MULLA HADI SABZAWARI AS A LEADING LATER SADRIAN PHILOSOPHER: REVISITING HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Rizky Febrian¹*
¹ Raja Zarith Sofiah Centre for Advanced Studies on Islam, Science, and Civilisation (RZS-CASIS) Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur
Email: rizky.feb318@gmail.com
* Corresponding Author

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Abstract:
The purpose of this article is to revisit the life and significant works of the nineteenth-century Persian philosopher Mulla Hadi Sabzawari (d. 1873). He was the foremost exponent of theosophical traditions who studied and elaborated the metaphysical discourse in great detail. He was also renowned for his commentary on Mulla Sadra’s (d. 1640) al-Asfar and al-Shawahid al-Rububiyyah, as well as for reviving Sadra’s teachings. The best example of Sabzawari’s philosophical theory, which he developed and expounded, is recorded in his magnum opus, the commentary of Ghurar al-Fara’id. His ideas and writings influenced many Persian intellectuals who came after him. This article also re-examines some conclusions by previous researchers regarding the study of Sabzawari. This will be followed by a brief explanation on the characteristics of Sabzawari’s works, including its style and structure of writing, the content of the discussion, and its significance. This study is based on a qualitative method to arrive at conclusions in which content analysis is utilized in describing the life and works of Sabzawari.

Keywords:
Mulla Sadra, Sabzawari, Philosophy, Metaphysics, Qajar, Persia

Introduction
Mulla Sadra (d. 1640) is the most well-known name in the study of philosophical thought in Persia, notably during the Safavid era. Many aspects of his life and philosophy have been the subject of numerous studies and research projects. Therefore, Sadra is regarded as the most...
prominent philosopher in Persia by several scholars, including Henry Corbin and Seyyed Hossein Nasr.

Mulla Sadra’s ideas and teachings were propagated during the Safavid era by both of his illustrious students, Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani and Abd al-Razzaq Lahiji. Lahiji, Sadra’s student and son-in-law, introduces the name of *Hikmah Muta‘aliyah* as the school of Mulla Sadra. The phrase was then widely used by Sadra’s disciples and devotees, as well as during the Qajar era and up until the present. Husayn Tunkabuni, Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Kashani, and the two sons of Mulla Sadra, Mirza Ibrahim and Qawam al-Din Ahmad, were some of his other less well-known pupils. Not only in Persia but also in India was the teaching disseminated (Nasr, 2006). Even if Lahiji rejected a few aspects of Mulla Sadra’s teaching, he and the others persisted in doing so, as can be seen in Lahiji’s *Shawariq al-Illam fi Sharh Tajrid al-Kalam* (Lahiji, 2018). Through the aforementioned individuals and his pupils like Qadi Said Qummi, *Hikmah Muta‘aliyah*’s teaching persisted till the end of the Safavid era (Nasr, 1992: 190). Despite a shift in religious intellectuals, Sadra’s school of thought lasted until the closing years of the Safavid Empire. When Safavid fell, there was a change in the religious environment of the community at that time, thus indirectly affecting the school of Sadra. It is even said that the main genealogy of the Sadra’s school continuing transmission effort was reduced to only one or two figures, and the most important figure in this period was Mulla Muhammad Sadiq Ardistani (d. 1721 A.C.) who was driven from Isfahan after the Afghan attack (Nasr, 1992: 190). Through the aforementioned personalities, the teachings of Sadra endured until the end of the Safavid dynasty.

However, the school of Mulla Sadra never flourished again in Persia until the beginning of the Qajar era, when Mulla ’Ali Nuri (d. 1831) began teaching Sadra’s works at Isfahan, a state capital that became—again—a centre of the study of Mulla Sadra in the nineteenth century. In other words, it was Nuri the one who brought back Sadra’s teachings during the Qajar era. Many of his students went on to become prominent figures, such as Mulla Muhammad Ismail Isfahani, Mulla Abd Allah Zunuji, Mulla Jafar Lahiji Langarudi, and Mulla Ismail Khajui. This study is about Mulla Hadi Sabzawari, who is the most important person in Mulla Sadra’s metaphysical teachings. He came from Ali Nuri and his senior students. In this regard, Nasr claims that Sabzawari is the best exponent and interpreter of Mulla Sadra’s teachings (Nasr, 1992: 190), while Rahman views Sabzawari as having successfully absorbed the ideas of Mulla Sadra (Rahman, 1975: 13). Al-Attas also expressed the same opinion as Nasr and Rahman, claiming that Sabzawari is the best Mulla Sadra commentator (al-Attas, 1998: 236).

However, despite the prevalence of literature on Islamic philosophy in the middle of the 20th century, Sabzawari’s name and his ideas seemed to be overlooked. Edward Granville Browne (1950) and Arthur de Gobineau (Nash, 2008), who had written down some details about Sabzawari, were among the first individuals in the West to mention his name (Nash, 2008). Another earlier work that includes Sabzawari’s ideas is Muhammad Iqbal’s Ph.D. dissertation from the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich in 1908, which was later published as *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: A Contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy* by Luzac & Company, London in 1908 and then by Bazm-I-Iqbal, Lahore, in 1954. In the study of Sabzawari, Toshihiko Izutsu was, in our opinion, the most insightful researcher who looked into Sabzawari’s metaphysical philosophy and thought. Additionally, Mehdi Mohaghegh with the assistance of Izutsu contributed an important translation work into English from the first chapter of *Sharh al-Manzumah*. This work was eventually known as *The Metaphysics of*
Sabzawari (Mohaghegh & Izutsu, 1977). It may be said that this work and other writings of Izutsu are the only and the first to introduce Sabzawari and his philosophical and metaphysical discourse in such a thorough and in-depth way (Izutsu, 1968, 1971, 1977 & 1980). In addition, several other academics and researchers have contributed to the discussion over Sabzawari’s background and ideas, such as Murtada Mudarrisí Chahardáhi (1956), Sayyed Jalal al-Dín Ashiyáni (1968), Henry Corbin (1993), Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1966 & 1996), Wahid Akhtári (1983-1984), Ghulam-Husayn Rizanizhad (1992), Mehdi Amin Razávi (1996 & 1997), John Cooper (1999), Eliza Tasbhí (2007 & 2016), Sajjad H. Rizvi (2011), Fatemeh Fana (2018), and others.

Life and Works of Sabzawari

His name is Haji Mulla Hadi ibn Haji Mahdi al-Sabzawari, and he was born in the city of Sabzawar, which is located in western Khurasan, in 1212 A.H./1797–98 A.C. The modern town of Sabzawar is situated along the highway that connects Tehran with Nishapur and Mashhad, and it serves as the administrative center of bakhsh (district or region). His father, Mirza Mahdi ibn Muhammad Sadiq Sabzawari, was a landowner and ‘tajir’ (merchant), and due to his relative affluence and interest in learning, he was able to give the young Hadi the opportunity for leisure and encouragement (Rizanizhad, 1992: 54). When Sabzawari was [seven or] eight years old, Mirza Mahdi passed away in Shiraz after returning from the pilgrimage in 1220 A.C./1805-06 (Rizvi, 2011: 477). His mother, Zinat al-Hajiya, came from a Sabzawar religious family.

In his hometown at a younger age, Sabzawari studied Arabic grammar (Bosworth, 1995: 695). After his father died, he was nurtured and watched over by his older cousin Mulla Hossein Sabzawari in 1222 A.H./1807 A.C., who eventually brought him to Mashhad. He spent over ten years studying under Mulla Hossein, learning about philosophy, literature, mathematics, Islamic law, and Usul al-fiqh (Talibi, 1992: 3). He moved from Mashhad to Isfahan in 1232 A.H./1816 A.C., where he studied fiqh for two years under Aqa Muhammad Najafi, as well as philosophy for three years under Mulla Ali Nuri and five years with Mulla Darbkushki Isfahani, who was known as Wahid al-ʿAyn. He also studied in Isfahan under Mulla Ismail Khajui, a pupil of Mulla Ali Nuri (Bosworth, 1995: 695). Isfahan at that time was a major educational hub in Persia. Additionally, he went to the lectures of al-Kababasi and Muhammad Taqi, the author of al-Hashiyah (Al-Amin, 1986: Vol. 10, 234-235).

After ten years of study in Isfahan, he returned to Mashhad under the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1242 A.H./ 1826 A.C. and started working as a teacher at the Haji Hassan Seminary school. He made his pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca in 1250 A.H./ 1834 A.C. After that, he went back to Sabzawar and continued to teach there until his last day. He has taught at the al-fasihiyyah school in Sabzawar, which was established in 1126 A.H. and was the largest school of the time in the fields of philosophy, theosophy, logic, and numerous other subjects. That school produced a large number of experts in several subjects, notably when Sabzawari was in charge. Nasir al-Din Shah al-Qajari visited him at the beginning of the month of Ramadan in 1283 A.H./ 1866 A.C. while he was en route to the grave of Imam Reza in Mashhad (Al-Amin, 1986: Vol 10, 235).

Throughout his lifetime, many eminent scholars sought Sabzawari’s advice, often on serious philosophical, theological, metaphysical, and gnostic issues. He responded to their inquiries with solutions that were ultimately collected in Rasa’il Hakim Sabzawari (Sabzawari, 1970).
Except the book *Hidayat al-Talibin*, which was a stand-alone treatise on theodicy, prophecy, and the intermediate world ('alam al-barzakh) or the imaginal world ('alam al-mithal) written at Nasir al-Din Shah’s request, *Rasa’il* is made up of a series of treatises in Arabic and Persian, some of which are responses to queries posed by other contemporaries.

In Sabzawar, Sabzawari had established a significant center for Gnosticism and philosophical teachings. Many students traveled from different parts of the country, including Isfahan, Tehran, Azerbaijan, and Fars (Talibi, 1992: Vol. 2, 9-10). Due to the involvement of his pupils who arrived or returned to Tehran, he was also a notable character who had an impact on the school in that city. The Sabzawarian circle and the school of Tehran competed for prominence in the field of philosophy for several decades, and Sabzawari himself was in contact with numerous figures from Tehran (Nasr, 2006: 238). Additionally, his writings demonstrate that he was also a poet and mystic as we can see in the next sections.

Sabzawari is regarded as one of the best interpreters of Sadra’s philosophy and belongs to the fifth generation of *Hikmah Muta’aliyah* intellectuals. Moreover, Sabzawari’s adherence to Mulla Sadra’s teachings does not imply that he never elaborated on these concepts in other intellectual discussions. Sabzawari’s inclination and interest in illuminationism and gnosticism distinguish him from Mulla Sadra, as evidenced by his *Sharh al-Manzumah*, which has become the standard text for Islamic philosophy students in Persia (Razavi, 1997: 131). The work of Sabzawari on Mulla Sadra’s *al-Shawahid al-Rububiyyah* is also considered the exposition of *ishraqi* ideology. Sabzawari’s commentary on the *al-Asfar* is recognized as one of the most extensive commentators produced on this work, and his commentary on Mulla Sadra’s *Mafath al-ghayb* is a notable collection of work for students of Mulla Sadra and the school of Illumination (Razavi, 1997: 131).

Sabzawari’s method of classification and regulating the philosophical subjects in his works—especially in *Sharh al-Manzumah*—is more systematic and more comprehensive and even better than Mulla Sadra’s approach in ‘*Asfar*’, particularly in the subject of theology. Sabzawari’s interest in Sufism is most apparent in his poems and his commentary on Rumi’s *Mathnawi*, a classical work of Persian Sufi poetry (Tasbihi, 2007 & 2016). It is also said that Sabzawari wrote a commentary on the *Ilahiyyat* of Ibn Sīnā, which has been lost.

Sabzawari passed away three hours before the sunset on Dhu l-Hijjah, 25th 1289 A.H./February 23rd in 1873 A.C. However, there is some dispute about the date of his death, some scholars argue it was 1289 A.H./1873 A.C., while others believe in 1295 A.H./1878 A.C. The former is mentioned by Talibi (1992), Kamal (2006), Rizvi (2011), and Fana (2018), while the latter was mentioned by Browne (1950 & 1999), Mohaghegh and Izutsu (1977), Tasbihi (2007), and al-Ubaydi (2015). Nevertheless, the former date seems to be more accurate than the latter due to following reasons:

1. Sabzawari died at the age of 76-77. He was born in c.1797-98 A.C. Therefore, the correct date of his death is *circa* 1873 A.C.
2. His son-in-law, Sayyid Hasan stated that Sabzawari died in 1290 A.H. (means c. 1873 A.C.)
3. Sabzawari’s sons, Muhammad Isma’il and ‘Abd al-Qayyum mentioned the late Dhu-l-Hijjah in 1289, and it was also 1873 A.C.
4. There are several chronograms composed by his student, like Mulla Kazim who was present at his death and after, he said:

‘Asrār’ [Sabzawari’s pen name] has left the world such
Lament reaches up to the empyrean from the earth.
If you ask the date of his passing,
We say: “he did not die but become more than alive” (kih na-murd, zinda-tar shud = 1289 A.H)

In conclusion, the year 1289 A.H. corresponds to 1873 A.C. (Rizvi, 2011: 481).

After his funeral, he was buried close to his home at the Darvaza-yi Nishapur, which was located outside the gate of Sabzawar (now known as Zand Square) and directly next to the road going to Mashhad al-Rida (Imam Reza). Mirza Yusuf bin Mirza Hasan mustawfi al-mamalik, a loyal person of Sultan Nasir al-Din Shah al-Qajari, constructed a dome over his cemetery.

Works of Sabzawari
According to the list of Sabzawari’s works provided in the introduction to Sharh al-Manzumah by Masoud Talibi (1992: 18-22), one of the editors of the work, Sabzawari has published more than 47 volumes and treatises in total. Talibi claims he has been unable to locate any copies of the books entitled Havashi bar Hashyah-i Khafriyyah, Havashi bar Shifa’, and a few more. The majority of his works are published in Iran. A paucity of data makes it difficult to determine the chronology of all or even the majority of Sabzawari's works. However, we do know that the majority of Sabzawari’s works were written in Sabzawar during his intellectual voyage. Based on our investigation, Sabzawari had authored no less than 51 works, including 33 published works consisting of 15 original books and commentaries, 7 Persian treatises, and 11 Arabic treatises on a variety of subjects and topics, including the following:

Published Works
1. Ghurar al-fara’id (The Blazes of the Gems), is Arabic philosophical poetry dealing with many aspects of theosophy on which he wrote his commentary and completed in 1239 A.H./1823 A.C. The book was composed during twenty years (1240-1260 A.H.) and has been used as a textbook since Sabzawari’s lifetime.

2. The commentary of Ghurar al-fara’id or Sharh al-Manzumah and to be known as Havashi bar Sharh-i Ghurar al-fara’id. The book has been published several times in multiple editions, including by the Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University Tehran Branch with special assistance by Mehdi Mohaghegh (1981) and by Nashr-i Nab in Tehran with a critical edition by Ayatullah Hasan Zadeh al-ʾAmuli (1992).

3. Asrar al-Hikam (Secrets of Philosophy). The book was written in Persian at the request of Nasir al-Din Shah (d.1313 A.H./1896 A.C.). It was subsequently published numerous times, including by Mirza Yusuf Ashtiyani Mustawfi al-Mamalik in 1303 A.H., by H.M. Farzad in Tehran in 1361 A.H., and by Mirza Abu al-.Hasan Sha' rani in 1380 A.H.

A commentary on Sadra’s al-Shawahid al-Rububiyyah (the Divine Witnesses), and to be known as Havashi bar Shawahid al-Rububiyyah. This book is a commentary on Sadra’s al-Shawahid al-Rububiyyah fi al-Manahij al-Sulukiyyah. The work contains the pleasantries and fine points of transcendent theosophy. In writing this valuable commentary, Sabzawari has managed to explain some of the complicated discussions. The book was published together with Sadra’s original of al-Asfar which was edited by Professor Sayyed Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani, Mashhad in 1346 A.H.

6. A commentary on Sadra’s Mafatih al-Ghayb, is known as Ḥavashi bar Mafatih al-Ghayb.

7. A commentary on Sadra’s Mabda’ wa Maʿād (the Book of Origin and Return), and to be known as Ḥavashi bar Mabda’ va Maʿad. The book was printed in 1314 A. H. along with the marginal notes of Mirza Abu I-Hasan Jalvah and Mullla Isma’il Isfahani (Talibi, 1992: 18).

8. Sharh al-Nibras fi Asrar al-Asas or Sharh al-Nibras al-Huda fi Ahkam al-Fiqh wa Asrarīha. The work was edited by Muhsin Bayda Refar and published in 1371 A.H. in Tehran and then in 1434 A.H. in Qom. This book is about the secrets of religion and is presented in the same manner as Manzuma-ya Mantiq, i.e., it contains a long didactic poem and a commentary by Sabzawari. Sabzawari describes the concepts of tradition and law (fiqh) from philosophical and gnostic perspectives.

9. Sharh Manzumah Qism al-Manṭiq. The best edition of Sharh al-Manzumah Qism al-Manṭiq is the one contained in Sabzawari’s own Sharh al-Manzumah in 122 pages. The most important commentary on that work has been written by Mirza Mehdi Ashtiyani, published in 1371 A.H. Syaikh Jaʿfar Zahidi translated both the Sharh al-Manzumah Qism al-Manṭiq and the Sharh al-Manzumah into Persian and has published them in Mashhad under the title Khud-Amuz-i Manzuma (Mohaghegh & Izutsu, 1977: 26). The book is also included in Hidaji’s edition on Taʿliqah al-Hidaji ʿala al-Manzumah wa Sharḥiha. The book has been printed in 1404 A.H by Manshurat al-A lami Tehran. The total page of Hidaji’s Taʿliqah is 592 pages, including the book of logic in 126 pages. In the present work, Sabzawari verified the principles of logic and entitled it as al-Laʿali al-Muntazimah (The Ordered Pearls).

10. Divan-i Asrar. The Divan contains Sabzawari’s Ghazals, Tarji Bands, Ruba’iyyat, Saqīname, and a Question-Answer poem. The work has been published many times, and the last publication was in 1338 A.H. in Tehran under the auspices of the Islamiyya Publishing House.

11. Sharh-i Asrar, known as Sharh bar Mathnawi. It is a Philosophical Commentary on Rumi’s Mathnawi in 3 Vols. in Persian.


14. **Sharh Du’a’-yi Sabah** or Miftah al-Falah wa Misbah al-Najah. It is the commentary of Du’a’-yi Sabah. The book was printed in 1282 A.H. and has been published on numerous occasions.

15. **Sharh al-Asma’ al-Husna** or Sharh Du’a’-yi Jawshan-i Kabir in 2 volumes. An explanation of the “Du’á” (prayer) called ‘Jawshan-i Kabir’ is said on the so-called ‘nights of Qadar’. The work has been edited by NajafQoli Habibi and published by Tehran University in 1372 S.H./1993 A.C. The book has been also published many times by different publishers along with a commentary on Du’a’-yi Sabah.

16. **Rasa’il Hakim Sabzawari**. The present work is a compilation of Arabic and Persian treatises, some of which are responses to queries made by other contemporaries except the *Hidayat al-Talibin*. Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani made the Rasa’il available by editing and publishing the work for the first time.

### Unpublished Works

In addition to his published works, Sabzawari has a large number of works that have not been edited and published until the present day, including:

1. Ta’liqah ‘ala al-Shifa of Ibn Sina.
10. Hashiyah ‘ala Sharh Alfiyyah ibn Malik fi al-Nahw li al-Suyuti and to be known as Hashiyah bar al-Bahjat al-Mardiyyah. One of the manuscripts of this book is preserved in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (Ms. 158).

### Attributed Works

In the introduction to Sabzawari’s *Nibras al-Huda*, Muhsin Bayda Refar identifies at least eight works uncertainly assigned to Sabzawari. (Refar, 1972: 24-25), they are:

1. The commentary of Ibn Sina’s *al-Qasidah al-‘Ayniyah*. The book was attributed to Sabzawari as reported in the catalog of manuscripts in Malek National Library, Tehran (6/41, No. 2549, paper 12-16).
2. The commentary of *Abhath Mufidah fi al-Kalam*. The book was attributed to Sabzawari as reported in the catalog of manuscripts in Razavi Library in Mashhad, page 320, no.27.
3. *Risalah Itlaq Asma’ Allah al-Husna wa Ithbat Wahdat Fi’il al-Wajib*. This treatise was recorded in the catalog of the manuscript in Razavi Library, page 349.


6. *Risalah ʿ Alam al-Mithal* (a Treatise on the Imaginal World. This treatise was recorded in the catalog of the manuscript in Razavi Library, page 563, date of completion in 1289.


8. *Al-Ḥashiyah ʿala al-Khafri* or *Havashi bar Hashiyah-i Khafriyyah* (a Critical Commentary of the Philosophy of Khafri). Sabzawari has mentioned this book in his *Sharḥ al-Manzumah*, but we have no information about it.

**Conclusion**

This article provides a summary of Sabzawari’s biography and intellectual background, as well as his works. In our concluding observations, it is clear that Sabzawari was born in Persia during the commencement of the Qajar dynasty. The Islamic intellectual tradition of the Qajar period was a continuation of the preceding tradition, especially the teachings of Mullā Sadra. According to the collected data, the majority of Sabzawari’s works were on *Hikmah Mutaʿaliyah* or *Hikmat*, and he had authored at least 51 works, including 33 published works. Based on the preceding discussion, he was regarded as the most distinguished representative of Sadra’s school and the nineteenth century’s most notable Persian philosopher. As we have explained, Sabzawari’s teachings and impact are still very much alive in Persia. *Sharḥ al-Manzumah* is the most influential textbook of scholastic philosophy that has been and continues to be taught by numerous scholars, such as Kamal al-Haydari, Muhammad Kazim al-Khaqani, Murtada al-Shirazi, Habib Al Hamadah al-Qutayfi, and many others, as well as being read and studied by students of philosophy in nearly all the traditional religious schools (madaris) in Iran.

**References**


