



Contemporary Researches on Islamic Revolution

An Analysis and Explanation of the Relationship between "Islam and Politics" in the Political Thought of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli (with an Emphasis on Political Theology)

Ali Aghajani ¹  

1. Assistant Professor of Political Science, Social Sciences Research Institute, Research Institute of Hawzah and University, Qom, Iran. Email: aqajani@rihu.ac.ir

Article Info

Article type:
Scientific Research

Article history:
Received: 2025/1/27
Received in revised form: 2025/3/18
Accepted: 2025/4/13
Available online: 2025/10/21

Keywords:
Javadi Amoli, Political Thought, Political Theology, Islam and Politics and Government, Velayat-e Faqih, Skinner.

ABSTRACT

Objective: Ayatollah Javadi Amoli has a relative comprehensiveness in theology and also in dealing with issues of political kalām, including the areas of political kalām, which has made him a prominent figure. The aim of the article is to analyze the relationship between Islam and politics based on Skinner's intentional hermeneutic method with some appropriations; and based on "political kalām" as a theoretical framework to explain Javadi Amoli's perspective. On this basis, the main question is what is the type of relationship between religion and government in Javadi Amoli's view?

Method: The research uses Quentin Skinner's hermeneutic method, which is a moderate method compared to text-centric and context-centric, with selection, intervention, and manipulation to analyze the issue.

Findings: Some findings include: The religious state is not incompatible with the active role of the people, but it is not the only exclusive component; the government as a religious office; the role of reason in political legitimacy; the separation of legitimacy in the position of proof from legitimacy in the position of proof; the Islamic ruler has not a mandate over society but a guardianship, and the people accept his divine guardianship through expert experts; the people have a fundamental role in the position of proof, but they do not have any role in the position of proof; the nature of Islamic rulings explains the necessity of forming a religious state; neither in the principle of religion is imposition permissible, nor can a religious state be compulsory; man, by law, must accept religion and divine sovereignty;

Conclusion: On this basis, Javadi Amoli is one of the serious theorists of the integration of religion and politics and religion and government based on rational and legal arguments, which is considered his intention, and in this regard, he is considered an opponent of the ideology of secularism and liberal democracy.

Cite this article Aghajani & A (2025). An Analysis and Explanation of the Relationship between "Islam and Politics" in the Political Thought of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli (with an Emphasis on Political Theology).

Contemporary Researches on Islamic Revolution, 7 (26), 67-95. <http://doi.org/10.22059/jcir.2025.389508.1677>



© The Author(s).

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.22059/jcir.2025.389508.1677>

Publisher: University of Tehran.

Introduction

The relationship between religion and politics is one of the most important components of political thought and the primary issue in political theology, serving as a focal point for theorizing, political action, and a battleground of ideas. Ayatollah Abdullah Javadi Amoli is a contemporary thinker who has spoken and offered views in many different fields of Islamic humanities and political thought. Among these, he has diverse and profound works and opinions in the domain of political-theological teachings, which deserve analysis, investigation, and critique for the advancement of knowledge, especially in the field of Islamic political science. On the other hand, political theology, which as a field of knowledge is still undeveloped and in its emergent and formative stages, is one of the main areas of political thought in Islam that covers many fundamental intellectual issues, both historically and ideologically. The personality of Javadi Amoli and the political theology derived from him are significant for several reasons: "his relative comprehensiveness in religious studies, his diverse and numerous works on various aspects of political theology, his involvement in practical and theoretical politics in the capacity of a religious and seminary scholar, being alive and living a fruitful life, and being a distinguished jurist possessing the "Greater Jurisprudence" (fiqh al-Akbar), a significant part of which consists of political-theological discussions." He has numerous works in various fields, including very good quantitative and qualitative works on different issues of political theology. Accordingly, this research has selected Ayatollah Javadi Amoli as one of the greatest active theorists of political theology who has presented important and influential views. Based on a modified version of Skinner's intentionalist hermeneutics, it analyzes the relationship between religion and government in his political theology.

Based on this, the main question is: 'What is the nature of the relationship between religion and politics in Javadi Amoli's perspective?' The hypothesis is that, within the framework of political theology and based on subjective and objective contexts and prevailing norms in this field, Javadi Amoli, by rejecting the notion of the separation of religion and politics, believes in the integration and amalgamation of religion and politics, and religion and government. He grounds the connection between religion and politics on two fundamental principles: the absolute sovereignty of God and the creational right to choose and freedom, and emphasizes several points such as the non-compulsory nature of religious government, the purity of the politics and governance of the prophets (PBUH), and governance as a divine position.

1. Research Background

Regarding the research topic, no work has yet been done on the influence of rival intellectual currents on the political theology of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli, and this research is the first work with this title and content. In terms of Javadi Amoli's thought in general, some works exist under the title of his political thought. Also, in some works related to the analysis of the political thought of seminaries or post-revolutionary political thought, such as some works by Abdolvahab Farati and Yahya Fowzi, some objective and environmental dimensions and contexts of political theology from the perspective of Javadi Amoli's political thought have been addressed. Among the published works, the following titles can be mentioned: "The book A Survey of the Political Thought of Ayatollah Abdollah Javadi Amoli" (Mansournejad, 2011 AD/1390 SH); theses: "A Study of the Social-Theological Discussions of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli" (Amiri, 2012 AD/1391 SH); "The Political Thought of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli" (Mojtabazadeh, 2010 AD/1389 SH); "The Exigencies of the Presence of Demonstrative Reason in the Political Epistemology of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli" (Alavian & Zarepour, 2018 AD/1397 SH); "The Convergence of Reason and Politics in the Transcendent Wisdom of Javadi Amoli based on Skinner's Epistemological Hermeneutic Theory" (Abbastabar & Zarepour Naghibi, 2019 AD/1398 SH); however, none of these works have directly investigated the relationship between religion and politics based on Skinner's hermeneutics, which constitutes the novelty of this research.

2. Concepts

A) Political Theology: Several definitions have been proposed for political theology. The definition chosen for this article is: the understanding, explanation, proof, systematization, organization, correction, justification, functionalization, and defense of political doctrines and belief systems, which is carried out through various rational and textual methods with a religious concern (Aghajani, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 97).

B) Politics: This concept does not have an official and exclusive definition, and everyone has defined it from a specific standpoint. Therefore, these definitions have relative value because politics has a particular breadth and complexity. Among the four categories of definitions—state-centric, government-centric, power-centric, and behavioral—behavioral definitions are generally superior to the others (Iskandari, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 87). Accordingly, the chosen definition of politics is the exercise of influence to secure social objectives. With this

definition, political theology extends beyond the mere domains of the state, government, and even institutional power, and acquires a broader meaning (Aghajani, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 51).

3. Method: Skinner's Intentionality Hermeneutics

The research utilizes the hermeneutic method of Quentin Skinner (born 1940), which is a moderate approach compared to text-centric and context-centric methods, with certain selections and modifications for analyzing the issue. The constant variable of this research is that the intellectual, subjective, scientific, and social environment of the political theologian and his familiarity with various sciences are, on the whole, effective in his understanding of political theology. The intellectual foundations of this view can be traced in the discussions related to the science of hermeneutics. Various definitions of hermeneutics have been presented (Balkhari, 1992 AD/1371 SH; Palmer, 1998 AD/1377 SH; Bleicher, 2001 AD/1380 SH; Vaezi, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 27). For example, Schleiermacher considered it the art of understanding and believed that the interpretation of a text is constantly at risk of being misunderstood. Therefore, hermeneutics should be employed as a set of methodical and instructive rules to eliminate this risk.

Using Skinner's method is possible in research on past historical thought as well as in the present day and for contemporary thinkers or thoughts. In some articles, certain topics of Javadi Amoli's thought have been examined based on Skinner's method (Abbastabar & Zarepour Naghibi, 2019 AD/1398 SH). Skinner pays attention to two points regarding the understanding of political thought (Skinner, 2014 AD/1393 SH; Javid, 2014 AD/1393 SH). First is what meaning the thinker has in mind, which is usually achievable by studying the author's writings or statements.

The second point is to discover and know the purpose that the thinker intended by writing. Skinner has used hermeneutics at this stage of the discussion. According to him, to understand the author's intention, one must pay attention to the debates, controversies, and questions that were raised in the thinker's time and in that atmosphere, the thinker's participation in that atmosphere, and his effort to say something in that context. Therefore, one must be familiar with the prevailing atmosphere of that era and the intellectual currents that occurred during the author's time (Skinner, 2014 AD/1393 SH).

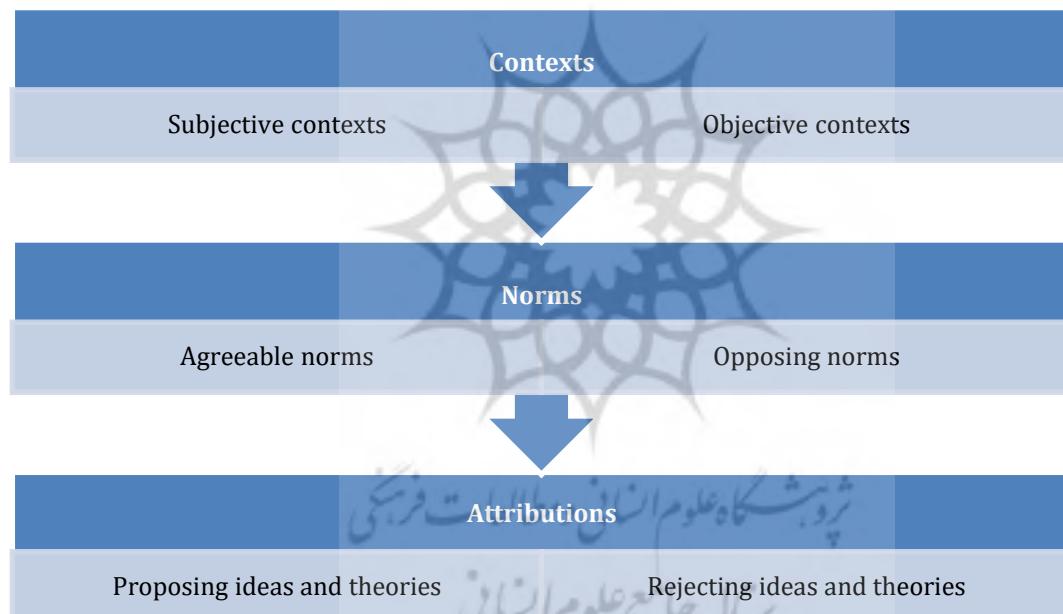
Based on this, among the various hermeneutic methods, Skinner's method is a moderate one between text-centrism and context-centrism and is classified among author-centric

hermeneutic methods. According to this method, a proper understanding of categories such as the living environment, political atmosphere, language, intellectual context, and on the other hand, the works and writings of the individual in question, are used simultaneously to explain his thought (Javid, 2014 AD/1393 SH).

This method encompasses four general stages:

1. The influence of objective contexts;
2. The influence of subjective contexts;
3. Prevailing norms;
4. The thinker's manipulation of norms.

Stages of Skinner's intentionality Hermeneutic Method in the Research



In this method, the main emphasis is on discovering the author's intention, and the social context of the text is effective in clarifying the author's motive, not in discovering his intention (Skinner, 2014 AD/1393 SH). In this method, the text is transformed from an autonomous object to an object related to the subject or to the creator of the work.

4. Theoretical Framework

In this research, political theology is considered the theoretical framework. Political theology in the domain of knowledge (and not content) is a newly established field, and the necessary investigation and research have not yet been conducted. Of course, to some extent, but not completely, it can be considered analogous to political theology in the West. There are not

numerous and diverse definitions of it, and it consists of two parts: traditional theology and modern theology, each of which has several definitions and approaches. There is no consensus in the definition of theology among scholars of this science, both in the past and present.

It seems that among the definitions, defining the science of theology as the science that undertakes the rational defense of religious beliefs is not far from reality. The meaning of "Rational" is broad, so that it also includes citation from tradition if the principle of citation is corrected and justified by reason. The meaning of "Defense" is also something that is more general than "Proof," "Strengthening," and "Justification," and more general than "Explanation" and "Interpretation" of religious concepts. Therefore, it should be noted that theology has a defensive, mediatory, and explanatory nature, as some experts believe (Qaramaleki, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 120). In modern theology, the preferred view distinguishes between the station of definition and the station of realization and believes that in the station of definition, the issues, method, subject, and foundations have evolved—while preserving past principles. But in the station of realization, theology consists of various geometric systems, many of which have no affinity with each other or with traditional theology. The chosen definition of political theology is the one that was mentioned in the concepts section (Aghajani, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 97).

5. Discussion: Objective and Subjective Contexts of Islam and Government in the Political Theology of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli

5.1. Objective Contexts

The influence of objective contexts on a thinker's thought is one of the components of Skinner's hermeneutic method, which plays a significant role in the formation of ideas in his view. The environment is one of the elements of objective contexts, which includes the family environment to the living and educational environment and encompasses the natural, cultural, and social environment. Also, the socio-political transformations concurrent with the thinker's life are another part of the objective contexts.

In the first instance, the family environment plays an indescribable role in shaping his scholarly personality. Abdullah Javadi Amoli was born in 1933 in Amol, after his parents had lost sons, and following a vow they made to Imam Reza (AS) (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 21). His grandfather, Mulla Fathullah Amoli, had a great interest in the science of

theology and for this reason; he had acquired the book "Gawhar Murad" by Lahiji and even endowed it, giving its custodianship to Mirza Abulhasan, Javadi Amoli's father, which ignited the sparks of interest and connection to theology in him (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 20). His father's maternal uncle, Mirza Ahmad Derka'i (d. 1347 AH), was also a mujtahid and a famous student of Akhund Khorasani (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 23).

On the other hand, in the geographical environment, Amol is the first city that shapes his scholarly personality as his birthplace and homeland. Amol is famous in history for nurturing scholars and intellectuals and has been a center of social transformations in northern Iran. Amol was the capital of Iran during the Ziyarid and Alavid dynasties and was one of the centers of Iran during the Parthian era, and from the time of Fereydun until the time of Bahram Gur, Amol was the seat and capital of the inhabited quarter (Nasri Ashrafi, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 40; Yazdanpanah Lamouki, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 150). Javadi Amoli has described his days in Amol in considerable detail, and there are good points in connection with the research discussion. He attended a private national elementary school until the fourth grade and spent the fifth and sixth grades in the public "Farhang" elementary school, and he also reports on the activities of the Tudeh Party in Amol (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 22).

For this reason, the cultural environment of Amol and its historical background are effective in the formation of Javadi Amoli's personality; especially the seminary of Amol, which brings deep and strong sprouts to fruition in the young Javadi's being and leaves an unforgettable impact on Javadi's soul. So much so that Javadi finds the sweetness of studying in the Imam Askari seminary of Amol incomparable to anywhere else. He was taken by his father to two of the great clerics of Amol, Ayatollah Abolqasem Farsio and Ayatollah Gharavi, and began his seminary studies in Amol (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 23). He first entered the seminary of the Jame' Mosque school in Amol and studied there for four years, and he spent the last year of his presence in Amol at the Imam Hasan Askari school, until September 1950. In terms of learning, the lessons and conduct of his Amoli teachers, especially Aqa Zia Amoli in exegesis and theology, have a lasting effect on his scholarly future. Aqa Zia Amoli plays a special role in the growth of Javadi's scholarly personality. The serious beginning of Javadi Amoli's familiarity with exegesis, the Quran, theology, and rational sciences starts from the Amol seminary and especially in his presence. Forming private sessions and teaching hadith,

exegesis, and Quran memorization were among the initiatives of Haj Aqa Zia Amoli (1904-1982) (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 38).

The second living and educational environment of Javadi Amoli is Tehran, which had a diverse and contradictory environment in that era and covers a relatively long period of his education. In Tehran, Javadi is taught by the most elite and special professors of theology, wisdom (philosophy), and exegesis. Mohammad Taqi Amoli, Sha'rani, Elahi Qomshe'i, and Fazel Tuni are the most prominent among them. In Tehran and the Marvi School, Javadi reviews the different branches of religious studies and clarifies his future (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 56-60). In Tehran, he pursues wisdom, theology, and exegesis in a special way and chooses his path. The Marvi School plays a fundamental role in his inclination towards Quranic exegesis because, in that school, students are obliged to engage with the Quran daily (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 54-57).

Qom is the last city to have an effect on Javadi Amoli, which, of course, has a completing and decisive impact. If Javadi sprouts in Amol and his scholarly stem gains strength in Tehran, in Qom it expands, matures, and branches out, finding new life (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH, 6: 417). His companionship and discipleship with Allameh Tabatabai in private teaching sessions on exegesis and philosophy, and the Allameh's research-oriented and critical approach, create a scholarly depth in him and, in particular, nurture and blossom his talent in exegesis, theology, and philosophy (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 127). So much so that he himself refers to it as the beginning of his studies. His acquaintance with the personality of Imam Khomeini arouses in him a social comprehensiveness and a capacity for application (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 43), and the jurisprudential circle of Mohaqeq Damad teaches him jurisprudential depth (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 137).

Teachers and professors everywhere and at all times have a major and fundamental share in the formation of the various dimensions of people's personalities. This issue is doubly true for Javadi Amoli, who has spoken in considerable detail about his professors and their roles. Javadi's professors, according to seminary tradition, have been effective in both his scholarly development and his spiritual training, which we comprehensively call personal character. Honesty, courage, humility, wit, wisdom, passion, and compassion are the traits of character as a collection of moral characteristics that were present with varying degrees of intensity in his professors and were, in the same manner, transmitted to him.

Among Javadi Amoli's professors, Allameh Tabatabai (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 127) and Mohammad Taqi Amoli (Javadi Amoli, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 1-3, 383), as is evident in his words, have had the most comprehensive and all-encompassing scholarly and personal impact on him. Elahi Qomshe'i nurtured the sprouts of inclination towards Quranic exegesis in him (Javadi Amoli, 1985 AD/1364 SH: 6). Sha'rani strengthened his inclinations towards theology (Javadi Amoli, 1985 AD/1364 SH: 5). Fazel Tuni ignited the flame of philosophizing in his being (Javadi Amoli, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 2-5, 145). Imam Khomeini, in addition to principles of jurisprudence, was effective in shaping his social and outward-looking political personality (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 43). Mohaqeq Damad built his jurisprudential foundation (Javadi Amoli, 1985 AD/1364 SH: 5), and Mirza Hashem Amoli refined it (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 153).

The political-social transformations and conditions during Ayatollah Javadi Amoli's lifetime are another dimension of the objective contexts, which can be enumerated and examined in the periods of pre-Islamic Revolution socio-political conditions, post-Islamic Revolution socio-political conditions (1979-1989), socio-political conditions in the period (1989-2009), and socio-political conditions in the period (2009-2022). Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, he actively participated in the revolutionary-Islamic struggles. The signature of Ayatollah Javadi is also present under the declarations and telegrams issued by the scholars of the Qom seminary on various occasions, in which regard 16 declarations can be mentioned, and he was repeatedly summoned to SAVAK and the police station and banned from the pulpit (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 196-198).

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Javadi Amoli, along with continuous and uninterrupted support in academic and research communities for the intellectual foundations of the Islamic movement, has had an active presence in various political-social responsibilities when needed. Responsibilities such as the presidency of the Revolutionary Courts and being the Sharia judge of Amol (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 200), membership and active participation in the Assembly of Experts for the Constitution (Detailed Proceedings of the Constitution, p. 344), drafting the Retribution Bill (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 203), and delivering Imam's message to Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 208 and 248).

In the period (1989-2009), the most important impact of Javadi Amoli can be seen in these cases: missionary trips (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 250), holding the position of

Friday prayer leader of Qom, supporting Ali Akbar Nateq Nouri in the 1997 presidential election, speaking at the Great Mosque and defending the Guardianship of the Jurist in 1997 (Saturday, September 12, 2009, Raja News / www.rajanews.com/news/20832), attending and speaking among the sit-in protesters at the A'zam Mosque of Qom in 1999 (February 5, 2000/ www.irna.ir/news/5702470), and decisively supporting Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani in the 2005 presidential election (08/06/2005 / www.irna.ir/news/5158033/).

In the period (2009-2022), his most important socio-political actions include stepping down from leading Friday prayers (November 27, 2009 - www.khabaronline.ir/news/26940), supporting the JCPOA negotiations and warning against the US (<https://www.taghribnews.com/fa/note/530404>), praising Hashemi Rafsanjani (javadi.esra.ir/fa/w), opposing the attack on the Saudi embassy (<https://www.khabarfoori.com/-46/8299>), reacting to the hijab issue (<https://fararu.com/fa/news/576349>), and commenting on the Cyberspace Protection Bill (<https://www.etemadonline.com-23/588225>).

5.2. Subjective Contexts

Political theology, like other branches of science, is based on pre-existing subjective assumptions, a significant part of which are knowledge-based elements. This issue becomes more important when it concerns a specific thinker. Abdullah Javadi Amoli is among the thinkers whose range of sciences influencing his political theology is diverse and can be evaluated in two parts: aligned and rival (opposing) knowledge streams. In the aligned knowledge streams, three domains and sides can be specifically mentioned: Transcendent Political Wisdom, jurisprudence, and the Quran-by-Quran exegesis; these are the intellectual currents and sciences that have prepared the ground for his discourse in political theology.

Javadi Amoli has pre-existing assumptions and also views in all three sides, which directly and indirectly affect the shaping of his political theology or its explanation and exposition, and he is nourished by them. From Javadi Amoli's perspective, Transcendent Wisdom is the chief of all sciences (Javadi Amoli, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 1-1, 13) and is a sound combination of theology, philosophy, and mysticism that has built a suitable and comprehensive worldview (Javadi Amoli, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 13-26). This perspective is demonstrated in the influence of the discussion on the gradation of being on topics such as the generic political vicegerency of man from God (Javadi Amoli, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 3, 39-40); or, this approach,

which emphasizes the illuminating and revealing nature of reason and the guardianship of Sharia, extends into political theology, resulting in political legitimacy being with the Lawgiver and acceptability with the people, and a law established by the people without Sharia is described as a body without a soul; also, the preference of the majority's opinion over the minority's passes through the orbit of the Lawgiver and the confirmation of reason (Javadi Amoli, 2010 AD/1389 SH:19, 387).

Jurisprudence in Javadi Amoli's view means comprehensive religious knowledge and is not limited to particularistic conventional jurisprudence, which has no conflict with wisdom and philosophy (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 251). Javadi's approach can be called non-rigid traditional jurisprudence (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 4, 162). Based on his view of jurisprudence, Javadi Amoli understands the meaning of the deputyship of the jurist who meets the scholarly and practical conditions from the impeccable Imam (AS) as, in addition to the principle of administering the affairs of the nation, the necessity of receiving the principles governing politics and laws from divine guidance (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 4, 499-500).

In his exegetical method, from his perspective, the Quran is an interpretive methodology and not just a religious source; and the exegesis of the Quran by the Quran has "actual" authority, not adjunctive authority (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 61). And the authority of the Quran takes precedence over the word of the infallible (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 64). Based on this, Javadi Amoli's political theology is based on the duality of reason and tradition, not reason and religion, and on a comprehensive theology, comprehensive jurisprudence, and the superiority of the Quranic perspective, which is reflected in the system of issues of political theology. These components have had a great reflection on Javadi Amoli's political theology and the processing of its issues.

Rival intellectual currents are considered one of the elements and parts of the discussion of subjective contexts that influence the formation of a thinker's thought. This influence is sometimes even stronger and more prominent than the aligned subjective contexts in the formation and crystallization of the thinker's views. In this regard, Javadi Amoli is a comprehensive thinker who has an active encounter with different levels of rival and opposing thoughts and is up-to-date in their analysis and criticism. There is no prominent intellectual topic in which he does not have a detailed engagement. Seven knowledge-value currents—Humanism, Liberalism, Secularism, Pluralism, Marxism, Hermeneutics, and the theory of the

Contraction and Expansion of Sharia—are the most important rival intellectual currents that are reflected in the views and works of Javadi Amoli and have influenced his political theology.

The highest level of his qualitative and quantitative engagement is with the discussion of hermeneutics and, of course, under it, with the theory of Contraction and Expansion; and the least engagement is with Marxism. With an analytical-critical perspective, Javadi Amoli understands humanism as the centrality of man and the orbit of human desires and disregard for the transcendent, which leads to a tendency towards animalism and the complete self-sufficiency and independence of man, both of which are reprehensible (Javadi Amoli, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 2, 108). He also considers liberalism a tragic event and a hollow mirage (Javadi Amoli, 2005: 154). His accepted definition of secularism is the "Separation of religion from social affairs" (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 18), and he considers the comprehensive boundary of its definitions to be the rejection of religious government (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 33). From his perspective, a secular state, society, and religion are possible, but science is either atheistic or divine and cannot be secular (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (c): 167).

Soteriological pluralism (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 6, 212), political pluralism, and social pluralism are acceptable from Javadi Amoli's perspective, and he explicitly states this (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 6, 212). But he does not accept epistemological pluralism at all and does not consider it correct (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 185). In his view, "Marxism" and "Humanism" are also considered religions and schools of thought for themselves (Javadi Amoli, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 89).

In relation to hermeneutics, Javadi Amoli is a flexible author-centrist who does not accept the death of the author, especially in sacred texts (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 228). From his perspective, interpretation without pre-understanding is impossible, but the text's response is not always an endorsement of the presupposition (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 227). While he defends not imposing the mind's and intellect's opinion on the religious text, he considers the interpretive operation devoid of presuppositions to be sterile and impossible and even considers the existence of some presuppositions to be useful and necessary (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (c): 197). He also considers the hypothesis of Contraction and Expansion to have many flaws and strongly emphasizes the need for its refinement and revival. He considers a minimalist religion incapable of civilization-building

to be the fruit of the theory of Contraction and Expansion and has a serious critique of it (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (b): 108; Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 (a): 4, 89).

Ontology, epistemology, and anthropology can be considered as foundations. From Javadi Amoli's perspective, philosophy can be defined as ontology, because ontology includes the conceptual and demonstrative-affirmative knowledge of the existence of things. In Javadi Amoli's view, the ontological source of religion is the eternal will and knowledge of God (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 430).

In epistemology, Javadi Amoli has examined, criticized, and evaluated several theories about the nature of knowledge, such as the theory of "Approval," the materialist theory in interpreting the nature of knowledge, and the theory of considering the nature of knowledge to be empirical. He considers the best theory in explaining the essential criterion for the truth and falsehood of knowledge to be the correspondence of thought with the thing-in-itself (Javadi Amoli, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 98-106). In his view, epistemology as a science does not have the ability to judge jurisprudential issues (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (b): 50).

In anthropology, he believes in the possibility of anthropology with numerous proofs and enumerates the importance of anthropology from multiple aspects, such as anthropology as a prelude to theology; the path of self-purification; liberation from the calamities of self-forgetfulness; and the role of anthropology in other sciences (Javadi Amoli, 2005 AD/1384 SH (b): 63-70). The role of anthropology in other sciences is also through two paths: being the principles of other sciences and being the subject of the human sciences (Javadi Amoli, 2005 AD/1384 SH (b): 73). In explaining the nature of man and in defining it, Javadi Amoli holds that according to the Quran, the ultimate limit of man, which is his final differentia, is a "Theomorphic living being." (Javadi Amoli, 2005 AD/1384 SH (b): 164) Based on this, in Javadi Amoli's view, man is composed of two forces: "Nature and innate disposition." (Javadi Amoli, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 10, 439)

The primary and original creedal beliefs form another part of the subjective contexts. Accordingly, political monotheism, political justice, political prophecy, political imamate, and political resurrection can be considered as the primary and original creedal beliefs. Based on this, one of the most frequent concepts in Javadi Amoli's works is the concept of Tawhid. Javadi Amoli equates wisdom with monotheism and believes that a rational person is one who is a monotheist. He believes that the main element among the four elements of concern for God, solving the difficulties of the Islamic nation, meeting the needs of the human society of

Muslims and non-Muslims, and preserving dignity against a tyrannical ruler is the very concern for God and seeking His pleasure, in the shadow of which the other three elements will be secured (Javadi Amoli, 2008 AD/1387 SH (b): 29).

The most important part of monotheism is Lordly Monotheism, according to which the administration of all general and particular affairs of the universe is directly in the hands of God, and the entire world of possibility is channels of His grace and His signs. Javadi Amoli also calls "Lordly Monotheism" the axis of the prophets' preaching and the center of their conflict with their enemies (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 353).

Javadi Amoli holds that divine justice, meaning the manifestation of truth and the implementation of widespread truth, includes the entire universe of creation (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (a): 4, 385). On the other hand, God's justice is an attribute of action, not an attribute of essence, but due to its attribution to the eternal power, it is not violable (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (a): 4, 385); from his perspective, the concept of justice is absolute and, like the concept of equality, does not have degrees of less and more to be relative and additional (Javadi Amoli, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 19, 587).

In Javadi Amoli's explanation, the proof of the necessity of revelation and prophecy is the delivery of God's message in the principles and branches of religion to the people (Javadi Amoli, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 74). Javadi Amoli considers prophecy and government to be identical and integrated and holds that government is a part of the divine mission of the prophets (Javadi Amoli, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 6, 454-461).

Contrary to some theorists, he considers the imamate to be a continuation of prophecy in this regard and considers holding the position of government to be part of the essence of imamate, and he regards socio-political leadership as the comprehensive measure of imamate (Javadi Amoli, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 6, 454-61). In Javadi Amoli's view, the current of the imamate of the impeccable Imams (AS) is, like the current of the prophethood of the messengers, a divine position, and other than designation and appointment, there is no way for the proof of the principle of that position, and the people's pact and allegiance mean acceptance and taking on the guardianship (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH (a): 4, 431).

In his view, only the principle of resurrection is a necessary belief, which can be proven with textual evidence and rational proof, but its details and derivatives, such as the vastness of paradise, the number of stations of judgment, etc., are not necessary beliefs of the religion, and it is possible that all their characteristics do not fall within the realm of reason (Javadi

Amoli, ibid: 20, 81). Javadi Amoli mentions several proofs and arguments for resurrection, which are: the proof from motion, the proof from truthfulness, the proof from innate disposition, the proof from motion and purposefulness, the proof from wisdom, the proof from mercy, the proof from reality, and the proof from the immateriality of the soul (Javadi Amoli, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 4, 156).

6. Findings

6.1. Prevailing Norms about Islam, Politics, and Government

The relationship between religion and politics is one of the most central normative disputes in political theology. The norm of their amalgamation or the norm of their separation is a battleground of ideas. In the contemporary era, the revisionist and rethinking views of some thinkers have once again turned it into a major macro-dispute and, in a specific sense, produced its own literature, an affair that opens up new intellectual and scientific fields and answers. In this matter, we face different views and norms, some of which are relatively simple and some relatively complex.

The definitions of religion and politics vary. But regardless of the definitions, it can be pursued at two levels: at the level of theory and at the level of the institutions of religion and politics, which are religion and the state. Various classifications of the relationship between religion and politics have been made. Some have divided it into two areas: the separation of religion from politics and their combination (Bashiriyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH). Some have spoken of six models; the scope of religion over politics, the scope of politics over religion, congruence, overlap, tangency, and disjunction of religion and politics (Qaderi, 1999 AD/1378 SH). Another classification is amalgamation, denial, alliance, exclusion, and independence. Some have considered four forms: complete unity, mutual support, separation, and mutual support (Shojaee Zand, 1997 AD/1376 SH). Some have also spoken of seven models (Vaezi, 1999 AD/1378 SH).

Some others have examined the relationship between religion and politics in two categories of proponents and opponents (Haghigat, 2004 AD/1383 SH). In the category of proponents are the maximalists, the "Area of Void" proponents, and the minimalists. In the category of opponents are the religionists and the anti-religionists. But the relationship between the institution of religion and the state is explained in three forms: "Integration, interaction, and independence." Interaction has three forms: supervision of the state by the institution of

religion, supervision of religion by the state, and cooperation between the institution of religion and the state. Independence is also conceivable in three forms: separationist, distinctionist, and adversarial.

Based on this, the question of the nature of the relationship between religion and politics and their dependence and connection or lack of dependence and connection, and which one has priority, are the most important questions in the realm of religion and politics. Imam Khomeini (1902-1989) is a serious theorist of the correlation of religion and politics and makes the most effort to establish it: "Islam is the religion of politics, a religion in whose rulings, in its positions, politics is clearly seen." (Khomeini: 9, 333)

"Was politics separate from religion during the time of the Prophet (PBUH)? Were there a group of clerics and another group of politicians and rulers in that period?" (Khomeini: 22). "By God, all of Islam is politics. Islam has been poorly introduced. The politics of cities originates from Islam." (Khomeini: 1, 270)

Motahhari (1919-1979), who arose from the seminary and blossomed among the university-based religious intellectuals, supports the dependence of religion and politics based on his cosmology and anthropology and writes in its explanation: "This dependence means that the Muslim masses consider intervention in their political destiny a religious duty and an important responsibility. The correlation of religion and politics does not mean the dependence of religion on politics, but rather the dependence of politics on religion." (Motahhari: 24, 39)

Motahhari holds that from the perspective of Islam, politics is not separate from religion and religion is not separate from politics. Therefore, the correlation of religion and politics must be explained to the people (Motahhari: 24, 35). Of course, he also pays attention to the point that the mixing of religion and politics should not lead to religious despotism (Motahhari: 24, 39).

From the perspective of Seyyid Kazem Shariatmadari (1906-1986), who had a clear difference with Imam Khomeini (1902-1989) in the seminary atmosphere of that day but was considered a modernist yet cautious authority, the relationship between religion and politics is a strong and clear relationship that cannot be separated: "Islamic rulings are not subject to suspension, so an Islamic government must be established and its constitution must be organized in the light of Islamic laws. Two things become clear from this statement: that the formation of a government is one of the fundamental issues of Islam, and a separation cannot

be made between religion and politics, unless politics means trickery, or the intended meaning of religion is not true Islam." (*Al-Hadi Magazine*, 1972 AD/1392 SH: 9-25)

Mahdi Bazargan (1907-1995), who was raised in a middle-class religious family and matured at the university while also benefiting spiritually from the religious scholars of Tehran, considers religion as the principal and politics as the subordinate. He believes that although religion should intervene in politics and determine its main lines, "Politics should never interfere in religion because it leads to polytheism. Religion determines the goals and principles of government, while politicians should never distort religion to pursue worldly goals." (A Group of Scholars, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 117) Bazargan, who was in the midst of the currents of the 1950s and the movement for the nationalization of the oil industry, points out the incompatibility of separating politics from religion and writes: "If religion—hypothetically—leaves politics alone and does not concern itself with it, politics will not leave religion free in any way whatsoever. On the contrary, the more indifferent religion is towards politics, the more politics will fundamentally interfere in all aspects of religion." (Bazargan, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 6-7)¹

Thus, by establishing the above premise as a cornerstone, he believes that religion must intervene in politics. And to strengthen and consolidate his theory, he resorts to evidence from the Quran and Sunnah (Bazargan, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 35-39). He also refers to the conduct of the Shia Imams (AS) (Bazargan, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 33-34). In addition, in this part, he refers to the concepts of expectation and occultation, trying to prove that believers must intervene in politics (Bazargan, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 45).

From this perspective, Ali Shariati (1933-1977), like Bazargan, holds that the separation of religion from politics is alien to the spirit of Islam. He considers the separation of the prophetic aspect from the leadership aspect of the Prophet a Christian interpretation and does not accept the separation of religion from politics. In his view, the infallible Imam holds both religious authority and the presidency of the state (Shariati, 1978 AD/1357 SH: 155-165).

The *Ommat* newspaper, the organ of the Movement of Militant Muslims, speaks of political Islam and the imperialists' fear of it and criticizes the efforts of liberals to reduce religiosity to a personal connection with God and a purely moral matter, while Islam is a fully-fledged

¹. Of course, in later periods, Bazargan apparently reaches another reading of the relationship between religion and politics, which is crystallized in his speech "God and the Hereafter, the Goal of the Prophets' Mission." Although there are different opinions about the complete change in his view. This issue will be addressed in its place in the fourth chapter.

political school of thought for responding to all the needs of the age. This group holds that Islamic ideology is capable of solving all fundamental human problems in any age and time. Therefore, it strongly rejects the separation of politics, economics, and judiciary from religion (*Ommat Newspaper*, issue 8, 06/06/1979).

Kadivar also holds the view of the independence of the domains of religion and politics from each other. He considers politics a rational matter and political management a human endeavor. In his view, a religious person must also consider religious standards and criteria in the various spheres of his life. But observing these general lines and broad criteria does not negate the rationality of the principle of political management (Kadivar, 11/24/2002). Kadivar's preferred model of government is a secular democratic government, meaning that all its institutions, officials, laws, and decisions are determined democratically without any exception; they come with the people's vote, they go with the people's vote, they are placed in a glass room under the institutionalized supervision of the people. In his view, in this system, no privilege or special right is accepted for any individual, guild, or class. There is no lifetime or above-the-law official in it. All laws are enacted, interpreted, and repealed with the consent of the people's representatives. The basic rights of all citizens are guaranteed, rights that are absolutely inviolable under any circumstances. Kadivar holds that in this model, one of these rights is the possibility of the minority becoming the majority, and freedom is observed within the limits of international human rights standards (Human Rights and Religious Intellectualism from the Perspective of Mohsen Kadivar, 2005 AD/1384 SH: <http://aftabnews.ir>).

Mahdi Haeri Yazdi (1923-1999), from the position of a seminary scholar but with a philosophical-theological perspective, criticizes religious government and proposes the theory of the agency of joint owners, expressing his reading of the relationship between religion and politics, which is based on their separation. Of course, his proposal is more philosophical and has serious flaws and has been criticized from various angles, but his proposal also has theological aspects. He considers governmental rulings as clear and decisive evidence for the separation of politics from religion. Haeri holds that "government" is neither in the essence of Islam, nor in the core of prophecy, nor in the foundation of imamate. Rather, it is a conventional matter and, as is subtly indicated in the title of Haeri's book, it must be established based on rationality, wisdom, and logic, not with emotions and excitements (Haeri, 1995: 218). In Haeri's opinion, religion is inherently different from government

(Haeri, 1995: 150-176). He argues that government, by its nature, is a conventional matter and can only have legitimacy in people's social life through agency. In this way, people consciously and freely elect and appoint individuals as their agents to organize their social life (Haeri, 1995: 177-178).

Habibollah Peyman (b. 1935) does not consider religion synonymous with government or leadership, although he believes that religion has given its opinion on how to manage the leadership of society and regulate the relationships among people. He believes that according to the Quran, the political system must be based on the free and conscious participation of all believers, and social relations must be established on the basis of equality, cooperation, and mutual assistance, and the Quran recognizes the individuality of man, and his conscience and will are free from any constraint except what he has consciously and freely accepted (Peyman, 1998 AD/1377 SH).

6.2. Javadi Amoli's Reconfigurations of the Relationship between Islam and "Politics and Governance"

Javadi Amoli's perspective on the issue of Islam and secularism is an outcome of subjective and objective contexts and an analysis of conventional norms, which culminates in his intellectual reconfigurations. Accordingly, the aim of this section is to trace these influences and norms, and to delineate his formulation of the focal points of conventional norms and his definition of secularism.

Javadi Amoli (b. 1933) is a major proponent of reconfigurations that emphasize the amalgamation and integration of religion and politics, the necessity of divine law, and the need for religion. He has engaged in a systematic and profound critique and review of conventional norms, offering his own elaborations and theorizations. In his view, if a law only considers the natural and practical aspects of human beings and ignores their moral or creedal dimensions, it cannot lead them to ultimate felicity (Javadi Amoli: 52).

Based on this, he believes in humanity's need for religion in all individual and social dimensions of life (Javadi Amoli: 129). In his opinion, the very nature of Islamic rulings clearly illustrates the necessity of forming a government, because a collective spirit is diffused and embedded throughout all of Islam's rulings (Javadi Amoli: 68). It is from this perspective that he highlights the socio-political spheres of Islam—such as supervision, guidance,

enjoining good and forbidding evil, jihad, and defense—and underscores its comprehensive social regulations, ordinances, and laws (Javadi Amoli: 75-76).

Influenced by subjective and objective contexts—especially his subjective foundations rooted in Transcendent Theosophy, the Quranic exegetical tradition, and comprehensive religious understanding, as well as Islamic principles based on a monotheistic ontology, a revelational-rational epistemology, a theomorphic anthropology, and precepts like absolute divine lordship and the unity of divine governance—he maintains that government plays a valuable role in religion. He considers it an affair without which religion cannot achieve many of its major objectives in the individual and social arenas. Thus, although government is an instrumental and non-independent goal for achieving major religious objectives, it is of paramount importance because it is the sole path to attaining those individual and social goals, for which there is no reliable substitute (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH (b): 22).

In his view, to understand the relationship between religion and government, one must pay attention to two fundamental principles: the absolute sovereignty of God, which stems from political monotheism and especially the unity of divine lordship, and the right to choose and ontological freedom, which originates from a rational epistemology based on Transcendent Theosophy (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH (b): 23).

Based on the first principle, from a religious perspective, governance and the administration of society belong solely to the absolute manager and governor of existence; "Sovereignty is for none but God." Furthermore, only those who are chosen directly or indirectly by God can assume this position.

Based on the second principle, man is created ontologically free and is never compelled to accept any sovereignty, whether divine or otherwise. Therefore, neither is coercion permissible in the principle of religion—"There is no compulsion in religion"—nor can a religious government be compulsory, even though man is legislatively obligated to accept religion and divine sovereignty.

Based on this, the non-compulsory nature of religious government is founded upon the established divine tradition that God bestows His blessings upon His servants only when they have prepared themselves to receive them; "Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves." (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH (b): 23)

Consequently, the establishment of divine government in society depends on collective desire and readiness. Such a government is imposed, neither in its formation nor in its continuation;

it is formed and sustained solely through the will and volition of the people. Thus, the decision to implement or not implement divine commands and laws in society rests with the people. It is they who manifest their will to form a religious government and live a divine life, allowing such a government to be established and maintained through their support (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH (b): 23).

On this basis, Javadi Amoli rejects the notion that incorporating the opinions of the people necessitates setting aside the sovereignty of God, as is emphasized in a theocracy. He does not consider the two to be mutually exclusive. His reasoning is that, firstly, religious government does not entail the tyrannical supremacy of religion and the disregard of any role for the people. Secondly, unlike in liberal-democratic governments, the opinion of the people is not the sole axis in a religious government, where rulers would think of nothing but following their views, and governance would be considered an unquestioning subordinate to public opinion, even in its transient and temporary forms (Javadi Amoli, 2004 AD/1383 SH (b): 24). Javadi Amoli analyzes the various groups that have developed conventional norms regarding the relationship between religion, politics, and government based on their different motives, goals, and methods. In harmony with his teacher, Imam Khomeini, Javadi Amoli affirms the correlation of religion and politics. He aligns with Motahhari's view on the dependence of politics on religion (not vice versa) and agrees that the intermingling of the two should not lead to religious despotism. He does not disagree with Mehdi Bazargan of the 1960s-1980s or Ali Shariati regarding the incompatibility of separating politics from religion and the non-interference of politics in religion. However, he opposes Bazargan's perspective from the 1990s, which limits the purpose of religion to God and the hereafter.

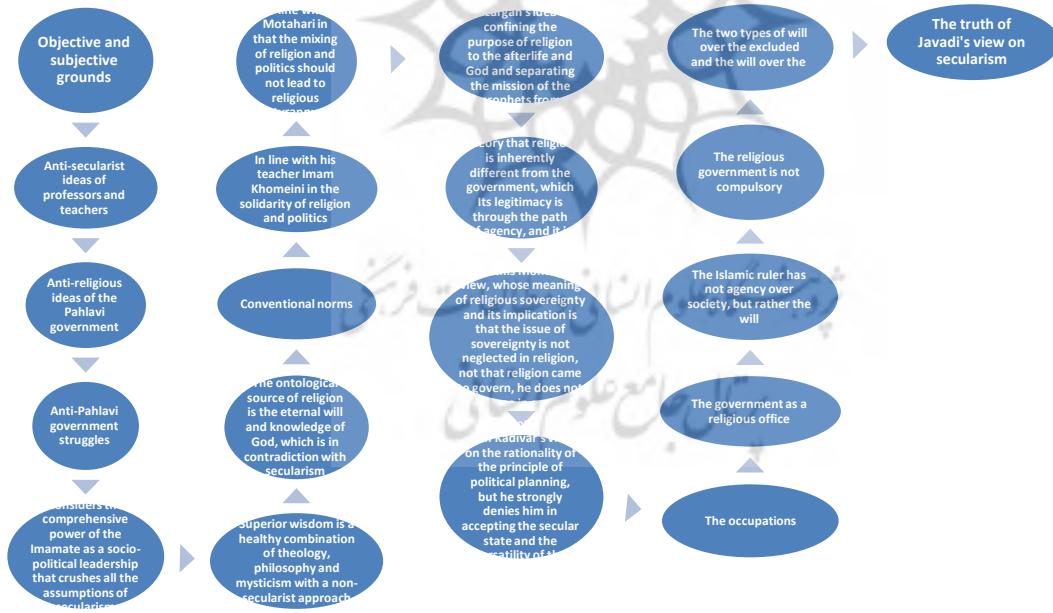
While he does not oppose Kadivar's view on the rationality of the principle of political management, he vehemently rejects the acceptance of a secular state and the notion of popular sovereignty. He seriously confronts the opinion of Haeri Yazdi—that "Government" is neither in the essence of Islam, the core of prophecy, nor the foundation of the Imamate, but is a conventional matter—and engages in a written debate with him to refute his arguments.

In this context, Javadi Amoli also responds to two fundamental questions and objections concerning the separation of religion and politics:

First Objection: The station of "Spiritual Imamate" is always pure, whereas the position of government and political leadership has been at times pure and at other times impure. This indicates a separation between religion and politics (Javadi Amoli: 25).

Response: He identifies the politics and governance of the prophets as an ever-pure politics. Although they were human—"Say, I am only a man like you"—they were always righteous because they were supported by divine revelation. Furthermore, the purity or impurity of politics and governance cannot be considered evidence for the separation of religion and politics. This is because anything that enters the physical realm, if not accompanied by impeccability, can be either pure or become impure. This is similar to acts of worship, which in the spiritual realm are not tainted by ostentation, but in this world, prayer, charity, etc., can be of two kinds. Governance is the same. Therefore, one should not expect the physical realm to be as immaculate as the spiritual realm. Moreover, the possibility that an individual or group of functionaries in a religious government led by a prophet or an Imam might not refrain from corruption does not harm the purity of the original government attributed to the infallible leader (Javadi Amoli: 25).

Diagram of the process of forming Javadi Amoli's views on Islam and politics



Second Objection: If the Prophet (PBUH) and the Commander of the Faithful (Ali) governed, they did not have a divine duty to form a government. Rather, they consented to it because the people considered them the best individuals for governance. God was also pleased with this popular election and allegiance. Therefore, the responsibility for implementing the rulings of religion lies with the people themselves and their practical reason (Javadi Amoli: 3, 16).

Response: Javadi Amoli considers this statement incorrect, the falsehood of which becomes clear by examining the verses of the Quran and the conduct of those great figures. He maintains that the Messenger of God (PBUH) began his mission by inviting people to monotheism, prophecy, and the hereafter, demanding obedience. He then went to Medina and, by God's command, established a government and called everyone to obey God's religion. Therefore, the issue raised is not related to mere popular choice (Javadi Amoli: 3, 16).

He considers the legitimacy of government to be derived from divine appointment (Javadi Amoli: 390), which the experts discover. He posits that the Quran presents two types of guardianship (*wilayah*): guardianship over the legally incompetent and guardianship over the wise. Therefore, the Islamic ruler holds not agency over society, but guardianship of the second type. The people, through expert specialists, identify the best and most capable jurist from among those who meet all conditions and accept his divine guardianship. They have a fundamental role in the station of proof/realization (*maqam al-ithbat*), but no input in the station of essence (Javadi Amoli: 402).

By distinguishing between agency and guardianship, as articulated in the words of Haeri Yazdi, he maintains that in agency, a person performs some tasks themselves and delegates others to an agent. In guardianship, however, it is as if the person has no authority, entrusting all matters at all stages to their guardian, like the guardianship of a father over his minor child. Therefore:

1. The legitimacy and acceptability of agency depend on the principal's permission. In guardianship, however, only its acceptability comes from the ward; its legitimacy comes from God. This is why an agent is dismissed by the principal, but a guardian is removed from office upon losing the required conditions.
2. The scope of agency is determined by mutual agreement, whereas the scope of legislative guardianship is determined by God (Javadi Amoli, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 1, 370).

Conclusion

The author's intent is the focal point of Skinner's method, upon which this research is based. Accordingly, Javadi Amoli is a major theorist of the integration of religion and politics and of religion and government, based on rational and religious evidence, which is considered to be his intent. In this regard, he is an opponent of the ideas of secularism and liberal democracy.

He does not consider the idea of a religious state to be contradictory to the active role of the people, but neither does he see popular will as the sole and exclusive component or primary criterion. He believes in governance as a divine office.

This perspective is largely influenced by his subjective and objective contexts. In the objective context, the influence of his teachers like Mohammad-Taqi Amoli, Allamah Tabataba'i, and Imam Khomeini, who held anti-secularist ideas, as well as his participation in the struggles against the Pahlavi regime and the conditions that led to the collapse of that secularist regime, are notable. In the subjective context, aligned and opposing ideas, as well as his foundational principles, have each played a proportionate role.

Among the aligned ideas, Transcendent Theosophy is a sound synthesis of theology, philosophy, and mysticism. The approach of emphasizing the illuminating and revealing nature of reason alongside the guardianship of the Shari'ah extends into his political theology. As a result, political legitimacy lies with the Lawgiver (God), while acceptability lies with the people; a law enacted by the people devoid of the Shari'ah is described as a body without a soul. Furthermore, the preference for a majority opinion over a minority must pass through the orbit of the Lawgiver and the confirmation of reason. Additionally, based on his approach to comprehensive religious understanding, Javadi Amoli understands the deputyship of the fully qualified jurist from the impeccable Imam (AS) to entail not only the administration of the nation's affairs but also the necessity of deriving the principles governing politics and laws from divine guidance.

پژوهشگاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرهنگی
پرستال جامع علوم انسانی

Diagram of the hierarchical process of Javadi Amoli's thought on Islam and politics based on Skinner's method



Regarding opposing or rival ideas, he identifies the common ground between secularist thought and humanist thought as the Pharaonic claim to lordship and the Nimroodic claim to divinity, in opposition to divine guardianship. He also considers the theory of Contraction and Expansion to be fraught with errors and views a minimalist religion incapable of civilization-building as its fruit, offering a serious critique of it.

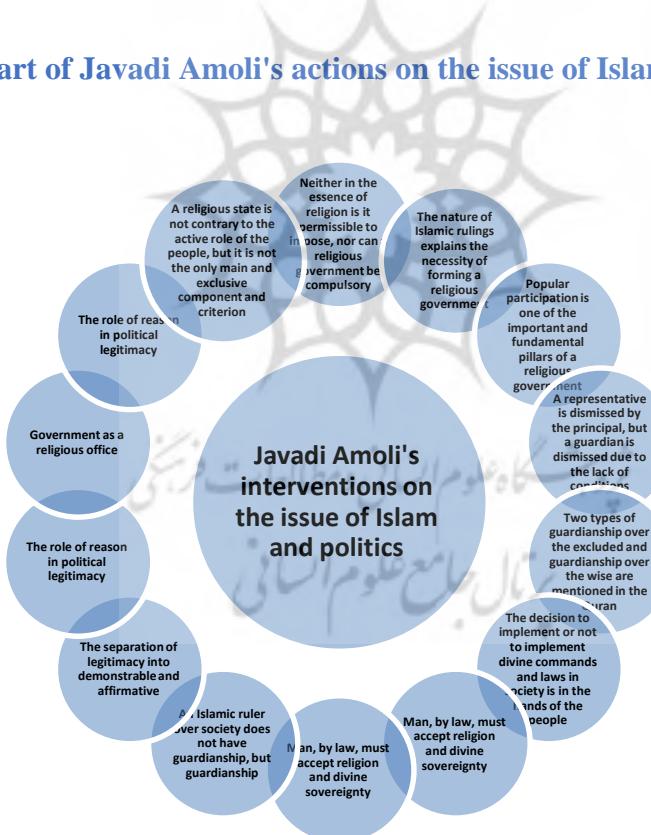
In his foundational principles, the source of the ontology of religion is God's eternal will and knowledge, which is in conflict with secularism. A comprehensive epistemology that includes reason, sense-perception, and intellection leads to the rejection of a secular approach in all fields. Defining man as a "Theomorphic living being" clearly targets the foundations of secularist anthropology. His emphasis on the unity of divine lordship—according to which the administration of all universal and particular affairs is directly in God's hands—is in complete contradiction with secularism. Furthermore, unlike some theorists, he considers the Imamate a continuation of prophecy and holds that occupying the office of government is an intrinsic

part of the Imamate, identifying socio-political leadership as its comprehensive measure, which shatters all the premises of secularism.

Javadi Amoli also extends the role of reason to political legitimacy. By distinguishing between essential and proven legitimacy, he believes that essential legitimacy is the designation of religious sovereignty by God, but acceptability pertains to the people. Unless they desire it and are present, neither prophecy, Imamate, special deputyship, no general deputyship can be realized in the external world.

In discussing the proofs for the Guardianship of the Jurist (*Wilayat al-Faqih*), Javadi Amoli argues with three categories of evidence: purely rational proof purely transmitted (textual) proof, and a composite proof. The composite proof from reason and transmission is an argument in which some premises are supplied by reason and others by transmitted texts.

Chart of Javadi Amoli's actions on the issue of Islam and politics



Based on this, Javadi Amoli is a major theorist of the integration of religion and politics, and religion and government, based on rational and religious evidence, and an opponent of the ideas of secularism and liberal democracy. Some of his views include: a religious state is not incompatible with the active role of the people, but this role is not the sole, primary, or exclusive component; governance as a divine office; the role of reason in political legitimacy; the distinction between essential and proven legitimacy; the separation of legitimacy in the

station of essence from legitimacy in the station of proof; the Islamic ruler has guardianship, not agency, over society, and the people accept his divine guardianship through expert specialists; the people have a fundamental role in the station of proof but no input in the station of essence; the nature of Islamic rulings explains the necessity of forming a religious government; neither is coercion permissible in the principle of religion, nor can a religious government be compulsory; man must legislatively accept religion and divine sovereignty; the non-compulsory nature of religious government; the decision to implement or not implement divine commands and laws in society rests with the people; in a religious government, unlike in liberal-democratic governments, the opinion of the people is not the sole axis; the politics and governance of the prophets is an ever-pure politics; the Quran presents two types of guardianship: over the legally incompetent and over the wise; the Islamic ruler has guardianship of the second type, not agency; an agent is dismissed by the principal, but a guardian is removed from office upon losing the required conditions.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

References

Iskandari, M. (1999 AD/1378 SH). "A Look at the Concept of Politics." *Journal of Methodology of Human Sciences*. (21), 84-113.

Aghajani, A. (2019 AD/1398 SH). *The Impact of Political-Theological Debates on Political Rivalries in the Islamic Republic*. Qom: Islamic Sciences and Culture Academy.

Bazargan, M. (1962 AD/1341 SH). *The Boundary between Religion and Politics*. Tehran: Joint Stock Publishing Company.

Bashiriyeh, H. (1999 AD/1378 SH). *Civil Society and Political Development in Iran*. Tehran: Modern Science Publishing Institute.

Balkhari Qahi, H. (2003 AD/1382 SH). *The Esotericism of the Text: Quran, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics*. Tehran: Hasan Afra.

Palmer, R. (2011 AD/1390 SH). *Hermeneutics*. (Hanaei Kashani, M. Trans). Tehran: Hermes Publications.

Peyman, H. (1998 AD/1377 SH). *An Examination and Critique of the Foundations of Shi'i Political Thought, Part One: The Distinction between Imamate and Rulership*.

A Group of Scholars. (1962 AD/1341 SH). A Discussion on Religious Authority and the Clergy. Tehran: Joint Stock Publishing Company.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2002 AD/1381 SH). Revelation and Prophecy in the Quran; Thematic Exegesis. Vol. 3. (Zamani Qomshe'I, A. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (1999 AD/1378 SH). Tafsir Tasnim. Vol. 1. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2004 AD/1383 SH (a)). Religious Studies. (Mostafapour, M. Ed). 3rd Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2004 AD/1383 (b)). The Relationship between Religion and the World. (Movaffagh, R. Ed). 3rd Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2005 AD/1384 SH). The True Life of Man in the Quran; Thematic Exegesis. Vol. 15. 2nd Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2005 AD/1384 SH (b)). The Exegesis of Man by Man. (Elahizadeh, M. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2006 AD/1385 SH). Soroush Hedayat (A Collection of Messages from Ayatollah Javadi Amoli). Vol. 2. (Sadeghi, M. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2007 AD/1386 SH). The Philosophy of Human Rights. (Hosseini Zharfa, A. Ed). 5th Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2007 AD/1386 SH (a)). The Fountainhead of Thought. Vol. 4. 2nd Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2007 AD/1386 (b)). Shari'ah in the Mirror of Gnosis. (Parsania, H. Ed). 5th Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2007 AD/1386 SH (c)). The Status of Reason in the Geometry of Religious Knowledge. (Vaezi, A. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2008 AD/1387 SH (a)). The Master's Affection: The Scholarly and Practical Life of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli. 4th Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2008 AD/1387 SH (b)). Mankind's Expectation of Religion. 5th Ed. (Mostafapour, M. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2009 AD/1388 SH). The Etiquette of the Annihilation of Those Brought Near. Vol. 6. (Safaei, M. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2009 AD/1388 SH). The Breeze of Thought. Vol. 3. (Sadeghi, M. Ed). Qom: Isra'.

Javadi Amoli, A. (2004 AD/1383 SH). *Wilayat al-Faqih; The Guardianship of Jurisprudence and Justice*. (Mehrabi, M. Ed). 4th Ed. Qom: Isra'.

Haeri, M. (1995). *Wisdom and Government*. London: Shadi Publishing.

Hosseinzadeh, M. (2001 AD/1380 SH). *The Foundations of Religious Knowledge*. Qom: Imam Khomeini Education and Research Institute Publications.

Haghigat, S. (2004 AD/1383 SH). *A Typology of the Relationship between Religion and Politics in Shi'i Political Thought*. Nameh Mofid, No. 44.

Schapiro, J. S. (2001 AD/1380 SH). *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History*. (Hanaei, M. Ed). Tehran: Markaz.

Sandel, M. (1995 AD/1374 SH). *Liberalism and Its Critics*. (Tadayyon, A. Trans). Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publications Company.

Soroush, A. (1992 AD/1371 SH). *The Theoretical Contraction and Expansion of Shari'ah*. 2nd Ed. Tehran: Serat.

Shojaee Zand, A. (1997 AD/1376 SH). *The Religious Legitimacy of the State and the Political Authority of Religion*. Tehran: Tebyan.

Shariati, A. (1978 AD/1357 SH). *Community and Leadership*. Tehran: Qalam Publications. Pp. 155-165.

Abbastabar, R; Zarepour Naqibi, M. (2019 AD/1398 SH). "The Convergence of Reason and Politics in Javadi Amoli's Transcendent Theosophy Based on Skinner's Epistemological Hermeneutic Theory." *Religious Anthropology*. 16(42), 201-219.

Alavian, M; Zarepour, M. (2018 AD/1397 SH). The Exigencies of the Presence of Demonstrative Reason in the Political Gnosis of Ayatollah Javadi Amoli. *Political Knowledge*. 10(2) (Issue 20).

Qaderi, H. (1999 AD/1378 SH). *Other Thoughts*. Tehran: Boq'eh.

Kadivar, M. (2002 AD/1384 SH). *Wilayat al-Faqih and Democracy*. Paper presented at the 36th Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington D.C.

Kadivar, M. (2005 AD/1384 SH). *Human Rights and Religious Intellectualism from the Perspective of Mohsen Kadivar*. <http://aftabnews.ir>.

Motahhari, M. *The Collected Works of Martyr Motahhari*. Vol. 24.

Vaezi, A. (1999 AD/1378 SH). *Religious Government*. Qom: Mersad.