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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CONCEPTS OF STATE AND SOVEREIGNTY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AZERBAIJANI AND EASTERN POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

Keywords: *state, sovereignty, legitimacy, constitutionalism, popular sovereignty, 19th-century Azerbaijani philosophy, Enlightenment, Eastern political and philosophical thought.*

Introduction

The problem of the state and sovereignty, as one of the most ancient yet persistently actual themes of philosophical inquiry, has throughout history been interpreted in diverse forms across various cultural and intellectual traditions. Fundamental questions such as the organization of human society, the legitimacy of authority, the source of law, and the relationship between the individual and the state have, in different epochs, been constructed upon distinct epistemological and ontological foundations. Particularly noteworthy are the discernible divergences between Eastern and Western political-philosophical thought in their approaches to these issues—divergences that emerge as products of both specific historical conditions and broader cultural-intellectual contexts.

In the medieval Islamic East, the concept of the state was primarily articulated on moral-philosophical and religious foundations, with the figure of the ideal ruler closely associated with virtues such as justice, wisdom, and enlightenment. Within this intellectual framework, the state was understood not merely as an instrument of political governance, but as a normative institution entrusted with the realization of moral perfection and the maintenance of social harmony. However, from the nineteenth century onward, intensified engagement with Western political thought gave rise to profound transformations within this tradition. Concepts

such as sovereignty, popular authority, and constitutional governance were progressively incorporated into the intellectual horizon of Eastern thinkers, thereby reconfiguring established modes of political and philosophical reflection.

Azerbaijani Enlightenment-oriented philosophical thought constitutes a significant component of this broader process of transformation. Thinkers such as Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov, Mirza Fatali Akhundzade (Akhundov) and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani advanced novel approaches to the nature of the state, the legitimacy of authority, and the development of society, thereby functioning as intellectual bridges between traditional political thought and modern political ideas. In their works, the concept of the state gradually evolved toward a framework compatible with the principles of individual liberty, equality before the law, and the social contract.

The aim of this article is to analyze the philosophical evolution of the ideas of the state and sovereignty on the basis of the works of Azerbaijani Enlightenment thinkers, and to elucidate the manner in which they forged a synthesis between the Eastern political-philosophical tradition and Western political thought. Within this context, the approaches advanced by these thinkers are examined both as a distinct historical-intellectual stage and as a significant theoretical resource for contemporary political-philosophical discourse.

The Discovery of Sovereignty: Bakikhanov's Political-Philosophical Reflection through the Prism of the American Model

Abbasqulu agha Bakikhanov (1794–1847), who represents the early stage of Azerbaijani Enlightenment-philosophical thought and whose work “Gulustani-Iram” “revived the historical memory of the nation in times when it had lost its state independence, ... and served the preservation of national existence” (Hacıyeva, 2023, p. 8), approached the problem of state and sovereignty primarily through the prism of classical Islamic moral philosophy and Enlightenment rationalism. In his thought, the state appears not, in the first instance, as a juridical-political mechanism, but rather as a means of ensuring moral order, social justice, and human perfection. In this regard, Bakikhanov's political-philosophical views exhibit a transitional character: while preserving the ethical-theological foundations of the Eastern political tradition, they simultaneously and progressively assimilate the rational-humanist elements of the European Enlightenment.

In Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov's conception of the state, the figure of the ruler occupies a central position and is defined in accordance with the classical ideal of the “just sovereign.” However, this notion of justice is no longer confined solely to religious legitimacy; it is also associated with principles such as public welfare, moderation in governance, and rational decision-making. In this sense, the legitimacy of the state is measured not only by the personal virtues of the ruler, but also by his capacity to serve the well-being of society.

The observations of Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov concerning the political system of the United States constitute a significant turning point within his intellectual development. Traces of this scholarly interest can be discerned in his Persian-language work of the early 1830s, *Kashf al-Qara'ib* (“The Discovery of Marvels”), which addresses major geographical discoveries. This work is not merely a compendium of empirical-geographical knowledge; it also reflects an epistemological expansion and a form of intercultural cognition within the author's worldview. Within this text, alongside the descriptions of historical events such as the

discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus and the opening of a sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, the systematic presentation of demographic, climatic, religious-ideological, and politico-institutional information about various regions of the American continent reveals the author's encyclopedic mode of thought and universalist orientation.

The chapter devoted to the United States of America, which attained liberty and independence in 1783 (Бакиханов, 1983, pp. 242–244), is of particular significance. In this chapter, Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov conceives state sovereignty not merely as a juridical-political category, but also as the ontological foundation of social welfare, civic harmony, and institutional stability. In his presentation, the principle of sovereignty functions as a mechanism for safeguarding individual freedoms, as the practical realization of the social contract, and as the guarantee of legal equality.

The author places particular emphasis on freedom of conscience within American society, noting: “In the United States, religious belief is free; no one prevents anyone else from professing their religion. However, the majority of the population is Christian. The indigenous people worship paganism.” This observation may be interpreted as an institutionalized form of the principles of religious pluralism and tolerance. The existence of freedom of religious belief here functions not only as an individual right of choice, but also as an indicator of the secular character of the socio-political system.

At the same time, the right of citizens to participate in political processes, the independence of judicial institutions, and the existence of a federal system of governance are among the key aspects that attracted the attention of Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov. These elements may be interpreted as early manifestations of the principles of the rule of law and constitutional legitimacy.

The principle of equality as articulated by Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov expresses, at both ontological and normative levels, the equal juridical status of all citizens. In contrast to the traditional Eastern political order grounded in feudal hierarchy, this understanding reflects the emergence of the ideas of legal universality and the equality of subjects before the law. The

breadth of participation in public life, the free articulation of public opinion, and the functioning of representative institutions may be interpreted as early manifestations of deliberative democratic elements.

On the other hand, the institutional environment created for economic, scientific, and cultural development in the United States is presented by Bakikhanov as an essential condition of social progress. In this framework, the state appears not merely as a juridical-political structure, but also as a social system that stimulates processes of modernization. The coexistence of diverse ethnic groups and the preservation of civic solidarity are analyzed within the context of social integration and collective identity. The aspects highlighted by Bakikhanov thus demonstrate the functionality of a pluralistic societal model.

At the same time, the author emphasizes the preservation of unity and solidarity within society despite external attempts at intervention, thereby foregrounding the internal coherence of the socio-political system. This, in turn, points to the principle of social consensus and the primacy of common interests as key factors ensuring the durability of the state (Бакиханов, 1983, p. 244).

From a retrospective philosophical perspective, Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov's observations on American society – including his conjecture that Americans “will soon, it appears, become the most powerful nation” (Бакиханов, 1983, p. 243), and thus attain significant global influence – further demonstrate the importance he attributes to concepts such as sovereignty, legal equality, and institutional governance.

Although he is traditionally described as a proponent of enlightened monarchy, in *Kashf al-Qara'ib* one can clearly discern the thinker's inclination toward a constitutionally governed democratic order. He appears to acknowledge and appreciate the capacities of such a system to ensure that citizens live in freedom, equality, and happiness—even if, in his depiction, certain elements may be idealized or rhetorically exaggerated. In essence, the American model reflects an implicit receptivity to an alternative political ontology grounded in constitutional governance, the supremacy of law, and the par-

ticipation of the people in the political life of the state.

However, within the historical and political context in which Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov lived – namely, a monarchical imperial order intertwined with colonial realities – this model appeared genuinely “marvelous” and, in a broader sense, assumed a predominantly normative-ideal character. From this perspective, the American model in his thought functions less as a concrete political reality and more as a paradigm that may be interpreted, in contemporary political philosophy, as a “utopian ideal type.” Thus, Bakikhanov's remarks on the United States constitute not merely empirical observation, but also a discursive text in which political-philosophical ideals are indirectly articulated and conceptually refracted.

M.F. Akhundzade: From Constitutional Monarchy to the Idea of Popular Sovereignty

Mirza Fatali Akhundzade (1812–1878), who laid the foundations of the Enlightenment as a coherent intellectual movement in Azerbaijan, continues to exert a profound influence on our cultural and philosophical heritage. He articulates the concept of sovereign statehood in his renowned treatise “*Kamal-ud-Dawla Letters*”, where it is developed within the framework of a radical critique of the feudal-autocratic order, exemplified by the despotic system of his contemporary Iran. In this context, he substantiates the necessity of reform and structural transformation of that political order. This critique is not merely political in nature; it is also normative and ontological, insofar as despotism is construed as a form of illegitimate authority that negates human freedom.

Within Akhundzade's thought, clear traces of the idea of the “social contract” may be discerned, allowing for intellectual parallels with the theories of popular sovereignty developed by European thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes (Гоббс, 1991), John Locke (Локк Дж., 2019), Montesquieu (Монтескье, 2018), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Руссо, 1998). However, these ideas are not merely adopted in a derivative manner; rather, they are reinterpreted within an Eastern intellectual context and thereby acquire new semantic and conceptual content.

The thinker argues that the continuity of the state depends not merely on political institutions, but primarily on the intellectual transformation of society. In this regard, he writes: “the monarch should establish schools and assemblies, enter into concord with the nation, and become unified and aligned with it. He should not regard the realm as his exclusive possession, but consider himself merely a representative of the people; he should enact laws through the participation of the populace and establish parliaments, conduct governance in accordance with the law, and refrain from arbitrary action; that is, he must adopt the path of progress and enter the sphere of civilization” (Axundov, 1961, p. 45).

This passage marks a decisive turning point in Mirza Fatali Akhundzade’s political philosophy: the source of sovereignty is here transformed from the personal will of the monarch toward the collective will of the people. The representation of the monarch as the “representative of the nation” indicates the desacralization of the classical model of sovereignty and the emergence of the principle of representative government. The institution of parliament, in turn, may be interpreted as an early form of deliberative politics and the idea of the rule of law.

According to Mirza Fatali Akhundzade, the monarch’s “entry into the sphere of civilization” serves both the protection of the realm from external threats and the establishment of internal order and security. Thus, until the restoration of its former power, the state becomes deserving of remaining under the “guaranteed protection” of the powerful states of Europe, in order to be safeguarded from the aggression of “covetous and strong” polities. At the same time, the population would come to regard the sovereign with affection, perceiving his presence as the source of security, order, justice, and prosperity; they would become patriotic, willingly sacrificing both life and property “for the homeland in the name of the monarch,” rather than obeying him out of fear as in the present condition.

For Akhundzade, the legitimacy of authority must rest not on fear, but on rational consent. As he writes: “obedience grounded in fear has neither validity nor durability” (Axundov, 1961, p. 46). This statement points to the psy-

chological and ethical foundations of legitimacy in political philosophy: power based on fear is inherently unstable, as it rests on coercion rather than the internal assent of the citizen.

Thus, Mirza Fatali Akhundzade conceives legitimate authority as possible only through the consent of free and rational citizens. Referring to the English model, he writes: “...the foundations of the state should be established in the same way as the English state is founded, that is, the state should be built on a constitutional basis and grounded in laws” (Axundov, 1961, p. 47).

This passage clearly demonstrates Mirza Fatali Akhundzade’s attitude toward constitutionalism. Here, the foundational principle of the state is no longer personal rule, but the supremacy of law. This, in turn, expresses the idea of the rule of law and institutional rationality. From this perspective, Akhundzade’s model of constitutional monarchy appears as a secular state form that reflects his conception of popular sovereignty. This becomes evident even in his glossaries of various European political terms. For instance, he defines the term “parliament” as an institution composed of two chambers: in the first sit the representatives of the common people, and in the second the representatives of the nobility. All laws pertaining to the state are drafted in the first chamber, submitted to the second for deliberation, and, upon agreement, are ratified and signed by the monarch. The monarch has absolutely no authority to act against these laws. In this final formulation, Akhundzade effectively underscores the monarch’s merely formal role in governance, attributing substantive sovereignty to the people.

The necessity of the freedom and sovereignty of the population is also evident in his definition of the “despot.” His formulation of despotism stands as a classical example of normative political philosophy: “A despot is a monarch who, in his actions, is bound by no law and observes none; he exercises unlimited dominion over the property and lives of the people and always acts according to the dictates of his own desires; under his rule, the people are reduced to lowly and wretched slaves, entirely deprived of the rights of freedom and humanity” (Axundov, 1961, p.12) In this defi-

dition, despotism is presented as a form of legal nihilism and the absolutization of subjective will. It is thereby interpreted as a political regime that negates the ontological status of the human being—that is, his existence as a free and rights-bearing subject.

The concept of the “patriot” in opposition to the despot reveals the emergence of an ethical-political subjectivity: the “patriot” is defined as a devoted defender of the homeland who, out of love for his nation, sacrifices his life and property, endures all forms of hardship, and tirelessly works for the interests and freedom of his country and people, embodying “noble and honorable individuals” (Axundov, 1961, p. 46). Thus, the patriot is not merely a political actor but also the bearer of the idea of freedom itself.

Mirza Fatali Akhundzade regards constitutional monarchy not as an ultimate end, but as a transitional stage. His critique of British colonial policy in the East makes this position explicit: “It is known to all people of the world how the English treat the inhabitants of India. Does the civilized Englishman and the law-abiding Englishman treat the people of India better than a despot? In relation to them, even the despot appears a thousand times more merciful.” This statement constitutes a critical reinterpretation of the notion of “civilization,” exposing the contradiction between formal legal institutions and actual political practice.

In his thought, the final stage is explicitly revolutionary in character. He writes: “To eliminate oppression, it is by no means necessary to appeal to the tyrant; rather, one must say to the oppressed: O ignorant one, since you are incomparably superior to the tyrant in power, numbers, and capability, why do you submit to oppression? Awake from the sleep of heedlessness and set fire to the grave of the tyrant’s father!” (Axundov, 1988, p.305). This formulation indicates a shift in political philosophy from passive legitimacy to active political subjectivity. The people are no longer conceived as a governed object, but rather as the source of power and the transformative political agent.

Finally, Mirza Fatali Akhundzade argues that the nation must first become “possessed of insight and knowledge,” and then unite to uproot despotism “from its very foundation”

(Axundov, 1961, p.196). Thereafter, it should, in accordance with the conditions of its time, establish its own laws, draft a constitution, and abide by it. Only then, he maintains, will the nation attain a new life, and the land of the East will become like a beautiful paradise (Axundov, 1961, p. 197). This idea represents one of the most radical formulations of the principle of popular sovereignty, wherein the state emerges as an institutional form of society’s self-organization.

Thus, Mirza Fatali Akhundzade’s political-philosophical conception reflects a dialectical trajectory of development from constitutional monarchy toward popular sovereignty, and it demonstrates the transformation of the concept of sovereignty within Azerbaijani political thought from a theological model to a secular, legal, and people-centered framework.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani: The Theory of Authority – Legitimacy, Sovereignty, and the Nation-State

One of the principal ideologues of the idea of Ittihad al-Islam (Pan-Islamism), a major reformist and Enlightenment-oriented thinker, as well as a religious and political figure and defender of human rights, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897) presents a particularly compelling conception of political authority. His ethnic affiliation remains a matter of scholarly debate; however, certain arguments and testimonies suggest his Azerbaijani Turkic origin. In particular, Ahmed bey Aghayev, who personally met al-Afghani during his years of study in Sorbonne, consistently upheld this view. In any case, the influence of al-Afghani’s ideas on the intellectual milieu of Azerbaijan and, more broadly, the Islamic East is undeniable. Al-Afghani appears as a transitional figure situated at the intersection between classical politico-theological thought and modern political philosophy.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani radically interrogates the historical legitimacy and ontological foundations of absolutist rule, writing: “The flood of renewal is already flowing toward the East. The foundations of absolutist authority are destined for destruction. Strive, as far as you are able, to dismantle the foundations of this power...” (Qurbanov, 1996, p. 215). From the

standpoint of political philosophy, this statement expresses a belief in the teleological development of history and the inevitable decline of despotism. The metaphor of the “flood of renewal” signifies the diffusion of modernity toward the East and the transformation of political structures. In this framework, al-Afghani conceptualizes absolutism not merely as a political problem, but as a structural impediment to social progress and historical development.

His political model is grounded in a limited, constitutional monarchy. Within this framework, the legitimacy of authority is no longer derived solely from traditional or religious foundations, but is instead anchored in legal norms and social consent. In his view, the authority of a strong and just ruler must be constrained by institutions such as the constitution and parliament, so that the participation of the people in the realization of “true constitutional governance” is ensured. This, in turn, corresponds closely to the central idea of classical Islamic political doctrine, namely the principle of consultation (*shūrā*).

At the same time, he appeals to the idea of popular sovereignty: “Only the will of a people that is not under coercion and is not deprived of freedom of speech and action constitutes the law of that people; the ruler must serve this law and faithfully implement it” (Диноршоев, 2011). This statement clearly expresses the principle of popular sovereignty in al-Afghani’s thought. Here, the source of law is not a transcendent authority, but the free will of the people. Such an approach may be interpreted in political philosophy as the immanentization of legitimacy, that is, the relocation of the source of authority back into society itself. Thus, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani constructs a conceptual bridge between the Islamic intellectual tradition and constitutionalism.

A central element in his theory of authority is the national character of the state apparatus. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani emphasizes that excessive reliance on external elements undermines the ontological integrity of the state. This is because entrusting governance to foreigners – who possess their own interests, feel no responsibility toward the state, and may even harbor hostility, resentment, or tendencies toward be-

trayal—ultimately leads to the “collapse and disintegration” of the state.

In his view, even if the moral integrity of rulers may weaken, their innate disposition prevents them from completely destroying their own homeland and people; if they commit wrongdoing, they may feel remorse and, due to their religious or national affiliation, return to acting in the interest of their community, as the bond of religion or nation reasserts itself.

Addressing the rulers of Muslim Eastern states who delegate administration and governance to foreigners, al-Afghani states: “Show compassion toward your compatriots and coreligionists! Treat them as you treat foreigners! You will see that they are more sincere. Align yourselves with the nature to which God has created you” (Əfqani, 2019, p. 141).

This idea addresses, within political philosophy, the problem of collective identity and political loyalty. According to Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, the stability of the state depends not only on legal institutions, but also on the citizens’ internal sense of belonging and bonds of national solidarity. Foreign administration, in this sense, weakens these ties and ultimately leads to the disintegration of the state.

At the same time, he argues that by relying on foreigners, the head of state loses the social foundation of his authority, which in turn results in the erosion of political legitimacy. By contrast, ties with the local population—rooted in religion, language, culture, and shared belonging—constitute the ethical foundation of governance. From this perspective, al-Afghani interprets authority not merely as a legal phenomenon, but also as an ethical and cultural one.

Thus, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani presents the ruler’s reliance on his own people not merely as a political strategy, but as an ontological and ethical condition of authority itself. In his view, any political system in which the people do not participate and do not perceive themselves as represented cannot sustain its own stability over time.

Consequently, al-Afghani’s political-philosophical framework unfolds along a trajectory that moves from the critique of absolutism toward the ideas of constitutional governance and popular sovereignty. This conception sim-

ultaneously preserves the foundational principles of classical Islamic political thought while reinterpreting them through the categories of modern political philosophy, thereby laying the theoretical groundwork for political modernization in the East.

Conclusion

Thus, nineteenth-century Azerbaijani political-philosophical thought may be understood as a complex process of intellectual transformation that reflects the transition of the concepts of state and sovereignty from traditional religious-ethical interpretations toward modern juridical-political categories. The ideas of thinkers such as Abbasgulu Agha Bakikhanov, Mirza Fatali Akhundzade, and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani represent different stages of this transition, collectively revealing the dynamics of modernization within Eastern political thought in a systematic manner.

In Bakikhanov's worldview, the state is still conceived primarily as a bearer of moral order and enlightened governance; however, his observations of the American model bring to the forefront the importance of institutional governance, legal equality, and civic participation. This approach expresses a gradual shift in the locus of sovereignty from the individual ruler's will toward institutional and societal structures.

Mirza Fatali Akhundzade continues this transformation in a more radical direction, advancing a constitutional and legal model of the state that explicitly anchors sovereignty in the will of the people. In his thought, legitimacy is no longer grounded in fear, but in rational consent, while the foundation of the state is determined by the supremacy of law. This entails the desacralization of the classical model of sovereignty and the emergence of modern political subjectivity.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, in turn, synthesizes these two approaches by reconciling the principle of consultation (*shūrā*) in the Islamic political tradition with modern constitutionalism, thereby reinterpreting the idea of popular sovereignty within a religious-political discourse. In his conception, the stability of the

state depends not only on legal institutions, but also on national-spiritual solidarity and collective identity.

Consequently, when the ideas of these three thinkers are considered together, they constitute a coherent intellectual trajectory within Azerbaijani and, more broadly, Eastern political-philosophical thought, wherein sovereignty evolves from a model of theological legitimacy toward one grounded in juridical-institutional and people-centered forms of authority. This process may be interpreted not merely as a transformation of modes of political governance, but also as an epistemological reconfiguration of political thought itself.

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Xülasə

Arzu Əşrəf Hacıyeva

XIX əsr Azərbaycan və Şərq siyasi-fəlsəfi düşüncəsində dövlət və suverenlik anlayışlarının transformasiyası

Təqdim olunan məqalədə XIX əsr Azərbaycan və Şərq siyasi-fəlsəfi fikrində dövlət və suverenlik anlayışlarının transformasiyası araşdırılır. Tədqiqatın məqsədi Abbasqulu ağa Bakıxanov, M.F. Axundzadə və Cəlaləddin Əfqani kimi mütəfəkkirlərin siyasi-fəlsəfi baxışları əsasında ənənəvi dini-əxlaqi dövlət modelindən modern hüquqi, konstitusional və xalq yönümlü suverenlik modelinə keçidi təhlil etməkdir. Araşdırmada tarixi-müqayisəli, hermenevtik və konseptual analiz metodlarından istifadə olunmuşdur.

Tədqiqatın nəticələri göstərir ki, A.Bakıxanovun düşüncəsində dövlət maarifçi-əxlaqi idarəetmə forması kimi çıxış edir və institusional modernləşməyə doğru ilkin meylləri əks etdirir. M.F.Axundzadə suverenliyi xalq iradəsi və qanunun aliliyi əsasında yenidən şərh edərək konstitusional dövlət modelini əsaslandırır. C. Əfqani isə İslam siyasi ənənəsinin məşvərət prinsipi ilə modern siyasi ideyaları sintez edərək xalq suverenliyi və milli həmrəylik ideyasını ön plana çıxarır.

Beləliklə, məqalə XIX əsr Azərbaycan və Şərq siyasi-fəlsəfi düşüncəsində dövlət və suverenlik anlayışlarının teoloji legitimlikdən hüquqi və xalq yönümlü legitimlik modelinə doğru ardıcıl intellektual transformasiya prosesinə işıq salır.

Açar sözlər: *dövlət, suverenlik, legitimlik, konstitusionalizm, xalq suverenliyi, XIX əsr Azərbaycan fəlsəfəsi, maarifçilik, Şərq siyasi-fəlsəfi fikri.*

Резюме

Арзу Ашраф Гаджиева

Трансформация понятий государства и суверенитета в азербайджанской и восточной политико-философской мысли XIX века

Представленная статья исследует трансформацию понятий государства и суверенитета в азербайджанской и восточной политико-философской мысли XIX века. Цель исследования заключается в анализе перехода от традиционной религиозно-нравственной модели государства к современной правовой, конституционной и народоориентированной модели суверенитета на основе политико-философских взглядов таких мыслителей, как Аббаскули ага Бакиханов, М. Ф. Ахундов и Джамал ад-Дин Афгани. В исследовании использованы методы историко-сравнительного, герменевтического и концептуального анализа.

Результаты исследования показывают, что в системе взглядов А. Бакиханова государство выступает как форма просветительского и нравственного управления и отражает ранние тенденции к институциональной модернизации. М. Ф. Ахундов переосмысляет суверенитет на основе народной воли и верховенства закона, обосновывая модель конституционного государства. Дж. Афгани, в свою очередь, синтезирует принцип исламской политической традиции «шура» (совещательность) с современными политическими идеями, выдвигая на первый план идеи народного суверенитета и национальной солидарности.

Таким образом, статья освещает последовательный интеллектуальный процесс трансформации понятий государства и суверенитета в политико-философской мысли Азербайджана и Востока XIX века – от теологической легитимности к правовой и народоориентированной модели легитимации.

Ключевые слова: *государство, суверенитет, легитимность, конституционализм, народный суверенитет, азербайджанская философия XIX века, просветительство, восточная политическая философия.*