Chapter 7

Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī's 'Refutation' of Ṣadrian Metaphysics¹

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1 Introduction

Amongst the most formidable opponents of the metaphysics of Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1045 AH/1636 or 1050 AH/1640) during the Safavid period was his student and son-in-law 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhījī (d. 1071 AH/1661-2).² Unlike Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091 AH/1680),³ Ṣadrā's other son-in-law and student, Lāhījī's writings were primarily within the tradition of post-Avicennian Islamic philosophical theology. This is best evidenced in his critique of Ṣadrā's principal and innovative doctrine of substantial motion (al-ḥarakah al-jawhariyyah). One of Fayḍ and Lāhījī's disciples, the major Safavid philosopher and mystic Qāḍī Sa'īd

Qummī (d. 1107 AH/1696),⁴ in turn wrote at least two treatises critiquing Sadrā's ontology.

There is no doubt that al-Qummī's critical attitude towards Ṣadrā was shaped by Lāhījī. But the other, and perhaps even greater, influence upon al-Qummī in this regard was his teacher Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī (henceforth 'Mullā Rajab') (d. 1080 AH/1669). We know very little of Mullā Rajab's life, apart from the fact that he may have studied with Mīr Findiriskī (d. 1050 AH/1640), and at some point gained prominence as a major opponent of Mullā Ṣadrā and his followers. Mullā Rajab went on to train a generation of philosophers and theologians whose influence extended into the Qajar period. There is even some evidence to suggest that Mullā Rajab's radical apophatic theology may have had at least some role to play in the attack against Ṣadrā

We are grateful to Ahmad Reza Rahimi-Riseh for sharing with us the relevant parts of his research on Mulla Rajab: 'Late Safavid Philosophy: Rajab 'Alī al-Tabrīzī (d. 1080 AH/1669) and his students', PhD diss., Institut für Islamwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin, in process.

Pertinent European-language scholarship on Lāhījī includes Max Horten, 'Die philosophischen und theologischen Ansichten von Lāhījā (um 1670)', in Der Islam 3 (1912), pp. 91–131; Henry Corbin, La philosophie iranienne islamique aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Paris, 1981, pp. 96–115; Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Işfahān', in The Heritage of Sufism, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (vols. 1–111) and David Morgan (vol. 111), Oxford, 1999, vol. 111, pp. 101–12; Sajjad Rizvi, 'A Sufi Theology Fit for a Shī'ī King: The Gawhar-i Murād of 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhījī (d. 1072/1661–2)', in Sufism and Theology, ed. Ayman Shihadeh, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 83–100.

For Fayḍ Kāshānī, see, inter alia, Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsat dar dawra-yi şafawī*, Qum, 1991, pp. 148–292.

For this fascinating figure, see Corbin, En islam iranien, Paris, 1971–2, vol. IV, pp. 123–201; Corbin, La philosophie, pp. 245-91; Corbin with Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Osman Yahia, Histoire de la philosophie islamique, Paris, 1986, pp. 473–75; Christian Jambet, 'Ésotérisme et néoplatonisme dans l'exégèse du verset de la Lumière (Coran 24, 35) par Qāḍī Saʿīd Qummī', in Esotérisme shi'ite, ses racines et ses prolongements, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Maria De Cillis, Daniel De Smet, and Orhan Mir-Kasimov, Turnhout, 2016, pp. 573–600; Rizvi, '(Neo)Platonism Revived in the Light of the Imāms: Qāḍī Saʿīd Qummī (d. 1107 AH/ 1696) and His Reception of the Theologia Aristotelis', in Classical Arabic Philosophy: Sources and Reception, ed. Peter Adamson, London, 2007, pp. 177–207; Rizvi, 'Time and Creation: The Contribution of Some Safavid Philosophies', in Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia 62 (2006), pp. 713–37 (particularly pp. 731–7); Rizvi, "Seeking the Face of God': The Safawid Hikmat Tradition's Conceptualisation of Walāya Takwīniyya', in The Study of Shi'i Islam, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda, London, 2015, pp. 391–410 (pp. 402–3 in particular).

For Mullā Rajab's life, works, and influence, see Rahimi-Riseh, 'Late Safavid Philosophy'. See also Corbin, En islam iranien, s.v. Index, 'Rajab 'Alî Tabrîzî'; Corbin, La philosophie, pp. 83-96; Corbin with Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Osman Yahia, Histoire, pp. 472-3.

Corbin, La philosophie, p. 83. A study of Mîr Findiriskî's thought can be found in Mahmoud Namazi Esfahani, 'Philosophical and Mystical Dimensions in the Thought and Writings of Mîr Findiriskî (ca. 970-1050/1560-1640): With Special Reference to his Qaşîda Hikmîya (Philosophical Ode)', PhD diss., Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 2003. See also Shankar Nair, 'Sufism as Medium and Method of Translation: Mughal Translations of Hindu Texts Reconsidered', in Studies in Religion 43.3 (2014), pp. 390-410.

187

launched by the 'founder' of the Shaykhi school Shaykh Ahmad Aḥsā'ī (d. 1241 AH/1826).7

Chapter 7

Mulla Rajab's thought has been variously characterised, with some degree of qualification, as Peripatetic,8 Ismā'īlī (particularly in his ontology),9 or in some way Neoplatonic in inspiration (insofar as Ismā'īlī thought and Neoplatonism are separable). To be sure, Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke have noted that, in the Safavid period, the 'most significant impact' of the so-called Theologia Aristotelis is to be found in the writings of Mulla Rajab and his students. 10 This statement holds particularly true for al-Qummī, who penned a highly interesting series of Shī'ī reflections upon the Theologia in the form of glosses (ta'līqāt),11 and Mullā Rajab's other student 'Alī Qulī Khān (d. c. 1091 AH/1680), who wrote a commentary upon the Theologia in Persian.12 Mulla Rajab in particular was familiar with the Theologia, although the extent of the influence of this work upon his thought is yet to be examined in detail.

The only works of Mulla Rajab to have survived are his Persian treatise Ithbāt-i wājib (On the Necessary Being), his dense Arabic work al-Aşl al-aşîl (The Fundamental Principle) (also known as al-Uşül al-āṣifiyya¹³), a collection of his poetry, his glosses on a certain text

in logic, and a compendium of his teachings put together by one of his students.14 The Ithbat and Asl were seen as important works from the time they made their first appearance in Safavid scholarly circles. This is evidenced by the fact that, even during Mulla Rajab's lifetime, the Ithbat had already been the subject of at least more than one refutation, and both the Ithbat and Asl were translated (the Asl into Persian and the Ithbat into Arabic by al-Qummī himself). 15 Given the importance of the Ithbat and Aşl in Mulla Rajab's oeuvre, therefore, these two works will be the focus of the present investigation.¹⁶

In the Ithbat and Asl Mulla Rajab takes issue with the main elements of Şadrian metaphysics, offering a critical reading of every major Sadrian doctrine. Unlike al-Ghazālī (d. 505 AH/1111 CE) in his Tahāfut al-falāsifah (The Incoherence of the Philosophers)¹⁷ in these texts Mullā Rajab does not attempt to first demonstrate an intimate familiarity with the positions of his adversaries and then, on that basis, provide his responses to these. When he does present the positions of Şadrā and his followers, it is always in a partial and incorrect light.

See Corbin's note in Şadrā, Le livre des pénétrations métaphysiques, tr. Henry Corbin, Paris, 1988, p. 180. The classic inquiry into Shaykh Ahmad's thought remains Corbin, En islam iranien, vol. IV, pp. 205-300. See also Juan Cole, 'Casting Away the Self: The Mysticism of Shaykh Ahmad al-Ahsā i', in The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture and Political History, ed. Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende, Leiden, 2001, pp. 25-37.

See Corbin, La philosophie, p. 83.

Corbin, La philosophie, p. 84. We shall return to the question of Mulla Rajab's ontology and its putative Ismā'īlī influence in due course.

See Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, 'An Eastern Renaissance? Greek Philosophy Under the Safavids (16th-18th Centuries AD)', in Intellectual History of the Islamicate World 3 (2015), p. 267.

For a study of al-Qummi's glosses upon the Theologia, see Rizvi, '(Neo)Platonism Revived in the Light of the Imams'.

Pourjavady and Schmidtke, 'An Eastern Renaissance?', p. 267.

This alternative title alludes to a certain Āṣif b. Barkhiyā, a sage and companion of the prophet Solomon who some believe is alluded to in Q. 27:40 as possessing 'knowledge of the Book'. See Corbin, La philosophie, p. 85 and the commentary upon Q. 27:40 in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Caner Dagli, Maria Dakake, Joseph Lumbard, and

Mohammed Rustom (ed.), The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary, New York, 2015, p. 934.

Rahimi-Riseh, 'Late Safavid Philosophy', sec. 2.3. Although the Ithbat and Aşl have been published, modern critical editions of these works are currently being prepared by Rahimi-Riseh under the title, Opera Omnia: Collected Works of Rajab 'Alī al-Tabrīzī. The entire Ithbāt and key selections from the Asl are also available in Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī and Henry Corbin (ed.), Anthologie des philosophes iraniens depuis le XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, Tehran, 1972-5, vol. 1, pp. 220-71. These texts have been translated by Mohammed Rustom as On the Necessary Being (Ithbāt-i vājib) and The Fundamental Principle (al-Aşl al-aşīl), in An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi, London, 2008-15, vol. v, pp.

Rahimi-Riseh, 'Late Safavid Philosophy', sec. 2.3.

It should here be noted that citations from the Ithbat and Asl in this article will refer to the texts as edited and presented in Āshtiyānī and Corbin (ed.), Anthologie. Translations of these works, with slight modifications, are from the Rustom translation in Nasr and Aminrazavi (ed.), An Anthology. Therefore, in this article the Ithbat and Aṣl will be cited as follows: Mullā Rajab, Arabic/Persian text title, volume and page number(s) from the Anthologie; English translation of text title, volume and page number(s) from An Anthology. For example: Mulla Rajab, Ithbat, vol. 1, p. 222; Necessary Being, vol. V, p. 286.

For which, see Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, The Incoherence of the Philosophers, 2nd edn., tr. Michael Marmura, Provo, 2000.

189

In other instances, their views are not taken into account at all, and instead the author simply jumps straight into his own counter-arguments. We thus walk away from these texts with not so much a refutation of Sadrian metaphysics as a polemic-likely motivated by an uncompromising form of Shī'ī piety--in the garb of a philosophical response.

The Primacy of Being

Mullā Rajab's Ithbāt-i wājib is largely dedicated to a critique of the linchpin of Şadrian metaphysics, namely the doctrine of the 'primacy of being' (aṣālat al-wujūd). This position is premised on the view that the term wujūd ('being' or 'existence') is synonymous (al-ishtirāk al-ma'nawī) and not homonymous (al-ishtirāk al-lafzī). In general, 'homonymy' refers to those instances in which different meanings are predicated of the same term. Take, for example, the word 'table'. On the one hand, it can refer to a piece of furniture used for various purposes; on the other hand, it can also refer to a graph used as a statistical tool for quantification and analysis. In contrast to homonymy, 'synonymy' refers to those instances in which the same meanings are predicated of the same term. Consider the case of the word 'animal'; it is an instance of synonymy because its meaning remains the same whether it is predicated of a giraffe, cow, or lion.¹⁸

Towards the beginning of the Ithbat Mulla Rajab tells us that most of the philosophers in his day were against the notion that wujūd was homonymous, which might suggest that Ṣadrā's teachings had gained prominence in Safavid intellectual circles at least shortly after his own death:

Up to now, the opinion of the majority of people has been that nobody would adhere to this [position concerning the

homonymous nature of wujūd], and if there were such a person. his name would not be recorded amongst the famous scholars because of the weakness—according to them—of this position. They have spoken vulgarities, since the foundations of religion and belief are based upon proofs, not by following famous men!19

Mullā Rajab's central argument is that the doctrine of the primacy of being is false because the Necessary Being and contingent beings can only share terms like 'existence' (wujūd) and 'existent' (mawjūd) in a manner that is homonymous. Although he will attempt to refute Şadra's metaphysics on philosophical grounds, it seems that his perspective is informed, in the first instance, by religious and dogmatic considerations. This explains why his main line of argumentation in the Ithbat is sandwiched between a string of citations, often employed quite selectively, from various authorities ranging from Plotinus, al-Fārābī (d. 339 AH/950 CE), Şūfis belonging to the 'school' of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638 AH/1240 CE), and the 'philosophers of India' on the one hand, and several Shī'ī Imāms on the other.

Some examples of these citations are in order, as they will help set the stage for our analysis of Mulla Rajab's polemic against Sadrian metaphysics. The first citation draws on the Theologia, the second a poem from the great Şūfi metaphysician Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 720 AH/1320 CE), and the third a famous saying of Imam al-Rida' (d. 203 AH/817 CE), the eighth Shī'ī Imām:

If the meaning of [the term] wujūd with respect to God in His essence refers to the meaning of [the term] wujūd that is to be found in contingent things, it would follow that He too is created. Aristotle [i.e. Plotinus] says, 'The Pure One is the cause of all things, but is not like the things'.20 It is therefore necessary that

To further complicate matters, a number of terms also retain features of both synonymy and homonymy. The Persian word shir, for example, means both 'lion' and 'milk', thereby rendering it as a homonym. However, when we consider shīr qua milk, we notice that it functions as a synonym since there are multiple reference points for various kinds of milk, namely cow-milk, camel-milk, goat-milk, etc.

Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 220; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 285. The 'famous men' here is an obvious reference to Mulla Şadra and his more noteworthy students.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (ed.), Aflūṭīn 'ind al-'arab, Kuwait, 1977, pp. 51, 160, 162. For a study of the Theologia, see Peter Adamson, The Arabic Plotinus: A Philosophical Study of the 'Theology of Aristotle', London, 2002.

His wujūd be other than the wujūd of things. If not, then He would be like them.21

On the issue of God's transcendence (tanzīh), the Sūfis have not even allowed [for God] to be named. This is what they say, '[He is] nameless, traceless, indescribable, and characterless'. How beautifully has the gnostic Shabistarī spoken concerning this issue!²²

His Essence is beyond quantity, quality, and modality.

Exalted is His Essence above what they say!23

In The Book of Divine Unity [by Ibn Bābūyah (d. 381 AH/991 CE)], it is reported that Imam al-Rida' said, 'Whoever likens God to His creatures assigns partners to Him'.24

In citing the great authorities of the past, Mulla Rajab would like to safeguard what he feels are serious compromises to God's transcendence inherent in Sadrian ontology, namely that if the term wujūd is synonymous between the necessary and the contingent, it would lead to the latter's equivalence to the former at least in some respect, and this would undermine God's transcendence and hence compromise the doctrine of divine unity (tawhid) so foundational to all of Islamic thinking.25

At the same time, it will be recalled that we characterised Mullā Rajab's use of quotations from past authorities to help bolster his claim as 'selective', and this for good reason. One example here shall suffice. In the second citation just provided, we see Mulla Rajab put forward the notion that the Sūfis have emphasised God's radical transcendence or tanzīh to such an extent that God could not even be named. To this effect, he provides a verse from Shabistari's masterpiece of Şūfī doctrine the Gulshan-i rāz (The Rosegarden of Mystery) in which the author maintains that God is beyond name, trace, quality, and characterisation. By 'Sūfīs' Mullā Rajab means followers of Ibn 'Arabī, as is clear from his drawing on Shabistarī and his subsequent citation from Şadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673 AH/1274 CE).26 Mullā Rajab is correct to assert that the Suffs in question adhere to the basic doctrine of God's transcendence. Yet, he only gives us one part of the equation. It is well-known that a key component of Akbarian metaphysics is that of the simultaneous affirmation of God's transcendence and immanence (tashbih) with respect to the manifold ways in which God reveals Himself to the cosmos through His self-disclosures (tajalliyāt).27

Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī's 'Refutation' of Şadrian Metaphysics

Even in his treatment of the Akbarian perspective on God's transcendence, Mulla Rajab leaves out some key distinctions which really defy his cut-and-dry presentation of the issue. In particular, it can be noted that, from Ibn 'Arabī onward, his followers have always adhered to a position of God's transcendence which is quite unlike the usual theological assertion of God's tanzīh. This is best seen in the basic Akbarian notion of the two-fold nature of the divine Essence (dhāt). In this teaching, God qua unmanifest Essence or Essence of exclusive oneness (al-dhāt al-ahadiyyah) is conceived as

Mulla Rajab, Ithbat, vol. 1, pp. 223-4; Necessary Being, vol. V, p. 287. 21

Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 226; Necessary Being, vol. V, p. 287. 22

Shabistarī, Gulshan-i rāz, ed. Javad Nurbakhsh, Tehran, 1976, p. 10 (line 31). For a thorough study of Shabistari's life and thought, see Lewisohn, Beyond Faith and Infidelity: The Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Mahmud Shabistari, Richmond, 1995.

Mulla Rajab, Ithbat, vol. 1, p. 239; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 292. The statement is to be found, but as a saying of Imam Ja'far al-Şādiq (d. 148 AH/765 CE), in Ibn Bābūyah, al-Tawhīd, Najaf, 1966, p. 39.

Once tawhid is compromised, we enter into the murky waters of shirk or associating partners with God. This explains why, after the opening benedictions which customarily accompany Islamicate texts, Mulla Rajab begins the Ithbat with a partial quote from Q. 4:48 and Q. 4:116: Truly God forgives not that any partner be ascribed unto Him To drive his point home further, the treatise ends with a quote from Q. 37:180-82, a part of which reads: Glory be to thy Lord, the Lord of Might, above that

which they ascribe These translations are taken from Nasr et al. (ed.), The Study

See Mulla Rajab, Ithbat, vol. 1, p. 226; Necessary Being, vol. V, pp. 287-8. An excellent exposition of Qunawi's teachings can be found in Richard Todd, The Sufi Doctrine of Man: The Metaphysical Anthropology of Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi, Leiden, 2014. For an appraisal of this work, see Rustom, 'Review of Richard Todd's The Sufi Doctrine of Man', in Journal of Qur'anic Studies 18.1 (2016), pp. 161-7.

For the transcendence/immanence interplay in the writings of Ibn 'Arabī in particular, see William Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabī's Metaphysics of Imagination, Albany, 1989.

being only knowable and accessible to Himself. At the same time, God qua manifest Essence or Essence of inclusive oneness (al-dhāt al-wāḥidiyyah) comes into the purview of human knowability and accessibility and therefore corresponds to what we normally refer to as 'God' in common theological language.²⁸

Mullā Rajab's emphasis upon such teachings as the Akbarian doctrine of God's radical transcendence therefore conveniently dovetails with his exposition at the end of the *Ithbāt* where he seeks to affirm, through the sayings of the Shī'ī Imāms, the completely unknowable, unqualifiable, and attribute-less nature of God.²⁹ Indeed, Mullā Rajab's approach here seems to be coloured by a general view concerning God's attributes which can only be negatively 'affirmed', that is, by way of the *via negativa*:

The qualities of perfection are affirmed by negating their opposites, which lie on the side of imperfection. The early philosophers held this position, saying that every quality of perfection that can be attributed to the essence of God—even the necessity of wujūd [itself]—returns to a negation of the [qualities] which lie on the side of imperfection. Thus, the attribution of 'existent' to God carries this sense, since it is not 'contingent', neither in the sense that necessity and wujūd are accidents of the essence of God and are subsistent such that the essence of God [comes to] carry the meaning of wujūd [and] 'existent', nor in the sense of 'necessity' in the way that it applies to contingent things.³⁰

There might indeed be some clear links with earlier Fatimid thought and Mullā Rajab's ontology in particular. We know, for example, that three major Fatimid thinkers, namely Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. ca. 411 AH/1020 CE), Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. ca. 462 AH/1070 CE), and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548 AH/1153 CE) were all of the view

that wujūd is a kind of super-genus and hence inapplicable to God. For Kirmānī and Khusraw, this meant that it is incorrect to attribute wujūd to God, while for Shahrastānī in particular (and to some extent perhaps Kirmānī), it meant that wujūd can be applied to God, but in an equivocal or homonymous manner.³¹

For his part, Mullā Rajab seems to take up Shahrastānī's position, with an accent on the view that if the term wujūd refers to the same meaning in both the necessary and the contingent, a kind of congruence (sinkhiyyah) would be implied between them. This would be a clear error since the necessary is, by definition, other than the contingent. As Mullā Rajab puts it:

Sharing of [the terms] wujūd and 'existent' (mawjūd) between the necessary and the contingent is homonymous, not synonymous, for if the meaning of wujūd and 'existent'—which are self-evident concepts—were common between the necessary and the contingent, that meaning would apply to the Necessary Being itself, or part of its essence, or an accident of its wujūd. Thus, we say that the Necessary Being itself cannot, [at the same time,] be that wujūd which is a self-evident concept, a contingent quality, and [that which] is dependent upon the essence of the contingent.³²

Here, Mullā Rajab argues that if the meaning of $wuj\bar{u}d$ were to apply synonymously to the necessary and the contingent, it would apply to: (1) the necessary itself, or (2) a part of the necessary's essence, or (3) an accident of the necessary's essence. He goes on to state that (1) is impossible because, unlike the concept of $wuj\bar{u}d$, the essence of the necessary is not self-evident $(bad\bar{u}h\bar{u})$. At the same time, (2) is impossible because $wuj\bar{u}d$ is a 'quality' $(sifah)^{33}$ whereas the Necessary Being qua essence cannot be qualified $(maws\bar{u}f)$. As for (3), it too is impossible

For a recent treatment of the fundamental distinction between ahadiyyah and wāḥidiyyah and their implications vis-à-vis the God-world relationship, see Rustom, 'Philosophical Sufism', in The Routledge Companion to Islamic Philosophy, ed. Richard Taylor and Luis Xavier López-Farjeat, New York, 2016, pp. 399-411.

See Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, pp. 236–42; Necessary Being, vol. v, pp. 291–3.

³⁰ Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, pp. 242-3; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 293.

See, respectively, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Knowledge and Liberation: A Treatise on Philosophical Theology, tr. Faquir Hunzai, London, 1998, p. 42; Kirmānī, Rāḥat al-'aql, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut, 1983, pp. 152-3; Shahrastānī, Struggling with the Philosopher: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics, tr. Wilferd Madelung and Toby Mayer, London, 2001, pp. 24-5, 50, 54.

Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, pp. 232-3; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 290.

Throughout the *Ithbāt*, Mullā Rajab employs the term *ṣifa* (lit. 'attribute') as a synonym for 'quality' (*kayf*).

because wujūd is contingent while the Necessary Being qua essence is not contingent.³⁴

In (1), Mullā Rajab's argument mistakenly conflates the concept (mafhūm) of wujūd with its referent (miṣdāq). In his view, if the concept of wujūd is synonymous between the necessary and the contingent, it would lead to supposing that both the former and the latter share the same structure of reality in the extra-mental world. As he makes clear in the Aṣl, Mullā Rajab's view is entirely informed by the principle (which has its roots in Neoplatonism) to the effect that none proceeds from the One but the one (lā yaṣduru 'an al-wāḥid illā al-wāḥid). One of the major implications of this position is that since God is the efficient cause of wujūd, He cannot be coloured by wujūd:

Necessary Being cannot be described by that general, self-evident type of wujūd (al-wujūd al-ʿāmm al-badīhī) which is predicated of things because He is the efficient cause of this wujūd. And it is impossible for the efficient cause of something to be receptive to that thing. With this in mind, what becomes apparent is the falsity of the position of the later philosophers (al-muta'akhkh-irūn), namely that between the necessary and the contingent wujūd is synonymous.³⁶

Ṣadrā for his part clearly draws a distinction between the concept of wujūd and its referent on the one hand, and the concept of wujūd and its reality (ḥaqīqah) or identity (inniyyah) on the other. This point is essential to Ṣadrā's metaphysics, since it accounts for the fundamental features of his ontology wherein wujūd is both the ground for all unity and multiplicity, or, put differently, all identity and difference. Consider this well-known statement by Ṣadrā:

The reality of wujūd is the most manifest of all things through presence and unveiling, and its quiddity is the most hidden among things conceptually and in its inner reality. Of all things, its concept is the least in need of definition because of its manifestness and clarity and its being the most general among all concepts in its comprehensiveness. Its identity is the most particular of all particular things, in both its determination and concreteness, because through it is made concrete all that is concrete, is realised all that is realised, and is determined all that is determined and particularised....[i]t is particularised through its own essence and is determined through itself....³⁷

In no uncertain terms, Ṣadrā tells us that, although the referent of the concept of wujūd is both the necessary and the contingent, the wujūd of the necessary, based on the primacy and gradation (tashkīk) of wujūd, is infinitely perfect and most intense upon the scale of wujūd, while the wujūd of each contingent thing is entirely coloured by imperfection and deficiency upon that same scale. In short, the difference between the necessary and the contingent lies in their respective degrees of intensity and weakness, or the respective levels of perfection and imperfection in the structure of wujūd itself. With this point in mind, it is clear that Mullā Rajab glosses over these important distinctions in Ṣadrian metaphysics and thereby fails to address Ṣadrā's emphasis upon such key notions as the relationship between the concept and reality of wujūd, the gradational nature of wujūd, univocal predication (al-ḥaml al-muṭawāti'), gradational predication (al-ḥaml al-tashkīkī), etc. 19

³⁴ Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, pp. 233-4; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 290.

For this doctrine, see Avicenna, Ilāhiyyāt IX.4, §§ 5-10, translated in Avicenna, The Metaphysics of the Healing, tr. Michael Marmura, Provo, 2005, pp. 328-30. Cf. the related Neoplatonic idea in John Dillon and Lloyd Gerson (ed. and tr.), Neoplatonic Philosophy: Introductory Readings, Indianapolis, 2004, pp. 83-6, 264, 266-7.

Mullā Rajab, Aşl, vol. I, p. 248; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, p. 296. The 'later philosophers' of course being none other than Şadrā and his followers.

Şadrā, The Book of Metaphysical Penetrations, tr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr; edited by Ibrahim Kalin, Provo, 2014, pp. 6-7.

For useful treatments of this key Şadrian teaching, see Cécile Bonmariage, Le Réel et les réalités: Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī et la structure de la réalité, Paris, 2008, pt. 1; Ibrahim Kalin, Mullā Ṣadrā, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 94-7; Rizvi, Mullā Ṣadrā and Metaphysics: Modulation of Being, Routledge, 2009, pp. 109-14. An extensive analysis of the problematic of tashkīk in Ṣadrā can be found in 'Abd al-Rasūl 'Ubūdiyyat, Nizām-i Ṣadrā'ī: tashkīk dar wujūd, Qum, 2010, pp. 17-32, 55-97, 191-257.

See Ṣadrā, al-Ḥikmah al-muta'āliyah ft al-asfār al-'aqliyyah al-arba'ah, ed. Ghulēm Riḍā A'wānī et al., Tehran, 2001–4, vol. ĭ, pp. 41, 71, 140–1, 303, 308, 481–3, 511, 515, 526–7 (henceforth, this work shall be cited as 'Asfār').

Let us now turn to (2), which in many ways also informs (3). In order to understand what Mullā Rajab is getting at when he refers to wujūd as a 'quality' (sifah), it is apt to cite his definition of quality visà-vis the essence of the Necessary Being in the Ithbāt:

A quality is a thing which, in its own essence and quiddity, is contingent upon and inheres in that which is qualified. It is not possible for something which is contingent upon something [else] in its own essence and quiddity and in which it inheres to be the essence of that thing. Therefore, the essence of the Necessary Being cannot be qualified.⁴⁰

The fundamental problem here is with Mullā Rajab's definition of 'quality'. Contra Mullā Rajab, none of the philosophers speak of quality as a 'thing' on account of the simple fact that quality is one of the nine Aristotelian categories pertaining to accidents (a'rād) which, by definition, are not 'things'. In (2), therefore, Mullā Rajab introduces a category mistake by reducing wujūd to a 'thing', namely a kind of 'accident' (i.e., quality). To be sure, Ṣadrā and his predecessors all concur that wujūd does not fall into one of the Aristotelian categories because its meaning/sense is more general and universal than any one of the categories. This is why Ṣadrā emphatically states that wujūd has neither genus (jins) nor differentia (faṣl), as these are properties of universal concepts and quiddities. 12

It will be recalled that in (3) Mullā Rajab maintains that if the meaning of wujūd is shared between the necessary and the contingent in a univocal sense, it would pertain to an accident of the essence of the necessary. This, Mullā Rajab argues, is not possible, since the essence of the necessary is not contingent whereas wujūd as such is. Thus, the meaning of the term wujūd cannot in any way univocally apply to both that which is contingent and that which is not contingent. The reasoning here is not all together clear. But another passage in the *Ithbāt* renders his thinking somewhat more transparent:

[if the meaning of the term wujūd is shared between the necessary and the contingent,] then wujūd would require accidents, or not require them since it is self-subsistent, or require nothing. If it would require accidents, then wherever it is to be found, there would be accidents. It would therefore follow that the essence of God is accidental, which is impossible.⁴³

Mullā Rajab here presents us with an arbitrary set up of three positions for which no initial clarification is offered. We are not told why and how synonymy between the necessary and the contingent would lead to wujūd's requiring accidents. In fact, it is not even clear what is meant for wujūd to 'require accidents' in the first place. If it refers to wujūd's 'having' accidents, then Mullā Rajab would need to explain what these 'accidents' are and what kind of accidents they are, that is, essential accidents (al-'awāriḍ al-dhātiyyah) or concomitant accidents (al-'awāriḍ al-lāzimiyyah). Without clarifying his terms, Mullā Rajab simply states that if wujūd 'requires' accidents then wherever it is found there will be accidents. Thus, if wujūd is found in the necessary then its essence would also be 'accidental', which is impossible. Such a line of reasoning is indeed self-defeating, and amounts to an instance

⁴⁰ Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 242; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 290.

For the Aristotelian categories, see Aristotle, Categories, 1a1-15b32, in Aristotle, The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation, ed. Jonathan Barnes, Princeton, NJ, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 2-27. For a discussion of Aristotle's theory of the categories, see Paul Studtmann, 'Aristotle's Categorical Scheme', in The Oxford Handbook of Aristotle, ed. Christopher Shields, Oxford, 2012, pp. 63-80.

See, inter alia, Şadrā's well-known statement in Mashā'ir § 12: '[t]he reality of wujūd is not a genus, nor a species, nor an accident, since it is not a natural universal (kullī tabī'i)' (tr. in Ṣadrā, Metaphysical Penetrations, p. 9). For Ṣadrā's treatment of natural universals, see Muhammad Faruque, 'Mullā Ṣadrā on the Problem of Natural Universals', in Arabic Sciences and Philosophy 27, 2, (2017), pp. 269-302; Toshihiko Izutsu, 'The Problem of Quiddity and the Natural Universal in Islamic Metaphysics', in Études philosophiques offertes au Dr. Ibrahim Madkur, ed. Osman Amin, Cairo, 1974, pp. 131-77.

Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 243; Necessary Being, vol. v, p. 290. See also Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 223; Necessary Being, vol. v, pp. 286-7: 'God originates the existence of things and their forms such that their existence and quiddities exist simultaneously. It is therefore known that the existence of things and their quiddities are both caused and created by God. If the meaning of [the term] 'existence' with respect to God in His essence refers to the meaning of [the term] 'existence' that is to be found in contingent things, it would follow that He too is created'.

of 'pre-positing the conclusion before its being proven' (al-muṣādirah 'alā al-maṭlūb).

How does Mullā Rajab not see the problematic nature of his assertions in this regard? The answer lies in the fact that, for Mullā Rajab, wujūd and essence are distinct with respect to the necessary. Earlier in the *Ithbāt*, he advances an argument to this effect:

It cannot be that wujūd is a part of the essence of the Necessary Being because, as a corollary to this false position, it would follow that it is also compounded. But wujūd cannot be an accident of the essence of the Necessary Being because the cause of this wujūd would either be the essence of the Necessary Being or other than the essence of the Necessary Being.⁴⁴

That is to say, if wujūd is part of the essence of the necessary, it would follow that the latter is compounded, which is untenable. This position is based on yet another incorrect reading of Ṣadrā's position, who, alongside Avicenna (d. 428 AH/1037 CE) and many other philosophers in the Islamic intellectual tradition, states that the wujūd of the necessary is its 'very' essence. ⁴⁵ This stands in stark contrast to 'what is other than God' (mā siwā allāh), which is absolutely composite in terms of its essence and wujūd.

Furthering his argument against the synonymy of wujūd, Mullā Rajab affirms that wujūd cannot be the 'essence' of the necessary because it would then lead to the latter's being both the cause and recipient of wujūd, which is inadmissible:

If wujūd is the essence of the Necessary Being, then it would follow that the latter is both the cause of this wujūd and receptive to this wujūd, which is impossible. If it is other than the essence of the Necessary Being, then it would follow that the Necessary Being is contingent upon another for wujūd. It would thus be contingent being, not the Necessary Being.⁴⁶

Mullā Rajab thus ignores the traditional 'proof of the veracious' (burhān al-ṣiddīqīn) for the necessary, which was made popular by Avicenna and has been drawn upon by a variety of thinkers in the Islamic and cognate traditions ever since. According to this argument, the chain of contingency must necessarily end in an un-caused being, which is none other than the wājib al-wujūd. From a Sadrian perspective, it would be fallacious to argue that the necessary is both the cause and recipient of this wujūd because the necessary is, by definition, un-caused (or the First Cause) and the very 'stuff' of wujūd.

3 The Primacy of Quiddity

Setting up a dichotomy between essence and wujūd also allows Mullā Rajab to venture into a defence of the 'primacy of quiddity' (aṣālat al-māhiyyah) over and against the Ṣadrian standpoint on the primacy of wujūd. Before proceeding, however, it is important to briefly outline quiddity's three modes.⁴⁹

- a) al-māhiyyah lā bi shart: an unconditioned quiddity or natural universal, which is considered in an absolute, indeterminate manner and is not in any way delimited by either positively conditioned or negatively conditioned factors. As such, it is neither existent nor non-existent.
- al-māhiyyah bi sharţ lā: a negatively conditioned quiddity, which
 is still devoid of any individuation or determination, and can
 thus only exist in the mind.

⁴⁴ Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, pp. 234-35; Necessary Being, vol. V, pp. 290-1.

For this argument, see Avicenna, *Ilāhiyyāt*, vol. VIII.4, §§ 3-13, translated in Avicenna, *Metaphysics of the Healing*, pp. 328-30.

⁴⁶ Mullā Rajab, Ithbāt, vol. 1, p. 235; Necessary Being, vol. V, p. 291.

For this argument in Avicenna, see Toby Mayer, 'Ibn Sīnā's 'burhân al-ṣiddīqīn", in Journal of Islamic Studies 12.1 (2001), pp. 18–39; Jon McGinnis, Avicenna, New York, 2010, pp. 163–7.

⁴⁸ For helpful discussions of Ṣadrā's version of the siddīqīn argument, see Hamidreza Ayatollahy, The Existence of God: Mulla Sadra's Seddiqin Argument Versus Criticisms of Kant and Hume, Tehran, 2005; Kalin, Mullā Ṣadrā, pp. 74-6; Sayeh Meisami, Mulla Sadra, Oxford, 2013, pp. 83-8; Rizvi, Mullā Ṣadrā and Metaphysics, pp. 124-7.

For some standard and more detailed discussions of the different modes of quiddities, see Mullā Hādī Sabziwārī, Sharḥ-i manzūmah, ed. Mehdi Mohaghegh and Toshihiko Izutsu, Tehran, 1969, pp. 132-3; Āqa ʿAlī Mudarris Zunūzī, Badāʾiʿ al-ḥikam, Tehran, 1996, pp. 291-4, 371 ff.

In the Aşl, Mulla Rajab presents the problem as follows:

200

Know that quiddity qua itself is nothing but itself.... If quiddity qua itself is nothing but itself, then an extra-mentally existent quiddity is either an extra-mental quiddity only, or it is a quiddity accompanied by extra-mental wujūd. If it is an extra-mental quiddity only, it cannot be existent because quiddity qua itself is nothing but itself, as you know. Yet here we suppose it to be existent, which would entail absurdity.⁵⁰

Mullā Rajab consequently approaches the question of quiddities without explaining their three different modes. He takes it for granted that a 'quiddity' can be extra-mentally existent (c) on the grounds that, since 'quiddity qua quiddity is nothing but itself' (a) and has no kind of wujūd, only quiddities that do exist extra-mentally can be taken into serious consideration. Seemingly unaware of the status of quiddities in their negatively conditioned state (b), Mullā Rajab fails to recognise that, from the Ṣadrian perspective, 'extra-mental' quiddities (c) are, by definition, not quiddities qua quiddities (a). Without taking account of this important point, he then explains in rather straight-forward fashion that, extra-mentally speaking, wujūd is a concomitant of quiddity:

If it is affirmed that $wuj\bar{u}d$ accompanies quiddity extra-mentally, then it is affirmed that $wuj\bar{u}d$ be concomitant with quiddity extra-mentally in the sense that it is posterior to quiddity because the $wuj\bar{u}d$ of a thing is a corollary of the thing and necessarily follows it. If $wuj\bar{u}d$ follows quiddity and is its corollary, the instantiating action (ja^cl) of the agent must attach to quiddity firstly and essentially, and then $wuj\bar{u}d$ can be concomitant with quiddity because it is self-evidently impossible for the agent to first cause

the corollary of a thing and its concomitant, and then [to cause] its basis and that with which the thing is concomitant.⁵¹

Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī's 'Refutation' of Şadrian Metaphysics

Informed by his failure to distinguish between the three modes of quiddity (a, b, c), Mullā Rajab also does not attempt to engage with the complexity of the Şadrian notion that the instantiated agent (al-maj'ūl bi al-dhāt) is none other than wujūd itself, and not quiddity as such. 52 Mullā Rajab thus presents us with what, on the surface of things, seems like a competing picture over the essence/wujūd problem posited against Ṣadrian ontology, but not an actual response to the substance of Ṣadrian metaphysics concerning the oneness and primacy of wujūd, and, by extension, the place of 'quiddities' in wujūd's inherent centripetal and centrifugal dynamism. Nevertheless, the implications of some of Mullā Rajab's views on the primacy of quiddity—problematic as they may be—are thrown into greater relief when we examine how he tackles the question of 'mental existence' (al-wujūd al-dhihnī), to which we shall now turn.

4 Mental Existence

In the Aṣl, Mullā Rajab presents two premises in order to demonstrate the falsity of mental existence.

This demonstration [proving the falsity of al-wujūd al-dhihnī] rests on two premises. One of them is self-evident, namely that when there is knowledge by way of the apprehension of a form in the mind—as is the later philosophers' position—it must be a knowable mental form derived from something [external] which belongs to the species of this thing. For example, if we sought to obtain knowledge of a certain species of a substance, its form would necessarily have to be knowable from this species because of the impossibility of knowing a substance from its accident, or of the form 'man' from the form 'horse'.... The second premise...

Mullā Rajab, Aşl, vol. 1, p. 259; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, p. 300.

⁵² See, for example, the discussion in Şadrã, Asfār, vol. 1, p. 488; vol. 11, pp. 3-5, 335, 406.

results in the necessity that for every material form there be a specified matter disposed towards it, and that it is not possible for the form to inhere in other than it.⁵³

The phrase 'certain species of a substance' is considerably vague, since species (naw') is related to its genus (jins), and not to substance (jawhar). It is also quite unclear how 'knowledge by way of the apprehension of a form in the mind' is self-evident. What Mullā Rajab seems to be suggesting is that we cannot know a substance from its accidents. According to him, Ṣadrā and his followers state that since we apprehend mental forms, these forms must derive from some species existing in the external world. With respect to the second premise, Mullā Rajab contends that for every 'material form' there is a specified matter that becomes united with it. But, since matter is pure potency, it is form that actualises matter and not vice versa.

Based on two premises which are problematic to begin with, Mullā Rajab goes on to ask why the mind is not set aflame when the form of fire is said to 'exist' in the mind. ⁵⁴ In other words, he argues that if the form of fire in the extra-mental world burns, then it should also do the same for the 'mental' existence of fire. He therefore wrongly assumes that no change is supposed to take place between the mental and extra-mental forms of fire on the one hand, and that the concomitants of quiddity cannot be separated from quiddity on the other.

Şadrā's treatment of al-wujūd al-dhihnī easily provides answers to these kinds of objections in his analysis of the differences between primary essential predication (al-haml al-awwalī al-dhātī) and synthetic common predication (al-haml al-shā'ī' al-ṣanā'ī). 55 According to Ṣadrā, extra-mental fire does not burn when existing in the mind because it is the quiddity of fire which is present in the mind, not its external properties. In other words, the quiddity of fire remains the same in both its mental and extra-mental modes of wujūd, and this wujūd takes on different modes and assumes different forms in different cases. Thus the external wujūd of fire necessitates its properties

being present with it while the mental wujūd of fire is devoid of any such properties.

5 Substantial Motion

In his attempt to refute the key Ṣadrian doctrine of 'substantial motion' (al-ḥarakah al-jawhariyyah), Mullā Rajab commits himself to a definition of motion proper that is ultimately confined to what is known as 'transitive motion' (al-ḥarakah al-qaṭ'iyyah), which takes place as a gradual transition from potentiality to actuality:

According to the correct opinion, motion is the quality of change amongst mutable things (*mutaghayyirāt*). Change takes place in two ways: (1) simultaneously, as occurs in generation and corruption, and (2) gradually, which is motion [proper]....

Motion is an accident for something when that thing has potentiality. But when a thing's potentiality ceases—for example the intellect—transitive motion is not possible for it, just as it is impossible for a body which we deem perfect in every respect.⁵⁶

Mullā Rajab's claim that change also takes place simultaneously as in generation and corruption is misplaced since generation and corruption refer to the process whereby bodies abruptly lose their 'form' and acquire a new one. Also problematic is his definition of motion which states that 'motion is the quality of change amongst mutable things' since motion is a gradual change of things, which does not involve the category of 'quality' as such. While it is correct to say that motion occurs in 'quality' alongside other categories, it is incorrect, according to the Aristotelian definition of motion, to say that it is an 'accident for something'.

The gist of Mullā Rajab's argument against substantial motion is that for the definition of motion to obtain we need to have a 'fixed subject' because motion is defined according to Aristotle as 'the first perfection for that which is in a state of potentiality qua something in

⁵³ Mullā Rajab, Aşl, vol. 1, pp. 262-3; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, pp. 300-1.

Mullā Rajab, Aṣl, vol. 1, p. 263; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, p. 301.

For these distinctions in Ṣadrā, see Asfār, vol. 1, pp. 344-63. See also, Rizvi, Mullā Ṣadrā and Metaphysics, pp. 66-7.

⁵⁶ Mullā Rajab, Aşl, vol. 1, pp. 252–3; Fundamental Principle, vol. V, pp. 297–8.

potentiality'.57 Hence we need a subject in order to claim that 'it' has acquired 'perfection' by moving from potentiality to actuality. Thus, the actualization of motion depends on six things:

- The origin (mabda') from which motion emanates 1)
- 2) The end towards which motion is directed
- The moved (mutaharrak) 3)
- The mover (mutaharrik)
- The course of motion 5)
- The time to which motion corresponds 6)

As Mulla Rajab argues, motion can only be said to have taken place when there is a fixed subject for which motion occurs. And if that fixed subject or 'substance' itself changes in the course of its motion, then 'nothing' would be left in the end for which motion is said to have occurred. In other words, if there is motion in substance and the 'subject of motion' changes at each moment and becomes a new substance, how can we then claim that such a substance has 'moved' from this moment to that moment since that very 'substance' is now no longer existent? It therefore necessarily follows that if the substance in question has not 'moved', no 'motion' has occurred in reality. But it is common knowledge that we do observe motion in the external world. Therefore, motion has occurred in something—namely the categories of place, quality, quantity, and position—other than substance:

If we suppose something to be in a state of substantial motion from a fixed beginning to a specific end, these two points would have to exist between finite motions. The moving object would therefore emerge in the end, since in the beginning of its motion it would not have subsisted as an individual entity or anything else. If in the end it subsists as an individual entity or something else, just as it was in the beginning, then it will not have been in a state of motion. Rather, it will have been in a state of rest. Yet we have supposed it to be in a state of motion, which would entail absurdity....

Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī's 'Refutation' of Şadrian Metaphysics

From another perspective...if we suppose something to be in motion in its substance, its substance will have to be other than its substance in order for the moving object to be in a state of substantial motion. This is because whatever is in a state of motion must be other than the moving object, just as it was in its [initial state]. This would also require that the moving object be both subsistent and non-subsistent as an individual entity.58

In contra-distinction to Mulla Rajab's position, Şadra's most important argument in favour of substantial motion is the one that takes the primacy and gradation of wujūd as its starting point, situating his discussion in the context of the all-expansive reality of wujūd (al-wujūd al-'amm al-munbasit) that underlies all substantial change. 59 If in the order of reality, wujūd is fundamental, it follows that the categories of 'substance' and 'accident' are nothing but the different modes of the self-same wujūd. That is to say, substance and accident do not form two distinct orders of reality; rather, they are two different 'degrees' of wujūd. And, while an accident ineluctably inheres in its underlying subject, namely its substance, the wujūd of an accident depends on the wujūd of substance since the former is wujūd-in-itself (al-wujūd fī nafsihi) whereas the latter is wujūd-for-itself (al-wujūd li nafsihi).

If both substance and accidents conform to the same order/plane of wujūd, it follows that 'change' in accidents will necessarily generate change in the substance with the net effect that substantial motion would be tenable, since motion or change in accidents cannot occur independent of their substrata, i.e. substances. Of course, for Şadrā,

Aristotle, Physics, 201a11, in Aristotle, Complete Works, vol. 1, p. 343. For Mulla Rajab's citation of Aristotle's definition of motion, which varies slightly in wording given the carry-over from Greek into Arabic, see Aşl, vol. 1, p. 252; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, p. 297.

Mullā Rajab, Aşl, vol. 1, p. 254; Fundamental Principle, vol. v, pp. 298-9.

See Şadrā, Asfār, vol. III, pp. 97-136. The relevant parts of Şadrā's discussion on substantial motion in the Asfar are available in English translation as Transubstantial Motion and the Natural World, tr. Mahdi Dehbashi, London, 2010. For useful analyses of this doctrine, see Jambet, The Act of Being: The Philosophy of Revelation in Mullā Sadrā, tr. Jeff Fort, New York, 2006, 197-203; Kalin, 'Between Physics and Metaphysics: Mullā Şadrā on Nature and Motion', in Islam & Science 1.1 (2003), pp. 59-90; Eiyad Al-Kutubi, Mullā Ṣadrā and Eschatology: Evolution of Being, London, 2015, pp. 52-67; Meisami, Mulla Sadra, pp. 61-80.

Chapter 7

substantial motion also applies to the human soul as it takes on different forms in the various stages of its own life, moving from the embryonic (fetal), to the vegetal, to the animal, to the human, and finally to the spiritually subsistent.⁶⁰ In all these stages, the unity of the changing form is preserved through the underlying 'matter' or stuff of the soul, which remains unchanged in the process.

The subject of substantial motion is hyle or what Ṣadrā also simply refers to as a thing's 'nature' (tabī'ah), which remains stable but takes on an indefinite number of forms. ⁶¹ Each new form is piled up on the other form (al-labs ba'da al-labs) as the stable nature of the entity subsists. Ṣadrā gives the standard example of water: it may change into ice or vapour, but its 'matter' remains the same although the 'form' of water changes in accordance with the various conditioning factors which impose themselves upon its stable nature. ⁶² Thus for Ṣadrā, the identity of water resides in its matter. Here again in Mullā Rajab we see a much more complicated Ṣadrian doctrine presented in a rather simple and incorrect manner, and then rejected on those grounds.

6 Conclusion

Mullā Rajab 'Alī Tabrīzī has long been recognised as one of the leading Safavid intellectual figures who opposed the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā

and his school. He trained a generation of students who would go on to make their own distinctive contributions to Islamic philosophy, although it seems quite unlikely that anyone took up his exact line of argumentation. This is likely because, as our preliminary study of the *Ithbāt* and *Aṣl* reveal, Mullā Rajab was unable to provide a clear philosophical response to Ṣadrian metaphysics, much less a compelling philosophical alternative. This might also explain the tone of frustration one clearly detects in Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āsthiyānī's (d. 1426 AH/2005) learned glosses upon Mullā Rajab's writings.⁶³

On a very generous reading, we could entertain the possibility that Mullā Rajab's *Ithbāt* and *AṣI* were written for his highly qualified students, who would presumably have already known the details of Ṣadrian metaphysics. In that case, these texts would have been mainly used for purposes of instruction, with the gaps filled in by Mullā Rajab in the form of an oral commentary. That would seem to match up with at least some of the evidence. We know, for example, that Mullā Rajab was more of a teacher and instructor than he was a writer.⁶⁴ While this kind of a hypothesis might account for at least some of the instances in the *Ithbāt* and *AṣI* where the author refuses to directly engage the views of Mullā Ṣadrā and his followers, it would not explain the clear-cut cases where he fails to offer compelling philosophical alternatives to their central teachings.

For the implications of substantial motion in terms of man's final destiny, see, in particular, Chittick, In Search of the Lost Heart: Explorations in Islamic Thought, ed. Mohammed Rustom, Atif Khalil, and Kazuyo Murata, Albany, 2012, pp. 227-31; Al-Kutubi, Mullā Şadrā and Eschatology, pp. 104-125; Hermann Landolt, "Being-Towards-Resurrection': Mullā Şadrā's Critique of Suhrawardī's Eschatology', in Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam, ed. Sebastian Günther and Todd Lawson, with the assistance of Christian Mauder, Leiden, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 487-533; Rustom, 'Psychology, Eschatology, and Imagination in Mullā Şadrā Shīrāzī's Commentary on the Hadīth of Awakening', in Islam & Science 5.1 (2007), pp. 9-22; Rustom, The Triumph of Mercy: Philosophy and Scripture in Mullā Şadrā, Albany, 2012, pp. 96, 101-4.

A useful inquiry into this and related points can be found in Yanis Eshots, "Substantial Motion" and "New Creation" in Comparative Context', in *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 6 (2010), pp. 79–92.

⁶² See Şadrā, Asfār, vol. 111, pp. 93ff.

See his extensive notes upon the *lthbāt* and *Asl* in Āshtiyānī and Corbin (ed.), Anthologie. See also Rahimi-Riseh, 'Late Safavid Philosophy', sec. 2.3, where the author notes the manner in which Āshtiyānī inveighs against Mullā Rajab's arguments,

⁶⁴ Rahimi-Riseh, 'Late Safavid Philosophy', sec. 2.3.

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Philosophy and The Intellectual Life In Shīʿah Islam

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