees the felicity of man as a return to the source of existence and the spring of beauty and perfection; and believes that a person with mystical education can walk toward the felicity. In the thought of Hamadani, the effort to implement justice and kindness in society is one of the bases of

genuine mysticism. He sees the realization of happiness and justice as possible under the light of the Perfect Man's Wilayah and believes that trying for divine issues and serving the creations of God are the criterion of the legitimacy of the states. Thus, by using the method of Abd al-Qahir Jurjani's Order, we could see Hamadani's ontology, anthropology and his attitude towards the concepts of felicity and mysticism and justice in an integrated model. It was proved that in the political philosophy of Hamadani, there is a positive longitudinal relationship between mysticism and justice. Also using the method of the intellectual atmosphere of the time or The Climate of Opinion of Franklin Le Van Baumer, showed us that in the thought of great Muslim mystics, -before Hamadani - there has been same kind of convergence between mysticism and justice. Last but not the least, Hamadani's doctrines of justice and politics were the basis of actions of some rulers -from Kashmir to Turkistan- and the Islamic civilization of Kashmir was born under the shadow of those teachings.

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بهرام زاهدی^۱، ابوالفضل شکوری^۲

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چکیده

میر سید علی همدانی از عارفان بزرگ مسلمان در قرن هشتم هجری قمری است. مکتوبات متعددی با محوریت تعالیم عرفانی از ایشان به یادگار مانده است که می‌توان در این آثار، نوع نگرش او به مسئله عدالت را مورد مطالعه قرار داد. بر همین مبنا، پرسش اصلی این مقاله این است که چه رابطه‌ای میان عرفان و عدالت در فلسفه سیاسی میر سید علی همدانی برقرار است؟ فرضیه ما نیز این است که در تفکر همدانی، میان عرفان و عدالت، رابطه طولی مثبتی برقرار است بدین شرح که با توجه به مبانی هستی‌شناسی و انسان‌شناسی وی و تعریف وی از عرفان و سعادت انسان، اهتمام به موضوع عدالت خود یکی از ارکان سلوک به سوی خداوند است. داده‌های این تحقیق به روش کتابخانه‌ای گرد آمده است. همچنین برای کسب معرفتی یکپارچه نسبت به اجزاء مختلف اندیشه همدانی از روش «نظم» عبدالقاهر جرجانی بهره برده‌ایم و برای عمق بخشیدن تاریخی بیشتر به موضوع تحقیق، از روش «جو فکری زمانه» فرانکلین لوفان باو مر استفاده کرده‌ایم. یافته‌ها و نتایج این تحقیق نشان می‌دهند که با استفاده از روش نظم، می‌توان پیوند یادشده میان عرفان و عدالت در اندیشه همدانی را به وضوح دید و همچنین بررسی جو فکری زمانه نیز نشان می‌دهد که قاطبه عارفان مسلمان، پرداختن به موضوع عدالت را یکی از آموزه‌های تربیتی خود می‌دانسته‌اند.

واژه‌های کلیدی: عرفان، توحید، عدالت، ولایت انسان کامل، سعادت

۱. دانشجوی دکتری علوم سیاسی، گرایش اندیشه سیاسی، دانشکده علوم سیاسی، دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، تهران، ایران. b.zahedi@modares.ac.ir

۲. دانشیار گروه علوم سیاسی، دانشکده علوم انسانی، دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، تهران، ایران (نویسنده مسئول). a.shakoori@modares.ac.ir