

An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi (Mulla Sadra) with a Brief Account of His Life

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[Introduction]

Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Yahya al-Qawami al-Shirazi (1571-1640), known more commonly as Mulla Sadra, ranks among the towering figures of post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy along with Suhrawardi and Ibn al-‘Arabi, and is certainly the most important philosopher of the Safavid Persia (1501-1722). As a prolific writer, Sadra authored a number of works and dominated the Persian-Islamic philosophical scene ever since. The rapid spread of Sadra’s ideas won him many honorific titles in Persia and in the sub-continent of India where his works has had considerable influence on many philosophers and intellectuals from Shah Waliullah of Delhi to Muhammad Iqbal. Among these titles by which Sadra is most commonly known, one may mention *sadr al-din*. The word 'sadr', meaning chest and/or bosom, signifies, on one hand, the heart, essence and source of something, and ‘foremost’, on the other. The title 'sadr al-din' thus denotes the one who is the foremost and most prominent in religion. The same etymology applies to another title given to Sadra, i.e., ‘sadr al-muta’alihin’, 'foremost among those who have become Divine-like'. The word *muta’allih*, 'becoming Divine-like', goes back to Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi, the founder of the School of Illumination (*ishraq*), and has a specific referent in Suhrawardi’s triple classification of the paths of human thought and knowledge.¹ According to the Illuminationist terminology, the *muta’allih*, whom Suhrawardi identifies as God’s real vicegerent on earth (*khalifat Allah*)², is the philosopher-sage or the godly philosopher who has combined rational inquiry with spiritual realization and discipline.³

In the case of Sadra, *sadr al-muta’alihin*, which is probably the most honorific title given to Sadra, has a twofold function. On the one hand, it refers to the philosopher-sage of the School of Illumination. On the other hand, it reveals the extent to which Sadra has been considered by posterity to be part of the School of Illumination even though there are some fundamental differences between him and Suhrawardi. Nevertheless, the ideal synthesis of rational-logical analysis with mystical experience underlies a persistent current in Sadra's thought, and this links him closely to the Illuminationist tradition. Lastly, Mulla Sadra is also known with a more popular name in Iran, namely as ‘akhund’, meaning a learned person.

Sadra's Life

Mulla Sadra was born in Shiraz in 979-980/1571-1572 into a wealthy and influential family, his father reportedly having been the governor of the province of Fars. Following the tradition of classical madrasah education, Sadra was trained first in what is called the transmitted sciences (*al-'ulum al-naqliyyah*), which included such disciplines as grammar (*nahw*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the science of the sayings of the Prophet and Shiite Imams (*'ilm al-hadith*). Sadra's firm training in the transmitted sciences appears to have a lasting impact on his philosophical work as he was to write an incomplete commentary on the Quran. Considering that the majority of Muslim philosophers prior to Sadra were concerned with transmitted sciences only in a secondary way and that very rarely did they compose works in this field, Sadra stands out as a conspicuous exception, a figure who combines both the transmitted-religious and intellectual-philosophical sciences.

Having completed his formal education in Shiraz, Sadra left his hometown for Isfahan that had then become a major center of high culture in arts and sciences primarily thanks to the visionary leadership of Shah Abbas II (1588-1629), known with the honorific title of the 'Great'.⁴ The vivid intellectual environment of Isfahan was to offer Sadra a unique opportunity to join the line of such Shi'ite philosophers as Mir Damad, Baha' al-Din 'Amili, and Mir Abu'l-Qasim Findiriski on the one hand, and to encounter the fierce opposition of many Shi'ite jurists to Sufism and other gnostic tendencies, on the other. When Sadra began his philosophical career in Isfahan, the cultural and religious framework of the Safavid Iran had been to a large extent consolidated, and the process of establishing Twelve Imam Shi'ism as the official religious code of Iran, begun in 1501 by Shah Isma'il, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, had been completed⁵. The origins of the conflict between the Shi'ite religious authorities and the mystically oriented philosophers go back to the beginning of the Safavid dynasty when Shah Isma'il (1501-1524) and his son Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) engaged in forcefully promoting Twelve Imam Shi'ism against Sunnism and Sufism⁶. By the end of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries, the Sunni character of the greater Khorasan, the heartland of Persia, was already erased, and such Sufi orders as the Naqshbandiyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Nurbakhshiyyah, Ni'matullahiyyah, and the Qalandariyyah/Malamatiyyah were either completely subdued or driven out of the Safavid Empire.⁷ One of the direct consequences of this policy was the migration of a number of notable Sufi masters to India and other places, and the drastic decline of Persian Sufi poetry in the heartland of Iran.⁸

This process was further invigorated by the revival of Akhbarism by Mulla Muhammad Amin Astarabadi (d. 1627). The akhbari traditionalism, grounded in a strong pietistic anti-intellectualism, was particularly opposed to mystical and philosophical interpretations of the Qur'an and the sayings of the Imams. The followers of this school relied solely on the literal authority of the sayings of the Imams, bolstering the socio-religious status of rulers and scholars who claimed family descent from the Shi'ite Imams. The proponents of the akhbari movement, who had gained the unmistakable

favor of the Safavid court until the reign of Shah Safi (1629-1642) and Shah Abbas II (1642-1666), came to be called the 'people of the exterior' (*ahl-i zahir*) and the 'scholars of the skin or surface' (*'ulama-yi qishr*) by their opponents. The mounting tension between the two groups is vividly recorded in contemporary chronicles as well as in Sadra's fierce and relentless attacks against the exoterist '*ulama*' as we see especially in his *Sih asl*. The menacing power of the exoterist Shi'ite '*ulama*', however, do not appear to have deterred Mulla Sadra and his mentor Mir Damad from pursuing a serious career in either speculative metaphysics or theoretical mysticism.

It was against this background that Sadra gave himself completely to the thorough study of intellectual sciences in Isfahan. He studied with the most celebrated teachers of the time, among them especially Sayyid Baqir Muhammad Astarabadi, known as Mir Damad (d. 1040/1631) and Baha' al-Din Muhammad al-Amili known more popularly as Shaykh-i Baha'i (d. 1031/1622). Some sources add Mir Abu'l-Qasim Findiriski (d. circa 1050/1640-1) to the list of the masters with whom Sadra studied in Isfahan even though no direct historical connection between the two has been established in a satisfactory manner. The life spans of the two, if we can trust Findiriski's date of death, which is the same as that of Sadra, suggest that the two must have been colleagues rather than student or mentor for one another. Furthermore, Sadra does not mention Findiriski's name when he speaks of his masters in his autobiography in the *Asfar*. The fact that the traditional sources associate Sadra with Findiriski in one way or another is nevertheless interesting for Findiriski is considered to be a mystic, even a somewhat 'eccentric' one, with such habits as mixing with the low caste vagabonds, dressing up poorly, and having alchemical and mystical powers. Mir Findiriski's extant works reveal him as a follower of the Avicennan school. This, however, is not sufficient to qualify him as a Peripatetic in the ordinary sense of the term.⁹ Mir Findiriski is also known for his travels to India where he is reported to have met a number of Hindu sages and ascetics.¹⁰ One of the fruits of these travels is his Persian commentary on the Hindu mystical and philosophical text *Yoga-Vasishtha*, which is an important text from the point of view of both comparative philosophy and cultural history during the Safavid era.

Among Sadra's teachers, Mir Damad occupies a special place. It is apparent from his writings as well as personal letters that Sadra had an intimate relation with Mir Damad in addition to his having studied under his tutorship. Mir Damad is best known for his *al-Qabasat haqq al-yaqin fi huduth al-'alam* ("Firebrands: The Certain Truth Concerning the Temporal Origination of the World"), which is an attempt to recast some of the central problems of traditional philosophy from the point of view of Peripatetic philosophy with some influences from the School of Illumination. Mir Damad's prominence as a philosopher and teacher is shown by the honorific title given to him as the 'third teacher' (*al-mu'allim al-thalith*) after Aristotle and Farabi.¹¹ Sadra seems to have made his first full-fledged introduction to formal philosophy under Mir Damad's generous tutelage. This is evinced by the fact that he mentions, in his short autobiographical essay at the

beginning of *Asfar*, that he was once an upholder of the fundamental primacy of quiddity (*asalat al-mahiyyah*) over being (*wujud*), a doctrine which sums up the Illuminationist ontology of Suhrawardi and Mir Damad and from which Sadra was shortly thereafter to depart once and for all. Sadra became so successful in mastering the intellectual sciences under Mir Damad that he eventually outshone his teacher. Today, Mir Damad is virtually unknown in the West and outside of Persia.¹² Even though the difficult language and structure of Mir Damad's works is admitted by both classical and modern authors, his destiny of remaining a background figure in the annals of Islamic philosophy is without doubt related to the overpowering fame and dominance of his most celebrated student.

In addition to the study of intellectual sciences, Sadra continued his education of the transmitted sciences in Isfahan under Baha' al-Din al-Amili, one of the most famous jurists and theologians of the Safavid era.¹³ Al-Amili was not, however, an ordinary scholar of religious sciences. He was a polyvalent par excellence: he was at once a philosopher, theologian, jurist, mathematician, architect, Sufi, and poet. This must have had some effect on Sadra's intellectual upbringing as he wrote works in nearly all branches of the intellectual and transmitted sciences. The influence and presence of transmitted sciences in the Sadraean corpus can be seen at two interrelated levels. The first level pertains to the works dealing specifically with such traditional disciplines as Qur'anic commentary and Hadith. Sadra's thorough knowledge of these and other related sciences are easily visible in his writings. His commentaries on certain Qur'anic verses and philosophical glosses upon the famous Shi'ite book of Hadith collection *Usul al-kafi* are the two examples that show Sadra's deep grounding in the transmitted sciences. The second level concerns the fact that many of Sadra's ideas, especially those on cosmology, psychology, and eschatology, are always presented as a synthesis of purely religious language and philosophical terminology. Sadra's writing style easily moves between Greek philosophical terms, long domesticated by the previous Muslim philosophers, and a verse from the Qur'an debated by theologians and jurists over the centuries. Sadra's unfailing derisive remarks against the theologians (*mutakallimun*) seem to derive partly from his confidence in his traditional education.¹⁴ In this regard, Sadra's style of philosophical writing differs considerably from that of the Peripatetics and comes rather close to such mystical writers as Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi, Dawud al-Qaysari, and Mulla Jami, all of whom are the members of the school of Ibn al-'Arabi.

In his autobiographical essay, Sadra states that after mastering the views of the previous philosophers and "whatever he was able to find in the books of the Greeks",¹⁵ he was confronted with the fierce opposition of some simple-minded scholars of the Shari'ah, i.e., the *akhbaris*, whom he compares to the Hanbalite scholars of Hadith, known in Islamic history for their strict literalism and anti-intellectualism.¹⁶ He uses a strong language in describing the feeble-mindedness of such people, and admonishes them for failing to understand the grand philosophical system that he calls 'transcendent wisdom' (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliyah*). This opposition seems to

have been a major factor in Sadra's decision to retreat from the public life of both Isfahan and his hometown Shiraz.

Sadra, however, gives his own reasons and explains his retreat on the basis of his philosophical vocation whose ultimate end cannot be reached by mere study and learning.¹⁷ As it is repeated throughout his autobiographical essay, such spiritual practices as the cleansing of the soul, finding the inner calm in oneself, and asking God's help in resolving the difficult problems of metaphysics are a *sine qua non* of the realization or verification (*tahqiq*) of what one learns from written and oral sources. Thus he says that

“I refrained my thoughts from dealing with people and mixing with them, and abstained from their companionship and friendship. Then the turning of cycles [i.e., the passing of days] and the obstinacy of the people of the present time became easier for me. I released myself from their repudiation and acceptance, and their praise and harm became equal for me. Then I turned my face to the Cause of all causes, and humbled myself before the One who makes all difficult matters easy. I stayed in this state of secrecy, retreat, obscurity, and withdrawal for a long time. I busied myself with long moments of spiritual exercise as a luminous work, and my heart burned with the desire of attaining more spiritual discipline in a very strong way. Then the lights of the angelic world (*anwar al-malakut*) began to emanate upon my heart, the secrets of the world of Dominion (*jabarrut*) were unfolded, the light of the One reached it, the Divine subtleties came upon it, and I obtained the secrets of which I was not aware before. The symbols were unveiled to me, and this unveiling (*inkishaf*) was not a result of logical demonstration (*burhan*). On the contrary, with a plenitude of direct witnessing and seeing of the Divine mysteries, I witnessed everything that I had learned before through logical demonstration.”¹⁸

That Sadra's retreat was in tandem with his philosophical pursuit is attested by numerous other passages in his writings. In one such passage, Sadra, after quoting various views on the soul and its faculties all the way from Aristotle to Ibn Sina, admonishes speculative philosophy and insists on the necessity of spiritual practice:

“Know that [the meaning of] this subtle point and its likes that belong to the study of beings cannot be obtained except through esoteric unveilings (*mukashafat batiniyyah*) and the witnessing of secrets and with the help of being. In these matters, it is not sufficient to memorize the principles of speculative philosophy and essential and accidental concepts. These unveilings and witnessings cannot be reached except through spiritual practice and effort in spiritual retreats by abstaining completely from the companionship of people and cutting oneself off from the lures and false desires of the world, its delusive arrogance, and its illusionary security. Most of the words of this philosopher [i.e., Plotinus, the author of the ‘Uthulujiya, thought to be Aristotle] testify to the prowess of his unveiling, the light of his inner reality, and the proximity of his station [to the Divine in the spiritual path].”¹⁹

Sadra's physical and spiritual retreat to Kahak, a small village near Qom, constitutes the second phase of his life, during which time he continued his studies in solitude and completed the groundwork for the composition of his

major works. After terminating his solitary years in Kahak and upon the request of Shah Abbas II, Sadra returned to Shiraz to teach at the Khan *madrasah* built by Allahwirdi Khan. The third phase of Sadra's life begins here in the Khan *madrasah*, whose building is still extant in its original form in the city of Shiraz, Iran. It was here that Sadra taught, composed his major works, and trained his choice students. As a devout philosopher-sage, he went on pilgrimage on foot to Mecca seven times, and died in Basra in 1050/1640 on his way back from his seventh pilgrimage.

Among the students whom Sadra trained, Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani (d. 1680) and 'Abd al-Razzaq ibn al-Husayn Lahiji (d. 1662) are particularly significant. Fayd Kashani is best known for his *al-Kalimat al-maknunah*, an important work of philosophy-cum-theology. Lahiji, Sadra's second important student, played an important role in the spread of his master's ideas by writing Persian summaries of his works, among which *Shawariq al-ilham* is to be noted. In addition to their intellectual lineage, both Kashani and Lahiji married Sadra's daughters, carrying their master-disciple bond to a personal level. In addition to these two immediate students, Sadra had a long list of followers after his death as his ideas continued to influence the Persian and Indian worlds in the post-Safavid era. Aqa Muhammad Bidabadi (d. 1783), Qadi Sa'id Qummi, Mulla 'Ali ibn Jamshid Nuri (d. 1830), Mulla Muhammad Isma'il Isfahani (d. 1860), Mulla 'Abdullah Zunuzi, Mulla Muhammad Ja'far Langarudi, Mulla Isma'il Khaju'i, Mulla Hadi Sabziwari (d.1873), Mulla 'Ali Mudarris Zunuzi (d. 1889), Aqa Muhammad Rida Qumsha'i (d. 1888-1889), Mirza Mahdi Ashtiyani, and most recently Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i are among the most prominent figures of the school of Mulla Sadra.

In addition to these philosophers, Sadra also influenced a number of prominent scholars and philosophers of other schools during and after the Safavid period. Among these, we can mention Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1111/1699-1700), the great Shi'ite theologian and the author of monumental *Bihar al-anwar*, Mulla Haydar Khwansari (d. 1099/1688), the author of the *Zubdat al-tasanif*, Mulla Salih Mazandarani (d. 1080/1669), and Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i (d. 1241/1826). The most important figure in this list is Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i, the founder of a school known as Shaykhism. Ahsa'i wrote commentaries on Sadra's *Kitab al-Masha'ir* and *al-Hikmat al-arshiyyah* but also criticized two principal ideas of his ontology, namely the primacy of being (*asalat al-wujud*) and the idea that a simple being contains in itself all levels of reality (*basit al-haqiqah kull al-ashya'*). Ahsa'i's connection to Sadra, however, is more interesting for the role it played in the rise of Babism and, later, Bahaism. Babism, a controversial and heterodox Shi'ite movement, branched out from Shaykhism when Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad of Shiraz, considered to be the founder of Babism, claimed in 1844 that he was the *bab*, i.e., the 'gate' through which the hidden Imam of Shi'ism spoke to his followers. This was a major claim with tremendous implications for the Shi'ite religious and political life, and in 1852 Nasir al-Din Shah was forced to take action against the political activities of the Babis.

In the wake of the persecution of the followers of the Bab, Mirza Husayn ‘Ali Nuri Baha’ullah (d. 1892), an ardent follower of Sayyid ‘Ali Muhammad al-Bab, established Baha’ism by declaring himself the Bab’s successor and later claiming to be a prophet and to have received revelation from heaven. In the history of the rise of both Babism and Baha’ism, the highly questionable link that some scholars have established between Mulla Sadra and these movements goes back to the fact that Sayyid ‘Ali Muhammad Bab, the founder of Babism, was a follower of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa’i. Considering this historical link and Ahmad Ahsa’i’s commentaries on Mulla Sadra’s works, Muhammad Iqbal,²⁰ E. G. Browne²¹, and Carl Brockelmann²² have claimed a philosophical continuity between Sadra’s ideas and the doctrines of Babism and Baha’ism. Even though Henry Corbin rejects any direct link among the three, he argues that “Mulla Sadra’s text have furnished the Shaykhi school with an occasion to formulate and clarify its proper positions”.²³ In light of available evidence, however, it is not possible to verify any of these claims. No compelling evidence has been presented as to how Sadra’s ideas might have influenced or contributed to the foundation of the Shaykhi school. Furthermore, there is no direct reference to Sadra, his works or his school either in the current literature of Babism or Baha’ism.

Sadra's Works

Mulla Sadra was a prolific writer and his extant corpus ranges from the monumental *Asfar* to treatises of a few pages. With the exception of his *Sih asl* and *diwan* of poetry in Persian, he wrote all of his works in Arabic. His style stands out as one of the most lucid and systematic forms of philosophical writing in Arabic. As a general trait of his philosophy, Sadra weaves together the strictly logical discourse of the Peripatetic philosophers with the ecstatic language of the mystics. Very often we see Sadra bursting into various aphorisms, exhortations, and ecstatic exclamations, comparable only to the language of such figures as Ghazali and Ibn al-‘Arabi, after discussing a particular philosophical or cosmological problem in a rigorously analytical manner. In cases where prose seems to fall short of conveying Sadra's intended meaning, he does not hesitate to quote poetry both in Arabic and Persian.

Sadra's corpus spans the entire spectrum of traditional philosophy. Metaphysics, cosmology, ontology, epistemology, axiology, eschatology, psychology, and natural philosophy are treated in their traditional formats. In addition to his purely philosophical works, Sadra has a lengthy yet incomplete commentary on the Qur'an and few other works on understanding the Qur'an and Shiite hadith. For purposes of classification, I shall divide Sadra's works into two broad categories of transmitted and intellectual sciences.

Sadra's Qur'anic commentaries are the first works to come to our attention in the field of transmitted sciences. Sadra is certainly not the first Muslim philosopher to write commentaries on the Qur'an. Ibn Sina wrote a short commentary on the famous light verse of the Qur'an (24:35), which describes God as the 'light of the heavens and the earth'. With this commentary, Ibn Sina has initiated a new genre of philosophical exegesis soon to be followed by Ghazali and Suhrawardi. None of these philosophers, however, wrote extensive glosses over the Qur'anic verses. In this sense, Sadra differs from his predecessors by giving a more prominent place in his writings to the verses of the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophets and the Shi'ite imams. In fact, his commentaries amount to a considerable size and have been edited and published by Muhammad Khwajawi in 7 volumes as *Tafsir al-qur'an al-karim*, which will be discussed below. Sadra's Qur'anic commentaries are of particular importance for they are written from the point of view of his philosophy, i.e., 'transcendent wisdom' (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliyah*), giving one of the finest examples of philosophical and mystical exegesis. This aspect of Sadra's works has been largely ignored, and consequently there are only a few short essays we can mention on the subject in European languages.²⁴

Sadra has also written a mystico-philosophical commentary on the famous Shi'ite book of hadith *Usul al-kafi* compiled by Kulayni. As in his Qur'anic commentaries, Sadra deals with various sayings of the Prophet and Shi'ite Imams to bring out their philosophical significance. His commentary on the *Usul al-kafi* is titled *Kitab al-'aql wa'l-jahl* ("The Book of Intelligence and Ignorance"), in which he interprets many sayings of the Imams within the context of such metaphysical issues as the primacy of

being (wujud), God's Names and Attributes, and bodily resurrection. In writing these glosses, Sadra seems to be particularly interested in showing the intrinsic relation between two sources of knowledge, viz., transmitted-religious and intellectual-philosophical.

Mulla Sadra's most important works that have gained him numerous honorific titles, however, are in the field of intellectual sciences, particularly in traditional metaphysics and philosophy. Although a great majority of these works have been published due to the single-handed and indefatigable efforts of Sayyid Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani and, more recently, Muhammad Khwajawi, we are far from having a complete list of Sadra's works critically edited and published. The following bibliography will give a detailed discussion of these works.

Sadra's philosophical works occupy a special place in the annals of Islamic intellectual history. Without claiming to be exhaustive, we can highlight three aspects of this immense corpus. The first point concerns the historical period in which Sadra composed his works. Sadra was a contemporary of Descartes, and is considered to be one of the peaks of the post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy. The fact that Sadra wrote his books in the 17th century and was able to influence a whole generation of philosophers, which eventually resulted in the formation of the school known under his name, disproves the two-centuries old claim of the Orientalists and Western historians of Islamic philosophy that philosophical activity in the lands of Islam came to an end with Ghazali's attack on Ibn Sina in his *Tahafut al-falasifah*. Even though this view is no longer held by the serious scholars of Islam, the number of studies on philosophers prior to Ibn Sina is incomparably more than what has been produced on the history of post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy. His school also points to the continuity of philosophical activity in the Persian-speaking world up to our own day.

Secondly, Sadra represents the culmination of various philosophical strands of Islamic intellectual history. Standing at the crossroads of the four major traditions of Aristotelian philosophy (*mashsha'i*) associated with Farabi and Ibn Sina, the School of Illumination (*ishraq*) established by Suhrawardi, Islamic theology (*kalam*), and finally metaphysical mysticism or gnosis (*'irfan*) represented chiefly by Ibn al-Arabi and his school, Sadra launched a grand project of synthesizing them into a coherent whole in the form of a highly original and comprehensive philosophical system that he called 'transcendent wisdom' (*al-hikmat al-muta'aliyah*). Thus the Sadrean corpus displays a remarkable blend of various strands of thought from the purely logical and analytical discussions of quiddity and logical categories to the extremely poetic and ecstatic discourses on the all-inclusive reality of being and unveiling (*kashf*) as a direct way of knowing Divine mysteries. In this regard, Sadra attempts to complete a project whose origins go back to Suhrawardi, namely the reconciliation of analytical and discursive thinking (*nazar*) with mystical experience (*dhawq*) and spiritual training.

To highlight the 'synthetic' nature of his thought, Sadra seeks to combine three established sources of knowledge in the Islamic intellectual tradition: *burhan* referring to logical-analytical thinking, *'irfan* referring to realized

knowledge, and *qur'an* referring to revealed knowledge. Furthermore, Sadra appears to be acutely conscious of these traditions, their differences and similarities as he analyzes a particular problem or adopts a particular point of view within the context of these intellectual traditions. This makes Sadra's corpus an invaluable source for the history of Islamic philosophy. In many ways, reading Sadra's text amounts to reading the entire history behind the problem under investigation.

The third important aspect of Sadra's works is their originality and cogency as a whole. Sadra is known for a number of novel ideas and formulations in the history of Islamic philosophy. Primacy of being (*asalat al-wujud*), the idea that a simple reality contains in itself all things that belong to its class (*basit al-haqiqah kull al-ashya'*), gradation of being (*tashkik al-wujud*), unification of the intellect and the intelligible (*ittihad al-'aql wa'l-ma'qul*), substantial motion (*al-harakat al-jawhariyyah*), and the bodily origination and spiritual subsistence of the human soul (*jismaniyyat al-huduth ruhaniyyat al-baqa'*) are only few of the major contributions that have earned Sadra a unique place among the pioneers of Islamic philosophy.

In the West, Comte de Gobineau's *Les Religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* is the earliest work to refer to Mulla Sadra. In his doctoral thesis *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, Muhammad Iqbal presented a survey of Sadra a lá Sabziwari, Sadra's great commentator. The German scholar Max Horten is the first European scholar to have devoted a separate work on Sadra. Horten wrote two books on the subject: *Die Gottesbeweise bei Shirazi* (Bonn, 1912) and *Das philosophische System von Shirazi* (Strasburg, 1913), in which he both translated from Sadra's works and provided a fairly complete analysis of his system.

The French philosopher and Islamisist Henry Corbin, who had started out his career in Western philosophy by translating Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* into French, marks a turning point in Sadrean studies. Corbin translated *Kitab al-Masha'ir*, Sadra's own summa of his philosophy, into French under the title *Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques* (Téhéran-Paris, 1956), which contains an extensive analysis of Sadra's thought with a parallel commentary on the Masha'ir. In addition to devoting a large section to Sadra in his *En islam iranien: aspects spirituels et philosophiques* (4 Vols., 1971-2), Corbin also made a partial translation of Sadra's commentary on Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-ishraq* along with Qutb al-Din Shirazi's commentary in his *Le Livre de la Sagesse Orientale (Kitab Hikmat al-ishraq)* (Lagrasse: Editions Verdier, 1986).

Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who is largely responsible for putting Sadra on the map in the English language, has written a number of seminal essays on Sadra in addition to his *Sadra al-Din al-Shirazi and His Transcendent Theosophy* published in 1978 (the second expanded edition 1997). Fazlur Rahman's *The Philosophy of Mulla Sadra* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975) deals with Sadra's philosophy as a whole. Although written from a strictly Peripatetic point of view and thus failing to give a balanced view of Sadra's ideas on philosophy, kalam, and mysticism, Rahman's work is the only book-size analysis of Sadra's thought. *al-Hikmat al-'arshiyyah*, Sadra's most important work on eschatology, has been

translated by James Winston Morris as *The Wisdom of the Throne: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) with a long introduction and extensive commentaries. A new study of *al-Hikmat al-'arshiyyah* by Zaylan Morris called *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra: An Analysis of the Al-Hikmah Al-'Arshiyyah* is scheduled for publication in 2003. An English translation and bilingual edition of *Kitab al-masha'ir* has been brought out by Parwiz Morewedge as *Metaphysics of Mulla Sadra* (New York, 1992). Christian Jambet has translated *Risalat al-hashr*, a treatise on resurrection, into French as *Se rendre immortel: Traité de la résurrection* (Paris: Fata Morgana, 2000) with a well-informed introduction to Sadra's eschatology. Sadra's important work on the temporal origination of the world called *Risalah al-huduth* has been translated into German by Sayed Bagher Talgharizadeh as *Die Abhandlung über die Entstehung* (Berlin, 2000). An English translation of Sadra's *Iksir al-'arfin* by William Chittick is also scheduled for publication. *al-Shawahid al-rubuiyyah* is being currently translated by Caner Dagli of Princeton University. Most recently, S. H. Nasr has completed a new translation of the *Masha'ir* with a commentary and notes, which is currently being edited by I. Kalin.

We can now turn to Sadra's own works, which I shall present in alphabetical order.

A: Works in the Field of Transmitted Sciences

1- *Asrar al-ayat wa anwar al-bayyinat* ("The Secrets of the Verses and the Lights of Evident Proofs"). One of Sadra's major commentaries on the Qur'an, the book consists of an introduction and three parts (*taraf*). The first part deals with the knowledge of the Divinity ('*ulum rububi*) in three witnesses (*mashhad*) and twenty-one principles (*qa'idah*). The second part discusses, in four witnesses and twenty-five principles, the acts of the Divine, emanation of the world of multiplicity from the One, and its return to It. The third part is devoted to return or resurrection (*al-ma'ad*) in twelve witnesses and nine principles. Forty manuscripts of the *Asrar* have been found in Tehran, Mashhad and Qom libraries.²⁵ M. Khwajawi has edited the treatise with a Persian translation and notes as *Asrar al-ayat* (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Mutala'at wa Tahqiqat-i Farhanghi, 1363 (A. H. Lunar)/1984). A second Persian translation is available by 'Alawiyyah Humayuni (Tehran: 1362).

2- *Ayat al-kursi* ("Commentary on the Verse of 'al-Kursi', the Throne") also known as *Tafsir al-'urwat al-wuthqa*. An extensive commentary on the verse of the Throne (*al-kursi*), (the Qur'an 2:255), importance of which have been stated in a number of *hadiths*. It consists of an introduction (*muqaddimah*), twenty chapters (*maqalah*), and a conclusion (*khatimah*). Each chapter has a different name: *maqasid* (intentions), *masha'ir* (penetrations), *isharat* (allusions), *latifat* (subtleties), *fawa'id* (benefits), and so on. Among the issues discussed are the reality and unity of being, God's mercy, intercession and its conditions, and the legitimacy of the Shi'ite Imams. Thirty-one manuscripts of the text have been found.²⁶ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir al-Qur'an*, Vol. 4, pp. 8-342.

3- *Ayat al-nur* ("Commentary on the Verse of 'al-Nur', the 'Light'"). Sadra's important commentary on the Light Verse (the Qur'an, 24:35), which has been the subject of many other philosophical and mystical commentaries before him. It consists of an introduction (*muqaddimah*), an introductory discussion (*tamhid*) on the meaning of light (*nur*), seven sections (*fasl*), and a conclusion with Sadra's testament (*wasiyyah*). Among the subject discussed are the definition of light as the perfection of things, emanation of light upon the heavens and the earth, God's knowledge being identical with His essence, meanings of the breast (*al-sadr*), the heart (*al-qalb*) and the spirit (*al-ruh*), man as the microcosm, and the doctrine of the perfect man (*al-insan al-kamil*) and its relation to cosmology. The book has been edited and published with a Persian translation by M. Khwajawi as *Ayat-i nur ya bayan-i maratib-i afarinish* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Mawla, 1362 (A. H. Lunar), 2nd edition 1377 (A. H. Lunar)). Also published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 4, pp. 345-427. Forty-four manuscripts of the commentary have been found.²⁷

4- *Ma'ani al-alfaz al-mufradah min al-qur'an* ("The Meanings of Qur'anic Terms"). A short exposition of certain Qur'anic terms and expressions. Each term is analyzed under a different '*bab*' (section). Two manuscripts of the text are in Tehran Central and Parliament libraries.²⁸

5- *Mafatih al-ghayb* ("Keys of the Invisible World"). One of Sadra's most important works in this category of writings, consisting of an

introduction (*muqaddimah*) and twenty 'keys' (*miftah*). It contains the most extensive discussion of Sadra's approach to the Qur'an and his methodology of interpreting the Sacred Book. Sadra culls together a number of philosophical and gnostic themes, and explains them under a different 'miftah'. The first 'miftah' discusses the secret and wisdom behind the creation of the universe; second, the Divine intention in sending the Qur'an; third, knowledge and its degrees; fourth, unveiling (*kashf*) and its degrees; fifth, knowledge of the Divine; sixth, the meaning of 'balance' (*mizan*) in the Qur'an; seventh, unveiling the knowledge of the essence of God, His Names and Attributes, and His signs in the visible universe; eighth, God's acts (*af'al*); ninth, the angels, their hierarchy, and their attributes; tenth, the divisions of physical bodies; eleventh, the intelligible substances as the treasures and power of the Divine; twelfth, the temporal origination of the world; thirteenth, existence of the world of the spirits; fourteenth, the spiritual path leading to salvation; fifteenth, man's creation and journey from birth to the day of resurrection; sixteenth, the angelic power (*malakut*) as stages of man's spiritual journey; seventeenth, resurrection of human beings and the universe; eighteenth, bodily resurrection and its demonstration; nineteenth, degrees of resurrection on the Day of Judgment; and twentieth, spiritual discipline and its kinds. Twenty-seven manuscripts of the *Mafatih* have been located.²⁹ Mulla Hadi Sabziwari, the most important commentator of Mulla Sadra in the 19th century, has written a commentary on the *Mafatih*, under the title *Hashiyah mafatih al-ghayb fi'l-tafsir*. During the Qajar period, a certain Husam al-Din Shirazi has translated the *Mafatih* into Persian.

6- *Mutashabihat al-qur'an* ("Allegorical or Metaphorical Verses of the Qur'an"). Sadra's explanation of the Qur'anic verses that are called allegorical or metaphorical (*mutashabih*) by the Qur'an (Al-i 'Imran, 3:7) such as 'God sitting on the Throne' and 'God's hand'. Although Sadra does not add anything new to what he has already established as his methodology of commenting upon the Qur'an in *Mafatih al-ghayb* and *Tafsir ayat al-kursi*, he discusses and criticizes the opinions of previous commentators and theologians before stating his own views on the subject. The book consists of six parts (*fasl*). The first part discusses various views on the allegorical verses of the Qur'an; second, the views of those commentators who emphasize 'transcendence' (*tanzih*); third, the rejection of the views of those theologians who are called '*mu'attilah*' or '*ahl al-ta'til*', viz., those who deny God any kind of attribution; fourth, Sadra's own views on the subject; fifth, further elaboration on the fourth part; and finally six, Sadra's partial interpretations of certain allegorical verses from the point of view of unveiling (*kashf*) and gnosis (*'irfan*). The treatise has been published in Sayyid Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani, *Sih Risalah* (Mashhad: Mashhad University Press, 1352 (A. H. Lunar)). Eleven manuscripts of the text have been found.³⁰

7- *Sharh usul al-kafi* ("Commentary on the *Usul al-kafi*"). A commentary on the famous Shi'ite book of Hadith compiled by Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub Kulayni (d. 329/940). One of Sadra's most important works in the category of transmitted sciences, *Sharh* is a *tour de force* of Sadra's

philosophical and esoteric interpretations of the sayings of the Shi'ite Imams. Corbin considers it one of the most important works of Twelve Imam Shi'ism.³¹ Being an excellent example of the Sadrean blend of transmitted and intellectual sciences, it is a philosophical commentary on the thirty-four sayings of the *Usul al-kafi* grouped under the title *Kitab al-'aql wa'l-jahl*. All of the sayings are directly related to the intellect, intellection, knowledge, and ignorance. Sadra first narrates each *hadith* in full with its chain of transmission, discusses its sources and authenticity, and then provides his commentaries. The first twelve sayings are analyzed together, after which Sadra takes a long detour and discusses various issues related to philosophy, metaphysics, and gnosis in over 140 pages in the printed edition. Among the issues discussed are the meaning and degrees of the intellect (*al-'aql*) and ignorance (*al-jahl*), God's Essence, Names and Attributes, the cosmos and its creation, relation between the intellect and the heart (*al-qalb*), and the role of the intellect in achieving happiness. This is followed by the longest commentary of the book on *hadith* number fourteen, which is the saying that 'God has created the intellect'. Here Sadra delves into a very detailed discussion of the subject by quoting a number of other sayings of the Imams from other sources. The *Sharh* has remained incomplete, and some have claimed that Sadra died in the middle of composing it.³² Seventy-two manuscripts of the text have been found.³³ The critical edition is by Muhammad Khwajawi (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Mutala'at wa Tahqiqat-i Farhanghi, 1366 (A. H. Solar)).

8- *Surat al-a'la* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-A'la, the Most High"). A philosophical and gnostic commentary on Chapter 87 of the Qur'an. It consists of an introduction (*muqaddimah*) and ten 'praises' (*tasbih*). Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 7, pp. 342-407.

9- *Surat al-baqarah* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Baqarah', the Cow"). An incomplete yet long commentary on Chapter 2 of the Qur'an up to verse 65. In explaining the verses, Sadra criticizes the viewpoint of the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites on certain issues. He also discusses the meaning of the 'separate letters' (*huruf muqatta'ah*) in the Qur'an. Twelve manuscripts of the text have been listed.³⁴ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vols. 1-3.

10- *Surat al-fatihah* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Fatiha', Opening"). Also known as *Surat al-hamd*. A philosophical and gnostic commentary on the opening chapter of the Qur'an. Sadra discusses many issues ranging from the significance of the *basmalah* (i.e., the expression 'in the Name of God, the Most Merciful, the All-Compassionate') to his theory of substantial motion (*al-harakat al-jawhariyyah*), and the differences among human beings in their journeys towards salvation. 19 manuscripts of the text have been found.³⁵

11- *Surat al-hadid* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Hadid', the Iron"). A gnostic interpretation of Chapter 57 of the Qur'an. The commentary is divided into four parts: 'unveiling' (*mukashafah*), 'divine gleaming' (*lam'ah ilahiyyah*), 'benefit' (*fa'idah*), and 'conclusion' (*khatimah*). Twenty-six manuscripts have been listed.³⁶ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 6, pp. 140-327.

12- *Surat al-jum'ah* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Jum'ah', Friday"). A gnostic commentary on Chapter 62 of the Qur'an. It has an introduction (*muqaddimah*), twelve chapters or 'dawns' (*matla'*), and a conclusion (*khatimah*). Sadra discusses a number of ontological issues and elaborates on the Avicennan distinction between the kind of beings that subsist by themselves and those that are ontologically dependent on others for their existence (i.e., necessary-by-itself and necessary-through-others). Twenty-five manuscripts have been listed.³⁷ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 7, pp. 136-305.

13- *Surat al-sajdah* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Sajdah', the Prostration"). An esoteric commentary on Chapter 32 of the Qur'an with an introduction, nine chapters (each with a different title), and a conclusion. One of Sadra's finest writings concerning man's spiritual journey and its stations. Twelve manuscripts have been listed.³⁸ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 6, pp. 1-135.

14- *Surat al-tariq* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Tariq', the Morning Star"). A short philosophical and gnostic commentary on the chapter 86 of the Qur'an. In the introduction, Sadra states that his comments are based on the Divine intuitions given to him. Twenty-two manuscripts of the text have been found.³⁹ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 7, pp. 308-359.

15- *Surat al-tawhid* or *al-ikhlas* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Tawhid', Unity or 'al-Ikhlās', Sincerity"). A philosophical and gnostic commentary on chapter 112 of the Qur'an, which is also known as *Surat al-ikhlas*. In six chapters or 'benefits' (*fa'idah*), Sadra discusses the names of this *surah*, reasons for its revelation, meaning and degrees of unity (*tawhid*), and God's knowledge in the light of intellectual ('*aqli*) and transmitted (*naqli*) arguments. The critical edition is published in two parts in Isfahani, *Majmu'a-yi rasa'il-i falsafi-yi Sadr al-Muta'allihin* (cited hereafter as *Majmu'ah*) (Tehran: Intisharat-i Hikmat, 1375 (A. H. Lunar)) (fifteenth and sixteenth treatises; pp. 395-439). Three manuscripts have been listed.⁴⁰

16- *Surat al-waqi'ah* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Waqi'ah', the Event"). A gnostic and philosophical commentary on Chapter 56 of the Qur'an. Throughout the commentary, Sadra discusses various issues including resurrection, the spirit, and the concept of being. Twenty-four manuscripts have been listed.⁴¹ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 7, pp. 8-134.

17- *Surat al-zilzal* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'al-Zilzal', the Quake"). A philosophical commentary on Chapter 99 of the Qur'an on the basis of Sadra's notion of substantial movement and eschatology. Twenty-two manuscripts of the text have been recorded.⁴² Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 7, pp. 410-444.

18- *Surat Ya-Sin* ("Commentary on the Chapter 'Ya-Sin'"). An extensive philosophical commentary on Chapter 36 of the Qur'an with special emphasis on the Day of Judgment and bodily resurrection. The introduction (*muqaddimah*) contains a detailed discussion of the importance of intellection (*ta'qqul*) in the Qur'an. Seventeen manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁴³ Published in Khwajawi, *Tafsir*, vol. 5.

19- Various *Hadith* commentaries. Sadra has written commentaries on a few sayings of the Prophet, among which the most important is the *Hadith* “I was a hidden treasure”. Many Sufis have commented on this hadith before Sadra. Following his esoteric hermeneutics, Sadra gives a full exposition of the *Hadith*. Three manuscripts of this short commentary have been listed.⁴⁴

B: Works in the Field of Intellectual Sciences

- 1- *Ajwibat al-masa'il al-kashaniyyah* ("Answers to Kashani's Questions"). Sadra's answers to five questions on the soul posed by Mulla Muzaffar Husayn Kashani, a contemporary of Sadra and a disciple of Mir Findiriski. In his answers, Sadra elaborates on various aspects of the soul, its perceptual and intellectual faculties, and the differences among the human souls from the state of potentiality and imperfection to full realization and spiritual perfection. The critical edition of the text appears in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (third treatise; pp. 125-160).
- 2- *Ajwibat al-masa'il al-nasiriyyah* ("Answer to the Nasirean Questions"). Sadra's answers to three questions posed by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi to Shams al-Din 'Abd al-Hamid ibn 'Isa Khusrawshahi, which had remained unanswered. The first question asked by Tusi and answered by Sadra is about motion and its relation to time. The second question is about potentiality (*al-imkan*) and how it relates to the physical and spiritual growth of human beings. The third question deals with multiplicity, how it has originated from the One, and whether multiplicity emanates from the One in a single act of creation or in an order of descent. The lithograph edition appears on the margins of Sadra's *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad* and *Sharh al-hidayah*. The critical edition is in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (sixth treatise; pp. 163-177).
- 3- *Ajwibat al-masa'il Shams al-Din Muhammad Ghilani* ("Answers to Ghilani's Questions"). Sadra's responses to five philosophical questions asked by the Peripatetic philosopher Mulla Shamsa-yi Ghilani, also known as Shamsa, who was a student of Mir Damad.⁴⁵ In a sense, the questions can be considered to be a Peripatetic critique of Sadra's transcendent philosophy by one of the prominent figures of the circle of Mir Damad. Ghilani's questions, it appears, have given Sadra an opportunity to further clarify some of his ideas against his critics. The five short questions asked by Ghilani are as follows: 1) change in the category of quantity (*kamm*), to which Sadra replies by discussing the meaning of change in the categories; 2) the nature of the vegetative soul (*nafs nabati*), how it is, if any, transformed, and the detachment of the human soul (*tajarrud al-nafs*) from corporeal existence; 3) mental existence (*wujud dhihni*) and how the mind conceives such categories as quality, quantity, position, and place; 4) differences between human and animal perceptions, which have led both Ghilani and Sadra to discussing the interesting question of whether the animals will also be resurrected like human beings; and 5) the creation of the spirit of each human being before the creation of their bodies on the basis of the *hadith* that "I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay [i.e., before he was created]". Previously published on the margins on Sadra's *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad*, it appears in *Sih Risalah* edited by S. J. Ashtiyani. The critical edition of the text is published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (second

treatise; pp. 107-122). Six manuscripts of the treatise have been listed.⁴⁶

- 4- *Asalat ja'l al-wujud (Risalah)* ("Treatise on the Primacy of the Instauration of Being"). A treatise on an important part of Sadra's ontology, i.e., instauration (*ja'l*), which refers to the primacy of *wujud* in the existentionation of things. Sadra has dealt with this problem extensively both in the *Asfar* and in the *Masha'ir*. In this relatively small work, Sadra discusses major points of view on the subject and divides them into three categories. The first is the primacy of the instauration of quiddity defended by Suhrawardi and his school. The second is the conjoining of being with quiddity, which Sadra attributes to the Peripatetic philosophers. And the third is the primacy of the instauration of *wujud*, which is Sadra's own position. The critical edition appears in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (fifth treatise; pp. 181-191).
- 5- *Dibaja-yi 'arsh al-taqdis*, also called *Risalat al-khalsah*. A three-page introduction to Mir Damad's *Asfar*. The *Dibajah* and *al-Khalsah* have sometimes been listed as two separate works but in reality they are the two parts of the same treatise. In the first part, which is called *Risalat al-khalsah*, Sadra narrates a dream that he had in the last night of the month of Ramadan, 1028 (A. H. Solar), with a following interpretation. In the dream, Sadra sees the Prophet of Islam and then himself setting out on a journey after finishing his supererogatory prayers (*nawafil*). In climbing a steep and narrow mountain road, Sadra goes through a number of easy and difficult stages, sometimes walking, sometimes on an ass. After a while, a noble and virtuous man appears and tells Sadra that his ass is not made for the hardships of this journey. Upon hearing this, Sadra leaves his mount and embarks upon the path by himself with full consciousness and energy. After narrating the dream, Sadra gives a spiritual interpretation of it and its various stages. The second part of the three-page treatise, which is known under its Persian title *Dibajah*, praises Mir Damad and his work. The two parts of the treatise are published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah*, (eighth and ninth treatises; pp. 265-7).⁴⁷
- 6- *Hashiyah sharh hikmat al-ishraq* ("Glosses upon the Commentary upon the 'Wisdom of Illumination' of Suhrawardi"). Although written in the form of a commentary upon Qutb al-Din Shirazi's famous commentary on Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-ishraq*, the most definitive text of the School of Illumination (*ishraq*), it is among Sadra's important philosophical works. Sadra presents the relation and differences between the Peripatetic and Illuminationist schools with remarkable lucidity and depth. The *Hashiyah* is also important to understand Sadra's overall position towards the two schools from which he has incorporated many elements into his own thought. A partial translation of Sadra's commentary has been published along with Qutb al-Din Shirazi's commentary by Henry Corbin in his translation of the *Hikmat al-ishraq*. See his *Le Livre de la Sagesse*

- Orientele (Kitab Hikmat al-ishraq)* (Lagrasse: Editions Verdier, 1986), pp. 441-669. Nine manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁴⁸
- 7- *Al-Hashr (Risalah)* ("The Treatise of Resurrection"). It is known under several different names: *Hashr al-asya' wa ma'ad kull shay'*, *Tarh al-kawnayn fi hashr al-'alamayn*, and *Hashr al-'awam fi ma'ad al-ashya' wa hashriha*. The main theme of the treatise is the resurrection of all existence, including the animal and plant kingdoms and the mineral world. Sadra extends the meaning and scope of resurrection to all existence in tandem with his ontology and natural philosophy, which considers the world of creation to be nothing but various degrees and modes of the all-inclusive reality of being (*al-wujud*) through ontological gradation (*al-tashkik*). The treatise is divided into eight chapters (*fasl*). In the introduction, Sadra classifies beings into five 'layers' or 'classes' (*tabaqah*) in a descending order. These are the separate intellects, which belong to the Divine realm and in which the archetypes and the Platonic Forms/Ideas reside; the spirits operating in the intelligible world and related to lower and higher 'bodies' (*ajram*); particular spirits such as demons and humans where the human realm begins; plant and animal souls, which serve as a bridge between the human and material spheres; and finally the beings of the lowest degree (*asfal al-safilin*), viz., inanimate bodies. Having given this classification, Sadra explains, in eight chapters, the resurrection of all beings from the separate intellects to the grossly material entities. The first part discusses the resurrection of the highest order of being, i.e., the separate intellects and their subsistence (*baqa'*) in and by God; second, resurrection of the 'rational souls' (*al-nufus al-natiqah*), which Sadra divides into 'celestial' (*falakiyyah*) and 'human' (*insaniyyah*); third, resurrection of the 'animal souls' (*al-nufus al-haywaniyyah*) in which Sadra argues for the return of such animal faculties as perception, hearing, and seeing to their archetypal forms; fourth, resurrection of plant and other animate powers such as growth and regeneration where Sadra construes the plant kingdom as having a degree of consciousness lower than the animal and human kingdoms but higher than the inanimate domains; fifth, resurrection of physical entities and elements where Sadra assigns a degree of consciousness even to material bodies by virtue of their sharing something of existence (*al-wujud*); sixth, the return and resurrection of perceptual faculties (*al-hissiyyat*); seventh, resurrection of *materia prima* (*al-hayula al-ula*) and other material entities in which Sadra defines the existential share of the *materia prima* as pure potentiality (*al-imkan*); and eighth, the final assessment of the resurrection of all beings. The treatise ends with a conclusion and testimony. Throughout his discussion, Sadra makes occasional references to Plato and the Peripatetics. The treatise was first printed in the *Rasa'il* (eighth treatise). Muhammad Khwajawi has published a critical edition with Persian translation under the title *Risalat al-hashr ya kitab-i rastakhiz-i jahan* (Tehran:

Intisharat-i Mawla, 1377 (A. H. Lunar; second edition)). Thirty manuscripts have been found.⁴⁹

- 8- *Al-Hashriyyah* ("Treatise on the Resurrection"). A treatise dealing with questions about the other world and resurrection. This treatise, which appears only in Isfahani's collection, is a summary of Sadra's views on the subject taken from the *Asfar*, *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad*, *Mafatih al-ghayb*, *Asrar al-ayat*, and *al-Shawahid al-rububiyah*.⁵⁰ As the text of the *Hashriyyah* is almost verbatim copied from Sadra's other works, it might have been only a compilation by Sadra himself or one of his students rather than a separate treatise. The treatise is divided into nine chapters (*fasl*). The first chapter discusses briefly the graveyard and punishment therein; second, the meaning and reality of resurrection; third, the bridge of *al-sirat* described in the Qur'an, over which human beings will be asked to cross on the Day of Judgment; fourth, the enumeration and weighing of actions done in this world; fifth, the events that will take place in the Doomsday such as the opening of the books of records, the descent of angels upon the good and demons upon the evil; sixth, degrees of those who will be questioned by God, which Sadra divides into various categories; seventh, description of paradise and hell; eighth, the ultimate return of all human being to their primordial nature (*al-fitrah*); and ninth, the termination and recreation of the cosmos on the Day of Judgment. The critical edition of the text appears in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (seventh treatise; pp. 239-262).
- 9- *Khalq al-a'mal (Risalah fi)* ("Treatise on the Creation of Human Acts"); known also as *Jabr wa tawfid al-qadar wa af'al al-'ibad*. A short treatment of the theological problem of free will and determination. Sadra aims at striking a balance between the two extreme theological positions of absolute determinism (*al-jabr*) and absolute free will (*al-tafwid*). To address the issue, Sadra identifies four positions that have vied with each other in Islamic history. The first view held by the Mu'tazilites gives man absolute freedom over his decisions and actions. The second view championed by the theological school called the 'determinists' (*al-jabriyyah*) admits no 'doer' (*fa'il*) and 'agent' (*mu'aththir*) in the world except God, thus slipping into fatalism. The third view defended by the Ash'arites identifies God as the ultimate cause of all causes (*musabbib al-asbab*) but allows a partial will (*al-iradat al-juz'iyah*) to man for his actions. Sadra hails this position as far more reasonable and convincing than the first two. The fourth view is upheld by those whom he calls 'firm in knowledge' (*al-rasikhun fi'l-'ilm*), a name taken from the Qur'an (3:7), and proposes it as the only acceptable position which strikes a balance between the two extremes. In this section, Sadra quotes from the Shi'ite Imams and refers to the famous saying of the sixth Shi'ite Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq concerning free will and predetermination that 'the [truth of the] matter is neither absolute determination nor absolute free will but something in between [the two extremes]'. The treatise is published in S. J. Ashtiyani, *Rasa'il*

(Tehran: 1302 (A. H. Lunar)). The critical edition of the text appears in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (fifteenth treatise; pp. 271-279). Twenty-five manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁵¹

- 10- *Al-Hikmat al-'arshiyyah* ("The Wisdom of the Throne"). Sadra's most important work on eschatology and application of his transcendent philosophy to eschatological questions. The book is divided into two main parts. The first part deals with God and His Names and Attributes in summary fashion, which Sadra presents as an introduction to the main theme. The second part deals with resurrection and the posthumous state. The second part is further divided into three sections. The first section deals exclusively with psychology: the human soul (*al-nafs*), its levels, sense-perception, relation between the soul and the body, and the soul as a gateway to the eternal world. The second section is devoted to a detailed discussion of resurrection where Sadra, using his philosophical vocabulary, demonstrates the possibility of bodily resurrection, which has been rejected by Farabi and Ibn Sina. The third section revolves around the posthumous state of human beings. Here, Sadra bases his analysis on Qur'anic eschatology and discusses such issues as paradise and hell, the isthmus (*al-a'raf*) and its inhabitants (i.e., those who are between paradise and hell), and whether the animals will have a 'gathering' similar to that of human beings. This book has led to a long-standing controversy among the posterity, especially among the Shi'ite theologians. Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i, the founder of the Shaykhi school referred to above, has a commentary upon the 'Arshiyyah in which he rejects Sadra's main arguments. Mulla Isma'il Isfahani wrote a response to Ahsa'i's criticism. James Winston Morris translated the full text of the 'Arshiyyah into English as *The Wisdom of the Throne: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). Fifty-one manuscripts of the text have been found.⁵²
- 11- *Al-Hikmat al-muta'aliyah fi'l- asfar al-'aqliyyah al-arba'ah* ("The Transcendent Wisdom in the Four Intellectual Journeys"). Sadra's magnum opus. Written in four parts (9 volumes in the printed edition) in the form of 'four journeys', the *Asfar* is the most definitive text of the Sadrean corpus. It is also one of the most important works of the post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy. It covers the entire spectrum of traditional philosophy from ontology and epistemology to psychology and eschatology. Using the imagery of journeying (*safar*) taken without doubt from the Sufis, Sadra divides the *Asfar* into 'four intellectual journeys' (*al-asfar al-'aqliyyah al-arba'ah*). The first journey, divided into three parts (*juz'*) and ten stages (*marhalah*), is from the world of creation to the Truth and/or Creator (*min al-khalq ila'l-haqq*) where Sadra addresses the questions of metaphysics and ontology known also under the rubric of 'general principles' (*al-umur al-'ammah*) or 'divine science in its general sense' (*al-'ilm al-ilahi bi'l-ma'na al-a'amm*). It is in this part of the *Asfar* that Sadra deals with the ontological foundations of his system including such topics

as the meaning of philosophy, being (*wujud*) and its primacy (*asalah*) over quiddity (*mahiyyah*), gradation of being (*tashkik al-wujud*), mental existence (*wujud dhihni*), Platonic Forms (*al-muthul al-aflatuniyyah*), causality, substantial movement, time, temporal origination of the world, the intellect, and the unification of the intellect with the intelligible.

The second journey is from the Truth to the Truth by the Truth (*min al-haqq ila'l-haqq bi'l-haqq*). The first part is further divided into *funun* (meaning arts or sciences) and the second part into six *funun*. It is in the second journey that we find a full account of Sadra's natural philosophy and his critique of the ten Aristotelian categories. Among the issues discussed extensively are the categories, substance and accidents, how physical entities come to exist, *hylé* and its philosophical significance, matter and form (hylomorphism), natural forms, and the hierarchy of the physical universe.

The third journey, divided into two parts (*juz'*) and ten stations (*mawqif*), is from the Truth to the world of creation with the Truth (*min al-haqq ila'l-khalq bi'l-haqq*) where Sadra goes into his reconstruction of theology, which is discussed under the name of 'metaphysics' or 'divine science in its particular sense' (*al-'ilm al-ilahi bi'l-ma'na'l-akhass*). It is in this section of the *Asfar* that the theological dimension of Sadra's thought and his relentless attacks on the theologians (*mutakallimun*) come to the fore. Among the issues Sadra addresses are the unity and existence of God and the previous *kalam* proofs given of it, the ontological simplicity of the Necessary Being, the Names and Qualities of God, God's knowledge of the world, His power, Divine providence, speech (*kalam*) as a Divine quality, good and evil (theodicy), procession of the world of multiplicity from the One, and the unity of philosophy ('wisdom', *hikmah*) and the Divine Law (*shari'ah*).

The fourth and final journey, divided into two parts (*juz'*) and eleven 'gates' (*bab*), is from the world of creation to the world of creation with the Truth (*min al-khalq ila'l-khalq bi'l-haqq*) where the great chain of being is completed with psychology, resurrection, and eschatology. This has two closely related meanings in Sadra's thought. First, the intellectual journey of the traveler (*salik*) comes to an end in the present and posthumous state of human beings. Second, the material and spiritual journey of the order of existence, which has started with the creation of the world and the reality of being, is brought to full completion in its ultimate return to God. This part of the *Asfar* provides a tour de force investigation of traditional psychology with material culled from the Peripatetic psychology of Ibn Sina and the gnostic views of Ibn al-'Arabi. As in the other parts of the *Asfar*, Sadra presents a critical history of the ideas and theories on the human soul from the Greeks to Muslim philosophers and theologians. Among the issues discussed are the soul and its states, various powers of the soul in its interaction with physical and intelligible worlds, sense perception, imagination (*takhayyul*) and the imaginal world ('*alam al-khayal*'). Sadra also discusses his celebrated doctrine that the soul is bodily/material in its origination and spiritual in its subsistence' (*jismaniyyat al-huduth*

ruhaniyyat al-baqa'), the impossibility of transmigration (*tanasukh*), spiritual and bodily resurrection, and the reality of heaven and hell.⁵³

The lithographed edition of the *Asfar* was first published in Tehran, 1282 (A. H. Lunar). A modern edition of the *Asfar* in 9 volumes has been prepared by Muhammad Rida al-Muzaffar and published in Beirut (Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1981) with glosses by Mulla Hadi Sabziwari (d. 1873), 'Ali Mudarris Zunuzi Tabrizi (d. 1889-1890), Aqa Muhammad Rida Qumsha'i (d. 1888-9), and Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i. Many other commentaries and glosses have been written upon the *Asfar* by Aqa Muhammad Bidabadi (d. 1783), Mulla 'Ali ibn Jamshid Nuri (d. 1830), Mulla Isma'il Isfahani (d. 1860-1), Mirza Hashim Gilani Rashti Ashkiwari, Mulla Aqa-yi Qazwini, Mirza Muhammad Musawi Khwansari, and Muhammad ibn Ma'sum Zanjani.⁵⁴ Contemporary Persian scholar Hasan Hasan-zadah Amuli published a new edition of the *Asfar* with his own notes and glosses (Tehran: Mu'assasat al-Tiba'ah wa'l-Nashr, 1414 (A. H. Lunar)). Three volumes of this edition have been published so far. Two hundred thirty manuscripts of the *Asfar* have been recorded.⁵⁵

12- *Huduth al-'alam* ("Temporal Origination of the World"). Sadra's most important work on the temporal origination of the world. Sadra considers this topic essential for the unity of philosophical and revealed forms of knowledge. It is also a question to which Sadra has devoted considerable space in the *Asfar*. The concept of substantial motion, of which Sadra makes full use to link his natural philosophy to metaphysics, stands out as the central thesis of the treatise. Sadra first provides a brilliant survey of the issue, starting with the pre-Socratics, Plato (with quotations from the *Timaeus*), and Aristotle. He then moves to the presentation and critique of the views of Muslim philosophers and theologians. The treatise consists of an introduction, twelve chapters (*fasl*), and a conclusion. The introduction presents the issue as one of the most difficult problems of philosophy, and discusses Sadra's reasons for composing the book. The first chapter analyzes the concepts of necessity and contingency; second, the concepts of potency and actuality; third, motion and rest; fourth, the demonstration of nature (*tabi'ah*) as the innate principle of motion and change in every mover; fifth, the continuous renewal of the substance of the rational soul; sixth, nature as the immediate principle of renewal in corporeal bodies; seventh, circular motion as the oldest and most perfect motion; eighth, demonstration of the reality of time; ninth, the antecedence of time to everything; tenth, the summary of the points discussed so far; eleventh, the relation of the temporally originated to the eternal; and twelfth, the existence of the Active Intellect. In the conclusion, Sadra sums up the views of the previous philosophers and presents his overall evaluation. Printed in the *Rasa'il* (Qom: Maktab al-Mustafawi, 1302 (A. H. Lunar)) (first treatise). Twenty-nine manuscripts have been listed.⁵⁶

13- *Iksir al-'arifin fi ma'rifat tariq al-haqq wa'l-yaqin* ("The Elixir of the Gnostics for Knowing the Path of the Truth and Certainty"). One of Sadra's rather gnostic and Sufi works, it is divided into four main

chapters (*bab*) with further sub-sections (*fasl*) under each chapter. The first chapter discusses, in five sections, knowledge and the classification of sciences; second, the human soul as the recipient of all knowledge and man's ability to know; third, the soul and its states; and fourth, the end of all knowledge and the ultimate return of things to God. Printed in the *Rasa'il* (seventh treatise). Thirty-four manuscripts of the text have been recorded.⁵⁷ An English translation of the *Iksir* by William Chittick is scheduled for publication in 2003.

- 14- *Ittihad al-aqil wa'l-ma'qul* ("Unification of the Intellector with the Intelligible"). Sadra's most important philosophical work on the intellect and the intelligibles. It is Sadra's own summary of the third part of the first journey of the *Asfar* titled 'on the intellect and the intelligible' (*fi'l-'aql wa'l-ma'qul*). The treatise consists of an introduction and two sections (*maqalah*). The first chapter is further divided into six chapters (*fasl*) and the second into three. Sadra begins by discussing the three meanings and levels of the intellect, i.e., the material or hylic intellect (*al-'aql al-hayulani*), the actual or acquired intellect (*al-'aql bi'l-fi'l*), and the active or agent intellect (*al-'aql al-fa''al*). Throughout his discussion, Sadra criticizes the philosophers in general and Ibn Sina in particular for failing to understand the unification of the intellect with the intelligible as the true definition of knowledge. To that end, he quotes from Alexander of Aphrodisias and Plotinus (from the *Uthulujiya* wrongly attributed to Aristotle), defends Porphyry against Ibn Sina's disparaging remarks, and employs many principles of his philosophy including the primacy of being (*asalat al-wujud*), substantial motion (*al-harakat al-jawhariyyah*), and the idea that a simple reality contains all things in itself (*basit al-haqiqah kull al-ashya'*). Sadra also provides a long discussion of the active or agent intellect, as interpreted by the Peripatetic philosophers, to substantiate his views on the unification of the intellect with the intelligible. The treatise ends somewhat abruptly with a discussion of some technical terms and a quote from the *Uthulujiya*. The critical edition of the treatise is published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (first treatise; pp. 63-103). Nineteen manuscripts have been listed.⁵⁸ I have prepared an English translation of the text with notes and cross-references to Sadra's other works and will publish it in my upcoming book on Sadra's concept of knowledge.
- 15- *Ittisaf al-wujud bi'l-mahiyyah* ("Conjunction of Being with Quiddity"). A treatise on how being and quiddity are related to one another. Sadra deals with one of the cardinal issues of ontology, viz., how being (*wujud*) is attributed to quiddities (*mahiyyah*). He begins his analysis by admitting and underlining the difficulties caused by this problem, and criticizes the *kalam* views on the subject, especially those of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and Jalal al-Din Dawani. The discussion revolves around the following two questions: can the quiddities be said to 'exist', and can being (*wujud*) be a predicate of

quiddity? The treatise is printed in the *Rasa'il* (second treatise). Sixteen manuscripts have been listed.⁵⁹

- 16- *Kasr al-asnam al-jahiliyyah fi dhamm al-mutasawwifin* ("The Demolition of the Idols of Ignorance in Blaming those who Pretend to be Sufis"). Sadra's attack on those who pretended to be Sufis and held excessive views. The treatise is important for understanding Sadra's views on the Sufi tradition from which he borrows freely and extensively as well as on its pretentious followers. Sadra admonishes those who ignore Divine knowledge (*al-'ilm al-ilahi*) by defining it as a veil. He quotes a number of Qur'anic verses and sayings of the Prophet as well as from the philosophers. The treatise consists of an introduction, four chapters (*maqalah*), each chapter with sections (*fusul*), and a conclusion. The first chapter establishes, in three sections, the meaning of Divine knowledge by underscoring the reciprocity between knowledge (*ma'rifah*) and spiritual practice (*riyadah*). The second chapter defines, in nine sections, the ultimate goal of worship (*'ibadah*) to be the acquisition of Divine knowledge. The third chapter discusses, in nine sections, the qualities of the virtuous (*al-abrar*), whom Sadra takes to be the only true travelers of the spiritual path. The fourth chapter contains, in five sections, a series of sermons and advises with particular reference to the lower status of the world and of those who adhere to it. It has been edited by M. T. Danechepazuh (Tehran: 1340 (A. H. Solar)). Thirteen manuscripts have been recorded.⁶⁰
- 17- *al-Lama'at al-mashriqiyyah fi'l-mabahith (al-funun) al-mantiqiyyah* ("The Gleamings of Illumination Concerning the Matters of Logic") also known as *al-Tanqih* and *al-Tanqiyah*. A short treatise on logic written from the point of view of Suhrawardi's critique of Aristotelian logic and categories. Hence the title 'Gleamings of Illumination'. Because of its critical analysis, the treatise has some times been called 'Treatise on the Refutation of Logic' (*risalah dar naqd-i mantiq*) in Persian manuscript catalogues. It is a summary of Sadra's longer glosses on the logical section of Suhrawardi's *Hikmat al-ishraq*. It consists of nine chapters or illuminations (*ishraq*) with each 'illumination' further divided into 'gleamings' (*lam'ah*). Sadra begins with the definition of logic (*mantiq*) and knowledge (*'ilm*) and addresses nearly all the major issues of classical logic including the simple and composite concepts, the five universals (*al-kulliyyat al-khamsah*), propositions (*al-alfaz*), predication (*al-haml*), definition (*al-hadd*), possibility (*al-imkan*) and necessity (*al-wujub*) as logical categories, analogy (*al-qiyas*) and its kinds, logical proof (*al-burhan*), and sophistry (*sufistiqli* and *mughalatah*). The critical edition of the text is published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (sixth treatise; pp. 195-234). Six manuscripts have been listed.⁶¹
- 18- *Limmiyat ikhtisas al-mintaqah bi-mawdi' mu'ayyan min al-falak* ("On Why the Zodiac is Located in a Particular Position of the Sphere"); also known under the title *al-Limmiyat fi ikhtisas al-falak bi-mawdi' mu'ayyan*. A four-page treatise on the astronomical

problem why the Zodiac has the position it has rather than any other. Some sources mention a treatise called *Hall al-ishkalat al-falakiyyah* as a separate book on the basis of a reference to it in the *Asfar*. It is, however, almost certain that these two are one and the same work.⁶² In addressing this astronomical issue, Sadra delves into a philosophical discussion about the procession of the Zodiac and other stars from the universal intellect (*al-'aql al-kulli*), and advances three ontological arguments to prove the emanation of the spheres from the angelic world. The critical edition is in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (thirteenth treatise; pp. 365-8). Five manuscripts of the text have been recorded.⁶³

19- *Al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'ad* ("The Beginning and the Return"). A treatise on cosmogony and eschatology. As the title suggests, Sadra gives his account of the great chain of being based on his ontological and eschatological doctrines. It discusses the main divisions of traditional philosophy such as metaphysics (*al-ilahiyyat*), natural philosophy (*al-tabi'iyyat*), psychology (*'ilm al-nafs*), and the genesis of the cosmos with a discussion of Islamic prophetology (*nubuwwah*) at the end. The work is divided into main parts or 'sciences' (*fann*). The first part deals with the nature of God, which Sadra calls '*rububiyyat*', and the second part with natural philosophy. The first part is divided into three chapters (*maqalah*). The first chapter discusses the origin of being (*wujud*) and God's existence; second, God's Names and Attributes; and third, God's acts in the cosmos. The second part is divided into four chapters. The first chapter discusses the creation and constitution of the cosmic order from various elements; second, bodily resurrection; third, resurrection of man in the light of gnostic principles; and fourth, Islamic prophetology. The fourth chapter of the second part is presented as a summa of Sadra's political philosophy in which he addresses such issues as the role of the prophets in religion, miracles, the difference between revelation (*wahy*) and intuition (*ilham*), politics, and the aims of the Divine Law (*al-Shari'ah*). Sabziwari has written a commentary (*hashiyah*) upon the *al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'ad*. Two Persian translations are available, one by Sayyid Ahmad Ardakani and the other by Ahmad ibn Muhammad Husayni with a parallel Persian commentary. A Persian summary of the work has been prepared by Nazar 'Ali Ghilani under the title *Khulasa-yi Mabda' u Ma'ad*. Most recently, it has been edited by Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani with Persian and English introductions by S. H. Nasr (Tehran: 1976). Seventy-nine manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁶⁴

20- *Al-Masa'il al-qudsiyyah wa'l-qawa'id al-malakutiyyah* ("Sacred Questions and Angelic Principles"). One of Sadra's later works written after the *Asfar* as he refers to it in the treatise as 'our large book' (*kitabuna'l-kabir*). This is most probably the same treatise as *al-Masa'il al-qudsiyyah fi'l-hikmat al-muta'aliyah* mentioned by Nasr.⁶⁵ The treatise focuses on three major problems with which Sadra deals in his other works, and these are the reality of being

analyzed in the first chapter (*maqalah*), God as the necessary being discussed in the second chapter, and the reality of mental existence analyzed in the third chapter. Sadra states that the arguments put forward in the *Masa'il* are not derived from the discursive speculations of formal philosophy (*al-falsafah al-rasmiyyah*), theological debates, blind imitation of the public, or the false arguments of the sophists. Rather, they have been given to him as inspirations of the heart (*al-waridat al-qalbiyyah*). It has been printed in Ashtiyani, *Sih Risalah* (second treatise). Seven manuscripts have been listed.⁶⁶

- 21- *Kitab al-masha'ir* ("The Book of Metaphysical Penetrations"). One of Sadra's later works in which he gives a summa of his ontology with short and dense discussions of some theological issues. The treatise is divided into two main parts, the first part consisting of eight *mash'ars*, and the second part consisting of three *manhajs*, with a conclusion. The first part deals with such principles of Sadra's ontology as the absolute simplicity and primacy of being, its conjunction with quiddity, mental existence, particularization of being, and ontological causality. The last *mash'ar* of the first part contains a short discussion of causality and instauration (*ja'l*) as a transition to the second part. The remainder of the *Masha'ir* is devoted to the concept of God as the Necessary Being (*wajib al-wujud*), generation of the world multiplicity from the One, God's Names and Attributes seen from the point of view of Sadra's ontological categories, His acts in the cosmos, and the temporal origination of the world of creation. The *Kitab al-masha'ir* is one of Sadra's most studied works both among the posterity and in modern times. A number of commentaries have been written by such 19th century Persian philosophers as Shaykh Ahmad Ahsa'i (d. 1241/1826), who has written an important commentary in which he rejects one of Sadra's cardinal premises that 'a simple reality contains all things', Mulla 'Ali Nuri (d. 1246/1830), Mulla Muhammad Ja'far Langarudi Lahiji, Mulla Isma'il Isfahani (d. 1277/1860), Mirza Ahmad Ardakani Shirazi, Mulla Zayn al-'Abidin ibn Muhammad Jawad Nuri, and Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Jilwah (d. 1314/1896).⁶⁷ In the modern period, the *Masha'ir* has been translated into French by Henry Corbin as *Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques* and published with introduction, notes, and the Persian translation of the Qajar prince *Badi'al-Mulk Mirza 'Imad al-Dawlah* (died in the first part of the 19th century).⁶⁸ Another Persian translation by Ghulam Husayn Ahani appeared in 1961. Toshihiko Izutsu has translated it into Japanese. The first English translation by Parwiz Morewedge was published as *The Metaphysics of Mulla Sadra*. The most recent translation of the *Masha'ir* into English is by Seyyed Hossein Nasr with a parallel commentary on the text, which is currently being edited with an introduction and notes by Ibrahim Kalin. One hundred fifty-one manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁶⁹

- 22- *Al-Mazahir al-ilahiyyah fi asrar al-'ulum al-kamaliyyah* ("Divine Manifestations concerning the Secrets of the Sciences of Perfection"). One of Sadra's major theological works synthesizing philosophical arguments with quotations from the Qur'an. The work is divided into two main parts or 'sciences' (*fann*) with an introduction and conclusion. The first *fann* is devoted to metaphysics and the second to eschatology, each of which is further divided into eight 'manifestation' (*mazhar*). The first *mazhar* of the first *fann* discusses the principles and aims of the Sacred Book, i.e., the Qur'an; second, proofs for the existence of God; third, God's unity (*tawhid*); fourth, God's Names and Qualities; fifth, God's knowledge of Himself and things other than His essence; sixth, God's divinity (*ilahiyyah*); seventh, the temporal origination of the world (*huduth al-'alam*); and eighth, the beginning and end of things. The first *mazhar* of the second *fann* discusses the proofs concerning bodily resurrection; second, creation of man as a complete being with his/her perceptual and intellectual powers; third, the reality of death; fourth, graveyard and punishments and rewards therein; fifth, the initial creation (*al-ba'th*) of human beings; sixth, resurrection (*al-hashr*); seventh, the bridge of *sirat*; and eighth, the opening of the books of records for man's actions in this world. The conclusion (*khatimah*) contains a vivid discussion of the way in which the Doomsday will take place according to the descriptions given in the Qur'an. The book ends with Sadra's will (*wasiyyah*) in which he urges his readers to follow the spiritual path leading to God. The *Mazahir* has been edited twice. The first edition (Qom: Markaz-i Intisharat Daftar-i Tablighat-i Islami, 1377 (A. H. Lunar)/1419 (A. H. Solar)) is by S. J. Ashtiyani with a Persian introduction and short Arabic notes. The second critical edition (Tehran: Bunyad-i Hikmat-i Islami-yi Sadra, 1378) is by Sayyid Muhammad Khamanei with a long Persian introduction which discusses the Greek and neo-Platonic sources of Islamic philosophy and the school of Mulla Sadra. Seven manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁷⁰
- 23- *Al-Mizaj (Risalah fi)* ("Treatise on the Temperament"). A philosophical and psychological treatise on temperament based on traditional cosmology and psychology. It is a summary of the relevant sections of the *Asfar* and divided into six chapters (*fasl*). The first chapter discusses the meaning of temperament in terms of physical constitution and sense perception; second, relation between temperament and the four elements; third, evaluation of Ibn Sina's views in the *Shifa'*; fourth, faculty of sight and how the elements are joined together to form different temperaments; fifth, critique of Ibn Sina's views on potentiality and actuality in relation to the faculties of the soul; and sixth, Sadra's own views on temperament and the conjoining of elements. The critical edition of the *Mizaj* is in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (sixteenth treatise; pp. 371-392).
- 24- *Namaha-yi Sadra* ("Sadra's Letters to his Master Sayyid Mir Damad"). A collection of four or five letters by Sadra to his teacher

Mir Damad. The letters are written in highly stylized Arabic and Persian and contain a number of questions posed by Sadra including a request for permission to travel to Qom or Kashan, which attests to the close personal bond between Sadra and Mir Damad. One of the Arabic letters has been published by Ashtiyani, *Sharh-i hal wa ara'-yi falsafi-yi Mulla Sadra* (Tehran, 1378 (A. H. Lunar), second edition), pp. 269-272. One of the Persian letters is published, with some omissions, in Muhammad Khwajawi, *Du Sadr al-Din ya du awj-i shuhud wa andisha dar jahan-i islami* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Mawla, 1378 (A. H. Lunar)), pp. 175-177.

- 25- *Al-Qada' wa'l-qadar fi af'al al-bashar* ("Divine Decree and Destiny in the Actions of Man"). A treatise on the theological problem of free will and predestination. Even though addressing the same issue, it is written in a more detailed manner than the *Khalq al-a'mal*. The structure of the treatise and, to a certain extent, its content is comparable to a treatise by 'Abd al-Razzaq Kashani bearing the same title. The treatise is divided into six main chapters (*fasl*). The first chapter discusses the meaning of Divine providence (*'inayah*) and destiny; second, the locus of decree (*qada'*) and destiny (*qadar*); third, the ultimate perfection of the world of actuality as it exists, which is another formulation of the celebrated doctrine of the best of all possible worlds; fourth, theodicy and the problem of evil in the creation of the world; fifth, man's free actions in the face of the Divine decree; and sixth, the significance of obeying God's commands (*ta'ah*) and the effects of prayer (*du'ah*). Printed in the *Rasa'il* under the title *Risalah mas'alat al-qadar fi'l-af'al* (ninth treatise). Twenty-three manuscripts have been recorded.⁷¹
- 26- *Sarayan nur wujud al-haqq fi'l-mawjudat* ("The Penetration of the Light of the Being of the Truth in Existents"). A philosophical and gnostic treatment of the all-inclusive reality of God as present in all things. Sadra attempts to answer the thorny question of how God exists in all things through His being and knowledge without His Essence being tainted by it. Although written from the point of view of the primacy of quiddity (*asalat al-mahiyyah*) when Sadra still followed the *ishraqi* ontology of his tutor Mir Damad, the work deals with a problem that has occupied Sadra in his other works. Printed in the *Rasa'il* (fourth treatise). Fifteen manuscripts of the text have been listed.⁷²
- 27- *Sharh al-hidayah al-athiriyyah* ("Commentary upon the *Hidayah* of Athir al-Din Abhari"). Sadra's commentary on the famous logico-philosophical treatise of Athir al-Din Fadl ibn 'Umar al-Abhari al-Samarqandi. Abhari's work is one of the most widely circulated texts of classical formal logic (*al-mantiq al-suri*), natural philosophy and metaphysics, and many commentaries and glosses have been written upon it. Sadra's commentary is one of his early works, in which he remains faithful to the premises of Peripatetic logic and philosophy in general and denies change in the category of substance. It consists of an introduction on the definition of 'philosophy' (*al-hikmah*), two

parts, devoted to natural philosophy (*al-tabi'iyat*) and metaphysics (*al-ilahiyyat*), and a conclusion. The first part is further divided into three sections or 'arts' (*fann*). The first section discusses atomism and its criticism; second, spheres and the celestial world; and third, the elements out of which the cosmos is made, and the faculties of the soul. The second part is also divided into three sections. The first section discusses the concept of existence, causality, potentiality and actuality, and the ten Aristotelian categories; second, the proofs for the existence of the Necessary Being; and third, the separate intellects (*al-'uqul al-mujarradah*) and how they are interpreted as angels in the language of the doctors of law and as pure lights in the School of Illumination and Sufism. The conclusion contains a short discussion of the hereafter and bodily resurrection. Many glosses by Persian philosophers have been written upon Sadra's commentary among which we can mention Mulla Qutb al-Din al-Sahalawi, Muhammad al-Husayni known as Ghulam Nur, Mulla 'Ali Zunuzi, and Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Jilwah.⁷³ The *Sharh* has also become very popular in the sub-continent of India as many manuscripts of the text have been found in libraries in India and Pakistan. One hundred twelve manuscripts have been listed.⁷⁴

- 28- *Al-Shawahid al-rububiyyah fi'l-manahij al-sulukiyyah* ("The Divine Witnesses in the Paths of Spiritual Journey"). Sadra's summary of his own thought and perhaps the most important work after the *Asfar*. It is divided into five 'abodes of witness' (*mashhad*) with each *mashhad* divided into further 'witnesses' (*shahid*). The first *mashhad* is devoted to general metaphysics in which Sadra discusses, in five 'witnesses', the fundamental questions of ontology. The first witness discusses the concept and reality of existence; second, mental existence; third, the Necessary Being and God's unity; fourth, such concepts as anteriority, posteriority, unity, and multiplicity analyzed as ontological categories; and fifth, quiddity and other universal concepts. The second *mashhad* deals with God's existence and unity, and is divided into two 'witnesses'. The first witness discusses God's Names and Attributes as the first stage of the ontological self-determination of God; and second, the objects of the Divine realm, viz., the separate intellects and Platonic forms as the archetypes of the world of multiplicity. The third *mashhad* is devoted to what Sadra calls the 'science of the return of all things to God' (*'ilm al-ma'ad*). It is divided into three witnesses. The first witness discusses the generation of the cosmos; second, psychology and philosophical anthropology with an analysis of the soul and its degrees; and third, the meaning of the intellect (*al-'aql*) and various degrees of it such as the potential and acquired intellect. The fourth *mashhad* is on eschatology and bodily resurrection, and is divided into three witnesses. The first witness discusses various opinions about bodily resurrection and their criticism; second, the reality and various aspects of the hereafter (*al-akhirah*); and third, the differences between this and the next world and the inhabitants of the hereafter.

The fifth *mashhad* deals with Islamic prophetology (*al-nubuwwah*) and sainthood (*al-wilayah*), and is divided into two witnesses. The first witness discusses prophethood, miracles, faculties of the prophets, and the differences between revelation and inspiration; and second, political philosophy, Divine law, and the conditions of rulers. Being a popular and accessible text, many commentaries have been written upon the *Shawahid* by such figures as Mulla ‘Ali Nuri, Muhammad Rida Qumsha’i, and Sabziwari whose monumental commentary is the most important. Three Persian translations of the text are available by Sayyid Ahmad Husayni Ardakani, Shaykh Abu’l-Qasim ibn Ahmad Yazdi and Jawad Muslih. A modern edition of the *Shawahid* with Sabziwari’s important commentary has been published by S. J. Ashtiyani with an introduction by S. H. Nasr (Tehran: 1340 (A. H. Lunar); second edition, 1981). One hundred twenty-one manuscripts have been listed.⁷⁵

- 29- *Sih asl* (“Three Principles”). Sadra’s only treatise written in Persian. It is one of Sadra’s important works on spiritual ethics and of particular importance to show his critical attitude towards the Shi’ite literalists of his day. In the treatise, Sadra gives a critique of the exoterist ‘*ulama*’, called *ahl al-zahir*, who were opposed to the path of knowledge and spirituality (*‘irfan*) defended by the Sufis and gnostic Shi’ites. The work contains some autobiographical remarks and Persian poetry inserted in between Sadra’s discussion. Sadra criticizes, in fourteen chapters or ‘gates’ (*bab*), the three principal deficiencies of human nature, which he analyzes in relation to the pretentious attitudes of the exoterist scholars of the Law. The first principle is the ignorance of the knowledge of the self along with the knowledge of the afterlife. Sadra posits the knowledge of the self and its degrees as a *sine qua non* for the attainment of happiness. The second principle is the love of the world and worldly possessions. The third principle is the temptation of the soul by worldly pleasures. In the remainder of the work, Sadra discusses various aspects of the spiritual and ethical life. A number of Qur’anic verses and Prophetic sayings are quoted throughout the text. *Sih asl* was critically edited by S. H. Nasr with a Persian introduction and excerpts from Sadra’s Persian diwan of poetry (Tehran: 1340 (A. H. Lunar); third edition, 1377 (A. H. Lunar)). Eleven manuscripts have been located.⁷⁶
- 30- *Ta’liqat ‘ala ilahiyyat al-shifa’* (“Glosses upon the Metaphysics of the *Shifa’* of Ibn Sina”). An incomplete philosophical commentary on the Metaphysics of Ibn Sina’s *Shifa’* up to the sixth *maqalah*, which is on causality. In his glosses, Sadra discusses the sources of Ibn Sina’s ideas and explains difficult expressions and points. Like in his commentary on Abhari’s treatise on philosophy, Sadra remains faithful to the Peripatetic point of view and does not introduce any of his own ideas. Twenty-eight manuscripts have been recorded.⁷⁷
- 31- *Al-Tasawwur wa’l-tasdiq* (“Concept and Judgment”). A treatise on the logical problem of concept or description and judgment. Sadra discusses different meanings of concept and judgment and criticizes

the views of the theologians. He occasionally quotes from Ibn Sina and other Peripatetic philosophers. There are also references to Qutb al-Din Razi and his commentary on Qazwini's *Shamsiyyah*, an important treatise on classical formal logic. It has been translated into Persian and commented upon by *Mahdi Ha'iri Yazdi*. Seventeen manuscripts have been listed.⁷⁸

- 32- *Al-Tashakhkhush (Risalah fi)* ("Treatise on Individuation"). A philosophical treatise on individuation. It is divided into three parts (*fasl*). Sadra discusses an important problem of traditional philosophy, i.e., how things are differentiated from each other and how they assume their individual identity and constitution. In addition to discussing various opinions on the matter, he criticizes the view that individuation does not have a reality *in concreto*. The treatise is important for the later development of Sadra's thought on the question of existential determination and individuation with which he deals very extensively in the *Asfar*. It is printed in the *Rasa'il* (third treatise). Twelve manuscripts have been listed.⁷⁹
- 33- *Al-Waridat al-qalbiyyah fi ma'rifat al-rububiyyah* ("Inspirations of the Heart concerning the Knowledge of the Lord"). A mystical treatise on some philosophical problems with a powerful critique of the exoterist 'ulama' and their support for the unjust rulers. As in the *Shawahid*, Sadra begins his work with a discussion of metaphysics and then moves into ontology, knowledge of the Necessary Being, the origin of good and evil, and the science of the soul and its purification. The text has been edited and translated into Persian by Ahmad Shafi'iha (Tehran: The Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978). Also published in the *Rasa'il* (sixth treatise). Thirty-two manuscripts have been listed.⁸⁰
- 34- *Al-Wujud (Risalah)* ("Treatise on Being"). A short treatise summarizing Sadra's concept of being. Sadra analyzes the major schools of ontology under three headings. The first is the view of the school of Illumination, which considers *wujud* as a mental abstraction. The second position is that of the theologians, which is very similar to the first view. And the third is the view of the Sufis who consider *wujud* as the ultimate source and reality of all things. As a defense of the third position, Sadra gives a detailed analysis of the ontological views of the Sufis and devotes several pages to the discussion of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*). The treatise is published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (seventeenth treatise; pp. 453-463).
- 35- *Yad-dashtha-yi Mulla Sadra* (Mulla Sadra's Notes). Sadra's short notes and stray reflection on various subjects ranging from a discussion of the Imamate based on Ghazali's *Sirr al-'alamayn* and definition of philosophy to various supplications and short Persian poems. The title of the book does not belong to Sadra himself. The notes have been edited and published by Muhammad Barakat (Qom: Intisharat-i Bidar, 1377 (A. H. Lunar)) with a list of the personal library of Sadra, containing one hundred and four books.

36- *Zad al-musafir* (“Provisions of the Traveler”) also known as *Zad al-salik* and *Ma’ad al-jismani*. A short treatise summarizing Sadra’s views on eschatology. Divided into twelve chapters, it discusses all the major issues concerning the Doomsday, bodily resurrection, isthmus (*barzakh*), and the return of the world of multiplicity to the One. As in his other works on eschatology, Sadra employs religious, philosophical, and gnostic proofs throughout the text, and discusses various arguments advanced by the theologians, Philosophers, and the Illuminationists. Sayyid Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani has written an important Persian commentary on the *Zad* under the title *Sharh bar Zad al-musafir-i Mulla Sadra (Ma’ad-i jismani)* (Tehran: Mu’assa-yi Intisharat-i Amir Kabir, 1379 (A. H. Lunar)). Five manuscripts have been listed.⁸¹

In addition to the works listed above, Sadra has also a *mathnawi* (couplets) of Persian poetry on various themes such as love, worship, and sincerity with occasional explanations of some Qur’anic verses. Some excerpts from the *Mathnawi* were first published as an appendix to the *Sih asl* edited by S. H. Nasr.⁸² A larger collection was published by Muhammad Khwajawi under the title *Majmu’a-yi ash’ar* (Tehran: Intisharati Mawla, 1376 (A. H. Solar)/ 1418 (A. H. Lunar)). The complete edition of the *Mathnawi* containing over two thousand verses of poetry has been edited and published by Mustafa Faydi under the title *Mathnawi-yi Mulla Sadra* (Qom, 1376 (A. H. Solar)/1417 (A. H. Lunar)).

The following works have been attributed to Mulla Sadra but their authenticity remains in doubt.

1- *Adab al-bahth wa’l-munazarah* (“Manners of Investigation and Debate”). A treatise on the manners of research and debate.

2- *al-Fawa’id* (“Benefits”). Collection of four short treatises, one of which is a commentary on the famous *hadith* “I was a hidden treasure...”. Mentioned also by Brockelmann.⁸³ Even though Isfahani considers the *Fawa’id* to be one of Sadra’s works and has thus included it in his *Majmu’ah* (twelfth treatise, pp. 345-361), its authenticity has not been fully established.

3- *Ithbat al-bari’ (Risalah fi)* (“Treatise on the Demonstration of the Existence of God”). A theological treatise on the existence of God.

4- *Jawabat al-masa’il al-’awisah* (“Answers to Difficult Questions”). Nasr considers it to be a work by Mir Damad.⁸⁴

5- *Sirr al-nuqtah* (“The Secret of the Point”). An esoteric analysis of the point most probably by Hamdani. This is the same work as *al-Qudsiyyah fi asrar al-nuqtah al-hissiyat al-mushirah ila asrar al-huwiyyah* mentioned by Nasr.⁸⁵

6- *Ithbat wajib al-wujud* (“Demonstrating the Existence of the Necessary Being”). This is most likely the same as Amir Sadr al-Din Dashtaki’s theological treatise on the Necessary Being.

7- *Hawashi bar sharh-i tajrid* (“Glosses upon the Commentary of Tusi’s *Tajrid al-kalam*”). Most probably the same as Sadr al-Din Dashtaki’s treatise.

8- *Hawashi bar sharh-i lam'ah* ("Glosses upon the Commentary of the *Lum'ah*"). A treatise most likely by Sadra's son Aqa Mirza Ibrahim.

9- *Shubhat al-jazr al-asamm* ("Doubt on the Irrational Root"). Even though its title suggests that the treatise is on the mathematical problem of the irrational root, it is about the logical problem of truth and falsity. The treatise is a response to Jalal al-Din Dawani's attempt to solve the riddle, and definitely by Sadr al-Din Dashtaki. Brockelman attributes it to Sadra.⁸⁶ It has been published in Isfahani, *Majmu'ah* (eighteenth treatise; pp. 467-478).

10- *Hawashi bar rawashih-i samawiyya-yi Mir Damad* ("Glosses upon Mir Damad's *al-Rawashih al-samawiyyah*"). Even though Ashtiyani considers it to be a possible work by Sadra, its authenticity has not been established.⁸⁷

In addition to these, Brockelmann attributes the following works to Sadra: *Tajrid maqalat Aristu*, *Risalah fi rumuz al-qur'an*, which is most probably the same as *Ma'ani al-alfaz al-mufradah min al-qur'an* under a different title, and *Risalah fi'l-kufr wa'l-iman*.⁸⁸

Notes

1 For the place of this classification in Islamic thought, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages* (New York: Caravan Books, 1997), pp. 63-4.

2 *Kitab hikmat al-ishraq* in *Oeuvres Philosophiques et Mystiques*, ed. by Henry Corbin (Tehran: 1977), Tome II, p. 12. See also the English translation by John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai *The Philosophy of Illumination* (Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), p. 3.

3 Suhrawardi lists eight classes of the seekers of truth with variations in between, which can be summarized under the following three groups: The first are the godly philosophers described above; second, those who are plunged only in the purely rational and discursive thinking, which is a reference to the Peripatetics; and third, the anti-philosophical mystics who lack in rigorous thinking and logical analysis. See Suhrawardi, *Hikmat al-ishraq*, op. cit., pp. 11-2; English translation, p. 3. The word *muta'allih* must be related to the Platonic philosopher-king who combines in himself the power of philosophical analysis and Divine light. Echoing Suhrawardi's discussion, Sadra proposes the following classification: 1] those who know God ('*alim bi'Llah*') but not his commands; 2] those who know God's commands ('*alim bi-amr Allah*') but not Him; and 3] those who know both. See his *Muqaddimah to Sharh usul al-kafi (Kitab al-'aql wa'l-jahl)*, ed. by Muhammad Khwajawi (Tehran: 1366 A. H. Lunar), p. 173.

4 For a comprehensive overview of the intellectual life during the Safavid period, to which Sadra belongs, see S. H. Nasr, 'Spiritual Movements, Philosophy and Theology in the Safavid Period' in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. by Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Vol. VI, pp. 656-97.

5 The roots of the Safavid dynasty go back to Shaykh Safi al-Din of Ardabil (1253-1334), a powerful Sufi master of the Safawiyyah order, who himself was a Sunni. The word Safavid is the adjectival form of 'safi', referring to Shaykh Safi al-Din himself. The group of people, whom the Ottomans called the 'qizilbash', read-heads, were Shaykh Safi al-Din's staunch followers, and when Shah Isma'il, himself of Turkish origin, declared his independence against the Ottomans, he was also considered to be the protector of the 'qizilbash'.

6 For the religious character of this period, see B. S. Amoretti, 'Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. VI, pp. 610-655.

7 Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 112-9.

8 E. G. Browne has put this question to Mirza Muhammad Khan of Qazwin, whose response, which was sent to Browne in 1911, reveals an interesting perspective on the Safavid period by a Persian man of letters. Mirza Muhammad identifies the root of the problem as the propagation of the exoterist Shi'ism by the Safavid rulers who 'by reason of their political aims and strong antagonism to the Ottoman Empire, devoted the greater part of their energies to the propagation of the Shi'a [sic] doctrine and the encouragement of divines learned in its principles and laws... Now the close connection between poetry and Belles Lettres on the one hand, and Sufiism [sic] and Mysticism on the other, at any rate in Persia, is obvious, so that the extinction of one necessarily involves the extinction and destruction of the other. Hence it was that under this dynasty learning, culture, poetry and mysticism completely deserted Persia, and the cloisters, monasteries, retreats and rest-houses [of the darwishes] were so utterly destroyed that there is now throughout the whole of Persia no name or sign of such charitable foundations, though formerly, as, for instance, in the time of Ibn Battutah, such institutions were to be found in every town, hamlet and village...there exists now not a single monastery throughout the whole of Persia, while in those parts of Turkey, such as Mesopotamia, Kurdistan and Sulaymaniyya, which did not remain under the Safawi dominion, there are many such buildings just as there were in Ibn Battuta's days.' The letter appears in E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), Vol. IV, pp. 26-7.

9 Fazlur Rahman, for instance, calls Findiriski a Peripatetic philosopher, which, given his preponderance for Sufi practices, is a questionable qualification. See his *The Philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1976), p. 1.

10 Fathullaj Mujtabai, *Hindu Muslim Cultural Relations* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 82; Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* Vol. IV, pp. 257-8.

11 For Mir Damad and his intellectual milieu, see Hamid Dabashi, 'Mir Damad and the Founding of the "School of Isfahan"' in *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (London: Routledge, 1996), Vol. 1, pp. 597-634.

12 Toshihiko Izutsu, Mahdi Mohaghegh and Fazlur Rahman have published a number of studies on Mir Damad. We are, however, still far from having a comprehensive analysis of his ideas. For some of the current literature, see Hamid Dabashi, *op. cit.*; F. Rahman, 'Mir Damad's Concept of *Huduth Dahri*: A Contribution to the Study of God-World Relationship Theories in Safavid Iran' *Near Eastern Studies* 39 (1980), 139-151; and Izutsu's English Introduction to *Kitab al-Qabasat*, ed. with an introduction by Mehdi Mohaghegh, Toshihiko Izutsu, 'Ali Musawi Bihbahani and Ibrahim Dibaji (Tehran, 1977). See also S. H. Nasr, 'The School of Isfahan' in *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, ed. by M. M. Sharif, Vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrasowitz, 1966), pp. 904-932, reprinted in *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*, ed. by Mehdi Amin Razavi (Curzon Press, 1996), pp. 239-270.

13 For Baha' al-Din Amili, see Nasr, 'The School of Isfahan', and Dabashi, *op. cit.*

14 Browne draws attention to the same fact when he compares Sadra with the '*qishri*' (exoterist) 'ulama' of his time, to which most of the *akhbaris* belong. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

15 *Asfar*, I, 1, p. 4.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

17 It is in more than one place that Sadra refers to his spiritual experiences as a way of attaining the ultimate meaning of philosophical truth that he has learnt from books. In some cases, he even mentions dreams and divine illuminations as the only solution of the problem he deliberates upon. In the *Asfar*, 7, p. 255, for instance, he speaks of his own personal experience in solving the problem of the soul, referring to the illumination of his soul by the Divine light, and comparing his experience to Suhrawardi's celebrated dream of Aristotle, in which the First Teacher instructs Suhrawardi on the primacy of self-knowledge. For Suhrawardi's dream, see his *Kitab al-Talwihat, Oeuvres Philosophiques et Mystiques*, ed. by Henry Corbin, (Tehran-Paris, 1976), Tome I, pp. 70-74. Sadra quotes Suhrawardi's dream in the *Asfar*, Vol. III, p. 376.

18 *Asfar*, pp. 7-8.

19 Quoted in S. J. Ashtiyani, *Sharh-i hal wa ara-yi falsafi-yi Mulla Sadra*, p. 243.

20 *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, (London: Luzac, 1908) p. 175 where Iqbal says that 'philosophy of Sadra is the source of the metaphysics of early Babiism' without presenting any concrete evidence.

21 *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 430. Browne remains content with only quoting Iqbal on the issue.

22 *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (GAL), (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), II. Supplement, p. 588 where Brockelmann says that '... an seine [i.e., Sadra's] Metaphysik knupfte der Grunder der Saihisekte, Saih A. Ahsa'i, seine Lehre an, und auf dieser fusste wieder die Theosophie des Bab'.

23 Corbin, *Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques* (Teheran: Institut Francais d'Iranologie de Téhéran, 1982), p. 20.

24 See, Nasr, 'The Qur'anic Commentaries of Mulla Sadra' in *Being and Consciousness: Studies in Memory of Toshihiko Izutsu*, ed. by S. J. Ashtiyani, H. Matsubara, T. Iwami, A. Matsumoto (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 1998) reprinted in the revised edition of *Sadr al-Din Shirazi and His Transcendent Theosophy* (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1997), Chapter 7, pp. 123-135; L. Peerwani, "Qur'anic Hermeneutics: The Views of Sadr al-Din Shirazi" *British Society for Middle East Studies Proceedings*, 1991, pp. 468-477; Muhammad Hossein Khamanei, *Principles of Interpretation and Qur'anic Hermeneutics According to Mulla Sadra* (London: Islamic Studies Press, 1999). Muhsin Salih has completed a Ph.D. Thesis entitled *The Verse of*

Light: A Study of Mulla Sadra's Philosophical Qur'an Exegesis, Temple University, 1993. In Arabic, the work of Muhammad Khwajawi, who has edited and published all of Sadra's Qur'anic commentaries in 7 vols., is the most important source. His edition is titled *Tafsir al-qur'an al-karim* (Qum: Bidar Press, 1366-1369/1987-1990). See also his *Lawami' al-arifin fi ahwal Sadr al-muta'allihin* (Tehran: Ariyan Press, 1366/1987).

25 For the manuscript references, see *Kitab shinasi-yi jami'-yi Mulla Sadra*, Nahid Baqiri Khurram-dashti with Fatimah 'Asghari (Tehran: Bunyad-i Hikmat-i Islami-yi Sadra, 1378/1999), pp. 29-34.

26 Ibid., pp. 39-43.

27 Ibid., pp. 43-47.

28 Ibid., p. 74.

29 Ibid., pp. 77-81.

30 Ibid., 76-77.

31 Henry Corbin, *Le Livre des pénétrations métaphysiques*, p. 38.

32 Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Jilwah is of this opinion. See Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

33 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-96.

34 Ibid., pp. 38-39.

35 Ibid., pp. 35-37.

36 Ibid., 53-56.

37 Ibid., pp. 57-59.

38 Ibid., pp. 51-53.

39 Ibid., pp. 64-66.

40 Ibid., p. 72.

41 Ibid., pp. 60-62.

42 Ibid., pp. 69-71.

43 Ibid., pp. 48-51.

44 Ibid., p. 99. See also pp. 96-98 for references to other short *hadith* commentaries.

45 Isfahani, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Both Sadra and Ghilani must have been Mir Damad's students around the same time. In any case, there appears to be a close relationship between the two as Sadra has dedicated his *Huduth al-'alam* to Mulla Shamsa-yi Ghilani who had asked the foregoing five questions after a close examination of the *Asfar*.

46 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8; Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

47 Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

48 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

49 Ibid., pp. 237-9.

50 Isfahani, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

51 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-7.

52 Ibid., pp. 241-245; Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

53 For a more detailed discussion of the contents of the *Asfar*, see Nasr, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-68.

54 Corbin, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2.

55 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-166. See also pp. 166-176 for the manuscript information on the commentaries and glosses written upon the *Asfar*.

56 Ibid., pp. 136-9; Nasr, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.

57 Ibid., pp. 124-7.

58 Ibid., pp. 111-3.

59 Ibid., pp. 114-6; Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

60 Ibid., pp. 106-7; Nasr, *op. cit.*, 42.

61 Ibid., p. 301.

62 Isfahani, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

63 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9.

64 Ibid., pp. 278-286.

65 Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

66 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-1.

67 For Ahmad Ahsa'i and other commentators, see Henry Corbin, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

68 Corbin's edition and translation also contains a detailed survey on Sadra, the *Masha'ir* and its philosophical significance. See Corbin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-86.

- 69 Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-217.
70 Ibid., pp. 291-2.
71 Ibid., pp. 274-7.
72 Ibid., pp. 177-8.
73 For the glosses written upon Sadra's *Sharh*, see *ibid.*, pp. 191-198.
74 Ibid., pp. 180-191.
75 Ibid., pp. 258-270.
76 Ibid., pp. 104-5.
77 Ibid., pp. 130-133.
78 Ibid., pp. 298-9.
79 Ibid., pp. 128-9.
80 Ibid., pp. 229-232.
81 Ibid., pp. 292-3.
82 *Sih asl*, ed. by S. H. Nasr, (Tehran: 1340 (A. H. Lunar); third edition, 1377 (A. H. Lunar)), pp. 117-134.
83 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 589.
84 Nasr, *Sadr al-Din Shirazi and His Transcendent Theosophy.*, p. 50.
85 Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
86 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 589.
87 Ashtiyani, *Sharh-i hal wa ara-yi falsafi-yi Mulla Sadra*, p. 267. For some other minor works attributed to Sadra, see Khurram-dashti, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-331.
88 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 589.