Mulla Šadrā’s
Life, Character, and
Philosophy
Vol. 1

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Throughout history, Iran has been the cradle and origin of scholars, presenting to the world some of her unparalleled scholars. Each of them has played an undeniable role in the advancement of philosophy and other disciplines, accelerating the movement of human civilization and upgrading the Iranian culture. Among these brilliant stars of the sky of science and thought, there are certain stars of the first magnitude, whose role is very significant. For instance, philosophers like Fārābī, Ibn-Sinā, Suhrawardī (Shaykh al-Ishrāq), Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and Sadr al-Dīn Moḥammamed Qawāmī Shirāzī (entitled as Sadr al-Muta’allihin, and known as Mullā Šadrā) are among these stars. The nearest of these figures to our time is Mullā Šadrā (11th A. H lunar century). However, he is the most widely known philosopher only among philosophers and the students of Islamic philosophy and those who are interested in his philosophy. A great deal of such ignorance is due to the works of historians, who led this bright star of the sky of knowledge to remain in obscurity. Iranian and Muslim scholars are to reintroduce to the world, or at least to the Iranians, this great and erudite scholar - who, apart from establishing a new school in philosophy, is also a prominent figure, qualified to the best human characteristics. Thus, the writers should shed a new light on his contribution in introducing the Islamic ideas and Imāmiyyah beliefs to the opponents, and establishing a new and firm school of thought - which could be called purely Islamic and Iranian philosophy.
Introduction

To write about the lives of great figures, particularly if they are philosophers, is a tremendous task, for man’s life is not restricted to palpable and physical phenomena of his life, but true life of everyone, apart from his conducts, comprises his understandings, thoughts, sentiments, sorrows and his spiritual and mental reactions as well. Accordingly, in order to write biographies of others in detail, all their reflections, sentiments, spiritual and mental reactions should be taken into account, and obviously this is an enormous, and to some extent impossible, task.

After all, man is in a position to unveil mentalities of others and reconstruct them by referring to general mentalities and common sense of the human being, particularly if imagination comes to involve itself. In this book, first of all, we admit our weakness to introduce such a great philosopher like Mullâ Sadrâ. And despite all what we have drawn from evidence as well as our imagination, we still think that this writing suffers from certain shortcomings; it may, however, prompt the reader, who is familiar to philosophy, to approach this philosopher, with the help of his own knowledge as well as this book, and even initiate an inner dialogue with him, and then to hear what we were not able to hear from him.

This book constitutes the first part of Mullâ Sadrâ’s biography, and comprises three parts. The present book is devoted to his life. The second part concerns his personality, and the third part, covers his school. In this very part, however, in addition to the life of this great philosopher, we will become familiar with his personality, and even we will touch his school as well.
Many philosophers, such as Pythagoras and philosophers before and after him till Socrates, Plato down to Plotinus, are mentioned in histories of philosophy. Among Muslim philosophers also there were great figures such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Suhrāwardī, Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Mīr Dāmād. All of them were Iranian, and among the great architects of Islamic philosophy. Mullā Ṣadrā, however, had certain characteristics which were not found in Iranian and Muslim philosophers, or in philosophers of Europe in the medieval ages and after it. One of the most important characteristics of Mullā Ṣadrā is fullness of his school.

Mullā Ṣadrā’s school employed befittingly positive points of the Peripatetic (Mashshā'), Illuminationist (Ishrāq), kalāmī schools of thought as well as Islamic mysticism and the Holy Quran and Ḥadīth, and other characteristic of this school is that, it is not only a synthesis of other schools but an independent school that while being similar to previous ones, had certain fundamental differences from them as well. He brought about certain principles in order to construct a perfect system.

Other characteristic of Mullā Ṣadrā’s school is that it is a dynamic school, which even today after four centuries, it can interplay with other philosophical thoughts; in other words, it can help them to attain perfection and remove their weak points.

Globalization of this school, thus, provides us with tiding news that, in future, philosophical thoughts which are today far from each other, will be brought closer, and human kind will find a secure base and sit on a safe foothold.

Mullā Ṣadrā is a philosopher and speaks in a rational and logical manner; he is, however, at the same time, a Pythagorean and Illuminationist theosopher who pays much attention to inner vision, which is achieved through spiritual asceticism.

He is a philosopher, who apart from believing in intuition and rational argument, considers Islam and what is revealed to the Holy Prophet as the highest truth. Furthermore, he is of the view that there are only one truth in world, and what are said by reason, religion and intuition, have in fact the same message, and there is no inconsistencies between the three sources, and they all confirm each other.
These characteristics as well as other points, which we will read in future about him, have made him an unparalleled figure. In his philosophy, not only the Illuminationist philosophy but also a philosophy of 3000 years age can be found. In his writings as well as in his philosophical works, he never aim at flaunting or rejecting others, but he did so, in the first step, to promote the world-view of men in general and his own disciples in particular, and to keep the Divine teachings far remote from fallacy and error, guide those who yearn for new thoughts and philosophy, and finally lead them to the highest degree of happiness, that is God’s consent. That is why in all Mullâ Sadra’s books, a fatherly, wise, and even prophet-like tone is seen; the tone of one who tries to transfer his own experiences to his young offspring.

Mullâ Sadra is among the prolific philosopher, and wrote about 45 books and treatises. His most famous book, called Asfâr or Hikmat al-muta ’aliyyah is in Arabic and in 9 volumes, and is published several times. In philosophy, logic, philosophical commentary upon the Holy Quran as well as philosophical annotation upon famous collections of Hadith, he wrote some books. He wrote some glosses upon well-known books of philosophy such as “Metaphysics of al-Shifâ” and the Qub al-Din Shirâzi’s commentary upon Hikmat al-ishrâq of Suhrawardi, and this shows his superiority to these two great philosophers.

Similarly, his books underwent an evolutionary process in the course of time. His early books are more classic ones and closer to the traditional philosophy, while his later books are mostly epitomes, and in fact comprises the lists of his own intellectual principles. Among ordinary issues of philosophy, he emphasized mostly on two main points, one the Origin, that is metaphysics, theology, and God’s attributes and effects, and the other resurrection, that is anthropology of the soul, and showing man’s evolutionary stages down to death, then to the Day of Resurrection and after it.

Not only for the philosophical centers of world but also for philosophers and scholars in other countries, he was unknown, and ordinary people almost did not know him at all. But following the World Congress on Mullâ Sadra held in Tehran (Iran) at May 1999, most of philosophical institutes, faculties and departments of philosophy throughout the world
became familiar with him. Dozens of participants, having come from all areas of the world to Iran, were acquainted with the philosophy and character of this philosopher, and many of them have chosen Mullā Sadrā’s philosophy as themes of their own research works. Unlike the past, Mullā Sadrā is no more an unknown philosopher; at present, he is at the top of the list of philosophers. In the light of his books and thoughts, contemporary and philosophers as well as those to come can attain fruitful consequences.

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The content of this book first appeared in form of articles in the philosophical quarterly, “Kheradnameh”, published in Iran in Persian along with abstracts in English, and still continues.

That is why the author has not found an opportunity to discuss in more detail. The author hopes this book will pave the way for scholars, and philosophers in general and young students in the field of history of philosophy in particular to continue this research, and introduce this great philosopher and his school in more detail.

S. M. Khamenei
Philosophy and Its Educational and Social Function

If we personify society, as it is common, it will be possible to think of institutions and organizations as her organs; furthermore, we can postulate thought, insight, and knowledge for “her”.

Every society, apart from its members’ individual knowledge, has also some kind of general and common knowledge, which is often referred to as “society's culture”. At a certain juncture, this very culture appears as the “public opinion”.

Evidently, people's voluntary behavior stems from their culture; in other words, a person's behavior is a mirror of his culture. Similarly, society's culture and the way of thinking make up its collection of behaviors. What represents the common idea of the majority of people or the public opinion in every social or political event is the “social reaction”.

Hence, every society's social behavior depends on the long-standing culture of its members. In return, the culture of society's members could be appraised through studying the social events and their collective activities.

Also, based on this “behavior-making” culture, we can maintain personality (or as psychologists say: characteristics) for a society. As a criterion, it helps us divide human societies into developed and underdeveloped, civilized, uncivilized and good or bad societies. The major question that to be answered is “what makes up the culture of human societies?”. 
Revealed religions and the prophets have undoubtedly played the most important role in the development of human culture and civilization throughout the history. The intellectuals and scholars of a society, too, have had a determining role in building the culture of human societies. Their tongues and pens enable them to infiltrate sagacious ideas into a society in the form of pieces of advice, lessons, and historical examples.

According to the history of human civilization and culture, the more a society has had sages and scholars (who introduced the wisdom to society through their writings and sayings), the stronger the personality and behavior of that society have been.

The weak personality of some western societies is to be blamed due to the lack of true intellectuals within those societies. Evidently, if there are, instead of true sages, psychopath ones – deviated psychically and intellectually -, who promote misleading teachings, they will exercise certain influences on their societies. These influences may cause a society consisted of deviated and inhumane ones to appear. Such a society poses a serious threat to humanity, and that is exactly what is happening in some countries that are under the corruptive impacts of their so-called open-minded men, who are mostly racist or followers of the false and deviated form of Judaism or Christianity.

A glance at the history of culture and civilization may reveal the profound effect of Islamic and Quranic thought and wisdom on the minds of all members of the Muslim *Ummah* (community). This divine and human-making culture has been manifested as “wisdom”, leaving a lasting influence on the efforts of Muslim scholars in the Islamic society in general and in Iran in particular.

Islam during the last 14 centuries after this pervasive, sublime, life-making, and hope-giving culture has provided the best human teachings for people, through Persian literature.

Wisdom (*hikmah*), as some people might think is not an activity, restricted to schools, being detached from the outside world. Although sages and scholars spend their lifetime at schools or in their homes, they act as the roots, which bring life to the body of a tree. Their private endeavors bear fruits, appearing as the culture of a society.
Eastern culture owes its comprehensiveness to the revealed religions as well as the enlightening efforts of its prominent figures. The effect of these teaching could be seen in the social and political behaviors of these societies over the centuries.

As mentioned earlier, wisdom and intellectual sciences, which are emerged as Quranic philosophy and mysticism, had a bright history in Iran and, to some extent, in other Islamic countries. It can, therefore, be concluded that ethics (which, under the title of practical wisdom is a branch of philosophy) unlike western societies, is not a theoretical problem only making scholars and writers busy. Rather, it is viewed as a solid social institution that influences people's social conduct (thanks to the impact of “wisdom” through philosophy and literature) and, consequently, their ordinary lives.

This signifies the crucial role of the wise men and intellectuals of a society and the duty of every community in identification and commemoration of such figures.

Any negligence towards the historical and cultural background of a nation and their outstanding figures will definitely affect their socio-cultural understanding.

Mullā Sadrā is one of those great and unparalleled historical figures who, through his dynamic school- in which, he combined logic with shariʿah, mysticism with demonstration and the Quranic wisdom with human thought- not only promoted the Iranian culture, thought and wisdom, enriched the intellectual sciences and represented the Quranic teachings inherited from the holy Prophet's household; but also freed philosophy from the Aristotelian and Greek dominance. He has founded a school of wisdom, based on human nature, Islamic wisdom and mysticism derived from the Holy Quran and ḥadīth. In this way, he shared the glory of his nation and religion throughout the world. Hence, Mullā Ṣadrā's valuable heritage can be rightfully considered as an Islamic or even Shiʿi-Iranian philosophical system.

In order to lead the society to the right path of morals, human and Islamic conduct, and for the sake of the health of the members of society, the leaders of the society should maintain this valuable heritage and spare no effort to familiarize the present, and coming generations with it.
Mullā Sadrā’s Life

Sadr al-Din Mohammed Qawmi Shirazi, known as Mullā Sadrā, was the only son of a well-known and highly respected family who were well-known for their piety and beneficence and occupied governmental positions in Shirāz, the capital of Fārs province.

His father, Khwājah Ibrāhīm Ibn Yahyā Qawāmi who reportedly was a provincial minister, had no offspring. Having sought help from God through prayers and vows for years— he was granted a son, and named him Moḥammed and then nicknamed Sadr al-Din (the head of religion) with the hope that he would achieve high religious status. He was also called Mullā Sadrā.

Fārs province and its capital Shirāz was, at time, a peaceful and prosperous state, and her governor Moḥammed Mirzā Khudābandah, a brother of the Safavid Ismā’il II, was a supporter of religious scholars, and the people of science and pen. Mullā Sadrā’s father, Khwājah Ibrāhīm Qawāmi held a creditable position in the government and among the people.

The Qawāmi family, besides its political position, lived a quite comfortable life, and evidently Mullā Sadrā must have spent his childhood and youth in peace and comfort. His date of birth could be regarded as 979 A.H./1571 A.D. (or early 980 A.H./1572 A.D.), for in his commentary on the chapter of “Union of intellect and intelligible” (ittiḥād al-‘āqil wa’l ma’qūl) of “Asfār”, as well as in his commentary on al-Mashā’ir (1037 A.H./1627 A.D.), he recorded his age at 58 years old. So, the year 979 A.H. is considered as his date of birth.
In an introduction to Mullā Sadrā’s book, Henry Corbin writes that, ‘Allāmah Tabātabā’i, while editing Asfār, found a marginal note, written by Mullā Ṣadrā in the section of “Union of Intellect and Intelligible”. In this note, he writes: “The date of this effusion and illumination is the morning of Friday, Jamādi al-Awwal 7, 1037 (A. H.) (January 14, 1628 A. D.), when I am 58 years old”. Taking these figures into account, we reach 979 A. H. for his date of birth, easily.

Also, Mullā Ṣadrā completed his commentary on the “kitāb al-‘ilm” of Ṣūl al-kāfī, in 1044 A. H/1634 A.D. In commentary on the ḥadīth 239 of the Kitāb al-tawḥīd written after the aforementioned book, while commenting on the ḥadīth “There was God and nothing with Him”, he wrote:

“... Among the intricate sciences that I have ever seen, in my 65 years life, no one who is aware of it...”

If he wrote the “kitāb al-tawḥīd”, during the year after he wrote “al-‘ilm”, we could conclude that his date of birth is 979 A. H. From the commentary on Chapter al-Ṭāriq, also, this figure could be reached.1

As mentioned earlier, the year 979 A.H. coincided with the rule of the Safavid prince Moḥammad Mirzā who, 6 years later, succeeded Shāh Ismā’īl II as Iran’s ruler (Ramaḍān, 985 A.H./ November, 1577 A.D.).

While in Shirāz, the prince, because of his meek and mild (and even weak) nature, posed no threat to the king and was, therefore, allowed to establish an autonomous rule in Fārs province and keep it away from interventions of the king and his ministers- and in brief, central government. According to an accepted tradition, a relatively autonomous government administrated this province.

The so-called autonomous province had a chief minister and a number of secondary ministers, including Mullā Ṣadrā’s father. Fārs maintained her autonomy at the time of Shāh ‘Abbās I, under the rule of Allāhwirdī Khān and his son, Imāmqul Khān. In addition to have taken advantage of favorable social position of his family, Mullā Ṣadrā was an exceptionally talented boy, for whom a successful future was expected.

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1 Bidārfar, Muqaddamah bar Mullā Ṣadrā’s tafsīr, vol. 1, p. 1, p. 12.
From his very childhood, his father expected a bright social or scientific future for him.

As reported, on the eve of journeys, his father assigned him to take care of household affairs, proving the son’s capability to bear such a responsibility and to succeed in these examinations. Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Zanjānī, a well–known researcher, in an essay on Mullā Sadrā says: “His father once asked him to run his business affairs but upon returning home was surprised to find out that his son had donated a comparatively large amount of money (3 Tūmāns, every one Tūmān, 10000) to needy, only in one day. The money, surprisingly, was exactly as much as Mullā Sadrā’s father had given to the poor when he was born.

When father asked for the reason, his wise son answered that “This is what you should pay for your offspring”.

Apart from reliability of this story, what is certain is his wonderful talent accompanied by taste, poetical gift, and power of reasoning. His conduct and sayings suggest his piety and commitment to the rules of shari‘ah, discretions (mustaḥabbāt) and obligations (wājibāt). In addition to wisdom, logic, philosophy and philosophical and mystical insight, all his books reflect his sincerity, belief in shari‘ah and the rules of shar‘, and his commitment to them.

**Mullā Šadrā in His Early Youth**

Mullā Šadrā must have received very good education and training in his early youth, as it was customary among noble families to provide their children with the best teachers and educational facilities. Child, at the age of 7 or below, would attend tutorial classes at home to learn the Quran and write Fārsī.

Mullā Sadrā, his father, and his family had peculiar characteristics: Mullā Sadrā was talented, intelligent and zealous to learn and, last but not the least, the sole offspring of his father. His father who himself was a learned man and among the patrons of learning, preferred the position of a

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Mullā Ṣadrā’s Life, Character…

scholar for his only son, who was probably granted to him at the old age. His father would naturally spare no effort to realize his wish of raising Mullā Ṣadrā to the highest level attainable by scientists and scholars.

The scholarly atmosphere of Shirāz, which was particularly in that time the cradle of science and literature and even sometimes her villagers attained high culminations of science and literature, may be regarded as the third reason. Thanks to effort of his father and the tutors chosen by father for him, Mullā Ṣadrā became acquainted with Persian and Arabic literatures. His works reflect his admirable command of the both languages. His frequent reference to the Quranic verses is also indicative of the fact that he must have remembered the Holy Quran- or, at least, a great part of it- by heart. This seems to be natural; since most families at that time awarded their children for memorizing the Holy Quran and poems.

As it was common, students who successfully passed Persian and Arabic literatures, instead of attending traditional schools or tutorial classes, would continue their studies at seminaries (theological schools).

Mullā Ṣadrā also entered the well-known circles of learning of time and began to study the sciences of semantic, figurative expression, and rhetoric- three branches of Arabic literature--; and theology, the science of ḥadīth, rijāl and criticism of muḥaddithūn-, which are technical procedure to derive the religious rules.

Though no one of the great scholars stayed in Shirāz, and the eminent figures of the school of Shirāz, such as Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtaki, had emigrated to the capital of Safavid (Qazwin or Isfahān) and although, no name of the scholars who were teaching novices in Shirāz had been heard, in a seminary with a long history there were certainly scholars though in lower levels.1

It is, therefore, much likely that Mullā Ṣadrā learned all what is called in our time “Ṣafīḥ”, i.e. the intermediate courses of Islamic sciences- consisted of a course in semi-demonstrative jurisprudence, at least a course

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1 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Dashtaki, according to the history books, resigned from the premiership, because of his disputes with Muḥaqiq Karakī. Then he left Qazwin (or Isfahān) for Shirāz. There he went on to teach in Manṣūrīyyah school (which had been built for him). He lived down to 940 A.H/1533 A.D.; and naturally some of his students were alive in the time of Mullā Ṣadrā, teaching their own disciples.
in jurisprudence, logic, theology (which was, then, very popular), Peripatetic philosophy, commentary on the Holy Quran, science of ḥadīth, contextual study of ḥadīth, ‘ilm al-rijāl of muḥaddithūn- in his early youth, in Shirāz.

Textbooks varied in each period, and those that are taught today at seminaries (in the course of “ṣaḥḥ”) were either of less importance or had not yet come into existence; a limited number of sources including Muḥaqiq Hīlī’s Sharāyi’ (Religious Laws), or some works of ‘Allāmah Hīlī might have been studied by the students; *Lum’ah* and its commentary (written by Shāhīd Thānī) were not yet so popular.

On the ūṣūl al-fiqh, Ibn-Hajib’s “Mukhtasār”, Sayyid Murtiḍā’s “Dhari’ah”, Shaykh Ṭūsī’s “Uddah”, and the works of Muḥaqiq Ḥīlī and ‘Allāmah Hīlī can be assumed to have been taught.

Similarly, in addition to *Kubrā* and *Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* with its commentary, Qūṭb al-Dīn Shirāẕī’s *Durrat al-Taj* and Ibn- Sīnā’s *al-Nijat* and *Isharat* have been probably studied in higher levels in logic.

The atmosphere of the school of Shirāz, which was under the influence of Qūṭb al-Dīn Shirāẕī the author of *Sharḥ ḥikmat al- ishrāq* (Glosses upon the Philosophy of the Orient of Light of Suhrawardī), confirms that works and texts by Suhrawardī and Qūṭb al-Dīn Shirāẕī were studied in Shirāz.

Unlike the prevalent procedures at the present seminaries, the study domain of students of Islamic sciences spanned other disciplines such as medicine, mathematics and astronomy, and even some unpopular sciences. The intellectual sciences, i.e. logic, theology and philosophy, which were among the fundamental sciences, were regarded necessary in order to strengthen the foundation of religious sciences.

The school of Shirāz inherited the legacy of the school of Marāğhah, and was founded by Kāṭībī Qazwīnī, Qūṭb al-Dīn Shirāẕī and disciples of Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī, and the like. It is much likely that in Shirāzās as in Qazwīn, the then capital and center of scholars, philosophers, mathematicians, astronomers, and physicians, mathematics and related sciences were popular.

From the point, made by Mullā Sadrā, in the preface of his *Asfār*: “I have spent all my energy, from the very beginning of my youth, to study the
Divine philosophy” (*Asfūr*; 4/1); it can be concluded that he began to study wisdom and philosophy in Shirāz or Qazwin. We cannot estimate how long it might have taken one to pass each of the elementary and intermediate courses; for, time required to study all, or most, of books of the intermediary course in traditional and intellectual sciences, depended on personal endeavor on the part of students. Hence, we cannot determine the years, Mullā Ṣadrā spent in studying in these courses in Shirāz or Qazwin. Consequently, the next stage of his life is ambiguous, and there is no clue as to when Mullā Ṣadrā left Shirāz for Iṣfahān.

**Emigration from Shirāz**

Mullā Ṣadrā was born in Shirāz, in a period in which the glorious school of philosophy and theology of Shirāz- began from the 7th century A.H., and apparently from time of Ḥūb al-Dīn Shirāzi- that lasted for 2 centuries was no longer in existence.

Mullā Ṣadrā came into existence when great theologians and philosophers such as Qāḍī ‘Adud al-Dīn Ījī, the author of *Mawāqif al-kalām*, Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurgānī, ‘Allāmah of his time, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī; Sadr al-Dīn Dashtaki, his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mansūr and dozens of other famous philosophers and theologians- who later inspired Mullā Ṣadrā to found his school of the transcendent philosophy- had passed away, and of nothing had remained but names and books of them. The school of Qazwin overshadowed this great school of the intellectual sciences, *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, mathematics, astronomy and medicine. The treasure of the school of Shirāz was inherited by this newly-established school and scholars such as Khafrī, Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mansūr, Fakhr al-Dīn Sammākī, Shaykh ‘Alī Karaki, his sons and disciples, Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn, Mīr Findīriskī, Mīrzā Jān, Shulistānī, and dozens of Iranian (or Lebanese) philosophers, jurisprudents, and mathematicians.

Throughout the rule of Mongols and uncivilized tribes of Turkistan, only Fārs province remained secure. The school of Shirāz owed its glory to this regional security prevailing in the autonomous Fārs province that hosted scholars who fled Mongolian rule. After the fall of Mongolian government,
though the local wars had made the country insecure, scholars of Mongolian court, and disciples of Khwâjah Naæír al-Dîn Ìêsí, Kâtibí, and Quüb al-Dîn Shirâzî chose this secure province to study and teach.

Now after the fall of Mongolian government and other small governments, the rise of Shi’î Safavid dynasty, who were patrons of learning, brought tranquility and security to all of Iran. Despite the occasional invasions made by Eastern uncivilized tribes and bloodthirsty Ottoman rulers, and disobedience of some Christian rulers of Armenia and Georgia, tranquility and security prevailed throughout the country. Great scholars, philosophers, jurisprudents, poets and artists from all points of Iran, left their hometowns for the main governmental centers such as Tabriz, Qazwin, Ìsfâhàn and Khurâsân. The Safavid kings did much honor to scholars, philosophers and jurisprudents; hence, their courts became a center for them.

The prosperous situation inside Iran, persuaded scholars, and in particular, great Shi’î jurisprudents who lived under the zealous Ottoman governors and witnessed that Shi’î scholars’ had being killed by them (such as Shâhid Awwal (the first martyr) and Shâhid Thânî (the second martyr), in Lebanon), to immigrate to the Iran. A number of these scholars such as Shaykh Bahâ’î, his father, and Muåaqiq Thânî, Shaykh ‘Alî Karâkî- who earlier lived in Lebanon– were granted senior positions in Safavid government.

The Safavid capitals grew at the expense of the school of Shirâz’s decline. In about the last years of the 10th century, which was simultaneous with the reign of Shâh ‘Abbâs the Great, the young Mullâ Sadrâ left Qazwin for Ìsfâhàn. This city, which was then the capital of the one of the most glorious Iranian governments, was about to bring into being the greatest philosopher of the world and present a supreme school to the world.

The history of science is, to a great extent, subject to the political situation of time. Science and wisdom have always prospered under powerful central governments. In time of rulers who brings security, science grows more than ever.

Though a young man almost as young as our sage Mullâ Sadrâ, Shâh ‘Abbâs (born in 978 A. H./1570 A.D.) had managed to prepare such an
appropriate ground for scientific and scholarly contributions. He, like his predecessors, paid great respect to the scholars like Shaykh Bahá’í and Mir Dámdá, to whom he delegated high positions in his court.

Sháh ‘Abbás appointed Shaykh Bahá’í as the chief of religious affairs or “Shaykh al- Islám”, and Shaykh Lutfílláh ‘Ámílí Lúnání as the court’s prayer leader. The mosque he built in the latter’s honor, in the Sháh ‘Abbás Square of Iṣfahan, demonstrates the magnificent oriental and Islamic architecture.

The presence of these two famous scholars in Iṣfahan attracted many enthusiastic Iranians and foreigners - whether among scholars or among students - to the then capital.

The great respect paid to the prolific scholars such as Shaykh Bahá’í, Mir Dámdá and the like turned the central Iranian city into the greatest center for jurisprudence and philosophy. This school was also credited for intellectual sciences, which in time of Fárábí, Ibn-Síná, and Khwájah Nasîr did not belong to any particular school. The school of Iṣfahan was the center of intellectual sciences for a long time.

An interesting point in the history of the science of jurisprudence and wisdom is that, contrary to what became popular later (in the middle or last period of the Safavid reign), there was always a close relation, and even inter-dependence, between intellectual sciences (i.e. philosophy, theology, and logic) and transmitted sciences (i.e. jurisprudence and its branches.)

History tells that whenever at a school theology and philosophy grow, jurisprudence and religious sciences also grow. As a result, whether at the schools of Baghdad, Najaf, Hillah in Iraq, or the schools of Damascus, Egypt, and Andalusia, in the west, or the schools of Hirat, Bukhára, Samarkand, and Tús in the east; or the schools of Ray, Tabriz, Marághah, Qazwin, Shiráz, and Iṣfahan and the like which were, in turn, the centers of wisdom, philosophy, logic and other disciplines were developed remarkably.

The idea of incompatibility of philosophy and religion, and victimizing reason in favor of tradition (or shari’ah) originated from an idea which was incompatible to the Shi’í thought. This idea was developed by two muḥaddithên of Astarábâd, in Safavid period, and sowed the seed of dissidence and discord for centuries among the Shi’í seminaries; in fact, this
current (i.e. disunity) emerged from a long-standing debate between Ash’ari mutakallimūn and Mu’tazali ones, or more precisely, between Ash’arism and Mu’tazalism.

This debate logically put rationalism against religious traditionalism, and created several jurisprudential schools (in non-Shi’i sects) that discussed intellectual problems through some inadequate procedures such as some controversial ḥadīth.

The situation was quite different in the Shi’i jurisprudence, theology and philosophy. The Shi’i Imams who were of the Prophet’s household, in their authentic ḥadīth spoke of jurisprudence and wisdom as two closely inter-related disciplines. They discussed the most intricate philosophical problems as well as the minor juridical rules. Like the Holy Quran that calls the people to jurisprudence, intellection, and contemplation, they also recalled the believers and their Shi’is (followers) to demonstrative thought. Even, in tradition of the earlier jurisprudents, the term ‘fiqh’ (jurisprudence) was applied both to philosophy and minor (and practical) rules. Sometimes, to distinguish them from each other, the science of jurisprudence was called “the minor jurisprudence” (fiqh-i aṣghar).

This consistency and association between two kinds of jurisprudence (major and minor), the attention of Shi’i theologians to the reason and its role in knowledge as well as their belief in the religious rules made great Shi’i jurisprudents distinguished from philosophers of their period as well. In addition to their works in jurisprudence, they compiled certain books in philosophy or theology. This tradition even influenced some non-Shi’i scholars and led them to do so.

In the light of his association of the intellectual sciences (al-‘ulūm al-aqli) and transmitted ones (al-‘ulūm al-naqli) in Iranian Shi’i centers, the greatest jurisprudents of the Safavid time were always, or at least in most cases, the greatest philosophers, as well. For example Shaykh Bahāʿīmili and Mir Dāmād were, on the one hand, the main jurisprudents of the Safavid government, and possessed the highest status in wisdom and intellectual sciences on the other.

Because of the favorite attitudes of kings, both intellectual and transmitted sciences attained high statuses. Seminaries, in which some other
sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, and engineering were taught as well, focused mostly upon jurisprudence and wisdom.

This trend continued until the end of Safavid era (prior to Shâh Sulțân Husayn and Mullâ Moḥammad Bāqir Majlisi), making Isfahân the center of scholars and students. As we said, this young center had overshadowed other centers.

Among the social phenomena in the Safavid era that should be studied was the centrality of jurisprudence and jurisprudents among the other disciplines for which, apart from certain scientific or religious reasons, there were some other unknown reasons.

This ever-increasing respect to the fuqahā could be witnessed in the letter of Shâh ‘Abbâs to Muqaddas Ardabîlî, or the other letter of Shâh Tahmâsb to Muḥaqiq Thâni Shaykh ‘Alî Karaki. Sometimes, Safavid kings called jurisprudents as the main rulers. Though probably rooted in their religious beliefs, this procedure could be regarded as a policy to keep the Muslim community in peace and unity. For among the Muslims in general and Iranians in particular, jurisprudents and religious scholars were always respected and considered as spiritual refuge for people. Furthermore, the main issues of public and private affairs (such as marry, divorce, land disputes, heritage...) were dealt by them.

The other benefit of the government’s inclination toward jurisprudents was that, they helped governments to organize and strengthen juridical system throughout the country.

Shâh Tahmâsb Safawi appointed the well-known jurisprudent, Muḥaqiq Karaki, to organize the judicial tribunals. The story of visit of this king with Fâḍîl Khafri- who was a philosopher dealt with judicial issues- was recorded in historical books.

Another politically-motivated incentive for the Safavid kings to respect jurisprudents was to disregard the Sufis who had helped them to succeed power.

Under the Safavid rule, Sufis were stronger more than ever and this group was a threat to the Safavid kings (since the time of Shâh Tahmâsb I onward); since they regarded themselves crown-giving ones, who had played a main role in the establishment of the Safavid rule. Unlike earlier periods,
now they were familiar with arms and had partisans among the soldiers and courtiers. Some of commanders and statesmen also were among Sufis.

This could be regarded as one of the reasons of the attention of Safavid kings in general, and Shàh Tahmàsb and Shàh ‘Abbàs in particular, to jurisprudents; for it was only this group that could mobilize people against enemies, or keep them at a distance from Sufis and Sufism.

In the history of ‘Àlam àrày-i ’abbàsì, “Sufi-killing” and “Huṟūfi-killing” events are described in details. In Tàríkh-i Shàh ‘Abbàs it is written that when Shàh ‘Abbàs learned that Sufis sought to ask his father to seat on throne, killed many of them (998 A.H./1589 A.D.) and exiled some others.

Traditionalism (akhbàrígarì) that caused a serious problem for jurisprudence and jurisprudents, was probably a political phenomenon in Safavid era to eliminate or weaken Sufism, that was prevalent in Iranian and Shi’i culture, and even throughout the then Turkey- ranged from Iraq, to Syria, to the northern Africa, to the present middle Asia- for centuries. As history witnesses Safavid kings attained their goal. To make himself independent of the martial power of Sufis (or Qizilbàsh) Shàh ‘Abbàs established an independent army, called “Shàhsuwan” (Royalist).

Opposition between these two currents (i.e. traditionalism and Sufism) reached its peak in time of Mullà Mohammed Bàqir Majlisi- Shaykh al-Islàm of the Sultàn Husayn’s era. This opposition could be seen even before this period, in the era of Shàh ‘Abbàs I- time of our sage, Mullà Sadrà). Even the great scholars, such as Mír Dàmàd, despite his social, political and scientific influence were afraid of traditionalism, for their philosophical and mystical ideas (which were of the theoretical nature) could be compatible with some issues of Sufis, and hence, traditionalist could misuse these discussions. Finally, this opposition made Mullà Sadrà seclude himself. Consequently, not only his life, but also the path of philosophy changed; and that “little evil” led to a “great good” which is the Quranic definition of the philosophy.2

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1 Dr. Nasrullah Falsafi.
2 “…and he unto whom wisdom is given, he truly hath received abundant good…”, the Holy Quran, 2:269.
Anyhow for years traditionalists were not an organized group against jurisprudents. In this period they lived under the title of muhaddithûn beside jurisprudents. Their opposition to Sufism was regarded as the opposition between jurisprudents and Sufis; and when Sufis were suppressed at the end of the Safavid period they turned against jurisprudents and fundamentalists.

Mullâ Sadrâ’s departure for Qazwín and Iæfahân coincided with such critical conditions. All those who have written the biographies of Mullâ Sadrâ are unanimous that he left Shíràz for Iṣfâhân. But, there is a document suggesting that Mullâ Sadrâ lived in the first years of the 11th century (and certainly in 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.) in Qazwín. This document being the manuscript produced by Mullâ Sadrâ from the original version of Ḥadîqah al-hilâliyyah of Shaykh Kâmîl Bahâ al-Dîn, should be taken into account in study of Mullâ Sadrâ’s life:

1- This treatise (risâlah) is a part of Ḥadîqah al-ṣâlihîn, in commenting on the Holy Scroll of Sajjâd -the fourth Imam, ‘Ali Ibn al-Husayn the Pride of those who worship God, and the chief of those who prostrate God. At the end of this treatise, the author writes:

“The copying of the book Ḥadîqah al-hilâliyyah of the book Hadiqah al-ṣâlihîn reached its end. Through the confirmation and help of God, this book is called Ḥadîqah al-ṣawmiyyah; and consisted of the commentaries on the supplications of Ramaḏân. This book reached its end when I was in the western part of Baghdad the tomb-sanctuaries of the two Kâzîm- may the most perfect peace be upon them. I began to copy the book in Jamâdi al-Awwal 1003 (1959, January) in the secured land of Qazwín. This poor author copied the book for the rich lord (Bahâ al-Dîn ‘Âmilî), may God turn his tomorrow better than yesterday; and the praise is restricted to God, who is the First, and the Last; the Outward and the Inward”.

From the original copy, written by the author, Mullâ Sadrâ produced a manuscript. At the end of his copy, Mullâ Sadrâ writes:

“May God increase your kindness; His hopeful servant, Qazwín, Dhi al-Hajjah, 1005 (1597, July)”, and at the margin he writes:

“This is the handwriting of the author, may God increase his kindness”. This document implies that Mullâ Sadrâ was studying in Qazwín
as a disciple of Shaykh Bahā’i, making copies of his books in 1005 A.H., and probably before that year. Perhaps, as it was common, he studied some of these books under Shaykh Bahā’i.

One year later, following the transfer of the Safavid capital of Qazwin to Iṣfahān; his master, he and other disciples left Qazwin for Iṣfahān. Therefore, there is no doubt in the fact that Mullā Sadrā lived in Iṣfahān since 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. What is unknown is the duration of his education in Qazwin and the date of his exit from Shiráz that should coincide, naturally, with the beginning of his education in Qazwin. Meanwhile, from the fact that Mullā Sadrā had been familiar with Shaykh Bahā before residence in Iṣfahān, unreliability of the story of his visit with Mīr Findiriskī in the public bath of Iṣfahān is deduced, unless we think that this visit occurred in Qazwin.

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Let us return to the then Iṣfahān that was about to become the most beautiful city, promoting the science and philosophy.

After the transfer of Safavid capital from Qazwin to Iṣfahān that Shāh ‘Abbās tried to make this city to grow with the help of engineers and artists, and prepare facilities for scholars and students, Iṣfahān changed her face; and disciples and those who were desirous of the science rushed to this city. Mullā Sadrā also immigrated to Iṣfahān for the same reason. He, who studied all what was worthy to be studied in his homeland, sought the circle of great scholars such as Shaykh Bahā al-Ḥāmī (known as Shaykh Bahā’ī); who was then world- widely famous, and from everywhere students rushed to him to study jurisprudence, ḥadīth, commentary, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences.

About Mullā Sadrā’s spouse, the date and place of his marriage and family of his spouse nothing is recorded in the history. In the introduction to Maʿādin al-ḥikmah, the late Āyatullāh Mar’ashi Najafī writes that Mullā Sadrā married daughter of Mirzā Diyā al-Dīn Moḥammad Rāzī (known as Diyā al-Urafa, and the father of Shāh Murtiḍā’s spouse; it should be noted that Shāh Murtiḍā was Fayḍ Kāshānī’s father and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ’s
grandfather.) But this is very unlikely, and from what Fayḍ writes in *al-Inṣaf* (*risālah fī*), it is understood that Fayḍ did not know Mullā Sadrā until 1030, when he went to Qum.

For the date of his marriage, no particular date is recorded in history books. The date of birth of his son Ibrāhīm is written to be 1021. His first daughter, Umm Kulthum, who was apparently Fayyāḍ Lāhijí’s spouse, was born in 1019. This date coincides with Mullā Sadrā’s residence in Qum or Shirāz, therefore his marriage had been, naturally, in either of these two cities. It could be claimed, however, that- as it was common in noble families- he had married a girl from his relatives or the wealthy families of Shirāz at the beginning of his youth.

Apparently Mullā Sadrā’s spouse was not from the families of well-known scholars, otherwise historians mentioned this fact, and this is one of the superiorities of the knowledge over the wealth.

Apart from his spouse, his family, servants and aides accompanying him were certainly great in number. In one of his letters to Mír Dámād, Mullā Sadrā complains of the great number of servants, aides; from this letter it is understood that his family was not restricted to his spouse and offspring; and there were always a group of servants, stewards, maidservants, “dependants and relatives”, following him.

In his letter to Mír Dámād- which was sent, apparently, from Qum- he writes:

“Though not free of hardship, for every one knows how hard is the management of a married life and a household consisted of spouse, a great number of offspring, “dependants and relatives”, the conditions of this poor one is so that...”

These expressions, along with information we have about his wealth inherited from his father, suggest that from the period of his disciplehood to the peak of his fame, Mullā Sadrā lived as a wealthy noble scholar, not as a poor and ordinary student.

This fiscal privilege exercised great influences on his access to the works of earlier philosophers.

**Education**
Having traveled to Qazwin and, then, to Isfahân and residing in the latter, Mullâ Sadrâ embarked upon a crucial stage. In times that kings and commanders (because of patronage of science, or to strengthen their political and social power) gathered scholars through material and spiritual incentives; the capital city and other important political centers were always the centers of science, literature and art. The outstanding scholars were as famous and powerful as the kings of time. At the beginning of the 11th. century, Isfahân was the center of great scholars and researchers. The greatest jurisprudents, muḥaddithûn, sages and philosophers (representatives of the Peripatetic, Illuminationist, Mystic, and Sufi schools of thought), poets and artists gathered in this city, teaching science and literature to a great number of students. Choosing a master among these men of science was, in fact, very difficult, for it could change the fate of the student and determine his coming job.

In the then Isfahân, Mullâ Sadrâ could study under every master he wished; but, despite the scholars, jurisprudents and philosophers who lived in Isfahân, only the names of Mîr Dâmad and Shaykh Bahâ ‘Amîli are seen in the ambiguous history of his life as master and there is no trace of the other scholars of his time.

It may be assumed that, in Isfahân, Mullâ Sadrâ had had other masters also, but this is a weak conjecture. If at the beginning of his residence in Qazwin or Isfahân he studied under other masters, this had been so fruitless that it could not have any effect on the history of his educational life. Mullâ Sadrâ also did not regard himself to be indebted to them; otherwise, taking the good character of this historical and spiritual figure into account, it is much unlikely that he had not mentioned them.

Among all those jurisprudents and sages, Mullâ Sadrâ chose Mîr Dâmad and Shaykh Bahâ al-Dîn. Knowledge, tastes, and characters of these two great men have been intertwined in his knowledge and practice.

The question that remained unsolved for he who studies the life of this sage, is the reason behind this choice. It is not clear that why he has not studied under other masters.

Here, two answers could be provided for this problem:
First- Mullā Şadrā had a certain taste in learning and education. Contrary to what was accepted by earlier scholars, sages, jurisprudents, muhaddithūn and poets who believed in studying under all masters and enjoying their knowledge as much as possible- Mullā Şadrā believed in studying under one or two masters and thus attaining the culmination of knowledge.

Second- He believed in studying under all masters, but the fate pushed him to the school of these two scholars, who, apart from their moral and spiritual virtues, had all what the seeking nature of Mullā Şadrā sought, and made him needless of other masters. Taking our information about Shaykh Bahā and Mír Dàmād into account, this opinion is confirmed. Here the strong spiritual and personal influence of masters also should not be overlooked. It should be accepted that the characters of these distinguished masters had strong influences in attracting Mullā Şadrā and making him needless of other ones.

Anyway, in Qazwín Mullā Şadrā attended at first the class of Shaykh Bahā al-Din ‘Āmili (Shaykh Bahā) and enjoyed from his never-ending virtues and scientific treasure, and then he became acquainted with Mír Dàmād.

Though it is understood of the story of Mullā Sadrā’s visit with Mír Findiriskí in the public bath that Mír had sent Mullā Şadrā to Shaykh Bahā’s class intentionally, and even if this story is not true, it should be accepted that Mullā Sadrā’s attendance in Shaykh Bahā’s class was in either of these two ways: One scholar of Qazwín, who was a friend of Mullā Sadrā’s father (and Mullā Şadrā was, as it was common, his guest upon entering in Qazwín) introduced him to Shaykh Bahā; or because of the world-wide fame of Shaykh Bahā in all sciences of time, Mullā Şadrā was attracted to him. It is much likely that he left Shirāz for Qazwín with this goal in mind. This is the most realistic assumption.

Great men’s lives usually associated with the stories, some of which are not free of truth. There is a story about the early days of Mullā Sadrā’s in Iṣfahān or Qazwín and shows how he happened to become acquainted with the two distinguished masters of time- i.e. Shaykh Bahā al-Din ‘Āmili and Mír Mḥammed Bāqir Mír Dāmād- who had great contributions to the
history of science. As the story goes, one day young Mullā Ṣadrā meets Mr Fīndīriski, a well-reputed mystic at the town’s public bath where citizens used to converse and even discuss scientific problems or trade.

Mr Fīndīriski shows interest in Mullā Ṣadrā’s background and when he talks about the purpose of his trip, he is advised to study philosophy and theology under Shaykh Bahā’ī, and rhetoric under Mr Dāmād. According to the story, Mullā Ṣadrā obtained philosophy.

Even if the main theme of the story is true– which is not apparently true– there are certain deficiencies in its elements that makes the story unacceptable. We cannot confine Mr Dāmād in rhetoric; this is, in fact, underestimating Mr Dāmād, or regard Shaykh Bahā, who was Mullā Ṣadrā’s master in jurisprudence and hadith, as a master of philosophy and theology. Mullā Ṣadrā became acquainted with these two great sages in Qazwin, and not in Iṣfahān; the story, however, goes in Iṣfahān, that suggests the unreliability of the story.

What is, to some extent, evident is that the first master of Mullā Ṣadrā was Shaykh Bahā. This great master and guide laid the first blocks of his moral and scientific career. He exercised a profound influence on the character and life of Mullā Ṣadrā, the coming great sage of the age. Mr Dāmād, his other master, assumed the responsibility to complete this building.

Therefore it is worth to cast a glance on the lives of these bright stars of the sky of the science and philosophy to study the Mullā Ṣadrā’s life.

\[\text{Shaykh ‘Abdullah Zanjānī, al-\textit{Filsūf al-fārsī al-kabīr}, p. 8.}\]
Mullā Šadrā and Shaykh Bahā

The unparalleled scholar and true 'Allāmah, Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Moḥammad 'Āmīlī (known as “Shaykh Bahā’ī” and specified as “Bahā’ī”) - whose origin reaches to the well-known companion of the Commander of Faithful, 'Ālī (a), Ḥārīth Hamadānī - is originally Lebanese, and born to a cleric family, whose members were jurisprudents, muḥaddithūn, commentators, and scholars - in Jabal 'Āmil1 of Shām.

His father - Shaykh Ḥusayn ‘Ābdul-Šamad - was one of the jurisprudents, who under the pressure of Anti-Shī‘ī Ottoman rulers immigrated from Lebanon and Shām to Iran and were received warmly by the Safavid kings. For a while he took the position of the “Shaykh al-Islām” in Hirāt, and at the same time he was a senior official of the Safavid government.

At the age of seven or thirteen, Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn headed for Iran with his father, and resumed his studies. Very soon he attained the high ranks in science. He is said to have mastered all the well-known (and even occult) sciences.

He became famous in Persian literature, Arabic, semantic and grammar, and rhetoric. He composed verses in both Arabic and Persian. The collection of his poems is available, and everyone uses some of his poems as idioms.

He wrote books in most of the sciences, which were prevalent in his time, including “semantic”(nahy), biography and criticism of traditionists

1 A region in the present Lebanon.
Mullâ Sadrâ and Shaykh Bahâ

(‘ilm al-rijāl), “jurisprudence”, ‘ilm al-uṣūl, “tafsīr”, “Algebra”, “Arithmetic” and the like. The compilers of biographies have mentioned the list of his books, about 88 books.

Owing to his generous and pious nature, Shaykh Bahâ al-Dîn did not have a thirst for wealth and fame. He had friends from all walks of life. Like zephyr, he went to every garden and smelt the fragrant of every flower. For example, he had friends of Sufis of İsfâhan and went to the monasteries of that city.

For a long period of his life (almost 30 years) he left governmental jobs and teaching and spent this time in trip and meeting people of his like.

At the end of this long period, he returned to İsfâhan and settled there.

Shâh ‘Abbâs, who was clever enough, summoned him to his court, where Safavid king enjoyed his knowledge even persuading him to write “Jâmi ‘Abbâsi” a classic and Persian jurisdiction. This book was not yet completed when he passed away.

His birth is written to be in 935A.H./1528 A.D. and his death in 1030 A.H./1620 A.D. or 1031 A.H./1621 A.D., in İsfâhan. His body transmitted to Mashhad and buried there in İmâm Riđâ’s Mausoleum. His burial place is now a holy place for the pilgrims.

Despite Shaykh Bahâ’s contribution to, and even command of, all the sciences of his time, he seems to have taught only few courses in his formal class. What is written to have been taught by him are “tafsîr”, “ilm al-rijâl”, “jurisprudence” and “uṣūl”, which could be regarded, in modern terminology, as compulsory courses of seminaries.

The author believes that he taught the sciences such as literature, mathematics, astronomy and the like as informal courses and only for his special students. Evidently he had written and taught the book “Şamadiyyah” for his younger brother Shaykh ‘Abdul-Şamad; or in his unofficial visit, he taught mathematics to a student in Şâm.

In my short study, I have not yet found anywhere a trace that this 'Allâmah, though inclined in Sufism, had taught Mysticism, Illuminationist theosophy or even philosophy and logic. From his poems (for example, the versified story “Nân wa Ḥalwâ”(Bread and Sweet Paste)) it is understood
that he did not agree with Peripatetic school of philosophy and the courses taught in official schools.

These couplets are selected from his poems, suggesting his supreme insight in official sciences and criticizing those who seek a superficial knowledge:

“Official science is entirely “uproar”;
“Neither quality nor life results from it;
“Philosophy, Semantics, Medicine, or Astronomy;
“Whether geometry; or Geomancy; or unlucky numbers;
“There is not a science, but the science of love;
“The others result from the guiles of damned Satan;
“The science of fiqh, commentary and Hadith;
“Are among the guiles of malignant Satan;
“How long do you discuss the philosophy of Greeks?
“Go and acquire the wisdom of the people of faith, too;
“Enlighten your heart with the revealed lights;
“How long are you the flatterer of Bû ‘Ali?
“When did the holy Prophet prescribed;
“The leavings of Aristotle and that of Bû ‘Ali, as remedy (Shifâ)?
“Go and slit your heart,
“Clean your heart of these involvements;
“Oh, those who you are in the school, learning;
“All what you obtain is temptation”\footnote{This couplet reminded me a pleasant remembrance of the period of youth, when we were living in our father’s house. Once a day, father was whispering:
“Oh Lord, what did Bahâ’î tell to the people of school;
“Today those poor ones put their books afire?
Making a joke, I asked my father that what Bahâ’î said to the people of school. My father, immediately, answered:
“Oh those who you are in the school, learning;
“All what you obtain is temptation.
And both couplets are versified by Shaykh Bahâ.}

And in the poem “Shír wa Shikar”, he has said:
“Oh, you who are addicted with the virtual Science;
“Did never smell a fragrant from the real science;
“Occupied with the Greek philosophy;
“Despaired of the wisdom of faith;
“No door opened with its key;
“Its “Explanation” (Iṣṭahā) added to ambiguity;
“In its “Goals” (Maqāṣid), the goal is unobtainable;
“Its “Openings” (Maṭāli’) cause the luck to sleep;
“Its “Directions” (Ishārāt) led nowhere;
“Its good news did not lead to happiness;
“Its “outcome issue” (Muḥaṣṣal) has no fruit;
“Its details added to brevity;
“How long do you seek remedy from its “remedy” (Shifā)?
“And medicine from the bowl of poison?
“How long will you wait like novices;
“At the dirty mess of Greek philosophy?
“The leaving of the believer is what the Messenger prescribed;
“What do you look for in the leaving of Aristotle?
These couplets are of his poems:
“In “goals” (Maqāṣid) he found no way of deliverance;
“He is unaware of the “stations” (Mawāqif) of the Earth of Resurrection;
“By “guidance” (Hidayāt) he has been led to abandonment;
“In the “beginning” (Bidāyat) his end is disappointment;
“That is why when he begins to speak;
“His words sound as cliché.¹

Despite his dislike for external sciences, there is no doubt that he was a well-reputed teacher of the so-called Islamic sciences, the science of jurisprudence, and its branches. Accordingly, even if he had taught the intellectual sciences, then he revealed his belief, as it was common in his time, in poems.

If we are to find those characteristics of Shaykh Bahá’í that could be regarded to have exerted influences on the character of Mullá Sadrá, we can emphasize certain characteristics of this delivered master.

¹ The words in parentheses are the name of textbooks in theology and philosophy.
One of these characteristics is his acquaintance with all sciences of time. Nevertheless a thorough study makes us say that, though there were figures like Mir Dâmâd who was a true ‘Allâmah, no other one like Shaykh Bahâ’î could be found.

In the history of science, the name of Shaykh Bahâ’î like the names of Pythagoras and Hermes, has been recorded in myths. Iranian Society has kept his history in the memory of her own tradition, and transmitted it heart by heart.

Stories and tales are told about him. An example of his extraordinary accomplishments is the Minâr Junbân (Shaky Minaret), whose secrets of architecture have not been discovered yet.

Then despite his moderate life- whose Greek and Egyptian examples we have already mentioned- it is advisable to regard him as “a world, hidden in a corner” and a micro body, contained within it Macro Cosmo “and a referent of the Ḥadîth”: “Do you think you are this very micro body? A Macro Cosmo is hidden in you!”1. A figure who not only the coming historians but also his contemporaries are not able to know him. It is not unjustified if we consider him unparalleled in the recent centuries. Therefore the title “‘Allâmah” is the least we can attribute to him.

In the history of Islamic seminaries, this title was attributed to he who, in addition to mastery over prevalent sciences such as jurisprudence, uṣūl, Ḥadîth, transmission (riwûyat), biography of muḥaddithûn, literature, semantic and grammar..., and even, mastery over the intellectual sciences such as logic and philosophy, had mastery over the other sciences of time, such as mathematics, astronomy, alchemy (or chemistry), physics, medicine, pharmacology..., though the term “‘Allâmah” means literally master on the one discipline, and one does not need to have mastery a variety of sciences to be “‘Allâmah”.

But wherever this expression has been used correctly (e. g. for ‘Allâmah Ḥilli Ḩasan b. Muṭâlahhar) its referents were omniscient ones.

Though Mullâ Šadrâ did not wrote books except on the transcendent philosophy and, to some extent, in logic; it can be accepted easily that he has

1 The Commander of Faithful, ‘Alî (A.S.).
been an omniscient one worth to be called “Allāmah”; since, in addition to have study religious sciences, he had studied other sciences for years to attain the position of teaching mathematics, astronomy, Astrolabe, and engineering. Perhaps, his mastery over various sciences caused the Khān school- a school, which was under Mullā Sadrā's spiritual influence and in which in the last part of his life Mullā Sadrā taught the students- to be the most attractive school in Iran. In this school, which as Thomas Herbert says “And indeed Shyraz has a College wherein is read Philosophy, Astrology, Physick, Chemistry and the Mathematics; so as 'tis the more famed through Persia”¹. His contemporary Mīr Sayyid 'Ali Khán, in his Salāfat al-'aşr², writes:

“And among them is the Master Sadr al-Dīn Mohammmed b. Ibrāhīm Shirāzī, known as Mullā Sadrā, the most learned one of the people of time in philosophy and theosophy; also assigned to him are other funūn (arts), he has many writings...”

The term “funūn” instead of “ulūm”(sciences) was used to refer to the sciences and arts other than so-called transmitted and intellectual sciences. This term was not applied to commentary, Ḥadīth, jurisprudence, and methodology.

Among the laters, Hakim Rafi’i Qazwini, writes in his article:

“As it is understood from his commentary on Athīr al-Dīn Abharī's al-Hidāyah, he had mastery over geometry and astronomy”.³ The other characteristics, for which both the student and the teacher are well-known, are their piety and their reluctance to the worldly positions.

Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn was still a teenager when his scholar and jurisprudent father was appointed first to the high position of “Shaykh al-Islām” of Qazwin, the then capital, and then, of Mashhad and Hirāt, by the then king Shāh Tahmāsp Safawi.

Like the position of “leader prayer of Friday”, the position of Shaykh al-Islām was one important spiritual and juridical position.

¹ Thomas Herbert, Some years Travells into Diverse Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, London, 1677, p. 129.
"Shaykh al-Islām of every city was the official representative of king in religious affairs. Upon the recognition of the Shi‘ism in Iran, a spiritual institution was needed to redress people's grievance, and since there were no jurisprudent and scholar as much as required, hence - imitating Ottomans - the position of Shaykh al-Islām was established.

Hence, Safavid kings established the institution of “Shaykh al-Islām” (chief leadership of religion) in important cities, and also employed Shi‘i Jabal ‘Amili (Lebanese) jurisprudents, who were the celebrated ones of their time. That is why Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn's father was invited from Lebanon to Iran. Or perhaps, it was because of the invitation, made by Shaykh Minshār - Shaykh al-Islām of Iṣfahān and the father of Shaykh Bahā’s coming spouse.

Despite being in his early youth, and while being able to live under his father in Hirāt, Shaykh Bahā contented himself with a student life. Later on, when the position of Shaykh al-Islām was imposed on him, he accepted it reluctantly, and went everywhere with Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī. But his pious nature caused him to escape from the governmental center under the pretence of ʿAjjāj and go to other Islamic countries. During these journeys also he was studying. It has been written that he spent 30 years of his life in journeys.

Being in the position of “Shaykh al-Islām” should not be identified with the presence in court. In no tourists’ itineraries, I have noticed that Shaykh Bahā was mentioned along with Shāh. Also in no history or chronicle he is mentioned; in the biographies of scholars, however, he is mentioned repeatedly, and this is indicative of his fame.

This suggests that he, Mīr Dāmād and other scholars were not among the courtiers. But there were some reasons for their co-operation with the court, as follows:

First- The newly-established Shi‘i government was in strong need to scholars who were experts in religious endowments, jurisdiction, religious punishments and education.

Second- Sometimes, great scholars such as Shaykh Bahā were needed to evaluate what the astrologist of the court had predicted; or to confirm the interpretation made by the interpreter of dreams; or to check the
designs of mosques, bridges, and inns, provided by architects; or to provide answers to spiritual questions raised in the hearts of kings.

Even, during his residence in the capital and being in the position of Shaykh al-Islām, Shaykh Bahā had a moderate and sociable nature. As we have already said, he had friends among all walks of life, and went to everywhere, even to the monasteries of Sufis.

Though being a point of reliance for needy and to whom people referred, he seems to have lived in his own internal world; and under every pretext traveled to various cities and countries.

A reason for this eccentricity of Shaykh Bahā seems to be the atmosphere of Shāh ‘Abbās court, in which everyone was occupied with feasting and drinking; and the Shi‘i king himself- who called himself as the dog of the ‘Ali's doorway; the servant of Mohammedan religion; and the bondman of the king of Saints, 'Ali (A. S.)- spent most of his time in harem with beautiful Caucasian and Georgian girls, and laying hands on the others' harems. This king was so cruel and bloodthirsty, that everyone, even his own relatives and friends, if they committed a deed that was not so pleasing for king, would be tortured to death. He even made his own offspring blind and imprisoned, or killed them.

Despite the independence, security and flourishing conditions prevalent in the country, that is among the bright pages of the history of modern Iran; like all other dynasties, this monarchy also was established based on obstinacy, injustice, disorder and corruption.

Though there were positions for scholars, jurisprudents, sages and poets in the Shāh ‘Abbās' court, the main positions were reserved for minstrels and profligate ones who were occupied with voluptuousness, dance and immorality. In a court, established based on the sacred name of 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, the Commander of Faithful (a) they drank wine as easy as water, and the blood of innocent ones as wine.

That is why the great figures such as Shaykh Bahā, Mīr Dāmād, Fayḍ, Majlisī and the like- who are sometimes regarded as the akhūnd of court, incorrectly- maintained an “objective and determined” duty for themselves to live a social life beside Safavid kings. In this way, they tried to keep the spiritual independence of the country against strange culture of
Turks, and also to help the poor and oppressed people, and in whom people sought refuge from the oppression of kings and armed Qizilbash Sufis. Also, in this way, they could find an opportunity to teach students and propagate the sciences that were about to disappear because of the Mongols invasion of Iran. If there was not the efforts of Khwajah Nasir al-Din Tusi- who was able to keep the stone close to the glass- the stone would had broken the glass, certainly.

It was not unlikely that many good accomplishments made by Shâh ʿAbbâs I were recommended by Shaykh Bahâ. But the services made by these sages are recorded in history for powerful kings.

Despite all these facts, the delivered spirit and subtle nature of Shaykh Bahâ could not withstand such catastrophes, and under any pretext, and mostly under the pretext of Hajj and pilgrimage, he left this external position for other cities and countries and spent many months in the attractive realm of the loneliness. In these travels, far from those who were far from the Truth and close to those who were His friends and among the people of knowledge, he led a happy life. At the same time, he put some of his knowledge on the writings that are still illuminating in the palace of science and wisdom.

Through an analysis of the life of Mullâ Sadrâ- Shaykh Bahâ’s wise student - the same procedure could be seen. It is not unlikely that the uproar of the court and courtiers and their immoralities caused him to escape from Isfahân after having attained the spiritual perfection. Perhaps, in doing so, the advice of the master also exerted certain influences on the young Mullâ Sadrâ.

As we saw, Mullâ Sadrâ inherited a good wealth from his father who was among the senior governmental officials in Fars and a minister of Mohammed Khudâbandih. So, Mullâ Sadrâ was able to lead a life at the same level.

Also, having been confirmed by his masters, i.e. Shaykh Bahâ and Mir Dâmâd, it was possible for him to attain a high position in the court of Shâh ʿAbbâs and that of his successor, and to lead his life neglecting the immoralities that were prevalent in those royal environments.

Despite all these possibilities, we see that he hates these false positions, and like his master, he also says:
“I hate fur and silk;
“Again I wish a Kalandar’s life;
“It’s enough to lean on the colored bed;
“I wish the traces of rush-mat on my body;
“I am weary of uproar;
“How good is cloak, how good is beggar’s bowl;
“I seek no more fame;
“I scorn the world.”

Third- In addition to this real piety, Shaykh Bahā was, like a few of the great figures of religion and the wayfarers of the Sufi’s path, acquainted with the religious ascetic exercises.

In his biography, it is recorded that he spent a part of his life- or most of it— to extol and to contemplate, having fasted in eating, talking, seeing and hearing, in periods of 40 days.

These ascetic exercises- in which the number 40 or other numbers are of paramount importance- have a long history. Though called as “religious ascetics” and having a high importance for the people of spiritual journey or Sufis; to which the Holy Prophet and Imāms, as it is understood from their biographies, did not oppose, and regarded it as originated from their teachings, these ascetic exercises are rooted in pre-Islamic period when Iranian monotheists employed them in secret teaching of the theoretical wisdom and as an entry to the practical wisdom. About the 6th or 7th century (B.C.), this procedure was transmitted to Greece by Greek students such as Pythagoras, and continued to live in the school of Alexandrian Plotinus, and then in Suhrawardi’s Illuminationist school. Surprisingly enough, we can see its continuity in Mir Dāmād, Shaykh Bahā, and then in Mullā Ṣadrā and his disciples; and the story goes, and will go, as ever.

The fourth characteristic, which could be seen in a brief analysis of the life of Shaykh Bahā- as well as that of Mullā Ṣadrā- is his mystical insight from which his two other characteristics, i.e. piety and asceticism originated; since the main motivation for all the man’s behaviors is his outlook, i.e. his theoretical understanding of the world, the Creator, and the last day.

1 Shaykh Bahā’i’s collection of poems.
The lives of kings suggest a brutal, raw and limited outlook allowing them to see at best, only one step farther. In contrary, pious life of the people of God and their reluctance to the wealth and worldly position suggest genius and far-sightedness of those who could see the instability of these two, and hence, they discredited them. They proceeded to the ever-lasting pleasures of this world, and it was this profound and stone-splitting mystical insight that led to a pious life.

It is probably not easy to prove this characteristic through this demonstration, which is similar to a priori demonstration, for critics; since in about 90 books and treatises, left by Shaykh Bahà, no trace of theoretical mysticism could be seen. This fact could allow the superficial ones to claim that, though being jurisprudent, commentator, theologian, grammarian, rhetorician, mathematician, engineer, astronomer, and even expert in occult sciences such as sciences of numerical symbolism, geomancy, natural magic, - he was not a mystic, otherwise it was much unlikely that he did not write a book on mysticism.

But taking into account his mentalities and inquisitive nature, his meetings with the people of insight, and particularly his relations with the companions of the school of Shiráz, his familiarity with the 'Allamah Dawâní's works, and above all his Sufi nature and pious procedure that originated from his profound mystical attitude, it seems almost impossible that he had not studied under them. It is not unlikely that- as it was common for some wise men like our unparalleled master 'Allamah Tabâtabâ'î- he taught the theoretical mysticism in secret and only to a few of initiates, and did not seek to reveal his mystical attitude.

The fifth characteristic of Shaykh Bahà is his poetic gift and his subtle nature.

In the history of Iran and other countries, the names of many poets are recorded. Poetry always results from a subtle and sensitive nature of one who is granted a poetical gift. This subtlety is not, however, identical in all poets. It could be probably claimed that the poem, by itself, is not able to mirror all the poet's subtlety of nature. These subtleties should be looked for, partially, in the writings and even procedures of these spiritual men.
In the works like Kashkāl and Mikhlāt, in which he selected the works of other writers and represented them in proper places, Shaykh Bahā could be known as a sagacious one.

Through an analysis of Shaykh Bahā’s poems, we can regard him, at least, as a mystic, sagacious, and tavern-haunter who was able to see even the “laughs in one's sleeve”, “charming beloved” and her “secret coquetries.”

It is much to be regretted that there remained not many of his lyric verses, and what remained from his verses are mostly fragments, quatrains, and particularly moral and mystical couplet- poems, among which are “Nān wa Ḥalwā” (Bread and Sweet Paste) and “Shīr wa Shikar”(Milk and Sugar) the most famous ones.

Through an analysis of the mentalities of this great man and his knowledge and mysticism, it does not seem unlikely that he did not put his lyric verses in writing, seeking mostly to propagate those poems that were of a moral importance, and useful for man's perfection.

This characteristic - i.e. inclination to moral and mystical poetry- is among those characteristics, which Mullā Ṣadrā adopted from his master. It is not probably incorrect to say Mullā Ṣadrā's inclination to couplet- poems and fragments is adopted from his master, for there are many similarities between his couplet- poems and those of Shaykh; as he composed quatrains, following Mīr Dāmād; and there are many similarities between his quatrains and those of Mīr Dāmād.

In an analysis of their poems what could be added is that- though versifying is a voluntary and experimental issue- poetry, in its most particular sense, has nothing to do with experiment and practice. It is an internal issue so that some earlier sages had called it as “menstruation of men”. Not every one is able to compose subtle verses. The “new concept” cannot be acquired by force. Shaykh Bahā‘i's poems are in a high abode; and his poems, though a few of them remained, could be regarded as good ones. To put an end on this chapter, it is worth to quote here a selected part of Mullā Ṣadrā's couplets:

“Oh, cup-bearer, fill my wine cup;
“Save the soul from the prison of self;
“Of that wine by which the soul will be kindled;
“The world can be seen, in its light;
“Oh cup-bearer, give me a cup, that I am delighted;
“I have gone one step further from myself;
“A spirit free of love, and a heart free of sorrow;
“That is a wind, and this is a handful of clay;
“Oh, cup-bearer, make me drunken by the wine of pre-existence;
“So that, in drunkenness, I reveal all what there is;
“A wine, by which heart will be illuminated;
“The dark house of heart will turn to a garden;
“The fire of wine is the Qiblah of drunken ones;
“Its form is the “connotation” of the man;
“Oh cup-bearer, session took a great deal of time, give me wine;
“With the opposed one (mukhālif) do not speak of this melody (nawā)\(^1\)

“If my companion was not the cup of wine;
“These friends would make me depressed;
“Oh cup-bearer, add to my connotation through wine;
“Make me drunken, save me from being;
“Save me from my own being;
“There is no obstacle in my way other than me.\(^2\)

When and where Mullā Ṣadrā became acquainted with Shaykh Bahā is not known. As we said, Mullā Ṣadrā’s father had a high position in the court of Mohammed Khudābandih (Shāh ‘Abbās’ father), in Fārs. Upon the death of his brother, Moḥammad Khudābandīh ascended to throne, and went from Shirāz to Qazwin, the then capital, in Di’l- Ḥajjah, 985 A.H./February, 1578 A.D.

As it was common, Mullā Ṣadrā’s father also had gone certainly with him. Naturally he had taken his family, and of course his sole offspring (Mullā Ṣadrā) with him to capital city. In history books, the name of Mīr Qawām al-Din Shirāzī is recorded as the minister of Shāh Moḥammad

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\(^1\) Mukhālif and Nawā are among Iranian melodies; this “quotation” suggests Mullā Ṣadrā’s familiarity with music.

\(^2\) The collection no. 849/2, Tehran University; also see the addendum of Sīh Ašl, ed. by Dr. Nasr.
Khudabandih. In the story of Qizilbash commanders’ conspiracy against Mahd ‘Uliyà, Mohammed Shàh’s powerful spouse, it is recorded that he tried to put an end on the event quietly. In 985 A.H./1578 A.D. (the year of Mullà Sadrà’s immigration from Shiràz to Qazwin), Mullà Sadrà was six years old, and evidently he received all his training in Qazwin. In 996 A.H./1587 A.D., Shàh ‘Abbàs ascended to throne, in those years Shaykh Bahà joined him (in 997 A.H./1588 A.D. the year of Shàh ‘Abbàs’ war against Uzbecks in Khuràsàn, Shaykh Bahà was with him). Therefore we can conclude that Mullà Sadrà became acquainted with Shaykh Bahà in this city, and lived there down to 1006 A.H./1597 A.D.

Also it is possible that because of the unfavorable atmosphere of the court and political debates prevalent in the court, Mullà Sadrà’s father returned to Shiràz and took his offspring with him, and Mullà Sadrà met Shaykh Bahà’î when the latter traveled to Shiràz. Therefore, it is possible that for the first time they visited in Shiràz, in 998 A.H./1589 A.D., when Shaykh traveled to Shiràz with Shàh ‘Abbàs, and the young Mullà Sadrà who was enthusiastic to visit him went to him with other students, as it was common. Or, as it was Shaykh Bahà’s procedure, he went there to seminaries and met with students, and of course with the young Mullà Sadrà.

In these meetings, as we know, connoisseur masters chose the young and talented disciples to send them to larger seminaries to study under the expert masters. Sometimes, this fact caused the students to go to remote cities.

Therefore, it is likely that since then Mullà Sadrà became enamored of Shaykh Bahà, and went him to Qazwin and then Isfahàn in order to visit him.

The other assumption is that the young Mullà Sadrà, to receive more training and study under the best masters of time who lived in Qazwin, went to that city.

The year of his presence in Qazwin is not precisely known; but “Jung” (i.e. the collection of selected poems and words, or anthology) was compiled in Qazwin in Ramàdàn 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. by Mullà Sadrà.\(^1\)

\(^1\) It should be noted that this year coincides the year when the French philosopher Rene Descartes was born (Hague, 1596, A.D.). In other words, these two philosophers, from the east and the west respectively, were contemporary. In this year Mullà Sadrà was 25 years old.
The “Jung” s are traditionally compiled when compilers are still in their youth. Shaykh Bahā seems to have returned from Iraq to Qazvin in this year. As we saw, Mullā Šadrā made a copy of Shaykh Bahā’s Ḥadiqah hilāliyyah in 1005 A.H./1596 A.D., and as it was common in that time, he studied this book under the author in 1004 A.H./1595 A.D.

The other evidence, i.e. the copy made by Mullā Šadrā of Mīr Dāmād’s Ṣirāt al mustaqīm, suggests that, in 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. Mullā Šadrā was acquainted with Mīr Dāmād, and it is much likely that he was studying under him.

From what is said, it is evident that Mullā Šadrā was studying in scientific seminary of Qazwin in about 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. and 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.; he was acquainted with Shaykh Bahā and Mīr Dāmād and attended their classes. In aforementioned “Jung”, written in 1004 A.H., a letter, written by Mīr Dāmād in 24 lines, could be seen, that suggests Mullā Šadrā's value for Mīr Dāmād. At the end of letter, it has been written:

“I wrote these sentences in response to the request of my spiritual offspring and the closest intellectual relative, the greatest, the most enlightened, the head of the greatness and truth of the Muhammad (s) Moḥammed Shīrāzi, may God ascend him to the highest station of the scientific manifestation and objective intuition. And I am, the most needy one among the people to the needless God, Moḥammed b. Moḥammed called Bāqir Dāmād Husayni, for whom may God make manifest the beauty of the Divine attributes”.

As we saw, what the master sought for his disciple was granted to him, and finally “Ṣadr al-Millah wa’l Din” (the head of people and those who are of great importance in religion) attained both the highest scientific rank and the highest grade in intuition.

The other expressions at the end of the letter suggest Mir Dāmād’s opinion on Mullā Šadrā's profound talent. From these expression it is understood that he knew Mullā Šadrā closely, and in addition to disciple-master relationship, between them discussion and demonstration also were prevalent; and the unparalleled master of philosophy and mysticism in that time regarded him as an equal partner.
From what compiled by the young Mullà Æadrà in his “Jung” it is understood that he was completely familiar with Muḥi al-Dīn ‘Arabî’s works and those of other Sufis and mystics, as well as the poems of Sanā’î, ‘Aṭṭār, Shabistāri and Malawi; also he had mastery over jurisprudence, usūl, Ḥadīth, ‘ilm al-rijāl, and dirāyah (contextual study of Ḥadīth).

As is common in seminaries, in this age students reach the peak of learning. He also attained mastery over all those sciences so that he was able to evaluate others and to make a distinction between gold and gilt. Hence having become acquainted with Mīr Dāmād, he seems to have attained the goal and Mīr Dāmād seems to have found his true customer. There was a scientific relation as well as friendship between them over the course of time.

It is worth to mention that, there is another fragment in the above-mentioned “Jung”, not written by Mīr Dāmād, including five Ḥadīths. At the end of this fragment it is written that:

“I have written these sentences in response to the request of the dear, chaste, pure and enlightened offspring, the head of all the people, may God raise him to the highest level of perfection...”

This fragment is not signed, but it is not unlikely to have been written by Shaykh Bahâ’ī. The style of expressions seems familiar, and the date of writing is in agreement with the date of Shaykh’s presence in Qazwin (1004 A.H.).

The young Mullà Ṣadrā’s acquaintance with these geniuses of time, caused this chaste and science-seeking youth to trust his spirit to these travelers of the “straight path” who were mystics resorting to the “most firm handle”("Urwat al-wuthqā") and the “firm cable”("Ḥibl al-matin")

As we have already said, in time in which Mullà Ṣadrā lived, it was common that noble families, instead of sending their offspring to schools, employed experienced, virtuous and learned teachers to teach them and provided all what was required to live a good life for them. The master taught his student writing, the Holy Quran, Persian, Arabic, mathematics and history; and then the teacher tried to make them well-versed in Persian and

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1 Now a plate has been found in which Shaykh Bahâ’ī’s handwriting can be seen with the same characteristics. And this confirms the above-mentioned conjecture.

2 The names of their books.
Arabic literature and rhetoric. Thereafter he taught the student logic, jurisprudence, wisdom and the other popular sciences.

This individual learning made the teacher acquainted with the mentalities of student and his weaknesses and strengths; in the light of this acquaintance, the teacher tried to train student's spirit and to cast his characters into a desired mold.

In this regard one European tourist, who have come to Isfahân in this century, writes:

Though book is very expensive, everyone even the tradesmen and craftsmen buy book. They intend to make their offspring learn... They sent their offspring to school since childhood... In every district, there are some schools; but the noble families do not sent their offspring to these schools. They invite masters to teach their offspring in home. They do not allow their offspring to go out of home except for hunting and polo-stick. That is why when they grow up, they are wise, learned, and honor ones. They never use ill-names for they have not had friends among rascals and ignoble people.¹

Mullā Sadr ā also was not an exception. Even because of the piety of his family, to whom this unparalleled son was granted after years of supplications and vows, it should be accepted that they tried to train him more than what was common in that time. This was required also by the young Mullā Sadr ā's gentle nature and pure soul. As we saw, the teachers have mentioned his intelligence (dhakāwat) beside his piety (zakāwat) and, in this way, admired the young Mullā Sadr ā's piety implicitly.

Mullā Sadr ā was a blank tablet, on which either of these two sage-mystic gentle wayfarers exerted some influences. Since we will deal with the Mār Dāmad's life in another section, now we will speak of Shaykh Bahā’ī and his influence on Mullā Sadr ā.

These heirs of the ancient wisdom selected, at first, some worthy ones from those who were seeking wisdom; and then, along with training and discussion, taught them the main themes of wisdom, showing the

¹ Tavernier, Jean Baptiste, Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, from Persian translation.
spiritual path and what required to proceed in this path, whether supplications or worships or ascetic exercises or silence or chastity. Like Elias, they showed their student the well, hidden in this path:

Without Elias, do not try to proceed in this path.¹

With this treasure of science and theoretical mysticism, the young, pious and chaste Mullâ Şadrâ began his first spiritual journey, beside studying jurisprudence, Ḥadīth, commentary, ‘ilm al-rijāl, contextual study of Ḥadīth, and other sciences to further complete his knowledge. The role played by the Holy Quran and Ḥadīth in this spiritual journey should not be neglected. The Holy Quran can be studied and taught in two ways:

First- Sometimes it is studied to find figures of words, abrogative verses and abrogated ones, clear verses and equivocal ones, universal and particular, and the like; or to find the method of “recitation”, pause, contraction, nasal pronunciation or to infer rules.

In this way, in which most commentators have done their best, a collection of sciences on the Holy Quran is obtained, which could be called Quranic sciences; and so some novel sciences are added to the present sciences of man. Study on the Holy Quran, however, was aimed to gain a knowledge of the mysteries of creation.

Though adding to the man's knowledge, this is not a science but a technique for looking for the hidden goal. One of the virtues of the school of household (A. S.) is that they represented the core of the Holy Quran and left its shell for others.

Acquaintance with the Holy Quran has been always gained in these two ways. Sometimes it is a science contained in a book, and useful for discussion. Sometimes it makes man acquainted with the spirit of the Holy Quran, and unifies the known and the knower so that the knower is able to hear the heavenly songs of angels and Revelation-bearer from it. Ḥadīth says that the Holy Quran should be read as if it has been just revealed.

Later, the young Mullâ Şadrâ's familiarity with the Holy Quran, in the way taught by the wise teacher, proved to be very useful for him (finally

¹ “Without Elias do not try to proceed in this path;
“There is darkness prevalent, be care of the danger of perversion. Hafiz.
in the last decade of his life he started to comment upon the Holy Quran in a mystical-philosophical way, though he did not manage to put and end on it.)

Similarly, he wrote a commentary on Usūl (the principles of religion) of Great muḥaddith Kulaynī Rāzī. In these two commentaries (one, upon the Holy Quran; and the other on the Ḥadīths of the Holy Prophet (s) and his household (a) he followed his great master Shaykh Bahā, among whose works ‘Urwat al- wuthqā, ‘Ayn al-Ḥayāt and Chihil Ḥadīth can be mentioned.

But Ḥadīth, which requires a separate description, was the other station in Mullā Šadrā’s journey to the stages of supreme knowledge. As the scholars know, the authenticity of Ḥadīth depends on its chain of transmission, i.e. those who transmitted it from the Holy Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a).

Hence it is necessary to protect this method. That is why the sciences such as “ilm al-rijāl”, “dirāyah” have been established. In the science of “ilm al-rijāl” (i.e. accurate description and classification of the transmitters, since the Holy Prophet's time to the time of authors of books on Ḥadīth), the transmitters are classified into four categories; in each category every transmitter is analyzed historically, psychologically, and ideologically. In this way, every transmitter was placed in a particular level. Some of them are regarded as thiqāt (trusties), some others as “di’āf” (weak ones), i.e. those transmitters who lack the necessary qualities. Every Ḥadīth transmitted by them is regarded as unreliable, even if the transmitters before them in the chain are trusty ones. In fact, a weak transmitter is like a weak link that makes a steel chain useless.

In the science of Ḥadīth or transmission of Ḥadīth, various kinds of Ḥadīth and the dangers threatening it are discussed. Ḥadīths are classified into various categories, called by various names. Each name suggests the degree of acceptability and authenticity of Ḥadīth. Jurisprudent, muḥaddith, scholar and theologian can choose the Ḥadīth, which fits his purposes, and avoid unreliable and weak Ḥadīth.

Like other muḥaddithūn and jurisprudents, Shaykh Bahā- who had studied Ḥadīth under his masters - employed it in jurisprudence, theology, wisdom and ethics, through ijtihād (i.e. a continuous and technical attempt). He himself was a strong link in the chain of transmitters.
In the graph called *Mawâqi’ al-nujêm* produced by the famous *muḥaddith* Mîrzâ Husayn Nûrî representing the golden chain of *Imāmi muḥaddithûn* over 12 centuries- Shaykh Bahâ’s name illuminates like a star of the first magnitude. He studied *Ḥadîth* mostly under his magnanimous father Shaykh Husayn b. ‘Abdul-Samad ‘Āmîli- the disciple of the ‘Allâmah of time, Shahîd Thânî Shaykh Zayn al-Dîn. Shaykh Mohâmed b. ‘Abdul-Laṭîf Muqaddasî Shâfî’î also is mentioned among his chiefs, but he seems to have taught Shaykh Bahâ Ṣâḥîh Bukhârî (Bukhârî’s collection of *Ḥadîth*) and non-*Imāmi Ḥadîth*. His masters, Shaykh Shahîd and Shaykh Husayn ‘Āmîli (Shaykh Bahâ’s father) had studied *Ḥadîth* under the other masters, and so the chain of masters reached its end in one of the infallible Imams of the household (a).

The fruit of this tree, Mullâ Sadrá who is famous for his “Transcendent Philosophy”, was among *muḥaddithûn* and a connecting link between predecessors and successors. He offered the people of *Ḥadîth* a famous scholar like Fayḍ Kâshânî, Mohâmed Bâqir Mâjlisî is among whose disciples. In later sections, we describe this fact in details.

Mullâ Sadrá has received a license for transmitting *Ḥadîth* from a strong *muḥaddith* like Shaykh Bahâ1. This kind of license, recorded mostly in the book (studied under master), affirmed the authority of its owner for transmitting and teaching *Ḥadîth*. In this way, the incapable ones were hindered from entering this field of science and insight.2

**Jurisprudence and Other Sciences**

The term *fiqh* (jurisprudence)- Arabic term for understanding- is a familiar term for our people. From this term, they understand a science, indicating practical and scientific rules of religion; but the exact connotation

1 Mîr Dâmâd also is a master of *Ḥadîth*. He himself had studied *Ḥadîth*, in addition to Shaykh ‘Abdul Karâkî, Muḥaqiq Thânî, offspring and Mîr’s uncle, under Sayyid Husayn the offspring of Sayyid Haydar Karâkî, who is a disciple of Shaykh Bahâ; and, in fact, Mullâ Sadrá reports Ḥadîth through two various link, from Shaykh bahâ.

2 In *Bihîr al-anwâr* no such a license is seen; and this is not surprising, for Mâjlisî had not such a license.
of the term is not known except for some experts. Hence we cast a glance on this fruitful science.

There are two fundamental differences between man and the other animals:

First- The human conduct of man- unlike his other conduct and those of other animals, originating from instincts or as reflective conduct-always originate from his thought and will. Hence, he has both outlook, or in traditional expression, ideological religious principles, and a collection of behavioral principles for relation with other men, called today as “laws”.

Second- The relations of all animals are governed by natural law (the law of jungle), except man, who has to organize his relations with other men, based on codified rules, in which both man's rights and his responsibilities are observed. God- the Exalted- has sent the most perfect rules through the Revelations i.e. religions among which Islam is the most perfect and the last religion. To regulate his social relations, man has codified certain rules other than the religious rules. Both kind of rules are called “laws”, and speak of the rights and responsibilities of people in a civil society. This fact is one fundamental distinction between man and other animals.

*Fiqh* is the name of Islamic laws- derived from the Holy Quran, Ḥadīth and other authentic sources that discuss the rights and responsibilities of people toward each other as well as toward God. It is, in fact, the way of life of the pious and Muslim man who has chosen this way willingly and based on thinking.

After gaining a rational belief in God- called as the roots of religion– the believing Muslim should try to learn his rights and responsibilities toward God and people- i.e. the branches of religion. If he is not able to learn them technically and scientifically, he may recourse to experts (following a religious leader; *taqlid*).

Islamic jurisprudence and laws are among the honors of Muslim nations and one of the most intricate branches of Humanities that distinguishes Muslim nation from other nations, and Islamic jurisprudence from the other schools of law in the world.

Safavid period was one of the most fruitful periods of Islamic and Shi’i jurisprudence. This period presented great jurisprudents who offered
Mullā Šadrā and Shaykh Bahā

outstanding books in jurisprudence, to the world. Among them, Shaykh 'Ali Karaki (known as Muḥaqiq Thānī, and contemporary with Shāh Ismā‘īl Šafawi) is one of the most famous ones.

Shaykh Bahā studied jurisprudence under the masters of time and mostly his magnificent father Shaykh Husayn b. 'Abdul Šamad Šāmī who was one of the capable jurisprudents and the disciple of famous Lebanese scholar Zayn al-Dīn 'Ali b. Aḥmad Šāmī known as Shahīd Thānī (the second martyr, killed by malevolent Ottoman kings.)

It could be claimed that among all disciples, studied under Shaykh Bahā in Qazwīn, Ḫūz̲ābād and other cities, he has no disciple as talented as Mullā Šadrā.

No one of these disciples, except Mullā Šadrā could be compared with the master in esoteric and exoteric issues, knowledge and practice, piety, comprehensiveness and depth.

Over all sciences he taught, Shaykh Bahā had mastery. His taste and intellectual intuition on the one hand, his intelligence and depth on the other caused him to gain mastery over every science he tried to learn and wrote some books in that field.

When he began to write a book in semantic, the result was Šamādiyyah which is, like fretwork and miniatures of Isfahān, full of elegance, beauty and power.

Every couplet in this book reminds us of another couplet. Every chapter of it is like a coherent and integrated elegy. No body else can write such a compact, and at the same time, comprehensive book in semantic.

When he discusses biographies of transmitters (‘ilm al-rijāl), a science, for which there is apparently no rule, he ordains rules and major promises for it. He says:

“Every Ḥamid is a praised one; every Šafwān is a pure one, every 'Abdul Salām is a deserved one except 'Abdul Salām, the offspring of Šāliṭ. No Jacob became despaired except Ya`qūb Ibn Shaybah.”

In teaching arithmetic and astrolabe, commentary, Ḥadīth and jurisprudence on the other hand, he shows this same characteristic.

His spiritual offspring- Mullā Šadrā- trained by such a master, is essentially like his master. Hence we see that his books, except one or two,
are compact and at the same time full of meaning. Like a master of fretwork he has chosen every word of his books carefully, and used all rhetorical figures in his books.

Perhaps, Shaykh Bahā was the first master who supported the disciple to learn the spiritual travel, and taught him the method of writing.

An analysis of the works of Shaykh Bahā and Mir Dāmād- two Mullā Ṣadrā's masters- shows that Shaykh Bahā, not Mir Dāmād, provoked the love for commentary on the Holy Quran in the disciple. Hence unlike most of philosophers not only in philosophical issues, he refers to the illuminated Quranic verses, but in the first period of his career as an author in the third decade of the 11th century, he began to comment on Sūrah Ḥadid (Iron chapter) and the Nūr (Light) verse, Āyat al-Kursī (Chair verse). In this regard the master's influence on the disciple should not be neglected.

As we know, Mullā Ṣadrā is a real and great philosopher who takes the philosophy to the culmination. Even he puts the experimental and intuitive mysticism that does not submit to demonstration, in the frame of rational demonstration. Surprisingly enough, he believes in philosophy and reason as well.

When coming to the Holy Quran and Ḥadīth, this philosopher who is enamored of reason and demonstration seems not to tolerate philosophy and reason. Like a bigot traditionalist (Akhbāri) he picks up philosophy and substitutes it with the Holy Quran, and this suggests the same mentality that we have seen in Shaykh Bahā repeatedly.

Shahīd Thānī was a disciple of Muḥaqqiq Karakī. The latter studied jurisprudence under Shahīd Awwal (the first martyr) who had enjoyed the school of 'Allāmah and Muḥaqqiq Awwal through the offspring of 'Allāmah. This is the most prominent chain, which can be mentioned in Islamic and Shi‘i jurisprudence.

Mullā Ṣadrā, who was also master of the other sciences of time, was a link in this chain. He studied jurisprudence under Shaykh Bahā, and through one intermediate link under Shahīd Thānī. Since we will deal with this fact in other place, now we content ourselves with this brief.

Suffices it to say that if he was not enamored of divine issues of wisdom, and if he did not seek to gain a knowledge of the Origin and
Resurrection, he could teach the desirous ones the science of jurisprudence, comment on the works of predecessors, and lead a happy life.

Mullâ Šadrâ spared no effort to learn other sciences. In a period, in which unawareness of only one of the prevalent sciences was regarded as a great defect, it was almost impossible that a desirous, talented, hard-working and wealthy student like Mullâ Šadrâ did not study “jurisprudence” and its branches such as “uṣūl” and “rijāl”… and “philosophy” and its branches such as “mathematics”, “astronomy”… Taking the presence of an omniscient master like Shaykh Bahâ into account, this can be regarded as a strong conjecture.

It is to be regretted that we have no clear evidence and in all what have been written on that era, the history speaks of brutal powerful oppressors called king, commander, Khân and the like. In Safavid era also, this is the case. In the books of history written on Safavid dynasty, and particularly in diaries of western tourists, there could be seen nothing but wars for power, massacres, wine, and inhumane pleasures. Woe upon him who has to read these profligate books.
Mullā Šadrā and Mīr Dāmād

Now, having put an end on the history of relations between Mullā Šadrā and the genius of time Shaykh Bahā’i and their similarities and relations, it is turn to begin to describe Mullā Šadrā's relations with the other genius, Mīr Dāmād, who was Mullā Šadrā's master in wisdom (ḥikmah).

Mīr Dāmād—whose name is Mīr (Sayyid) Mohammed Bāqir Husayn, or as he himself says: “Mohammed b. Moḥammad al-mad‘aw bi (known as) Bāqir al-Husayn”, and his father was born in a place called Findirisk of the suburbs of Astarābād (the present Gurgān) is regarded as one of the geniuses of Safavid era. In talent, power of understanding, memory and scrutiny, he was unparalleled so that he could be called as the Ibn Sinā of the recent times.

His father—named Shams al-Dīn Sayyid Moḥammad Astarābādī, known as Dāmād was one of the jurisprudents and scholars of his time. He lived at the service of Muḥaqqiq Thānī Shaykh ‘Alī ‘Amīlī Karakī (the author of the well-known book ḽāmi‘ al- Maqāṣid, and the real king of the era of Shāh Ismā‘il Safawī- and became honored to be his son-in-law (dāmād), that is why he is known as Sayyid Moḥammad Dāmād or Mīr Dāmād; and his son inherited this title.

In books of history, Muḥaqqiq Karakī is reported to have seen in a dream the Commander of Faithful, ‘Alī (A. S.) who instructed him to give his daughter in marriage to Sayyid Moḥammad Astarābādī, since a son would be born to them who would inherit the wisdom of the Prophets and saints.
Muḥaqiq gave one of his daughters to him, but soon after this daughter passed away without a child. This made the father puzzled by the fact that his dream did not come true. But again he dreamed the Commander of Faithful who mentioned his other daughter and said: “We meant your other daughter.” Muḥaqiq gave the mentioned daughter to him in marriage. Mir Dāmād was the fruit of their marriage.

Therefore, Mir Dāmād is grandchild by Muḥaqiq Thānī’s daughter. Naturally, from the very beginning of his childhood, he had all what was required to study.

His date of birth is not known. In his Khulāṣat al-Shu’arā, Sayyid ‘Alī Husayn, concerning Mir Dāmād and his meetings with Mir, writes:

In 988 A.H./1580 A.D., he walked gracefully from the royal seat of Qazwīn to the seat of believers, Kāšān to go to the Holy Mashhad. Despite his childhood, he has become so well-versed in various sciences that he has written commentaries and books in highly technical issues of philosophy and mathematics.¹

From the expression “childhood” as well as from the couplets for Mir Dāmād:

“Oh, young cedar, lead a happy life;
“May the spring of your life be free of the calamity of the fall;
“May not be the flower of your face withered;
“May the garden of your face be free of the color of the safron.

it could be understood that, Mir Dāmād at that time was in his early youth. And if we regard him in that year (i.e. 988 A. H.) a youth of 17 years old, his date of birth is obtained as 969 A.H./1561 A.D., which is in agreement with what Sayyid Tabāṭabā’ī (the editor of Nukḥbat al-Maqāl) has said: “I found his date of birth as 969 A.H.”²

On the other hand, as we know, his master Shaykh Husayn b. 'Abdūl Ṣamād ’Āmilī (Shaykh Bahā’ī's father) passed away during his Hajj pilgrimage, in 984 A.H./1576 A.D. Therefore, Mir Dāmād studied under

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¹ - By the royal seat he probably meant Isfahān and this is only an error in writing; for it is very unlikely that Kāšān had been in the way from Qazwin to Mashhad. Kāšān is, in fact, in the way from Isfahān to Mashhad.

² - Dr. Musawi, Ḥakim-i aṣṭarābād.
Shaykh Ḥusayn in Mashhad and Qazwín, in his youth between 980 A.H./1572 A.D. and 983 A.H./1575 A.D. ¹ This is in agreement with what historians such as Iskandar Bayg² and Taqí al-Dín Husayn have written.

It should be accepted that: firstly, in this time, he was 11 years old and, secondly, Muḥaqiq Tháni had not seen this grandchild and passed away before his birth (945 A.H./1538 A.D.).

But on the latter point: an interval of almost 25 years- from 945 A.H. to 969 A.H.- makes the issue of the date of Mir Dámād's birth hard to solve, and the story of Muḥaqiq's dream becomes unreliable. It is much unlikely that there was such an interval between marriage and birth of this child. Also it is much unlikely that Muḥaqiq's daughter was granted this child in her old age when she was on the wane, though according to natural rules it is not fully unlikely.

Here either we should ignore the famous dream or we must consider the date of Mir Dámād's birth prior to mentioned date and agree with those who regard his death at the age of 80- i.e. those who regarded his date of birth to be 961 A.H./1553 A.D., or we have to find another date for his birth. Yet, for me, it is easier to ignore the mentioned dream than the conclusion we derived concerning his date of birth.

Apparently he was born in the Holy Mashhad, and spent his childhood and youth therein. In this city, he studied the prevalent sciences of time- “Arabic literature”, “jurisprudence”, “ilm al-rijāl”, “logic”, “uṣūl” and “philosophy”. It is written that he managed to study intricate philosophical books such as Ibn Sínā's Ishārāt and Shīfā in his early youth, and to write some books in philosophy and other disciplines. As he became- apparently-

¹ - As regards the first case, it should be noted that Bahá’s father had come to Iran in about 966 A.H./1558 A.D. and lived in Qazwin down to 969 A.H./1561 A.D.; and then he stayed in Hirát as Shaykh al- Islam for 8 years or more. (In 979 A.H./1571 A.D., he had been in Hirat; for in this year Shaykh Bahá had sent a poem for his father to Hirá; Sa’íd Naftí, Shaykh Bahá’í, p. 28). In 984 A.H./1576 A.D. he had been in Haj pilgrimage; returning from this journey he had passed away in Bahrain.

² - If we regard Mir Dámād's date of birth in 969 A.H./1561 A.D., then naturally we will have to consider the beginning of his discipleship under Shaykh Ḥusayn Amúi in his teens; which is, taking his talent into account, acceptable; and others also have expressed this time as the “childhood” and the like. We can regard him, in this time, older and, thus, his date of birth would be before 969 A.H.
needless of the masters of Mashhad, he left Mashhad for Qazwin to seek more perfect masters. There he entered the school of the unrivalled master of time Mir Fakhr al-Din Astarabadi known as Sammaki (and sometimes 'Allamah Fakhri, compared with 'Allamah Khafri) who was the fruit of the school of Shiraz and one of the disciples of Mr Ghiyath al-Din Dashtaki.

Despite his childhood as well as the presence of great scholars in Safavid court, his unparalleled talent and strong memory made him famous everywhere.

Finally, this fame led him to Shâh ‘Abbâs' court. He was respected by Shâh ‘Abbâs. His relations with Shâh continued down to Shâh's death. The coming kings also respected him.

This fame, in addition to his talent for wisdom and science and his strong memory caused even his contemporary historians to write books on him. For example, Iskandar Bayg, Shâh ‘Abbâs secretary, writes in his 'Alam Ārā-ye ‘Abbāsi:

“Mir Moḩammed is the son of the late Sayyid Muhammad Dâmâd Astarabadi and the grandson of the Mujtahid Shaikh 'Abd al-'Ali. Because his father had married Shaykh 'Abd al-'Ali's daughter, he was known as Dâmâd (son-in-law). He is distinguished by his intelligence and quickness of mind. During his childhood he lived at Mashhad, where he studied under the professors of theology and other scholars attached to the shrine of the Imam Rida, and made rapid progress. During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah he came to court, where he associated with scholars and divines and engaged indebate with Mir Fakhr al-Din Sammaki Asatarabadi and other learned men. He became an outstanding scholar in both the traditional and rational sciences, and is still at the height of his powers. From the time of the death of Shah Tahmasp up to now, which is the year 1025/1616, he has spent every moment in study and debate. He is a first class scholar in the philosophical sciences, in the various branches of mathematics, in jurisprudence, interpretation of the Koran, and hadith (the science of Muslim tradition) and has reached the status of Mujtahid. Contemporary jurists consider fatwas (juridical opinions on matters of religious law) to be reliable if they have been verified by Mir Dâmâd…Mir Dâmâd has a phenomenal
Mullâ Sadrâ’s Life, Character...

memory; he never forgets any fact once it has been memorized...Mîr Dâmãd is presently living in Ïšfahân...

Mîr Dâmãd studied jurisprudence under masters such as his maternal uncle Shaykh 'Abdul 'Alî b. Shaykh 'Ali Karâkî (Muḥaqiq Thânî's son) and Shaykh Ḥusayn b. 'Abdul Šamad (Shaykh Bahâ’î's father) and (probably) Tâj al-Dîn Ḥusayn Sa’îd Tûsî and Sayyid Nûr al-Dîn 'Amîlî (Shahîd Thânî's disciple). He could be regarded as the heir of Lebanese jurisprudents.

In a short while, Mîr Dâmãd became one of the best jurisprudents of Iran. He founded a fruitful school and trained many disciples who were occupied with judgment and prayer leadership in Ïšfahân and other cities. As it is written in 'Alam àrâ, they asked about intricate fatwas from him and considered them to be reliable if “they had been verified by him”.

From the time he was studying under his great master Fakhr al-Dîn Sammãkî he taught philosophy. After a while everyone became aware of his mastery over wisdom, intellectual sciences and intricate philosophical issues. This caused the scholars and masters such as Shâh Taqî al-Dîn Muhammad, Mîr Maâmêd Shâlistânî, Abû Ja’far Kâfî Qâ’înî, Shaykh Muhammad Bâqîr Nâ’înî, Shaykh Ḥaydar b. Muhammad Khwânsârî, Mîrzà Ibrâhîm Hamadânî, Mîr Abû Tâlib Imâmî Ïšfahânî, Shaykh 'Abdul 'Alî, Mîrzà Jân Bâghnawi Shihrâzî... to be completely overshadowed.

Despite his mastery over all sciences of time, including, in addition to the intellectual and transmitted sciences, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and the like, he is well-known mostly as a philosopher; and this is the character of wisdom and intellectual sciences that overshadow other sciences.

Upon settlement of Mîr Dâmãd in Ïšfahân28 (apparently in 1006 A. H./1597 A.D., and simultaneous with transmitting the capital to Qazwin) everyone became aware of his mastery over various sciences and wisdom. From everywhere, disciples rushed to Ïšfahân to enjoy the never-ending ocean of his knowledge and insight.

We are not so aware of his relations with other scholars of time–except Shaykh Bahā. Warm relations between these two unparalleled scholars are mentioned in books of history. Though Shaykh was elder and more experienced, they were contemporary and had some common characteristics.

Both of them entered Shāh ‘Abbās’ court in Qazwin. Both of them were greatly respected by Safavid kings. Both of them were known for everyone in their time. Both of them were famous for their talent and eminent scholars. Each of them had his own school and was regarded as an unparalleled master of time. Both of them came to Iṣfahān– the new capital–with Shāh ‘Abbās. Evidently, they knew each other closely.

What should be mentioned here is a rare phenomenon seen in their relations i.e. their affection for, and divine connection with, each other. This is not surprising since both of them are traveling in the same path, i.e. mystic path, both of them were drunken of the same wine, i.e. the Divine love, enamored of the same Beloved, and ruined by the same beloved.

One reason for this internal relation is, probably, the fact that Mir Dāmād was the disciple of Shaykh Bahā’s father and his fellow-student. On the other hand, Mir Dāmād is the memorial of Muḥaqiq Thānī - the founder of modern organization of Iranian clerisy and the reviver of traditions of leadership and guardianship (walīyah) of the household (a)- and the master of Shaykh Bahā’s father.

Both of them had a subtle nature and imagination, both of them were poets, mystics, and masters in Arabic and Persian literatures and rhetoric. Both of them were kings of the country of contentment, both of them were heroes of desistance of carnal desires, and as pure as the dawn dew.

Concerning their internal purity and defending each other in absence, a story is told:

Once a day these two great men were riding their horses in company with Shāh ‘Abbās, around Iṣfahān. Shaykh Bahā’s horse was racing forward, but Mir Dāmād’s horse was trotting.

Looking for a flaw in their Godfearing, the deceitful king told Mir: it does not suit a man like Shaykh to race so”. Mir replies: “The horse is caused to dance by enthusiasm, since it knows what a great man is mounting on it”.

Mullā Sadrā and Mir Dāmād
Another time, Shâh goes to Shaykh, and complain from Mir's riding. Shaykh replies: “The great weight of Mir's knowledge does not allow the horse to race otherwise neither Mir is disable to ride, nor is the horse disable to race”.

Whether this story is true- which it seems to be - or not, there was a firm cable of friendship and respect between the two scholars and jurisprudents. They wrote letters for each other, some of which are recorded in books of history. For example, we can mention a letter, written by Mir Dâmad in reply to Shaykh Bahâ. In addition to the respect Mir Dâmad maintained for Shaykh, this letter suggests their warm relation. A part of letter, which is at the culmination of eloquence is as follows:

“The wind of the intimaey blew from the heaven and took me a worthy letter. As if its emanations are the lights of the intellect; and its content, the spheres with all their stars and planets; and its firm lines and figures, the orbits of the earth and the heaven; its words, with their softness, look like rivers of the fresh water; and the multitude of its connotations are like the stormy ocean of the truth.

By God, verily its nature is from the graces of Paradise and it is combined from the water of Paradise. Its zephyr is from Paradise of the light; and its fragrant is from the aloes-wood of the heaven. Thus the spiritual faculties welcomed it and the faculty of the intelligence received it gladly. And the inhabitants of monasteries of the interior cast look on it from the openings of the perceptive faculties and senses. The pigeon of the rational soul was very likely to go to fly from its nest, because of its eagerness, to the world of joy. By my religion, I drank it, but my excessive thirst was not quenched.

“I drank the cup of wine, one after another;
Neither the wine was finished, nor was my thirst quenched.

Seeker always perceives your favors in the light of your auspices; and your hidden gulps quench the thirst of the thirsty ones. And then, I think that the picture of levels of sincerity-, which is infinite even in terms of infinity-, is reflected in that supreme mind, as it is. The mind of your Excellency is as a clear Mirror reflecting the secrets of the worlds of the existence, and the intricate points of sciences and arts. I hope your Excellency remember this sincere one, while you are praying.”
May God increase your kindness and greatness; and praise be upon your high and illuminated threshold, and those who have taken refuge in your threshold and live at your threshold. And may God's favor and grace be eternal and sempiternal.

Your devoted Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād Husaynī.¹

The following letter is an example of letters that Shaykh Bahā wrote to Mir Dāmād:

“Happy are you, oh letter, since you will attain the honor of the contact our chief and lord, and even the lord of all the people of world, who is a namesake of the fifth Imām (a), and among his ancestors i.e. the infallible Imāms, may God's praise be upon all of them. Praise be upon you. I see no need to adorn the beginning of the letter with the titles which is common among the people; for the fame of your excellency makes one needless of putting such titles, which are recorded and saved in memories, in writing. If we give he horse of pen the reins and sail the ship of rhetoric in this ocean; we will be as he who describe the sun through its light and Ḥātam through his generosity; and in fact we will explain the self-evident issues. “What is evident needs no explanation”.

As regards the excessiveness of the desire to drink the wine of union and the excessiveness of the inclination for being received in audience:

That is why I refrained from mentioning these issues in detail, and avoided kindling the meteor of a lengthy letter concerning them. I contended myself with presenting selected and precious writings, whose rainy clouds have originated in the garden of friendship; and they are noble praises whose caravans are going in the roads of the unity; they are special and pure prayers that are proceeding in the way of sincerity; and their nightingales are singing in the gardens of friendship and purity. This old loving friend, who is pure in his friendship, always tries to increase his thanks in type and number- if it pleases God- the Glorified- to compensate what he had to perform and to be ready for what it is in the way.

From your sacred favors I expect that you will not forget me in your good supplications, which make the smell of acceptance fragrant, and do not avoid paving the way of correspondence which removes the rust of sorrows.

¹ - Sayyid ‘Alī Khān, Salāfat al-‘a‘r, p. 478.
from the heart and presents the greatest happiness to man. Praise be on you and those who are waiting at your threshold and may God's praise be upon those who have taken refuge in your threshold.

Your true devoted, Bahá al-Dín.

Mír Dámád was in good relations with some other scholars and officials of time as well. From the letter sent with some books for one of his contemporaries by him in which he used expressions such as “the great head and the great lord, the king of the chiefs...” and amblysia referring the term “head”, it is understood that what he meant was the then prime minister.

Now to put an end on this issue and to bring this beginning to its end, we begin to describe Mír Dámád's scientific and social personality, briefly and hastily, though we know that in order to describe the life of such a great scholar many books should be written. What makes every one who researches in the achievements of Iranian scientific society disappointed is that these geniuses, though our nation is indebted to them and despite their external fame, abide on the depth of obscurity. Their historical figures are hidden under a thick curtain.

In a short biography of Mír Dámád, Sayyid ‘Ali Khán, the author of Salāfat al-’Aṣr- who lived in the 11th century A.H., mentioned to points, each of which explaining one aspect of Mir's life.

For example, he writes:

“The lord and the chain of transmission of ḥadīth, ‘Ālim and ‘Allāmah”; “time cannot produce his like”...

The expressions such as “omniscient” and the “analyzer of sciences” seen in writings of others suggest the unanimity of historians and clear-sighted ones- even, years after his death- concerning his scientific eminence and his mastery over various sciences. Mullá Šadrā also, in letters written for Mir Dámád, mentions these virtues.

In one letter, to describe what was in his mind, Mullá Šadrā addresses Mir as follows: “The one who solves the problems of realities, who uncovers the intricate issues, reveals the beauty of ideas, explain the heavenly mysteries, the one in whom all human perfection are gathered...

“The one whose prefect essence is like the first intellect;

“Free of imperfections in the expected perfection;
The eleventh intellect, the one who contains the roots and branches of the religion” then he adds: “Had not been he created by God, the spring of sciences would drain...”

Not only acquainted with the sciences of his time, but also he was master over all, or most, of them; and all historians mention this fact.

A scholar such as Mullā Sadrā, who himself was regarded as one of the unparalleled scholars of time, when he was nearly 40 years old, mentioned Mīr Dāmād as his problem-solver, again and again and considered himself as a rain-drop of the cloud of his virtues, he writes:

“I am a drop of his cloud;
“Even if I have thousand books written”,
and also:

“All what is gained by this least one resulted from the rays of illuminations of that merciful master; nobody, except the heavenly servants, know how, and wherefrom it is gained, and to where it leads....”

Mīr Dāmād himself believed in his own mastery over various sciences, and even declared it. For example, in his philosophical books, he mentioned Aristotle and Fārābī- who are well-known respectively as the first and second master-- as “our counterparts in science”, and regarded himself as the third master. Also he called Shaykh al-Ra’is Ibn Sinā as “our counterpart in authority (rayāsah)”.

In the introduction to “‘Uyūn al-Masā’il”, he mentions himself as “musirrat al-‘ilm wa tamusirrat al-ḥikmah” (the one who has gained all sciences and wisdom) and so indicates that there is nothing left of the sciences over which he did not find mastery; and verily it is the case.

In the science of jurisprudence, he was the master of time; his accuracy in analyzing juridical issues suggests this fact.

In mathematics also he is master, in the Risālah al-Aʿzalat al-ʿAwsiyyah he solves the hitherto unsolvable mathematical problems. In Sabʿ Shaddād, he discusses seven intricate juridical problems.

In literature also, he has proved his superiority; his mastery over Arabic literature reminds us of Jaḥīẓ, Ibn Muqaffā’ and Asma‘i.

1 - Printed in the end part of Sabʿ-i shaddād.
The characteristic of his jurisprudence is its intertwinement with philosophy. For example, in the problem of the necessity of continuity of intention, from which some jurists have understood actual, not philosophical, continuity, Mir Dâmad introduces “viā’ dahr” and the real existence of “cutting motion” (ḫarakat-i qaṭʿiyah) and says: “And we have derived, in our books, arguments from cutting motion (ḫarakat-i qaṭʿiyah). And continuous time in entities is like the atemporal subsistence in the viā’ dahr (the container of the atemporal); and the dependence of the servant on the remembrance of the intention is only for his origination.” This method can be seen in his other scientific and demonstrative books as well.

One hidden fact in Mir Dâmad's philosophical life is his unbelief in Peripatetic philosophy and his interest in the Illuminationist wisdom (ḥikmat al-īshrāq) and Muḥī al-Din's mysticism. Teaching Ibn Sinā's books, writing commentaries on these books and employing the methods of Aristotelian logic led everyone to conclude that he was a promoter of Peripatetic philosophy; and even some people introduced him as the commentator of Peripatetic and Sinean philosophy.

But, actually, he synthesized the Illuminationist school of Suhrawardi and that of Muḥī al-Din and employed the result as a basis for his philosophy. One of his disciples, ‘Ādil Ardistānī, in an introduction he has written to ‘Uyūn al-Masā’il mentions Mir Dâmad as “the third master, even the first master who removes the curtains, explains schools; the grand master in all sciences who repeals the Greek philosophy, teacher of the true wisdom of the faith...”

One aspect of Mir Dâmad and most of scholars trained in seminaries- remained of the school of the household of Prophet (s)- is their practical piety and God-fearing which in some of them approaches infallibility. This could be regarded as a great distinction between our scholars and those who are trained in materialist civilizations.

Though being able to occupy himself with material and materialistic interests whenever he finds a break in his research and study, he goes on to worship God- the Exalted.

Mir Dâmad's worships and religious ascetic exercises are mentioned in biographies; for example, to observe the presence of the Lord he did not sleep in bed for forty years; for twenty years, he did not perform, even,
allowed acts; his everyday life was mixed with necessary and recommended acts.

In his biography, it is written that every night he recited the Holy Quran and long prayers for hours.

The other aspect of Mir Dâmâd mentioned by historians is his authority, i.e. his high social position. Sayyid ‘Alî Khân has pointed Shâh ‘Abbâs’s fear of Mir Dâmâd's social influence and has said that Shâh tried to kill him again and again; but God-the Exalted- nullified his plans. Mullâ Șadrâ also mentioned this fact, in one of his letters.¹

An important reason for his social position is the inclination of hundreds– and perhaps thousands– of jurisprudents, mujtahidân, judges... that he attracted them like a strong magnet.

The other reason for his social position was the inclination of the masses of people of Șîfâhân to him, who made the elects enamored of his virtues in a way and the masses of people in another way. Despite his piety and ascetic exercises and heedlessness to the wealth and position, he lived between people, recited the Friday prayer and solved the problems of people. He granted the poor relief; and this is the same point that made Mullâ Șadrâ ask Mir Dâmâd a solution for this contradiction.

Sayyid ‘Alî Khân called him the ocean of generosity and gift. Being a refuge for the poor and forgotten was one characteristic of Mir Dâmâd that was very influential in attracting the masses of people to him, making him well-known for his beneficence. This fact made him, in comparison with a parsimonious and mean king like Shâh ‘Abbâs, more eminent.

The other point, which could be mentioned concerning Mir Dâmâd, is his scientific sharp-sightedness and ambition. Scholars and thinkers could be classified under three categories: some of them have an encyclopedic range of sciences, and their characteristic is idiomatically, their “accident aspects” (‘Arađiyyât) i.e. they have a superficial familiarity with every science.

These are like a shallow ocean. In horizontal dimension, they look for various horizons, and cover a wide area of knowledge, but they are

¹ - Later, we will quote this letter.
restricted to their superficial knowledge and do not go even one step behind what they have already read or known.

Some other are masters in one (or sometimes, some) science(s). Their knowledge do not cover many issues; but the magnificence of their ability must be looked for in the depth, not the surface, of their knowledge, for if it is seen deeply, it will be found that they have learnt that (those) science(s) to the end; but, they would not go one step farther from what the earlier ones put forth and did not proceed to the horizons of other sciences.

The third group consists of those for whose knowledge no limit is known. They have no hidden fetters on their legs, and do not content themselves with what the earlier ones have said; but, in every science in which they are interested, like the high-flying birds they look for the summit of that science. As we know, all progresses in science and technology are indebted to this group who heedlessness to the indecent of their contemporaries, have not accepted the earlier sciences blindly; and they themselves looked for different solutions for their problems, and expanded the realm of science.

Perfect examples of this group are Mullā Sadrā and his master Mir Dāmād. In Mullā Sadrā this characteristic is sharper, and in Mir Dāmād it is more intricate and hidden.

Mir Dāmād was one of the rare scholars who had proceeded in all three dimensions of knowledge and conquered all three realms. He had comprehensive knowledge and an unparalleled accuracy so that he was regarded, after Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Khwājah Naṣīr, as a bright example in this regard. Also, thanks to intuition and clear-sightedness originated from his continuous worships and ascetic exercises, he attained hidden spheres in the sky of research and unveiled hidden points. Perhaps, it was these same scientific characteristic that made Mullā Sadrā (who himself was one bright star of this sky) enamored of Mir Dāmād.

The historical evidence suggests that among his masters, Mullā Sadrā has chosen Mir Dāmād as his pattern and the premium symbol in thought and practice.

Despite all his devotion for Shaykh Bahā, to whom he mentioned as a transmitter of hadīth in his books respectfully, and despite the fact that he seems to have learnt the method of practical ascetic and purification of the
soul from him, he does not regard Shaykh Bahā as his spiritual pole, and he was not as interested in Shaykh Bahā as he was in Mir Dāmād.

Shaykh Bahā’s travels with Shāh ‘Abbās or his travels on pilgrimage to Ka’ba and Holy sanctuaries could be regarded as a reason for this fact. (Though sometimes, some of disciples accompanied him in these travels, but we know nothing about Mullā Sadrā’s accompanying Shaykh, or perhaps, this was not possible). On the other hand, Mir Dāmād was not so interested in travel, though sometimes he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Mashhad.

But this was not the only reason; there were some ones who accompanied Shaykh in all his travels and residences. Mir Dāmād researching personality and the importance he attached on philosophy were the main factors of his attractive and scientific characteristic. It is much likely that his piety, religious ascetic exercises, and mystical behavior resonated the above-mentioned factors. Mullā Sadrā, who was enamored of the master, attended all his classes; and went to him to find solutions for his scientific and intellectual problems, and was one of the initiates of the master.

The researching personality of Mullā Sadrā- which could be seen in his scientific life and research easily, and sought for new horizons- sought a master who could deliver him from the prison made by scientists themselves in every era, and lead him to new horizons; he seems to have found this characteristic in none of his contemporary scholars, except Mir Dāmād.

Tendency to new things and new thoughts takes time to be revealed and the novice student has nothing to do with new thoughts; this divine gift, however, seems to be presented to Mullā Sadrā from the very beginning of his youth. Hence, we find that in ages between 20 and 25 (since 1000 A.H./1591 A.D. to 1006 A.H./1597 A.D.) Mullā Sadrā was acquainted- or became acquainted with Mir Dāmād in the then Royal Seat- Qazvin-, this acquaintance made him distinguished from others. Attracted, dead to self and melted in his young master- Mir Dāmād -, the young Mullā Sadrā enters the realm of research.

From the order of Mullā Sadrā's life, it could be understood that, apart from his disciplehood, he was a hunter of sciences and wisdom. It is mentioned in ādīth that “Wisdom is believer's lost thing.” Like a true
believer, he looked for his lost thing; looking for the familiar fragrant of this lost thing (i.e. wisdom) he entered every garden and appealed to every gardener.

In finding Mír Dámād, Mullā Šadrā behaved like a hunter who had found a jungle full of games; as it is well-known the master also behaved in this same way; since, like expert assayers who assay many jewels to select one out of them, he looked for a student to entrust his wealth of knowledge—intentionally and consciously; and even because of a divine and internal duty— to him. He found Mullā Šadrā as his lost one and taught him the mysteries of the heart— which to no other one he was able to teach.

Heedless to the fame and shame, enamored of science, master and book, the young Mullā Šadrā looked for a way to get close to Mir Dámād, and chose him who was genius, omniscient, high-flying and depth-seeing, as his master. On the other hand, in Mullā Sadrā, Mir Dámād saw a love sick wisdom-seeker, who looking for the true wisdom, traversed deserts and left Mirages behind, now sitting before the master all ear, all eye.

This is a rule of material nature, making the “empty” love- sick of the “full”, and “the full” looking for the “empty”, no one of the two (full and empty) containers stops to attempt until they reach the same level. In man, also, the “owner” and “desirous” are enamored of, looking for, and even lovers of each other.

How many masters who looked for a “full understanding” and did not find it! How many students who did not find a master, though they had many official teachers. There are many differences between he for whom “teaching” is like a duty which must be performed, he who like a cloud which rains equally over desert and garden and does not make a distinction between the thirsty and the saturated one; and he who, like an expert jeweler do not sell his jewel except to the valuable people and like a physician who possesses of the Miraculous breathe of Christ and does not give health-giving medicine save to the patient.

One of the calamities of the “science” and “education” in the history of science has been the fact that master- perhaps because of the great number of disciples- becomes an official teacher, and disciple a pure “hearer” and the necessary spiritual relation between them, a state which caused “altar to shout” and master to spiritual dance, is eliminated. The other point, we
should mention is the fact that in early times, unlike the method prevalent in contemporary university and seminary, learning was not restricted to attending the master's class; sometimes disciple, like a member of master's family lived with him in travel and residence, and examined master in every situation, and learned from his sayings and conducts, in every step.

That was why at the beginning of their teaching, masters—according to the method of the wisdom of ancient Persia, and some other Eastern schools that were prevalent among the Persian, Egyptian and Greek sages—taught their disciples the practical wisdom, ascetic exercises, remembrance [of God] and mystical journey.

And when they were assured of their worthiness, spiritual power, and endurance in keeping and exploiting knowledge or as the Holy Quran expresses—found them among the men who possessed determination—taught them theoretical sciences and made them aware of the secrets which were hidden under the words.

Perhaps one of the damages caused by Aristotle to the human thought and spirit and to the good tree of science was the fact that he regarded the “theoretical wisdom” as superior over the “practical wisdom” and as distinguished from it and made the people occupied with indulgence in fanciful theories, and intellectual and verbal games—which he called them philosophy. Instead of incorporating science and wisdom in man's spirit, he made the mind of man acquainted with them.

In this way the wisdom, by which the coordination between Micro Anthropo (which is a copy of macro cosmo) and Macro Anthropo (an assembly, for which the natural world is an imperfect expression) was meant, replaced by something called philosophy, which was consisted of the observation of the material nature and calculation of supra-nature. Later this same Aristotle's mistake caused the westerners, even to eliminate supra-nature from philosophy; and led the sun which had risen from the East and kept the world warm and illuminated for a while to set; today, there is no trace of this sun, even in many philosophy-doers and pseudo philosophers.

One point, to which researcher of the history of philosophy should pay attention, is this same ancient method of ancient thinkers. It was because of the intelligence of Ibn Sinâ (in the last part of his life), betrayal of secrets by Suhrawardî (Shaykh al-Ishrâq), the intelligence and ability of Khwâjah
Nahîr al-Din ʻTüsî, and finally the supervision of the school of Shirâz and Mir Dâmîd (who was training Mullâ Ṣadrâ) that the forgotten traditions of Illuminationist wisdom of ancient Persia were revived, and the practical wisdom approached the theoretical one. Along with the prosaic theoretical wisdom, masters taught their disciples the spiritual journey and ascetic exercises, and made the smells of the disciples fragrant with the perfume of mysticism and ethics and the politeness to worship God secretly. It was not by chance that both Shaykh Bahâ and Mir Dâmîd-who came from different cities and were from different origins, and nor did they study under same masters- were among the people of spiritual journey and ascetic exercises and those who retired to forty days' seclusion; though one of them, i.e. Shaykh Bahâ revealed it; and the other, i.e. Mir Dâmîd concealed it, to some extent.

A part of this ancient Persian tradition- which was confirmed by Islam, and whose leaders classified disciples and those who sought knowledge under various degrees and gave each of them a different seat-was revived in flourishing Safavid era; as we have already said, finally, the young Mullâ Ṣadrâ and Mir Dâmîd found each other and proceeded to learning and training; it was this same harmony between disciple and master, which led later to the “Transcendent Philosophy”. “Just like the Lily and flower under the influence of a chaste interlocutor”¹, Mullâ Ṣadrâ pronounced what Mir Dâmîd had in his heart.

As we shall mention later, the scientific life of Mullâ Ṣadrâ could be divided into three stages: the stage of learning; the stage of researching and examination; the stage of flying to the culmination of research and establishing new doctrines; in all three stages, Mir Dâmîd's knowledge, experience and method were clearly influential in Mullâ Ṣadrâ. Then he made Mullâ Ṣadrâ acquainted with the method of research in a fundamental way. In the next step, Mir Dâmîd taught him how to fly from conventional sciences to the new horizons of science and thought. As we saw and will see in analyzing their letters, Mir Dâmîd was like a guide, throughout Mullâ Ṣadrâ's life.

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¹ - Hâfîz.
In an accurate and comparative study of scientific lives of Mir Dâmâd and Mullâ Sadrâ many similarities between them could be found; because the master's characteristics seems to have been influential on Mullâ Sadrâ's mentalities, scientific and practical style, individual, social and scientific life; though the main part of their close relations will still remain in obscurity.

Hence, knowing Mir Dâmâd will help us to know Mullâ Sadrâ. What we describe in this writing as the master's life is, in a deep glance, Mullâ Sadrâ's life, which we present before the reader's eye. Since

“That is better than that the secrets of 'The Friend
Should be noised abroad in the talk of strangers."

In a brief account, these characteristics could be added to the other Mir Dâmâd's characteristics:

First- Multi-dimensionality of scientific and philosophical point of view in research and insight in training.

In the intellectual system made by him, every problem was discussed not only from theological or philosophical aspect, but also from various points of view; though theologian discussed that problem from the point of view of theology, the logician philosopher from that of the demonstrative philosophy, Illuminationist sage from the viewpoint of illumination, mystic from that of intuition, and commentator and muhaddith from the point of view of the Holy Quran, Revelation and hadith, this sage evaluated it with all those criteria in a single glance, or it is better to say that he assayed it with a criterion, each side of which was adorned by the styles and methods of above-mentioned disciplines.

This method handed down to Mullâ Sadrâ was unprecedented before Mir Dâmâd. In the history of philosophy and intellectual sciences there is no scholar who has discussed an intellectual problem in a system combined of two, or, more, systems so clearly. For example, Fârâbi or Ibn Sinâ while discussing in Greek Peripatetic method in their books, do not mix it with the other viewpoint. Though his Fuṣūs al-ḥikam has not been written from a

1 - The Masnavi of Rumi, Book I, abridged and translated by E.H. Whinfield [1898].

2 - In some of his works this characteristic is not seen.
Peripatetic point of view, Fārābī has kept the pure Peripatetic method in his other books.

Though having been acquainted with the Ishrāqī (or Mashriqī) philosophy and written a book in this philosophical system, and his book in its logic (called *Mantīq al-mashrīqīyīn*) is now available, Ibn Sīnā shows no tendency toward the Ishrāq (Illuminationism) in his well-known philosophical works (such as *Shifā, Ishārāt, al-Najāt* and the like). Despite his mastery over the sciences of jurisprudence and theology, he never combined them with philosophy. In the problem of (corporeal) resurrection, which was an unsolved philosophical problem, he stopped philosophical discussion, and like a pure theologian or *muhaddith* looked for its solution from the point of view of Revelation and Text. 34

The other example is Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī- who should be regarded as a “philosopher-theologian”. Though describing the philosophical problems in his demonstrative works (such as *al-Mabāḥīth al-mashriqīyyah* and *al-Muḥāṣṣal* with the terminology of philosophers, he never ceases to be an “Ashʿārī” theologian; and looks at philosophy from the narrow sight of the science of theology, and even with the near-sighted eyes of Ashʿārī theology.

The Illuminationist philosopher, Suhrawardī- who is the remarkable representative of the school of philosophy of ancient Persia, and the first one who wrote a book under the title of Illuminationist philosophy (*Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*), proceeded to discuss philosophical issues in the prevalent method of time in his other books, and did not mixed them with Illuminationist philosophy. 1

The Khwājah of the scholars who is, according to us, the first one who proceeded to solve the theological problems, based on the viewpoints of various schools and perhaps the first one who (even, before Qūṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and Shahrūzī) entered Suhrawardi’s *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* to seminaries

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1 - The issue of perception (*idrāk*), *al-Mutāriḥāt*, ed. by Henry Corbin, p. 483, p. 194. As he himself says, demonstrative philosophy is a prerequisite for understanding Illuminationist philosophy.
and promoted it consciously, avoided combining these viewpoints in his works.¹


It should be noted that nature of some issues require them to be discussed only from a single- e. g. philosophical- point of view. Or because some people have refused a doctrine from a special viewpoint, their objections should be replied from the same viewpoint. An example is Mir Dámâd's _Qabasāt_, which is to reply the objections of philosophers and those who deny the temporal origination of other than God. In this book, he has discussed the issue in the context of Peripatetic philosophy.

Second- Paying much attention to the Holy Quran and _ḥadīth_. Mir Dámâd was one of the famous _muḥaddithûn_ and jurists of his time and taught jurisprudence and _ḥadīth_. In these two sciences he had his own school and wrote some books such as _Sharīḥ usūl al- kāfī_ (commentary on _Usūl al-kāfi_), _al-Rawāshiḥ al- samāwiyyah_, _al- Sab’ al-Shaddād_ ... in _ḥadīth_.

From what historians have said, it is understood that he was unrivalled in the jurisprudence of his time and nobody else was superior over him in this field.

Even, as one historian says, jurists, judges and _Shaykh al-Islāms_ of various cities, in case of difficulty, would ask for Mir Dámâd's opinion holding it as the final say.

Because of his mastery over _ḥadīth_, commentary, and his profound belief in the Holy Quran and _ḥadīth_ (or the Book and tradition), and also for his practical commitment to them when discussing the problems discussed in the Holy Quran or _ḥadīth_, he employed these two transmitted sources to confirm his demonstrations.

The clear proof for this fact is continuation of this method in Mullā Sadrā and his other disciple Sayyid Ahmad 'Amîlî- who was also Mir

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¹ According to the recent research Suhrawardî was an _Ismā‘īlī_ Shi‘i and among the Nizârî Ismā‘īlîs of Qazwîn and Alamêt; and it is not unlikely that he had become acquainted with the Illuminationist philosophy in these places. Khwājah also was among the partisans of this group, and this same common aspect is sufficient for this point.
Dâmân's son-in-law. In Şadr al- Muta'allihín, this method reaches to its own peak; and as we shall say, he seems to have turned away from the rational proof and relied only on the Book and tradition, taking them as the real and divine wisdom.

Third- Reliance on innovation and institution against commentary and imitation. Though known as a Peripatetic philosopher and the commentator of Ibn Sinâ's works and well-known only for establishing the doctrine of atemporal origination (ḫudîth-i dahrî) or clarifying the issues of the principality of quiddity and decisive motion (ḫarakat-i qaṭ'îyyah), an accurate analysis of his scientific life will reveal that Mîr Dâmân has his own doctrines in many philosophical- and even logical- issues. His tendency to innovation, institution and independence in thought are not restricted to philosophy and intellectual sciences; in all sciences, whether intellectual or transmitted, he has his own method.

As we shall see, in this respect also is Mullâ Şadrâ similar to the master, and influenced by him, so that every researcher on Mulla Sadra's works will find his intellectual and philosophical system as a creative and innovative system, in which all issues are incorporated; and out of that raw material he has established a new and firm school.

Fourth- Spiritual journey and intuition

We have already become ourselves acquainted with Mîr Dâmân's piety and God-fearing, which were close to infallibility. To these valuable characteristics- which are specific to great men, and revealed as worships and religious (but planned and scientific) ascetics- we should add his mystical journey and say that piety and worship are not separate from mysticism, spiritual journey and devotion to God. The latter ones are the perfection and goal; and the former ones are premises and beginnings. Mîr Dâmân and, after him, Şadr al-Muta’allihihin underwent all these stages and attained perfection.

The method of spiritual journey was always employed by the companions and initiates of the infallible Imâms of the household (a), and its secrets and practices were transmitted from predecessors to successors, from masters to disciples, from guide to devotee, heart by heart; and there was always a hidden way from mosque to tavern for the rake ones. This characteristic seems to have further grown in Safavid era, hence sometimes
it was confused with Sufism. Some well-reputed scholars and jurists of Mir Dâmâd's time also were well-known for this characteristic.

One, so far, dark point of Mullâ Sadrâ's life is the fact that his hard ascetic exercises and seclusion in Kahak (near the Holy city of Qum) (or even in a cave, near to that village) was not unprecedented. He learned this method thanks to his master(s) Mir Dâmâd (and Shaykh Bahâ). Through some phrases of Sayyid Ahmed 'Âmili, the other disciple of Mir Dâmâd (e. g. in the introduction to 'Urwat al-wuthqâ in commenting on al-Shifâ) who like Mullâ Sadrâ describes his doctrines as originated from inspiration and illumination- it is understood that some of other disciples of Mir Dâmâd also studied spiritual journey under him. The results of this learning would be revealed in their insights and sayings.¹

From an analysis of Mullâ Sadrâ's letters for Mir Dâmâd it can be understood that not only Mullâ Sadrâ had a great belief in his master, but also he was the so-called devotee of master and regarded him as his Shaykh and pole. He considered what the master said as necessary to be obeyed. Mir Dâmâd also was as his spiritual father and pole.

Surprisingly enough, though Shaykh Bahâ was well-known for ascetic exercises and spiritual journey, such a relation has not been established between him and Mullâ Sadrâ. Mullâ Sadrâ himself also did not use expressions, which he used in relation with Mir Dâmâd, to describe Shaykh Bahâ.

Fifth - poetical gift

The other characteristic of Mir Dâmâd is his tendency toward poetry, which is indicative of his subtle nature. In addition to his inherited talent, perhaps the origins of this gift were, on the one hand his birthplace- Khurasân- and on the other hand, popularity of poetry in Safavid era, which is the period of culmination of so-called Isfahâni or Hindî style. In that era, poetry was prevalent among many scholars and officials.

The theoretical and practical mysticism should be regarded as the other factors influencing on poetry. As we know, Muḥî al- Din Ibn- `Arabi, who was a mystic, muḥaddith, theologian and jurist of his time, represented

¹ - Some of his famous disciples are Mullâ Shamsâ Gilâni and Qâb al-Dîn Muḥammad Ishkawari (known as Sharîf Lâhîjî) and Mullâ Khalîl Quzînî.
his theses, like a professional poet, in the language of poems. Moreover, many others, who were drunken of Divine wine, were adorned with the same ornament. The well-known examples are Ibn Farid, ‘Irāqi, ‘Attār, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.

In addition to quatrains, Mīr Dāmād had short and long poems; his long poem “Mashriq al-anwār” is now available. An example of his quatrains is following one quoted in Husayn Kashānī’s Khulaṣat al-ash‘ār:

“Oh love, art thou the source of existence?;
That thou art thoroughly benefit;
May the devil eye be averted from thee;
Since thou art the ornament of the shop of existence.

As it is mentioned, over Arabic literature also Mīr Dāmād had mastery. In semantic, grammar and rhetoric he was in the culmination. He had elegies in Arabic, some of which are available; for example an elegy with the first lines:

طّارت الورد، شوقاً يجتاح الطّلب
أين سَتَبْنَهُ مَؤْنَى، بِكَفِّ الْمَلْبِب
افتح المورق جُلِّد، دَمَّرَ الْبَرْقُ وَقَد
رضّ الْوَلِيدِ سَوَى مِيْتَهُ تِلكَ الْقَنْب

Mīr Dāmād's nom de plume in his Persian poems was Ishrāq. Some European researchers have considered it as indicative of his tendency to Illuminationist wisdom. Though it is not much unlikely, it is better to regard it as indicative of his belief in intuitions and hidden openings, that this great man employed to solve intellectual and transmitted problems, and sometimes found a cloud of divine “generosity” - he mentioned it as “وَمَهِْمْ” - in his way.

Perhaps it is not incorrect to regard Mullah Sadrā's tendency toward poetry— and particularly, to quatrains, which was the desired style for Mīr Dāmād- as disciple's adherence to master, and devotee's adherence to guide; and to consider this adherence as a gift brought from his spiritual journey with the master, and an achievement resulted from enjoying the master's presence.
Mullā Sadrā's poems- if analyzed accurately- are not as attractive as the poems of famous poets- including Shaykh Bahā; and his poetical gift, compared with his perfect philosophical thought, is not so distinguished.

Correspondence: Mullā Sadrā's enamoring of, and devotion to Mir Dāmād and the extent of spiritual, mental and even scientific dependence of the former on the latter are not mentioned in the history books; even it is not mentioned in Mullā Sadrā books. There was left only an introduction, written by him to the master's 'Arsh al-taqdis, but this introduction also is in praise of the book not the author. If he has written commentaries on the master's (Mir Dāmād's) books (for example he is said to have written commentaries on the master's “Qabasāt” and “Rawāshīḥ al-samāwīyāh”) these commentaries are not available, and I have not found any traces of them, yet.

The only evidence, suggesting Mullā Sadrā's profound devotion to, and extensive dependence on, Mir Dāmād is some of his letters handed down to us.

These letters suggest that they were in regular correspondence with each other; and it is much likely that they had sent many letters for each other; however, since these letters were in the access of the masses of people, they have been annihilated gradually.

But these few remained letters could be, through an accurate analysis, considered as suggesting the extent of their spiritual, intellectual and scientific relation, the social position of these two men, and the social conditions of their time.

None of these letters is dated; these letters are written in literary Persian of time, adorned sometimes with Arabic phrases.

Dānichepezhûh quotes one of these letters in the 13th vol. of the journal of Farhang Īrān Zamīn. This letter has been copied between 1064 A.H./1653 A.D. and 1096 A.H./1684 A.D. by one of 'Allāmah Āqā Ḥusayn Khwānsârî's disciples:

“It is sufficient for me to be assigned to you;
“I am called, known and subsistent through you;
“If the nations acquire their honor through their kings;
“My honor is much more greater.”
As long as the rays of the sun of the existence, as it is required by the Divine wisdom, illuminate on the horizons of possible things, and the light of the real existence supervenes on entities; may the sun of knowledge and the bright stars of the generosity in the sky of the heaven-like essence of your excellency, the owner of the throne of the perfection, the man of the place of superiority; the one who solves the intricate problems; who reveals the beauty of the ideas, expounds the heavenly mysteries; who is the adornment of the knowledge and insight of the book of creation, the assembly of the human perfection; the Mirror of the Divine manifestations illuminate.

“The one whose perfect essence is, like the first intellect;
“Free of imperfection in the expected perfection.

The one who revealed the hidden truths and made the rivers of knowledge flow to his chaste heart, and designed the plan of research on the pages of book, and divide the shares of emanation on the hearts of people of reason, the eleventh intellect\(^\text{1}\), the assembly of major and minor sciences, the lord, and the chief of philosophers, the master of masters, the chief of jurisprudents, the sun of the wisdom of faith,..., the referent of the people of time,..., the one who solves the problems of truths,...,

“May be shined on the fixed entities of the people of good morals and noble acts and the possible receptacle frames of the disciples and students: this least among those who hold the cable of benefiting and the least one among those who appeal your generosity, Mohammed known as Šadr al-Shirāzī occupied with studying the intentions of earlier philosophers and researching in the works of scholars as much as ability allows him, has gathered something from everywhere, and as much as it was possible for this disable mind, has attempted to reply the refutations and objections, adduced against the expressions of the books such as Shifā and Ishārāt... some points have been occurred to mind...but because of the lack of confidence in my instinct, I did not care them, …ultimately I put them, in some books, in writing...It should be reported to the elixir-like insight of the master of scholars that... In addition, since there are some problems for one of the esteemed ones of Kāshān, who has been in scientific discussions with this

\(^{1}\) ḫārīj ‘ashr-i ‘uqlā.
least one, and appealed to this poor one and requested for their solutions, this prayerful one also has written some words.” Evidently, in this letter and other letters Mullā Šadrā casts the peak of his internal devotion and belief [in the master] in the inadequate mold of words and shows his enthusiasm; particularly if we take the fact into account that Mullā Šadrā is free of flattery and incorrect praise. The words used by Mullā Šadrā in praise of Mir are single in kind and cannot be found in any letter sent by him to others including the senior officials and even Shaykh Bahā’ī.

The length of the letter also attests non-artificiality and non-immedicacy, the points that can be understood from this letter are as follows:

1- Mir Dāmād not only had held the chair of teaching and research, but also he was the one to whom scholars of time and his own disciples, including Mullā Šadrā, referred to solve their philosophical and juridical problems. An evidence of this fact is this phrase: “... the one who solves the problems of the truths, unveils the problems of the subtle points, ...”

2- From the phrase “Occupied with studying the earlier philosophers’ intentions, and researching in the works of scholars...”it is understood that he had not yet begun to unveil the truths of the wisdom of the faith and Divine wisdom, and he had still believed in what the earlier ones had said, and proceeded to discuss them. This fits with Mullā Šadrā’s youth.

3- Expressions such as “in reply to refutations and objections, adduced against Šifā and Ishārāt, some points have been occurred to mind... but because of the lack of confidence to my own instinct, I did not care to them... It should be reported to the elixir-like insight of the master of scholars that...” suggest that he had finished his education, and now it was time for teaching the popular philosophical textbook; and the traces of a researching spirit required to solve the controversial philosophical issues emerged in him, gradually. It is much likely that he has not yet begun to write glosses and books as if he had not has the required self-confidence.

Because the commentary on Āyat al-Kursī, which is the symbol of his intuition and independent reasoning, and in it his scrutinizing spirit in research is observable, and no trace of lack of self-confidence is seen therein, was written in 1021A.H./1612 A.D., it could be concluded that this letter was written before this date in the second half of the second decade of the 11th. Century A.H., i. e. between 1011 A.H./1602 A.D. and 1018
A.H./1609 A.D., when he was not in Isfahān and stayed, presumably, in Shīrāz or Qum or Kāshān.

4- The phrase “one of the esteemed ones of Kāshān who was in scientific correspondence with me...” implies that he was occupied with teaching and seems to have taught well-known texts such as Shīfā, Ishārāt, and probably, Qūṭb Shīrāzī’s Shaṛḥ ḥīḵmat al-ıṣhrāq; and the required material to write commentaries on Shīfā and Ḫīḵmat al-ıṣhrāq were obtained through these teachings.

Mullā Muḥṣin Fayḍ could not be regarded as “one of the esteemed ones of Kāshān...”, for, as it is well-known, Fayḍ was born in 1007 A.H./1598 A.D., and his age did not allow him to study advanced philosophy. In addition, as Fayḍ himself wrote, he visited Mullā Šadrā in Qum after Sayyid Mājid Bahrānī’s death (1028 A.H./1618 A.D.) and around 1030 A.H./1620 A.D. It is probable that in this letter Mullā Šadrā mentioned to Mullā Mużaffār Ḥusayn Kāshānī’s questions, of which we will speak, later.

5- It is mentioned that from the phrase “one of the esteemed ones of Kāshān” it can be understood that in this time, he himself was staying in Kāshān unless we assume that he had sent the letter from another city, through one of his disciples, who had been from Kāshān.

Below, you will read another letter quoted from the above-mentioned source which is posterior to the above letter:

“May the suns of the wisdom of faith not be turned off, after it was illuminated by the light of his being. And also may the moons of the human souls, which are able to acquire the lights of the Divine knowledge and Holly manifestations from the vein of lāḥūt and the source of jabarūt, be kindled by the lights of All-Merciful. Also may they be illuminated by the Lordly lights because of his being.

Oh God! Establish and illuminate the paradises of the true prophetic shari‘ah and the Murtiḏawī (‘Alawi) pleasing conducts, and the correct Ḥasani lordship, and the firm Ja‘fari religion, may God’s praise be on he who established it as well as on those who safeguard it, so that it may be resurrected after being obscured, through his high rank and renewed thanks to his place, and may its time of popularity be repeated in the light of his being. By the seal of the prophets and the most virtuous successor, and the
household of the two, who are free of the imperfections of the corporeal nature, and of the contaminations of the ignorance of the prime hyle, may God’s praise be on them.

The one who has a correct opinion, a pure mind, and a right thinking power, whose eye of insight is illuminated by the purl of the Lordly confirmations…

“Two ends of the circle of being:
“Are connected, indeed, through you.

And this symbol of all modes and the essence in which all perfections are gathered, is extremely rare, more valuable than the red brimstone and rarer than the great elixir…

And such a holy being, after it was realized, is better to be concealed from people. And this concealment is either because of the fact that people are not ready and their insights are unable to know and understand the rank of the perfection of such a spiritual man and substinent light and sacred essence, or it is due to the fact that the Mirror of his illuminating essence is free of the dusts of evil conducts of the people of time, and in particular the well-known scholars of time, who are covered with the dust of corruption…. And it is written in some books that the concealment of the righteous is caused by the fact that they do not agree to look at the faces of the scholars of time, who are in fact ignorant ones and regard themselves as scholars.

Therefore, it can be understood that the Truth- the Exalted- has granted many favors to the people of this time. Since among the never-ending Divine graces to the people of this time is the appearance of he whose likes come to existence rarely, and in their lives, because of their greatness, they are concealed from the people…

I mean the one whose happiness is paradisiacal, and his generosity is like that of heaven… the king of great divine scholars, and the guide of jurisprudents, the great chain of the transmission of ḥadīth…the lord and great sir, the chief and even the king of the lords and the chosen ones of the world…

The enemies tried hard to put down the niche of his light; God, however, made them disappointed…

And what he knows is through the argument of certainty and the clear unveiling and hearty taste, in a way that reason comes to certainty
through it and it can be proved that this knowledge cannot be acquired unless with the Divine confirmations and Lordly inspirations, and intellectual guidance and the help made by the heavenly agents…

And he is a gate, through which one can proceed in God’s path, and he is a place, wherein one can easily leave what is other than God…

As regards the life of this ignoble poor one, though not free of hardship, for every one knows how hard is the management of a married life and a household consisted of spouse and a great number of offspring, dependants and relatives, along with the disagreement of time and ill-behavior of people, and yet to abate the nuisance of ignorant ones and rascals is among the permanent works; praise be on God that my faith is intact…

Because of being deprived of being at your presence, wherein is happiness. However, I am sad and down-hearted; repeatedly I sought to come to your threshold, which is the destination of the people of truth, but I am not sufficiently lucky to do so. It is because of my bad luck that I have been deprived of being honored to visit that greatest master for some eight years, and it is not possible to visit that pride of the people of science at all. I am ashamed of this, lest it is so thought that this is because of ingratitude…

And also it is said to that illuminating opinion …that in time of separation from that qiblah of horizons, some of subtle points and noble concepts have been occurred to this disable mind, most of them are far from what is agreed upon by the majority of the people [of philosophy], because of avoiding the people and going to seclusion and insisting on prayers. Though they are demonstrated and are not devoid of the rules of argumentation, since they are not familiar for the majority of the students and those who are assigned to the people of science, I have not presented them, as they are, in my writings. I present a part of them implicitly, and the rest are interspersed in the long discussions, and thus presented to the pure and sharp minds… And since all what is occurred to the mind of this least one is because of the illuminations of that generous one, and no one is aware of its quintessence, its source, origin… except your high excellency, I want to put it in an expurgated writing to make it worthy to be presented to that illumination-receiving throne, who is proceeding in the path of guidance…

“For the friend, being drunken or being alert are identical; “Care should be observed before the enemy.
... 
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I am not but a drop of his cloud;
Even if I have written thousand books.
And again the mind says that since this prayerful one is to be honored to visit the master in this year, all the points, which are in mind, will be presented verbally to the master, and every defect in them will be removed under the light of his peace-giving breathes…”
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In this letter, more important facts are found and thus some dark points in their lives can be explained, which we mention briefly, and leave farther research to reader:

1- The expression “the sun of the wisdom of faith” is a new expression that seems to have been used in opposition to Peripatetic and Illuminationist wisdom and suggests the fact that he regards Mir Dâmâd as the founder of the Transcendent Philosophy and Islamic philosophy, which is derived from the Holy Quran, hadîth, Islamic mysticism (= faîth).

2- From the expression “the light of the paradise of shari’ah...” the role played by Mir Dâmâd in promoting and commenting on the Holy Quran and hadîth, as the main sources inspiring philosophical thought and rational intellection, can be understood. The terms such as “resurrected after being obscured...” suggest that, before him, hadîth and commentary were not so popular, and Mir Dâmâd made them popular. The phrase “being renewed thanks to him, and its time of popularity repeated in the light of his life” implies Mir Dâmâd as its reviver.

3- The terms such as “the symbol of all modes [of perfection]”, and the other terms in this letter- which have been explicitly repeated and confirmed in history books- stipulate Mir Dâmâd's mastery over the prevalent sciences of time and even so-called occult sciences. Likening him to the major elixir and red brimstone indicates that he was a true 'Allâmâh and a real prodigy who was unrivalled in the sciences of his time. Except Shaykh Bahâ, nobody else could be compared with him.

4- The phrase “is better to be concealed from the people” and lashing out at “the well-known scholars of time, who are covered with the dust of corruption” are clear implications of the atmosphere of envy and idle talks produced by pseudo-scholars who turned away from the Ka’ba proceeding to people, or ill-thinking simple-minded ones who lived in
Safavid court marginally, backbiting the true scholars and real devouts of Islam and household (a) and caused difficulties for them. This fact suggests that the real value of Mir Dâmad- and his like- was known only for the scholars such as Mullâ Šadrâ, and not for those who only tied turbans who were, as Mullâ Šadrâ said, “the ill–natured” and “deniers of the intellectual lights of that ancient jewel.”

5- The phrase “The king of divine scholars and the guide of jurisprudents, the great chain of the transmission of ḥadîth…” implies the depth of his devotion to Mir.

6- The sentence “And he is a gate through which one can proceed in God’s path, and a place, in which one can easily leave what is there other than God” is indicative of Mir Dâmad’s polarity in spiritual journey of his disciples and devotees.

7- From some points of the letter, we find that despite his being, apparently respected by the people of time- Mir Dâmad was always envied by the contemporaries. And even, as the author of Salâfat al-’a‘âr says, Shâh ‘Abbâs made an attempt on his life.

And also, in this regard, the phrases such as “with few friends and many enemies” and “...tried as much as possible to extinguish his fire” can be mentioned.

8- Phrases such as “argument of certainty...clear unveiling...hearty taste” are indicatives of those Màr Dâmad’s spiritual journeys and religious ascetic exercises, which were exposed to the masses of people and elects.

9- The subtle historical point is that, from some sentences, it is understood that Mir Dâmad’s jealous enemies were not but his contemporary scholars and clerics, in particular the people of debate, who were, apparently, theologians and the people of intellectual sciences.

10- In a part of letter, Šadr al-Muta’allihin expressed his surprise that how this great man, despite abandonment of the world and despite his piety, which call for seclusion- and even dwelling in a cave- and keeping aloof from people, lived among people and pray the congregation and Friday prayers, and how he would proceed to judge and explain the religious problems! Mullâ Šadrâ regards this spiritual and behavioral contradiction like the contradictions which were present in the Commander of Faithful ‘Ali (a).
There is another letter of Mullâ Sadrâ available, which has been published in the journal *Râhnamâ-yi Kitâb* (Abân 1341,Nos. 8/9) by Dânechepezhêh. This letter contains accurate information about the lives of this great scholar and his glorious master.

The letter goes as follows:

By the Creatorship of the Necessary Being, Who, according to His eternal wisdom and everlasting will, designed the form of the absolute existence on the tablets of quiddities and bodies of possible receptacles, and with two hands of His true wisdom and perfect power established these nine tents of the high world, without the help of the cables, through the intellects and souls; and hung them over these seven laminated masses of the seven dome through the compass of making (*ja'âl*) and invention (*ibda*'), and …

“When His power breathed in the pen;
“When He resolved to say “kon” (Be!);
“Making colored both the worlds;
“What he has commanded and what He forbade;
“Encompassed the clay and water of mankind…

The Generous Who when specified every creature of the world of making and generation to a rank of honor and a grace of perfection, reached the human essence, through combining the effects of the lights of the heavenly beauties and synthesizing the results of the motions and the insights of the heavenly fathers, from the epitome of the creatures of the elementary masses and the chosen ones of the essential compounds through the degrees of training to a point, in which, among all the creators and possible things, the matter of his creation became deserved to be created as the rational soul …And He turned the nest of his psychical spirit, which is a subtle steam, like the high and noble mass, which is the high-flying eagle of the sky of wisdom and seeks to nest in the sacred spirit. And he commanded it (the psychical spirit) to fly in the world of union by two wings of practical and theoretical faculties, and reached it from the depth of abyss of ignorance.

“The reason did not find an animal better than the man;
“Since it is the man who can reach God,
“He is a novel sky, full of stars;
“A small world, which is advancing…”

In this letter also there are certain historical and analytical points, indicating the social conditions of time, Mullâ Sadrâ's life and the profound spiritual relations between master and disciple, which we mention some of them.

1- In that part of letter, in which he proceeds to praise Mir Dâmad and describe his own spiritual devotion to him, it is written: “and he commanded it…”. Mentioning these glorifying titles for the master is an indicator of his perfect devotion and deep respect for the master, which can be clearly seen in almost all of his letters.

2- Phrases such as “the reviver of the predecessors' traditions…”, also mentioned in another letters, indicates that Mir Dâmad was considered as the reviver of Islamic sciences, which is worthy of consideration, taking into account other scholars in his time and before.

3- In this letter he has used various terms such as “unfavorable time” or “ill-orbited spheres” which are signs of his problems which did not originated only from mal-behavior of ordinary people and scholars living in his age. It seems that in this state of depression other problems such as material and spiritual ones also had a role. For example for running his family affairs, and because of bodily diseases and miss-treatment of friends he had problems. The theme prevalent in his poems, confirms this fact. For example:

“In every cup of the wine of aim, which I gain;
“The world will throw, jealously, a chip of disappointment.

or:
“I have not yet drunken a cup of the wine of sorrow perfectly;
“That I am given another cup, immediately.

In general, I believe that Mullâ Sadrâ's sensitive spirit, his gentle nature and his weary nerves, tired body, and probably, his great expectation of the unreliable time originated probably from welfare of his life in youth, and his being the sole offspring of the family, all and all, were of some influence in resonating his offences and the enmity of the people of time; his sensitive and gentle spirit could not withstand the bitterness of that poisoned wine presented by that fastidious cup-bearer and that bridegroom-killing bride (i.e. the world)
4- The important historical point seen in this letter is that mal-being of the people, whether “ignorant” masses or “dull-minded elects” began when he left the city in which his master lived- apparently Isfahān- for another city. Therefore whether we accept that he taught philosophy in Isfahān or not, he led an easy life in that city and “his heart was the mother of pearl of happiness”, and after “leaving that supreme city”, he was captured by sorrow, family affairs, and social problems.

The city, to which he emigrated- that naturally was not a village like Kahak- had probably, the following characteristics:

A) Ill-naturedness, ignorance, deception, ill-mindedness, lie, hypocrisy, and foolishness were prevalent, there.

B) The people were refraining from science, virtue and art, and could not make a distinction between perfection and imperfection, honor and dishonor.

C) A group of voluptuous people, who pretended to be pious ones, were governing them.

D) They were deeply dependent on statesmen and courtiers, and declared eating of the leavings of kings and rich ones as a religious duty.

Based on the family records of Mullā Sadrā it seems that this city is Shirāz; another evidence may be found to choose Qum or Kāshān (or, probably, another city). In this regard we will talk in a proper place, if it pleases God.

5- In this letter a better situation which had been expected previously is mentioned, he has mentioned “what it was expected previously....”. Here, some points could be understood:

First- In past times (the first part of Shāh ‘Abbās’ reign, or before him) the true scholars were respected.

Second- A stage was reached when the situation became different (probably, again, in Shāh ‘Abbās’ time.)

Third- There were a third stage (time of the writing the letter) in which statesmen and king were expected to respect true scholars, but contrary to this expectation, true scholars lived, as ever, under pressures. (This stage was reached, probably, after Shaykh Bahā’ī’s death, or Shāh ‘Abbās’ death.)
On the other hand, this letter is undated; if we assume that Mullâ Sadrâ left Išfahân about 1012 A.H./1603 A.D., this letter was written 12 years later i.e. about 1024 A.H./1615 A.D.– which is in Shâh ‘Abbâs' era. Therefore, it could be concluded that all above mentioned changes occurred in Shâh ‘Abbâs' era, and Shâh ‘Abbâs unstable policies concerning scholars, caused these changes.

6- But if we assume that Mullâ Sadrâ left Mir Dânâd in a later time (not certainly, after 1020 A.H.) or if we take the beginning of their separation, not after the first farewell, but after the last occasional visit (between the two) the expectation for the improvement of situation might have been caused by Shâh ‘Abbâs' death and Shâh Šafî's ascending the throne (1038 A.H./1628 A.D.). Then we have to take the beginning of separation between the master and the student 1026 A.H./1617 A.D. when he lived presumably in Qum, since he wrote the commentary on Ayât al- Kursî in Qum (in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D.); and it should be concluded that in this time (1026 A.H.) they visited each other. The important historical point in this letter is what has been just mentioned.

From the sentence: “Before the days of separation, these hardships had never occurred, and I had never captured in conversation with the ignorant and imperfect ones of these cities...” it is deduced that:

First: In Išfahân, as is already said, he was not under the spiritual pressure exerted by his opponents and pseudo-scholars of time. It was after leaving Išfahân for another city that he was captured by these hardships.

Second: From the term “the great number of the members of family and dependants” and “carelessness of the statesmen” it can be deduced that this city was Shirâz, which was the capital of a main province and had its own “state”, not Qum that did not had a government which could be mentioned as “state”. In addition, by the “great number of the members of family” he meant naturally the dependants of his father's court; and his expectation from the statesmen, who evidently paid attention to a vizier's son more than a teacher of philosophy, might have been caused by his family's social situation.

His clerically tone in this letter fits Shirâz (where he had land properties, and had to audit his receipts and expenses) more than Qum, Kahak, or Kâshân.
7- The other sentences in the last part of this letter, such as “I was in the station of singularity...” shows the beginning of his hard spiritual and bodily ascetic exercises.

8- From the sentence “particularly, in this ten twelve years” the date of his first separation from Mir Dāmād and leaving of Iṣfahān could be inferred; though it may be concluded that this phrase points to a later time, after their last visit in Iṣfahān or another city.

9- He used terms such as “weakness of body” and “old age” which reveal the passage of his youth and the beginning of his old age, and if we consider the date of the letter to be 1030 A.H., he was in fifties, and if probably the date were near 1040 A.H., he would have attained his sixties.

10- The last part of letter, where he writes: “In solitude, there is a happiness,... and these scientific goals...” if we do not take it to be written in his first travel to Shīrāz, it fits his settlement in Qum and Kahak, since his intellectual achievements which were presented in “Asfār al- arba’āh” and the like, were attained in Qum (in time of his settlement in Kahak.). These sentences may be regarded as indicating that all what we have said above, are related to time of his settlement in Qum, and not Shīrāz. Even it may be concluded that he had gone from Iṣfahān to Qum (or Kashan) and not Shīrāz; though the opposite assumption is acceptable as well; that is, we can assume that he settled in Qum and wrote the books and treatises after writing this letter, say in Shīrāz.

There is a fourth letter also, printed by our delivered friend Mr. Āṣhtiyānī in the last part of his ‘Sharḥ ḥal wa ārā-yi falsafi-yi Mullā Šadrā’, quoting the book Iṭḥbāt al-nubuwwah (presently in the library of Āstān Quds Raḍawī).

In this letter, he has written:

“He is All-Knowing
God favored the earth you walk on it
And also He favored mankind, for He made you as a man.

God’s praise and graces be on the treasure of the Divine wisdom and guardian of shari’ah. Oh God Thee created him as a light, by which one can find the good way, and Thee created him as a lamp for the travelers in the path of the truth and as a guide, whose demonstration never diminishes, and as a truth, whose friend never defeat, and as a firm cable and as a long and
reliable rope, in the same way keep him for Islam and Muslims. And give his best qualities to the people of virtue, and increase his kindness for the people of science.

And he is a respectable and generous lord, and even the lord of lords and chosen ones on the earth. Also he is the one, who has been obeyed by the great figures of the nations. And he is the architect of hearts of learned and he is a criterion for virtues. He is the one, whose characteristics have been imprinted on the books of day and night. And he is the one, whose qualities are well-known for the great ones and superior men. He is the lord of the researchers and the link joining the great theosophers of mankind together. He is the honor of the chiefs and masters. He is a pattern for the jurisprudents and mujtahidên, and he is an heir of the prophets’ sciences. He is the master of the man and the eleventh intellect, and ‘Allāmah among the scholars of time. And he is the foundation of the columns of the theists, help of the weak and poor. And he is the one, whose infallible ancestor had been called the analyzer of the sciences (Bāqir al-'ulīm). He is the one, men will always pay attention to his pithy words. And, great ones will accept his bright allusions, down to the resurrection day.

But then, the servant and bondman of God, Mohammed Ibn Ibrāhīm Shirāzi, who is amorous for God’s perfect graces and favors, says that may God appoint me among the bondmen, which He view them favorably. Verily, my reliance in all affairs is God, and every good I have ever received is bestowed by Him. Since the time He appointed me among the believers and followers of ‘Ali (A.S.), I found a joyful power in my soul, which was as sweet as sugar. Then I went to give alms, and…”

In this letter as well, like the other letters, Mullā Šadrā has expressed his deepest respect to Mir Dāmād. Though the Persian writings of that time are very flattering and full of synonyms; from Mullā Šadrā’s letters the fragrant of purity and real devotion is smelt, suggesting his politeness, deep respect, never ending devotion, and unparalleled enamor [of the master]. The terms such as... “guardian of Sharī‘ah”, “the architect of the hearts of learned”, “the master of man and the eleventh intellect...”, “the link joining great theosophers of the mankind together” expose Mullā Šadrā’s devotion to the master, and Mir Dāmād’s various aspects in science, wisdom,
jurisprudence, and his tendency toward training devotees and reveals this
great wise as an extraordinary figure.

The historical point seen here lies in the use of the term *dār al-
mu‘minin*, the name which was given to Kāshān. It seems that he had written
this letter prior to one of the trips of Mīr Dāmād, apparently from Iṣfahān to
Kāshān most probably with his retinue and students. It seems that during
those days, like today, Kāshān was a route to Ray and Khurāsān from
Iṣfahān, and was credited as a scientific center placing in itself a great
number of jurisprudents and scholars.

Before this time, Fāḍil Khafārī lived in Kāshān, and *muḥaddithūn* and
jurisprudents such as Shāh Muṭṭidā (Fāyḍ Kāshānī’s father) were among the
guardians of *Shar‘* and jurisprudence in that city. Mīr Dāmād—probably, in
his way to go on pilgrimage to Mashhād—stayed for a while in Kāshān. As
we saw, in Taqī al-Dīn Ḥusayn Kāshānī’s *Khulaṣat al-ash’ār* it is written
that Mīr Dāmād— in his way from Qazwīn to Iṣfahān (988 A.H./1580 A.D.)
stayed for some days in Kāshān or near that city- Qum. Mīr Dāmād’s trip to
Kāshān or Qum was considered as fulfilling the promise of union, otherwise
the master's trip to Kāshān had nothing to do with Shirāz— which is
diametrically opposite to Kāshān.

This letter might have been written before the previous one, since
livelihood and youth is appeared in it. Another point about the historical
background of the life of these two great philosophers is that Mīr Dāmād
was a safe refuge for Mullā Sadrā in his scientific problems, and in their
personal relations, philosophical and perhaps non-philosophical problems
were also discussed, and Mīr Dāmād solved Mullā Sadrā’s problems through
his own capable thought, thus encouraging the disciple to take up his lessons
as earnestly as ever.

This makes the author believe that some of the famous viewpoints of
Mullā Sadrā flowing as demonstrative words from his pen, of which we will
speak if it pleases God, had their roots in the inspiring works of his master.

The sentence “And what is necessary to tell to my great master is
some ideas which occurred in my mind in the time of separation and
examination, which, for shortness of time and hurry of the courier, I avoided
writing all of them in this letter” evidences that he availed himself of every
opportunity to write letters and present his new thoughts and his objections on the issues of earlier philosophers.

Perhaps one reason for Mullā Sadrā's sound viewpoint is that he did not hurry in disclosing them and thus he hid them from public, except for cases when he deemed writing as his religious responsibility. But, at least for his own master, pole, and the Ka'ba of his heart, i.e. Mir Dāmād, he used to present his thoughts and get the approval of his master.

As seen in all these four letters, one can by analyzing them conclude the character and status of Mīr Dāmād as well as those of Mullā Sadrā. Since we will discuss the latter in proper place, here, taking the advantage of opportunity to examine Mullā Sadrā's letter to Mir Dāmād, we proceed to study the conditions of Mir Dāmād's time and his personality. Prior to do so it is worth to consider the master's acceptance and affection for Mullā Sadrā in a letter ascribed to Mir Dāmād and addressed to Mullā Sadrā.

The evidence implying to this letter is a sheet of paper, written in broken suspense (ta'līq) style, undotted and signed by “Abdullāh Ibn al-Sadrā al-Shirāzī Ibrāhīm”, in 1114 A.H./1702 A.D. From the expression “the copy of what had been written by the chain of transmission of ḥadīth for our great ancestor, Sadr al-‘urafā wa’l muta’allihin, may God enlighten their reasons” it is inferred that he was among Mullā Sadrā's grandchildren, and probably Fayd Kāshānī's offspring.

The letter is as follows:

The letter is as follows:

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

My desire to visit that dear one, your generous majesty, who is a refuge for the subtle points cannot be written and described, even in dozens of scrolls and in thousands allusions…

I seek for a moonlit night with the friend;
So that I can speak of what I like with you,
The most needy one to God
Muhammad Bāqir al- Dāmād al-Ḥusaynī.

From the appearance of the letter it is understood that the letter has been quoted imperfectly.

This quatrain composed in praise of Mullā Sadrā also is ascribed to Mir Dāmād:

“Oh, Mullā Sadrā your rank has been exceeded the celestial sphere;
“Plato has confessed to be your servant;
“Certainly no body else like you;
“Will be born in nature.

As we saw Mullā Šadrā went to Iṣfahān in 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. and lived there for some ten years; and then chose to stay in Shīrāz, Qum, and other cities, down to 1041 A.H./1631 A.D. when we have record of Mir Dāmād's death. Until then Mullā Šadrā and Mir Dāmād lived under similar social and political conditions. Hence, a brief analysis of the social and political situation of Mir Dāmād's time can be considered as an analysis of the society in which Mullā Šadrā lived. This analysis could be regarded as an introduction to the study of his life.

As we know, in Shāh 'Abbās' time Iṣfahān was chosen as the capital of country. Before this city, Qazwin and Ardabil were, respectively, the capitals of city.

Politically, in every era, the capital city is the center of secret policies of that era.

Shāh 'Abbās I died in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D.; after him, Shāh Šafī- a cruel and ignorant king- reigned for 14 years or so, Mullā Šadrā passed away in his time (the date of death of Shāh 'Abbās II: 1052 A.H./1642 A.D.)

In one respect, in Safavid era, particularly in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I, the country had relatively the best situation, because:

First- The country had real independence and witnessed the end of exploitation of the neighboring Turks and gained a glory for itself in the international level, achieved fame in Europe and amongst the famous rulers.

Second: Sciences such as jurisprudence, ḥadith, philosophy, mysticism, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and arts such as poetry, architecture, painting, calligraphy, and music greatly flourished.

Third: A well-founded and sound system was established which replaced the nomadic one. A centralized judicial system was also established according to the style of the Ottoman Turks. Holding of Friday prayers, and convention of religious gatherings and benefiting from the great Shi‘i scholars of Lebanon and Jabal 'Āmil for their organization, all gave a new aspect to the country. For the first time, by making use of foreign experts, cannons and guns were imported to the country and provided to armed
forces, and perhaps their experiences were also used for theoretical and practical training of the experts in different military fields.

Fourth: The economic situation both in local and international fields was greatly flourishing, and under correct management and accurate supervision of Shāh ‘Abbās I, the security of the roads, cities and public welfare were safeguarded.

But the society in those days, because of the prevalence of moral corruption inherited from the former ruling of the neighboring Turks, was in a bad situation, and with the exception of some groups which were followers of religion and Shari‘ah, others were drowned in moral corruption.

This is why it can be concluded that despite the Safavid's fame for having had a religious rule and following Shāh-i Walāyat (the king of saints, i.e. 'Ali (a) and although they respected religion, jurisprudents and prayer leaders, and although the latter group supported the Kings apparently and regarded them as causing the glory of Shi‘i school to continue, the political society of those days was not considered as being an appropriate Islamic one.

Though religious points were apparently observed, the moral corruption was greatly prevalent. More importantly, in most periods, the kings themselves fueled the fire of these corruptions.

For example, Shāh ‘Abbās and some other Safavid kings spent their lives mostly in drinking wine and with the women of harem, prostitutes, or Armenian, Georgian and Circassian slave girls, or hunting.

During Shāh ‘Abbās' reign, prostitution was considered as an official occupation, and a part of the government's income was secured in this way. Prostitutes, in his reign, had an official syndicate, and their own representative. In addition, in various occasions, they were rewarded by the king, and sometimes their chosen ones entertained the attendants in Shāh's parties. These points were described in diaries of Europeans and foreigner ambassadors, who lived in Shāh ‘Abbās’ court for years, in detail.

The moral corruption was prevalent in the centers of Sufis and Kalendars in another way. In these centers, young Circassian and Georgian boys were exposed to buy and sell by corrupt men.

Most of Safavid kings were in fact no less than their counterparts in other countries in terms of corruption, cruelty, dictatorship and oppression. As an Arabic saying puts it “kings set patterns for their people”; that is how
the court behavior spread to men in the street in the Safavid era. An ignorant and miss-cultured ruler causes the culture to descend and the scholars to be weakened. A ruler who is a patron of culture and sciences, causes the culture to ascend, and the wisdom, science and literature to be prevalent. The pious ruler leads the people to piety, and a corrupt ruler leads them to corruption.

A hard-bitten ruler Shāh ‘Abbās I spared no effort to protect the throne going as far as ousting and jailing his father, and killing or blinding his brothers whom he viewed as potential claimants to the kingdom.

Like all (or most of) other kings, he was an ignorant man who relied only on his power. History portrays the mighty king as a person with plebian habits and a faint belief in religion, probably taught by his mother in his childhood. Nevertheless, in his official policies he was heedlessness to religious rules; and despite calling himself as the “dog of doorway of ‘Alī”, and the “servant of Shāh-i Walāyat”, he did not care actually for religious rules.

What forced Shāh ‘Abbās to fall short of ignoring the religion totally or converting from Shi‘ism to Sunnism for a while like his predecessor, was his strong anti-Ottoman sentiments and also the presence of influential jurisprudents and, to some extent, Sufis who had become an immense social power.

Though being a talented and clever youth, an experienced militarist and altogether a successful king, when it came to international affairs, Shāh ‘Abbās would turn into a naive politician. He was, in fact, influenced by European kings, the then Pope, and their ambassadors.

Despite the fact that his miscalculations paved the way for Britain to gain ground in Indian Peninsula, thus influencing the entire region including Iran for centuries, and access to potential international situations to make use of the then political and social conditions, unable to understand the political situation of Islamic world, he failed to form a regional alliance with the Muslim and powerful Ottoman government to gain new achievements. Nor was he able to use the political and military power of European governments to rival the neighboring and dangerous Ottomans who were, as himself, ignorant and captured by anti-Shi‘i sentiments.

His other failure in international affair was his misunderstanding of the Christian civilization of Europe, causing Pope to try to convert Iranian king courtiers and people to Christianity.
This wrong policy produced many difficulties for Shi‘i and Iranian jurisprudents and scholars. Beside spying, the so-called Christian missioners supported by European kings tried to return Muslims and particularly Circassian, Georgian and Armenian converts to Christianity, and at the same time, prevented the interested Christians converting to Islam.

One wonderful historical phenomenon of Shàh ‘Abbàs’ era and after him is that almost all ambassadors and tourists who came to Iran and were respected in his court were, in fact, the representatives of Pope and martial or clerical spies.

Documents show that these travelers who were mainly British, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese played an extra-national role by helping propagate the Holy-See or Saint-Siege idea. It was not by chance that some of them were military men, merchants and economists. All of them, without exception, prepared precise geopolitical maps of the key roads stretching eastward to India and China. Almost all of them presented their report to Pope.

The declination of economy was another problem caused by the inexperienced king.

Despite enjoying a relative welfare- ordinary citizens were not involved in foreign trade, which was the virtual monopoly of the capital Işfahān Armenians and other foreigner residing in Iran.

To save Armenians- who lived in a region between Iran and Ottoman Turkey and were exposed to oppression of neighboring country- Shàh ‘Abbàs transferred a group of them to Iran, and granted them job and wealth. As a French traveler, Tavernier, says, the reason for transferring Armenians to Iran was that Shah wanted to save them from their pitiful situation and employing them in Iranian industries. It did not take a long time that Iranian Armenians became wealthy and at the same time were respected by [Safavid] kings.

The other damage caused by flatteringly policy of Shàh ‘Abbàs toward European foreigners on the culture of our country (continued in the era of other ignorant and depending kings) was the transferring of valuable books or the unique, or rare, copies of scientific books- whether pre-Islamic or post-Islamic to Europe or Vatican by these traders or ambassadors, or their Jewish or Armenian agents.
Majlisi who lived in Safavid era, said: “In our time, in “Jay” restrict of İşfahân some houses were found under hills, which were full of books, written on the bark of tree in a way that nobody was able to read them”.

Today, of that entire legacy, nothing or, at best, a negligible part remained for us. The civilized thieves, or more precisely, those who stole the civilization, plundered these valuable works and sometimes exposed them, fearlessly and even proudly.

Post-Islamic scientific books in mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, or astronomy, which were stolen from Iran, reached the western scientists; and the achievements of our Iranian predecessors were presented by western researchers as their own.

In is worthy to note that, owing to the Safavid kings, the Jewish community- which were under pressure in most countries– emerged, like Armenians, as an economically-prosperous stratum of society.

The French tourist Tavernieh, who witnessed the situation wrote that the majority of the Iranian population were involved in jobs such as framing, silk production, carpet weaving and handicrafts, but the real profit went to Armenian and Jewish merchants who exported these items to Europe.

This was a brief account of Shāh ‘Abbās’ era, in which our philosophers Mîr Dâmâd and Mullâ Sadrâ lived. It goes without saying that in such an era and with this king and his court only corrupt-men were successful, and accomplished scholars and pious jurisprudents lived in unacceptable conditions.

The history of that era could be discussed from another point of view, as well.

Despite what we have said about Safavid kings, and corruption seen in every part of that society, to make our research perfect we should add that a governmental system is not simply the same as the king or the sum of its individuals (whether king or statesmen). The firm foundation of building should not be regarded as unpleasant because of the accidental and ugly traces on its wall.

As we said in the beginning of our saying, that is why the Safavid era, despite all corruption of most of Safavid kings, was one of the brightest

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1 - Bihâr a-anwâr, vol. 60, p. 238.
eras of Iran's history and Safavid government was one of the best centralized
governments of Iran.

Even in comparison with the best royal dynasties of Iran, i.e.
Buyids, the Safavid dynasty must be preferred.

In Safavid era not only the Shi‘i culture revealed its own real value
and the sciences of Shi‘i jurisprudence, commentary, and hadith prospered,
causing the Shi‘ism to become the most eminent school, but also the
sciences and literature reached their peak; in this field the scientific heritage
of earlier scholars also flourished. In no other era of our scientific history,
there lived so many scholars, jurisprudents, muhaddithûn, philosophers,
mathematicians, and mystics.

Perhaps, that is why in the present century¹ the historians of western
colonial club and its hirelings have criticized this era in various aspects,
though they have praised some of Safavid kings, and in particular Shâh
‘Abbâs.

The Safavid government, in comparison with prior and posterior
governments had its own bright anti-colonialist aspects, which were not so
pleasing for our political and cultural enemies. Hence, in their so-called
research they have shown their displeasure. The other historical and social
fact is that, despite apparent corruption of a large group of the people of
capital and some other cities, the main body of society in that time were
chaste Muslims following the scholars and jurisprudents. Thanks to these
Imâmi clerics- from preacher and elegy reciter to prayer leader mujtahid,
muhaddith and Shaykh al-Islâm, who rebuilt the supreme palace of modern
Shi‘i culture through their religious teachings- majority of the people were
pious and firm in religion having inclined to clerics and scholars.

Unfortunately the belief in religion and firmness in faith were not
(and are not) accompanied by a true understanding required to make a
distinction between deceitful false-scholars and the true scholars. Even it can
be maintained that the deeper the religious faith of a nation, the more it is
likely to be misled by the false and even superficial scholars. This important
point, which culminated in Safavid era, can be witnessed in all eras.

¹ - 20th. century.
The analytical history of religious societies shows that the public inclination to clerics, sometimes caused the public to suspect certain members of clerical class.

Some scholars' backbiting some others caused people to turn away from the accused ones and even to insult and attack on them.

As if it is a rule among naive people to choose glass bead over garnet. As Hāfiz says:

“The blood should be surged in the heart of garnet;
“Since, the glass bead is preferred to it.

This natural trend of human society, in Safavid society as well as any other bigot and credulous religious society caused both the bigot false-scholars, or more precisely “sanctimonious ones”, and deceitful teachers to flourish. The latter group, naturally, backbit accomplished and brave scholars who had their own doctrines in jurisprudence, fundamental dogmas, theology and philosophy. As we saw Akhbārīyyūn (i.e. the bigot Shi‘ī people of ḥadīth who followed Traditionalists and non-Shi‘ī schools blindly and were contemporaneous with Mir Dāmād and Mullā Sadrā) made continuous attacks on jurisprudents and the experts in science of jurisprudence.

The bigot jurisprudents and muḥaddithūn attacked on the theologians of time; and a more extended front consisted of all of them made attacks on philosophers and metaphysicians such as Mir Dāmād and Sadr al-Muta‘allihin. Nobody raised to help the truth, and there was not a criterion to make a distinction between oxymel and vinegar. Though a natural phenomenon; it is very doleful.

Safavid government not also recognized the Shi‘ī school as an Islamic school but also gave it a new identity as an internationally accepted governmental system. This identity was not so exposed in other powerful Shi‘ī government even in Buyad’s era. In this way, Safavid government made Ottoman government deprived of its Islamic motto, which was as its international identity against Christian governments of Europe and, thus, reduced it to an ordinary government. In fact, this was a reason for Ottoman's enmity with Safavid.

In addition, in Safavid era, Iran appeared as a united country with its own independent and powerful government and a united nation curtailing
neighboring nations (Ottoman Turks and Uzbeks') power from the country and turning Iranians to a respected nation.

To fortify his new-established government, Shāh Ismā‘il, the young and clever founder of Safavid dynasty, did not content himself only with external and apparent aspects such as armed forces and treasure. For this purpose he tried to strengthen the internal institutions of political society. In the first step, he recognized the institution of clerisy and turned it to an organized and necessary social institution; and even he regarded himself as the representative of jurisprudents. He invited the greatest clergy of time, i.e. Muḥaqqiq Karaki 'Āmili, along with some other great jurisprudents, to Iran and trusted them with the country or a large part of it.

To compete against the Ottoman government, Shāh Ismā‘il organized the clerisy, which was until then in a common situation, and made clergies involved in governmental affairs to make better use of them in advantage of the country.

Since then, Safavid government was in an organic relation with clergies, and people profited by this fact.

As a result of this social development, united legal system ruled all across the country, the Shi‘i jurisprudence was recognized and, a governmental jurisprudence- or more precisely a large-scale jurisprudence- was established whose issues went beyond unofficial relations of individuals (today, called civil law), leading to mutual relations of the nation and the state (constitutional and administrative law) and the relations between states (international law). Since then, issues such as land taxes, holy war (Jihād), and guardianship of jurisconsult (or the Divine origin of government) were the prevalent issues discussed in the centers of jurisprudence and religious sciences. Over thousand years, these issues were remained restricted to the jurisprudence of other schools, ruling Muslims; and Shi‘i jurisprudence because of the lack of suitable conditions, had not discussed them.

Because of the two important governmental-administrative and scientific-juridical aspects, Muḥaqqiq Karaki established a coherent and united legal system. The judges were selected from well-reputed jurisprudents. In addition, the coherent systems of endowments and religious training for the masses of people and Friday prayers must be mentioned. Each of these systems was managed through a well-arranged organization by
clergies called as “Ṣadr” and “Shaykh al- Islām” and the like, solving the problems of people.

Despite these characteristics and the fact that Christian governments of Europe respected Safavid government, this governmental system because of her services for Islam and having eliminated the ground required for their future military exploitations, was not tolerable for them.

European governments never accepted Safavid government, and always regarded it as a powerful rival.

The courts of the kings are indicators of their own personalities. If the kings and rulers could be likened to a tree, their retinue must be likened to parasites feeding off the tree's sap; or to unstable bindweed, drawing themselves up by the help of that tree.

That is why there is always a group of low-minded, false-scholar, flatterer, hypocritical people around the chiefs of nation- and more than any other one around kings.

Flattery of this group, or their unstable and accidental positions are individual affairs, but because of their nearness to the king or chiefs and by taking the personality of those chiefs into account this group try to accomplish great works and infuse their thoughts originating from their jealousy and meanness in them in elegant words. Hence it has been often witnessed that the chiefs of science and literature- who had been delivered, willing to service, and truthful ones- were killed because of the conspiracy of this sinister group. History has witnessed many great men such as Ḥasanak Wazir and the like, who were hanged because of the guile and jealousy of these ignoble ones, by kings.

Safavid court also- except for short periods, felled a victim to these conspiracies. From an analysis of the history of Shāh ‘Abbās' era it is understood that the false-scholars- who were esteemed by the king or his relatives- did not fail any attempt to persecute great men such as Mir Dāmād, Mullā Ṣadrā and even Shaykh Bahā’ī.

Despite his natural tolerance and firmness of pen, Mir Dāmād has mentioned sometimes these persecutions. In this regard, in Mullā Ṣadrā's letter also some phrases can be mentioned.

In the preface of his book Širāṭ al-mustaṣaqīm, Mir Dāmād points unfavorable social conditions for the real and accomplished scholars:
“Thus, I was in the middle of various afflictions and misadventures; and now I am in such a situation where remained no friend for me. I can see that, in an era when there are not many men of science, wise men have been appointed the lower levels…”

Also in the preface of ‘Uyûn al-masā’il, he alludes to the same point:

“The infallible ones have been reported to applaud the virtue of eliminating the darkness of ignorance…Thus I have tried to guide the straying ones and cure the diseases of the soul, through spreading the mysteries of the truth and certitude…The calamities of the time, one after the other, however, prevent me from doing my task…”

Among the characteristics of time of Shāh ‘Abbās and Mīr Dāmād's era are “the decline of friendship”, “the extinction of the guardians of science” and “the light of science being put out”, the latter being probably a reference to Shaykh Bahā’ī's death that set the stage for Mīr Dāmād and Mullā Sadrā's opponent - the Traditionalists– to become more active.

The other characteristic of this era is that, despite his popularity with the masses of people, the scholars of various cities and numerous disciples, who studied under him, and his influence on the legal system, Mīr Dāmād has been under the pressure of accusations brought against him, to which he has alluded in his Širāt al-mustaqīm.

It should be noted that the preface of a book such as Širāt al-mustaqīm was not a private letter; it is, in fact, an official statement to make everybody aware of his unfavorable conditions. It can be said to be distinguished from the complaints of figures such as Khwājah Naṣīr Tūsī and even Mullā Sadrā. Though he offered his book to Shāh ‘Abbās, this book is, in fact, a statement against the policy of time, and unfavorable conditions resulted from the government.

It is likely that by the ignorant and corruptible ones of time he has meant the ignorant head-banded ones who, because of their deprivation of the science of jurisprudence and philosophy, followed the anti-jurisprudence movement and the principles set by Mīrzā Moḥammad Astarrābādī and Moḥammad Amin Astarrābādī who, in turn, propagated the method of the literalists- school of non-Shī‘i muḥaddithūn- under the name of Akhbārīgarī (Tradirtionalism).
These two are almost contemporaneous, since Shah Abbass I died in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D., and naturally, Șirāț al-mustaqīm, which was presented to him, had been written prior to his death. The date of death of Shaykh Moḥammed Amin Astarābādī (in Mecca) is 1036 A.H. Shaykh Moḥammed Astarābādī, his father-in-law, passed away in 1028 A.H./1618 A.D. (again, in Mecca)\(^1\)

Traditionalists were skilled mainly in making attacks on that jurisprudence, which was based on the science of fundamental dogmas. Though having derived their own doctrine from non-Imāmīs such as Ḥanbalīs, Salafīyyah, externalists and literalists because of their settlement in Mecca and among these groups, they accused the fundamentalist jurisprudents to follow theologians, rationalist jurisprudents and non-Imāmī and Sunni rationality.

False-clergies and head-banded ones, who were unable to study jurisprudence, fundamental dogmas and philosophy, but could memorize some ḥadīth to indicate and were able to translate literally, took advantage of this doctrine to attack on both Sufis and philosophers as well as scholars of the science of fundamental dogmas, and to condemn other people of ḥadīth, Quran, jurisprudence and the wisdom of Imāms (A.S.) under the pretext of preservation of the ḥadīth of Imāms and their literal translation.

From here it could be understood, why Mīr Dāmād, who had inherited the Persian ancient wisdom i.e. the Illuminationist wisdom could not (or did not want to) propagate it, like Shihāb al-Din Suhrawardi, Qutb Shīrāzī, and even Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. in 908 A.H./1502 A.D.) openly, and he was regarded as a Peripatetic philosopher despite his profound belief in [the school of] Andalusian mystic Muḥī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī and making use of his school. Mīr Dāmād revealed this tendency only in his own philosophical and interpretive thoughts.

From here it could be understood that why Mullā Sadrā was a good target for reproach and excommunication, since he propagated both the Illuminationist wisdom and mysticism; and he promoted Ibn ʿArabī's mysticism more or less. The story of Mullā Ṣadrā's dream after Mīr Dāmād's death- whether it is true or not- originated from this fact. As the story goes,
Mullâ Sadrâ, in his dream, says to Mir Dâmâd that I also speak of the same things you had spoken of, then why had not you been excommunicated while I am regarded as disbeliever and atheist?’ In reply, Mir Dâmâd says, “I concealed it, while you reveal it”.

In addition, it is likely that the opponents of Mir Dâmâd (and after him, Mullâ Sadrâ) were scholars who were adorned by the ornament of the science of theology, jurisprudence and other sciences, and well-versed in the terminology of those sciences. However, since they quoted the doctrines of predecessors by rote, and were unable to understand the innovative doctrines of these great figures, they opposed them, tried to provoke the masses of people against them, deceived the simple-hearted students, and mobilized these students to backbiting everywhere.

Mullâ Sadrâ’s Sīh așl, which speaks with theologians, scholars, jurisprudents and muḥaddithûn, not with the masses of people, and reveals their failures, confirms this fact. (We will discuss this point separately).

Here it is worth to cast a glance on an important historical phenomenon in the history of science and to discuss the sociology of the science and thought, i.e. the oppressive war of science against science. By this war, the philosophical and theological debates, which are in fact encounters between various opinions of scholars, are not meant; here it is only the science that has tried to negate the science.

In addition, we do not mean the encounter between ignorance and knowledge; since, sometimes the ignorance appears as the knowledge, and thus the scholars support it. One of the famous phenomena of the history is the hostile encounter of the enemies of knowledge with scholars. According to the rule “the people are enemies of what they do not know”, ignorance and its armed to the teeth forces have been always in war against knowledge and scholars.

In the history of Orient, or at least in the history of Islam, this kind of encounter is very rare. The holy Prophet (s) and the Imâms (a) themselves were among the teachers of mankind and the revivers of various sciences. In the history of medieval Europe the hard encounter between the so-called “sanctimonious” ignorant i.e. Christian clergies and scholars is so evident that make us needless of explain.
Here we mean a war raised by a group of scholars against another group, and it is not ignorance, but knowledge that raised to opposite knowledge.

For this phenomenon, many psychological, sociological, political or social analyses can be provided; here, however, we quote its Islamic analysis described in the ḥadīth of the Holy Prophet (s) and Imāms (a) which is noticed neither by Iranians or other Muslims. It is to be feared that, again, the foreigner researchers understand this point before us and present it to us.

This is a long story, requiring a long time to be described in detail; thus we will content ourselves with some hint, since,

“Not a word is said even in sport
Without an intelligent man taking advice thereby.”

The key to solve this problem is the source and connotation of “knowledge” (‘ilm) which is in fact a homonym; since, whether in its contemporary form in the West, in which by knowledge limited phenomenologies, obtainable through external senses, are meant, or in its theological and universal form which had been prevalent among the ancient nations, and were employed, after the advent of Islam by Muslim scholars, “knowledge” means all what can be learned whether among the sensible or intelligible rules of the world. The intellectual sciences also are of two kinds, since sometimes the intellectual science discusses material sensible things (called the first intelligibles) and sometimes it goes to a higher level, which is derived from the former and called the level second intelligibles.

But, what is seen in this all- whether in limited western meaning or in extensive eastern and Islamic connotation- is the excessive reliance on the material and pseudo-material sources i.e. five senses and human imperfect reason, which can be regarded as sensation and perception. And what is not seen as a source is a factor out of the world of matter, i.e. hidden inspirations and Divine illuminations expressed as the “light” by the Holy Quran; though some people may repeat these terms carelessly to their meaning and depths.

One of the most important religious teachings always have tried to lead man to spiritual “light”. And one of the most important points in ḥadīth is the fact that “knowledge” is not but light, and it cannot be gained through

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1. The Gulistan Of Sa'di by Sheikh Muslih-uddin Sa'di Shirazi (1258) Translated by Sir Edwin Arnold (1899)
senses perception, learning... it should be projected by God in the heart; a heart free of rust and polished in the factory of ascetic exercises. As a well-known hadith says:

“The knowledge is light, God projects it in the heart of everyone He pleases”.

In this regard, in a hadith addressed to 'Anawān Baṣrī, Imām Ṣādiq (A.S.) has said:

“Knowledge cannot be acquired through learning; but it is a light God projects on the heart of every one He pleases to guide him. Then if you are seeking for knowledge, first go to seek the truth of the servitude in your own soul. And seek for knowledge through practice. And seek the help of God to understand knowledge, then God will make you to understand”.

The sociology of scientific society and the social psychology of the scholars of Safavid era, particularly in Mullā Ṣadrā's time, is an independent subject to be analyzed separately.

It could be maintained that, this phenomenon (i.e. the arraying of ignorance troops against knowledge) is generally and socio-psychologically a universal phenomenon, and not restricted to a particular era; since, as a well-known hadith of the Commander of Faithful says, “the people are the enemies of what they do not know”.

Complaining of fellow-scholars has been prevalent in the other periods as well.

Before Mīr Dāmād, Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī had expressed some complaints and after Mullā Ṣadrā, in the works of his disciple Mullā 'Abdul Razzāq Lāhjī and some others, some complaints of unfamiliar contemporaries are seen.

From the mysterious expression of Mullā Ṣadrā- mentioned in the problem of transmigration- the depth of this opposition and moral corruption of contemporaries could be deduced. On a kind of transmigration- which is, in effect, reincarnation in the Sīh aṣl (Risalāh-yī), he says:

“Internal reincarnation is seen in this community abundantly; observer should see to find that how many swines and servants of the false deity appear deceitfully as pious and virtuous ones, who have turned away from their original nature, because of following of lust, anger and devil and
appeared as the beasts and brutes and they will be reincarnated in the forms of these animals in the day “when the wild beasts are herded together”\(^1\)

And also in paragraph 10, page 7, he says:

“In belief in resurrection, from which official scholars have not enjoyed at all, is contained the keys of all knowledge.”

\(^1\) pp. 48-49.
Philosophy of Mīr Dāmād

Actually, it is impossible to introduce Mīr Dāmād in this brief account. Since our main intention in this book is to give an account of Mullā Sadrā’s life, thus we have to content ourselves with this short extent.

It is worthwhile, however, to refer briefly to Mīr Dāmād’s main principles, which are among his scientific characteristics, as it is common in historiography of philosophy, so that our writing, though brief, may not remain imperfect.

Among Mīr Dāmād’s philosophical principles, the followings are the most outstanding ones:

1. The doctrine of ḥudūth-i dahrī or atemporal origination and the issue of atemporal being which he calls wujūd-i dahrī.
2. Proof for the “principality of quiddity” and non-factuality (i’tibāriyyat) of existence (wujūd).
3. The principiality of “ḥarakat-i qaṭ‘iyah” against mediated motion (“ḥarakat-i tawassu‘iyah”)
4. Badā’, or revocation of an earlier Divine decree.
5. His attitudes toward the luminous archetypes (muthul nūriyyah).

Ḥudūth-i Dahrī (atemporal origination)

Mīr Dāmād's well-known philosophical doctrine is called ḥudūth-i dahrī. Indeed, he wrote his “Qabasāt” to prove this doctrine, in his other books such as al-Širāt al-mustaqīm, al-Ufuq al-mubin and al-‘Imādat he has discussed this doctrine. By the help of this doctrine, he managed to solve the
problem of relation of effects and temporal objects of this world, which are subject to motion and change, to God- the exalted- Who is eternal, constant, free of renewal and change, without undermining the rule of “similarity of cause and effect”, and their mutual relation.

The main philosophical problem was that according to the similarity of the cause and effect if the existents and possible things are temporally created then their cause also must be temporally created, and this is not true for the Creator- the Exalted- and so it is impossible; or, since the Creator (i.e. the Cause of possible things) is eternal, then the caused ones also should be eternal, which is obviously absurd.

The main traditional solution to the foregoing problem is to consider a mediating role for “motion”. Philosophers, prior to Mullà Ṣadrà, found its solution in the motion of the celestial sphere and Mullà Ṣadrà saw motion in nature or substance or essence of things.

Having accepted the vertical intellects and spheres, the earlier Peripatetic philosophers maintained that the celestial sphere, which is both in circular and rotational motions and bring in its wake various events and existents, has an aspect of “temporal origination” and can have a connection with created things and even become the origin of phenomena; and since there is a sort of stability in its essence (for, at least, the motion is unique and concrete) or since in every motion there are certain constant points, called as “mediated motion” (harakat-i tawassufiyah), it has relation to the eternal and pre-eternal and permanent being. Based on this argument and having proved motion in the substance of things, Mullà Ṣadrà attributes “stability” (thabāt), and at the same time, renewal (tajaddud) to the created things themselves; since the problem of the relation of created, according to him, is that when renewal or change is accidental and occurs on thing from other than its essence it needs a “determined mode” (haythiyyat-i taqādiyyah) and leads to the question of “limah”, but if change in thing is essential– for essentials are not questionable, and are governed by the rule of “the essential does not need to be caused”- then change in a thing originates from thing itself, and needs no other agent.

Then, each body has two opposite modes; since it is essentially changeable, it is the cause of changed one which is in relation to it; on the other hand, since itself and its quiddity are like change and becoming “and in
this respect, it is” permanent and “has relation to its eternal and permanent Maker and Agent- Who emanates existence. We shall prove in a proper time that “trans-substantial motion” of things is an intermediary between the eternal Agent and created being. Mir Dâmâd obtained a third option, namely the doctrine of ḥudūth-i dahrî (atemporal origination). To solve the problem of the relation between the temporal being and the eternal, changing and permanent, between this world— which is the world of temporal and changeable things- and the spiritual station of the Divinity- which is pre-eternal, permanent, everlasting, pure stability, and eternal. He considers an intermediate world called “dahr”.

In other words, if we take the material world- which is always in the state of change, renewal, and motion, and as a result time is governing it as a temporal container and call it “the container of time” (wi`ā zamān) and assume a space or container for the heavenly realm of God in our minds which is endless, permanent, eternal and pre-eternal and regard it as sarmad, i.e. the everlasting Divine world, there must be another space or wi`ā or container between these two containers, connecting them to each other. This container is called “the container of dahr” (wi`ā dahr).

In the container of sarmad, in which the permanent is in relation to the permanent, inevitably there is no trace of change and changed.

On the contrary, in the container of time, there are renewal, change, and motion; and the material world, as a whole, is in a state of evolutionary motion. The container of dahr, however, is a link between the “permanent” and “changing”.

Since every moving substance including this world (or nature), with all its renewing and changing parts- altogether- is a permanent quiddity, whose internal change and motion does not contradict the stability of its single existence– “in whole”– it is a permanent thing, placed in the container of dahr.

Thus, in the container of dahr, there is a kind of stability, originating from the stability of the permanent and pre-eternal essential Necessary. The material substances and bodies which are changing, moving, unstable and in motion, are placed in the container of time; on the other hand since they are existents, they are placed “qua existence” in dahr. The motion itself, which
is an existent among existents, is placed in dahr, as well. That is why the container of dahr is a link between the world of temporal beings and the world of stability and sarmad. The well-known problem will not arise here.

The doctrine of “ḥudūth-i dahri” is a scientific and problem-solving doctrine, which unfortunately was not accepted by Mullā Ṣadrā and other philosophers. Mullā Ṣadrā, as a matter of respect to his master, never attempted to reject it explicitly, and even his doctrine of trans-substantial motion was based on this doctrine, but it seems that he did not believe in it, and did not consider it free of errors. After Mīr Dāmād, some of his contemporary researchers (including Āqā Jamāl Khwānsārī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zamān Kāshānī the author of Mir‘āt al-zamān, and some others) also raised certain objections against Mīr Dāmād's doctrine.

This doctrine, which is based on three containers of sarmad, dahr, and time (zamān) enjoyed the contributions of the earlier philosophers as well. For example, Ibn-Sīnā believed in three concepts of “beings”.

The reason can conceptualize beings in three forms:

First- Being within time (this kind of being is constantly in a state of motion).

Second- Being alongside time i.e. dahr (this kind of being is not time-bounded, but rather it encompasses time, and future, past, and present coexist in it.)

Third- permanent “being” alongside permanent ones, which encompasses dahr and is called sarmad.

In the light of these definitions, Mīr Dāmād regarded the second kind of “being”, in which a time is placed as a “compact” point in a plane called dahr as deserving to be emanated from a real being which is beyond time, renewal, and motion. For him, the distinction between dahr and sarmad lies in the fact that- according to his definition- in the latter there is no trace of non-existence and the “reality of fact” (matn-i wāqī’) is in it; but in dahr there are traces of non-existence; and even not relative non-existence, which is seen in dahr and called “temporal origination”- but the “real and absolute non-existent”, or as Mīr Dāmād puts it, “sole non-existence”’(‘ādam-i ṣāriḥ).
Here, it is worth to turn to another classification made by Ibn Sinā and other philosophers, which is based on the quality of emanation of things and creation of entities, i.e. classifying the creation (ijād) into essential, dahrī and temporal origination.

Relying on this classification made by Ibn Sinā, Mir Dâmâd says at the beginning of his Qabasāt that: direct creation (ibdâ’) means creation out of absolute nothingness (creatio ex nihilo) or as he says “to come from lays (i.e. non-existence) to ays (i.e. existence) and it is the highest kind of creation, in which without involvement of other thing as a base the entities come to an existence in which the darkness of non-existence is not engaged. This is called “essential origination”.

In the second kind, however, bestowing existence (ijād) will not take place from the absolute and pure non-existence; but it is, in fact, a kind of coming into being. Then in the term “the sole non-existence of opposite” (‘ādām-i šarīḥ-i muqābil) in the “reality”, by the “non-existence”, is meant atemporal non-existence; and by the “sole non-existence of opposite”, priority of non-existence over existence is intended, and the “reality” means the place of atemporal existents. He calls this kind of origination as ḥudūth-i dahrī. The entities, originating in this way- unlike the temporal existents- are free of motion, fluidity, and any kind of dimensions, time or quantity (They are non-temporal, non-fluid, immeasurable and unquantifiable.) He calls this kind of origination as “making”(ṣon’) and “creation”(iḥdāth).

Though created, the third kind is not preceded by the sole non-existence; non-existence which precedes it is “temporal non-existence”, which is not regarded as the real non-existence, it is “measurable” (mutaqqaddir) and “quantifiable” (mutakammim); hence the temporal existence can be accompanied by the temporal non-existence unlike the atemporal created (ḥādith dahrī) whose non-existence (i.e. the sole non-beings) cannot be united with its factual existence; he calls this kind of origination “genesis” (takwīn).

1 Here Mir Dâmâd's doctrine of ḥudūth-i dahrī is introduced in this
classification.

According to this doctrine, in the container of sarmad there is no room for non-existence. As a result, there is no room for origination as well. Since wherever there is either of these two (origination and non-existence), the other one also can be seen. All non-beings and origination in the world are contained in two other containers, i.e. containers of dahr and time. On the other hand, all possible things are created, since no quiddity can essentially exist; that is, it cannot come to existence by itself, to do so it should be helped by existence.

Philosophers have called the origination and existence of possible things “essential origination”, which is equivalent to contingency, and attended by a sort of non-existence called “non-existence of unity” (‘adam-i mujāmi’). There is also another kind of origination in material beings, which is contained in time (in the container of time) and is called “temporal origination”. Muslim theologians were aware of these kinds of origination only. Mīr Dāmād, however, thinks that, apart from these two kinds of origination there is a third kind of origination, which depends neither on time nor on the essence, but it depends on its own relation to the non-temporal “sole non-existence” (‘adam-i ṣarīḥ). For example if, as compared with Adam, Noah is created, the reason is that in the axis of time he has appeared “later” than his ancestor and temporally he is placed lower than his ancestor, but existentially, he is parallel with him.

The material being, however, is not parallel with that of a dahrī being; the former is lower than the latter, and their relation is in a vertical and not horizontal line.

That is, the preceding “sole non-existence” (‘adam-i ṣarīḥ) in dahr is in real opposition with the existence of originated (ḥādīth), and affirmative and permanent atemporal (dahrī) aspect eliminates the absolute negative atemporal (dahrī).

1 - Here “sole non-existence” is compared with “temporal non-existence” to make the distinction between dahr (atemporal) and temporal clear.
The three kinds of origination (ḥudūth) can be assembled together, for every temporal created is, at the same time, both essential and atemporal (dahrī) as well as temporal. 

Essential and dahrī originations are not divided into various kinds. But temporal origination is in three kinds: 1) gradual origination (ḥarakašt-i qaṭ′iyah); 2) momentary; and 3) temporal origination (mediated motion (ḥarakašt-i tawassuṭiyah)).

To give a further explanation of this doctrine, it is better to describe the divisions of “origination” (ḥudūth) and “non-existence” (‘adam) in more details: A phenomenon which is preceded both by the non-existence and cause is called “originated” (ḥādith), its opposite is “eternal” (qadim).

According to the Muslim philosophers and theologians, there are different kinds of origination (versus eternity) as follows:

First- “essential origination” (ḥudūth-i dāhi)- By this kind of origination and occurrence it is meant possible thing, taking its essence and essential requirements into account, fits for “non-existence” and not “existence”. This is the meaning of the essential possibility.

Since the existence of the essential possible depends on other cause, and thus the “essential non-existence” is always along with it and never separates from it, even it remains with that existence which depends on other; that is why this kind of non-existence is called “non-existence of unity” (‘adam-i mujāmi’).

Second- Temporal origination (ḥudūth zamāni). In this kind of origination, “the possible existent” comes into being out of non-existence in a temporal order. Therefore, temporal non-existence always precedes temporal origination and is separated from it; hence, this “non-existence”, which “precedes” possible things, is called “opposite non-existence” (‘adam-i muqābil). Evidently, this kind of origination is restricted to temporal and moving things, and has nothing to do with permanent ones.

In this temporal order, in which every existent is preceded by a non-existence like the priority of father over offspring and posteriority of

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1 - Al- Qabasāt, p. 17.
2 - Ibid, p. 87.
offspring to father; though they are not cause and effect of each other, these two (possible thing and non-existence) are not at the same horizontal level; while taking “the sole existence” (wujūd-i ṣarīḥ) into account and excluding their temporal order, they should be regarded at the same horizontal level.

Third– ḥudūth-i dahrī, which is the quintessence of Mir Dāmād's doctrine; he did not content himself with the “essential origination” of possible things since this origination occurs in the quiddities of things. Moreover, he did not content himself with temporal origination as well; since at this stage, he regards beings and non-beings at the same horizontal level; while there is a special relation between the real origination and the cause of existence, and for external existing things, a more real origination must be searched for.

Hence, he holds that ḥudūth-i dahrī is necessary for objects of the world which implies the existence of non-atemporal; that is, atemporal created is a thing, that comes after non-atemporal. This non-existence is a sort of “non-existence of precedence”, but a real, sole, non-separative and, opposite non-existence preceding over the world.

Moreover, whatever is essentially created is inevitably atemporal created as well; since these two are only conceptually different, but in common predication both of them refer to the same thing, i.e. existence after real and sole non-existence. Temporal origination is also after this stage of existence; in fact, it is to explain the continuous Divine effusion upon the matters, potentials, and continuous non-existent-like faculties.

After referring to the problem of the origination or eternity of the world as viewed by the ancient philosophers he states that Plato and other Illuminationist sages believe in its origination. And Aristotle and Ibn-Sīnā and their followers restricted the origination to material objects, and consider the created beings as well as immaterial beings (mufarīqat) as eternal ones. Mir Dāmād then says that the essential origination is not the matter of dispute; for nobody denies it. What is disputed over is ḥudūth-i dahrī (atemporal origination); for the central point, which is controversial, is the priority of “sole non-existence” (ʿadam-i ṣarīḥ) in the innermost reality of objects and not in intellectual stage, which includes opposition. What is said about the existence is also true about non-existence; hence like beings non-
beings are divided into temporal and atemporal, dahrī and sarmadī, thus the indicator of non-existence in the mind, which is called “the designer of non-existence” (rāsim-i’ādām), is the absence of an existential degree for an existent, and since dahr is in the vertical order of time, and precedes it, then the absence of temporal things in dahr is their non-existence.

Thus the absence of temporal things in the realm of dahr is as their non-existence. That is, the existence of the world is preceded by the existence of dahr; and dahr is the designer of the world of time; like the container of time in which the non-existence and the existence are real, in the container of dahr non-existence is a real thing. As we have already said, both existence and non-existence, which are realizable and in the horizontal order of time, can be realized in the vertical order of existence as well. Existence, which is really the existence of the Necessary- the Exalted- then comes down into the container of dahr and then the container of time. Sabziwari made a correspondence between the station of sarmad and Divinity (lahūt), that of dahr with the dominion (malakūt) and the invincibility (jabarūt), and the station of time and the world of bodily form (nasūt).

As we know, every “created” (ḥādith) is posterior to the existent preceding it- whether it is its cause or not. This posteriority makes a gap (separation) between them. In our philosophical sources, this issue is discussed under “priority” (sabq).

To explain the temporal priority as well as eternal priority, Mir Dāmād discussed different kinds of priority in certain discussions. Indeed, he mentioned two kinds of priority between two things (or two events)- i.e. the priority in terms of rank (martabāh) and the priority in term of excellence (sharaf). He emphasized that the latter kind is, in fact, the sign of real (or natural, or conventional, or accidental) separation between preceding and preceded, and prior and posterior.¹

¹ - Mir Dāmād has regarded the criteria (natural, conventional, and accidental) as being restricted to priority in terms of rank, and priority in terms of elevation, he deemed the superiority as criterion. Here we take them, in a loose way, in the same meaning.
After this introduction, however, he adds two other kinds of priority, which are philosophically of more importance, i.e. “temporal priority” and “eternal priority”. In these two priorities, the criterion for priority does not lie in natural and conventional affairs and the like, but rather it is fully real. Here, priority of a thing over another thing results from their real separation in terms of the level of existence, the very existence, and is expressed as “the priority in terms of separation” (qabilidad bi ḥasb-i infikāk) by Mir Dāmad. The container of this priority is the very “existence” and “the context of existence” (matn-i wujūd), reality, and “nafs al-amr” which is the central point in philosophical issues.

After these kinds of priorities, he refers to another kind of priority in terms of essential “dependence and reliance” (iftiqār wa istinād) of the effect on the cause. This priority is possible only in “intellectual level” not in the external world. That is why the cause and the effect, even if they exist simultaneously, are separate in terms of degree.

Having employed this division for classifying different kinds of priority, Mullā Sadrā mentioned certain kinds (though his division appears to be novel). He mentioned “the priority in terms of rank”, “the priority in terms of nature”, “the temporal priority”, “the priority in terms of essence and causality”, “the priority in terms of reality” (e.g. the priority of existence over the quiddity), and “the priority in terms of the truth” (or in terms of rank, e.g. the priority of the rank of Divinity over the rank of others). He intentionally refrained from mentioning the priority at the level of eternity (sarmad) and priority at the level of atemporal (dahr).

However, as is evident, he derived the priority in terms of essence and priority in terms of reality from Mir Dāmad. The priority in terms of the truth (or rank), presented by him, also is identical with that of Mir Dāmad's priority at the level of eternity (sarmad).

Of these kinds (of priority) what is needed by Mir Dāmad to prove his doctrine is “separative” priority, appearing in the forms of temporal priority and priority at the level of dahr, which is undeniable.

If we ignore the temporal priority (since time or temporal priority has no access to the Divine court and the Creator of time is not captured by time), then in order to imagine an atemporal container for separating the
temporal and changing existents (or briefly: the material world or even Macro Anthropo), it should be accepted that there are a container (space), called the container of dahr, and a sort of origination and occurrence called dahrí origination or occurrence, which stretches on the one hand, towards the sarmad (eternity) (which is the preceding one without having a preceding, and existence without being combined with non-existence), and is separated from, and posterior to, it; and on the other hand governs the essentially fluid substances, who generate time.

As is said, this kind of priority (sabq) is not based on priority at intellectual level (apart from existence) nor is it based on other priorities; it is based only on existence, taḥaṣṣul in the very reality and nafs al-amr, which is independent of mind, without being measurable and quantifiable. This priority is governing existence after the absolute non-existence, which is called real origination; and this is not possible except in a non-temporal and non-eternal container. This container should be called the container of atemporal (wi‘ā dahr), and the priority, origination, existence, and acquisition posterior to non-existence should be called as ḥudūth-i dahrī.

Indeed, Mullā Sadrā considers the temporal beings as related to the absolute eternal in two aspects, which are seen in the temporal existent (or nature, in the most general sense of the term): On the one hand, motion which is an essential aspect of the world of matter; and on the other hand, stability in the essence of nature as a whole. This latter aspect- i.e. stability, the hidden essence of the moving thing- is the link between the originated (ḥādith) and eternal (qadim).¹

In Mullā Sadrā's doctrine, however, no container has been regarded for this second mode of material object (i.e. nature) as a permanent existent; that is, the temporal beings are immediately next to the sarmad and the container of the absolute existent; and since nature is a created thing, the container of both the originated (ḥādith) and the eternal (qadim) should be sarmad (eternity). Here certain problems may arise, to which Mir Dāmād has pointed out.

Though these problems could be solved through the gradation of existence particularly in Islamic mysticism ('irfân), even in the Illuminationist philosophy the container of intellects and lights (the dominant lights\(^1\) and Lordly lights\(^2\) are other than the container of the absolute eternal light; leading to a gap in Mullâ Ṣadrâ's doctrine.

If we regard the temporal beings, like a Unitarian and individual entity permanent things- who generate time and are higher than it— can never be regarded as being temporal things, otherwise, we will be led to a vicious circle; nor are they eternal (sarmadi). Since if the first emanation and the other caused are contained in the container of eternity (\(wi`â\) sarmad), the cause and the effect should be at the same level, which is absurd; and also it will imply that all existents to be the requirements of the Divine Essence, which is absurd as well. Therefore another container (\(wi`â\)) must be considered between them. This is the doctrine of ḥudūth-\(i\) dahrî in the container of atemporal (\(wi`â\) dahr).

A group of thinkers identify ḥudūth-\(i\) dahrî with the essential origination of the possible quiddities. Taking into account what has been already said, however, there are some distinctions between these two kinds of origination. For example:

1- In essential origination, non-existence is not opposite to non-existence, but it is absolute (copulative) non-existence; in ḥudūth dahrî however, non-existence is opposite to non-existence.

In other words, like in the temporal origination and unlike in the essential origination, non-existence is separable (atemporal); and the sole non-existence- in ḥudūth-\(i\) dahrî- and the container of atemporal (\(wi`â\) dahr) cannot be assembled with the actual existence.

2- The essential origination is the quality of quiddity and stands at the same level with it; ḥudūth-\(i\) dahrî, however, is the quality of the existent, and stands at the level of bestowing existence (ijād).

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1 - Anwâr al- qâhirah.
2 - Anwâr al- ispahbadiyyah.
3- The essential origination is an intellectual, and not objective and external quality, and even at the level of essence of the cause of causes, it can be maintained for the possible things.

4- The idea that ḥudūth is placed under the category of existence- is, basically abstracted from existent. As is said, ḥudūth-i dahrī is preceded by the opposite non-existence; in the essential origination, however, the opposite non-existence is not considered; this kind of origination is only to explain the relation between the cause and the effect, and the essential dependence of the effect on the primary cause, which is necessary for the possibility and possible quiddities and makes the effect dependent on the cause. As Mullā Ṣadrā says, the origination is, essentially, posterior to the dependence and essential possibility.

Outcomes of the Doctrine of Ḥudūth-i Dahrī

Apart from providing a solution for the question of the connection of created things and eternal, and also proving the origination of the world- which was regarded as indemonstrable or antinomies by Aristotle, Ibn Sinā and some others, and Mir Dāmād dealt with it through reasoning, some other problems also have been solved by Mir Dāmād's philosophical system.

A) Doctrine of Hiding (Kumān) and Appearing (Burūz)

In the history of the science of Kalām this doctrine is attributed to Naẓzām Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār, a Mu’tazalī Mutikallim who holds that God has created all the existents simultaneously but hid some of them inside the others so as to appear gradually in the course of time. Thus, God does not wait for the right time to create every existent.

A similar idea is quoted from Anaxagoras, a sage from the Asia Minor (near to the present Smyrna) (around 500 B.C.). He said that the origins of existents are hidden particles, which are perceptible neither by the sense nor by the intellect, and every thing is hidden in the essence of anything; it is the universal intellect who distributes them among the
dominant particulars; otherwise in the essence of every stick, a dragon has hidden, and within every inanimate thing there is an animal potentially.

After quoting Nazzâm’s doctrine through Shahrastâni and relying on his own profound philosophical insight, Mir Dâmâd relates it to the doctrine of ħudâth-i dahrî and changes it into a philosophically acceptable form.

While comparing this idea with his doctrine of ħudâth-i dahrî, Mir Dâmâd managed to bring about a valuable philosophical doctrine, and at the same time, makes use of it to confirm his own doctrine, and to make clear that belief in the container of dahr, ħudâth-i dahrî and the presence of creatures in it, has its roots in the ancient thoughts, though has been indicated in a philosophical way and demonstrated by Mir Dâmâd.

Historically and philosophically it could be said that: before Mir Dâmâd this doctrine was tinged with Illuminationist and mystical color, as it was common before Shaykh al-Ishrâq, i.e. it had been presented in a rhetorical, and not demonstrative, manner without substantiating it with a rational proof. Mir Dâmâd is probably the first one- after Shaykh al-Ishrâq- who brings this doctrine to the realm of discussion and demonstrates it through a philosophical method in the fashion of Peripatetic philosophy. As we will see, Mullâ Şadrâ also employed the same method in his “Transcendent Philosophy”.

To interpret “hiding” (kumûn), interjected as a philosophical issue under the title “scientific decree” by Mullâ Şadrâ, he regards it same as the existence of things in the container of dahr. The reason for regarding it as “hiding” is that in it all the things have their permanent form as well as perfect, Unitarian and actual forms. Moreover in our world, which is temporal and is also the container of fluidity and change, only its “actualized” points are “apparent”; and faculties are, for us, non-existent, or in fact, hidden. Those permanent realities are non–existent and non-actual and are not perceptible, imaginable, acceptable and capable to receive existence.

In the container of time, existents are serially interconnected. Even a single existent will unfold its identity gradually and in the course of time. The existence of all things or the collection of beings that are in a single and systematic order cannot appear abruptly. This is the requirement of the temporal things and the container of time. In the system of creation and the
relation between the creatures of the world and their Creator, however, this
graduation is not allowed (it is below the dignity of the Creator of time to be
contained in time and captured by time, non-material creatures also are not
in need of time, but they exist) and all the universe (the Macro Anthropo)
has come to the existence all at once by the Divine command. Hence it is not
in the container of time and should be in the container of the permanent
entities- i.e. the container of dahr.

For an observer who looks at the world from the container of dahr, all the existents are at the same horizontal level. For an observer who looks at the same world from the container of time, however, the existents come out from the interior of each other and are parts of each other.

Philosophically speaking, the existents of this world, which are in change and motion, are contained in time. Nevertheless, insofar as they are existents, they are contained in dahr.

B) The Doctrine of Revocation of a Decree (Badā’)  

One of the consequences of the belief in the container of dahr is the solution of the problem of Badā’. This problem, which is, basically, a theological problem, is based on an authentic and reliable hadith according to which revocation of a decree or badā’ is possible. This, however, contradicts the Divine decree, knowledge and will which are permanent and unchangeable:

Apparently to assign the changing thing to the Truth, which is fixed, and assigning a gradual thing to the pure constant does not seem to be correct at all…In brief, [God] Who is higher than the space and time…is not possible to do something after something other, and for Whom there is no hidden thing to become apparent. That is why Jews think that God- the Exalted- has left the world by itself after creating it. ¹

¹ - Mīr Dāmād, Nibrāṣ al-dīyā’, p. 58
Badā’- in Arabic- means appearing a hidden thing, and is used to indicate a change in the one’s belief or knowledge. In the Holy Quran also badā’ is mentioned.

To comment on this issue, what Muslim theologians and commentators have said and written are more or less similar. For Mīr Dāmād, however, this issue is of such paramount importance that he has devoted his book “Nibrāṣ al- ḏiya’ fī ma’ni al-badā’” to explain this problem.

To explain Badā’, Mīr Dāmād says that Badā’ is like “abrogation” (naskh)- as we know abrogation means change in a religious commandment or enacted rule after being followed for a long time. If a change occurs partially or totally in religious rules or prohibitions, which are addressed to people, this change is called “abrogation” (naskh). If a genetic matter (i.e. a determined fate) is changed by God- for example, if one saves his own self from a calamity by praying, supplication and offering charities and the like-it is called Badā’.

In the hierarchy of the Divine will and command, however, Badā’ has its own ground; and since the Divine knowledge has been divided into scientific and objective decrees, therefore the Divine decree have been regarded as to be free of any change and even immaterial beings (such as angels, which are free of matter) are excluded from such change.

Mīr Dāmād believes that in the container of dahr- which is the stage of stability, comprehensive, and general order of events and realities- Badā’ is not allowed; since if a change occurs in dahr it is as if dahr has lost its stability and accepted the change and fluidity- which are specific to matter. What in it (Badā’) is allowed is the world of predestination (qadar), which coincides with the container of time.

The issue of Badā’ is related, on the one hand, to the issue of the container of dahr and on the other, to the Divine decree and the stages of the Creator's knowledge. In general, it is clear that Mīr Dāmād's philosophical system is based on the container of dahr and ḥudūth-i dahrī. That is why he discusses three kinds of origination (essential, dahrī, and temporal), the container of time and its characteristics and distinction between it and the container of dahrī permanent ones, in his “Nibrāṣ”, under the pretext of proving and correcting Badā’- which is among the Imāmī Beliefs.
Having indicated the specifications of the container of time, whose essence is based on the motion, change, fluidity and instability, he is to conclude that Badā’ is not only possible but also necessary and inevitable. Moreover, sometimes, in the world of changing things, the permanent Divine command should be changed in the way of Badā’.

C) Principality of the Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah

One of the other characteristics of Mīr Dāmād’s philosophical system is his belief in the principality of Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah.

Philosophers have classified motion under two main categories: “mediated motion (Ḥarakat-i Tawassūṭiyyah)” and “Ḥarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah”.

The mediated motion (Ḥarakat-i Tawassūṭiyyah) is, in Ibn Sinā’s words, position of the moving object in one of the countless points of its path, from the beginning to the end.

This motion is the same one, which a photographer can record it on the plate. It is, however, continuous; and as long as that moving- in space-thing is in motion, these successive points will be there.

Ḥarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah is, however, the motion of those points, which are called mediate points, as a whole representing the general shape of motion. Before Mīr Dāmād and Mullā Sadrā, philosophers regarded it as a mental- and not external- line. Ibn Sinā has defined it in his Shīfā.

According to definition, mediated motion (Ḥarakat-i Tawassūṭiyyah) is situated within its due time, i.e. within the moment, and depicts the Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah; Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah, on the other hand, is situated partially in time, and partially in space. It is a design of all moments and points of the preceding mediated motion (Ḥarakat-i Tawassūṭiyyah).

According to Ibn Sinā and the earlier philosophers, Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah is a mental and intellectual assumption. Mīr Dāmād and Mullā Sadrā, however, proved that Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah is an objective and external motion which is the same as time. If we accept time we cannot deny Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah.

The reason provided by Mīr Dāmād’s predecessors for Ḩarakat-i Qaṭṭ‘iyah as being mental and intellectual was that, as long as the motion has
not come to an end, there is no ḥarākat-i qaṭʿīyyah, and when the motion reaches its end there is no more motion to be pointed to.

This demonstration led to a point that even some people denied motion itself. They assumed that time is a container of motion, and without time, motion is impossible, since motion could be realized only in the present time (and not in the past or future time, since they do not externally exist); in the point of the present time also motion is meaningless, since moment is indivisible and thus it cannot receive motion.

Mullā Šadrā disproved these demonstrations and proved that motion is not among the external entities, to be in need of time, but it is an intellectual matter.\(^1\) He indicated that motion is the gradual and renewal change of the potentiality into actuality, and this motion exists mentally, not externally; i.e. it is an abstract matter; motion is the same as movingness.\(^2\) Unlike other philosophers, Mīr Dāmād stated that he regarded ḥarākat-i qaṭʿīyyah as existing in the objects and the external world; and the mediated motion (ḥarākat-i tawassūtīyyah) is not but a designer of the ḥarākat-i qaṭʿīyyah.

He defines these two kinds of motion as follows:

“Motion is of two senses: one, simple and individual and that is movingness between the start point and the end point in a way that moving body enjoys an individual, fixed, and continuous, and as long as there is motion, its relation with the limits is changing, and it has not the same limit in two various moments; and this is called mediated motion; it is, in essence, neither spontaneously-generated nor gradually-acquired, but rather it is temporal; and in order to be it needs a time to be therein, but not in a way that its being may coincide the direction time; but in the sense that its being is realized entirely in every part of time. But its being is in such a way that it always coincides fluidly on every indivisible limits of distance and temporal indivisible moments. And the other is a continuous array or piece

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which coincides a continuous distance between two limits, i.e. starting point and end point, and that is called cutting motion, which is gradually generated, and has fluid parts, and it realizes in time and gains its identity therein.

Thus, motion, in the former sense of the term, is not real motion, since it does not subsist on motion but designs it and subsists on the moving thing. Like motion in which there are two essentially different things, there are two different things in time: one of them is transient and the measure of mediated motion and the other is continuous and a measure of cutting motion; all cutting motion are measured versus time.

Having defined these two motions (cutting, and mediated), Mir Dâmad proceeds to prove the realization of the \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) in the external world.

His implications in establishing the real existence of the \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) in the very reality, led Mullâ Sadrâ to find and demonstrate the \“Transcendent Philosophy\”.

Having quoted from the books of Ibn Sinâ who regards the localized existents in two modes, i.e. static and dynamic, which is not inconsistent with its objectivity, Mir Dâmad says:

Therefore the dynamic and continuous motion is the same as static(!) mediated motion (\( \text{\'arakan Tawassu\'iyyah} \)), whose relation changes only in respect to the origin and to the end, a real thing.

Then he proceeds to interject the proofs for the real existence of the \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) and says:

1- Since the mediated motion (\( \text{\'arakan Tawassu\'iyyah} \)) and, the fluid “moment” and disconnected, but renewing, continuous which are laid in the mediated motion (\( \text{\'arakan Tawassu\'iyyah} \)), exist externally and are designers of the \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) and its “continuous time”, then it should be accepted that \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) has an external and real existence as well, for \( \text{\'arakan Qa\'ï'iyyah} \) is not but a real collection of those fluid moments.

1 - Mir Dâmad, Qabasat, pp. 205-206
That is since the “designer” exists, it is impossible that the “designed” is a mental, unreal and non-existent thing. Then the latter also enjoys a real existence. And the common sense does not avoid accepting such a clear fact.

2- His second demonstration is as follows:

The mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) occurs necessarily in the external world and in the “reality of objects”.

Though when a moment and point of the mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) is passed and the turn of the next point and mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) is reached, previous moment will vanish apparently and join the past time, as we know the realization of the passed moment as well as the other moments and mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah)s are contained in the container of atemporal (dahr) and are not vanishable; they are permanent in their situation; and the line, designed by them (the line of time) is an established thing; and in the container of atemporal (dahr)- in which no existent is vanishable- it does not accept non-existence. As we know all of these moments and mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) as well as the designed line of time are contained in the container of dahr, and thus, in the container of the external entities and realities, and are not mental.

In other words: Those temporal points, which are apparently disconnected in the container of time, exist externally in the container of atemporal (dahr) as a real and continuous line; they are as a continuous distance; and even the common sense confirms this fact. Therefore, the ḥarakat-i qaṭʿīyyah- which is a real assembly of all those temporal points- exists in the reality of fact; since it exists in the container of dahr.

The other demonstration, suggested by him, is the necessity of discrete (unreasonable) jumps in the temporal points of the mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah), since if there is no motion except mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) in the world of reality and existence, and if the reality and objectivity of the ḥarakat-i qaṭʿīyyah is denied, we have to accept that the independent and isolated points of the mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) are not connected and the motion and time are transmitted from a point to another point in discrete jumps, which is proved to be absurd in the philosophy.
From the ḥarakat-i qaṭʿīyyah— which is an expression of the continuous form of the points of time and motion (inseparable points)—it is resulted that time not as a continuous and fluid reality, but as a permanent and assembly-like reality) has a diminishable and real existence in a world other than the world of time, which we have called it the container of atemporal (dahr).

Evidently this great sage finds a relation between the existence of the container of atemporal (dahr) and the objective existence of the Ḥarakat-i qaṭʿīyyah.

To avoid a circle in proving each of them, we have to accept that assuming the container of atemporal—which is the container of assembly of separates and plurals— as proved, all the points of the mediated motion (ḥarakat-i tawassuṭīyyah) in the world of atemporal (dahr) and the context of the real and non-temporal entities are as a single and objective motion, which is both objective and origin of the conventional ideas and general concentration of man, between the origin and the end.

Without appealing to the container of atemporal (dahr) even Mullā Ṣadrā's demonstrations to prove the substantial motion cannot remove the well-known doubt: though the designer of the ḥarakat-i qaṭʿīyyah is a real thing it is not impossible that a real things designs an unreal thing in the mind and imagination of the observer.

If the container of atemporal (dahr) is not accepted, all the motions even the motions of accidents will be deniable. And the claimant will be able to regard these motions as originating from the mind or imagination of the person. In modern natural sciences it is suggested that, the colors are not external real, but they are consequences of man's perception from the waves with certain wave-lengths; and it is not impossible that animals perceives the colors other than what the man perceives.

D) The Creator's-the Exalted – knowledge

The problem of the Creator's-the Exalted knowledge has been, and is, among the most difficult philosophical problems, for in which a tent-enclosure is discussed in which the man's thinking power is not allowed; as the poet says:
“The wave is unable to perceive the depth of the ocean;
The created cannot perceive the eternal.

Nevertheless all philosophers have discussed this issue. It is evident, and Mir Dāmād also confirms it, that the Creator's knowledge is not like the man's acquired knowledge of the things, which is gained reflectively and through a mental form, His knowledge of every particle of the essence of every thing is, in fact, the perfect presence of that thing before him, in the same way that one perceives his self in his heart and soul, directly and immediately.

In *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, in biography of Mir Dāmād, Ishkiwari mentions his opinion on the knowledge.

At the beginning of this discussion, Mir Dāmād classifies the knowledge under three categories:

First- its abstract idea, equivalent to the “knowing”, which is a verbal concept and is not worthy to be attributed to the Divine essence - may His name be sanctioned.

Second- the form of known which is present before knower

Third- an attribution or property, which exists in free- of- matter essence, and the origin of unveiling the realities and entities and their abstract presence is with it, and it is this one that fits the Divine knowledge.

Mullā Šadrā has quoted this classification in his books; for example in *al-Maẓāhir al-ilāhīyyah* he has said:

From what has been said on the Creator's the Exalted knowledge of the existents, it was resulted that, since He is the real cause of the existents and in the culmination of separateness and knows His essence through the essential knowledge, all the existents which are his effects, in a hierarchical order – are perfectly unveiled and present for His holy essence, and He knows everything and every one.

For those who are familiar with Mullā Šadrā and his books and doctrines, these expressions seem very familiar; but taking the fact that, Mullā Šadrā has learned these issues from Mir Dāmād and in the books of the philosophers, prior to Mir Dāmād, these issues are not so deliberately

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1 - The introduction of *al-Qabasāt*, Tehran University press.
discussed, into account the importance of Mir Dāmād and his influence on Mullā Sadrā can be appreciated.

The essence of Mir Dāmād's doctrine on the Creator's knowledge-free of these well-known expressions and usual words- is the pure "existnency" of the essence of the Creator, which is the main characteristic of His comprehensive knowledge of the existents and the presence of all effects, as the shadows of existence, before His real and necessary existence.

Though having believed in the principality of quiddity (in creation of the existents), Mir Dāmād regards the essence of the Creator- the Exalted- as a really absolute existence in the external world- or as he says: in "ḥaqq A'yān"(in the innermost of entities), for whom if a quiddity is assumed, His quiddity is same as, and coincident with, His pure existence.

This objective and original existence of God- Almighty and Glorious- is same as the intellectual degree of His true essence.

All the extant possible things and quiddities (or in his own expressions: the collective and detailed system of the universe, or Macro Anthropo) are present constantly in the intellectual and scientific degree of the essence of the Truth, but they are posterior to it in terms of causedness, and this posteriority of the caused (effect) to the cause is a real, separative posteriority; that is, though both of them are in one intellectual degree, in the degree of existence they are mutually exclusive; and the existence of the cause is prior [ to that of the effect ].

Mir Dāmād names this scientific and intellectual degrees as the degree of” objective decree”, and the “existential forms” and the “dahrī forms” and regards them to be contained in dahr; since nothing is contained in sarmad, except the absolute essence of the truth. In the next stage, when this effects and quiddities which exist in the context of dahr through a permanent existence, become manifest in the container of time (the stage of the world of decree), they turned entirely to the motion, infusion, and fluidity. He calls them “the creative entities” or “predestinated beings”.

The only distinction between Mir Dāmād's expression and that of Mullā Sadrā lies, probably, in the attention paid to the role played in Divine knowledge by dahr.
Unlike Mullà Šadrà, Mir Dâmâd never puts it aside, and solves most of important philosophical problems in his system of atemporal.

Mir Dâmâd has derived this method for proving the Creator's- the exalted- perfect knowledge from mystics. Mullà Šadrà, however, has further explained it.

Having made use of the real simplicity of existence and the rule of the simplest reality”, he has made of it a convincing proof for the Creator's- the Exalted- knowledge and mastery of existents.

As was said, following the mystics, Mir Dâmâd maintains certain levels for God's- the Exalted- knowledge and, employing Quranic expressions interprets these levels as “decree and predestination”, “tablet and pen” and the like. Mullà Šadrà has mentioned these ideas of his great master. Though Mullà Šadrà does not mention dahr, in the issue of God's knowledge or its levels, accepting Mir Dâmâd's divisions and expression such as scientific and objective “decree” and “predestination” and corresponding it with the presence of “grandeur”(Jabarūt)- which is the home of permanent things and separate called intellects- it is as, if he accepts Mir Dâmâd's doctrine of atemporal (dahr). By “ what for it is not a mode of non-existence” he seems to mean the container of eternity- according to Mir Dâmâd's definition; and the heavenly psychical world is Mir Dâmâd's container of dahr and not the container of time; since he regards the world of decree (qadar) in two levels: “the external decree” which is the external container (the container of time) and “the scientific decree” which he denies.

Being inspired by the mystical works, Mullà Šadrà has divided the God's knowledge or the descending presence of the existence to levels more than what Mir Dâmâd had. All the levels of grandeur (Jabarūt) (or, decree or pen)- which is the “intellectual world” or the world of intellects-; and the supreme heaven (malakūt a'lā) (or the world of universal souls and scientific decree, and tablet)- which is the world of heavenly soul- and the lowest heaven (malakūt asfal) (or the world of idea and separate imagination, and the tablet of decree)- which is the book of effacing and stability- are contained in dahr, as an intermediary between the world of simple intellect and eternity with the world of time.
**Hudūth-i dahrī and Mullā Šadrā**

As it is well-known, Mullā Šadrā has not accepted his master's doctrine of *Hudūth-i dahrī*. To solve the problem of relation between the created and the eternal, he has employed his own doctrine—i.e. the essential motion of substance.

In his *al-Hudūth (Risālah fī)*, which seems to be written to disprove the master's doctrine (of *Hudūth-i dahrī*), he says: “and it is expressed by the great philosophers that the relation between the fixed and the fixed is *sarmad*, and the relation between the fixed and changing is *dahr*, and the relation between the changing and the changing is time (*zamān*). By the first, they mean the relation between the Creator—the Exalted—and His attributes, names and knowledge. By the second, they mean the relation between His permanent knowledges and the renewing knowledges, which are the things of this world, through existential simultaneity. And by the third they mean the relation between some of His renewing knowledges to some others, through temporal simultaneity, which is same as the temporal priority and posteriority…”

Though he has justified the earlier philosophers’ doctrines, of the phrase… “the relation between the permanent knowledges and renewing knowledges” the container of atemporal (*dahr*) is understood; since God's knowledge is always permanent; there is not two kinds of knowledge in Him. His knowledges are the concrete external existents who have their own shares of the existence. It is impossible that the changeable and renewing things (i.e. created things are the subject of the permanent (i.e. eternal) knowledge, unless we regard changing things in their collective and single existence as a permanent existent which can not be contained on time (for time is the container of moments and renewing parts of that existence, not the container of its whole as a permanent thing). Then its container is the container of atemporal (*dahr*), which is the container of permanent existence of time, and not its changes.

As we have already seen, (in his *Ta’liqāt*) Ibn-Sinā classifies the being under three category:
First) “being” within time (this kind of being is constantly on the move).

Second) “being” alongside time (which is called dahr), thus, this kind of being is not conferred to time, it rather encompasses time.

Third) permanent “being” alongside the permanent things, which is called sarmad (eternity) and encompasses atemporal (dahr).

Thus- as Mullā Şadrā himself accepts the relation between the “permanent” Divine knowledge and the changeable and renewing knowledges, is not contained in time itself; otherwise the Divine knowledge will be contained “within time”. Therefore it must be “alongside time” and encompassing it (i.e. the container of perpetual-duration (dahr)).

From the external aspects of Mullā Şadrā's expressions, however, it is understood, that he did not believe in more than two existential containers.

**The container of time**

Time itself is resulted from the essential motion of substance; the ḥarakat-i qaṭ’iyah, which is the origin of time, is resulted from the continuity in the motion of object; and the agent, causing the temporal object to move, is not out of the object itself. Beyond time, there is nothing but the “Divine command” which is issued from the essence of One and we call it “intellect” which is, in turn, an intermediary between the Creator- the Exalted – and nature.

Here, he has regarded the Divine command, which is among the Divine acts, (in a loose way) same as the first emanation. He has not said, however, where this “command”- which is, according to him, a noun and not an act- is contained. In atemporal (dahr) or eternity (sarmad)? According to Mir Dāmād, eternity (sarmad) is the hypothetical container of the Divine essence, and not the container of His acts, the first emanation and other separates. Therefore, the intellects and commands are contained in “atemporal”(dahr). Mullā Şadrā has not mentioned this issue explicitly. Though he has said “then, time is preceded by no one except the Creator...”, 
taking certain points into account, it is included that he also accepts the container of atemporal, in a way.

On the other hand, like Mir D âmâd he maintains a principality for the ʰarākat-i qaṭ'īyyah; then he should maintain a continuous and single essence for the integrated assembly of the moving parts of the world (whose every phenomenon is regarded as a mediated motion (ʰarākat-i tawassuṭīyyah)). This essence is the origin of time, then it cannot be contained in time; it is alongside time. Such a single and atemporal essence cannot be realized except in atemporal (dahr).

And in addition, where are the other existents (other then time), i.e. the separates, which do not have essential motion and are accidental, contained. If they are not contained in time and eternity (sarmad), then they are contained inevitably in atemporal (dahr).

Belief in the substantial motion also requires container like the container of atemporal (dahr) so that the unitarian existence of (unshaped form) in all points of mediated motion (ʰarākat-i tawassuṭīyyah) could be established in that container, free of discontinuity and jump. “Unshaped form” is not enough for the subsistence of moving substance in various moments and points, and leads to the well – known problem of the change of substance and non- subsistence of the previous substance, and the substantial motion turns to an issue like undressing and dressing (khal’ wa labs) which is based on the principality of the mediated motion (ʰarākat-i tawassuṭīyyah) and the ʰarākat-i qaṭ'īyyah’s being a mentally posited issue, which Mulla Sadra avoid it. Then to be an existential and external reality, not a mentally- posited thing, the intended “unshaped form” intended by Mullā Şadrâ should be regarded as realized and existing, through a unitarian and integrative existence, in the permanent container of atemporal.

From some expressions of Mir D âmâd it could be inferred that he also had believed in substantial motion- though his belief is based on the existence of spheres and their constant motion, and he regards time as origination from the motion of spheres.

Thus, the substance of things in nature is essentially separate and the origin of time, and it has nothing to do with the absolute time of the spheres. Thus, though the parts of its integrative and collective existence are
contained in time, the essence of its existence is contained in the container of atemporal (dahr).

It is unlikely that Mullā Șadrā agrees with his master on the substantial motion and principality of the ḥarakat-i qaṭʿiyyah, but does not accept its natural result, i.e. origination in the container of atemporal (dahr).

**Principality of Quiddity**

Before Mullā Șadrā the issue of the “principality of existence” or “principality of quiddity” was not mentioned in philosophical books. It is this treat sage who has discussed this issue for the first time. He himself has selected the “principality of existence”, and disproved the “principality of quiddity”.

It seems that the issues of “existence and quiddity” found importance in Mullā Șadrā's era. Some of these who glossed on Khwājah Naṣīr's *Tajrīd al-kalām* and were among the follower of school of Shirāz, such as Sayyid Sadr al-Dīn and Mīr Ghiyath al-Dīn Dashtakī, Jalāl al- Dīn Dawānī and Fāḍil Khafrī were attracted to this issue in an indirect way. Dawānī's doctrine of “tasting Philosophy”, in which he made a distinction between the existence in the essence of the Creator- the Exalted- and the other existents; attracted philosophers' attention to the principality of the existence or the quiddity.

Mutahhari thinks that, before Mullā Sadra, it was Mīr Dāmād who interjected and discussed this issue.¹ Mystics' doctrine of the principality and Oneness of the existence of the Truth on the hand, and theologians' debate on the relation between the existence and quiddity and the pure existence of the Necessary Being, made Mīr Dāmād give principality to either of them and finally he chose the principality of quiddity.²

As far as I know, this issue has not been stipulated in Mīr Dāmād's philosophical books as explicitly as in Mullā Șadrā's. His belief in the

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¹ - Mutahhari, Murtīda, *Maqālāt-i falsafī*, vol. 3, p. 82.
philosophy of quiddity could be inferred from those expressions in which he regards the existence as a mentally-posited thing, and considers the external realization of things same as their quiddity. In Suhrawardi's works, also similar expressions can be found; that is why he and the followers of Plato's school are known as the patrons of “the principiality of quiddity”. On the other hand, Ibn-Sinā and even Aristotle are well-known as being patrons of the principiality of existence. I think, however, that the opposite opinion is more reasonable. On the one hand, the principiality of quiddity is more consistent with the Aristotle's distinct quiddities; and on the other hand the principiality of existence is more consistent with the principiality of the light and its grades (which are same as the qualities of the existence). The principiality of quiddity is, in fact, inconsistent with gradation in quiddities-in which Suhrawardi believes.

One characteristic of Mir Dāmād's school is his belief in the principiality of quiddity Mullā Sadrā- who, as he himself said believed in the principiality of quiddity in his youth- had derived this doctrine from the master. Here, we quote some of Mir Dāmād's expressions, in which he alludes to the principiality of quiddity.

Mir Dāmād himself did not consider this issue independently; hence we also content ourselves to this brief.

Mullā Ṣadrā quotes the master's expressions in his works; for example in Shawāhid al-rubūbiyyah he says: “among the arguments, posed by those who believe in the principiality of the quiddities are the arguments, described by Shaykh al-Ishrāq in his Hikmat al-ishrāq. And it is as follows: since existence is among the abstract mentally-posedness things, and since cause can never be prior to its effect, unless because of its quiddity (and not for any other thing), then the substance, i.e. the quiddity of effect, is a shadow or trace of the substance of cause, issued from it, and the substantiality of cause is prior over that of effect, because of the essence of quiddity…Among other arguments, which are similar to this, and can be regarded of the same value, is the argument, posed by some followers of the school of principiality of quiddity, they maintain that we know clearly and necessarily that the first emanation, emanated by the Maker, is but the first
effect. And there is no doubt that the effect is but quiddity. For, assigning the quiddity to existence or the like are among the mentally-posited things.

The argument posed by our great master Mir Dāmād (in his Qabasāt and Ufuq al-mubīn) is stronger than these two arguments. He says that since the subsistence of the essence of quiddity by itself is prepared to be predicated by the existence, and it is a referent of the predication of existness; and the existence can be predicated on the essence of quiddity in the container of mind or in external world, then suppose that if quiddity is, in its essence, needless to the maker, then it will go out of the limits of essential possibility, and will enter within the limits of necessity and independence of cause, and it is impossible

On the possibility or impossibility of gradation in the quiddities – that Mir Dāmād believes in the latter- he says:

On the possibility of gradation in quiddities- in which Mir Dāmād does not believe, he says:

Surprisingly enough that he who has written glosses on al-Tajrid as well as some other famous ones, has exaggerated in regarding this doctrine as imperfect, and has not allowed the gradational difference between quiddities of things; and for them existence is among the mentally posited things, while they believe that the quiddity of cause is prior over the quiddity of effect.

Nevertheless, sometimes, in Mir Dāmād's works, some expressions could be seen which suggest “the principiality of existence”; for example, to disprove the belief of a group of Mu'tazalīs in “stability” alongside the existence and non-existence, he says: “existence is synonym with the referential stability (thubūt maṣṣābārī), and the stability of existence cannot be imagined but in the external world”.

Mir Dāmād seems to have believed in the principiality of quiddity and the existence's being abstract only in the issue of “making” (jaˈl) and efficiency (i.e. the issue of causality and causedness). Though being, like Suhrawardi and the others, familiar with the existential and Iranian

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1 - al-Shawāhid al-rabībiyyah, ed. by Āshtiyāni, p. 74.
2 - a – Mabda’ wa’l maʾād, ed. by Āshtiyāni, p. 50.
3 - al-Qabasāt, p. 38; also see p. 72.
Illuminationist wisdom, he seems not to have had such an accurate understanding of the existence's multi-dimensionality- and perhaps its classification under the absolute unconditioned existence and free of condition existence- that he can accept that the effect and the thing, made by the essence of the Creator- the Exalted- (which is a real, non-numeral and pure existence, can be of the kind of existence. Hence, he has regarded the mere “realization”, or as he himself expresses, “the subsistence of the soul of quiddity” as a criterion for causedness; i.e. he has considered the individuation- which is regarded same as the external real existence by Mullâ Ṣadrâ- same as the acquisition within the certain individual limits, called “quiddity”.

After the acquisition of caused in the external world and in the innermost of reality, what remains to do is the abstracting the existence from that externally realized thing, as a mental and nominal concept. They regarded this as respecting the absolute existence of the Cause of causes- the Exalted.

Hence, in a more comprehensive analysis- which we have no time to proceed to do- it can be understood and proved that in Mir Dāmād's ontology, there is nothing but the existence, whether as created and invented things of as material objects. Mir Dāmād has not insisted on “the principality of quiddity” in all issues, in his works. Unlike Mullâ Ṣadrâ, he does not consider this as an important doctrine in his other philosophical discussions; and it is as if Mullâ Ṣadrâ does not feel himself as opposing the master.

The reason for Mullâ Ṣadrâ's insistence to prove the equivalency between the “individuation” and “existence”, and philosophical identity of “Making”, “realization”, “acquisition” and the like was, perhaps, removing the misunderstanding, leading the predecessors to not accept “the principality of existence”.

The other characteristic of Mir Dāmād is his interest in the “onomatomancy” and the “science of number”. Unlike the other people of mysteries, he not also did not conceal his interest, but also he reveals it intentionally. On this issue he has written, at least one treatise. In his Ta‘wil al-muqāṭṭa‘ūt and “Sidrat al-muntahā” also he has discussed this issue, and devoted sections, and even chapters, of his other books to this issue. For
example, in a part of his “Nibrāš al- ḍiyā”, whose main theme is proving Badā’ (in the correct sense of the term), he has discussed letters and numbers and interjected interesting and attractive issues.

Before him, Muḥī al-Dīn ‘Arabī, in some of his books, and some commentators of his Fushūṣ al-ḥikam (Bezels of Wisdom), and above all, Ismā’īlī authors, including Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Brethren of Purity) have gone the same way.

Surprisingly enough, thus sciences, on the one hand, were among the legacy of Iranian and Indian sages and the sages of other eastern nations, which were transmitted to Mediterranean coast (Criton island) by Pythagorean who founded the well-known society of “mathematicians” or, as it is more well-known Pythagorean school. In this school, these sciences were taught, along the other sciences, completely in secret. Later the followers of Plotinus taught these sciences. In general, these sciences originated from Iranian – Arian culture, and are of thousands years ago.

On the other hand, a sort of onomatomancy and science of numbers are derived from the Holy Quran and Relatives of Muhammad (s), free of imitation from the above-mentioned schools. Ismā’īlis and some of Shi‘ī mystics get acquainted with these sciences and Divine mysteries through Imams (A. S.). A group of Ismā’īlis also (perhaps, because of the presence of Fāṭīmi ‘Alawī government in Egypt and northern Africa) got acquainted with the Illuminationist wisdom of ancient Persia well-known as Neo-Platonic school in Alexandria, and the other places, near to it, and made a combination of these two schools (which are very similar, implying the source of Revelation as their common origin); later, popular Sufis, Shi‘ī mystics and even Shi‘ī jurisprudents and muḥaddiths also would have studied these sciences.

The collection of these theoretical sciences and practical ascetics, accompanying them are what is called Pythagorean school, and sometimes, Orphism. If we are to study Mir Dāmād from this point of view, we should regard him as following Pythagorean, or Neo-Pythagorean, school of 11th-century A. D. (16th. and 17th centuries B.C.).

Mir Dāmād calls his school, “ḥikmat-i yamānī” and sometimes “Imānī”(the wisdom of faith.) He strictly follows the Holy Quran, prophetic
hadith and those of Imams (A. S.) As we have already said this firm spiritual and mental connection with the Book and authentic hadith - and preferring them over the first and the last sciences - in the case of inconsistency, are characteristics of Mir Dāmād's personality and school, which are completely transmitted to Mullâ Sadrâ and seen in his “Transcendent Philosophy”.

Nevertheless, Mir Dāmād has a perfect mastery on the other schools. On the one hand, he masters of Peripatetic philosophy, like a Peripatetic philosopher. In his discussion of this school, Peripatetic philosophers do not even approach him. It is why he regards himself as being participant with Ibn Sinâ in his chieftom, and introduces himself as the third Master, along with Aristotle and Fārâbî (which are, respectively, the first and the second Masters) and calls Bahmanyâr (Ibn Sînâ's disciple, and the author of al-Taḥṣil) “our disciple”.

On the other hand, he believes in Suhrawardi’s Philosophy of the Orient of Light (ḥikmat al-ışhraq) and the wisdom of ancient sages (i.e. magi and the sages of ancient Persia; and at the same time, he pays perfect attention to stoic and Illuminationist Philosophy inherited from Plato and Greeks through Enneads of Plotinus (which he and the other Muslim philosophers attribute it incorrectly to Aristotle. He quotes from this book in every part of his philosophical works.

On the one hand he gives attention to Ibn 'Arabi and his books and doctrines and finds what he needs in Ibn 'Arabi's books, and like his own disciple employs all this in his own system of wisdom and, Divine and Quranic school.

It is worth to mention that after the overthrow of Fātīmi government in Egypt by Ṣalâḥ al-Din Ayyûbî and its remains in Alamût and other places in Iran, Ismâ’îli mysterious school- which believed in onomatomancy, and was the heir of Islamic and Quranic esotericism- had no more an administrative and political base. This school continued to live in the center established by Khwâjah Naṣīr Tûsî, through whom a branch of this school was transmitted to the school of Shirâz and thereby, to Mir Dāmād, who has added this mysterious treasure to his own wealth of knowledge.

By the help of the prophets, the man understood that just as there could be established a correspondence (whether natural or conventional)
between the mental meaning and concepts, there are a natural and real correspondence between the letters and words on the one hand and the external and objective phenomena of the world of nature. Thus, on the one hand, the external realities could be declared through the words and letters and thus some propositions may be deduced; and on the other hand, through these letters and words, and combinations of them, desired phenomena and events, and external and objective realities can be produced. This led to the origination of onomotomancy.

And since there are a natural correspondence between the words and numbers and the words and letters can be reduced to numbers in various ways, the numbers also have natural influences. Through this science, which is called the science of numbers, certain effects can be produced.

The word سِلَان in some Quranic verses, seems to mention these natural and real influences. In the verse: “Would ye wrangle with me over names which you have named, ye and your fathers for which no warrant from Allah hath been revealed?...” by the “names”, the words are meant, and the term سِلَان refers to their influences. This suggests that every word must have a سِلَان, i.e. an intrinsic and natural influence; and this is not possible, except through a natural and creational “making” (jaʿl) by God- the Exalted-; and whatever the man attempts to make words by will he does not lead to anywhere. Some western materialist researchers have found some relation between sounds and letters on the one hand, and nature on the other hand. For example, in his “Metaphysic”, Lyal Watson writes: “In Swiss, Hans Jenny has invented a machine to turn the sounds into visible and three-dimensional forms”.

In this science, in the first step, the letters and their characteristics are discussed same as chemistry in which the properties of elements are discussed.

Same as atoms, from which molecules and then, compounds can be produced, from the combination of letters also will appear words with their own properties. From the words, certain sentences with special effects can be combined. Mullâ Sadrâ has likened this to pharmacopoeia.

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1 - The Holy Quran, 7:71.
After properties of letters, properties of words (or names) are discussed. For example, in mystical books, the names of God- which are in the form of words and contain their own connotation- are extensively discussed; for details one should refer to these books. It is believed that words are a level of existence in its descending hierarchy. This level is called “existence in a pronounced form,” and after it, there is the “existence in a written form,” and this latter is the last stage (or presence) of the existence.

In his commentary on the introduction of Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam, Fādil Tūnī says: the Divine essence, through every manifestation, is a name of names; His “manifestation” in the “simple existence”, together with a universal meaning will be turned into a particular existent such as intellect soul,... . This simple existence is called the “breath of the Merciful” and is likened to the human breath”. Same as the human breath that produces 28 letters by the help of organs of pronunciation, the “breath of the Merciful” also leads to 28 objective beings in the effect which, has been manifest in a particular manifestation...”

That is why the scholars find a relation between the words of attributes, known as “Divine attributes” and the objective external effects; and thus, they regard every thing as emanated from the essence of the Truth as “word”.

In this regard, and in the same gloss, Fādil Tūnī says: every existence is a “word”, since the word is invented to indicate the intention; and the objective existence since it implies the existence of the Wise Maker, suggest hidden things.

Therefore it is a realistic way to apply the term “word” for the objective existent; God- the Exalted- says: “…and His word, which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him…” and in prayer, it is said: “Take refuge in the perfect attributes of God”.

The Holy Prophet and his household are correctly called, “the perfect attributes of God”. In the Holy Quran, Jesus is named “word”; and all

1 - Fādil Tūnī, Sharḥ-i muqaddamah-yi fuṣūṣ, p. 46, also see Jāmi, Naqd al- nuṣūṣ, p. 83.
2 - The Holy Quran, 4:171.
existents are “the words of God” who have come to existence through the word “kun” (be!) which is a creational fiat and Divine innovation. That is why some have deemed the “breath of Merciful” as the hyle of all existents, and the word and letters as their forms. As regards the numbers also the story goes in the same way. Since the letters and words could be turned into numbers, then the numbers are also among the degrees and manifestations of the reality of the “word”. Pythagorean, which are said to regard the number as the origin of the universe, mentioned these real relations between letters (and numbers) with the universe; this school had a long a history before Pythagorean and had been known in Iran, India and Babylon.

According to Iranians and Indians, the number “one” was father, and the number “two” his spouse; and the other numbers their offspring. In philosophical expression, the number one is placed out of the sequence of numbers. It is the number-making one, which breathes the forms in its conjugated hyle, creating the other numbers, odd or even. In Islamic mysticism also, the number “one” was regarded as the symbol of one (the Presence of One) and marriage between numbers was identified with the sequence of creation.

In his Sharḥ fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam, after mentioning that all the numbers are, in fact, the repeated one and as levels of one, Qayṣari says: “As regards the relation between the one and the numbers, it is similar to the relation between the creatures and the Truth, and it is not so that the one is same the Truth-the Exalted.

Interestingly, he speaks of this issue in the chapter, titled as Idris (Enoch), and as it is well-known Idris is, in fact, ”Hermes of Hermecists” the founder of codes and numbers.

These matters are abundant in the books of the Muslim Scholars (those who are inclined to Shi’ism); in the books of all mystics also this matter is discussed more or less. Ibn ‘Arabi wrote his magnum opus Futūḥāt al-makkiyah (Meccan Openings), based on this doctrine, and in the first

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1 - Jandi, Sharḥ-i fuṣūṣ, p. 43.
chapter (*faṣl*), second section (*bāb*) described it. Commentators of *Fusūṣ al-ḥikam* also have followed same procedure.

As we have already said, these sciences seem to have originated from Imāms (a) who had learned them from the holy Prophet (S.A). In the books of *ḥadīth*, characteristics of numbers are repeatedly mentioned. For example in argumentation between Imām Riḍā (a) and 'Umrān Sabī, and in some places in *Bīhar al-anwār* this issue is seen.

In a *ḥadīth* of the eighth Imām it is reported that:

“The first thing, created by God – the Exalted- so through which peoples may learn to write, is letters… and then he says:

الإِلَهُ إِلَيْهِ الدَّارُ

And on the intellectual debate between Imām and 'Umrān it is reported that: “innovation, will and providence are three terms for a single connotation. God’s first innovation and will and providence is the letters, He appointed them as signs of the perceived things and the solution of any problem”

After a brief review on this issue, it is time to go to Mīr Dāmād and his doctrines on the numbers. We add to what we have already said that like Pythagorean who regarded the number as the origin of the world, Mīr Dāmād also considers the number as the origin and letters as its manifestations. He interprets the letter as the body and the number as its spirit.

In his *Jadhawāt* also, this issue is mentioned in some places; for example, he says:

“Pythagorean has regarded the kingdom of existents as the “origin of number” and the levels of numbers”, contemplation on his doctrine and understanding it need a great deal of time”. And also he says: “the great theosophists and the scholar of spiritual men have said that: “the number is

5 - *Jadhawāt*, p. 46.
the moving intellect”, and in the physics of his Shifā, on the soul, our predecessor partner has said that “the soul is the moving number” and these are, in fact, allusions...”. And in this same book, he says: “our brothers who are superior over the well-grounded scholars” have said that the oneness of the Necessary Being is not essentially a numeral oneness. The reality of the number is but a repeated oneness”.

Then he goes to define arithmetic letters, beginning with the concept of the soul as the moving number and since nature and spirituality and other characteristics are maintained for every number, he defines each of them separately:

In the same way, he defines other sequences of arithmetic letters. His definitions are based, in fact, on the musculature and productivity of the odd numbers-and in particular the numbers known as the primary numbers-, and femininity and motherhood of the number 2 and the letter ب and all the even numbers, and regarding the number 2 as a spouse for the number 1 (or odd numbers). Because of their marriage- which Mir Dāmād calls it marriages- all the beings are born within a Macro Anthropo, though through never-ending repetition of manifestations and marriages, infinite extents come to existence.

For the sake of brevity, we put an end on this chapter with mentioning another issue to make the reader more acquainted with this rare and perhaps unrivalled scientist.

In one chapter of his “Nibrāš” and also in the beginning of the prologue of Jadhawāt, he has quoted this quatrains:

1 - Ibid, p. 28.
2 - Ibid, p. 33, and also see p. 81, and onward.
By ِهِلُن هِلُنَم اَم يَكُنْهَا قَلِم في كل رَبِّ مِن الْوُلَيد نَوْمًا، he means the direct creation and innovation, which the pen of active intellect is disable to describe them. From the direct creation originate the world of intellect and the world of soul; and from the invention the world of matter and the world of forms come to existence.

By ِهِلُن نَوْمًا are meant the creation and compilation, which is the hidden intellectual intellect.

Here we put an end on the biography of Mir Dāmād and wait for other opportunity to plunge in this profound ocean- that we have a short trip to its costs.
Mullā Ṣadrā and Mīr Findiriskī

Among those who are well-known as Mullā Ṣadrā's masters is Mīr Findiriskī. Mīr Abul Qāsim Astarābādī Findiriskī is a contemporary of Mullā Ṣadrā and Shaykh Bahā’ī. He spent a part of his life as a great master of Peripatetic texts in Iṣfahān.

The other fact that made him publicly outstanding was the wonders of his dervish-like and easygoing life that amazed the common people and made him socially famous.

He is believed to have died in the year 1050 A. H./1640 A.D. (the year of Mullā Ṣadrā's death) at the age of 80. Hence his date of birth is probably 970 A.H./1562 A.D.

No historical evidence suggesting that Mullā Ṣadrā studied under him or implying the scientific relation between them is available. And, despite their disagreement in certain doctrines, Mullā Ṣadrā also has not mentioned him (even though Jalāl Humā’ī, a contemporary academician in an introduction to Lāhiji's glosses claims for seeing some note in Mullā Ṣadrā's treatises, in this regard. In his introduction to Lāhiji's glosses on Mashā’ir (p20), he writes: “Although Mullā Ṣadrā was an official student of Mīr Dāmād, he learned many intricacies of philosophy including the substantial motion and the union of intelligible and intelligence and the like which he stipulates in some of his treatises from Mīr Findiriskī.”)

Some others also have regarded Mullā Ṣadrā among his disciples.

1 Certainly, he had a “center of teaching” in Iṣfahān, and he spent
probably the main part, or at least a part, of his period of teaching at the end
of his life and after returning from India in Isfahan. He died in Isfahan and
was buried there.

Mr. Sayyid Jalâl al-Din Ahshtianî has written that Mîr Findiriski
taught intellectual and transmitted sciences; but it is certain that he taught
wisdom including Peripatetic philosophy and books such as \textit{Shifâ}, \textit{Ishârât},
as well as sciences such as mathematics. That is why he was regarded as a
peripatetic philosopher.

He has a well-known ode with the opening verse:

“The universe with stars in it is all so beautiful, pure, and in
harmony;

“Whatever is in the heavens has a form down here on the earth.

, which because of similarity in appearance it is interpreted as
pointing to illuminated ideas, and thus, some have regarded him as an
Illuminationist sage. The other assumption is, however, more acceptable, for
in his remained books (including \textit{Harakat (Risâlah fi)}) he has described
Aristotelian doctrines and proofs for them.

He, however, appealed in certain places to doctrines such as the
union of intelligible and intelligence in the sequence of effusion from the
first agent to the lowest existents which is evidently among the doctrines of
Illuminationist wisdom and the wisdom of ancient Persia and was revealed
by Neo-Platonist such as Plotinus and his disciples including Egyptian
Porphyry and was named after them.

For a long time, from al-Kindi onward, Muslim philosophers
regarded Plotinus' \textit{Enneads} as being written by Aristotle; hence some
regarded Porphyry as the disciple of Aristotle. It is much likely that Mîr
Findiriski also thought in the same way, and thus regarded the union of
intelligible and intelligence (which was explicitly disproved by Ibn Sina and
his followers) among Peripatetic doctrines; though this is not so acceptable.

Evidently, in a long stay in India where he mixed with the
Zoroastrian community, Mîr Findiriski must have met with \textit{A}dhar Kaywân,
the prominent Zoroastrian scholar who, fearing for his life, which was under
threat from the Safavid government, had left Shiraz for India in self-exile.

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\[^{1}\] For example, Dr. Muhammad Mu’in; Majid Fakhri and some others
Thus, he was acquainted with the ancient and Illuminationist wisdom of Persia; his belief in the principality of quiddity could be regarded as taken from Suhrawardí and his Illuminationist theosophy (Ḥikmat al-ishrāq). On the other hand, in this way his opposition with substantial motion and illuminated ideas, the two trademarks of the Illuminationist school, remains unjustified.

In this point of view, his ode can be interpreted as alluding to concepts other than illuminated intellectual ideas. For example:

“lt is the intellectual form, never-ending and eternal;
“With and without others, it is One;
“i call it the spirit of the world, if you know the relation between the spirit and body;
“Within every particle it is both manifest and unveiled;
“Every one who died will enjoy the life through it;
...

By the “intellectual forms” he means the first intellect, the first emanation or the active intellect and the tenth intellect which is the origin of the existence of the universe and, though being simple, it is plural and united with plurals, and though being mentally plural in the descending chain down to the levels of the soul and the body, it is one; and the material world and the low levels or human souls are some forms of it. In his Ṣanā‘iyyah (Risālah) he says:

Then the essence of the [first] intellect is both the subject of [the Creator's -the Exalted-] knowledge and the subject of [His] act. After it is the essence of the soul, which is the subject of the act of intellect that directly creates the form of soul... which is not separate from the intellect, and thus the intelligence and the intelligible are united; and after it is the existence of the “nature”, which is called “form” and it is, for the prima matter which is with it, the subject of soul's act... [nature] receives the solar, lunar, venereal and elementary forms and if these forms are removed from it, it

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1 - Muntakhabāt-i āthār-i hukamā-yi Īrānī, vol.1, p. 78.
will be united with the soul, and thus the intellect and intelligible and intelligence are united....

In the ascending and descending chains, he believes in the rule of “the noblest among the noblest ones”, and introduces it as being derived from Aristotle, and Aristotle himself called it the rules of “the most prior and the most known for the intellect”.

Among the other characteristics of his doctrines (Ṣanā‘īyyah) is the comparison he made between Zoroastrian Ahriman and pure non-existence and passive faculty (or faculty vs. act, and matter vs. form), which is far from the terminology of Illuminationists who call the matter or the last existent in the descending chain the “theurgy” or the “darkening” substance.

In general his works can be regarded neither Peripatetic nor Illuminationistic or of a third school. In the first glance he seems to have been an interpreter or teacher of opposing philosophical doctrines more than a lover of them. A survey of his works also shows that he was most innovative in mathematics and occult sciences.

Among his works is Ṣanā‘īyyah written on the industries and professions. In this book, he makes an intricate social division of labors putting them into lower and higher categories. (A similar theory was put forth in Europe in the 19th. century by Durkheim)

His other book is “Sharḥ al-jūkī” or Yoga which was originally a part of Indian Mahabharata. It was among Nizām al-Din Pānī Pātī’s Yashts and the original books of Hinduism, which is translated to Persian as well.¹

He spent a part of his valuable life to study alchemy and the like, and wrote a book on elixir or gold-making matter² and Henry Corbin regards him as a contemporary of Michael Meyer in Europe.³

What brought him an aura of prestige and public respect was his ascetic-type of life and interest in supra-natural affairs, which was “similar to the Yogis’ way of life”.⁴

² - See Majmūʿah-yi rasā‘īl, no. 1, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī.
³ - Henry Corbin, Histoire de la philosophie islamique.
Some believe that he was a disciple of Ādhar Kaywān and influenced by Zoroasterianism, Hinduism and Buddhism. In *Dabastān al madhāhib* it is recorded that he “learned to worship the sun and not to torment the animals from the disciples of Ādhar Kaywān”.

Stories are told on this ground. According to one famous story one day a Hindu governor asks him in despise why Brahman temples stand up to centuries-old erosion and decay while Muslim Mosques keep wearing out. He responds that if the prayers in mosques were said in temples they would collapse. When forced to prove his words, Mir Findiriski performs his ablution and stands in the middle of an ancient temple and shouts “ʿAllāh u Akbar”(Allah is the greatest). He escapes right before the temple comes down.

As other story goes one day an Indian or Timurid king says him that if is it true that your prophet did not have a shadow and this was his Miracle. Immediately he responds evidently it is true and I wish that God also has not a shadow (an allusion to the King the Shadow of God).

Some others regard him one of the advocates of Malāmatīyyah and say that he put on the clothes of poor ones and went to circles of tavern haunter Sufis. One day Shāh ‘Abbās says him reproachfully: “we have heard that certain great men have been seen among immoral people”. Here the-under-scrutiny philosopher replies in a vigilant way: “I myself have attended such meetings but never seen great men there”.

This story has once been told about Shaykh Bahāʾi and historically there is no reason to reject it but it so seems that it is more compatible with Mir Findiriski's way of life.

Mir Findiriski, Mir Dāmād and Shaykh Bahāʾi were in close and friendly relation. One day a lion, escaping from the cage, comes to their circle but does not attack them and goes out.

Mir Findiriski had some disciples who spread some of his doctrines. One of them is Mullā Rajab 'Ali Tabrizi, the teacher of Qāḍī Saʿīd Qumi, a zealot advocate of the principality of quiddity who never accepted most of Mullā Ṣadrā's doctrines including the substantial motion. His other student is

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Mullā Ḥusayn Khwānsārī, jurisprudent and great philosopher who wrote glosses on Metaphysics of *Shifā*. And yet his other student is Mullā Moḥammed Bāqir Sabziwārī, his contemporary jurisprudent and philosopher. These two and Mullā Hādi and Mullā Aḥmad Narāqi were stars of the first magnitude in the sky of jurisprudence and established novel and advanced schools of jurisprudence.

As stated and contrary to most Western researchers’ understanding of the developments in the Safavid era, in that era jurisprudence and philosophy went hand in hand. Most of famous jurisprudents were at the same time among the philosophers and mystics. This rule governs, still, the seminaries.
Mullā Ṣadrā and Beginning of his Blossoming

Having reviewed the lives of Shaykh Bahā and Mūr Dāmād, who had a significant influence on the structure of Mullā Ṣadrā's personality, now it is turn to study his life in Iṣfahān and thereafter. Hence, taking our knowledge of the social conditions of that time into account, we will proceed to study the sorrowful life of the “head of sages” (Ṣadr al-Ḥakīmān).

As we have already seen, Mullā Ṣadrā became acquainted with these two masters in the central scientific school of the then capital, i.e. Qazwīn, and studied some of their books (in jurisprudence, Ḥadīth, contextual study of Ḥadīth, commentary, logic, Peripatetic school, Ishrāq, Illuminationist school) and mysticism under them. Upon the transfer of capital to Iṣfahān (in 1006 A.H./1597 A.D. or so), he went to Iṣfahān with them and others who had been studying in the central scientific school of Qazwīn.

As another story says: “Before enjoying the presence of Mūr Dāmād, Mullā Ṣadrā had lived in Kāshān and studied under Ḥakīm Dīyā al-Dīn Rāzī, and later became his son-in-law.

Dīyā al-Dīn Rāzī - well-known as Dīyā al-‘urafā is Shāh Murtidā’s father-in-law and consequently he is Fayd’s grandfather. He is said to have come to Kāshān in 976 A.H./1568 A.D. and taught there. The author of Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār, Mīr Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusayn Kāshānī, with the nom de plume Dḥikrī) says: “Now [996 A.H./1587 A.D.], it is 20 years that he is teaching in Kāshān”.

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This is, however, very unlikely, and it is not stipulated and even alluded in books of history or Mullâ Sadrâ's books and, particularly in the books of Fayd and his offspring 'Alam al-Hudâ who was interesting in putting the life story of his own relatives into writing. From Fayd's expressions- written concerning his own story of life and time of his acquaintance with Mullâ Sadrâ- it is inferred that Fayd became acquainted with Mullâ Sadrâ in Qum by chance, whereas if Mullâ Sadrâ's spouse were his aunt, this would not be the case.

According to what we have already deduced, in this writing we will assume that Mullâ Sadrâ went from Shirâz to Qazwín and from the latter to Išfahân. Having completed his advanced studies under Mîr Dâmad he left Išfahân, for some reasons, for another city. Here two historical questions raise that must be answered:

1- How many years did Mullâ Sadrâ live in Išfahân? How many years did he spend for studying under Mîr Dâmad? And, when did he leave Išfahân?

2- For what city did he leave Išfahân? His Homeland, Shirâz, or Kâshân, or Qum or another city?

There is no clear answer for the first question in books of history and biographies.

In one of his writings, Henry Corbin writes: "It could be acknowledged that Mullâ Sadrâ came to Shirâz between 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. and 1010 A.H./1601 A.D., and therefore he taught for almost 40 years. According to the dates mentioned in the introduction (vol. 4) to Ṣâjijat al-bayyârî, Mishkât, however, Dânechepejuh regarded Mullâ Sadrâ as coming to Shirâz in 1042 A.H./1630 A.D. This date is really late. The real date is probably between these two.

This is not acceptable, for, as we know, Mullâ Sadrâ came to Išfahân with his master in 1006 A.H./1597 A.D.; and 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. is probably the date of his enterance to Qazwín and not the date of his exit. Time needed for studying commentary and ḥadîth under Shaykh Bahâ’î and philosophy and the other disciplines under Mîr Dâmad does not seem to have been so short. And according to our research there is no evidence
confirming Mullâ Şadrâ’s emigration from Iðsfahân prior to 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.

The date of birth of Mullâ Şadrâ’s first offspring- Umm Kulthûm, later the spouse of Fayûd Kâshání, and as some say, of Fayyûd Lâhijî- is written to be 1019 A.H./1610 A.D.

She was born in Shirâz. Her date of birth must be, as a rule, a few years after Mullâ Sadrâ’s marriage.

As another evidence shows, he left Iðsfahân for Shirâz, and since his first offspring was born in Shirâz (in 1019 A.H./1610 A.D.), therefore it is likely that he had been staying in Iðsfahân one or two years before that time. Hence the period of his study in Iðsfahân had lasted, at the best, for almost 10 or 12 twelve years (1006 A.H./1597 A.D.-1016 A.H./1607 A.D.)

In other words, the birth of his daughter (his first offspring) in Shirâz can be taken as an indicator of his marriage and settlement in this city. And since this daughter was born in 1019 A.H., it can be deduced that he had come to Shirâz, settled, and married there one or two years before this time (for example, in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D.). Therefore we can assume that he left Iðsfahân for his homeland Shirâz around 1016 A.H./1607 A.D. and 1018 A.H./1609 A.D., and before this time he had been staying in Iðsfahân.

For reasons which we will mention, he is likely that to have spent a shorter time in Iðsfahân, and then he left this city for Shirâz due to certain reasons such as the death of one of his relatives or invitation of the commander of Shirâz.

Evidently, there are other probabilities that cannot be confirmed. Hence, we also take the strongest probability.

The second question also has no clear answer. As is already said, however, the birth of his first offspring in Shirâz is an indicator of his marriage around those years- and with all probability in Shirâz. In the biography of Mullâ Şadrâ, Sayyid Abûl Ḥasan Rafî’î Qazwînî writes that having completed his studies Mullâ Şadrâ left Iðsfahân for Shirâz (he did not, however, mention his evidence).

From the letter written by Mullâ Şadrâ for Mir Dâmâd- in which he himself writes that 12 years have been past from his separation from Mir
Dàmād- also it is understood that lived in a city with following characteristics for a long time:

In this city, he complains from the great number of his family and relatives. This fits Shirāz where he paid for the lives of the remains of paternal retinue, servants, maidservants, workers, and the other ones.

In this city false scholars whom he attributed as “the ill–natured ones of the army of ignorance and deceit, and the stupid ones who are staying in the station of the falsehood and hypocrisy” or “those who are deviated from the science and knowledge and regard the meanness just as the superiority, and obedience of the despotic soul as the obedience of the Divine rules and being at the service of commanders and kings as the promotion of the Divine law (shar’)” or “the ignorant and imperfect ones” lived. This does not fit Qum, Kahak and the like. It suits Shirāz.

In this letter he complains of “the fool plays of time, and non-assistance of the fate and carelessness of the nobles of time...”

This kind of complains suits more with Shirāz where he was regarded as the offspring of a vizier and respected by the nobles of the city in his teens, and now after the death of his father and when he returns to Shirāz with his wealth of knowledge he is no more respected.

As some have said, Allāhwirdī Khān, the commander of Fārs and islands of Persian Gulf, built the famous Khān School in Shirāz for him. The date of beginning to build the school is not known, the date of its completing, however, is written to be around 1022 A.H./ 1613 (or 1024 A.H./ 1615 A.D.). This also can be regarded as an evidence confirming the fact that he left İsfahān for Shirāz- probably in reply to the invitation of Allāhwirdī Khān- and there he proceeded to teach. Since the jealous and false scholars and head-banded of the city could not tolerate his knowledge and dazzling God-fearing, they accused him of heresy and produced much troubles for him so that he retired indignantly to seclusion in a village called Kahak. His settlement in Shirāz in the last years of his life and teaching in Khān School attest his future travel to Shirāz- probably by the invitation of Imāmquli Khān.

Also it could be argued that if, as it was common for students, Mullā Șadrā did not return to his fatherland in which he had land properties, then to
what city did he proceeded and because of what personal, social political motivations? And since there are no such reason and evidence available, we should conclude that he has returned to Shirāz.

In the appendices of Rawḍat al-ṣaḥā ti it is written that “having completed his school in Shirāz, Allāhwirdi Khān invited His Excellency Ṣadr al-‘Ulamā to the homeland to teach in this school, hence he went to Shirāz and taught there because of an invitation made by Shāh ‘Abbās II...” This claim is repeated by some others quoting from this book. This claim is not, for some reasons, justified:

1- As we have already seen, the building of the school was completed in 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. or 1024 A.H./1615 A.D. In this year Allāhwirdi Khān (d. 1021 A.H./ 1614 A.D.) was not alive.
2- This is, somehow, inconsistent with the birth of his offspring in Shirāz (though it can be argued that it is probable that Mullā Ṣadrā himself was not present in Shirāz).
3- Shāh ‘Abbās II has ascended to throne in 1052 A.H./1642 A.D. and the above mentioned year is in the era of Shāh ‘Abbās I, unless we regard the II as incorrect and the I as correct. But this also is very unlikely since we have found no evidence suggesting Shāh ‘Abbās’ acquaintance with Mullā Ṣadrā; on the contrary, Mullā Ṣadrā had good relations with Allāhwirdi Khān and his son Imāmqul Khān so that he presented his “al-Ḥudūṯ” to the latter, hence there was no need to Shāh ‘Abbās to invite Mullā Ṣadrā to Shirāz.

Mullā Ṣadrā's life seems to not have been so remarkable among the students and scholars of Iṣfahān court. In the public affairs also no trace of him can be found. It is as if his value was concealed for the masses of people, and he himself also insisted on this concealment. That is why in books of history and chronicles of his time written by the mercenaries of the court, who certainly knew him, there is no hint to him. European tourists in his time also did not mention him.

In addition, from Mullā Ṣadrā's mentalities it is understood that he hated court, the king and the nobles, and despite the position of his father he did not go toward the court. Though his masters Shaykh Bahā (in his Jāmi’ ‘abbāsī) and Mir Dāmād (in his Jadhwāt) had mentioned Shāh ‘Abbās, he
who is a devotee of these two great men mentions none of the kings. His respect for Imâmqulí Khân was for his virtue and chastity. Hence, we could maintain that he was unknown for the court.

As we have seen Mullâ Sadrâ's letters for Mîr Dâmãd were undated, and from the expressions also the dates of writing of letters could not be inferred with certainty. If we rely on our understanding of some expressions, however, the first letter mentioned in this writing could be regarded as the first letter in historical order as well, since from its expressions some points can be deduced:

1. At the time of writing of letter he was writing glosses on *Shifā*, *Ishârāt* and other books of earlier philosophers.

2. He decided to write letters for his master and present his questions and opinions to him to compensate his separation from the grace of the master's presence.

3. Because of his personal problems, he had not succeeded to write letters and this is his first letter to the master. He writes:

   “Though formally the spatial distance hinder me from the intended Ka’ba and the legs are tired from all kinds of obstacles and all kinds of grieves reached my aggrieved spirit, the spirit has always smelt the fragrant of your scientific benefits... inevitably my time is spent mostly, after performing the obligatory practices, to survey in the intentions of earlier philosophers and study the works of scholars and so I have taken to be at the service of religious knowledge and real sciences as causing the one to be guided and his degrees to be elevated. And I have learned what as much as I could from everywhere, and I have proceeded to study and draw conclusion as much as my weak mind allows. And to disprove the objections alleged against books such as *Shifā* and *Ishârāt* and to infer their intentions I have written something in some books.....”

Under this letter it is written that one of the scholars of Kâshân, because of his friendship with him or for some other reasons, had sent some problems to solve for him, he also sent them thereby for his master. His expression is as follows:

   “Meanwhile there was some dialogues between one of the great persons of Kâshân ... he has encountered some problems, which because of
his good opinion about me he has sent some letter to this city to ask the solutions of these “awīṣah” (hard-to-solve) problems, this praying one also has written some words to...” (the letter is uncompleted).

This expression explicitly shows that he had not been in Kāshān or Qum, but he had been in another city, where only through letters one could contact with others in other cities. Qum is near to Isfahan and Kāshān, and Kahak is nearer to Kāshān than it is to Qum. Therefore by this city is meant probably Shirāz. As we have already said (on the first letter), expressions such as “to disprove some objections alleged against Shīfā and Ishārāt, I have attained some points...” suggest the beginning of his researches and the expression “I have written them in some writings...” is an indicator of his beginning to write. Therefore, it can be concluded that Mullā Sadrā has begun to teach (or official teaching) and write in time of his separation from Mir Dāmād. On the other in his commentary on Ayat al-kursī, written in Qum between 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. and 1028 A.H./1618 A.D., no trace of the lack of self-confidence in his own doctrines can be seen, an the contrary in this book he is in the culmination of experience. As we have said the first letter is written probably before 1021 A.H.1612 A.D., and between 1012 A.H./1603 A.D. and 1018 A.H./1609 A.D. Since between his being experienced in writing his commentary on Ayat al-kursī and his inexperience there had been probably a gap of some years.

Now if we regard the date of his return to Shirāz around 1012 A.H., it is concluded that he had been staying and studying in Isfahan for almost 6 years, which suffices to study advanced courses in philosophy and other disciplines. He was 32 or 33 years old when he married. In that time the students married sometimes in a still in older ages (for example, Shaykh Bahā married with the daughter of Shaykh Minshār in his forties, of its accurate date we are not informed).

In his second letter to Mir Dāmād he has mentioned a separation between him and master which has lasted 7- 8 years. If we subtract these years from 1020 A.H. i.e. the year of writing his commentary Ayat al-Kursī in Qum, we reach 1012 A.H.; therefore, it could be concluded that he has departed from Isfahan between 1010 A.H. and 1012 A.H.
Also it could be concluded that his first settlement in Shirāz has lasted about 10 years (i.e. till time of writing his commentary on Āyat al-Kursī). Unless it is claimed that the writing of this treatise and its reaching to an end in Qum in 1021 A.H. do not necessarily suggest that he had been staying in Qum, since he might had written this treatise in Shirāz and during the travel, and since it had reached to its end in Qum, the date of its being completed is recorded in Qum.

From this letter, however, it is inferred that he rarely went to travel and his travels to Mecca had occurred apparently in the last part of his life and through the then ordinary route from Fārs to the islands of Persian Gulf to Bahrain or Basra. Hence he did not succeed to visit his master, Mīr Dāmād, in Isfahān. Then it could be concluded that the year 1021 had been the year of his retirement from Shirāz to seclusion in Qum and Kahak.

Then, around 1021 A.H., he had been in Qum (and not Shirāz). He had studied until about 1010 A.H. (or 1012 A.H.) in Isfahān. His study in Isfahān had lasted for about 4 or 6 years. In this time, he is almost 30 years old. Hence, the reason for his return to Shirāz is probably a particular event (such as the death of father, or being invited by people or the like). Otherwise we can claim that during this 10 years (4 years in Qazwín, and 6 years in Isfahān) he feathered his own nest through his special talent and fulfilled his need to learning.

The other point which could be understood from this letter is that despite those who regard Mullā Sadrā's philosophical and scientific achievements as the results of his seclusion in Qum and Kahak, he was performing his ascetic exercises from the very beginning of his settlement in Shirāz and in the light of these ascetic Exercises “Divine emanation, inspired imports and spiritual sustenance “did not cease to be granted to him, even in Isfahān he had enjoyed from this Divine spiritual sustenance.

From the paragraph “whatever this most inferior one gains is resulted from the emanation and the flashes of that emanating one's illumination, and nobody knows its mechanism and reality, its source, origin, end, definition, beginning and nobody is able to know the Cause- making from His cause, except the holy- place servants...” it is understood that his innovation and doctrines had rooted in the allusions and stipulations of the
master, who himself had been related with the world of emanation and the treasure of generosity.

In this regard the problem of the years between mentioned years in the second and third letters also must be solved. In the second letter, it is written that “It is almost 7– 8 years that I am deprived of being your companion”. And in the third letter, he says: “… during the last 10- 12 years…” In both letters he complains of his scholar and plebian contemporaries. In both letters he mentions his seclusion and ascetic exercises and receiving the inspiration and subtle points from the hidden world; and some other points, which is seen in both letters. In one of them, however, he mentions a separation of 8 years between him and Mír Dāmād and in the other a separation of 12 years.

In the first glance, both letters could be regarded as being written in the same city (e. g. Shirāz) which is his domicile after departing from Iṣfahān; that is, the third letter could be assumed to be written 4 years after the second one.

Expressions such as “Weakness of the body” and “growing old”, mentioned in the third letter, make one think that these expressions could not be pronounced in one's forties- even if we think that hard ascetic exercises has made the body very weak, since the science of medicine and also traditions regard the forties as the ages of culmination of human body.

Nevertheless the first opinion is more acceptable. Hence if we assume that in years to come another visit had occurred between them, this time must be added to 1012 which is supposedly the date of his migration from Iṣfahān, and thus we gain 1024 when, as we know, he wan not in Shirāz and was writing his commentary on Ayat al-Kursī in Qum! This makes the first assumption weak.

In a different way we can subtract these 12 years from 1020 A.H. or 1022 A.H. (supposed date of his migration from Shirāz to Qum, and thus we will have to conclude that he had left Iṣfahān for Shirāz before 1012 A.H.

In a still different way, we can regard the letter as being written in Qum and subtract that 12 years from 1040 A.H./ 1630 A.D. (the year of Mīr Dāmād's trip to “sacred thresholds” and his death, thus we reach 1028 A.H. or even before that year. In this time, he was living with his family and a
large numbers of relatives in Kahak in Qum. As he himself says, he has been in “the station of aloneness and singularity” when “the ocean of generosity became stormy and the breast became expanded”.

This is in more agreement with the introduction of Asfār. This last assumption, though solving some problems, is slightly inconsistent with his complains which fits Shirāz.

Thus the date of their separation cannot be taken as the beginning of the mentioned 12 years in the letter which is written after their last visit. this visit had occurred inevitably in Mullā Ṣadrā’s trip to sacred thresholds or a trip, which had been intended only for visiting the master. As he writes in the second letters. “This praying one has decided to become honor of being given audience of the master in this year...”

The other acceptable alternative is that the third letter is regarded as being written before the second one (in which he complains of the large number of his family). Therefore, if we subtract- at most- 8 years from 1040 A.H. we reach 1032 A.H./1622 A.D. when he was in Qum and as regards the third letter, if we deduct 12 years from 1028 A.H./1618 or 1026 A.H./1617 A.D. we obtain 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. when he had been staying Shirāz.

Thus the second letter is written in Qum and the third one in Shirāz. Surprisingly enough, in none of his letters he mentions his migration and this makes the story more ambiguous.

As far we have tried to determine the dates of Mullā Ṣadrā’s settlement in ʿIsfahān and then in Shirāz. Though historically important, this point is not so useful for our intention, i.e. gaining knowledge of Mullā Ṣadrā and his school and character. Ambiguity in these dates does not impede our main goal.

Here the other alternative should not be neglected. His contemporary scholars and in particular literalists and traditionalists in Qum had an undeserving attitude to him, and it is why he took refuge in Kahak. Therefore we can consider the complains, in his letters, as about the mass of people, scholars and false scholars of that city. Therefore the beginning of their separation, which lasted for 12 years, is in all likelihood a visit between them during one of Mullā Ṣadrā’s travels to the sacred thresholds or a travel
aimed only to visit the master, and not their first farewell in Isfahan. In the second letter he had written that “this praying one...”.

We have tried, thus far, to present an approximate date of Mullâ Sadrâ's biography in the different cities based on the available letters. Although, historically, it is important to have an approximation of these dates, but more important is to investigate his spiritual journey and his school of philosophy.

To understand Mullâ Sadrâ’s life, his spiritual journey and personal characteristics, we need to examine the four distinct stages of his life:

First stage: His academic journey from Shirâz to Isfahan.

Second stage: The period of teaching and studying philosophy and transmitted sciences. This period can be titled the period of growth.

Third stage: The period of disappointment and despise of both disciplines. He was disappointed by the philosophy and Traditionalism, by the people and in particular false scholars and those in the court who pretended to be pious ones. This was in fact as a fall of the leaves of the knowledge tree, and attaining the one's self and finding a peace in the home of beloved.

The fourth period: The period of the flourishing of the clean tree of wisdom. Allowing the message of the Holy Quran to be unveiled and enter his heart and finding his way to the Throne which healed, saved, and guided him.

We will later examine these stages, which are comparable with three of four well-known journeys of the wayfarers and people of spirituality. What we can say on his life from very beginning to its last part is that we have no firm information in this regard, except that we know that he emigrated from Shirâz to Qazvin and Isfahan and spent the second half of his life in Qum and Shirâz, and while taking a pilgrimage to Hajj he went to the last abode. The rest of our knowledges are based on conjectures. To study his life, except for its intellectual and scientific aspect, we have to “guess in random”. This story can be told about most of our scholars, philosophers figures and scientists. The social, historical, and psychological reasons for this sorrowful story must be looked for. This unacceptable social
phenomenon is a result of the weakness of social spirit, and originates from the policy of those who neglect their own national culture.

The writer of “remembrance”, thus, ought to appeal the guess so that he can reveal a small part of our concealed legacy of civilization for ignorant ones. And what a good term is “remembrance” to name the biographies of scientific and cultural figures and reintroduce their names so that their offspring can be delivered from before getting.

Backing to Mullā Šadrā's life, we cast another look on the then Iṣfahān. There is no evidence in history books of Mullā Šadrā's era suggesting that he taught in Iṣfahān. The good procedure of our time that the senior students teach what they themselves have learned to the junior ones, was not perhaps popular in that time.

As we have seen in the third letter, he lived a happy life in Iṣfahān and there was no trace of his coming afflictions in this city. As he himself says:

“Verily, because of the sorrow resulted from being separated from that high abode and supreme city the sweetness of cheerfulness has turned to the bitterness, and the life which was once a time a happy life has received darkness and the heart that was the mother of the pearl of happiness has become as a target for the arrow of sorrow”. This confirms that he has not yet revealed his own doctrines- which are inevitably unveiled through teaching.

The other factors also can be mentioned; for example in time of pillars of philosophy there were many masters in the seminary and his interest in learning, and appropriating Mīr Dāmād's valuable thoughts and doctrines did not allow him to spend his time to teaching.

In that time Iṣfahān was a happy city. In the one hand she was the capital of the only Shi’i country in the world, which was confronted by the Ottoman Government that considered itself as the representative of Islam. A government, only whose name caused the European governments to shake and thus curiosity and even greed made them try to know Iran and her king, and attempt to influence on her policy, society, religion, and trade.

On the other hand, Safavid government was a centralized government that, after years of anarchy, had granted security and
independence to the nation. Thus scholars and students went to its capital to teach and learn and thus this city became a center of scholars and artists.

Because of corrupt and cruel nature of Shâh ʿAbbâs, however, every district of the city was full of traces of sexual corruption, prostitutes, and calamities. Sufis and Kalinders also went to infringe on the wealth and reputation of the people in other way.

Though there were many students in the schools and the mosques were full of the believers, there were also a group of head-banded ones who, with their treasure of knowledges, went to take the wealth and the faith of people away, and presented the hypocrisy as the piety and through this evil method put their fingers in sores of the people of heart.

The meanest ones, who through flattery had gained position and wealth, with their retinue passed on the easy-paced horses in the streets of the city before the eyes of the noble ones and the choosiest of the Truth, struttingly.

Every day an innocent or guilty one was executed publicly in the squares of the city, with the command issued by the one who called himself the king of Islam and follower of the Commander of Faithful ʿAli (a).

All these occurred in a city which was then the capital of the Shīʿī Islam, and in it people like Shaykh Bahāʾi and Mir Dāmād and many other jurisprudents, muḥaddithūn, philosophers, mystics, and theologians, including young Mullā Sadrā, lived.

Though deeply interested in the knowledge and learning, spending his time to study and sometimes making copies of the books of earlier and contemporary philosophers, and his time of rest to worship, contemplation, and mediation- it is reported in ḥadīth that worship and saying prayers are the origins of happiness for believers-, his deep understanding cannot neglect the corruption prevailing in his surroundings and not to escape from all those meanness, hypocrisy and voluptuousness. When he was no more in need to the masters, he had no other reason to stay in that desolate place. And as the poet says:

“When he cannot see Joseph, why does he see other than Joseph?”

“The sweetness of cheerfulness” and “happy life,” mentioned in his letter, described time when he was as yet studying in school and mosque.
When he came needless of the school and master, therefore, he had no other reason to stay in the city. And as we have said the other reasons, such as the death of father or insistence of family or an invitation from people or Mir Dāmād's fatherly comment or as it is well-known an invitation from the commander of Shirāz alongside his love for homeland caused him to return to Shirāz. It was in this time that he went to the homeland with his wealth of knowledge and a heart full of hope, and took with him his valuable collection of books, gathered thanks to his paternal wealth or through copying the books by him.

For those who are familiar with the history of wisdom this Mullā Šadrā's travel reminds them of the return of Pythagorean from the East- and particularly Persia- to his homeland. Like our philosopher, he also returned to his fatherland, Samos, with a wealth of the knowledge, but was persecuted by the people and emigrated to another place-, which was his true homeland. There he promoted the wisdom and after a very short time influenced on the then West.
Mullā Ṣadrā in Shīrāz

As we have said indications suggest that, after departure from Iṣfahān, Mullā Ṣadrā went to his homeland, Shīrāz the capital of Fārs province, and in order to promote the true “Transcendent Philosophy” and administrate his family affairs proceeded to teach in his own fatherland.

In the era of Shah 'Abbās who was well-known for his cruelty, Fārs was as a secure and peaceful land.

Allāhwirdī Khān and his son Imāmqulī Khān were kind and meek persons and respected poets and scholars and provided for them security and happy life. Because of his confidence in them the king had allowed them to reign in their territory and have a palace like that of Shāh 'Abbās and even more glorious.

Having gained dominion over the local commanders of Fārs, and liberated Bandar 'Abbās and southern coasts of Iran which was occupied by Portuguese”, all the islands and coasts of Persian Gulf including Bandar 'Abbās were under his rule.

Before them Moḥammed Khudābandah (Shah 'Abbās' father; d. 1004 A.H./1595 A.D.) whose vizier, as we have said was Khwājah Qawām al-Dīn, had a similar government in Shīrāz with its independent treasure.

This security in Fārs province was one of the reasons attracting Mullā Ṣadrā to Shīrāz. He was to return the scientific legacy of Fārs, which had been for two centuries out of that land and he regained it in Qazwin and Iṣfahān, to its homeland. He sought to seat the Oriental wisdom to the throne and revive the scientific center of Shīrāz.
The other reason, mentioned by some people, is that Allāhwirdī Khān (or his son) built a school and invited him to teach in that school. Later this school was named Khān School. Today it is a historical building in Shirāz remained from Safavid era.

Taking these points into account, in his introduction to Mullā Sadrā’s “al-Mashā‘ir”, Henry Corbin says:

“When it is said that Allāhwirdī Khān (...) had ordered to build a large school for Mullā Sadrā in Shirāz, we have no evidence to disprove the historians' stipulations who say that he himself began to build Khān School and it was in his time that Mullā Sadrā went to Shirāz...

Consequently, it was in the era of Shāh ’Abbās I, that Mullā Sadrā was invited to Shirāz and went there to teach. When Allāhwirdī Khān died Mullā Sadrā was 41 years old and in the culmination of perfection…”

This is essentially true and in agreement with other evidence. But when building of the school reached to its end, he was in Qum (in Kahak) writing some of his brief commentaries, thus he cannot be claimed to be in Shirāz in that time. What remains to be studied is the invitations of Allāhwirdī Khān or Imāmqulī Khān from him to return to Shirāz. Both invitations could be confirmed in some way.

Allāhwirdī Khān died in 1021 A.H./1612 A.D., and as we know in that time Mullā Sadrā was in Qum, writing his commentary on Āyat al-kursī. Therefore, it is not impossible to accept that Mullā Sadrā- whether without, or with the invitation of Allāhwirdī Khān- left Isfahān for Shirāz to teach in one of the schools of that city; and there he was opposed by religious supervisors of schools- that as it is well-known in their letters of endowment it was written that philosophy was not allowed to be taught in these schools. Therefore the commander of Fārs built a school for him, which in its letter of endowment it was written that both philosophy (intellectual sciences) and transmitted sciences were allowed in that school.

Mullā Sadrā supported by Allāhwirdī Khān was teaching philosophy in Shirāz. After the death of Allāhwirdī Khān, however, the oppositions made him emigrate from Shirāz.

1 - Corbin’s introduction on al-Mashā‘ir, p. 8.
As regards Imâmquî Khân, who is said to have studied under Mullâ Şadrâ, it is not unlikely that this had been in the second decade of the 11th. century A.H./17th century A.D. when Mullâ Şadrâ lived in Shirâz. Therefore this claim, that when he reached the rule of Fârs he completed the building of Khân School and invited Mullâ Şadrâ to return to Shirâz and teach in that school does not seem to be unjustified.

Having felt a mission to fight against the army of ignorance and deceit and unveil the transcendent Quranic wisdom, he accepts this invitation and returns to Shirâz. In that school that, despite traditionalists and opponents of philosophy, had been built to teach the philosophy and intellectual sciences, he proceeded to teach.

The invitation of the commander of Fârs from Mullâ Şadrâ is a famous story recorded in history books- such stories about the great figures who lived in recent eras has been transmitted heart by heart from the masters to students-, therefore we also do not disprove this story, and regard it, at least, to be acceptable and probable.

Under the invitations of Allâhwirdî Khân or his son, Corbin, who regards only one of them to be correct, says: “Every way we look at the issue, the period of Mullâ Şadrâ’s return to Shirâz is the third important period of his life”.

Here to make our writing perfect we should describe Khân School- in which once a time Mullâ Şadrâ’s heavenly tinkled intertwining with the voice of the wings of angels and penetrated in hearts of hundreds youths; the patient of this writing, however, does not allow us to do so, thus we content ourselves with an allusion.

Today this school is a ruined place, surrounded, thanks to the officials, by sweepings. According to the letter of endowment, this school was placed once a time beside a square that was one of the land properties of the school. The building of the school is comparable to the best-built historical monuments, and has aspects cause it to be unrivalled among the other schools.

Not only having been oppressed in the past regimes, and even plundered by Nâdir Shâh, but also today the breath of the true Islamic governments has not reached it and it is very likely that this valuable building, in which once a time a master like Mullâ Şadrâ taught mysticism,
wisdom, the Holy Quran and the sciences inherited from Imams (a), will be ruined completely under the pressure of natural and human events.

An English tourist, who had traveled to Shiraz at the end of the 11th Century (17th. century A. D), wrote:

“And indeed Shiraz has a College wherein is read Philosophy, Astrology, Physics, Chemistry and the Mathematics; so as 'tis the more famous through Persia". ¹

Evidently a school, built by a generous and wisdom-liking commander and supervised by a perfect master like Mullà Sadrā which is, in addition, adorned by the ornament of wealth, is a true university, in the real sense of the term. Mullà Sadrā was a multi-dimensional scholar who was master of all the sciences of time including intellectual and transmitted sciences, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, physics and chemistry. In these sciences also he was a true heir of his masters, Shaykh Bahā and Mīr Dāmād. Evidently these sciences were taught in his school. As it is said the ancient Persian sages as well as Pythagoreans and Illuminationists- that Mullà Sadrā is regarded as their heir- did not teach the Divine wisdom to novices. As a rule they began from physics, medicine, mathematics, and ethics and then they went on to teach logic and principles of philosophy and Divine wisdom. He himself was not, however, so interested in other than theology, in the most particular sense of the term.

That was why all the sciences grew under the light of philosophy and were regarded as the fruits of philosophy, and for a long time in Iran physics was called natural philosophy and mathematics, mathematical philosophy. Ethics is called, yet, the practical philosophy.

The long-standing tradition of teachers was that they taught as long as their stamina allowed them. They taught, per a day, two and even four courses. We have no evidence about Mullà Sadrā's classes, but we can judge in this regard according to what it was common in that time, and also relying on the books written later by him in Shiraz- such as his great commentary, Sharḥ usūl al-kāfī, and some other small treatises.

His classes seems to be hold in three levels:

¹ - Thomas Herbert, Some Years Travels into Diverse Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, London, 1677 A.D., p. 129.
1- The main philosophical texts of time such as Sharḥ al-hidāyat al-athirīyyah, Ishārāt, Shifā, Sharḥ al-tajrīd of 'Allāmah and the like, were taught, as it was common to the tyro students. (Equivalent to the graduate and post-graduate courses of our time).

2- The master taught his own doctrines recorded in his own books, written before this time, such as Asfār arba‘ah (on the Transcendent Philosophy, which was an inclusive textbook (and is equivalent to the khārij course and doctorate course of our time).

3- Commentary on the Holy Quran, particularly in order of its chapters from the Opening [chapter] onward which remained unfinished; and also teaching of ḥadīth, in particular ḥadīths of Uṣūl al-kāfī, having resulted in his famous gloss on Uṣūl al-kāfī (Kitāb al-‘ilm, Kitāb al-‘aql wa’l jahl, Kitāb al-ḥujjah). Normally as an experienced muḥaddith he had taught the rules of relating ḥadīth, the principles of the science of contextual study of ḥadīth, biographies of muḥaddiths and the other branches of the science of ḥadīth, and it is very likely that he has mentioned some points about muḥaddiths. It is said that he has recorded these points in his glosses on Mir Dāmād’s Rawāshiḥ, none of which is today available.

Masters such as Mullā Ṣadrā- and his masters, Shaykh Bahā and Mir Dāmād- according to a long-standing tradition of Persian wisdom and the schools following it- held special lectures for their selected and talented students or prescribed moral and spiritual instructions for them and transmitted their own countless theoretical and practical experiences to them.

Therefore, as it is likely that he- like the masters of our time, may God have mercy on them- held lectures in ethics for the mass of people, it is likely that he guided wayfarers in the path of perfection.

Except for natural social relations, which are unavoidable, he seems not to have had social relations with the masses of people and even elite. As we saw in his letter to Mir Dāmād he thought that travel in the path of Allah and perfect presence among the people cannot be consistent and, thus, he regarded Mir Dāmād as an agreement of opposites.

In all his works, his avoidance of the people that is avoidance of the position and scientific gaudiness is abundantly seen. For example in Al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah, which is a description of his Divine inspirations, he
reveals his opposition to the spirit governing his time. In “23rd. Fayḑ”, he says:

“Leave those who seek your friendship, those who come to you for your friendship and to learn what may be of profit for them; for from those you will find nothing... and their friendship will not facilitate a hardship for you. And know that the apparent friends are hidden enemies...”

In all his other books also, his avoidance of position and scientific gaudiness is seen. For example, in the prologue of *Mafāṭiḥ al-ghayb* he stipulates his avoidance of the popular customs of his contemporary clergies and scholars, in this way:

“And nobody will enjoy it save he... who avoids the popular customs and moral of the people insistently, and stops following their behaviors and moralities, then he can understand the mysteries of the ancients...”¹

Therefore, it should not be thought that once he reached Shīrāz, according to a prevalent tradition, Mullā Sadrā went on to establish daily prayers in a famous mosque, and attend- like other scholars- in the mourning ceremonies and parties, visiting sick people and welcoming new-comers; and spend a part of his time to ask favors and write the urgies and incantations, or to look at the horoscope of the people, or sit at the bench of judge and write the letters of endowment and contracts... as he himself said this is slavery while one regards himself as a free man, and in fact it is the reference of the following doublet:

“I am bounded and think that I am free;
“I am injured and not aware of it.

Mullā Sadrā was too broad-minded to bound himself with such restraints and approach the trap of devil- that lurks mostly beyond these paths. Of his own expressions- mentioned earlier- it is understood that, despite his avoidance of social or professional affairs, he was sufficiently clever to make a distinction between good people and evil ones and he was not cheated by students or friends and did not regarded himself to be safe from secret conspiracies.

Mullā Šadrā was aware of his responsibility very well, and, in addition to teaching wisdom and introducing it as it is he did not maintain for himself a duty except retiring to seclusion. He did not heed to flatterers and if he had in hand religious taxes to distribute among students, distributed it according to the Book and tradition of infallible Imams (a). And because of his cleverness no one was able to cheat him; as is reported in *hadith* “the believer sees through the light of God”. In brief, “he neither rode on a camel nor like donkey did he accept a load; he was neither a master for peasants, nor did he accept to be a servant of the king.”

This same characteristic— as everyone knows—is sufficient to be a target for the arrows of blames and accusations. All those who spread like spider a web to hunt, confronting the griffin appeal to accusation and idle talking.

As he himself has said, Mullā Šadrā was not interested in the vanities of the world, and despite his paternal wealth, of which he bestowed a large part for the cause of Allah, he himself went to ascetic exercises and avoided the material position, which was accessible for him. Throughout his life he tried to worship, and gain and spread knowledge— in other words, he was attempting to understand the Origin and the Resurrection.

Though—as he himself said— he had read the books of scholar, philosophers, and commentators and acquired mastery over them, he followed his own chaste nature and put his own hope on the heavenly emanation, and went on to beg in the path of Illumination and inspiration and proceed to hunt in the hunting-ground of knowledge, and sometimes put his achievements in writing. If the fragrant of flower garden did not make him so drunken that he lost control, he granted a part of his writing to friends and those who were present at the threshold of knowledge. Like Ḥāfiz and other mystics, he, revering wine, washed away his own image so that there cannot be selfishness”

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1- Sa'di:

“Neither I ride a camel, nor do I accept a load like donkey;

“Neither I am a master of peasants, nor am I a servant of the king.

2- Ḥāfiz:

“Revering wine, I washed away my own image
From his sorrowful letter, quoted above (al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah, 23rd. Fayd), the social and professional conditions of scholars in the then Shirāz could be inferred. Here it could be understood that this sweet-spoken parrot lived beside ravens and avoided, as much as possible, them.

From the conditions of the Safavid Shirāz, the deep gap between various understandings of knowledge can be understood. It has been so decreed that under the thick veil of the matter and material things and the darkness governing them, Mullā Sadrā and those who could not even understand his words claimed for having knowledge, and even worse, determination of the truth was left to the understanding of the masses of people.

The life story of this brave and innovator philosopher, who had returned to his homeland hopefully, in Shirāz, is a chapter of the injustices of time and a book in the philosophy of history and human social developments.

The situation of knowledge and its claimants and what occurred for philosophy and other disciplines in the course of time have been always determined by the changes in social and political conditions and courts or governments.

The most favorable time for scholars, in which knowledge has developed considerably, is when people are free and live a happy life, under the security and peace, or a time that despite tyrants, scholars are respected, encouraged and guarded against the harms.

The corruption of scholars also have had a close relation to the social corruption and ignorance of the people. Where the value of knowledge and reason is judged by scholars, the tree of knowledge bears fruits and where it is evaluated by the ignorant, the true scholars are pushed aside and false scholars ascend the high positions.

In the first period of his scholarship in Shirāz, Mullā Sadrā lived in such an atmosphere and among people most of whom did not understand his value.

“Selfishness cannot be when the self-image is unknown
Some other ones who understood his perfection, to retain their social positions and defeat the capable rival or because of other evil motivations, ill-treated him.

Among the characteristics of Mullā Sadrā were his high scientific level, innovations, frankness, heedlessness to materialistic affairs and transfigured false men and uncommitted scholars or pseudo-scholar who were in fact ignorant; each of which cause some ones to rise to enmity.

From the sarcastic words of Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ (in *al-Inṣāf (Risālah fī)* it is understood that most of scholars of the Safavid time were void of God-fearing and poor in knowledge. In that era, philosopher and theologian were unaware of the religious truths and Divine and Quranic knowledge. Jurisprudents and *muḥaddithūn* of that time also were ambitious and interested in materialistic joys. All of them were the people of envy and insolence, and in addition they had other mean qualities. Mīr Dāmād also has alluded, in some places in his books, to this characteristic (the lack of God-fearing).

In his expressions, which are eloquent and at the same time metaphorical like the words of Ṭālî (a), he commented his students to avoid two group of people: ambitious jealous ones and pseudo-scholar ignorant, who, instead of going toward Ka'ba, were proceeding toward Turkistan, and their only goal is world and materialistic joys. Jurisprudent, philosopher, and mystic of the Safavid era, Mīr Dāmād's disciple and son-in-law, and the fellow-traveler of Mullā Sadrā in his spiritual journeys, Sayyid Ahmad 'Alawi 'Āmilī complains in his subtle book (*Laṭāyif al-ghaybiyyah*) from his contemporary scholars.

In his books, Mullā Sadrā described false scholars of his time explicitly or implicitly, and in *Ṣīḥ asl* he said what it should be said. For example, in the last chapter of the “*al-Ḥashr*”, under the title “The End and Comment” addressing to his students he says:

“And know, oh my brother and friend, in this book I have trusted principles and doctrines, of which the books of ancients are deprived, and most of Peripatetic, Stoic, and Muslim philosophers are disable to

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1. This book is written in 1033 A.H. In 1396 A.H. it was published by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Mīr Dāmādī.
understand it... then do not pay attention to what the philosopher-like
deniers maintain...

And know: in this time darkness is prevalent, and in this world
offspring of Satan are prevalent; and he who goes to reveal these points, will
be in the same situation, in which Moses the Interlocutor of Allah was”.

Mullà Šadrā explicitly names the false scholar of his own time
“philosophy-doers”, “strangers”, “people of strangeness”, and “offspring
of the Satan”, “those who, by their words, try to turn the lamp of the Truth off
and remove the results of the Divine wisdom and eliminate God's proof
(which is the same as reason and shar’, and the true Imām) from the earth.

In other place, he introduces them as transfigured existents that are
in the shape of man, and says:

“And this kind of transform is abundantly seen in our time, it is like
the transfiguration of Israelites”.1

In his treatise, Sīh aṣl, he says: “Transfiguration is abundantly seen
in this community; observer should understand that how many swines and
servants of the false deity deceitfully appear as pious and virtuous ones,
those who have turned away from their original nature, because of following
lust, anger, and devil and appear as the beasts and brutes; and they will be
transformed in the forms of these animals in the day “when the wild beasts
are herded together”. 2 And in the other place of that Risālah he says: “In the
belief in resurrection, from which the official scholars have not enjoyed at all
much less others, is contained the knowledge of self which is the key of all
knowledge”.

And in “Shawāhid al-rubābiyyah” alludes to them as follows:

“Then they are enemies of God, and friends of false god.
After ascending of them to power, the believers became
humble; and hid their mysteries, and thus had to retire to
seclusion. Then books of the believers annihilated”.

The point, seen in these sentences and throughout his “Sīh aṣl” is his
frankness against the idle talkers of time.

1 - Al-Mażāhir al-ilāhiyyah.
2 - Sīh aṣl, ed. Dr. Sayyid Husain Nasr, pp. 48-49.
From the point of view of the sociology of that time, Mullā Ṣadrā's rivals and enemies, who made him despaired of teaching in his own homeland, and this Noah of time could not tolerate those beasts and was compelled to emigrate and settle in Qum (Kahak) in the hope of a peaceful atmosphere, can be classified under some categories:

First- Those who were void of knowledge and tablet of their hearts were blank and deprived of knowledge and wisdom. They did not proceed to learn knowledge, and knowledge also did not happen to come unto them. They had remembered something of sciences and their terms and thus cheated the masses of people. They were deprived of knowledge, though sometimes they were masters of the terms.

Second- Those who had learned sciences and mastered over philosophy and theology or jurisprudence and hadith, and were men of influence. They had attained the high scientific positions—that is, they had gained external sciences and mastered over terms and expressions-, they had, however, failed to attain the moral degrees and to purify their souls. The devil of jealousy and ambitiousness had lurked in their hearts; and they could not tolerate other one who was superior to or at the same level with them.

The story of jealousy and ambitiousness of the materialistic scholars is among the intricate stories of the history and to explain it dozens books should be written. In all courts and all times, there were many of these scholars who were unaware of God and the next world.

Third- The scholars who could not tolerate novel scientific doctrines and theories, and thought what they had learned from textbooks was sent down from the heaven, and considered those who disproved it as ignorant, heretic, and sometimes even as atheist and disbeliever and, thus, excommunicated them. This is a natural position and, in fact, it is the response of “present situation” against “innovations”.

To defend the scientific and professional traditions, every scientific society resists against innovations, which are aimed to eliminate traditions, and does not accept novel doctrines and conflict thoughts. This resistance could be likened to the law of Inertia (governing motion of objects). The scientific society of Mullā Ṣadrā's era also was not an exception to this rule.
He who, according to what he himself has said, had proved more than 170 scientific rules through rational demonstration and promoted uplifted them to the level of philosophy and theology, and disproved well-known and accepted doctrines of his time—such as the principality of quiddity—and demonstrated doctrines like corporeal origination of the soul, and had dozens similar doctrines, each of which entailed disproof of great figures such as Ibn-Sinā and Suhrawardi or were against the vulgar beliefs of theologians in issues such as soul, resurrection, decree and predestination, or some parts of what had remained from the earlier commentators and muḥaddithūn. Thus he who confused their peace and put his finger on their sores, was certainly regarded as the great innovator of his own time, on whom the arrows of enmity and blame should be directed. In this unequal fight, Mullā Ṣadrā reproved and criticized them.

In a place of his “Sīhāṣṭ”, addressing to a group of them, he says: “If man perishes upon the death of the body, then what makes the garden and pit distinguished for him? And for what reason the holy Prophet (s) said that “the tomb is the first stage of the stages of Hereafter”, I do not understand what you will infer. This ḥadith is not understandable for you”.¹

And in another place, addressing to the philosophers of his time, he says:

Though having a great knowledge of this issue (the reality of the spirit), the relation of their knowledge to scholars of the knowledge of Hereafter and the people of the Holy Quran is comparable with the relation between ordinary people's knowledge and that of theologian...

And in another place he says:

In this regard, most of scholars and jurisprudents are imitators, and even Ibn-Sinā who has been regarded as the chief of Muslim philosophers, has contented himself, in this regard, with imitation, and his belief is not based on intuition or demonstration; we do not mention the others.

¹ - Ibid, p. 22.
Or, addressing jurisprudents, who study laws case by case and consider ḥadīth, reported concerning the superiority of “jurisprudence”, which here means the inclusive knowledge of roots and branches of Islam, as referring to the knowledge of the branches of the cases of rules, he says:

And now, according to those who seek science and scholars of this time, jurisprudence means a knowledge of the cases of divorce, manumission, imprecation, exchange, contract for delivery with prepayment... and one who more contemplates in these cases, even if he does not know the real sciences, is regarded as the one whose knowledge of jurisprudence is more than others. From the proclamation “... The erudite among His bondmen fear Allah alone” (the Holy Quran; 35: 28) and “... and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware” (the Holy Quran; 9:122), evidently jurisprudent is he who fears God, and there is in his heart more fear; and evidently the above cases cause more boldness, not fear...

And addressing those who claim for having the knowledge of ḥadīth, he says:

Oh my dear, if knowledge is restricted to what you know and call it the knowledge of shari‘ah and “ḥadīth” and if what you do not and cannot know is not true, then (it should be said that) how narrow is the field of knowledge, and the realm of the heart will be dark and the realm of knowledge will be extremely narrow and the legs of reason will be lame.

And, finally, addressing all those so-called scholars who are far remote from the truth and those false scholars, who claim for knowledge, he says:

Do not regard perfection as specific to yourself, and read [the verse] “... and over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing” (the Holy Quran; 12:76) and tear out the veils of ambiguities and distortions.
Evidently, taking this psychological pressure on the traditionalists and fogyish ones and the motivation, which are already present in their hearts, no one can expect peace; consequently a war will be started. In his first contact with such theologians, jurisprudents and philosophy-doers in Shiraz, Mullà Šadrà had been in this situation.

In addition to this motivation, sometimes, some other motivations cause a bloodier war. When according to an old tradition some people have certain privileges—such as presidency, power, lordship, and wealth—grouping is sharper, and enmity is more evident and consequently damages are more severe.

Inconsistency between old order and innovations has revealed itself in the historical events of the world in this mechanism again and again. In the early phase of Islam, ignorant 'Arabs found their wealth and power in jeopardy. In Christianity, the advent of Protestantism caused Catholics anger and resulted in wars and blood-shedding. In the realm of the science and wisdom also, the advent of philosophy and translation of philosophical books in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries A.H. (8th and 9th centuries A.D.) disturbed Ḥanbalî muḥaddithûn and Ash'arî theologians and led to a hard dispute, which lasted until Mullà Šadrà's time and even in the present time it can be seen in some Muslim societies.

The other phenomenon which is worthy to study independent of these reasons and motivations, is the true motivation to safeguard the shar‘ and the roots of religion. This motivation, though being sometimes as a pretext for narrow-minded ones, is a sacred and praiseworthy motivation. In Safavid era and in the time of Mullà Šadrà and his disciple Fayd Kāšâñî also there were some people with this motivation who could be regarded as the fourth group.

Sometimes this group sincerely (or tempted by spiteful ones) backbit the true scholars in the pretext of examining their novel doctrines and wrote treatises, articles, rebuttals, excommunication letters against them and attacked those who had novel ideas and their philosophical or juridical innovations in their speeches on pulpit and Friday prayers, and caused the masses of people and simple-hearted students to attack them (as an example, the continuous attacks made by Shaykh Ibrâhîm Qâţîfî against Muḥaqiq Thânî could be mentioned). Perhaps some regard Ghazâlî among this group
and perhaps Ibn Taymiyyah (661-728 A.H./1263-1328 A.D.) could be regarded as one of those bigot ones who, in the pretext of safeguarding *sharî‘* or to disprove some incorrect Aristotelian doctrines, made attacks against all what had a trace of reason and demonstration.

In those times, no one was able to tell this group of so-called defenders of religion that, even if philosophy and Aristotelian and Greek intellectual sciences were false, the exterior and interior of the Holy Quran and tradition were full of philosophical and intellectual truths, which were inconsistent with what they called religion; and in fact, they regarded the shell as the core; and what they considered as the sciences of the Household of Muhammad (s) is their own understandings, which are sometimes incorrect.

Most of scholars and philosophers avoided this group and even Mullâ Șadrâ‘- who is the bravest one among them- did not put many of his doctrines in writing and it is much likely that he had not even spoken of them, for fear of this group.

Despite his scientific fame and high governmental positions, Ibn-Sinâ says that it is for fear of the people of science of his time that he speaks of Peripatetic logic and philosophy, he himself diplomatically puts it in this way “I have not wanted to split the axis around which the majority of people of science have gathered” and turn their unanimity to dispute.

He calls the false scholars of his time brainless ones and it is evident that he is afraid of their foul language.

In this regard the other motivation and factor should not be neglected; that is the attacks made by scholars, because of political or governmental motivations of the commanders or kings. In the history of Islamic sciences, this has been abundantly seen; and in this regard the attacks made by Ghazâlî, in the pretext of safeguarding Islam and the science of theology are the most prominent example which had been caused, not by a pure faith, but to support the political goals of Baghdad caliphate and Nîzâm al-Mulk Tüsi, the vizier of invading Seljuk Turks against spiritual victories of Ismâ‘îliyyah, Fâṭimiyah (and in fact twelve Imâmi Shi’ism) and Ħasan Šabbâh who unlike the other Islamic sects were advocates of the Persian Illuminationist Philosophy and Islamic mysticism which were presented in
the garb of Peripatetic Greek philosophy. In the history of science, attempts made by this group have played a key role in spreading the mathematics, natural sciences, philosophy, and in particular Illuminationist wisdom and Peripatetic philosophy.

In Safavid era we find the attacks made by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Qaṭīfī-the simple-hearted jurisprudent, who lives in Ottoman Iraq (and Aḥṣā‘ and Bahrain)- against Muḥaqiq Thānī Shaykh 'Alī Karaki the vizier of Shāh Ismā‘īl I, and in fact the real commander of the country; which were in fact instigated by Ottomans to make the religious situation of the Safavid state and court weakened among Iranians.

Concerning Mullā Sadrā- despite his high position for Imāmqulī Khāṇ-, however, such a motivation and evidence implying such oppositions cannot be found; on the contrary, his support, i.e. Imāmqulī Khān safeguarded that sage.

In a sociological analysis of an era, this factor, however, should be always considered. Twelve Imams of the household of the Prophet (s) and Shi‘i scholars, jurisprudents, and philosophers in non-Shi‘i environments have lived their lives in such a situation.

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To understand Mullā Sadrā's era and his opponents who persecuted him, the analyses made by his contemporaries and those who were spiritually and ideologically close to him, for example his loyal disciple Fayd Kāshānī, must be taken into account. In a book written to find the causes of opposition between Muslim scholars, he describes the scholars of his own era -i.e. the scholars of Safavid era who were contemporary with Mullā Sadrā- as follows:

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1. Ghazālī had been titled “Hujiat al-Islam” for fighting against Ismā‘īlīs’ Hujiat, and the title “Hujiat al- haq” for Khayyām also can be regarded, sometimes, as a sort of confront with Ibn-Sina, who was oppose to the government of Sunni Turks and system of Chaliphate in Baghdad.

2. In a letter to Mīr Dāmād, he says:
   “If there were not the glory of some great men;
   “In this period, I would be eaten by wolves.

“Khradnameh Sadra”, vol. 5&6, p. 27.
*Some jurisprudents, relying on their doctrines and extremist rationalism or the doctrines of the previous jurisprudents, have jurisprudence from its main course deviated.

*Some people, heedlessness to the religious sciences and practical wisdom which in Islam correspond the rules of sharʿ have diverted of themselves with philosophy and doctrines of philosophers.

*Some people have discussed apparently the science of theology, but in fact they have combined demonstration and polemics.

*Some have proceeded to the pure Sufism and regarded themselves as heavenly ones and united with the Truth, some of them even do not care for lawful and unlawful things and in fact avoid worshipping, and proceeded to antinominanism.

*Some of them are indigent false scholars. Though knowing some terms and making a series of incoherent remarks, they are in fact devoid of the true knowledge and ask for alms and taking religious taxes.

*And, finally, there are some people, who seek for excommunicating past scholars and making attacks on the contemporary ones.

Mullâ Sadrâ is most disturbed by the false scholars and the ignorant friends of sharīʿah and in particular roguish ones of knowledge and religion among all these groups which are shame of knowledge and religion and disdain of sharʿ. In his books, he mentioned them more or less. For example in the introduction to Asfâr al Arbaʿah he says:

As can be seen the people of time- those who always deal with the books of wisdom and science- are studying books

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1 - From the words of Fayṣ, it can be understood that he considers the “practical wisdom” of the ancient Persian and Greek sages, which was according to them the fruit of theoretical wisdom and among its goals, as “performing the rules of sharʿ” in this time. Perhaps, in finding this subtle point he has been inspired by Mullâ Sadrâ, who had called philosophy and ideological principles the “major jurisprudence” (fiqh-i akbar) and the Islamic jurisprudence and law “the minor jurisprudence” (fiqh-i aṣğhar).

2 - al- Kalamat al- taʾrifah, and also see Jaʿfariyan, R. Dīn wa sīyāsat dar dawrah-yi ʿṣafawi.
of scholars seriously; but after a short while, touching the surface of every science, they will be satisfied soon and content themselves with it; for the power of their desire is like the power of impotent man’s lust and the power of their will is like that of an embryo (for negligible material things)...

I have been captured by a sort of people, which the sun of understanding and insight has set behind their beings’ horizons, and their eyes are, like those of vampires, disable to look the lights of knowledge. They regard thinking in Lordly tokens as innovation...

That he likens false scholars of his time to Ḥanbali muḥaddithūn (who were very externalist in commenting on ḥadīths) should be regarded as an allusion to Akhbāriyyah (traditionalist); since as has been already said, two Shi‘i muḥaddithūn, called Shaykh Muḥammad Amin Astarābādī and Shaykh Mohammed Astarābādī, following Zahirīyyah and Hashwīyyah and Hanbali muḥaddithūn- who had been settling, mostly in two holy places (Mecca and Medina) where two above-mentioned Shi‘i muḥaddithūn lived-established an extremist traditionalist school, which is well-known as Akhbāriyyah. Their propagation were accompanied by hooliganism and cruel attacks on Shi‘i jurisprudence and those who were experts in the science of the principles of jurisprudence, excommunicating various people, and fundamentalist- as westerners put it- motto and refutation of employing philosophy, logic and demonstration, hence they found some partisans among inexperienced youths, later some of them became famous scholars and replaced the founders of the school.

Debate between muḥaddithūn and people of demonstration had a long history. For example, among Shi‘is, debate between Shi‘i muḥaddithūn and two jurisprudents who were people of reasoning, i.e. Ibn Junayd and Ibn 'Aqil, could be mentioned which led to their ill-fame and retirement into seclusion. The other example is debate between Shaykh Mufid (living in Baghdad) on the one hand, and Shaykh Ṣadūq and the other muḥaddithūn of time (settling in Qum) on the other. (In this regard, his glosses on Ibn
Babuyah Saduq's I'tiqad al-imamiyyah, called Ta'liq al-i'tiqad, can be regarded as a written evidence).1

This debate was a natural one. The attacks made by Akhbariyyah on the reasoning, which was performed according to logical, scientific and religious principles, however, was of another kind. In fact, it was more consistent with Asharis than Shiis who were following the household of the Prophet (s). Of course, this point must be emphasized that the founders of Akhbarigari derived their doctrines - intentionally or unintentionally - from Hanbalis who had been settling in two holy place (Mecca and Medina), and for this school no Imami Shi'i origin can be found.

The other point, which must be taken into account, is the technical distinction between the terms of Akhbariyyah and those of the people of ahadith. Both groups are people of hadith, Akhbariyyah, as was said, were, however, a group of people who were different from other muhaddithun in terms of taste, method, and perhaps truthfulness. Fayd and Majlisiz, and many others before and after them also were muhaddithun and yet they could not be regarded as Akhbari. Mullâ Sadrä also was a muhaddith.

It seems unlikely that Mullâ Sadrä's opponents in Shiraz were confined to the people of hadith and even jurisprudents. From the words of Mullâ Sadrä it is understood that theologians, philosophers, and even Sufis proceeded to oppose him. We think that Mullâ Sadrä's opponents were mostly these pseudo-philosopher theologians and ignorant false scholars.

In his Sih asl he says:

“Most of theologians and people of traditions rely merely on hearing and deviate from the right path and seek to understand the Divine rules through the senses which are exposed to misunderstandings, and disprove every wayfarer whom they found inconsistent with their reason and begin to deride and persecute him.

“In the court of the Truth, at the time of our demise

“Shame on he, who permissible never defies.2

1 - Cf. Khamenei, S.M. Ruh wa nafs and also see Arâ-yi Shaykh Muftid.
2 - Sih asl, p. 56; the poem is quoted from Hafiz.
Addressing the people of superficial understanding and those who follow theologians who were perplexed in the realm of truth, in another place, he says:

“Every one who relies on the senses, which are exposed to misunderstanding, and regards the events of Hereafter to be like those of this world... will gain no benefit except fatigue of his eyes and ears, weariness of his self and decline of reason. “... Thy sight will return unto thee weakened and made dim” (the Holy Quran, 67:4). Apart from the senses, reason also cannot find its way to the true Beloved, until the light of love illuminates on it. Like the senses that are disable to perceive the supreme affairs, theoretical reason also is disable to perceive the principles of supreme affairs. Such is the case for knowledge of the day of Resurrection, which lasts in the next world as long as 50000 years of this world, and the knowledge of mystery of resurrection and return of all creatures to the Creator of the universe and resurrection as well as that of spirits and bodies and promoting the books and the resurrection path, the balance, distinction between the Book and Quran, connotations of the mystery of intercession and that of heavenly fountain and four rivers, tree of knowledge (Ţūbā) in Paradise, Paradise and Hell, levels of each of them, and the meaning of ramparts, and descent of the angels and devils, guardians and noble writers, and the mysteries of bodily and spiritual ascent... and all what have been quoted from the prophets (A.S.) in this regard are knowledge and intuitions, which save through following what have been revealed on the ‘Arab lord and the Imams of household (a) cannot be understood... and the people of philosophy and theology have no share in them.

“Oh my friend, love story is of another kind;

“Which cannot be spoken and heard;

“If you see through the eyes of heart, for a moment;
“You will find how goes the story.¹

In his other books also Mullâ Şadrâ has emphasized these points, and it is much evident that he is addressing to the people of theology, philosophy, and demonstration. For example, in the introduction to his comment on wāqi‘ah chapter, he says: “The credal truths are not obtainable save through purifying the heart” or in another place, he says: “the true wisdom cannot be gained without leaving material interests and positions”² and “avoidance from wisdom is accompanied by mammonism”.³ And from some other expressions in his Sih ašl it can be understood that even the scientists and physicians were among his firm opponents:

And know and hear the truth from me that according to the people of insight and those who have knowledge of Hereafter, the group who deny the immateriality of the soul and the life of spirits are among the traditionalists, and the majority of theologians and physicians and naturalists and brethren of Galen have not attained the station of humanity and are not among the people of knowledge and insight, and the light of belief in Hereafter... has not illuminated on their hearts, and as a matter of fact they are regarded among disbelievers, though they should be considered as Muslims for their appearances.⁴

In another place, he explicitly said that his main opponents were theologists who had coalesced against Mullâ Şadrâ and his “Transcendent Philosophy”. For instance:

Some of corrupted false scholars and those theologians who do not believe in the logic of reward and punishment and are out of the circle of guidance, those jurisprudents who are devoid of the religion of servitude, deviated from the school of belief in the origin and resurrection, have made

¹ - Ibid, p. 58.
² - Tafsîr-i āyat al-kursî, p. 60.
³ - al-Mabda’ wa’l ma’ād, p. 198.
⁴ - Sih ašl, p. 70
themselves bridled through imitation, and have taken opposition to dervishes as their procedure and always attempt against the school of wisdom, Divine Unity, and the knowledge of God's path and detachment (from the world) which is the school of the prophets and saints.  

Oh dear scholar and selfish theologian, how long will you put the speckle of fear on the face of friendship and how long will you throw the dust of displeasure on the face of fidelity, because of your selfishness? How long will you attempt to disprove and reproach the people of purity and companions of fidelity? How long will you put on the clothes of guile and the garment of deceit? How long will you drink the wine of delusion by the foolish beast and how long will you attempt to disprove the truth and promote the false, to reproach the knowing men and admire the ignorant ones? And when one attempts to gain something in expense of his life... or seeks to follow faithful scholars and go under the flag of the wayfarers in the path of certainty... why do you rise to enmity and to proceed in the path of contumacy?

From Mullâ Ṣadrâ's expressions in *Sih aşl* which is, in fact, the manifesto of his scientific and credal positions and an exposition of his opponents' disgrace, as well as from his other books, it can be understood that his opposition was mostly to two groups, i.e. those theologians, who had contented themselves with imitation, and Akhbâriyyah and it is not correct to restrict his opponents to jurisprudents. Sometimes, however, jurisprudents and the experts of the science of rules also are among those who are addressed by him; since to excommunicate the people, the theologian determine and *Mujtahid* (jurisprudent) makes decision. For example in his *Sih aşl*, which is not addressed to a special group, he says:

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“And that knowledge which is the main intention and the culmination of the truth and leads to closeness with the Truth-the Exalted- is the Divine knowledge and the knowledge of intuitions and not the knowledge of transactions; and all sciences are aimed to practice and the benefit gained from practice is purity of exterior and interior....”¹ and “every one who seeks to know the truth should refer to the books of ḥadīths, provided that the common words in science, jurisprudence and wisdom do not lead him to perplexity; since each one of these words in the time of the Prophet (s) and the lords of path (a) has a meaning other than what is understood from them today... among them is the term “jurisprudence”... in the past times the term jurisprudence was used for the knowledge of the path of Hereafter and the knowledge of the soul and its calamities... and now, according to seekers of science and scholars of this time, jurisprudence means a knowledge of the cases of divorce, manumission, imprecation, exchange, contract for delivery with prepayment... and the one who more contemplates in these cases, even if he does not know the real sciences, is regarded as the one whose knowledge of jurisprudence is more than others.”²

And “Oh my dear, if knowledge is restricted to what you know and call it the knowledge of sharī’ah and “ḥadīth”,... (it should be said that) how short is the stature of the knowledge” and “Now, oh just jurist! And oh hard-hearted worshipper, if one proves that you do not know the principles of faith and you are not aware of what is necessary for you to know, and you spend your life to learn what you will not need until the end of your life, what will you answer? Of course, you will choose denial and contumacy”.³ And “Oh just jurist and unaware witty if for a moment you contemplate on the verse: “And they are not ordered unless to worship God with purity in religion”⁴ you will find that through these bodily practices and external sciences and verbal Islam and periodical prayer and oral feast... and without purifying your heart of the impurity of rebuttal creeds ... and purification of the heart from

¹ - Ibid, p. 74.
² - Ibid, p. 78; similar expressions can be found in his Kasr al-aṣnām al-jāhiliyyah, p. 112.
³ - Sīh uṣl, p. 108.
⁴ - The Holy Quran, Bayyanah Chapter, verse 5.
hypocrisy... the station of security and the deliverance of the Hereafter cannot be reached...”\textsuperscript{1} and “the science which is required for practice—which is the sciences of transactions and not among intuitions, knowledge of it is necessary as much as needed and knowledge of it more than it is needed impedes in the affairs of Hereafter. And if there is one, one allusion will be sufficient”\textsuperscript{2}.

And then he quotes the following from Shahid Thäni Shaykh Zayn al-Din Lubnäni (from his \textit{Adab al-muta'allimîn}): “and do not desist from training the science of rules, until you learn what you need...”\textsuperscript{3} and of course in following pages it will be said that Mullâ Sadra himself was the head of jurisprudents of his time; but he regarded the “... what you need” as alluding to the independent reasoning and the ability to deduction and needlessness of imitation and also considered the Divine knowledge as superior, hence he did not teach the jurisprudence.

\textit{Muḥaddiths} of his time, who followed Akhbâris, were also among those who were addressed by him. In his \textit{Sihâl} he attacks on them and says:

“From Imâm Ja'far Ṣâdiq (A. S.), Kulayni reported that: “one who seeks materialistic benefits from \textit{ḥadîth} will not benefit from it in the Hereafter; and he who seeks for the benefits of the Hereafter, will be granted both the benefits of this world and those of Hereafter”, and from people of hearts it is quoted that the disturbance caused by \textit{ḥadîth} is much harder than the disturbance caused by the wealth and family...”and from Jesus (a) it is quoted that: “how is it possible that one of the people of knowledge seeks wisdom to report it to others, while he himself does not in the way prescribed by wisdom? “ From the holy prophet (s) it is quoted that: “God instructed some prophets: Tell those who seek to learn for the sake of other than religion, and learn to not act as what they learn, and seek the world through deeds they pretend to do for the next world, and put the garb of the

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\textsuperscript{1} - \textit{Sihâl}, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{2} - \textit{Ibid}, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{3} - \textit{Ibid}, p. 120.
\end{flushleft}
sheep, while their hearts are those of wolves, their speech is sweeter than honey, their hearts are bitter than poison, and deride me and try to deceive me, soon I will examine them, an examine in which not every wise man will be succeed.”

And in another place of this *Risālah*, Addressing Akhbāris, he says:

“For he who did not derive a benefit from eye-witnessing the Holy Prophet (s), the hearing of his *ḥadīth* without understanding it will be a fortiori useless and even leads to some deviations.” And “if knowledge is restricted to what you know or what should be learned under religious scholars, then how is it that, in some places in the Quran, the Truth- the Exalted- blames those who believe in the creeds imitating their predecessors and scholars and rely on them in the roots of religion?”

Sometimes it has been witnessed that *mutakallimūn* and Akhbāris coalesced and went to attack philosophy and mysticism, in defense of what they regarded as religion. As the unparalleled 'Allāmah Hazīn Lāhijī says:

When Ash‘aris found themselves disable as compared with Mu‘tazalis (who had attained the translations of the Greek books and become strong in demonstration), they went to quotation the *ḥadīth* in which philosophy had been represented as heresy, and regarded obedience of philosophers as prohibited.

Later this phenomenon became general and reached even Mu‘tazalis themselves.

In a front, consisted of Mullā Ṣadrā's opponents in Shirāz—where was like an island in Iran and had her own traditions- all sorts of false

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1 - *Ibid*, p. 87
2 - *Ibid*, p. 82.
3 - As it is said all these conjectures are based on the most probable assumption, i.e. the assumption that all these events occurred in Shirāz; as yet there has been found no evidence suggesting other city (e.g. Qum or Kāshān) instead of Shirāz.
mammonist scholars, and claimants, who were deprived of knowledge, were found and opposed and objected the novel intellectual and philosophical system expounded by Mullā Sadrā. Mutakallimūn, Akhbāris, jurisprudents, peripatetic philosophers, and even physicians, naturalists, and Sufis were among his opponents, and proceeded to oppose and reproach him for certain reasons.

Therefore, what had been experienced in the Ashʿaris and Muʿtazalīs era has been occurred in Mullā Sadrā's time as well; and against decisive demonstrations of the “Transcendent Philosophy”, contemporary mutakallimūn and even philosophy-doers had no other way than recourse to hadīth, reports and prophetic tradition, and make attacks on Mullā Sadrā in the pretext of defense of the Book and tradition.

It is probably this story of opposition of hadīth and tradition to the “Transcendent Philosophy” that has caused some to think that Mullā Sadrā had been opposed to hadīth and tradition and like some philosophy-doers and even mutakallimūn was even unaware of them. Hence it should be noted that not only this is not true but, sometimes, it occurs in mind that muḥaddith-like opposition, which was similar to Akhbārigari and seen in works of his son-in-law and disciple- and in fact the fruit of his attempts- i.e. Fayd Kāshānī and the objections made by the latter against jurisprudents and their juridical methods of deduction of rules, resulted from his study under the master, i.e. Mullā Sadrā. Mullā Sadrā was permitted to teach and transmit hadīth; and even from his Sharḥ usūl al-kāfī it can be understood that he was, in a logical and religious way, an advocate of hadīth, and did not replace the words of infallible Imāms (a) with other things, and regarded everything, even demonstration, logic, and reason as a shadow of God's utterance and words of the infallible Imāms.

The best way to defend hadīth, prophetic tradition, and that of the household of the Holy Prophet (a) was the defense made by Mir Dāmad, Shaykh Bahā, Mullā Sadrā and Fayd who, in addition to safeguarding hadīth through transmission, teaching, compiling books and training muḥaddiths, presented it in the best way to the elite and masses of people; and used hadīth as a key to solve all intellectual, philosophical, and scientific problems as well as problems in social and moral issues.
Like unaccomplished *mutakallimûn* and imitating philosophers who did not benefit from their opposition to the “Transcendent Philosophy”, evidently those who made attacks on true and trusty *muâaddith* like Mullâ Şadrâ and the like, did not benefit from their enmity; and only discredited themselves and bothered others.

In his *Sîh ašr*, i.e. in his manifesto against the gloomy front of his opponents, not only he defended *ḥadîth* but also regarded *muḥaddith*-like ones as the undutiful followers of *ḥadîth*, and, as a matter of fact, he thought that they had not found a way to attain the connotation of the words of infallible Imâms (a). In the preface of *al-Ḥikmat al-ʿarshiyyah*, he introduces this group as “those who do not go to houses by the gates thereof” and in every place of his books represents that reason, which is not relied on transmission, as perplexed and says: “Keep away from that philosophy whose rules do not match the rules of *shari‘ah*”:

“Do not look for the way of Divine Unity with the eyes of reason;
“Do not scratch the eyes of spirit with the thorn;
“Because it has turned away from other than Allah;
“Take your spirit on the two-horned of “there is not”;
“I have killed many lovers like you because of sorrow;
“But, even my fingers did not turn bloody
“The theoretical reason is disable to understand affairs of the next world ... and these affairs cannot be understood save through following what have been revealed on the ‘Arab lord and his household (a)... and the people of philosophy and theology have no share in them”.

Then, as we will say, Mullâ Şadrâ is, at the same time, *Ṣadr al-*muḥaddithûn (the head of muḥaddithûn) and *Ṣadr al-mufassirîn* (the head of commentators); but in the street of mean people, where the Commander of Faithful and the leader of *muwahîddîn* is introduced as one who has left prayer, and the lord of the youths of Paradise is considered as being rebel

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1. An allusion to the Islamic motto “there is no god save Allah”
and combatant [against the religion] it is not surprising that a Divine sage is excommunicated and an unparalleled commentator and muḥaddith like Mullā Ṣadrā is regarded to be unaware of the Revelation and prophetic tradition, and is blamed because of his being lover and attainment of the high station of knowledge, and being free of hypocrisy.

“Since we have looked for a solution from the eyebrow of the beloved;

“We have been blamed by everyone."

As we have already said concerning the environment wherein Mullā Ṣadrā lived, it is in this calamitous situation that Mullā Ṣadrā could be known; since:

“In the hard calamity, will be revealed;

“Superiority, magnanimity, and lordship.”

As we saw, it is in these battlefields where Mullā Ṣadrā says:

“Thanks to God who granted me an open heart for Islam... and...”

From his Siḥ aṣl and other expressions in his other books it could be concluded that in confrontation with his opponents he has spoken from high position and if there were not his piety and gnosis, and if there were not the traditions of dervishes, in which dispute is not admitted, and if his subtle spirit permit him to defeat his enemies, he would not, certainly, leave the front of battle and would not retired to seclusion with a broken heart.

That some people suggested that he had been compelled to escape or he had been exiled is vulgar false rumor; Mullā Ṣadrā was too brave to escape from the battlefield. From his Siḥ aṣl it can be seen that he was like a lion in the circle of jackals, and corrected his enemies with the whip of his words.

For example, in a place, addressing to those claimants, he says:

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1 - Ḥāfiz. It is worth to quote the other lyric poem of Ḥāfiz, as an allusion to this divine sage:

“Since a long time ago, we have proceeded toward the way of your love;

“We have put aide the hypocrisy of people;

“We have given the stoa of the school and our knowledge;

“To attain that moon-like cup-bearer.

2 - Rūdakī.
“Sometimes, through “kindness” and “goodness” - as is common for the people of trick and deceit - and sometimes through cheating - which is the quality of treachery -; and sometimes through dispute and grudge - which is the procedure of theologians and people of denial and arrogance - and sometimes through heedlessness - which is the attribution of arrogant ones (and in the time of the Holy Prophet (s) and Imāms (s), some hypocrites (munāfiqin) were of this kind, and infallible story goes with a group who disprove real sciences and knowledge of certainty, and reproach the people of truth and knowledge of gnosticism...”

Here it can be seen that Mullā Sadrā criticized both the group who openly and like mutakallim attacked him and his doctrines in their lectures and perhaps in meetings in which Mullā Sadrā had been present, and the group who hypocritically train him to be cautious and leave his doctrines.

In his expressions, he not only did not speak of his enemies' bringing the accusation of atheism against him, but even he considered others (his enemies) near to atheism. In a part of his Sīh aṣl which is probably addressed to mutakallimān or bigot Akhbāris, he says:

Therefore, according to the accomplished mystic he who denies the truth of angels (and their immateriality, and that their nature is needless of drinking, eating, and free of anger and lust - which is mentioned in the Holy Quran and Nahj al-balāghah and disproves what is out of what is perceptible for five senses, such as traditionalists and literalists, is as the Jew disbelievers.

And in another place he introduces them as disbelievers and even low animals:

... The group who deny immateriality of the souls and the life of spirits are among traditionalists, and the majority of

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1 - Sīh aṣl, p. 66.
theologians and physicians and naturalists and brethren of Galen have not attained the station of humanity and are not among the people of knowledge, and the light of belief in Hereafter, which is a main part of Islam, has not radiated on their hearts, and as a matter of fact they are regarded among disbelievers, though they should be considered as Muslims for their appearances...¹.

And then, he proves, through logical and Quranic demonstrations his own claim, i.e. unbelief and infidelity of his enemies. In another place, he presents them among quadrupeds.

These expressions, suggesting his high spiritual and social position, can be abundantly found in his writings, and remind the reader of Sayyid Ḥumayrī's poem, composed to admire the Commander of Faithful, 'Alī (a):

“So firm and quiet he goes toward his enemy;
“As if he is a lion, among his whelps;
“Who lurks in coppice to hunt.

This suggest his deep and ocean-like heart and mountain-like spirit, his high position in mysticism and religious insight, his valuable outlook, that in opposition to enemy he does not show any weakness; and if sometimes he becomes disappointed, and takes refuge to God or takes his complaints to his master (Mir Dāmād)² it is not because of weakness, but it is, in fact, for feeling pity for those who have lost the way in the realm of knowledge and have been cheated by this unfaithful material world.

His criticizing of writings did not suggest an external rivalry, but it originated from a prophet-like spirit and a mystical look on people of the world; and this is the true meaning of the prophetic ḥadīth that “one who knows God, is insolence”. In the struggle of life, all oppressed ones and those who are martyrized by the group of mean ones, find themselves with the Commander of Faithful 'Alī (a) and remember his words; they find the bloody sorrows that they have kept in their hearts for centuries, as suggested in his unruly tongue.

¹ - Ibid, p. 20.
Under the pressure of sorrow and oppression, imposed on him by the mean ones of time, Mullà Sadrà remembered the following sermon of Imám 'Alí (a) and quoted it in his book. In his book he contends himself with the following part of Imam's sermon:

I gathered skirt and sit thinking that if I should rise with broken arm or it is better to sit quiet in the place in which the child will turn to an old man and the old man will become decrepit and the believer waits for death. But I found patience more wise, hence I chose patience, while I had thorn in my eyes and broken bones in my throat..." and it is in this sermon that Imám (a) says: “I am that high summit, form whose skirt torrent flows and the bird cannot attain my ridge”, an expression which truly describes Mullà Sadrà, according to his degree.

The quotation of this sermon in Mullà Sadrà's books suggests the extent of his suffering from the social conditions, and implies the depth of his sorrow.

For the present moment, we leave Sadr al-Muḥaqiqin (the head of accomplished ones) and Fakhr al-Muta'allihin (the pride of divine sages) and discuss a phenomenon which is the bitter fruit of these times, i.e. excommunication.

From the books written on the life of Mullà Sadrà it cannot be found that whether he has been excommunicated in his era. Some expressions, suggesting that he was excommunicated has been indicated later by Shaykh Ahmad Ahsâ’i and the like, or Muḥaqiq Qumi has been asked about Mullà Sadrà's heresy; but we do not know that if he has been excommunicated in his life, or because of his high position, no one dared to excommunicated him.

After his death, however, the story of his unbelief was said in scientific circles in Iran, coasts and islands of Persian gulf (Aḥṣâ,) and Iraq (Najaf); and the story of Mullà Sadrà's condemnation by a head-banded one called Muḥammed Kāzim Hizārjāribī in the holy shrine of Imám Husain (a) is a result of this wave of excommunication and contempt.

The story of this ignorant Shaykh is described in A'yān al-shi‘ah by Sayyid Muḥammed Amin, as follows:

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“Once a day, after the morning prayer, Ḥakim Mullā Mihrāb 'Ali Iṣfahānī sat beside that ignorant man (i.e. Kāzim Hazārjarībī) and heard that he damned Mullā Sadrā 100 times and Mullā Mihrāb 'Ali, again for 100 times, following his prayer. He asks him the reason for his damns; he is answered that these two ones believe in the “Unity of the Necessary Being” (and in fact he means “the unity of existence”, and not the Unity of the “Necessary Being” who is God- the Exalted.) Mullā Mihrāb 'Ali smartly answers that “verily one like you should damn those who believe in the unity of God and the “Unity of Necessary Being” lest such a belief might be spread”. The famous researcher, Sayyid Muḥsin Amin says: “This story—whether it is true or not- suggests some points: first of all it shows that the masses of people are disable to understand even the evident points, and go to opposition to scholars, because of ignorance, and blindly sentenced them with unjust judgments.

Second, scholars are to be blamed that why they say things that the masses of people cannot understand and therefore proceed to excommunicate them.

Third, mystics’ “unity of existence” (waḥdat al-wujūd) results in the unity of the essence of God- the Exalted-; that is the true Divine Unity, which no one can mix it with polytheism, is the unity which is based on the unity of the reality of existence, since [belief in] unity has meanings: [belief in] unity in worship, [belief in] unity in creation and [belief in] unity in existence (which is expressed as the particular or the most particular unity by Mullā Sadrā) and if [belief in] unity of “the reality of being” is infidelity, then there is no Islam!...
Emigration from Shīrāz

In the previous pages, we have provided a short description of the social conditions under which Mullā Sadrā lived in Shīrāz and the sociological situation of the seminary of that city; a situation which is not separate from the man himself in any historical ages, and horrifies any pious and theist spirit, and makes him disgusted of life, and compels every wise person to leave his homeland.

From the introduction of *Asfār* it is understood that Mullā Sadrā who had returned to his homeland with a treasure of sciences wished to bestow that imperishable wealth and unparalleled present to the enthusiastic students and scholars and write books on those sciences. And as he himself said, he wished to split the shells of pearls which he had in his heart, and take out the valuable pearls, and he was to reveal the truths of ideas and expose them for those who wished to learn the Quranic wisdom. But alas! In this regard, he himself says:

“I found the mother of pearls in the ocean of wisdom. For a long time, I wanted to split those mother of pearls and present them to desirous ones and write a book describing the ancient philosophers, Peripatetic philosophers, Illuminationists; but time did not allow me to do so, and proceeded to bear a grudge and to grant lordship to low-natured ones, those whose nyctalopia do not allow them to perceive the light of wisdom and ignorant people who leave scholars”. ¹

From a situation that seems to last for a long time, Mullā Sadrā learns that not every idea can be introduced in every circle and the jewel

¹ - The introduction of *Asfār*, vol. 1, pp. 6-7.
cannot be presented save to the true jeweler and then he quotes the following doublets:

“Do not load with the pears of your ideas every ear, like the mother of pearl;

“Make a lock for the jewel of the emerald carbuncle;¹

“Not every question needs an answer;

“The clear-sighted eye is an excuse for the silent tongue.²

It is in these conditions that he recourses to the words of the Commander of Faithful 'Ali (a) and, unanimous with that great man, says:

“...to sit quiet in the world in which the child will turn to an old man and the old man will become decrepit and the believer wishes for death. But I found the patience more wise, hence I chose patience, while I had thorn in my eyes and broken bones in my throat.” and follows his choice that the wise man has to be patient with thorn in eyes and broken bones in his throat. Mullâ Şadrâ's emigration began from this point, with this motivation, and under these unfavorable conditions.

In the previous chapters, we said that Mullâ Sadrâ's departure from Iṣfahân was in the first part of the second decade of 1010's A.H. /1600's A.D. and he stayed in the next place (which is likely Shírâz), at least for 10 years (as is said in his third letter to Mîr Dâmâd). In that time, Shîrâz was an environment full of jealousy, malevolence, ignorance, and ingratitude, hence he was captured by the mal-behavior of scholars and false scholars and mean ones and “was wearied because of long staying in that land and became ill due to the association with ill-natured ones of that city and the great number of family and relatives and disappointments caused by time and disagreement of the time and heedlessness of the government... he became very sad and distracted...”and thus, he sought to emigrate from that city of hypocrisy and discord, since it is the order of the Lord to the oppressed ones

¹ - An allusion to the untruly tongue.
² - From Mullâ Sadrâ’s expression “as a friend of me composed in verses” it can be understood that he had close relations with the poet (ṣâʿib, or someone other).
that:”... was not vast the earth of God so that you can emigrate in it..., ¹ since
the lands and the seas are vast and there are many men.²

Hence, if we assume that he left Isfahān in 1010 A.H./A.D., and
according to his own letter to Mīr Dāmād lived, at least, for 12 years in
Shirāz, then the date of his emigration from Shirāz (probably, recommended
by Mīr Dāmād) will be in the first part of the third decade (e.g. 1022
A.H./1613 A.D.) and this date is in agreement with his age that is, in this
time, as is recorded in the introduction of his commentary on Āyat al-kursī,
forty and so.

If we consider the term “so” in “forty and so” as an allusion to five
years, then we will obtain 45 for his age in the time of compiling that book,
which can be matched with the date 1024 A.D./1615 A.D. (approximately)
(the years between 1021 A.H./1612 A.D. and 1024 A.H./1615 A.D.).³

On the other hand, from his expressions in the introduction to that
book, which is very similar to his introduction to Asfār, the beginning of the
period of his teaching after a period of interregnum could be considered as
around the third decade of the second millennium and this is not so
inconsistent with his long term staying in Kahak, which lasted, as some say,
for 15 years, since he taught and compiled books in Qum for years, and it
was in Qum, where Mullā Muḥsin Fayd studied under Mullā Šadrā (in
around 1033 A.H./1623 A.D. or so).⁴

¹ - The Holy Quran, 4:97.
² - “Be not attached to any friends and any lands;
   “Since the lands and seas are very vast and there are many men.
³ - Here, there is an ambiguity, since he presents himself as “born in Shirāz and
   staying in Qum” and if the term “staying” suggests a long term staying in Qum,
   this will be, somehow, in disagreement with his last staying; though we can
   assume he had an intention to stay in Qum for a long time, and go to interpret the
   expression “staying in Qum” in this way.
⁴ - Here, there is an inconsistency between the expression “the shortness of life”
   mentioned in the introduction of Tafsīr-i āyat al-kursī, and the expression “the
   weakness of the body ...and senility”, which is recorded in his third letter to Mīr
   Dāmād, which has been written 12 years after his separation from Mīr Dāmād
   (that if we assume that this separation occurred in Isfahān) it can be matched
According to this calculation, in around 1020 A.H. to 1024 A.H., he left his residence (Shiraz or another city) for Kahak, a village near to Qum. As he himself says he went out of the cities and proceeded to worship. In this period, he was too depressed to study, teach and compile books; and therefore, he proceeded to self-examination.

This period of scientific depression lasted for a long time, and if we assume that it was really long, it will be between 5 and 10 years; and if, as was said, we cannot consider this time in the third decade, it has to been subtracted from the last part of the second decade to obtain the beginning date of his seclusion and emigration from the staying place.

But if we assume that long time as two years, the problem will be solved; on the other hand, if we compare this date (i.e. 1018 A.H./1609 A.D. to 1020 A.H./1611 A.D.) with the minimum duration of his staying in that place which was mentioned in his letter to Mir Dâmâd\(^1\) -i.e. 12 years- that is, if we subtract 12 from 1020 or 1018 to obtain the date of Mullâ Šadrâ's departure from Iṣfahân, we will find 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. or 1006 A.H./1597 A.D., which is certainly incorrect, since it is the date of his entrance to Iṣfahân. Hence, 1022 A.H. to 1024 A.H., should be considered as the date of his departure from the staying place, and the compiling of Tafsîr... as the beginning of compiling books and the start point of exit from “depression”; otherwise, his letter to Mir Dâmâd has to been considered to be written in another time.

The period of Mullâ Šadrâ's confrontation with the scholar-like ignorant and those who have been deceived by the material world (which seems to have occurred in Shiraz) should be considered as the hardest period of his life and a start point for his escape from people to the Creator of people, and as he himself says, as “an intrinsic and natural attention to the Cause of causes...”.

In the Divine tradition, sometimes the Creator's - the Exalted - help and favor appears, instead of graces, as the hardships and calamities. As our

\(^1\) - If we assume that he wrote the letters in Shiraz, this will be the case. But if he wrote some of these letters in Qum or Kahak, the story will go in another way.
Emigration from Shirāz
great master used to say, a knowing man is required to recognize the “hidden
graces” from among the worldly punishments and to repeatedly give thanks
for every calamity occurred for him; every illiterate shepherd knows that,
sometimes, the only way to save the flock is harshness, though it may be
unpleasant for the flock or make the subjects pessimistic to the ruler.

It would be a great regret if a man like Mullā Ṣadrā were a
companion of the mean ones and taught the primary lessons. Under this clear
“foam” there was hidden “that which is of use to mankind”,¹ and without
pains, there was no gain. The Divine grace was to allow this divine man to
pass the examination which was sometimes accompanied with affliction, and
to reach His solitude, and thus, to attain a true maturity, and to pass his self,
to reach God; and as a matter of fact this was the case.

“Oh Sufi, the wine will be purified,
“Only if it is kept in the bottle for forty days.”²

So many words spoken to describe self-knowledge and regarding it
as a way to knowledge of God (the one who knows his self, knows his
Creator”) are not in vain; since the most important a achievement of man is
the attainment of a knowledge of self. Though in the tradition of the masses
of people this seems to be meaningless, but here is laid an important truth
which is, in fact, a key to approach the truth.

The most regret for a man is that, in the struggle of life, his mind is
occupied by watch and absorbed in this hollow sea so that he remains
unaware of his self. Sometimes the man's unawareness of his self- even if he
pronounces the words such as “I” thousands times - and reaches a point that,
if through the Divine grace, puts a mirror before him to recognize his self, he
will look at the picture in the mirror as if he sees an unknown man.

... And he will surprisingly look at the truth- which is not other than
he himself-; may he gradually proceeds to the way of familiarity and peace.

It is certainly for certain reasons that both the wayfarer and the
Divine prophet are allowed to be present among the worldly creatures and
teach and preach, or to proceed to the prophethood and messengership only
when they have left the stage of “the journey from the creatures to the

¹ - An allusion to the Holy Quran, 13:17.
² - Hafiz.
Truth” behind, and thus, have found their own selves, so that in the station of “union and presence” they have something to present; about this station, many points can be interjected; our time is, however limited.

Mullā Ṣadrā's story is a phenomenon, which requires a great deal of study; it can be analyzed from different points of view, and sometimes, one can take lessons from it. On the one hand, it appears as a psychological phenomenon, which should be studied from a psychological point of view; and on the other, it is a mystical and divine phenomenon in the course of the Divine traditions among the men. From this point of view, it could be regarded among the important sociological issues to find how and through what lover-killing ways, the Divine will would proceed to lead man to his final goal, and how He causes the heart of garnet to bleed, to grant a valuable jewel to the people; and how prevents His friend from wandering and makes them reside at the threshold of the Beloved.

Perhaps, some do not approve the course chosen by Mullā Ṣadrā, i.e. retiring to seclusion from the uproar of the masses of people and elite to the solitude of Kahak and regard it as an indicator of weakness and self-indulgence and it is much likely that they consider it as fear, or otherwise as an error; such a suggestion itself is, in fact an error.

From another point of view, however, it should be deemed as a wise step which is in correspondence with shar‘ and juridical and Quranic rules.

In a psychological approach for those who became, to some extent, acquainted with the mentalities of this sage, that he leaves his homeland and retired to seclusion did not originate from fear and weakness; but rather his escaping from the mean people was for safeguarding his own belief, in the middle of struggle with them, like the scholar who- as Sa‘dī says in his Gulistān- in a debate with heretics surrendered and said that the opponent did not believe in my arguments and thus did not accept them, then why I should listen his infidelity.

If one insults the foul-mouthed one, and throws a stone at the slinger, he finds the glass of his own home broken and disregards his own polite and God-fearing and faith. Thus, that he ceases fight and leave the battlefield- which is as he himself says, inspired by the Commander of Faithful (a)- should be regarded as originated, not from the fear and
weakness, but from the wisdom, God-fearing, belief in religion and following the Imâm of faithful, and he should be praised for this.

If Mullâ Sadrâ himself had not alluded, in the introduction to his magnum opus Āsfâr, to his own spiritual journey and seclusion, we might have been able to avoid studying its mystical points; but since he himself has spoken of this journey in the introduction to his Āsfâr - which is, in fact, a declaration of the beginning of his return from emigration, and a manual for his life after seclusion down to the death and meeting Lord- and has sought to tell the reasons for his return and its ways, not to speaking of it is not right.

After choosing to follow the Commander of Faithful (a) to remain patient and leave his homeland for another land, and retire to seclusion silently, his first step is leaving association with people.

To live among people is, intrinsically, a natural and necessary thing; but like foods, which could be avoided in the days of fasting month (Ramaḍān), in a period of life association with people also should be avoided. That is why he avoids approaching people: “Then I avoided associating with people and their friendship”. And the bridling of this social nature and retiring to seclusion was the first step of Mullâ Sadrâ's wayfaring in this particular period.

The next step, which is, in fact a result of his wayfaring, is the peace, which is granted, according to a Divine tradition, as a result of natural rules of “leaving the association of people”. In this regard, he himself says: “The enmity of time and offspring of time is made easy for me, and their refutation or acceptance will make no difference for me, and praises and insults of people are equal for me”; and, thus, he attains peace.

It is in this peace and self-knowledge that one will find the right direction and the heart will look for, in accordance with its natural tune, its lost one and will reach in this way to its beloved; the closed doors will open, one after another; and the light will illuminate, after darkness, on the wayfarer and from a silent–hearted stone, the light will be effused. Mullâ Șadrâ describes this stage as follows:

“And when I insisted on this position, my soul has been kindled, through the ascetic practices, by the luminous flames and the light was shed
on me from the realm of dominion (malakūt) and the realm of power (jabarūt).

The mysteries were unveiled for me, which has not been, previously acquired through demonstration. I eye-witnessed what I have known from the Divine mysteries.

This stage is the same stage which occurs in a higher level for the elects, that is for the prophets; because we think that the distinction between “prophethood” and “messengership” is laid in this same point; and the prophethood is a stage of spiritual perfection of the prophets, in which the truth of the world will be understood by the prophet's heart and mind and a true cognition of it will be granted to him, without going from fixation (thubūt) to demonstration (ithbāt), or from “hiding” to “appearing”.

In this stage, the wayfarer- or, even, the prophet- can be likened to a mountain which accumulates the rain of the Divine grace in its depth, and waits for a suitable time to make it flow and emanate; so that this Divine grace can flow to the plains; and this overflowing nature may find an opening to overflow as streams of the wholesome water to quench the thirst of people and to reclaim the waste lands.

It is here where the mystic and the prophet, each according to his own capacity, are instructed according to the verse “O thou enveloped in thy cloak, Arise and warn!” to arise and describe the Divine grace and knowledge, which they have learned, and bring roses from the garden in which they have been, as “presents for the friends”.

The distinction between prophet and messenger is that, the former (nabī, derived from nibā, i.e. to inform) attains a perfect knowledge, and the latter is instructed to communicate that knowledge to others. And there are many prophets, who have not been instructed to messengership.

As he himself alludes in some of his works, after this stage and having attained the heavenly grace and observed the hidden truths, Mullā Sadrā is instructed to arise to write and compile books and break silence, since it is time to preach and teach and write. He himself writes:

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1. Asfār al- arba‘ah, introduction.
3. Sa‘di; Gulistān.
Since the Divine tradition was to meet the needs of people free of sparing, I gracefully resolved to expose this wisdom and unveil this beloved, the hidden oracle told me: from the wine thou have drunken, give our thirsty and half-drunken ones a gallop to drink to be reinforced and the light of knowledge illuminates on their hearts, because it is due time to speak.

Hence I resolved to bring from potentiality into actuality what I had learned, and make the hidden, manifest. Now having employed my power of thinking, I have gathered the dispersed points, and sought the power from God.

The silent will proceeded to move, and the bud blossomed, and the autumn of the depression turned into a cheerful spring. I told myself; it is due time for trying and beginning to work, to provide those principles of knowledge through whom the other branches would be acquired... thus, I went to write the present book (al-Ḥikmat al-Mutaʿaliyah fiʾl asfār al-aqliyyat al-arbaʿah) (The Transcendent Philosophy concerning the Four Intellectual Journeys of the Soul)\(^1\)

The history of Mullā Sadrā's life in his middle age and old age is, in fact, a letter of sorrow. The scene of his leaving of Shirāz for Kahak in Qum is a sorrowful scene. The caravan, with which he is traveling together with his family, is carrying a heavy luggage of sorrows and unpleasant reminiscences. Now that dawn should be noted when together with his family and a “caravan of sorrows”, carrying “a robe intertwined of the sorrow and woven by the spirit, this broken-hearted sage proceeds to travel, and looks at the heaven, which is the only companion of such men, and whispers the verse: “Lo! Allah is with those who keep their duty unto Him and those who are doers of good”\(^2\)

The bell of caravan plays music of hope; the clear horizon of the desert promises luminosity. Mullā Sadrā depressingly casts a look at his

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1. Asfār, introduction.
young espouse and daughter. Having plunged in his self, he thinks that, this also will pass.

Like everything else, which is in a pass in this world, this also is a [passing] “chapter” of the book of his life, a “chapter” which will be called constitutive by “logician” and will be regarded as the source of existence and origin of making and acquiring. This is a chapter of the book of the fate: but a chapter, which begins to lead to perfection and reach man to the threshold of superiority.

The dust of the caravan and the sound of bell go gradually away; and among the people of this caravan, there is the brave offspring of Shirāz who departs from the motherland.

Like a mother of pearl which loses its own preserved pearl, the city which does not withstand to live with Mullā Sadrā, remains alone and empty, and she is no more of importance. The punishment for ingratitude toward God's favors and the reward for lack of art and knowledge of jewels is this.

“If once a day the sky may be in angry mood with me;
“Morrow, I will go out of its realm, like the sun.

In books of history or writings concerning history there is no trace of cities in which Mullā Sadrā paused or resided for a while, or of scholars, with whom he visited. Since in that era, a perfect security prevailed on Iran, it is much likely that participation in great caravans and accompaniment of armed men were not needed. Thus, it is not unlikely that his caravan could be regarded as being restricted to his life companions, relatives, and servants. An apparently small caravan in which “a great beneficent one, who is not stranger in the mountain, plain and desert” is traveling. “Wherever he goes he will pitch a tent and construct a court”.

Cities such Iṣfahān, Kāshān, Qumshah and Delījān can be regarded as the stations of caravan. In that time- as is understood from the European tourists’ log- it usually took one month to travel between Shirāz and Iṣfahān- and as is said by Ibn Batūṭah, it took 10 days- therefore, if his caravan did

1. “The beneficent one is not stranger in mountain, plain and desert;
“Wherever he goes he will pitch a tent and build a court. Şā‘īb
not waited for a long time in one of the above-mentioned stations, he might have been traveling for one or two months to reach Qum.

However waited in Isfahān certainly for a longer time. And it is almost impossible that he did not visited Mīr Dāmād.

Here a question is likely to arise: Why did Mullā Sadrā select Qum and her urban to emigrate to? The emigration of the most generous prophet (s) from the familiar land to Yathrib, or that of the Commander of Faithful (a) from Medina to Kufa, was for political reasons and to safeguard public interests. Other possible choice also, when there are “natural factors” to be dealt, will be based on the “public interests”. But if one chooses a city to stay, freely, it is, certainly, for his own personality and mentalities. That is why personalities and mentalities of persons can be inferred from their choices.

In that time Qum was a flourishing city in which was the tomb of Sayyidah Ma’ṣūmah (a); but a great muḥaddith such as Mullā Sadrā is not unlikely to take into consideration the ḥadiths, which introduced Qum as a refuge for the victims of the sedition of seditious ones. In a ḥadith from Imām Ṣādiq (A.S.) it is reported:

“Ṣādiq (a) said: “when you are involved in a disaster, then you should go to Qum, which is a refuge for Fātimis and a rest place for believers”, and also “when you are afflicted by calamities, then you should go to Qum and her suburbs”.\(^1\)

Then why should not he choose a city which is refuge for believers and the tomb of the offspring of Imām Kāẓim (a) is placed in it, and even it is the meeting point of the roads to Tūs, ’Irāq, and Fārs. If “Futūḥat al-Makkiyyah”\(^2\) (Meccian Openings) originates from the bricks of Ka’ba, then why cannot it originate from the “good ones” of the household of the prophet (s), whom Ka’bas come to visit and are safeguarded by angels?

In the time of Mullā Sadrā, Qum was a flourishing and relatively great city. The tourists, who came to Iran in that time, admired this city.

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1. *Bihār al-anwār; Safinat al-anwār.*
Tavernier, a French tourist, says: “Qum is among the great cities of Iran, and rice is cultivated in it abundantly”.¹

The other French tourist, Chardin, writes: “Qum is an attractive city which is as old as all other old cities; some believes that, this city is the same ancient “Quriana”. Qum is located in the ‘Ajam Iraq province (ancient Parthia and a neighbor of “Media”.

And concerning Qum, in the era of Shâh ‘Abbâs, the other writer writes:

“I did not believe that Qum might have been so vast and thickly populated. ... the people of Qum are regarded as among the bravest soldiers... For the sanctity of the Qum, women are not seen in gatherings”.

In this regard, another foreigner writes:

“The city of Qum, as is written in the Epitome Geografica had been called Quriana in the ancient times and regarded as a city of “Media” province.

“Qum is among the intermediate cities of Iran, not as vast as Kâshân, its population also is less than Kâshân”.

In the records of the registration office of the properties and tax-written in 1296 A.H./1878 A.D. to collect the taxes of arable lands- it is registered that following the instruction of “Kay Khusraw Kiyâni”, the uncultivated lands of that city were watered and 40 commanders of army were commissioned to build 40 castles and villages in around the city (it is likely Chihil Tan district has been named so, after them). In time of ’Abd al-Malik Marwân a group of soldiers, who were of the Ash’arî tribe of Yemen, chose to reside in that city. Since then Qum turned to a center for the Iraqi Shi’is.

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¹ - Tavernier’s itinerary.
² - Itinerary of Garcia Figueroa (the ambassador of Spain in Shâh ‘Abbâs’ court), the date of his entering in to Iran, 1026A.H. (March 19, 1617) is incidentally simultaneous with Mullâ Sadrâ’s presence in Qum.
³ - Itinerary of Pietro della Lave, the ambassador of Shâh ‘Abbâs (in Persian), he also had entered in Iran in 1025 A.H. (1617 a.d.). He seems to have been commissioned to prepare a map of strategic roads of the Middle East.
⁴ - Qumnâmah, p. 87.
Qum had profound roots in times and a glorious background in the history of Islam. This city had usual tradition in safeguarding the belief and believers; and having been like a valuable ring which embraced a bezel of the mine of the Revelation and the offspring of the Prophet (s) this city added a pride on her other prides as well, and came a host of the head of theosophists.

Mullā Sadrā mentioned himself, in *Tafsir Ayat al-Kursī*, as “being resided in Qum”; but we do not know what he had meant; whether he meant, as words suggest literally, that he resided in Qum since many years ago (which is not compatible with our hypothesis), or these words, having been written in the beginning of his residence, indicate that “he had sought to reside in Qum permanently”. From his other expressions, such as “I retired into seclusion in some urban of the city” is understood that he had not been in Qum - or he had been but not resided- and had not deemed there, suitable for “seclusion” and avoidance of people, hence he migrated to the village of Kahak.

Assuming that the city for which he had left Shirāz and the place of his staying was Qum and her urban, we have to find how the scholars of Qum– whether philosophers, or theologians (*mutakallimūn*), or *muḥaddiths*, or jurisprudents welcomed him. In a city, in which in the early centuries of Islam, scholars who spoke of the issues which were unpleasant for *muḥaddiths*, were exiled by them, how was Mullā Sadrā, whose taste in philosophy, theology, and perhaps, in ḥadīth and commentary was known, welcomed?

Was it for his own wish to avoid the students and teaching and debates that he did not stay in the city and in proximity of the sacred shrine? Or, the professional atmosphere was unfavorable, and the circle of scholars of that city cannot tolerate him? Or despite the flourishment and vastness of the city in that time, there was not a seminary like those which were founded later: a confirmation of this assumption is that there is no trace of the old schools in this city; and the oldest school in this city, i.e. *Fayḍiyah* school, was established after him, and in the time of Fayḍ Kāshānī; and perhaps sciences began to flourish since his time and by his disciple and the heir of his knowledge- i.e. Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Lāhiji, the great master of his own time in Qum.
In an account of a travel in his youth, in which he passed Qum, Mullā Ḥāẓīn Lāhiji\(^1\) speaks of Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Lāhiji and some other scholars; and does not mention the greatness or excessive number of scholars of this city.

Hence, in a brief study, it seems that his departure for Kahak has caused, not by the unpleasant confrontation of scholars, but by his seclusion-seeking spirit, and perhaps it has been for avoidance of the summer heats and the winter coldness of the city, and enjoyment of the moderate weather of Kahak; and this is in agreement with the bodily weakness of the sage, already mentioned in his letters.

The passengers who are heading in the road from Qum to Kāshān passing Jamkarān to the east-south, will reach a place called Kahak (or Kuhak), which is, today, regarded as a town, but is, in fact, a village remained from old times.

Among all those rural mud-houses, a small mausoleum, which is like a night–cap with four pairs of tark, a vault-like building built from mud and bricks, and at the same time it is beautiful and elegant, and its great builder has breathed a heavenly spirit in earthy mud; and in that simple geometrical construction, he has imprinted a stature which, among the rural mud-houses, looks at you sorrowfully.

In the interior part, under its “vault”, there is a small mausoleum, which goes, like a cross, to four doors or entries, as if it serves to relate the four houses or four gardens to each other. Perhaps, there lived in one house his servants and companions; and in other, his family; and in the third one his guest; and finally, in the fourth one, his disciples who had been resided and studied in this house. And the owner of house had been allowed to enter all these four houses.

Next to the vault, there are very small and closet-like rooms, in which more than one person cannot easily live. These rooms look like houses of worship for the wayfarers and private places for lovers. They were so small that no stranger can enter.

Today, out of all those houses, gardens, stables, dining-rooms, great library, and furniture of an aristocratic life, there has remained nothing, but

\(^1\) - Tūrīkh-i Ḥāzīn, p.166.
Emigration from Shirāz

some usurped and disfavored lands; and a zamzam-like spring which is humming, and if there can be found a listening one, this spring has many stories to tell.

This is the same house, which once a time in its youth was the host of a great man, an unparalleled sage. Today, however, with a dust of old age on the head, and a sorrow of some hundreds years in its heart, it has remained in a seclusion, looking at the sky, at its old heavenly friends, who come to see it, every day and night. Every morning, sunlight comes in, from an opening on the roof of its vault, and at the evening, it goes out from another opening. Like a cup-bearer, moon gives a cup of the wine of light to it to drink every night. And the buds of the sky smiles at it.

The well-known house of Mullā Šadrā in Kahak- which is still called “Khāna-yi Āqā” (the house of the sir) - and the stories which are told about him suggesting that he went to pray in a mosque, near that house- and the historical rumor of his residence in that village, all and all, makes it clear that he stayed, out of Qum, in this place, and lived the period of his seclusion in this village.

That some people think that he resided in caves or mountains near Qum seems to be a wrong assumption for which there is no evidence; and in addition, there is no mountain near Qum.

The situation of the house and its surrounding imply that the house was, not rented, but bought by Mullā Šadrā, and this suggest his resolution for a long term residence; as if he never thought about the return to Shirāz. His travel to that village was an emigration, in the precise sense of the term; and he had lost his hope for any improvements in conditions. He looked like a wounded one who seeks only concealment and escapes from enemies such as time and the fate who treats him unkindly.

Hence, despair prevails over him, and from this state, which is a trap of Satan, he comes wisely to the best conclusion, and looks for sins in his book of deeds, for which he is punished. Hence he tries to compensate.

Just like a goldsmith who finds impurity in his gold and puts it again in furnace; he prostrates again and again, and closes the heart, in which hope

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1 - ‘Allāmah Muţaffar’s introduction on Asfār.
and wishes entered, to other than Beloved; nobody knows how long he lived in this manner.

In Mullā Sadrā’s words in this period of time, the point which should be analyzed socially and sociologically, is the relation between the well-being and the peace of minds of scholars. Unlike many of European scholars, who attained the fame and scientific achievements, thanks to their easy lives and peace of minds, most of Iranian scholars lived always in dust of sorrows and perils of their lives as well as the other difficulties. Ibn Sina and Khwājah Naæír, and generally speaking all of our great figures were, in this or that way, as is recorded in history books, hard pressed; and in the middle of dangers which threatened them, they left so many scientific books and doctrines. The stories of the hunger of the period of disciplehood and disappointments of the period of perfection of our scholars are, still, told.

If it is true that teaching and learning require the peace of mind, and as Mullā Ṣadrā puts it “the mind's purification of reasons of sorrow, the stability in conditions, and well-being”, then why are all hardships and hungers, reserved for seekers and advocates of knowledge? Who should arise to support this group?

Today our society prides these scholars and all the world enjoys the fruits of their attempts; then why nobody regards himself as indebted to this group and to be responsible to safeguard this clean tree?

Mullā Sadrā is among those few ones who, for their family's wealth neither in their youth nor later, experience poverty. Though, according to the rules of piety and ascetic practices which were required for spiritual wayfaring, he experienced hunger and bodily hardships intentionally, he was a wealthy one; and one of the results of his wealth was his unparalleled library in which rare copies of books of all periods could be found, and this was, certainly, of a great effect in his scientific progress.

The hardships of life, however, are not restricted to the poverty and bodily weakness. The most important obstacles in the way of scholars and researchers are anxiety and the various dangers, threatening their life and social reputation, the lack of peace of mind, concentration, and of course, health and the tools which are required for study and research.

This is a permanent aspect of the lives of our scholars; though in some periods there were some great and intelligent rulers who supported this
silent layer of the society, the history has always gone in the opposite direction, and thus science and philosophy have sustained many loses.

The other point is that, the period of Mullâ Sadra's seclusion is the peak of his life. Every one is traveling in the course of life, along a certain trajectory, which can be depicted as a curve.

In the time of birth, this trajectory is at the zero point, and then it goes to maxima and minima, which represent the spiritual and personal perfection and imperfection. “And Allah brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers knowing nothing” (Holy Quran; 16:78) is the start point, and “reversing in creation (making man go back to weakness after strength)”(Holy Quran; 36: 68) is the end point.

In the long road, which is laid between these two points, however, there are changes which could be classified under the category of motion. Among these changes, there is only one point which may be regarded as the peak point (mathematical maximum); and every thinking man should look for this point in his life, and find a way to live permanently in it.

The period of Mullâ Sadra's youth and study was not the period in which he attained the peak point. Even the period of his scientific and practical perfection at the end part of his life is not regarded as the highest point of his life.

Certainly, the period of seclusion, avoidance of people, when he was under spiritual pressures and naturally and intrinsically took refuge in the “Lord of lords”, the “Cause of causes” and the “One who turns the hardships to easies”, should be regarded as the peak point of the spiritual flight of this great sage. The strength of the waves of sea should be found in their contacts with the hard rock.¹ He Himself says: “And in this time, because of the enmity of time and disagreement of the era, my quite nature led me to retire in a point in some city… and to exaggerate to perform obligations to compensate what I had lost.”²

The period of youth of the sage had been spent on learning various sciences and, in fact, on “gathering sciences”. His natural genius, together

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¹ - “The middle of the sea is not a suitable place to present the luxury; “Like the waves, my jewel should be seen at the coast. Șa’îb.
² - Asfâr, introduction.
with the Divine guidance, caused him to emphasize philosophy from among all those disciplines and arts- which he himself, in the introduction to Asfâr, proceeds to classify them mystically and philosophically- and, thus, to make a distinction between the “user of tool” and “tool”, between the “destination” and “path”, and between the “end” and “beginning”.

Thus there remained no philosophical school which he did not study, and no book whose profound meanings he did not understand. We do not know a scholar who studied various schools and various doctrines of philosophers as much as this philosopher. And- as we shall see- at the end, it was these studies which came to help him.

In a self-examination, he himself does not confirm this period of his own life and considers it as a felony and goes to repent. He says: “And I ask for Divine pardon for wasting a part of my life to study doctrines of philosophers, and debates of the people of kalâm …”

In a profound psychological analysis of this phenomenon, however, there is no room for repentance; for he committed no felony. And, as a matter of fact, if there were not such attempts there would not be that scientific peak, because man’s mind (which is aware of its self) (or, in other words, his “rational inner sense”) is as a memory to save sciences, and man has an apparently unaware soul (or ignored inner sense) who employs these learnt points as raw material and turns all those raw materials, in an intangible and hidden layer of man’s being, into a compound which bewilders all the world.

In a meta-psychological scientific analysis, it would be understood, that if there were not the so-called useless teachings of “philosophers and theologians” so many valuable points and doctrines would not originate from the mind of this sage. And if there were not intercourse and interaction between those teachings in his mind, an elixir called “Transcendent Philosophy” would not be acquired; and there was not a prepared element to be illuminated by the Divine light, and turn to a valuable jewel.

In this regard, he himself says: “After all those trainings I turned away from people and took refuge in God- the Lord of lords - after spending a long time on worship and ascetic practices- which were in fact like a fire to

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1 - Ibid.
treat the raw materials—suddenly I found an inflammation in my self whose result was the illumination of the Divine light on my heart and spirit, and the rising of a curtain which was drawn before my eyes”.

It is in this way that this sage passes a stage in learning, which is the stage of gathering the sciences, and goes to a higher stage, in which not every scholar is admitted; and thus, he reaches a maturity, not every scholar is able to reach. It is proper to regard this stage as a referent for “…and then produced him as another creation”.

In this humane phenomenon, there is another important point, i.e. the relation between the unseen intuitions and inspirations on the one hand and sciences in general and philosophy in particular, on the other. Today psychoanalysts regard a great deal of discoveries and inventions as resulted from a sort of intuition and inspiration. In philosophy and other intellectual or extraordinary sciences this is seen much more eminently. That is why all the ancient Persian sages, all the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Illuminationist sages, all the mystics and those who have attained the truth, the disciples of the school of the household of the prophet (a) regard the purification of the soul and ascetic practices, or in inadequate Peripatetic expression “the practical philosophy” as a necessary introductory step to attain a true outlook and a wisdom called the wisdom of faith, which originates from the depth of the spirit.

It is to be regretted that, in the present circles of the wisdom and science and in the centers of disciples and students, this scientific and ideological fact has remained ignored and even it is unknown. That is why the humanities have reached such a sorrowful and fruitless stage.

Mullâ Şadrâ is among the eminent exemplars of those who, thanks to spiritual wayfaring, have been trained through the Divine generosity. This is true for his masters, Mir Dâmâd and Shaykh Bahâ as well. The spiritual wayfaring could be seen among their predecessors and successors as well. In all times, the great sages reached the true knowledge and science through this way. That is why Mullâ Şadrâ not only could be regarded as a true and

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truthful follower of the household of the prophet (s) and Ja’fari mysticism, who is trained in their school, but also he can be introduced as a heir of the school of “ancient sages”, and of the Illuminationist and Khusrawānī sages of Persia.

In this regard, there are many issues which can be interjected, but because of the limited patience of this writing, we continue to discuss our main issue.¹

The period of spiritual pressures and avoidance of creatures, and sitting at the threshold of “the Cause of causes and the Lord of lords” i.e. the Creator and Beloved of the mystics, passed. Thanks to a Divine peace and security, finally his wretched ship which was in the middle of the storm, reaches to the secure coast; and as is said “hearts have rest in the remembrance of Allah” (the Holy Quran, 13:28) he reaches the peace of mind, and his seclusion leads to communication with people.

From his words - for example, on the unveiling of the issue of unity of intelligent and intelligible, at the sacred threshold of Qum- it is understood that he frequently went on to pilgrimage to the Shrine of Haḍrat Ma’sūmah (a) in Qum: and as we saw and is well-known in the location (Kahak), Mullā Şadrā went on to pray in the mosque every day, and he avoided people no more.

It is much likely that he went on to help the needy, or provided the answers for their religious questions or put an end on their enmities, since the wisdom requires sometimes the former, and sometimes, the latter. Sometimes he is among people and sometimes he avoids them and keeps aloof. Sometimes he turns to a jurisprudent, judge and prayer leader; and sometimes he goes to plains, mountains and deserts.

The evidence suggests that Mullā Sadrā wrote his Asfār, and a part (and perhaps, an important part) of his books in the second half of this period of seclusion; and as he himself says, he was instructed by the hidden oracle² to put his findings in writing and “bring roses as presents for his friends from

¹ - For details, see author’s introduction on al- Mażāhir al-ilāhiyyah (translated into English under the title Development of Wisdom in Iran and in the World).
² - Asfār, introduction.
the garden in which he hast been”) or “If you drinks wine, let a drop or two spill”.2

The first journey (safar) of Asfār al-arba‘ah (Four Journeys), and in particular the chapters in which “existence” is discussed,3 which are among its eloquent Illuminationist sections- seem to have been written, as is understood from the introduction to the book, in the second decade of the 11th. Century A.H./17th century A.D., at the beginning of the leaving of seclusion. From the introduction to “al- Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah” also, it is understood that the book is written at the peak of his intuitions and inspirations, in the time of “sobriety” and return from the seclusion and “imaginary efface”.3

This book seems to be a secret list of the truths and intuitions, which were inspired to him in the period of his seclusion and ascetic practices and avoidance of the people. The title of book “al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah fi ma’rifat al-rubūiyyah”(The Inspirations of the Heart concerning Knowledge of the Divinity) also suggest the same point.

The order in which Mullâ Sadrā’s books and treatises are written, is not known and most of them are undated, or there is no trace to obtain the date of their being written. From the style of his expressions in the introductions to or the context of his books it is understood that, alongside with Asfār al-arba‘ah (vol. 1), he began to write his commentaries on Āyat al-Kursî, and Ḥadîd, Zîlzâl, and Allâ chapters as well as al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah.

Also, from the introduction to his commentary on Āyat al-Kursî, it could be inferred that, prior to these books, he had compiled other books as well- in Shirāz, or even prior to this time in Iṣfahān in the period of learning. Some think that Sharḥ al-hidāyât al-athiriyah (1015 A. H. ?/1606 A.D.), Taṣawwur wa taṣdiq (Risālah fî) and Ḥall al-ishkhūlāt al-falakiyyah are compiled before Asfār. And since there are, in Sharḥ al-hidāyâh, some

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1 - Sa’dî, Gulistân, Translated by Sir Edwin Arnold(1899), Introductory
2 - Hafiz.
3 - al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah, introduction.
allusions to the treatise written in response to “As’alayah Kāshāniyyah”, then this treatise is prior to Sharḥ al-hidāyah.

Some others believe that al-Mabda’ wa’l ma’ād had been compiled prior to Sharḥ al-hidāyah, since the former is mentioned in the latter; and since in Sharḥ al-hidāyah there is no trace of the “substantial motion” then it had been compiled in his youth and in the beginning of his achievements. It should be noted that, despite all these indications, taking into account his style of writing and the author's repeated revisions in every copy made of the first copy, “the mentioning book” may be compiled prior to the “mentioned book(s)

The author of A’yān al-Shī’ah has regarded “Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn”, “Ḥall al-ishkālat al-falakiyyah” and “Ḥudūth al-‘ālam” as having been compiled prior to Asfār, for “Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn” is mentioned in the first volume (p. 47), and two others in other places. Finally, he says that it seems that he (Mullā Sadrā) had compiled only one book before Asfār, i.e. “Sarayān al-wujud” whose other name is “Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn” because in this treatise, Mullā Sadrā’s doctrines are based on the “principality of quiddity”, and in the time of compiling of Asfār, he had rejected the “principality of existence”. Since the books of this sage and the date of their compilation are discussed in other place, we content ourselves with what it is said.

Mullā Şadra in Kahak

There is very little information as to when exactly Mullā Şadrā arrived in Kahak. Nor can we make sure how long he stayed there. Historians' estimates range between seven to fifteen years.

As we said, the date of his entrance and stay in Qum was in the first part of the third decade of 11th. century (1020 A.H./1611 A.D.-1024 A.H./1615 A.D.). In the seclusion of his home in Kahak, he spent some years on ascetic practices. In around 1024 A.H., the hidden oracle called him to

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1. For example, the eminent researcher and scholar Mr. Āshtīyānī.
2. A’yān al-shī’ah. Also see Corbin, H. The Horizons of Thought in Iran, p. 233; and Nasr, H. introduction on Sih ašl.
compile books to describe the truths of the wisdom. It can be concluded that this was in the middle period of his seclusion.

Around 1030 A.H./1620 A.D. or 1031 A.H./1621 A.D., when Mullâ Muḥsin Fayd Kāshānī began to study under Mullâ Sadrā, Mullâ Sadrā seems to have return to outside world. In this time, he resumed teaching and compiling books. As Fayd writes in his autobiography, the courses of his school included, in the manner of Muslim mystics, Pythagoreans, and Magi, practical philosophy, purification [of the soul], spiritual wayfaring and even religious ascetic exercises.¹

Therefore an analysis of Mulla Muḥsin Fayd's life can serve as a guide to find the date of Mullâ Sadrâ's return from Qum to Shirāz. Hence, we also cast a look on his life.

¹ - See Fayd’s autobiography: “I spent eight year with him, purifying my soul, and in this way I attained the esoteric sciences”.
Mullā Şadrā’s Students

Fayḍ Kāshānī

One of the most impressive and versatile scholars among the scholars of Shi’ism and Islam, Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (Mūḥammad b. Muṭṭād b. Maḥmūd) never won the recognition he deserved. Some even believe that Fayḍ might be eligible to be viewed on a par with Ghazālī. Despite the similarities between the two scholars in terms of writing style for which Fayḍ could be called (Shī’ī) Ghazālī, it should be emphasized that Fayḍ can be considered in a higher credit bracket.

Among his superiorities are his spiritual perfections such as proper pride and true piety. Unlike Ghazālī who led most of his life (until the death of Khwājah Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī) in the service of Anti–Bāṭīnī and Anti-İsmā’īlī policy of Turk Seljuks, and wrote as instructed by caliphs in Baghdad, and at the end of his life was looking for his goal (mysticism, Sufism, piety, ...) in everywhere, Fayḍ avoided the service of rulers, and to remain anonymous headed for small towns such as Qamṣar or Natanz. What he wrote was for the sake of God and to promote the religion, the Book and the tradition, and not for the sake of materialistic reward.

Fayḍ is among those scholars who study under many masters and, thus, find mastery over most of the sciences of his time. He discussed, however, mostly ḥadīth, ethics and mysticism.
More than 80 books and essays are indicators of his knowledge and the outputs of his ceaseless pen stroke. He has also a collection of poems, and this again, distinguishes him from Ghazâli.

Fayd comes from a scholarly family. His father Mawlânâ Shaykh Murtiðâ (Shâh Murtidâ) was a respected jurisprudent in Kashân and his mother was the daughter of Diyâ al-’Urafâ Râzi who was, as we said, a renowned philosopher of his time. Fayd has an autobiography, in which he has put the story of his own learning in writing. He says:

I learned literature, Arabic, logic and religious sciences from my father and uncle. I left for Ișfahân at the age of twenty and found it an assembly of scholars. There I learned mathematics and other sciences. Then when I learnt that Sayyid Mâjid Baårâní settled in Shiráz (1028 A.H./1618 A.D.), I went there and studied hadîth with him, through hearing and writing. After two years Shaykh permitted me to transmit hadîths. I, meanwhile, perfected my knowledge of religious law, thus becoming free from imitation.

I then returned to Ișfahân and attended Shaykh Bahâ’î’s classes and obtained his permission for transmitting hadîths. Afterwards, since I could afford a Hajj pilgrimage, I went to Mecca and there I met Shaykh Moḩammed b. Hasan b. Zayn al-Din ’Āmilî who, too, gave me the permission to transmit hadîths.

On the way back home thieves killed my brother. After Hajj, I visited every town and city in search for scholars. That led me to Qum where I met the head of the people of mysticism, the star of the sky of certainty, who was the leader of time in the arts of esoteric sciences and the unrivalled one of time. I spent eight years with him, purifying my soul so that I attained an insight in the esoteric sciences as well. I was finally honored to marry his daughter.
At about the same time, Mullā Sadrā was invited to Shirāz and he accepted. I accompanied him to Shirāz and after two years returned to Kāshān and resumed teaching and writing.

This biography nullifies the year 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. as Fayḍ’ birth date. For example he says: “... I spent a period of time to study literature under my father and uncle”, and his father is certain to have passed away in 1009 A.H./1600 A.D., thus we have to conclude that Fayḍ began to study at the age of two, and this is, evidently, impossible. Therefore, he must have been born about eight or nine years before i.e. about 1000 A.H./1591 A.D.

Elsewhere, Fayḍ wrote that he went to Iṣfahān at the age of twenty, and stayed there for a while (1-2 years). Then when he learnt that Sayyid Mājid Bahrānī was in Shirāz, he went there. Sayyid Mājid passed away in 1028 A.H./1618 A.D. (and as we said Fayḍ had stayed there for 2 years), therefore Fayḍ must have arrived in Shirāz in 1026 A.H./1617. That helps us estimate that he entered Iṣfahān one or two years before i.e. 1024 A.H./1615 A.D.- 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that Fayḍ, who was twenty years old when he entered Iṣfahān, was born in 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. or 1005 A.H./1596 A.D., and not in 1007 A.H./1598 A.D.²

Another point to verify this date is that Fayḍ and his brother returned from the classes of the Shahid Thānī’s grandson in Mecca in 1029 A.H./1619 A.D., and his brother lost his life on this return journey home from Mecca. Shaykh Mūḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Thānī passed away in 1030 A.H./1620 A.D., therefore they must have arrived in Mecca at least one year before i.e. 1029 A.H./1619 A.D., and considering the fact that Fayḍ had spent a year prior to his Hajj pilgrimage with Shaykh Bahā’ī (1028 A.H./1618 A.D.) right after Bahrānī passed away, it is concluded that he entered Shirāz two years before, i.e. in 1026 A.H./1617 A.D., and entered

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1 - Fayḍ’s autobiography, Sharḥ-i ṣadr, the introduction of Fayḍ’s Maḥājīrat al-bayḍā, Mishkat, vol. 4, p. 5.
2 - Fayḍ’s life has been written to have lasted for 84 years, and since he passed away in 1091, according to what it is said here, his life has to have lasted for 87 years.
Iṣfahān two years before this time i.e. in 1024 A.H./1615 A.D. He, therefore, must have been born in 1004 A.H.

To sum up, it can be concluded that Fayḍ cannot have begun attending Mullā Ṣadrā’s classes later than 1030 A.H./1620. Since Fayḍ says:

“After Ḥajj, I visited every town and city in search of scholars. That led me to ...”, therefore the start point of his studying under Mullā Ṣadrā and then his marriage with Mullā Ṣadrā’s daughter is 1-2 years later (1030 A.H./1620 A.D.-1031 A. H./1621 A.D.). On the other hand, his son (Mullā Ṣadrā’s grandson) (i.e. the unrivalled ‘Allāmah Mullā Moḥammad ‘Alam al-Hudā) was born in Qum in 1039 A.H./1629 A.D. ¹

If we assume that he had married a year before, i.e. 1038 A. H., we will have the year 1030 A.H./1620 A.D. as the date when Fayḍ became acquainted with Mullā Ṣadrā; which is in agreement with our inference.

Fayḍ writes: “.... I was finally honored to marry his daughter. At about the same time, Mullā Ṣadrā was invited to Shirāz and he accepted.”

Therefore Mullā Ṣadrā returned [to Shirāz] in 1038 A.H./ 1628 A.D. (or the year after his grandson Moḥammad ‘Alam al-Hudā was born). Fayḍ says: “I accompanied him to Shirāz...”, and evidently he took his young espouse and perhaps his infant) with him. And thus we should consider the date of Mullā Ṣadrā’s return to Shirāz between 1037 A.H./1627 A.D.- 1039 A. H/ 1629 A.D. ²

This also proves that Mullā Ṣadrā cannot have been in Shirāz between 1026 A.H. and 1028 A.H.; otherwise, Fayḍ would have attended his classes or at least mentioned his name.

The other point which should be mentioned is that the inference of Mishkāt Birjandi, who wrote an introduction to Maḥājjat al-bayfā (that, Fayḍ compiled Khulāṣat al-adhkār in 1033 A.H./ 1623 A.D. in Qamṣar, then

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¹ - Maʿādin al-ḥikmah, introduction, p.9. As ‘Alam al- Hudā himself writes: “the date of birth of this servant of the powerful sharīʿah, Muhammad, known as ‘Alam al- Hudā, entitled as Abī al- Khayr, is in Rabīʿ al-awwal 15, 1039 A.H./1629 A.D., as it is recorded by father in Qum.”

² - The rule of unity of the intelligent and the intelligible was unveiled in 1037, when Mullā Ṣadrā was staying in Qum.
his journey to Qum and visiting Mullâ Sadrâ had to have occurred later). Also the inference of M.T. Dânechepazhûh, the editor of Kasr al- aṣnâm al-jâhilîyyah cannot be right; and Fayd’ stay in the summer-quarter of Qamšar- probably in summer- is not inconsistent with our claim. Also his other inference- that [Mullâ Sadrâ’s] return to Shiráz was between 1042 A.H./1632 A.D. and 1047 A.H./1637 A.D., or that Fayd return to Kâshân was between 1044 A.H./1634 A.D. and 1049 A.H./1639 A.D.- is wrong.

In his ‘Ayn al-yaqîn, which was written in philosophy and theology (in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D.), Fayd mentions Mullâ Sadrâ as “our great master...”, and in his ‘ilm al-yaqîn, which was compiled 6 years later (1042 A.H./1632 A.D.), mentions him as “one of the researchers” and “one of the people of research”. This confirms that before this time he had studied under Mullâ Sadrâ.

According to what is said- If we take into account the unveiling of “the secret of union of intelligent and intelligible” (in Jamâdi al-awwal, 1037 A.H./January 1628 A.D.)- the calculations reveal that Mullâ Sadrâ left Kahak for Shiráz in 1038 A.H. and spent the last twelve years of his life in his hometown (until 1050 A.H./1640 A.D.).

As is well-known and we also said, Mullâ Sadrâ’s return to Shiráz was for teaching in Khân School, upon an invitation from Imâmqulí Khân, and according to other story in reply to Shâh ‘Abbâs (the first or the second) request. This school was built to promote sciences and probably to defend philosophy and intellectual sciences against attacks made by Akhbâriyyah and Zâhiriyah by Imâmqulí Khân the ruler of Fârs and the Persian Gulf islands, and his father Allâhwirdí Khân.

If we regard the year 1038 A.H./1629 A.D., as the year of his return to Shiráz neither Shâh ‘Abbâs I (d. 1037 A.H./1628 A.D. or 1038 A.H./1629 A.D.) was alive, nor was Shâh ‘Abbâs II (who succeed to the throne in 1052 A.H./1642 A.D.) in rule, thus they could not be regarded as

2 - Kasr al- aṣnâm al-jâhilîyyah, introduction, M.T. Dânechepazhuh, p. 2: “He is likely to have visited Sadra in Qum, between 1033 A.H./1623 A.D and 1039 A.H./1629 A.D.”
being involved in his return. Shâh Ṣafî also could not be considered as being engaged in this event.

As we have already said, Mullâ Sadrâ was (as is expressed in Fayd’ autobiography) invited or instructed to return to Shirâz, and Mullâ Sadrâ accepted, probably, because of friendly relation with Imâmquli Khân (to whom Mullâ Sadrâ presented his al-Ḥudūth al-ʿālam). Therefore, the above-mentioned Khân should be regarded as the main cause for this great sage’s return to hometown.

In 1037 A.H. or 1038 A. H. Shâh Ṣafî succeeded to throne. The young monarch soon revealed himself to be surprisingly inefficient and cruel. Looking at Imâmquli Khân as a potential threat to the throne, Shâh Ṣafî summoned him and his sons to the capital in 1042 A.H./1632 A.D. and killed them. Thus, he made country deprived of a brave commander.

In his third letter to Mîr Dâmâd, there is an allusion to Shâh ‘Abbâss’ death and Shâh Ṣafî’s succeeding to throne. He writes:

... It was expected that the country’s precarious condition stabilizes finally and things fall into the right direction as in the past when men of letter were respected by the court. However, it now seems that this has been a wrong expectation and an impossible dream.

The death of Imâmquli Khân, however, seems to have had no impact on Mullâ Sadrâ’s social situation in Shirâz. According to the letter of endowment of Khân School, philosophy and other intellectual sciences were required to be taught in this school; and it is much likely that Mullâ Sadrâ was appointed to administrate the school. Thus, Mullâ Sadrâ continued to expand Khân School’s courses, and to train the Shirâzí disciples and other seekers of science.

We should make a distinction between the period of his youth in Shirâz, and the period of his teaching in this city. In the former, he had returned from Iṣfahân to Shirâz recently; in this time, he felt the enthusiasm, he was a young Ibn-Sinâ, in whose heart had been breathed Suhrawardî’s spirit. In time when he returned from Qum, however, he was an experienced old man, who had searched in the seven cities (stages) of love, and was at the summit of perfection.
He thought no more of science, philosophy, theology mysticism (‘ırfân), Peripatetic philosophy, and Illuminationism. Even the wisdom did not satisfy him.

In his books written after the period of seclusion in Qum, it is not philosophy which is discussed, but the Transcendent Philosophy which is much higher than the common demonstrative philosophy, and not every philosopher can attain it.

But, this also does not satisfy the sage, so he appeals to the wisdom of throne (ハウスات al-‘аршиyyah). In this period of perfection, what he seeks, in the light of the infinite perfection of the Lord’s attributes, are the sciences of perfection, hence the name “fi al-‘alâm al-камāliyyah” (the sciences that lead to perfection) for “al- Mażāhir al- ilaḥiiyiyah”. In the introduction to this book, he says:

“By this, the wisdom well-known for the people of the common philosophy and what is well-known for those who appeal to the “Transcendent Philosophy” is not meant; but by the ҳикма we mean a wisdom which prepares the soul to ascend to the High Council.... And this is granted by the Lord....”

If in the earliest definitions, ҳикма (wisdom) is to give intelligible order to the world to the extent of human possibility in order to gain “resemblance” to the Divine; this time, it is defined as an “intellectual system”, which, actually, takes man (and his soul) to God. For this sage of the Throne (ハウスما al-‘аршî), the true wisdom is the one which originates from the Revelation and sent for man by the Absolute ハウスم. The Holy Quran is described as ハウスم (wise), and does not speak except through sound speeches and does not talk except the truths- which ҳикма (wisdom), ハウスم (sage), philosophy and philosopher are seeking them.

This reasonable and natural thinking of Mullâ Sadrâ, who was enamored of the Holy Quran, Revelation and ḥadiths of the infallible ones, took him to the Holy Quran and ḥadith all at once, his way of thinking changed, and he did not seek the truth except in the Revelation and God’s utterance. This method is obviously seen in the works of the last period of his life.
First- He began to comment on the hadith, and to do this, he consulted with the most original book written in Shi’i hadiths, i.e. Kulayni’s Usūl al-kāfī in which is contained the roots and branches of Islamic thought. In this book, he chose the roots (Usūl al-kāfī) in order to find the essence of the truth of the theoretical wisdom. His death did not allow him to bring his book to an end. But, in this way, the greatest and the most important book in commentary on hadith came into existence.

Second- Though, before arrival at Shirāz, Mullā Ṣadrā had commented on the Holy Quran in a philosophical manner and from the point of view of wisdom, and had written some treatises in commentary on the Holy Quran, this time he sought to write a complete course in commentary; so he began to comment on “Fātiḥah” and “Baqarah” chapters. In order to write a complete course in scientific and philosophical commentary on the Holy Quran, he wrote other books, which may be considered as general principles of the commentary on the Holy Quran. Among them are Mafātīḥ al-ghayb (The Keys to Unseen World), Mutashābihāt al-qur’ān (On the Metaphorical Verses of the Quran), and Asrār al-āyāt (Secrets of the Verses).

Third- The books, he wrote in Shirāz, seem to be adorned with the Holy Quran and hadith. They should be regarded, instead of the philosophical commentary on the Holy Quran, as the Quranic commentary on philosophy. In this intellectual system, God’s utterance and religious sciences are considered as main foundations, relying on which it can be proved that the Revelation, Islam and the Holy Quran have perfect philosophical system, which can help the man, and prevent him from going astray.

Mullā Sadra’s interest in this way of thinking- which is seen in his books, obviously- was probably taken into consideration in his teaching plan. As a rule, he could not spend his own time and that of his students to teach and study the well-known texts of Peripatetic philosophy such as Shifā and Ishārāt. He only taught his own Asfār and his other books. From the introductions to some of his books, it can be inferred that these books were, in fact, as handbooks for teaching; and he, in reply to his students’ request, changed them to conventional books.
Mullâ Sadrâ’s return from seclusion in Kahak to Shiráz reminds us of the fourth journey (safar) of the four journeys (Asfâr al- arba’ah), and shows his return from journeys- the journey from the creatures to the Divine Truth (min al-khalq ila’l Ḥaqq), the journey in the Divine Truth by the Divine Truth (bi’l Ḥaqq fi’l Ḥaqq), and the journey from the Divine Truth to the creatures with the Divine Truth (min al-Ḥaqq ila’l khalq bi’l Ḥaqq). It also reminds us of the other great historical journey i.e. the return of the Prophet (s) from Medina to Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet (s). A journey, in which, by God’s help, the idols were broken and polytheists were put to flight.

Some indications show when he returned to Shiráz, situation was different from the past. This time he was in a position, slanderous ones did not dare to backbite.

Those flattering scholars and theologians who were dependent on the court, were kept aloof. When Mullâ Ṣadrâ left Shiráz, he had no offspring; or, perhaps, he had an infant. Now, he returned with a son-in-law like Fayd, and a son like Mullâ Ibrâhîm (sixteen years old) and, altogether, with five offspring, whether son or daughter, dear ones who were, in fact, as soothes for his pains and lamps for his dark house.

If then, he did not know the people of his time and sought unanimity from them, now he was hopeless of them and hated the unanimity of the people of insight.

He did not wish for death and did not avoid living among people. He was not, however, interested in the life, nor was he interested in people’s meeting. Now he found the science, which he had attempted dozens years to gather, as a worthless thing, a key which is able to open no lock; and he regards the years he had spent to learn them as wasted years.

Around him, he could not see but a few loyal friends and his own dear offspring. There was no trace of all those friends. In his heart, he had found valuable treasures, not so many people attained them, but he was not able to find a bazaar to offer his expensive treasures. Nor did his hidden Guide allow him to reveal them.

In his quest for the spring of life, he had reached, like Elias, to a limpid spring, which did not please those who had claims for knowledge and insight. From his allusions interspersed throughout his books it could be
understood that this limpid spring had been the Holy Quran, for a knowledge of which many people have claims, but there are only few ones who have a true knowledge of it.

Now he returned to his hometown Shirāz, which had banished him twice; he is like a prophet who is sent to help people, to aid the hearts which are like uncultivated lands and call for a resolved farmer; and to help the schools in which nothing is discussed except the eternal war between ‘Amr and Zayd, _Sharḥ al-tajrid_ of Bakr and Khālid, and the inadequate Aristotelian and Sinean philosophies.

The sage’s caravan was going in the alleys of city. The sage was looking, beyond the walls of those alleys, at people. There was a garden which expected for him impatiently, and along with the cheerful faces of servants and a group of the people of heart, was to welcome him. At the beginning of night, he went to perform his ablutions to pray, for thanking God- the Generous- graces.

As Mullā Muḥṣin Fayd writes:

“Again, since he had been instructed to go from Qum to Shirāz, and stay there, according to what is said in the Holy Quran: “If you complete ten, it will be of your own accord”1, I went to Shirāz and stayed there for two more years, and lived in his service and enjoyed much of his sciences2. It can be seen that Mullā Ṣadrā began to teach as soon as he entered Shirāz. It could be claimed that this is not inconsistent with the fact that he himself might have studied privately under a certain master. But, undoubtedly he had come to Shirāz to teach the Divine sciences; and there, he had been like the last years of his stay in Qum, engaged in teaching.

Taking into account the importance of the Mullā Ṣadrā’s Islamic and philosophical achievements in the thirties of the 11th. century- the years of the last stay of Mullā Ṣadrā in Shirāz-, the French researcher, Henry Corbin believes that the development of this valuable school in Shirāz, through Mullā Ṣadrā’s endeavors, must be considered as the beginning of establishment of a school called Shirāz school, as compared with Isfahān one.

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2 - Mullā Muḥṣin Fayd, _Sharḥ-i ṣadr_.

In the introduction of his translation of *al-Mashā’ir* to French, he writes:

“The period of Mullā Ṣadrā’s return to Shirāz could be deemed as the third important period of his life. What he had taught in this period allow us to speak of Shirāz school- in the same way we speak of Iṣfahān school.

Under his influence, Shirāz turned to an important center for scientific life. An English traveler, called Thomas Herbert, who had come to Shirāz in the 17th. century (A. D.), writes: “And indeed Shiraz has a colledge wherein is read Philosophy, Astrology, Physick, Chemistry and the Mathematics” [Therefore] we can imagine that Mullā Ṣadrā spent a part of his time to compiling his works, and the other part to teach and train students”.

Having been allowed to reveal a part of the philosophical truths and his own spiritual findings, Mullā Ṣadrā proceeded to fight with the armies of ignorance and the serious enemies of knowledge. Mullā Ṣadrā who was trained in the school of Pythagoreans and Bātinis (esoteric school of thought), had devoted a part of his time to teach his own works and in particular *Asfār* and *al-Mabda’ wa’l Ma’ād*. The rest of his time, however, was spent to train the religious ascetic exercise, like that of Batinis, out of the sight of ill-hearted people to make his qualified and talented students, and in particular Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ who had stayed in Shirāz with his master, attain knowledge through unveiling and intuition and transcending the rational words, conceptions and demonstrations. Sometimes this question is raised that how the students approached him. And to what extent did they enjoy this unrivalled sage?

Before providing a reply it should be noted that prior to Shaykh Mājid Bahrāni, Fārs province was mostly under the influence of philosophical and spiritual spirit, governing on that province. Under the influence of Shi’i Bātinis, in that province an inclination to philosophy and in particular Illuminationist philosophy, mysticism and Sufism was witnessed so that it has been called “*Burj al-‘urafā*” (the tower of the mystics). Though being governed apparently by the theology (*kalām*), but as
we have already said, in Shi‘i centers the science of theology had always been tinged with philosophy and fostered the philosophy.

The advent of Safavid dynasty also strengthened this trend. This enthusiasm to the philosophy and mysticism survived until the time of Shāh ‘Abbāss I who overthrew the Sufis by the help of the jurisprudents and the people of ḥadīth.

Also it should be noted that the influence of Ḥanbali jurisprudence always opposed philosophy and hindered its growth so that in the letters of endowment of most of, and perhaps all, schools, because of the insistence of jurisprudents, it was stipulated that no subject except Quran, ḥadīth, and jurisprudence was allowed to be taught and, teaching and studying philosophical books were prohibited. (What Ruzbahān Khunjī has said in this regard is well-known). Anti-Sufism policy of Shāh ‘Abbāss resonates this tendency; and it is much likely that Sayyid Majid Bahrānī and some other muḥaddiths, with their literalistic and exoteric tendencies had been summoned from the islands of Persian Gulf to Shirāz with his consent. The author of al-Mustadrak, Nūrī writes: “And he is the first one who proceeded to promote ḥadīths in the fortified city of the science i.e. Shirāz”. This suggests that, before him there was not a Shi‘i muḥaddith in Shirāz.

Therefore in the time of Mullā Ṣadrā there were two opposite tendencies, one of them an ancient and secret tendency seeking for the Oriental wisdom, Mysticism, and Sufism, and the other, which was apparent and prevalent, an anti philosophical tendency, which emphasized the external aspects of the verses of the Holy Quran and ḥadīth and opposed the hermeneutic commentary (ta‘wil) and Bātinism.

In the atmosphere in which philosophy and Mullā Ṣadrā’s “Transcendent Philosophy” lived, despite a group who influenced by theologians and in particular Akhbārīyyah refrained from him, there were still many other ones who sought to enjoy his knowledge.

Khan school, which was built in fact for Mullā Ṣadrā and in it, unlike other school of the country, philosophy was taught as well, had been built in two floors with 100 cells, which in them 100 to 200 students could live. This school with its large endowments attracted the students from everywhere.
In addition in that province there were other great schools as well; as the French tourist Chardin said these schools were counted to 12, therefore in the center of Shiráz- also called the city of science- many students lived and any tutor has his own disciples.

Mullá Šadrā’s class, which is placed in the vestibule of the building, is not a wide place to contain many students; it is as large as today classes. Perhaps due to this reason, [it could be concluded that] Mullá Šadrā did not undertake to teach the general courses of the school. He preferred to teach his own “Transcendent Philosophy” to the highly qualified and trained students.

In the modern language he taught only advanced and professional course and not the ordinary books of philosophy; and if we accept that Mulla Sadra, as we have already said, taught hadith and commentary as well, it should be accepted that these courses were among the general courses and not exclusively for the eminent students.

This was the method of our masters as well. In their private sessions, philosophical and mystical issues were discussed openly. Like Ibn-Sinā in his Ishārāt, Mullá Šadrā, in some of his books, speaks of faithfulness to the secrets and suggests that his contemporary scholars and students are not able to understand his doctrines, which are taken from the world of intuition; and naturally, these books are written for a special group.

For example, in the introduction of his al-Mabda’ wa’l ma‘ād which seems to be written for a special group of his disciples- he writes:

I have denied myself to give this book except to well-natured and fair ones; I ask my brothers, who are among the people of heart, not to put the issues discussed in this book, in the access of heart-sick and crack-brained ones, who are ungrateful to God’s graces, and transmit them, as it is instructed by the great sages, only to the wise pious ones.

It was not for their meanness if the ancient sages concealed these sciences from others; it was for the fact that the weak reasons were not able to tolerate these truths and thus they would be ruined.

Also in the introduction to Al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyyah, he says:
O God make the breasts of the free people the tombs of these secrets and keep them from eavesdropping of the devils exiled from the world of lights. O Lord place these words in a garden of the gardens of the Paradie and not in a well of fire [in the Hell] …It was not possible for me to record these issues in books. Since I was afraid of their being spread in the world and unworthy people’s being aware of them.

In these sarcastic expressions, he wished that these truths would be safeguarded in the hearts of pious ones far from the access of the devils of the wisdom.

Again, in the introduction to Mafātiḥ al ghayb he says:

The ancient sages concealed these secrets from the unworthy people. Those who are trying to learn the wisdom also should keep them far from the access of the heart-sick ones.

This tone, which suggest the sage’s experience, could be seen in the books written after the period of seclusion. From the introduction to Asfār and some of his other books it is understood that during the ascetic practices of the period of seclusion when his heart was illuminated by the lights of the true and Divine sciences, he was to reveal these secrets for no one. But the hidden oracle instructed him to give some of what he had found to others. Hence, he went to compile the books such as Asfār, Shawāhid, Mafātiḥ and the like; and wherever he found a talented one, accepted him as a student and taught him philosophy and the Transcendent Philosophy.

This is the unchangeable law of the wisdom. The wisdom, like every other sensible phenomenon, has its own generation, which should continue. The scholars are the fathers of science who come following their masters. The scholar, who does not put the science and wisdom in the womb of time, to present it to the history, is an unproductive or single sage; and as we know, singlehood and not to go to regenerate are blamed in ḥadīth.

During the intellectual journeys, the sage lives in a period like the period of ripeness of fruits. Until the full ripeness of the fruits, no fruit can be picked off, and after then it should not be left on tree.
Mullà Sadrà’s explicitness, at the beginning, resulted from his being inexperienced, hence his pithy expressions looks for the scholars of time like the unripe fruits; and he faced with their denial, derision and even excommunication.

From the external aspect of his words, it is understood that he had chosen to remain silent and not to reveal his findings for the wisdom-seekers; and not to expose the hidden Divine secrets. The law of the world, however, directs him to teaching and writing and the wisdom appoints him to compile books and teach the hidden secrets for the survival of the wisdom.

Though, like the mad-drunken ones he went on to betray secrets, and spread his own findings unsparingly at the beginning of his teaching and promoting the wisdom, because of his natural cleverness, he soon became aware of intellectual disability of those who were addressed by him. Thus, like Magi, he concealed the treasure of knowledge in a harem, in which not every claimant was admitted.

Contrary to what some authors think, he soon recognized the spirit of his own time and adapted him with it.

In Mullà Sadrà’s biography, one researcher writes:

“Mullà Sadrà was very far from the spirit of the society, in which he lived. In no aspect of the life to which the people of time were in need he was associated with them....”

This is not true. Hakim Mullà Sadrà should not be regarded as a sage who lives in an ivory tower, unaware of the people, their expectations and needs.

On the contrary he- who was among the wise ones of time, and since his childhood, lived among the people, farmers and workers, and administrated his paternal vast land properties for a long time, and perhaps to the end of life and made distinction between the aware one and ignorant, intelligent and unintelligent,... should be regarded more aware than most of his contemporary scholars. The psychology of the students and scholars of time- which is put in writing in al-Wāridāt al-qalbiyyah- should be considered as an indicator of his knowledge of the people of time.

1 - Shaykh ‘Abdullàh Na’mah, Tàríkh-i falsafah-yi shi’ah.
These kinds of “judgments” do not lead the reader to the spiritual depth of this sage. And the one who lived beside Shaykh Bahá’í and Mír Dámad does not deserve to be described in this way; since these two great masters were closer to people and more aware of the political and social events of their time than everybody else. Naturally the understandings of these masters leave their impacts on the disciples.

The individual life of Mullá Sadrá’s is as unclear as the dark depth of the ocean.

Among all those events, which certainly occurred in his seventy years life, only two tangible points, suggesting their deep impacts on the heart of this sage can be seen in his works: one, pressures imposed by unworthy people of time and the claimants of philosophy, science and mysticism; and the other, his being guided by the light of the truth to reveal the inspired truths and Illuminationist philosophy for the prepared ones.

Of all these pains and sorrows, there is no trace of complaints except what could be seen in his letters to Mír Dámad (and perhaps some others). We are aware of his love for Mír Dámad, but on tragic event of Mír Dámad’s death, there remained no word of him.

This is the case for his inclination towards Shaykh Bahá, who died in 1030 A.H./ 1620 A.D. (almost ten years before Mír Dámad) as well. This patience suggests the depth of his heart. As Sa’dí says:

“The deep ocean will not become dark by throwing stone;
“The mystic, who takes offence, is still like a hollow river.

It was worth to devote a chapter to the story of the sage’s love for his masters on the one hand, and for his disciples on the other hand. In the history, however, instead the lives of scholars, mystics and the pious men of time, the evil lives of kings are told. And instead the words of all those sweet-spoken ones, the historians and biographers had spoken of the lives of the kings and defiled the pages of the history in this way.

Today, in every page of the history, the evil acts of the Safavid kings are recorded; but there is no trace of Shaykh Bahá, Mír Dámad, Mullá Sadrá, Fayd Láhiji and the other great figures. All those enthusiasms and human stories are ignored; for the history has been always written for kings and by flattering historians; and no sage or jurisprudent has regarded the
writing of a true history to make a distinction between good and evil, as a worthy task.

Yet one should proceed to search, and understand from the smallest points the deepest connotations and make the great buildings out of the slight raw material and breathe a new life in the lifeless body of the history.

**Mullâ ‘Abd al-Razzâq Lâhiji**

Among the Mullâ Sadrâ’s disciples, Fayd and Fayyaḏ are the most famous and the most interested ones in their master. And perhaps it is for their poetic gift that they dared to tell the story of their love for the master, and composed some verses to describe their love or wrote some letters to the master; and far from others, beyond the seven castles of secrets, relieved their chests in the scale of lovers.

For example, there is a letter available written by Mullâ Sadrâ’s son-in-law, Mullâ ‘Abd al-Razzâq Lâhiji, the sage, mystic, theologian and rhetorician of time for the beloved master.

It is much likely that there was a similar convention between Fayd and his master. As we have already said, there was correspondence between Mullâ Sadrâ and his master Mir Dâmâd, which are not available. As it was common in that time, Mullâ Sadrâ also composed sometimes poems. He has a moral collection of couplet-poems which could be called the Letter a Knowledge and is published.

In this collection he remembers his master, Mir Dâmâd, and composes verses which their selection are presented here.

“Oh, thou, who art made out of the pure light by God;
“Far from thy demonstration are illusions;
“thou, thyself art a world, and the lord of the world;
“thou art same as the mysticism, and a gate for mysticism.

It was worth to devote a part of this writing to Mullâ Sadrâ’s poems, composed for his friends and disciples, it is much regretted however that.

“Time does not allow me to go to poem;
“The knots, do not allow to seat the jewels.
We have already spoken of friendship between Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Lāhījī and Mullā Muḥsin Fayd Kāshānī and their being Mullā Sadrā’s devotees and sons-in-law, and finally of their spatial separation and correspondence. We have interjected their poems, composed to admire their master as well, to come to study the poems of the master; since these two Mullā Sadrā’s loyal disciples, friends, and sons-in-law, i.e. Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Fayyād Lāhījī and Mullā Muḥsin Fayd Kāshānī, are both constituents of Mullā Sadrā’s life and bright stars of the sky of the science, literature and wisdom. Their lives are not separate from that of the master. They are like two green branches, sprouting on an old and fruitful tree like Mullā Ṣadrā.

In the old times, the disciples mirrored the scientific and practical aspects of their master; and their identities and personalities were solved. It was through the tongue of their master, if they were speaking; through the eyes of their master, if they were seeing; and, through the ears of their master if they were hearing. They sucked the science like a sucking infant; and made of that “milk”, bone and flesh.

In our time, however, there is no difference between a master and a speaking body; like a passer-by, the disciple waits for a while at a class; and the result is nothing except some blackened pages. We do not mention that, instead of loving and God-seeking hearts of those disciples, the contemporary student has a heart free of piety, and even “has some black pages in his letter of deeds”.

As we shall see, Mullā Ṣadrā had some other famous disciples as well; none of them has, however, such a place in the history. The life of Lāhījī is enveloped in a halo of ambiguity; but on the one hand his collection of poems attracts the attention of the people of insight; and on the other hand, his valuable book have made his name eternal.

With ‘Alīmāmah Fayd Kāshānī, however, we are more acquainted; since his offspring followed him and he himself has- as it is said- an autobiography. Like the life Mullā Ṣadrā, we know no important points of the life of Fayyād Lāhījī, the mystic and theologian-like philosopher. For example, we do not know why, unlike his friend and relative-in-law, he had not gone with his master and father-in-law to Qum and had stayed in Shirāz.
As it is understood from his poems, this staying was not intentionally. He composes:

“Through dozens tricks, the heaven makes me separate from you;
“It is only your kindness, who can judged this oppression;
“Do me a favor to escape from this trap;
“And to be at your own service.

Why had not Fayḍ been compelled to stay in Qum of return to Kāshān; and how had he been able to go to Shirāz with his master and father- in law? Has Fayyāḍ attained the required scientific and mystic maturity, or in other words, the position of ijtiḥād and has not Fayḍ reached the end point of the way? Or have not his family condition and social situation allowed him; or contrary to what can be witnessed in his poems, he was not so interested in the master that he wished to go to Shirāz? Or there was a policy involved, to which the master had called him and he- in the manner of good disciples- had inevitably accepted, and despite all the motivations he had had to accompany the dear master, he had remained in Qum?

Fayyāḍ- Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Lāhijī- seems to have been older than Fayḍ Kāshānī, come to Shirāz before him, and enjoyed Mullā Sadrā’s knowledge more than him. As it is seen in his works, in the intellectual sciences, he was better versed than Fayḍ.

He married Mullā Sadrā’s daughter (naturally his elder daughter, who is the lady Umm Kulthūm, the first offspring of the family) in 1034 or 1035. And as we know, Fayḍ married Mullā Sadrā’s other daughter in around 1038. This may be an indicator of the fact that Fayyāḍ was older then Fayḍ, and got acquainted with the master before him. Fayyāḍ Lāhijī is said to have study under Mr Dāmād.

The evidences show that, in the case of the truth of these words, Qum it could be concluded that, before Qum, he had been staying in Isfahān and it is much likely that Mr Dāmād had sent him to Mullā Sadrā.

The spiritual and sentimental relation, and the disciple relation- or more precisely, the relation of devotee and devoted, between Lāhijī and Mullā Sadrā may suggest the length of the period of his study under the master, and the depth of his training. As we have seen, like the Illuminationist philosophers, Mullā Sadrā also was both teacher and master
as well as spiritual director; and at the same time, he was a guide for his selected students, religious ascetic practices; guiding them in their spiritual wayfaring.

The spiritual and sentimental relations of Fayyād Lāhiji [and Mullā Șadrā] can be seen in his poems. For example, in an elegy, composed by him in mourning for the death of his master, we see:

“Recently, the heaven threw a stone on my glass;
“All the ground is covered by broken glasses;
“The heaven disappointed me again and again;
“This disappointment is, however, other than those disappointments.
“The death of the master caused for me;
“A pain, which is in ‘Alī’s heart for the death of Muṣṭafā;
“I has not been free of sorrows, even for a moment;
“This knockdown sorrow is, however other than the formers;
“My master is both spiritual father and guide;
“It is right, if I worship him down to the day of resurrection;
“My nature was the dark earth of the ignorance and arrogance,
“Now it is gold, because of his alchemist making (ṣun’);
“Reached me from the well of ignorance to the summit of honor;
These poems show that he regarded himself as the gate of the master’s knowledge; and considered his death as a fatal sorrow.

Taking the extent of his devotion and spiritual need to the master, and the good situation which was waiting for Mullā Sadrā, there should be an important obstacle- which cannot be passed, in the religion of the love and devotion- in Fayyād’s way, so that he ignored this great requirement and did not go with the master to Shirāz.

His family, job, fiscal conditions, disciples, and even proximity of the sacred Shrine of Ma’ṣūmah Muṭahharah can not been deemed as the obstacle. What might prevent him from leaving Shirāz for Qum with his master, we think, had been a request of command made by Mullā Șadrā; who, like a spiritual guide deemed presence in Qum and its center, necessary. A hindrance, which in the well-known war between “advisable and hindrance”, would capture and nullify that strong advisable one, easily.

This is the same hindrance, which Fayyād had called it in his poem “heavenly trick” and the “oppression” of time; and looked for its remedy, not
in the astrology, but in the master’s favor, which was, in fact, a permission to leave Qum for Shirāz.

The masters of seminaries, sometimes, conjure away the disciples who have enjoyed the master’s knowledge intentionally or unintentionally. This is not, of course for disinterestedness, but it is because of the recognition of their value, and the fact that they are worthy to have some disciples.

In nature also, mother conjures away the full- grown offspring, so that, cutting its dependence from the origin, it can enjoy the pleasure of independence, and begins a new life. The magnanimous masters, also, kindheartedly ignored the courtesy of their loyal disciples to not prevent their growth, and not close the way of generosity to the new- coming students.

Separation between Fayyād and Mullā Ṣadrā, and stay one of them in Qum and proceeding of the other to Shirāz were, probably, based on this tradition; it is not likely that Mullā Ṣadrā had entrusted his own teaching center to him and appointed him to succeed the master.

As it was said about Mullā Ḥasan, the offspring of Fayyaḏ and Mullā Ṣadrā’s grandson, and as Ḥazīn Lāḥījī says, there was no famous and prominent master in Qum, even in time of Lāḥījī’s offspring. It is likely Mullā Ṣadrā, to keep the center of wisdom- seeking disciples in Qum as assembled, had appointed his own trained and perfect disciple as his successor, and instructed him to stay. Or, he had divided the disciples into two groups, and taken the best of them with him, to train them by self.

There is no evidence in the historical texts, suggesting whether that except Fayād, who was Mullā Ṣadrā’s son-in-law and, in fact, a member of his family, the other scholars, who were close to Mullā Ṣadrā, had gone to Shirāz with him, or not.

We know, however in that time, some of special disciples did not agree to leave the master. As it was said about Shaykh Bahā and Mir Dāmād, there were always a group of disciples with the master, and enjoyed his knowledge in every step, and sometimes, put his deeds and sayings in writing.

What is said is not inconsistent with the fact that, he went sometimes to Shirāz to meet the master; he is said that “sometimes he went
to Isfahan to meet Mir Damad. As it is mentioned, Mir Dامية passed away in Iraq in 1041; therefore, these travels were certainly before Mullâ Sadrâ’s return to Shiráz, or while he was going to Shiráz [to meet Mullâ Sadrâ] in 1039 or 1040).

From this fact we can conclude that, in his stay in Qum, Mullâ Şadrâ had established a great center for the seekers of the wisdom, *ḥadith* and commentary.

After him, Fâyyûd Lâhîjî remained in Qum to keep the center of desirous disciples established; through his scientific and spiritual power and because of his social situation, Fâyyûd could keep a fruitful center of philosophy, theology, and mysticism, established, and train scholars such as Qâdi Sa’id.

Qâdi Sa’id Qumî, the famous philosopher and mystic, who was a bright star of the sky of science in his own time, was among Fâyyûd Lâhîjî’s disciples. He is a fruit of the philosophical-theological center, inherited from Mullâ Şadrâ.

We are not to describe the life of Mullâ ʿAbd al-Razzâq Fâyyûd Lâhîjî; but at the end of this section it should be noted that, from the historical evidences it is inferred that, in that time, the social conditions and the atmosphere in which elegies, philosophers and scholars lived, were not so that the other philosophers or mystics, except Mullâ Şadrâ could, under the pressure exercised by the theologians of time and Akhbârî (traditionalist) *muḥaddîths*, could go to study and teach the philosophy- and not theology-openly.

Hence, Lâhîjî seems to have been always occupied with teaching as a theologian. Though having been an accomplished mystic and a perfect Illuminationist sage, he taught theology; and gave the wine of mysticism and Illuminationist wisdom, to the desirous ones to drink, in the cover of theology; concealed his love for mysticism with an amorous dissimulation, for fear of the accusation of being in love and drunkenness.

This has caused many researchers to know him as a theologian, and many of his books such as his gloss on *Sharḥ al-tajrid*, which had named it *Shawāriq al-ilhām*, also have been written in the science of theology. Also it is the case for his other books, such as *Mashāriq*, glosses on Qūshchî’s commentary on *Tajrid*, and on Khafri’s glosses, and also his still other book,
Gawhar murâd – whose summarized volume is called *Sarmâyah-yi îmân*—which has been written in response to the request made by Shâh ‘Abbâs II. This may suggest that he had been well – known in public and in the court as a well-versed theologian.

In logic, Fayyâd has written a commentary on Mullâ ‘Abdullâh Yazdi’s famous glosses upon *Tahdhîb al-manîiq*, and a glosses upon Khwâjah Nasîr al-Dîn Tüsi’s commentary on *Ishârât*. Also he seems to have written a treatise on the origination (*hudâth*) of the world as well as a treatise on the problem of the primacy of the quiddity or the primacy of the existence as a dialogue between Mullâ Sadra and Mir Dâmâd.

Some have deemed as believed in the primacy of the quiddity, and seemingly their evidence is his *Gawhar murâd*. He has, however, written *Gawhar murâd*, not as it is desired for him, but following the Peripatetic theology and philosophy of time, and in which he has mentioned none of the doctrines of the Transcendent Philosophy; thus this book cannot be regarded as an evidence for his belief [in the primacy of the quiddity].

The other fact, the can be mentioned in this regard, is that, in mysticism, the primacy of the quiddity is not other than unbelief. Whether in pre-Islamic or in post-Islamic period, mysticism has been always established on the primacy of the existence. Before Mullâ Şâdrâ, however, the philosophers did not explicitly declare their view on the primacy of the quiddity or existence; and this has led to non-certainty in their beliefs in the primacy of either of them. After spreading of the Transcendent Philosophy, and Mullâ Şâdrâ’s doctrines and firm proofs, rejecting the primacy of the quiddity, by a disciple of the Transcendent Philosophy such as Fayyâd who was clever and had a poetic gift, is very unlikely and can be regarded as a sort of apostasy.

In this regard that which can help us to solve the problem is the historical atmosphere of dictatorship which was resulted from the propagations of the theologians who, after Mir Dâmâd, had succeeded the great figures of the philosophy and gone to oppose the philosophy and persecute its advocates, and excommunicated them. The pressure of this propagations was so that, even Mullâ Şâdrâ’s offspring in Shirâz renounced the mysticism and philosophy and pretended themselves as being theologians. On the Mullâ Şâdrâ’s offspring Mullâ İbrâhim, one of the false
scholars says that “verily he is a referent of the origination of the alive from the dead”; and shame be on the ignorance and contumacy!

“Tomorrow, when the tribunal of the justice will be concluded;
“It will be found that who is coward and who is brave.

In such an atmosphere, in which the cruel kings such as Shâh Sâfî and Shâh ‘Abbâs II and the courtier flatterers and head-bands were able to excommunicate the believers in the mystical and Divine philosophy and sentence them to death, Làhîjî regarded the announcement of the Illuminationism and mysticism as annihilating his own dear life, and had no option other than cease to stating the realities and to go with the stream.

Some have regarded the death of Fâyyâd Làhîjî in 1051 A. H./1641 A.D., this date, however does not seem to be correct, since Fâyyâd had written his Gawhar murâd for Shâh ‘Abbâs II who had ascended to the throne in the next year, i.e. 1052 A. H./1642 A.D. Thus the other story which declares his date of death 1072 A.H./1661 A.D. seems to be correct. This philosopher and mystic and Mullâ Sadrâ’s disciple died in Qum and was buried in Shaykhân tomb in the proximity of the sacred sanctuary.

After him, his offspring Mîrzâ Åasan and Mîrzâ Ibrâhîm succeeded him, and left some books in philosophy and theology, and died in that same city.

Of Mullâ Muḥsin Fâyûd we have already spoken, and we have seen that, as he himself has written in his own autobiography, he had gone, looking for the science of ḥadîth from one city to another, and finally he had found Mullâ Sadrâ; and it is not unlikely that in this acquaintance, Shaykh Bahâ (under whom, Fâyûd had studied ḥadîth and commentary for some year) had been of influence.

From the expressions of Fâyûd, it is understood that, at the beginning, he had been only enamored of ḥadîth (and as we saw, his masters were, Sayyid Mâjid Bahîrânî in Shirâz, the grandson of Shahîd Thânî (the second martyr) in Hijâz, and Shaykh Bahâ in Iṣfâhân. Hence, it does not seem unlikely that he had been attracted to Mullâ Sadrâ’s circle and character, to enjoy his mastery on the science of ḥadîth. Later, however, because of establishing a deeper relation with the master, he had been admitted to the private place of the master, and got acquainted with the master’s “Transcendence Theosophy” and in particular “Mysticism”, and
enjoyed the drunkenness and being in love; and hence he had stayed with “the keeper of tavern” and, even, left his own home in Kāshān, and had gone, with the master, to Shirāz, and stayed for a while, in that city.

As it is told about offspring- that the offspring represents the hidden spirit of the father, the close disciples of every master also could be regarded as a mirror for the master, and what is thought by the master is spoken of, by the disciple. It is much likely that, the enmity toward jurisprudence and adherence to ḥadīth, which are seen in Fayd Kāshānī, are derived from the master; and Mullā Sadrā – who should be, in fact, called the head of muḥaddithūn- because of his deep interest in ḥadīth- had been bigoted for it; and did not like the procedure of his contemporary jurisprudents- who sacrificed ḥadīth for their deductions and presumptions , though he himself was a well- versed jurisprudent.

The astonishing fact, for some researchers, is the fact that in some cases – and for some famous figures of the- Mysticism and Sufism, Mysticism and ḥadīth are going hand in hand. Mullā Sadrā was among the greatest and the most well-versed muḥaddithūn of his time. Though among his famous and known masters, only two masters, i.e. Shaykh Bahā and Mir Dāmād are mentioned; and in the licenses, recorded in the history books, or in what has been said about muḥaddithūn, including Mullā Sadrā, no other one has been noted as Mullā Sadrā’s master, these two masters are so great that being assigned to them- and, even, to one of them- suffices to a muḥaddith’s being authentic; and I has seen in no book that the great number of masters has been regarded as being influent in the authenticity of the muḥaddith and disciple.

The other example of great jurisprudents and muḥaddithūn, who had received his license only from two muḥaddithūn and had still been a great jurisprudent, and all chains of the transmission of ḥadīth and licenses, after him, are based on him, is Muḥaqiq Thānī, Shaykh ‘Ali Karakī, the author of Jāmi’ al- Maqāṣid.¹

Mullā Sadrā had received his license from the two, who, in turn, had received their licenses, mediately, from Muḥaqiq Thānī, the master of Muḥaddithūn of his time. And if he had studied ḥadīth, even, under one of

¹- Nūrī, Mawāqi’ al-‘ulūm.
these two- i.e. Shaykh Bahā and Mir Dāmād- it would had been for his greatness in the science of ḥadīth.

The wonder of agreement between ḥadīth and Mysticism is not an ordinary fact, but it is resulted from the propagations of some so-called defenders of šarʿ, ḥadīth and the Holy Quran, and in fact some superficial ones, who had jangled in the Islamic societies and made the people believe in the schism between Mysticism and ḥadīth.

Islamic Mysticism has been resulted from the Holy Quran and ḥadīth. Many ḥadīths which have been received from the household of the Prophet (s) are not only full of the finest scientific and mystical points, but also, according to this author, the main privilege of the Islamic Mysticism over the pre– Islamic Mysticism lays in the same Quranic points, which inspired the Muslim Mystics; and, perhaps, it could be said that a group, well-known as Shiʿī Bāṭinīyyah had been the protectors and promoters of the Islamic Mysticism.

For a researcher, who has made an accurate and scientific comparison between the Pre-Islamic Mysticism, say, Alexanderian Mysticism of Plotinus and Islamic Mysticism, it is clear that the latter has succeeded to go to the culmination and solve certain logical and philosophical problems in Mysticism.

For example, in a scientific and mystical analysis of nature of the existence or light (nūr), it could be proved that the sages of ancient Persia-despite their greatness and innovation, and despite their belief in the originality of the existence and corresponding it with the light (nūr), and their belief in the oneness and uniqueness of the Light of lights and the essence of the Nesessary Being graded, as a beginning for the plurality and occurrence of the quiddities and dozens of the other important Illuminationist principles- had been deprived of the accuracy and fineness of the Islamic Mysticism in providing a definition-like for the essence of the Nesessary Being and the existence, conditioned by negation, and the absolute scattering, and the way of emanation of the existents, whether the created things or made ones or creatures, from the “diffusing” and “unconditioned” and simple existence, and the Truth “the Creator”.

Also if a comparison is made between the arbitrary (dhawqi) division – of existence, made by Mystics, who regard the station of the
sacred emanation and the Lordly oneness as the origin of the beings, and considers hundreds veils between the undefined Divine essence and the essence of One, which is the station of the [Divine names and attributes] and the abode of nominal manifestations and the manifestation of the beauty and glory of the Truth– the Exalted- and take the Truth – the Necessary Being- free of the plurality of the creatures in the most hidden and absolute station of the Oneness and in a halo of sanctity, which deserves Him on the one hand, and the Alexanderian Plotinist Mysticism- which is, perhaps, the most valuable Pre-Islamic Mysticism, which has been recorded in the history of philosophy and Mysticism- which had had to regard the intelligence as the first emanation and the origin of the soul (the second emanation) and had not recognized the holy sanctuary of the most holy emanation of the Oneness and had admitted the other in that sanctuary, on the other hand, both the politeness and accuracy as well as the depth of Islamic Mysticism could be understood.

It is not by chance that the term "'amā" (the station of Oneness) is seen both in the Prophetic ḥadīth and Islamic Mysticism. It is reported in ḥadīth that someone asked the Holy Prophet (S. A. W.) that where was our God, before the creation? The Holy Prophet (s) said: in ‘amā"- which means verbally “thin cloud”.

The Muslim Mystics- who had been paying attention to the Revelation, the expression of the Prophet (S. A. W.), and people of the mysteries and the household of the Holy Prophet (a)- had derived certain conclusions from this expression and had been saved from the bottlenecks, in which the superficial muḥaddithūn who had regarded God as a body like the man had been enmeshed, and made the human knowledge, rich. A great deal of the derivations of this kind from the ḥadīth and the Holy Quran could be seen in the Islamic philosophy; then it would not be surprising if the Islamic Mysticism regards itself as being indebted to the Revelation and ḥadīth and considers itself as being more valuable than other mystical schools; or if a mystic is among the muḥaddithūn. Many of Muslim mystics had been among the jurisprudents, theologians and muḥaddithūn of their time, and studied ḥadīth, commentary, jurisprudence and theology under the well-known masters. The one who is among the people of ḥadīth and derives his knowledge and outlook from the Revelation and ḥadīth and, thus,
establishes a discipline, called Mysticism, should not be blamed that he has become dervish or kalendar, or come to atheism and unbelief. According to the received hadith, which have regarded the Holy Quran as having many layers – or in the language of hadith itself, seven or seventy “interiors”- it should be accepted that not every one is admitted in its interiors, and each person can plunge in its interior as deep as his /her intellectual and scientific capacity and purification of the soul allow, to find the pearls and jewels in the dark depth of this never – ending ocean.

In a historical analysis, the origination of the superficial ones or Hashwiyyah (today, Salafiyyah or Akhbāriyyah) could be regarded as resulted from the policy of Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs; their origination began when the Shi’is – in particular, in time of Imām Sādiq (a)- proceeded to spread the Quranic Mysticism, and along with paying attention to the exterior of hadith and the Holy Quran- from which the juridical rules were derived- paid attention to the interiors of these two, and went to infer and present the issue of the Imamate of the household (a)- which was, in fact, the Divine rule- and became well-known as Bātiniyyah- and, incorrectly, as Ismā’iliyyah.

Though since time of the Holy Prophet (s) and the household (a), the interiors of the Quran and hadith had been always paid attention, in the interval between Umayyad and Abbassid, this was a policy and procedure for fighting, on which the household (a) had established a secret organizations with its partial outlook, and fighting circles to fight the system of Caliphate, and overthrow that corrupted dynasty that usurped the throne of the Holy Prophet, and seat, instead of them, the chaste and infallible Imams, or at least, some theist sages.

Despite the well-known story that tells that Six Imāmis Ismā’ilis were rivals of the household (a), it can be accepted that, at the beginning, they were the secret disciples of the mystical school of Imām Sādiq (a), and if, later, some of their leaders went out of the circle of sincerity and belief in the household (a) or committed evil acts, this does not reject the truth of the primary story.

1 - The fact that the great Shi’i scholars such as Ibn-Sina and Khwājah Naṣīr and the like had been in close relations with Bātiniyyah and Ismā’iliyyah, was based on
It has been recorded in history books that the sixth Imam had loved his offspring Ismā’il, who was the eldest offspring, more than the other offspring. It is reported that he said that “If I could appoint my successor, I would select Ismā’il for Imamate”, and it is very unlikely, and even impossible, that an infallible Imam loves an undeserved person, even if he is his own offspring, much less than to appoint him to the sacred position of Imamate.

Hence, these expressions and behavior of Imam suggest Ismā’il’s never-ending Godfearing, talent, truthfulness and his competence for administration and organization of a secret institution for a scientific and practical combat with the usurpers of Caliphate. Ismā’il passed away in father’s time, and Imam mourned for his dead offspring.

From the history it is understood that Ismā’il studied the occult sciences under father and spread these sciences among the Shi’is and trained them to help father and the policy of the household (a). It was this same underground Shi’i organization, which, later, caused the great material, political and underground movements against the Caliphate throughout the vast Islamic world. And this organization persuaded Abbassid, who were well aware of the people’s interest in the household of the Holy Prophet (s) or, as it was expressed in that time, “Riḍā- yi al-i Moḥammed”- to react.

The other great movement, established by Bāṭini Shi’is, which embraced Asia, Africa, and even Asia Minor and the Muslim Spain, and later, was transmitted through Spain and Syria to Europe, and succeeded to spread the seeds of the science, philosophy and Mysticism throughout the world, and train many scholars, was their scientific, philosophical (Illuminationist) and mystical movement. This movement was inspired by the teachings of the household (s). And later, through combining these teachings with the Illuminationist and Peripatetic philosophies and the popular sciences of time, they taught the people philosophy, Mysticism, physics, and mathematics, and employed all these scientific attempts to attain the political goals and persuading the people to overthrow the governments of time.

this same relation. For details see the author’s introduction on al-Maẓāhir al-ilāhiyyah.
It was this same political-scientific movement, which led to the establishment of the Ismāʿīlī rule in Iran, Fāṭimī rule in Egypt and dozens of great and small Ismāʿīlī rules throughout the world. This movement shook the foundations of Caliphate throughout the Islamic world, and persuaded the rulers to devote their power to fight against Bāṭinīyyah and persecute the household (s) and martyrize them.

Among the procedures of caliphs and their servants for fighting against the household (s) were attack on the non-Ashʿari kalām, philosophy and Mysticism, and supporting the superficial muḥaddithūn, who were disable to understand the exterior of ḥadīth, we do not mention its interior and content, as well as encouraging the people to false piety and denial of the deep Islamic and Quranic culture.

It was here, where, with the help of Caliphate system, a story was told to vulgar defense of the sharī’ah, and some, who were unaware of the policy of time, went to defend the exteriors of ḥadīth and scriptures. As Mullā Ṣadrā has said, Ḥanbalīsm penetrated even in Shiʿī thought and raised to challenge with the muḥaddithūn such as Mullā Ṣadrā, Fayd and the like.

An example of the talented scholars is Ghazālī, who, in order to do services to the courts of Caliphs and Seljuks, spent most of his life to scientific and philosophical challenge with Bāṭinīyyah and Shiʿīs. Sometimes he fought against philosophy; sometimes he excommunicated the Mystics and philosophers, and still some other times, he fought, defending sharīʿah, against rationalism.

Some of the jurisprudents, muḥaddithūn and transmitters, contemporary with the household (s) were among this group; and the systems of Abbassid and Umayyad Caliphate employed them as tools to suppress the school of the household (s); and with the help of their vast propagation against Shiʿīs, made them isolated.

It is to be regretted that this policy turned to a tradition for muḥaddithūn and jurisprudents, and from which a school originated that did not tolerate the knowledge, demonstration and reason, and looked for nothing but the verbal aspect of ḥadīth. And it is to be more regretted that in time of Mullā Ṣadrā, this non-Shiʿī method- which was inconsistent with the culture of the household (s) and the spirit of the Islam and Quran- appeared
in the garb of Akhbārigari in Safavid society, and penetrated in most scientific and cultural circles.

The political pessimism requires that such a phenomenon, which is inconsistent with the Shi’i culture, is regarded as a conspiracy, plotted by the enemies of Safavid and Shi’i-killing Ottomans,¹ who sought for creating a cultural and ideological schism among the scholars (and thus, among the people) of the Safavid era and employ it for political purposes. The spokesmen of this group, however, as far as I know, were among Godfearing and even sincere ones, and proceeded to propagate these ideas sincerely. This historical phenomenon, in the development of the Islamic ideas and thought, could be regarded as among the factors, which exercised their influences on the origination of the “Transcendent Philosophy”.

Let us turn to Mullà Šadrā and his disciples and add the point that, in making a combination between ḥadīth and Islamic Mysticism as well as preferring the based-on-ḥadīth jurisprudence over the based-on-reasoning jurisprudence- which as we have said, it is much likely that he had learned it from Mullà Šadrā - Fayḍ had some heritage of his master, with the exception that in Mullà Šadrā’s “Transcendent Philosophy” the form is philosophical and the spirit is mystical. Fayḍ, however, has derived both the form and spirit from the Mysticism of the household and constructed a firm bridge between the two.

In other words, Fayḍ Kāshāni inherited Mullà Šadrā’s Islamic Mysticism- and Mullà Šadrā’s mystical school needs a proper time to be discussed and he could be regarded as a successor of the accomplished Mystic, Sayyid Šayḍar Āmulī.

Fayḍ is the only one who had chosen Mullà Šadrā’s Mysticism and philosophical-mystical school from among his wealth of science and provided them an independent form. His Us̀ul al- ma‘ārif- which is a summary of his ‘Ayn al-yaqīn”- suggests this same point.

After writing his great encyclopedia in the Divine philosophy, called Asfār al-arba’ah (or Ḥikmah al-Muta‘alīyyah), Mullà Šadrā did no more go

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¹ - Two Astarābādi Akhbārī muḥaddithūn lived in Hijaz; and, perhaps, unintentionally, received influences from Hanbalīs.
to compile voluminous philosophical books. The books and the treatises, compiled by him in this period, are mostly small books, containing an extract of his doctrines and ideas, and some of them are very similar to each other. It seems that he did not see himself and the others in need of all those debates and abstained to spend the valuable life to these disputes.

Fayd’ works also suggest this preferred method, which had been derived from the master, and what the master thought, was said by Fayd. In the introduction of *Usūl al- ma’arif*, he says:

“Among my motivations for writing this book was the fact that I loved the core and interior of the foundations of the philosophy; and I was suffered by the various doctrines and popular debates”.

As far as I have found, in the Islamic Mysticism Fayyd Kāshāni had no master but Mullā Šadrā. As he himself has mentioned, he studied primarily ḥadīth under the well-known masters such as Shaykh Bahā, Sayyid Mājīd Bahhrāmī and the offspring of Shahid Thānī (in Mecca); and he studied theoretical and practical Mysticism in ten years, in his devotedly discipleship under Mullā Sadrā.

Perhaps, this suggests that Mullā Šadrā, after the period of seclusion and ascetic practices in Qum and Kahak, had spent most of his own energy to train the talented youngsters and guiding them, theoretically and practically to meta- philosophical and scientific perfection.

The expressions, which have been already quoted from Fayyād Lāhīji, also confirm this same point. His following poems can be mentioned as an example:

“My nature was the dark earth of the ignorance and arrogance;
“Now, it is gold, because of his alchemist-like making (sun’);
“Reached me from the well of ignorance to the summit of honor;
“His friendship, which is as the shadow of the Osprey on me.
Or his expression in *Sharh-i ṣadr*, which has been already quoted:

“In Qum, I was honored to have visited the head of the people of Mysticism and the star of the sky of certainty, the one, who was, in esoteric sciences, the leader of time and the peerless figure in the world.”

As it is said, those who are not deeply familiar with the Islamic knowledge, regard the relation between the Mysticism and ḥadīth as the
relation between the fire and water, which are opposite. The school, left by
Mir Dāmād, Shaykh Bahā, and Mullā Ṣadrā, sees no separation between the
two, and regard them as two inseparable disciplines.

This school led to the origination of muḥaddīthūn such as Fayd,
Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Majlīsī (Majlīsī, senior) and the like, who in the
light of the Mysticism and its ascetic practices, could understand the subtle
points, posed in the hadith of the household (ṣ). On the other hand, in the
light of the hadīth of infallible Imams (ṣ), they grasped the pure
philosophical and ideological sciences. In the introduction of his Usūl al-
maʿārif, Mullā Muḥsin Fayd himself says: “I learned the valuable and
heavenly points from “the people of Allah” and “His friends” so that,
through the demonstration, intuition and inspiration, and with the help of the
allusions of the Holy Quran, and through a mystical and intuitive method,
the veil which obscured the mysteries of the understanding the Holy Quran
and Divine knowledge, was pushed aside”.1

It is not unlikely that by the “people of Allah” and “His friend”, he
intends to mention Mullā Ṣadrā. This same book itself witnesses Fayd’
following from Mullā Ṣadrā’s “Transcendent Philosophy” and his wisdom of
throne. In the smoothness of the style, ease of the words and expressions and
simplification of the intricate philosophical and mystical concepts also he
follows the method of the master.

Among the characteristics of the “Transcendent Philosophy” is the
incorporation of the Illuminationist philosophy in it, so that making a
distinction between it and the Islamic Mysticism and even the Peripatetic
philosophy is, to some extent, difficult. Fayd also, at least in this book,
synthesized them, intentionally. In the same introduction, he himself says:

“Among my motivations to write the book Usūl al- maʿārif was to
establish a reconciliation between the doctrines of ancient Persian
Illuminationist and pre-Socratic sages on the one hand, and the roots of the
religious creeds of shariʿah on the other hand and two make the unanimity
between the two clear; so that it would be proved that there is no separation
between the reason and shariʿah, and what is understood by the sages,

1 - Fayd Kashānī, Usūl al-maʿārif, introduction.
inspired by the angels, is not inconsistent with what is revealed through the
Revelation and inspiration, through the prophets, for the men. But some
points are revealed for the prophets, which the reason is disable to
understand them".1

From the similarities between the masters such as Mir Dâmâd,
Mullâ Şadrâ and Fayd on the one hand, and their disciples on the other hand,
we can conclude: the philosophy and sciences, which were transmitted from
one of them to the other, was not but a single school. Each of them, however,
presented it in his own expressions; and there is, between Mir Dâmâd’s
“wisdom of faith” and Mullâ Sadrâ’s “Transcendent Philosophy” and Fayd’
demonstrative sciences, no discrepancy. And all of them have spoken of “the
same beauty”.

Here it should be admitted that if there were not the attempts, made
by these great figures and if their ascetic practices throughout their lives did
not provide the inspired facts, in order to understand and comment upon the
Holy Quran and intricate hadith of the infallible Imams (s), and if their deep
thoughts did not actualize the tool of reason to understand the shortage of the
words and to compensate it, all those valuable jewels of the knowledge
would not come to man and the disable and simple-minded reason would run
aground.

To be contented with the external aspect of ḥadîth and its vulgar
connotation is not only oppression on ḥadîth and tradition but also it is
treason to the human thought. In this way, the Islamic sciences sustained
great loses, and the man fell to inconsistencies and perverseness! That is why
the tradition of the infallible Imams, theoretically and practically, challenged
the Literalism in understanding the scriptures. The infallible Imams
themselves were the best masters of ta’wil( hermeneutic interpretation) and

1 - Ibid.
comment upon the interiors of ḥadīth and taught it to the people of Mysticism among the Shi’is.

An analysis on the various schools and doctrines of Ash‘ari and Mu‘tazali theologians as well as a glance on the Sufi orders and the claimants of the true sciences and a short inquiry in the method of Literalists will reveal for every fair and curious researcher that being aloof from the school of the household(s) and the true heirs of the Holy Prophet(s) has led these groups of theologians, Sufis and people of ḥadīth to abyss, and the deceiving Satan has misguided them.

On the other hand, the Muslim philosophers, Mystics and scholars, following the fruitful school of the infallible Imams and the household(s), have extended their rational views, whether in the ontology or in knowledge of God or in anthropology as well as the knowledge of the other world.

If we make a comparison between the expressions of ḥadīth or prayers, quoted from the Commander of Faithful ‘Ali (s) and the other infallible Imams, which contain the important philosophical points and deep connotations, and the pre-Islamic theology, the philosophical and scientific value of the former will be understood.

For example, make a comparison between the Aristotelian philosophy and the following expressions in ‘Ali’s (s) sermon:

“Praise is due to Allah whose worth cannot be described by speakers, whose bounties cannot be satisfied by those who attempt to do so, whom the height of intellectual courage cannot appreciate, and the divings of

1 - Nawādir al-akhbār, Khisal, 207/1: “Our ḥadīth is very difficult to understand”, also see Ma‘ānī al-akhbār, 3/2.

2 - Even in juridical ḥadīth, such as ḥadīth on the religious punishments (punishment of the theft) we see that from the verse “And the places for worship (mosques) are only for Allah” (the Holy Quran, 72:18), Imam ‘Ali (a) makes an interpretative use, and from the term “mosque” he derives the palm’s being a mosque. Imam says that by cutting the hand of thief, cutting his fingers is intended; for, according to the above-mentioned verse, the palm is needed to pray and it is not allowed to cut it. And this cannot be understood from the external of the verse.
understandings cannot reach; He for whose description no limit has been laid, no eulogy exists, no time is ordained and no duration is fixed, He brought forth creation through His Omnipotence, dispersed winds through His compassions, and made firm the shaking earth with rocks. The foremost in religion is His knowledge, the perfection of His knowledge is to testify Him, the testifying Him is to believe in His Oneness, the perfection of believing in His Oneness is to regard Him Pure and the perfection of His purity is to deny Him Attributes, because every attribute is a proof that it is different from that to which is attributed and everything to which something is attributed is different from the attribute. Thus whoever attaches attributes to Allah recognize His like, and who recognizes His like regards Him two and who regards Him two recognizes parts for Him and who recognizes parts for Him mistook Him; and who mistook Him pointed at Him and who pointed at Him admitted limitations for Him and who admitted limitations for Him numbered Him. Whoever said in what is he, held that He is contained and whoever said on what is He, held he is not on something else. He is a Being but not through phenomenon of coming into being. He exists but not from non-existence. He is with everything but not in physical nearness. He is different from everything but not in physical separation. He acts but without connotation of movements and instruments. He sees even when there is none to be looked at from among His creation. He is only One, such as that there is none with whom He may keep company or whom He may miss in his absence. He initiated creation most initially and commenced it originally, without undergoing reflection, without making use of any experiment, without innovating any movement, and without experiencing any aspiration of mind. He allotted all things their times, put together their variations, gave them their properties, and determined their features knowing them before creating them, realizing fully their limits and confines and appreciating their propensities and intricacies.¹

Even in the ancient Mysticism, or in other words, the Illuminationist philosophy, inherited from the ancient Persia, such a subtlety cannot be found. In the ancient Oriental philosophy and Mysticism God is

¹ - Nahjul Balaghah, sermon 1.
only an absolute and all-encompassing light. In none of their available such an expression can be found:

“…The perfection of His knowledge is to testify Him, the perfection of testifying Him is to believe in His oneness, the perfection of believing His oneness is to regard Him pure and the perfection of His purity is to deny Him attributes, because every attribute is a proof that it is different from that to which it is attributed and everything to which something is attributed is different from the attribute. Thus whoever attaches attributes to Allah recognizes His like, and who recognizes His like regards Him two and who regards Him two recognizes parts for Him and who recognizes parts for Him mistook Him”.

Or,

“Who mistook Him pointed at Him and who pointed at Him admitted limitations for Him and who admitted limitations for Him numbered Him. Whoever said in what is He, held that He is contained and whoever said on what is He held He is not on something else”.

Before this philosophical expression about the Creator- the Exalted, all the philosophers regarded the existence of Creator as accompanied by the attributes such as mover, omniscient, omnipotent, gracious …After the Commander of Faithful, the Ash’ari theologinas and the followers of the other schools, who did not grasp the depth of his expressions, regarded the essence of God as separate and His attributes as supervened on his Essence and predicated on it. Such a distinction leads to regarding parts for the single existence of God-the One, the Impermeable-, and this is inconsistent with the Holy Quran. The other sect, called Karāmiyyah, regarded His attributes even as independent from His essence; while, philosophically, any directions and parts regarded in that Absolute, simple and Sacred Existence, leads to His being combined, and thus His need and origination; and, certainly this is not true.

His true definition, however, is the man’s confession to his disability to define and recognize Him, and avoidance of introducing the childish definitions for that Absolute Reality. As Sā’ib says:

“The wave is disable to grasp the reality of the ocean;

“How can the created understand the eternal?
The perfect science of the Divine unity and His Oneness is what is stated by the Commander of faithful that “Do not maintain an attribute, separate from His essence, for Him; for this will lead to your going astray, because all the attributes, such as knowledge, power... we know for God are nothing but the manifestations of His Essence, and plurality and manyness are not admitted in that Court”.

His existence is “… a Being but not Through phenomenon of coming into being. He exists but not from the non-existence”. And this is the best interpretation of the “Absolute Existence”, mentioned in the Islamic and Mysticism, who maintain that the being an essential aspect of the existence, and the existence, in its essence, does not accept the non-existence. Thus the non-existence does not precede the existence, and thus, we do not need to look for the creation of the existence and its time; but rather the existence precedes the non-existence and is superior over it. Thus, to assume non-existence for the absolute existence is absolutely impossible. This principle is applied even on the created existents and possible creatures as well.

For, despite the fact that we regard something as becoming non-existent, nothing, after being existent, becomes non-existent and it is, in fact, the change in its form that misleads us.

Such pure philosophical hadith¹ are abundant in the works of the household (s).² Here we present a hadith as an example. In ḥadith tawḥīdiyyah, reported from Imām Riḍā (s), the Divine Unity is described as follows:

“The first step in worshipping God is to know Him. And the beginning of knowledge of Him is to regard Him as One, and the foundation of the Divine Unity is to deny Him the attributes; since all those have a share of the reason testify that every attribute and every thing which is attributed is a created thing. And every attributed one testifies that there is a creator, which is neither attribute nor attributed, for it. Also, the attribute and

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² - By the theology’s being philosophical we mean that it contains certain philosophical issues, and we do not intend to say that it follows the philosophy which was prevalent in that time.
attributed themselves testify that they have association with each other, and being associated testifies that they are temporally created (i.e. they were not there, and then were brought into being); and the created thing itself testifies that it is impossible to be pre-eternal, and the pre-eternal thing is impossible to be created.

Every good is created by God, and everything which is dependent on the other, is caused (effect). God's making demonstrates the existence of that thing. It is through reason that knowledge of God is attained, and the existence of God is proved in an innate way.

God created the creatures to be as veils between Him and the creatures themselves, and His being be other that of them. The creatures being created by God suggests that He has no beginning, for a thing, which has beginning, cannot grant the beginning to the others...

The one, who describes God, has not known God; and the one who believes that he/she has known God, in fact, he does injustice to God. And the one who thinks that he/she has grasped the Essence of God has gone astray; and the one who asks about God's howness has likened Him to the other things. And the one who asks about God's whyness, has maintained a cause for God; and the one who asks about time of God's existence, has temporalized Him; and the one who asks in what is He, has localized Him…

This hadith, stated by Imam as a sermon in the Ma'mên Abbassid's court, had been posed in such an atmosphere, in which the science of theology on the one hand and the Greek philosophy on the other hand, had occupied the Islamic and scientific circles. Some had believed in God's transcendence and agnosticism and some others had tendency toward theomorphism and anthropomorphism, and the false creeds of Jews and the other false religions had made scenes.

Only the heirs of the prophets, the inhabitants in the house of Revelation, those who see the hidden and apparent worlds are able to state the subtle points about the incomprehensible facts and going beyond the intricacies of the science of theology and philosophy and the doctrines of the

1 - Biḥar al-anwār, vol. 4, p. 228
various schools, and at the same time to explain the gist of the explainable facts.

It is much to be regretted that, despite all these true sciences of the household of the Prophet (S.A.W), many of Muslim philosophers and even the followers of the Household (s) were, down to time of Mullâ Sadrâ and his masters, devoid of all this rich and worthwhile heritage. Even the Shi‘i philosophy and theology also were approached from the Greek point of view; and no one but the mystics and Sufis had paid attention to the depth of these heavenly and enlightened expressions.

Here it can be claimed that before the establishment of the Sadrean “Transcendent Philosophy”, only Islamic Mysticism could be called Islamic philosophy. And no other one but Mystics such as Ibn ‘Arabî and his successors, Sayyid Ḥaydar Amulî and the like- who are well-known, wrongly, as Sufis, could be called Muslim philosopher.

The high Islamic culture, which is mostly crystallized in the culture left by the household (s) and survived among Shi‘is, is a culture, synthesized with the philosophical thought, in the Illuminationist and mystical sense of the term, and in all prayers as well as Quranic expressions, the enlightened words could be seen.

This caused the wise and talented ones to devotedly plunge in the Holy Quran, the religious scriptures and ḥadîth of the household from one side and to appear, inevitably, as the mystics and enamored of the Divine love from the other side. Those who had stayed at the coast of that ocean of the Divine knowledges were not even able to imagine the happiness of that station. And certainly, there is distinction between the one who has waited at the threshold of tavern and the one who is, dead drunk, in the tavern.

The following ḥadîth, reported from ‘Alî (a), suggests the status of these wayfarers of the prophetic shari‘ah and Ḥâlî path:

“For his friend, God is like the wine which when they drink it they will get drunk, and when they get drunk, they will become happy, and when they become happy they will melt and when they melt they will be purified, and when they are purified they seek for God, and when they seek God they will find Him, and when they find God, they will attain Him and when they
attain Him they will connect Him, and when they connect Him, there is no more a separation between them and their Friend (God)”.

The Last Decade of Mullā Šadrā’s Life

Here, since we are not to describe the lives of Mullā Šadrā’s disciples in details, let us be brief, and throw a glance on Shirāz in that era, and the last decade of that philosopher’s life.

As we have already noted, Shirāz has been the cradle of mysticism and philosophy since the olden times. In that city, at least for two hundred years, the great theologians and philosophers turned the realm of science to a scene for their attempts. Beside this stormy exterior, there was a quite and dynamic interior, which had centuries of history behind. Perhaps, in the time of the esoteric activities of Ḥusayn Ibn Maṣūr Ḥallāj, his masters and disciples there had been such a phenomenon. And these Bātini (esoteric) activities were, in fact, the esoteric method of Islamic Sufism and Bāṭinism.

As we have already said, that is why Shirāz was called the tower of the mystics- i.e. the castle of mysticism.

Against these two movements, another movement, i.e. the movement of Ash’aris had originated. Like the other groups, because of their deprivation of the true and mystical knowledge, piety and sincerity, and because of their greed for the wealth and worldly positions, this group also was attracted to the courts to do services for the kings and the rulers. They spoke for money and also wrote for money, and like the vultures they were always in secret war with their likes, and lived in an atmosphere full of hypocrisy, rivalry and conspiracy.
The kings’ courts also were in need in such ostentatious scholars, and prepared for them position and wealth, and in the proper time made use of them.

Because of its tendency toward the worldly wealth and dependence on the powerful rulers, this movement became prevalent, and pushed the true scholars of that land from the scene of science, philosophy and mysticism, aside. In the century, in which Mullā Şadrā came into being- whether in pre-Safavid or in Safavid era- such an atmosphere was prevalent in Shirāz. Though, due to the personal mentalities of the rulers and social and political alterations, this situation experienced certain changes.

During his life in Shirāz, Mullā Şadrā had witnessed and experienced various conditions. Sometimes, he was captured in the conspiracies plotted by the false scholars, and some other times he was at a such high summit of the honor that these scholars were not able to harm him. In the period of his youth, which was simultaneous with the period of the ministership of his father (Khwājah Ibrāhīm Qawāmi) in the court of Sulṭān Muhammad Khudābandah, he was not involved in such machinations, since he was not to fight with the above-mentioned group. After return to Shirāz in the era of Allāhwirdi Khān, however, he had experienced, because of their opposition, a bitter life so that he was compelled to leave his homeland and retired in seclusion in villages of Qum. Again, in the era of Imāmquli Khān, though having returned to Shirāz respectedfully and sit on the throne of the honor, this honor and peace did not last for a long time. After the assassination of Imāmquli Khān by Shāh Ṣafī, our philosopher was left alone. Thus he was exposed to the attacks made by his opponents, the adherents of theology (kalām), plebian philosopher-like ones, muḥaddithān, and devoid-of-piety foolish “pious ones”.

It is not clear when his Sīḥ aṣl was written, but some facts suggest that he wrote this risālah in his second period of staying in Shirāz (after 1040 A.H./1630 A.D.). In a place of his Sīḥ aṣl, he says:

Oh coward, would you deny the science that graceful wayfarers, having made foot from their brain and eye, spent their body and spirit to acquire it and left their reputation and positions; and having been exposed to the derisions of some poor ignorant and some other superficial scholars like
thou, having suppressed the desires of the soul, and having
accepted the hardship and despondency for fifty years,
contented themselves with the imprint of that science in
their hearts?\footnote{Sīh āsl, paragraph 119, Tehran University Press, p. 82.}

This paragraph, alluding to Mullā Ṣadrā himself, suggests that this
\textit{risālah} had been written after his sixties. Since, in this paragraph, there is a
passage suggesting “having made foot from their brain and eye…for fifty
years”, which means that he had been wayfaring with full devotion, and also
it is written that he had “spent the body and spirit to acquire it”, that is he
had lost his health and nerves; and “left [his] reputation and positions”, that
is, he had left his high family position and gone in the group of disciples and
sought for qualified masters, and burned midnight oil to make copies of this
or that book, and he had been exposed to attacks and derisions made by
ignorant enemies, and acquired the science of Illumination and the Divine
knowledge in expense of long ascetic practices…

Thus, if we assume that his education began since the age of ten,
when he had been writing this \textit{risālah} he had exceeded the age of sixty and it
is much likely that he had been even older. Hence, the date of its compilation
could be regarded to be in the last decade of his life and after 1040 A.H,
when he was staying, as is said, in Shirāz for the last time.

Thus even in the last period of his life, and despite his social
position in Shirāz, Mullā Ṣadrā (perhaps, because of the assassination of his
devotee, Imāmqulí Khān and the rule of a cheap one of Safavid) experienced
the enmity of “superficial scholars” and “poor ignorant ones”- who live in all
eras- and thus he became heartstricken.

Mullā Ṣadrā’s complaint of his contemporaries’ denial suggests that
his philosophical and, perhaps interpretive, doctrines were popular. Perhaps,
in certain sessions he argued with them and answered their objections, but
his hot bellow could not treat their cold iron, and the steel nail of his
philosophical, intellectual and intuitive demonstration was not able to go
down in their stony hearts; and as he himself said, they denied these
demonstrations.
Here it is worth to look at another aspect of his life, i.e. his referentiality, since to him the well-minded and truth-seeking philosophers of time referred to solve their problems. His wide-spread fame in science and the firmness of his philosophical and mystical doctrines should be regarded as reasons for this. It seems that this fame began to spread when his works—such as his commentaries on the Holy Quran, \textit{\textit{Asfîr}}, and other books—had been put down from the throne of his thought to the earth of writing, and the pen of his decree became acquainted with the tablet of destiny of his created works, and his disciples and students took his sweet expressions like the sheet of gold and presented dozen copies of them to their friends.

Because of this fame, his contemporary philosophers, in their correspondences and dialogues with him, asked him to solve their intricate problems. Some of these correspondences are available:

1- Solutions of the problems posed by Mullà Shamsà Gîlâní, who was apparently among Mullà Šadrà’s friends, known as \textit{\textit{Ajwabah Masā’il Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad Gîlâní}}.

2- Solutions of the problems posed by Mullà Muîaffar (\textit{Husayn}) Kâshâní, who was apparently among Mîr Findiriskí’s disciples, known as \textit{\textit{Ajawabat al-maṣâ’il al-kâshâniyâh}}.

3- A treatise called \textit{\textit{Ajwabat al-maṣā’il ’awîṣiyyâh}}, apparently compiled by his disciples.

4- The other treatise, which is called \textit{\textit{Ajwabat al-masâ’il al-naṣîriyyâh}}, which contains, in fact, the solutions of the unsolved problems posed by Khwâjah Naṣîr al-Dîn Tûsî for his contemporary philosopher Shams al-Dîn Khusrawshâhî. Mullâ Šadrà offered the solutions of these problems, once in his youth, and again in the period of his experience. While having posed these solutions Mullà Šadrà did not seem to seek fame, but it was in fact his disciples who asked him to solve these problems, and employ his \textit{mafāṭih} (keys) to open the gate of that impenetrable castle.

5- The other treatise, which has been put in writing under the title \textit{al- Masâ’il al-khamsah} (by Muḥammad Bāqîr Ibn Zayd al-‘Abîdîn in Qazwin, in 1034 A.H./1624 A.D.). This treatise, as Mullâ Šadrà himself said, was written for the dearest friends, i.e. the divine friends, and the closest dependants, i.e. the spiritual dependants.
If we do not take *Ajwabat al-masā’il al-naṣiriyyah* into account, and regard *Ajwabat al-masā’il- ‘awiṣiyyah* the same as *Ajwabat al- masā’il al-kāshāniyyah* (in whose introduction, the term “masā’il al- ‘awiṣiyyah” is noted, and perhaps the copier himself has called the book so) there are totally three *risālahs* for three persons available. It is not unlikely, however, that he was in correspondence with the other true scholars of his time as well, and the jewels of Sadrean treasure had a good market, and this consoled the philosopher, to some extent.

From the intricacy of the philosophical problems, i.e. the so-called ‘awiṣah posed by his contemporary philosophers and scholars to be solved by Mullā Sadrā, his referentiality and his fame in the philosophical circles could be understood.

Surprisingly enough, in this time Mīr Dāmād was still living and occupied with writing books and training disciples. And more surprisingly that Mullā Shamsā Gilānī himself, who was among those who posed problems to be solved by Mullā Sadrā, was among the disciples of Mīr Dāmād and had a training circle in Khurāsān; this is also the case for the writer of *al-Masā’il al-khamasah*, who was in correspondence with Mullā Sadrā in 1034 A.H. and posed his problems before 1041 A.H./1631 A.D., when Mīr Dāmād was still living, and received the solutions of his problems.

There is a copy of Mullā Ṣadrā’s solutions for the problem posed by Mullā Shamsā available, which was made by Mullā ‘Abd al-Razzāq Lāḥījī in *Maṣūmiyyah* school of Qum in 1034 A.H. to do service to his great master. This suggests that these problems had been posed before this date, when Mīr Dāmād was living.

From the last paragraph of this *risālah*:

“What we have already said, was, taking our short time and the other limitations into account, presented to the extent, which our capacity allowed us to unveil the issues. These issues should be discussed in details, may God eliminate the obstacles and gather us in the same point, …”

It can be concluded that even in thirties of the 11th Century when he lived in Qum, he was not free of worries and embarrassments, and had not the peace which the secluded ones have.

The fame of Mullā Sadrā, which seems to reach its culmination in the thirties of the 11th Century A.H./17th century A.D. is an independent
phenomenon to be discussed independently. Among the consequences of this well reputation was the dissemination of Mullâ Ṣadrâ’s school, “Transcendent Philosopy” in India continent. In that time, India (which, toady, consists of four countries, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Kashmir) was governed by the Timurid dynasty, some of whom were learned and good kings, advocates of science and literature, and protectors of the Persian culture and language.

In other words, this dynasty did many services to Persian language. In a time, when the formal language of Iranian court was Turkish, in the court of Indian kings, the Persian language was recognized as the formal language. In a time, when the Safavid kings, sometimes, expelled the famous Iranian scholars and poets, the court of the Indian king was considered as a base and refuge for them. And the development of the Persian literature, including poetry, and establishment of the style known as Indian style- which is called by a group “İsfahâni style” - should be, as it were, considered to be indebted to the Indian court.

The Indians and Iranians are of the same race (the original Arian race), and the peoples of these two vast lands seem to have emigrated to this part of the world in the same time, some of them having stayed in India and the rest having come to Iran. Also in the ancient time, Iranians and Indians had had a common religion for a long while, which, perhaps, was considered as a single religion down to Zoroaster. The Persian and Sanskrit languages were of the same origin, and, in fact, a single language. In the next eras, beside the unanimity between the Indians and Iranians, there were also a sort of accord and spiritual and cultural unity between them.

Buddha, who reformed the ancient Brahman religion and was considered contemporary with Zoroaster, is much likely that, being influenced by Zoroaster or some Magi among his disciples and follower, had left his own religion and put the garb of mission on. As regards Pythagoras also this historical thesis could be accepted. He also was contemporary with Zoroaster and among his disciples. He had studied wisdom and other sciences under Magi and transmitted these sciences to the West and Mediterranean coasts.

After the advent of Islam, and as soon as Islam, through Ghaznawis, reached India, it was welcomed. Since then also, Indians were always
looking for the rays of wisdom, science, mysticism and literature to be illuminated from Iran, to absorb and safeguard them lovingly.

India was always a market in which the cultural products of Iran were presented. And, there, scholars were always looking for what was to be imported from Iran, to enjoy it. In the 11th century A.H. the school of Mullâ Sadrâ and his dazzling philosophical doctrines exercised the same influences on the culture, spirit, and thought of Indians, which Hâfiz lyric poems had exercised in the 8th century A.H./14th century A.D. Hâfiz himself had said:

“With Hâfiz’s poems are singing and dancing;
The Kashmirian black eyed ones and the Smarkandean Turks.

According to the report provided by Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, in the festival of the 400th anniversary of Mullâ Sadrâ’s birth, in 1340 A.H. solar/1961 A.D.) in India, “during the last three centuries, Mullâ Sadrâ’s books were always taught in the [Indian] Islamic schools and, even, his Asfâr was, till some years ago among the textbooks of the students of the advanced course of the intellectual sciences. After the replacement Arabic and Persian languages with Urdu and English languages, however, the teaching of Asfâr was left, and since then only Sharâ al-hidâyat al-athîriyyah, among Mullâ Sadrâ’s books is taught”.¹

Mullâ Sadrâ’s Sharâ al-hidâyah was, in those regions so popular that it was called “Mullâ Sadrâ”. That is the term “Mullâ Sadrâ”, in these centuries, wa used instead of mentioning the philosopher, himself for mentioning his Sharâ al-hidâyah. The number of commentaries written on this book in India² is much more than the number of the commentaries and

¹ - In 23 Aban 1340 A.H. Solar/ 1961 A.D., before a commemoration was held in Iran thanks to the efforts of Mr. Dr. Nasr and the other lovers of philosophy, a festival was held in Calcutta for the 400th. anniversary of Mullâ Sadrâ’s birth and scholars delivered their lectures. The report of that conference as well as the influence of the”Transcendent Philosophy”, provided by Dr. Nasr, is published under “Mullâ Sadrâ dar Hindîstân” (Mullâ Sadrâ in India), in the journal “Rahnamâ-yi Kitab” ( No. 10, p.908, 1340).

² - For example, the commentary written by Muḥammad Amjad al- Ṣiddîqî al-Qunûjî ( d. 1140 A.H./1727 A.D.), the commentary written by Mullâ Nizâm al-Dîn al-Sahlawî ( d. 1161 A.H./1748 A.D.), the commentary written by Mullâ
glosses written on this book in Iran. These numerous commentaries are indicative of the interest of Indians in this book; and like Sabziwâri’s *Sharh-i maqâlimah* in Iran, this book was the most famous philosophical textbook in India.

Despite the fame of Mullâ Sadrâ’s books, and in particular his *Asfâr* and *Sharh al-hidâyah* in India, he is said to have been known mostly as a logician in India\(^1\).

It is not clear why his *Sharh al-hidâyah* was more popular than his other valuable books. Some believe that the prevalent atmosphere in the Indian seminaries, following a sort of Ḥashwîgarî, which was opponent of mysticism and Sufism, went on to oppose his mystical books and “Transcendent Philosophy”. Some others consider it as originated from a sort of anti-Shi’i bigotry in those regions; this is, however, a weak hypothesis; since the enmity between Shi’is and Sunnis and the social tensions in those regions originated after the rule of Britain on India; and, in fact, the enmity between two sects was caused by the colonial policy of Britain.

The historical experience and research show that the enmity between Islamic schools, whether between Shi’is and non-Shi’is or between Ḥanafîs and Ṣafî’is or between these two on the one hand and Ḥanbalîs on the other hand, and even the general massacre and taking women into captivity were always caused by the policies of Umayyad and Abbassid caliphs and their protégées and the like.

Later on, the unworthy and colonial governments also went on to produce enmity among peoples to make them busy and attract their attention to other things, and divided them to conflicting groups. And under any

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\(^1\) - The journal “Rahnamâ-yi Kitâb”, op cit. p 911.
possible pretext, these governments made people fight each other, and under the auspices of this separation plundered the national wealth easily.

Apart from India, in Asia Minor (present Turkey) also Mulla Sadra was well-known for philosophers and theologians. In the 12th century A.H. his *Sharḥ al-hidāyah* was translated into Turkish by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Kafwi, and since then it has been published many times\(^1\), and at least 200 handwritten copies of Mullā Ṣadrā’s books, among which 11 copies are commentaries on his *Sharḥ al-hidāyah* written in Turkish, are available\(^2\).

Even when the Ottoman Ḥanafī jurisprudents and Muftīs went on to oppose philosophy and intellectual sciences (apparently, simultaneous with the culmination of *Akhbārīgarī* in Iran, in the last part of Safavid rule) and most of philosophical books were prohibited to be taught, Mullā Ṣadrā’s *Sharḥ al-hidāyah* was still among the textbooks.

Later on, upon the translation of *Ta’līqāt ‘alā sharḥ ḥikmah al-ishrāq* into Turkish, the Illuminationist philosophy became, as is said under the influence of Mullā Ṣadrā’s books, prevalent in the intellectual circles in Ottoman Turkey. According to the above-mentioned researcher, these copies of Mullā Ṣadrā’s books were made mostly in the same era (for example, the copy of Diarbakr, made in 1125 A.H. (1713 A.D.); and the copy made by Rāghib Pāshā the grand vizier of Ottoman government in 1140 A.H./1727 A.D.).

In 1724 A.D., Rāghib Pāshā was the martial attaché of Ottoman government in Tabriz and Hamadān and played a significant role in the transmission of the Iranian and Shi‘i culture and Mullā Ṣadrā’s books to Ottoman Turkey. He alluded to Mullā Ṣadrā as *Muḥaqqiq* (researcher) and ‘*Allāmah* (omniscient). He himself made copies of Mullā Ṣadrā’s *Asfār*, *Ta’līqāt ‘alā sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *Shawāhid al-rubūbiyyah*, and *Sharḥ al-hidāyah*\(^3\). Later on, perhaps because of religious conflict between Iranian and Ottoman governments or bigotry of Ḥanafī muftīs or shortage of handwritten copies, Mullā Ṣadrā’s school was forgotten.

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\(^1\) - Dr. Bakir Karlıqa’s paper- Turkey, Mumara.

\(^2\) - Now these copies are preserved in Istanbul library.

\(^3\) - *ibid.*
In Iraq and perhaps in the Western region of Persian Gulf, Mullā Ṣadrā was well-known and his books attracted attention. In Iraq, this was caused by the presence of the seminary of Najaf, from which originated great Shi‘i scholars and jurisprudents. On the other hand, not only the fact that Shi‘i school was a spiritual link between Iraqis and Iranians but even the fact that Iraq and the western regions of the Persian Gulf, such as Ahsā and Bahrain had been in the realm of Iranian kings for a long time was influential in the origination of this phenomenon. And the political influence led to cultural influence.

The most famous one, who despite his opposition to Mullā Ṣadrā’s doctrines, caused Mullā Ṣadrā to be well-known in those regions was Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā‘i, whose (negative) attention to Mullā Ṣadrā’s books and doctrines caused his books and doctrines to be well-known and prevalent in those regions.

He had famous commentaries on ‘Arshiyyah and Mashā‘ir, which are, more than commentary (sharḥ), similar to wounding (jarḥ). His commentaries were answered by the famous philosopher and mystic Mulla ‘Ali Nūrī and some other ones. Some said that he (Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā‘i) did not understand the philosophical issues.

The reason of this is that despite his vast knowledge of most of the popular sciences in Shi‘i seminaries, Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā‘i was captured by a sort of mental and even spiritual deviation. Instead of attempt to study the true Quranic knowledge and the Transcendent Philosophy, he proceeded to study the occult sciences such as alchemy (kimīya) and letter magic (simīya). His famous student, from whose doctrines the deviated schools i.e. ‘Bābīyyah” and “Bahā‘iyyah” and their innovations originated, i.e. Sayyid Kazim Rashtī taught to his students how to employ sun and other stars.

A sort of exaggeration about Imāms is assigned to Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsā‘i, and from his doctrines, a school called Shaykhiyyah originated. He who excommunicated an accomplished and pious wayfarer mystic such as Mullā Ṣadrā for what he had not, in fact, committed, was, because of some corruption, excommunicated and expelled by his immediate students.¹

¹ - Like the late Baraghānī Qazwini- that Henry Corbin (apparently in his first works) says about Shaykh Aḥmad :”he was never denied by anyone” is an
Taking into consideration all these discrepancies between a great philosopher like Mullâ Sadrâ and Shaykh Ahmad Ahsâ’i, it is surprising that some western researchers or orientalists try to introduce Shaykh Ahmad Ahsâ’i as the heir and advocate of the Transcendent Philosophy;¹ and even Iqbal Lâhirî writes that “the Philosophy of Sadra … is the source of the metaphysics of early Babism”!²

Among the most strange and novel points in Mullâ Sadrâ’s life and his character is the kind and diversity of his opponents. Incidentally, the opponents of every figure and their oppositions—despite the apparent and objective separation between them and that figure—are regarded as a part of his character and among his imaginative and judgmental foundations; and like the negative attributions, they could introduce the external essence of everyone. This phenomenon could be regarded as a referent of “Know the things through their contraries”.

All the oppositions with Mullâ Sadrâ and all his opponents are of a sort, which affirms his perfection and makes the curious researcher of history more interested in him. The recognition of Shaykh Ahmad Ahsâ’i’s mentality and character or those of his other opponents proves Mullâ Sadrâ’s firmness in religion, his knowledge of the Holy Quran and Ḥadîth, and understanding the truths and sciences. For example, Mullâ Sadrâ is pride of his intuitive knowledge and esoteric unveiling, and takes it as an affirmation of the external and demonstrative intellectual sciences or the transmitted sciences; while Shaykh Ahmad, as a Muslim philosopher and an adherent of the Holy Quran and Ḥadîth, relies only on his own understanding of the exterior of the words, and is pride of this externalism. Both of them are among the people of ascetic exercises, paying attention to extraordinary achievements. Mullâ Sadrâ’s ascetic practices, however, were for the example of the historical alterations. Cf. The History of Islamic Philosophy, vol. 2, p. 176 & p. 181; also cf. The Grand Islamic Encyclopedia, vol. 6, p. 664.

² - Iqbal, Mohammed, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, a Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy.
attainment to the station of the intellects, and union with the high souls, while Shaykh Ahmad’s ascetic practices, as far as we know, were for employing the heavenly souls, letter magic and alchemy.

All the attacks, accusations, and even ill-names brought against this divine saint, all the attempts to turn off this divine lamp, and all those scientific, philosophical, and mystical attempts made by others in the realm of knowledge cannot bring down Mullà Šadrā from the seat of honor, on which has seated him the jeweler of the destiny. Here it is worth to quote Ḥafiz’s poem:

“They bring thousand jewel to the market of the universe;
“No one of them can be compared with our standardized coin.

Mullà Šadrā, because of his own sedateness and essential value, was not a coin, which could be made dull over the course of time and through the oppositions made by those who were attributed to knowledge and even Godfearing.

Despite the fact that he did not exercise a sharp impact on neighboring countries, and as far, in this regard we have no evidence to present. In the domestic circles of philosophy and in centers such as Iṣfahān, Tehran, Sabziwār, Mashhad, and Qum, he caused, in the course of time, certain schools called the later school of Iṣfahān, the school of Tehran, the school of Sabziwār and Mashhad, and Neo-Sadrean school of Qum, to be established.

In our study of Mullà Šadrā’s life and travels, we found that in his early youth he went from Shirāz to the then capital Qazwin. Then upon the transfer of capital to Iṣfahān, he also immigrated to Iṣfahān. At the end of his advanced education, he returned to his homeland Shirāz. After a while, offended by persecutions made by scholars and false scholars, he went to

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1 - The influence exercised by Mullà Sadra’s school on the other countries should be studied in another time. For example, according to the present evidences, his books had been translated to Chinese language, and were popular since centuries ago and exercised their influences on Chinese philosophers. Or his Sharḥ al-hidayāt had been studied in the Ottoman Turkey and it is said that his Ḥikmat al-mutaʿāliyah was well-known as well.

2 - cf. Henry Corbin’s books.
Qum or Kahak. There he stayed for a long a time, and finally returned again to his homeland Shirāz and there he lived down to his death.

Apart from this general account of his life and travels between above-mentioned cities, some other travels in Mullā Ṣadrā’s life can be found as well. For example, there is some evidence available, suggesting his travel to the sacred thresholds in Iraq (apparently in the period of his discipleship). His travels to Mecca and his death during the last travel are recorded in books of history as well. He is much likely to have traveled to the sacred Raḍawi Mashhad too.

About his confrontation with scholars of various cities, we have no evidence; taking his reputation into account, however, if there was such a confrontation, it would be, of course, reported in books of history. Hence what is written by the late researcher and scholar Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Zanjānī in his book ʿAlī-Fīlṣūf al-ʿirānī al-kabīr, cannot be regarded as being true.

He writes that Mullā Ṣadrā was afraid of superficial religious scholars, and in order to avoid making them pessimist, he expressed his doctrines metaphorically (?). Upon entering to a city, since he sought to visit scholars of that city, he went to their classes. There he sat silently for a long time, and when his turn to speak reached, he spoke quietly and admired others’ assertions. He did not mention to his own doctrines; but presented the well-known doctrines and did not pretend to be a philosopher and, thus, he attracted others’ attention. So he was invited to teach. Following these claims, Zanjānī goes to describe his “way of spreading philosophy” and says:

When Mullā Ṣadrā went on to teach in a city, took the science of jurisprudence and its related issues, and usūl as the main subjects of his lectures. Then he brought his discussion from ablution and prayer to their secrets and then to the Revelation and its relation to the Lordly station.

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1 - In an anthology, he has quoted a point from Suhrawardī’s logic and at the end of this note, he writes:”written in Asadābād village, in a travel to the sacred thresholds. In the introduction of Mullā Ṣadrā’s notes (Qum, 1377 A.H.) it is alluded what this notes had been written between 1030 A.H. to 1041 A.H.
Finally he proceeded to the Divine Unity (Tawḥīd) and declared his own philosophical doctrines, and so he attained his goal skilfully.

He tried to express his doctrines and ideas with the help of double-sided words. Simple-hearted unaware ones understood a thing of his expressions and aware disciples understood some other thing. He always expressed his ideas under the verses and Ḥadīth so that no one could make an attack on him (!)

According to this author, there is no evidence to prove these claims. This is, in fact, misunderstanding Mullā Ṣadrā’s character and could be regarded as a sort of alteration of history. A researcher like ‘Abdullāh Zanjānī is not expected to have written such things without a reliable historical evidence in his only analytical book.

Firstly, Mullā Ṣadrā was afraid, in the conventional sense of the term, of no one. His books, and in particular his Kasr al-aṣnām al-jāhiliyyah and Sih aşl- suggest his bravery in confrontation with his opponents. And according to the well-known proverb “One who knows God is insolent”, his reliance on God- the Exalted- caused him to speak explicitly and state his doctrines and ideas- without being afraid of enemies- who, sometimes, through instigating ignorant kings, put their opponents into death. In the introduction to his commentary on Āyat al-Kursī- which has been written when he was staying in Qum and the false scholars were about to made attacks on him- he writes:

“Without being afraid of blames made by those who blame, I left what was said by famous philosophers and scholars behind, and stated what I myself understood of the truths”.

This is not inconsistent with his method of speaking in codes in some cases; for even the infallible Imāms (a) also did not expose some truths and kinds of knowledge for the masses of people, since they were too intricate to be understood by them.

Secondly, there is not an evidence available to prove that in every city he entered he went to visit scholars, in disguise; and even it is inconsistent with available evidence. This procedure is mentioned about Shaykh Bahā in his travels to other countries and in particular to non-Shī‘i
countries. In Iran, however, even Shaykh Bahā did not appeal to this procedure, though he traveled in the garb of dervishes.

Among the characteristics of Mullā Šadrā is, according to history, his nobility and family reputation in the Safavid realm. Except in the years of discipleship, he was always well-known and regarded as a clever, and competent scholar by other scholars, disciples, and people of philosophy and Ḥadīth and commentary.

Thirdly, that Mullā Sadrā pretended to be not a philosopher is one of the false claims of this story; for, Mullā Šadrā approached even Ḥadīth and the Holy Quran from a philosophical and mystical point of view. And it is almost impossible that he avoided philosophy and rational argument for a long time and waited for a proper time, being provided through juridical and religious lessons, and deceitfully looked for an opportunity to being allowed to teach by jurisprudents and scholars of the city.

Fourthly, people of mysticism and wayfaring sometimes put deep mystical issues in writing in the pretext of stating the juridical rules of worships—such as cleanliness, ablution and prayer. Mystics from Ibn ‘Arabi down to the contemporary mystics Mirzā Jawād Āqā Tabrizi and Imām Khumayni have written some books in this fashion. This is not, however, to state mystical issues and truths deceitfully in the garb of juridical rules; on the contrary, it is its supplement and transmission from the minor jurisprudence to the major jurisprudence.

Mullā Šadrā believed that religion, since it is a divine truth, has, like any other truth, an exterior and an interior, like man, whose exterior is apparent, his interior is, however, hidden; his exterior is sensible, and his spirit is intelligible.¹

Mullā Šadrā stated that in the time of the Holy Prophet (s) and the infallible Imāms (a) the term fiqh (jurisprudence) was employed to refer to the knowledge of God and the principles of religion and ethics and not to the solution of actual religious problems of people. And the importance and objective necessity of jurisprudence mentioned in Ḥadīth, suggest the

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¹ - cf. al-Shawāhid al-rubābiyyah, p. 375.
objective necessity of the knowledge of the principle of religion and not its actual rules, which learning them is a sufficient necessity (wājib kafā’i).¹

According to this philosopher, fiqh has been presented to correct behaviors and acts of believers; and to correction of acts will lead to correction of the status of the heart, and correction of the status of the heart is necessary to better understanding God’s glory and further knowledge of His station.² Therefore, just like the principles of religion and religious sciences, which are prior to the branches of religion and its actual rules, fiqh and actual rules also are the introduction to the perfection of knowledge and culmination of the human knowledge.

Thus, Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Zanjānī’s claims cannot be accepted. Following his research, he notes another Mullā Ṣadrā’s teaching method and says that he did not state his own doctrines- or as Zanjānī puts it, his philosophical truth- explicitly; but apparently he went on to teach Ibn-Sīnā’s doctrines; in his writing he concealed his doctrines even more than this.³

Nor is this true; for the main part of the life of this philosopher was spent under the spiritual pressures resulted from his explicitness in stating his novel and wonderful doctrines, which were encountered by his contemporary scholars, unbelievingly, or even resulted in derision, plotting conspiracy and excommunication.

Despite his politeness and the respect he maintained for great figures of science, philosophy, and other scholars, he blamed Ibn-Sīnā and the like-who were depthless scholars, lacking intuition and esoteric knowledge- for their fail or disability to understand the advanced issues of philosophy, such as the union of the intelligent and intelligible, the trans-substantial motion, the illuminated ideas, the corporeal resurrection, and reproached them that they contented themselves with other sciences such as medicine, mathematics, astronomy and the like, and ignored the theoretical divine sciences.

¹ - Kasr al-aṣnām al-jāhilyyah, p. 32; also see Sīh aḵl, p. 87.
² - Kasr al-aṣnām al-jāhilīyyah, p. 44.
For example, in the issues of the soul and the resurrection of the bodies in the Last Day that Ibn-Sinā has failed to analyze them philosophically, he says:

The thinking power of the author of *Shifā*, when he comes to research in the existential entities, for example in the trans-substantial motion… the separate platonic forms… the union of the intelligent and intelligible, and the love of *hyle* for the form and transmutation of the forms of the elements in a single form in nature… and the resurrection of the bodies, falls short. He believes in the eternity of the heavens and many other false doctrines.¹

These expressions clearly show that, despite the respect he maintained for the earlier scholars, he would not hesitate to blame them or reject their doctrines, if necessary. Also he did not conceal his own doctrines, and even, despite the negative fame of Ibn ʿArabi in theological and juridical circles of that era, he did not avoid glorifying and following him.

In the proper place, he went on to fight theologians and claimants of philosophy. In some cases he gave jurisprudents and extremist traditionalist what they deserved, and despite the spiritual power of Sufis in Safavid era, he did not left them portionless of his criticism.

This kind of biographizing, which is not based on an accurate research, is better to be abandoned. Those who do not pay attention to the lives of great figures of their time and do not record the details of their lives to entrust them to the history are responsible for these failures. Also those historians who do not know their true national legacy, i.e. the great spiritual figures; and do not go on to research in the lives of great men and religious and national honors, but write according to the policy of time or hostilely or ignorantly policies to make living, are responsible.

Though we are not to betray the secrets and issue a bill of indictment against this or that present national and Islamic shining period, I cannot avoid mentioning some examples I have before my eyes, while writing these lines feeling their deep wound in my heart.

With the money of a poor nation, who claims for having a great and historical cultural and scholars such as Mullā Ṣadrā, Fayḍ, Lāhiji, Mīr Dāmād …and the contemporary scholars such as Imām Khumaynī, and ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī, there were established centers to compile a book in more than 1000 pages under the title “the Scientific Biography of Scientists” to submit to people; as if this book has been written in a country, where there were not scholars such as Mullā Ṣadrā and the like.¹

The European policy has tried to eliminate our science and philosophy and replace them with the western philosophy, western laws, western sociology, psychology and medicine and even western literature for 200 years. This policy has attempted to make young people of this country, instead of Mullā Ṣadrā, Fayḍ Lāhiji, Ḥazīn and the like, acquainted with the second and third hand scholars of the West, and even the women with whom the western scholars made love.

The Islamic and national revolution of Iran comes to silence this melody which is more mournful than the death of father and play the auspicious melody of the freedom and independence and retrieve its real majesty from under the dust of forgetfulness. But alas!

Why are not all this cultural and scientific energy and all those budget and facilities employed to introduce our scholars to the West and Western people, or at least to make our youngs acquainted with their brilliant philosophical and scientific history?

Today everywhere (in every encyclopedia, internet, and TV or radio stations) you look, you find the names of these western famous figures, but the names of our scholars cannot be found as they should, nor can this be expected from the foreigners. Our complaints are of friends that when they establish a cultural organization to embark on a great cultural task, they translate dictionaries of the western philosophers and scholars.

¹ - This book is a translation of an American book, which is compiled for the backwarded nations under the title “Concise dictionary of Scientific Biography. (Written by American Council of Learned societies), produced by an organization called Dānishnāmah-yi Buzurg-i Fārsi, encouraged by the then president.
The name of a philosopher like Mullā Ṣadrā, who is, not only, the honor of the Iranian nation and Shī’ī school and Muslims but also is among the honors of the Orient, can be found in the foreigner encyclopedias, but it is not seen in an encyclopedia, written for the youngs of this country. This is a reason of the humility or the imperfect insight of claimants, and not of the smallness of our jurisprudents and scholars, since as is said “[they] are great men, and can not be reflected in a small mirror”.

One of the interesting points in Mullā Ṣadrā’s life are his travels on pilgrimage to Mecca on foot. Traveling to Mecca on foot, particularly if we take into account his physical weakness, is a devotedly travel. It requires a heart full of love and an eye eager to see the district of the beloved to go on to travel on foot like he who looks for his lost jewel and seeks his multifaceted beloved everywhere and in every step.

His devotedly and preferential travels seem to have taken place in the last decade of his staying in Shirāz. If, according to his grandson, his date of death is 1045 A.H./1635 A.D., we can conclude that he traveled almost every year to Mecca.

Today, the shortest land way to Iraq and Karbala passes through Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Qaṣr Shirin and Khāniqayn, and if one is to travel on foot, this is the easiest path. From the travel letters, however, it is understood that in that time, to travel to Iraq and the sacred thresholds passengers went through one of the ports of the Persian Gulf to Basra.

For a passenger who wants to go to Iraq and Hijāz from Shirāz, the shortest way is through Kāzirūn to one of the above-mentioned ports and then sailing to Basra. And it is certain and agreed upon that this philosopher’s death had been taken place in Basra. Hence his path should be assumed to be the hard- and as a foreigner tourist says, dangerous path from Kāzirūn to the Persian Gulf and from there to Basra- which was “the road to Karbala” and “the road to Ka’ba”.

In the dictionary of love, Ka’ba and Karbala are synonyms, thus their roads are also the same. The Holy Prophet’s grandson came to Karbala

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1 - His well-known date of death is 1050 A.H.
2 - Cf.note No. 198.
3 - See Tavernieh’s Travel Letter.
from Ka’ba to be faithful to his contract of love. And the true lovers, firstly go to Karbala to declare their devotion and then they will come to Ka’ba to lose their hearts.

The road to Karbala was always full of the love for Ḥusayn (a). In our time, in the imposed war with Iraqi Ba’athís, our youngs gave their lives and called their holy war “the road to Karbala”. The lovers of Ḥusayn proceeded in the road to Iraq and went step by step to reach the court of the beloved.

He who is enamored of Ka’ba of the goal went to Karbala on foot.

Apart from its worshipping and mysterious aspect, the seven travels of this philosopher on pilgrimage to Mecca are likely to have resulted from a sort of vow. But the end of these travels in the seventh travel- the number seven is regarded as a Pythagorean and mysterious number- displays the heaven’s making a joke. This number was respected by Bātinis, and ritual circumambulation of the Ka’ba has been based on this number, and Ḥāji in greater Haj throws the stone of dissociation on Satan seven times per a day for three days.

This awake and accomplished philosopher drunken by the pleasure of the union also puts an end on the seven circumambulation of the Ka’ba of love and stays in the station of Ibrāhīm and gives his life for the Beloved.

Fayyāḍ Lāhījī, understanding this point, says in his elegy:
“Your travel to Ka’ba, oh dear;
Guides the heart to fine points;
The people of intelligence know that;
The distance from Ka’ba is not traversed only on foot;
The body is going to the Ka’ba of bodies;
The spirit is, however, accelerating toward the Ka’ba of the spirits;
...”

“Before the body crosses the road to Ka’ba;
His enthusiasm will reach him to the Ka’ba of the spirits.
And verily, the best road to reach to the Ka’ba of hearts is to leave the garb of the body and traverse the rest of the way with the spirit. This is the misunderstanding of those wayfarers who regard the only way to traverse the road of Ka’ba on foot. Though the near-sighted ones regard the
traversing of the road of Ka’ba only the same as traversing this land road, the mystics deem it as leaving other than God.

In his seventh travel, Mullà Sadrà gave up his life to the Creator, and like the commander of faithful said “by the Lord of Ka’ba I delivered”. He opened the chain of matter of his feet, and flight to the high paradise of the union with the Beloved.

As is well-known his date of death is 1050 A.H./1640 A.D. and according to his grandson (‘Alam al-Hudà Kashâñî) it is 1045 A.H. There is almost no disagreement on the fact that he died in Basrâ. Disagreement is in that, whether he died going to Mecca or returning from Mecca. The place of his tomb also is not agreed upon, and no one knows by sure whether it is in Basra or in Najaf.

The only one who believes that Mullà Sadrà died in Basra is ‘Aliyârî in his “Bihjat al-āmâl fi sharîh zubdat al-maqāl” (part 6).

As regards that whether he died going to Mecca or returning from Mecca, the author of “Hadîyat al-‘ârifîn fi asmâ’ al-mu’allifîn” believes that he died returning from Mecca. Àqâ Buzurg Tehrâni (in al-Muṣafî al-maqâl), however, thinks that he died going to Mecca. Háj Shaykh ‘Abbâs Qumi also, following Àqâ Buzurg Tehrâni, writes the same.

The place of his tomb also is not agreed upon. Some maintain that he was buried in Basra. For example, in an article Rafî’i Qazwînî writes:

Nearly 40 years ago, I asked one ‘Arab Sayyid who had gone to Basra many times about the place of the tomb of the owner of the biography. He replied that there was a tomb in Basra well known as the tomb of Mullà Sadrâ Shirâzî. In recent times, however, those who went to Basra to research in this fact, did not found such a tomb. It is likely that, because of changes in circumstances, the signs of the tomb was destroyed.

Mullà Sadrâ’s grandson, however, stipulates that his clean body was transmitted from Najaf to Basra and buried in the left side of the sacred threshold. The address “left side of the sacred threshold” is not, however, so clear and does not imply a certain point. The officials should solve this problem and determine the accurate place of his tomb.
The year 1050 A.H. is well-known as his date of death, but I have not an evidence to verify this.¹

There are pieces of evidence to confirm the date stipulated by his grandson. First, the ‘Allāmah of time, ‘Alam al-Ḥudā, the offspring of Fayḍ Kāshānī, insisted on recording the accurate dates of death and birth of his relatives. His handwritten manuscript also is saved in a library in Qum (Āyatullāh Marʿashī Najafı’s library).

Second, Mulla Sadra’s Šahrūṣūl al-Kāfī, which has been left incomplete in the section of “Ḥaj”, was written in 1044 A.H./1634 A.D., and it is much likely that he had not completed a book that he had written the main part of it within 2 years, within the next 6 years. In his other book (Mafāṭīḥ al-ghayb), which seems to be his last philosophical-mystical book representing his valuable soul, he stipulates that he is 65 years old. And taking his date of birth into account we reach to (approximately) 1044 A.H.

Despite all its attractiveness, Mullā Sadrā’s life has a bitter taste in its depth. An analysis of Mullā Sadrā’s life, among the ungodly people of time, will make us acquainted with the worst nature of the human-like animals, who are taken into captivity by natures such as envy, self-interesting, the servitude of the Satan of the carnal soul and Satan.

A psychological analysis of the people of that era, which naturally can be generalized on all eras, exposes the ill nature of humanity, which results in a naughty outcome. Of the sincerity of that angel, who was once upon a time in the eternal paradise, there is no trace, and it is replaced with the satanic malice.

Of that intelligence- which is granted to these human-like ones by God, as is reported in Ḥadīth, and through which one can attain the paradise-there remained nothing, but near-sightedness and foolishness. This human-like regards the negligible materialistic profit as worthy to be gained through painstaking. He asks what he has in his own heart, from the ill-natured enemy, and not even from the stranger.

¹ - In the introduction of Masā’il al-qudsiyyah, his date of death has been regarded as 1049 A.H.; but there was found no evidence.
Mullā Ṣadrā himself, with the help of his enemy-knowing insight, refers to these human-like as the hell-bound on the earth. He seems to have seen their hidden animal face through his stone-splitting insight, and felt pity for them. Like a candle he was burning in the night of those sick-hearted people, and finally...

The dark night of these people had not come to an end yet when the candle of being of this bereaved sage, this good servant of God, turned off, and a thick darkness covered the palace of love and mysticism and philosophy.

He went and tranquilized; those wolfish ones, however, did not live forever. He hurried to the station of the Divine grace and the paradise of meeting with Lord. Those black-hearted ones were taken into captivity by the consequences of their deeds. In the house of the tomb they were accompanied by the devils they had created with their own hands and tongues. The fire they had turned on to burn the effects of that divine man, burned their own lives and what a woeful fate!

In the caravan of Ĥaj, now waited in Basra, Mullā Ṣadrā is patient, tired and at the point of death. His friends are running about. The patient who himself is a sage, possesses of the miraculous breath of Christ and does not need a physician. What he prescribed is the best one.

For the last time, he casts a look on his friends and surroundings, does not find a valuable thing, which can help the man in his last travel; closes his eyes disappointedly, and waits for the messenger of the true happiness, and thinks “why doesn’t he has come?” but…

“The messenger does not soothe the heart of the lover;

“A Ka’ba -like thing cannot extinguish the desire for the harem.

In his travel to pilgrimage, in his way to the Ka’ba of heart and the house of the Beloved in Basra, the spirit of this philosopher put off the garb body, and hurried to the heaven and sacred proximity along with the angels who had come to welcome him.

The sound of the bell of the caravan of the light has filled the realm of the heavens, and the group of the saints and sages welcomed him; he had put the sorrows of this world aside and sought a peaceful flight.

Hesitated for a moment, he throw a look on his own thin and weak body surrounded by his fellow travelers; “By God of Ka’ba, I delivered”.

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There was no room for hesitation. His new fellow travelers were waiting. He soon turned away and flight to the high heaven with these friends who had come from the heaven of the friendship.

“*He rested from the world and its sorrows*”