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THE HERITAGE OF SUFISM

VOLUME II

The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150–1500)

EDITED BY LEONARD LEWISOHN



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*The Dawning Places of the Lights of Certainty
in the Divine Secrets Connected with the
Commander of the Faithful
by Rajab Bursī (d. 1411)*

B. Todd Lawson

INTRODUCTION

Not far from the ancient site of Babylon, in the mid-fourteenth century, Rajab Bursī was born in a hamlet situated at the foot of a mountain near the Euphrates called Burs. Shi'ite authors often call him an "extremist/exaggerator" (*ghāli*) because of his uncompromising view of the Prophet and the Imam as eternal principles even though many features of the venerable "extremist tradition" (*ghulūw*) seem to be absent from his work.¹ What is clear is that his work, which pays ceaseless homage to the twelve Imams of *Ithnā-'asharī* Shi'ism, is suffused also with the themes and poetry of many Sufi authors and is heavily influenced by the logocentric ontology of Ibn 'Arabī. This ontology would eventually make itself felt, four hundred years later in, for example, the religio-political program of the Babi movement of mid-nineteenth century Iran whose literature also contains many references to the contents of the book under discussion. Between that time and the time of our author, his work has been quoted, commented upon, and noticed by a variety of different scholars.

Bursī's adoption of the Persianate *takhalluṣ* as a means of signing his poetry appears to be his only literary acknowledgment of specifically Persian culture. His move to Iran seems to have been motivated by an attraction to the probably somewhat less doctrinaire Shi'ite community there rather than an attraction for things Persian. The petty Sufi/Shi'ite dynasty in charge of Khurasān, the Sarbadārīds (1337–1381) which included Ṭūs, Bursī's eventual place of refuge, was tolerated by Timur for a while even after his conquest of the area. Rajab Bursī's book is written entirely in Arabic, and none of the other titles ascribed to Bursī indicate Persian works, nor is he known to have written anything in Persian. Nonetheless, his words are often quoted by Persian authors from the Safavid period onward.² The book under discussion here was, for example, made the object of large Persian paraphrase and commentary, by order of Shāh Sulaymān Safavī (reg. 1666–1694), of over a

1. So Henry Corbin, *Annuaire de la Section des Sciences religieuses de l'École pratique des hautes études*, Paris [*Annuaire*] (1968–69), p. 148. For example, there seems to be no excessive interest in the Return of the Hidden Imam (*raj'a*), his Rising (*qiyāma*), or his Advent (*zuhūr*). See M.G.S. Hodgson, "Ghulāt," EI². See also the remark by Fritz Meier, 'The Mystic Path,' in *Islam and the Arab World*, edited by Bernard Lewis (New York 1976), p. 124.

2. See below, page 269, note 3.

thousand pages, by a scholar from Sabzivār living in Mashhad, al-Ḥasan al-Khaṭīb al-Qārī', dated 1090/1680.¹

The presence, then, of this study in a book of essays devoted to the topic of the legacy of mediæval Persian Sufism might at first strike the reader as somewhat anomalous. It was written by an Arab who seems to have been neither master nor disciple in the traditional Sufi sense; indeed, the main interest of the work is explicitly Twelver Shi'ism. However, the author and his book are both legatee and legator of a species of mystical thought that is not without interest for readers of this volume. This affinity to Persianate thought may be ultimately traceable to the strong influence of Ibn 'Arabī in his work, (together, of course, with his Shi'ism). As is well known, the enthusiasm with which the Great Doctor's thought was received and embellished by Persian authors is a striking fact in the history of Islamic thought.

Rajab Bursi's *Mashāriq al-anwār* has been described as being of the first importance for the study of Shi'ite gnostic metaphysics. Corbin places our author in a distinct stream of thought within Islam extending from Sijistānī (d.ca.360/972), and including such figures as 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī (d.736/1336), Ḥaydar Āmulī (d.after 787/1385), Shah Ni'matullāh Walī (d. 834/1431),² Rajab 'Alī Tabrizī (d.1080/1669-70), Qāḍī Sa'id Qummī (d.1103/1691-1692), Khwājah Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Dihdār (10th-11th/16th-17th),³ and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'i (d.1241/1826).⁴ To this list of kindred thinkers may be added Ibn Abī Jumhūr (d. towards the end of the 15th cent.)⁵ and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680).⁶

The *Mashāriq* has attracted the attention of a steady stream of scholars from the late fifteenth century to the present, and the majority of these authors have been Persian. Most striking of all, is the continued popularity this book enjoys amongst the generality of contemporary Shi'ites, about which a bit more later. Insofar as the work at hand preserves and transmits mediæval Sufism, the understanding of twentieth century Shi'ism and the heritage it enjoys from mediæval times, may also be deepened through its study.

The cast of thought which characterizes this rich and complex heritage has been briefly summarized by Corbin as reflecting a metaphysics

1. This commentary, entitled *Matālī' al-asrār*, (Teh. Bib. de l'Univ. Cat.V, p. 1537 has been mentioned by Corbin in a number of places (e.g. *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols. Paris 1971-72 [EII] vol. 4, p. 212) and parts of it translated in *Annuaire* 1968-69 Corbin used this and related texts as part of his courses during the academic years 1968-1970 in Paris.
2. Henry Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris 1986, [Hist.]) p. 63.
3. *Hist.*, p. 461.
4. *EII* 3, p. 318.
5. On whom see Wilferd Madelung, 'Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'i's synthesis of *kalam*, philosophy and Sufism,' in *La Significance du Bas Moyen Âge dans le Histoire et la Culture du Monde Musulman*. Actes du 8eme Congres de l'Union Européenne de Arabisants et Islamisants (Aix-en-Provence 1978), pp. 147-56.
6. On this figure and his mystical temperament see, for example, Etan Kohlberg, 'Some Aspects of Akhbari Thought,' *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, ed. by N. Levtzion & J. Voll (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1987), pp. 133-160.

not content with identifying real being (*al-wujūd al-ḥaqq*) with absolute being (*wujūd muṭlaq*), because if this being is absolute, that is to say "freed" of all condition, it presupposes a *muṭliq* that frees it, and this *muṭliq* is being in the real sense, so real that it transcends our category of being.¹

NAME

Aghā Buzurg Tihirānī lists our author as al-Shaykh Raḍiyadīn Rajab bin Muḥammad bin Rajab al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Bursī al-Hillī.² Brockelman, following *Dhari'a*, uses this latter name in one entry³ where he also calls him an extreme Shi'ite. But in two other places Brockelmann lists him as (1) Rajab b. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Brussawī,⁴ and (2) Raḍī al-dīn Rajab b. Muḥammad b. Rajab al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Birsī al-Hillī.⁵ al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (d.1097/1682) lists his name as Rajab al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Bursī and adds that he was a "scholar, traditionist, poet, writer, and a man of culture."⁶ According to one scholar, there is some ground for suspecting that he was neither from Ḥilla nor originally a Shi'ite because the term 'traditionist' (*muḥaddith*) is not a typical designation for a Shi'ite scholar and it is unlikely that the qualification would be given to someone from Ḥilla.⁷ The biographer Khwansarī (d.1313/1895-6) refers to him in ornate fashion as the "learned master, the perfect Shaykh and Murshid, the Pole and the divine gnostic."⁸ These titles, indicating his position in a Sufi hierarchy need not be taken seriously because we have no knowledge of his social connections. As will be seen however, that he be described in such a way is not due simply to the fulsome rhetoric of a late Qajar source.

Finally, about his *nisba*, al-Bursī, there is some disagreement: it refers to town near Gilān, or near Turshiz in Khurasān, or the Arab hamlet mentioned above. One opts for the Irāqī town because it was an important area of Shi'ism during this time and, apart from the employment in his poetry of a Persian style *takhalluṣ*, Bursī seems to have written nothing in Persian.⁹

1. *EII* 3, p. 319.
2. *Āghā Buzurg*, Muḥammad Muḥsin al-Tihirānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā taṣānif al-shi'a*. 25 vols. (Tehran and Najaf 1355/1936-1398/1978 [*Dhari'a*]) ii, p. 299.
3. *GAL*, Supp.ii, p. 204 under the category *Der Hadīth*.
4. *GAL*, Supp. p. 660 under the category *Der Mystik*.
5. *GAL*, Supp. iii-2, p. 1266.
6. *Fādil*, a *Muḥaddith*, a *Shā'ir*, a *Munsh'ā*, and an *Adīb*. al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-Āmilī*, 2 vols. (Najaf, 1380/1960), vol. 2, pp. 117-118.
7. Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Fikr al-shi'i wa al-naza'at al-ṣūfiya ḥattā maṭla'al-qarn al-thāni 'ashar al-hijri*. (Baghdad:1966/1386 [*Fikr*]), p. 258.
8. al-Mawlā al-'Ālim wash-Shaykh wal-Murshid al-Kāmil wal-Quṭb al-Wāqif al-Unsī wal-Anis al-'Ārif al-Qudsi Raḍī al-dīn Rajab bin Muḥammad bin Rajab al-ma'rūf bil-Ḥāfiẓ al-Bursī. Muḥammad Bāqir Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-jannāt fi aḥwāl al-'ulamā' wa al-sadāt*. 8 vols. (Tehran 1970-72), vol. 3, pp. 337-345. See also the brief notice in Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrizī Khayabānī, *Rayḥānāt al-adab* (Tehran 1967-70), ii, p.11.
9. *Fikr*, pp. 254-5.

LIFE

Everything we know of his life we owe to the late Safavid biographies, especially the one by 'Abdu'llāh Afandī al-Jirānī written between 1107/1695 and 1130/1718.¹ Rajab Bursī was born in the village Burs in 'Irāq, a town famous for its sweet water, situated at the base of a mountain between Ḥilla and Kūfa around the year 743/1342 and died in or after 843/1411. He grew up in Ḥilla and moved (*hajara*) to Khurasan at the age of twenty-six. Of his birth, his teachers, his associates, his students or his death we have no certain knowledge.² His tomb, however, is located in a garden in Ardestan near Isfahan. Bursī fled Ḥilla due to persecution by his fellow Shi'ites because of his 'extreme' beliefs about 'Alī. This is indicated by our author himself in his poetry.³ It is likely Bursī fled from Ḥilla to Khurasān because of the promise of a freer atmosphere provided by the somewhat heterodox Shi'ite Sarbadārid state there. He withdrew to Ṭūs (present-day Mashhad) to be near the shrine of 'Alī al-Riḍā. Here he remained, presumably occupied with his writing and other spiritual pursuits until his death.⁴ Other evidence suggests that his *hijra* did not save him from further persecution.⁵ Indeed, one reference to him in an anonymous Sufi work states that he was killed in Ṭūs.⁶ The circumstances surrounding such a violent end are so far completely unknown. However, Timurid authority in the region had by this time become more consolidated. It may be that Rajab Bursī's example was thought to be contrary to the Timurid political agenda. It is also quite possible that rumors of his execution or murder are just that. After all, by this time he had reached a rather advanced age.

Bursī states in an autograph manuscript of one work, possibly the *Mashāriq*, that he finished it 518 years after the birth of the Mahdī, that is in 768/1367, if we accept that in Bursī's view the Mahdī was born in the year 864/250.⁷ This means it was completed during the reign of the last Sarbadārid 'Alī Mu'ayyad. Al-Jirānī states that he wrote another work, the *Mashāriq al-amān*, in 811/1398-9, having seen with his own eyes a copy of this work and others in Māzandarān.

Although Bursī was a contemporary of Ḥaydar 'Amulī, the latter seems not to take any notice of him.⁸ Apparently, the first to mention him or quote his work was al-Kaf'ami, (d.15th/9th cent.) in his collection of prayers entitled the *Mishbah*, writ-

1. This biographical dictionary has been recently edited and published: 'Abdu'llah ibn 'Isā Afandī al-Jirānī (d.ca.1718) *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā' wa hiyāḍ al-fudalā'*. 6 vols. (Qum 1981).

2. *Fikr*, p. 253.

3. E.g. *Mashāriq*, p. 246. The Sarbadārids, existed in the region from 1337/737-1386/788. They were one of a number of dynasties that replaced the Il-Khānids and were eventually conquered by Timūr in 782/1380. But the great ruler's Shi'ite sympathies allowed the last Sarbadārid, 'Alī Mu'ayyad, to remain as governor until his death in 788/1386. See Moojan Momen, *Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (Oxford 1985), p.93. See also *ibid.*, pp. 99-104 for a useful summary of Shi'ism and its increasing appropriation of Sufism in the middle period, 1000-1500.

4. *Fikr*, p. 257.

5. Cited in *Fikr*, p. 256.

6. *Fikr*, p. 255. The work was discovered by 'Abbās Qummi.

7. *Fikr*, p. 258 and notes.

8. I have been unable to confirm whether or not he is mentioned by Ibn Abi Jumhūr (d. at the end of the 15th/9th century). The likely place for such a reference would be by his *Kitāb al-Mujli* on which see the reference to Madelung above.

ten in 1490/895.¹ Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d.1091/1680), the influential Sufi Shi'ite of the later Safavid period, mentions Bursī in his *Kalimāt-i makhnūna*.² Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d.1110 or 1111/1699 or 1700), a student of the former, seems to have been the first to revile Bursī's "extremism" (*ghulūw*), and who because of his great prestige influenced later attitudes towards him, cited Bursī in his *Bihār al-anwār*.³

For a list of Bursī's works we are indebted to al-Sayyid Ni'matullāh al-Jazā'irī (d.1112/1700).⁴ Of these twelve titles, only one is printed, namely the *Mashāriq al-anwār*.

MASHĀRIQ AL-ANWĀR

By far the best known of his works is the *Mashāriq al-anwār*. It exists in a number of manuscripts.⁵ The first printed edition is that of Bombay dated 1883. In 1959 it was edited anonymously and printed in Beirut. Its popularity is attested by the fact that between that year and 1967 the book went through ten printings. The edition used for this discussion is designated as the tenth printing, but it bears no date.⁶ This publication history indicates rather persuasively that the book is important in popular Shi'ite piety. Because, as will be shown, the book teaches a number of gnostic and mystical doctrines it affords a strong insight into the durability of mediæval Sufism's legacy as it continues to be felt in contemporary Shi'ism.

The text as we have it in the printed edition is divided into a three distinct parts: the 'Introduction' (pp. 5-13) which is possibly a separate work of Bursī's entitled *Lawāmi'* (see item # 7 in Appendix) affirming the unity of God and the sanctity of the Imams; the *Mashāriq* proper (pp.14-224); and a *Majmū'a* of his poetry derived from the *Mashāriq* and other sources (pp.225-247).⁷ The *Mashāriq al-anwār* proper consists of 204 chapters (*fiṣūl*) introduced with a brief introduction and concluded with a short *khātima*. In both the 'introduction' and the *khātima*, Bursī refers to the persecution he suffered at the hands of those whose belief is corrupt (*tashayyu fāḥisha*) and specifies the *fuqahā'* as being particularly culpable.

Know that when I chanted to the envious, those who know nothing of true religion. ...from the Glorious Book...they drove me away. And when I unfolded to them some of the traditions and expounded to them their inner meanings...they became envious of me and slandered me...though I did nothing wrong. Most of what I said had to do with a hidden matter and a mysterious secret. He who is disturbed by such

1. *Fikr*, p. 262. Muḥammad b, Ṣāliḥ al-'Āmilī al-Kaf'ami, *al-Mishbah*. (Qum 1405/1984). See pp. 176, 183, 316, 363-4.

2. "Fayḍ wrote this during his youth when he was inclined towards *taṣawwuf*." *Fikr*, p. 262. See Mullā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Kalimāt-i makhnūna min 'ulūm ahl al-ḥikma wal-ma'rifa*. (Tehran 1383/1963). pp.196ff. The title of Bursī's work given by Kāshānī is slightly different: *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fi kashf asrār Amīr al-Mu'minin*.

3. Vol. 8, pp. 202 (Iran ed. 1302).

4. In his *al-Anwār al-nu'māniya* (written in 1687/1098).

5. See the references to *GAL* and *Dhari'a* above.

6. It is possible that it is older than another edition seen by me dated 1399/1978 printed by the Dār al-Andalus, but this is doubtful. I have been told of an 11th edition dated 1978.

7. *Majmū'a min shi'r al-Shaykh Rajab al-Bursī* (pp.225-247). This is a collection of his poetry from a variety of sources, mainly *Shu'arā' al-Ḥilla*; *'Ayān al-shi'a*; *al-Ghadir*; and the *Mashāriq* itself.

things has a sickness in his heart while the peaceful heart is gladdened [by such things].

Some thought I was an ignorant one, but they condemn what they understand not... These were the brothers from among the *fuqahā'*... their minds were obscured by transmitted knowledge... God specializes for his mercy whomever He will and separates him from the envier. "And in their hearts is a sickness which God will increase" [Koran II:10].¹

An indication of the Sufi nature of this work is also given quite early in the text. In relation to the topic of selflessness as a prerequisite for true knowledge, Rajab Bursī cites the following Tradition.

When God created the soul He called to it with the question "Who am I?" The soul [insolently] responded: "But who am I!?" Then God cast it into the depths of the sea until it came to the Extended Alif² (*al-alif al-mahsūt*) and it was purified of the depravities of referring to its self and it returned to its proper development. Then God called to it again with the question: "Who am I?" The soul responded this time with: "Thou art the One, the Vanquisher! [Koran XL: 16]." For this reason He said: "*Kill your souls*" [Koran II: 43 & IV:66] because they will never recognize their stations except through vanquishing.³

The connection here would seem to be that Rajab Bursī sees his difficulties with his fellow Hillis as a spiritual trial which in the end will be of benefit to him. Thus the allusion to the oft-quoted (in Shi'ite literature) *ḥadīth*: "The knowledge of the People of the House is exceedingly difficult (*ša'b mustaṣ'ab*), none can bear it except a sent prophet, an angel brought nigh to God or a believer whose heart has been tested for faith."⁴

In the *khatīma* he also refers to his *hijra* due to the censure and blame directed against him and cites a tradition from the Prophet extolling the virtues of retreat: "All good is in seclusion (*'uzla*), and good and well-being are found in solitude (*wahda*), and there is blessing in abandoning people."⁵

The many chapters of the *Mashāriq* vary greatly in length and subject matter. The first 22 are devoted to an exploration of the numinous content or status of letters of the alphabet which also have numerical value.⁶ In any case, it should not be inferred from this that such concerns are absent from the rest of the book. Bursī was, it may be noted, a contemporary of Faḍlullāh Astarābādī (1339-1401), the founder of the *Hurūfī* sect.⁷ And it may be also that the work contains a number of cryptic references to the latter, such as the one found at the beginning of the book.⁸ As is

1. *Mashāriq*, pp.14-15.

2. This is defined by Bursī elsewhere in *Mashāriq*, pp. 20-21; see also Corbin, *Annuaire* 68-69, p. 149.

3. *Mashāriq*, p. 16. 'Alī is also associated with the attribute "vanquisher" (*al-Qaḥḥār*) because of his heroic military prowess at the conquest of Khaybar.

4. *Mashāriq*, p.16; see also *Mashāriq*, pp.197-198.

5. *Mashāriq*, p. 222.

6. It is of some interest that the Persian commentary by Mashhādī, mentioned above, neglects this material.

7. On Faḍlullāh Astarābādī see the article by H. Norris in this volume. Ed.

8. Here he refers to one "who is gladdened by what God has bestowed upon him and opened for him" [*mubtahij bimā faḍalahu Allāh [sic] wa faḍḍa lahu*], *Mashāriq*, p. 15.

well known, however, Bursī would have required no such contemporary validation for his letter and number speculations. By his time, such sciences had been become common coin and practiced by a wide variety authors. Indeed, to the extent that such movements as the *Hurūfiyya* were successful or posed a serious threat to the status quo, it seems reasonable to suppose that the movement spoke a language that struck a responsive cord in the general population.

The chapters are not given topic headings and are designated merely by the word *faṣl*. It is sometimes difficult to know how these chapters were conceived as separate elements. The majority of the material consists of *ḥadīths* and Bursī's commentary on them. These *ḥadīths* are derived from a number of sources, displaying the interest in both Sunni and Shi'ite works common in this period. Thus several are related from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Hanīfa, Ibn 'Abbās, and other sources for the Sunni tradition, while numerous traditions are taken from such basic Shi'ite works as the *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt*.¹

LOGOS

Beyond the somewhat literalistic conception of Logos implied by a preoccupation with the "science of letters," there is a related theme in the work which expresses the Logos quite independent of the practice of *jafr* or letter speculation. This motif consists in establishing Muḥammad and 'Alī as pre-eternal elements of creation. This doctrine is repeatedly asserted through the *ḥadīths* that Bursī has chosen for his collection, his commentary on these *ḥadīth*, and his poetry. It is also this doctrine, and its implications which have caused Bursī to be condemned not only by his fellow Hillis, but also by such later critics such as Majlisī and Nūri² (notwithstanding that most appear to be impressed by the quality of his poetry).³

In this connection, the *Mashāriq* has preserved certain material not found elsewhere in the books of traditions whether Sunni or Shi'ite. Some of this material, according to Corbin, was left out of compilations like the *Nahj al-balāgha* because the implied view of the Imam had certain 'resonances' with Ismaili thought.⁴ This hypothesis has recently been confirmed. The Ismaili author, Mu'ayyad Shirāzī, included the *Khutba al-taṭanīyya* (on which see below) in his *Majālis*.⁵ Another typical example, included here, has been described by Corbin as one of those *ḥadīth* most characteristic of Shi'ite gnosis. It is the "recital of a visionary interview between ['Alī's] *lāhūt* (his divine, spiritual, celestial element) and his *nāsūt* (his terrestrial humanity)."⁶ It is presented without *isnād*:

1. Of Muḥammad al-Hasan al-Ṣaffār (d.902).

2. Yahyā Nūri. *Khatamiyat payāmbār-i Islām dar ibtāl tahlili Bābigari, Bahā'igari, Qādiyānigari*. (Bilingual Fārsi & English edition, Iran 1360 sh./1981), p.20 (English).

3. E.g. Khwānsārī, vol.3, p. 341.

4. *EII* 3, p. 150.

5. I have also been informed that some of the material which follows below may be found also in the *Gujarati Ginan literature of the Ismailis*.

6. *Annuaire* 69-70, p. 234. The commentaries are by: Mirzā Aḥmad Ardikānī Shirāzī (who wrote in 1810 in Shirāz), Mullā 'Alī ibn Jamshīd Nūri (1245/1830), Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī (1259/1843), Ja'far Kashfī (1267/1851), Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1288/1870).

To the First Imām is posed this question: "Have you seen in this world below a certain man?"

The Imām responds to the anonymous questioner: "Yes, I have seen a certain man, and until now I have been asking him questions. I ask him: 'Who are you?'"

He answers: "I am clay."

"From where?"

"From clay."

"Towards where?"

"Towards clay."

"And me, who am I?"

"You, you are Abū Turāb (earth dweller)."

"Therefore I am you?"

He shot back, "God forbid, God forbid! This is from *al-dīn* in *al-dīn*. I am I and We are We. I am the Essence of essences and the Essence in the essence of the Essence." Then he said: "[Do you] understand?"

I said, "Yes."

Then he said, "So cling [to this understanding]."

Rajab al-Bursi then comments on this *ḥadīth* to the effect that it represents a conversation between the divine and human worlds (*lāhūt/nāsūt*).² This discussion elucidates the difference between the body ('the temple of man's holiness') and the soul, or essence of this holiness (*sirr*):

Thus his statement, "I have seen a certain man, and until now I have been asking him questions," is because the spirit is always attached to the body and considers it the house of its exile... And secondly, that the gnostic ('arif) should ever know the difference between the station of dust and the holiness (*sirr*) of the Lord of lords, namely that when he knows himself he knows his Lord. That is, he knows his self, its generated-ness, its poverty, its wretchedness and thus knows of his Lord's might and greatness, and majesty. So his statement: "I am clay" is an allusion to this gnostic, ever in the station of poverty and affirming his generatedness and weakness... And his statement "You are Abū Turāb." alludes to two meanings, one particular and the other general. The first of its meanings is the allusion to Father Educator (*al-āb al-murabbī*), Guide (*al-murshid*) and the Spirit (*al-rūh*) Custodian and Trainer of this body. The second is that Abū Turāb is 'water,' and the meaning is that 'Thou art the father of all existing things and their point of origin and their reality and their true meaning because he is the Most Great Word from which appears the existent things (*muwjudāt*), and it is the holy essence (*sirr*) of all engendered things (*al-kā'ināt*)...'

And his statement, "I am the Essence of Essences, and the Essence in the Essence of the Essence" clearly refers to the Hidden Secret (*al-sirr al-maknūn*) on which depends the two phases of "Be thou! and it is." [*kun fayakūn*; Koran II:117] He is

the Greatest Name of God (*ism Allāh al-a'zam*)¹ and the reality of every engendered thing (*kā'in*). The essence of every existent belongs to the essence of the Necessary Existent (*wājib al-wujūd*) because it is his holy essence (*sirr*) and his word (*kalima*) and his command/cause (*amr*) and his guardian (*wali*) over all things. ...

Thus through the solution of this riddle the disbelief of the exaggerator (*ghālī*) has been distinguished from the one who speaks properly (*qālī*) [as has] the struggle on the path of the slackard (*tālī*) [been distinguished from the true striving] of the one who has accepted 'Ali as guardian (*mawālī*). The method of attainment to the Exalted 'Ali of the true knower ('arif al-'ālī, has thus been indicated.²

'Ali is the connecting mystery (*sirr*) of God in all [things and circumstances], His guardian (*wali*) over all because the [actual] Lord is mightily exalted above what He has existentiated through His purpose (*irāda*) or created through His power (*qudra*) or His will (*mashiyya*). ... to 'Ali all allusions (*ishārāt*) refer by virtue of his statement "There is no difference between them and between Thee except that they are Your servants and Your creation." ...

About his statement to him, "Do you understand?" and I said, "Yes." And he said "Cling to this!"—this alludes to the fact that when a man understands that 'Ali is the hidden secret it is incumbent upon him to cling to this so the intellect may accept this apperception.³

KHUṬBA AL-TAṬANJĪYA

Another tradition of a similarly gnostic flavour is called *Khutbat al-taṭanjīya*. This *ḥadīth* does not appear in *Nahj al-balāgha*, but is preserved in other Twelver Shi'ite sources.⁴ It is related in the 144th chapter of the *Mashāriq* without *isnād* and introduced by Bursi as one of 'Ali's sermons about which one should be particularly careful in interpreting because of its style and content which elevate 'Ali. This is so to such a degree that one could be tempted to class the statements below as ecstatic sayings (*shath*). Bursi says that the sermon contains that which establishes the transcendence of the Creator in a way none can bear.

The Commander of the Faithful delivered this sermon between Kūfa and Medina. He said:

"O People! ...I am hope and that which is hoped for. I preside over the twin gulfs (*Anā wāqif 'ala al-taṭanjayn*). And my gaze beholds the two wests and the two easts [Cf. Koran LV:17]. I have seen the mercy of God and Paradise clearly through direct [physical] vision. And it is in the seventh sea... and in its swells are the stars and the orbits. And I saw the earth enwrapped as by a garment... I know the wonders of God's creation as no one but God knows them. And I know what was and what will be, and what occurred at the time of the primordial covenant (*al-dharr al-awwal*) [viz. the *yawm al-mithāq*; cf. Koran VII:172] before the First Adam. It has been disclosed to me by my Lord... and this knowledge was hidden from all prophets except the Master of this *Shari'a* of yours. He taught me his knowledge and I taught him my knowledge. We are the first warning and the warning of the first and the last and

1. A pun that evokes the tradition of 'Ali having been given this nickname by the Prophet. On the name, see Eitan Kohlberg, 'Abū Turāb,' *BSOAS* (1978), pp. 347-52.

2. Corbin observes that the later commentators have used all the resources which Shi'ite theosophy and their Neoplatonism have put at their disposal. For example Mirzā Aḥmad Ardikāni Shirāzi petitions the Hermetic idea of the Perfect Man (*insān kāmil*) as Perfect Nature who is the angel of every being and of whom Hermes had his vision. All agree in recognizing the extreme difficulty of this *ḥadīth*; it is certain that this particular one is one of a number of texts which are the most significant for theosophic imamology, those which evoke the problem of the "two natures" posed also in Christology. *Annuaire* 68-9.

1. It is somewhat surprising, given the distinctive approach by our author to the this topic and the other names of God, that there appears to be no need to refer to him (or others like) him in a recent studies of the divine names in Islam.

2. The pun in the Arabic clearly indicates that 'Ali and God may be confused.

3. *Annuaire* 69-70, pp. 233-235; *Mashāriq*, pp. 31-2.

4. See Corbin, *Annuaire* 69-70; *Dhari'a* 7, # 989 where this sermon is identified as *Khutbat al-aqālim & Bihār* 9, p. 535 and the reference to Ibn Shahrāshūb (d.1192 in Aleppo).

the warning for all times and periods. Through us perishes him who perishes and through us is saved whoever is saved. And you are incapable of what is in us. By him who breaks the seed and drives the winds!... Indeed, the winds and air and birds are made subservient to us. The world below was given me and I shunned it. I am the dome of the world... I know what is above the highest Paradise and what is below the lowest earth and what is in the highest heavens and what is between them and what is under the dust. All this is comprehensive knowledge, not related knowledge. I swear by the Lord of the Mighty Throne! If you desired I could tell you of your forefathers, where they were and what they were and where they are now and what they will be. If I reveal to you what was given in the first eternity and what is of me in the End then you would see mighty wonders and things great.... I am the Master of the first creation before the first Noah. And were I to tell you what transpired between Adam and Noah, the wonders of those arts and the nations destroyed [in that time] then the truth of the statement "evil is what they have done" would be established. I am the Master of the first two Floods [Koran VII:133]. I am the Master of the second two floods [Koran XXIX:14]. I am the Master of the Flood [*sayl al-'aram*; Koran XXXIV:16]. I am the Master of the hidden secrets (*al-usrâr al-maknûnat*). I am the Master of 'Ad and the Gardens. And I am the Master of Thamûd and the Signs. And I am their destroyer. And I am their shaker. And I am their place of return. And I am their destroyer. And I am their director. I am their two gates. I am their leveller. I am their maker to die and I am their maker to live. I am the First, I am the Last, I am the Outward, I am the Inward [Koran LVII:3]. I was with time before time and I was with revolution before revolution. And I was with the Pen before the Pen and I was with the Tablet before the Tablet. And I am the master of the First Pre-eternity. And I am the master of Jabalqa and Jabarsa.... I am the director of the first world when there was no heaven and no earth."

So Ibn Sürima (?) approached him and said: "Thou art thou, O Commander of the Faithful!" Then 'Ali said: "I am Me, there is no god but God, my Lord and the Lord of all creatures. To Him is the creation and the command. He who directs all things through His wisdom and raises the heavens and the earth through His power... I have commanded Iblis to prostrate... I raised Idris to a high place, I caused Jesus to speak in the cradle. I have divided the world into five... I am that light which appeared on Sinai... I am the Master of the eternal gardens and he who causes the rivers to flow... and I fashioned the climes by the command of the Knower and the Wise. I am that word through which all things are perfected... Indeed the hypocrites who say 'Ali has appointed himself are wrong... 'Ali is a created light and servant of the Provider of sustenance, whoever says other than this, God condemns his deed."¹

SELF-KNOWLEDGE

Thus far we have concentrated on the so-called gnostic aspects of this work—gnostic because of the repeated emphasis on knowledge—the knowledge of the Imâm and recognition of his true dignity. And more importantly, the material is gnostic because of the 'far flung' imagery contained in the traditions—its gnomic, *outré*, and deeply mysterious flavour. But what of 'standard' Sufism? Rajab Bursî does not merit inclusion in a volume on mediæval Persian Sufism simply because of the single pronouncement, in the context of a section on Islamic sects, that "the Sufis are divided into two groups (*firqa*): the *nûriyya* and the *khalwiyya*."² Nor do the

1. *Mashâriq*, pp. 160-1.

2. *Mashâriq*, p. 205.

passing references to such Sufi heroes as Hallâj (d. 922),¹ Ibn al-Fârîd (d. 1235), and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) suffice to establish our author as a Sufi, although such references have doubtless contributed to his widely attested reputation as a Sufi.² Such references *do* point to a certain genuine sympathy with some of the concerns of Sufism. Where Rajab Bursî's Sufism is most clearly in evidence is in those passages which deal with the self, specifically its knowledge and its effacement. Three chapters are specifically dedicated to this theme:

The Glorious Lord says in the Gospel: "Know thyself, O man and know thy lord Thine external is for annihilation (*fanâ*) and thine internal is Me."

And the Master of the *Shari'a* [Muhammad] said: "The most knowledgeable of you about his Lord is the most knowledgeable about his self."

II

And the Imam of Guidance ['Ali] said: "He who knows his Lord knows his self."

Commentary: The knowledge of the self is that a man knows his beginning and his end, from where he came and to where he is going, and this is based upon true knowledge of 'delimited' existence (*al-wujûd al-muqayyad*). And this is knowledge of the first effulgence (*al-fayd al-awwal*) which overflowed from the Lord of Might. Then Being flowed from it and was made Existence by the command of the Necessary Existent... And this is the single point which is the beginning of the 'engendered things' (*kâ'inât*) and the end of all 'existent things' (*mawjûdât*) and the Spirit of spirits and light of the apparitional incorporeal beings (*al-ashbâh*)...

This is the first number and the secret [that explains the difference between] of the Inclusive Divine Unity and the Transcendent Exclusive Divine Unity (*al-wâhid* and *al-ahad*).³ And that is because the essence of God is unknowable for man (*bashar*). So knowledge of Him is through His qualities (*ṣifât*). And the single point is a quality (*ṣifa*) of God, and the quality indicates the Qualified, because by its appearance God is known. And it is the flashing of the light (*la'lâ' al-nûr*) which shines out (*sha'sha'a*), from the splendour of the Exclusive Unity (*al-ahadiyya*) in the sign (*simâ'*) of the Muhammadan Presence. To this the following statement alludes: "Whoever knows You, knows you through this sign." This is supported by another saying: "Were it not for us, none would know God. And were it not for God, none would know us." Thus, it is the Light from which dawn all other lights, and the One from which appears all bodies (*ajsâd*), and the mystery from which is generated all mysteries, and the Intellect (*'aql*) from which springs all intellects and the Soul from which appears all souls, and the Tablet which contains the hidden secrets and the Throne which spreads throughout heaven and earth, and the Mighty Throne that encompasses all things, and the Eye by which all other eyes see, and the Reality to which all things testify in the beginning, just as they testified in the Exclusive Unity to the Necessary Existent. It is the highest limit of the knowledge of all knowers, the means of access to Muhammad and 'Ali through the reality of their knowledge, or, through the knowledge of their realities. But this gate is covered by the veil [indicat-

1. *Mashâriq*, p. 27, 177, and 21 respectively.

2. E.g. *Rayhânât al-âdab* and *Rawqât al-jannat* cited above.

3. Briefly, these are two 'modes' of the Divine Oneness: *al-wâhid* refers to the Oneness that implies also 'within' it the multiplicity of creation, while *al-Ahad* refers to the utterly unknowable unique, transcendent singleness of God. These ideas are traced to Ibn Arabi. See below.

ed in] "But we give unto you of knowledge only a little." [Koran LXXXV:170] To this alludes the statements of the Imams: that which was given to the Near Angels of the people of Muhammad was little, so how can the world of man [have more]? And on this topic is the statement: "Our cause is bewilderingly abstruse; none can bear it except a sent prophet and not even an angel brought nigh."¹ He who connects with the rays of their light has known himself because then he has recognized [the difference between] the essence of existence (*'ayn al-wujūd*) and the reality of that which is made to exist (*ḥaqīqat al-mawjūd*), and the absolute single uniqueness of the served Lord (*fardāniyat al-rabb al-ma'būd*). The knowledge of the self is the knowledge of the reality of 'delimited' existence. This is none other than the Single Point whose exterior is Prophethood and whose interior is Sainthood (*walāya*). Thus he who knows *Nubūwwa* and *Walāya* with true knowledge knows his Lord. So he who knows Muhammad and 'Alī knows his Lord.²

This is a particularly good example of the function of the Prophet and the Imam in Bursi's theory of knowledge. It also is a fine example of Bursi's use of the mystical and philosophical language of 'high' Sufism as it had developed by his time. Obviously, the source for such terminology is Ibn 'Arabī. Bursi's contemporary Ḥaydar Āmulī and the later Ibn Abi Jumhūr would, in their distinctive ways, attempt a similar application of the ideas and terminology of the Great Doctor to the intellectual requirements of Shi'ism. These authors in turn helped to prepare the way for the famous Isfahan school of philosophy that flourished during high Safavid times. To continue somewhat with Rajab Bursi's commentary:

III

But, if the pronoun in his word *'naḥsihi* refers to God it means "God himself warns you that they [the Prophet and the Imam] are the spirit of God and His word and the soul of existence and its reality. So in two ways it means "He who knows them knows his Lord." Thus at the time of death he will see with the eye of certainty none but Muhammad and 'Alī because the Real is too glorious to be seen by the eyes. And the dead one at the time of his death will testify in the Real state and station (*ḥāl* and *maqam*) and see nothing but them at the time of death because he sees with the eye of certainty. Thus Amir al-Mu'minin ['Alī] said, "I am the eye of certainty and I am death of the dead." This is indicated in the *Kitāb basā'ir al-darujār*³ from the Imām Ja'far: "No one in the East or the West dies, whether he loves or hates [Muhammad and 'Alī], but that he will be brought into the presence of 'Alī and Muhammad. Then he will be blessed or condemned." This will be at the time of the Trumpet... the soul will be returned to its body. At that time he will see none but Muhammad and 'Alī because the Living the Self-subsistent, glorified by His name, is not seen by mortal eye, but is seen by the eye of spiritual perception. To this alludes to his statement: "The eyes see him not in the visible realm, but the minds see him through the realities of faith." The meaning is that His existence is testified to because his exterior is invisible and his interior is not hidden.⁴

His discussion of existence, found throughout the work is another good example of Rajab Bursi's reliance on Ibn 'Arabī. His introduction to the *ḥadīth* from 'Alī:

"Have you seen a certain man," is important to notice here:

If we pursue the subject of the existent beings (*mawjūdāt*), that they end in a single point which is itself but a quality of the Essence and cause of the existent beings, we may call it by a number of names. It is the Intellect mentioned in the statement: "The first thing God created was the Intellect." And this is the Muhammadan Presence according to [the Prophet's] statement: "The first thing God created was my light." It is the first of the created existents that came forth from God, exalted be He, without any intermediary. We call it the First Intellect. And inasmuch as created things get the power to think from it, we call it the Active Intellect (*al-'aql al-fa'āl*). And inasmuch as the Intellect emanates to all existent things who in turn perceive the realities of all things by it, we call it the Universal Intellect. So it is absolutely clear that the Muhammadan Presence is the point of light and the first appearance, the reality of engendered things, the beginning of existent things, and the axis of all circles. Its exterior is a quality of God, and its interior is the hidden dimension of God. It is the Greatest Name outwardly and the form of the rest of the world. Upon it depends whoever disbelieves or believes. Its spirit is a transcript of the Exclusive Unity that abides in the Divine Nature (*lāhūt*). And its spiritual form is the meaning of the earthly and heavenly kingdoms. And its heart is the treasure house of the life which never dies. This is because God, exalted be He, spoke a word in the beginning which became light. Then he spoke a word which became spirit. And then he caused the light to enter that spirit (or that light to enter that word.) He then made them a veil, which is his word and his light, and his spirit and his veil. And it permeates the world (*sarayān fi'l-'ālam*, as the point permeates all the letters and bodies. This permeation is one in number, as is the permeation of speech with the *āḥf* and the permeation of all the names with the Holy Name. The [word] is the beginning of all [things] and the reality of all [things], so that all [things] speak by means of the tongue of spiritual "state" and "station." It testifies to God through his primordial oneness and to Muhammad and 'Alī of their fatherhood and sovereignty. To this points the statement: "'Alī and I are the fathers of this community." So if they are the fathers of this community it follows that they are the fathers of the rest of the nations, according to the proof from "the specific is over the general and the higher over the lower," not the opposite. If it were not so, there would never be any creation to specify him through "If it were not for thee I would not have created the spheres." So know that the Acts proceed from the Qualities, and the Qualities proceed from the Essence. And the quality which is the Leader of Qualities is in the created things, namely the Muhammadan Presence.¹

One of the strongest clues to Bursi's reliance on Ibn 'Arabī is seen above in the word *sarayān* (permeation/suffusion). A comparison with this passage and the passage in the first *faṣṣ* of Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* reveals a strong parallelism between Ibn 'Arabī's language and Rajab Bursi's. It is as if the latter were writing while reading Ibn Arabī's book. He does not however make any explicit mention of this.² Thus his work acquires the character of a tacit commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*.

1. Significant variant on the *ḥadīth* mentioned above.

2. M. 188-9.

3. See above.

4. M. 190.

1. *Mashāriq*, pp. 30-32. For a more classically-based philosophical discussion see the treatise "That existence is in two parts" (*Mashāriq*, pp. 27-28). This section also contains a commentary on *kun-tu khaṣṣan makhfiyān*, a reference to Hallāj and Ibn Arabī's terminology.

2. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed 'Afifi (Beirut 1400/1980), p. 55

CONCLUSION

The history of Islam provides Muslims with a powerful longing for that rarefied atmosphere of certitude associated with the first community established by the Prophet. One may assume that the basic feature of this cultural nostalgia is that it is directed to a time which was free of the vexing spiritual question of legitimate authority. The *memory* itself of the city of the Prophet, the calling to mind when Muslims enjoyed the unmediated guidance of the Messenger of God is, for example, an unailing source of authentic religious and spiritual certitude.

Further, the development of Islamic religious thought may also be seen as the result of a variety of attempts to maintain this certitude by establishing certain theories of spiritual or religious authority (distinct, of course, from authoritarianism). Because in Islam certitude is supported by and intimately connected with knowledge ('ilm), the concern with our quest for certitude underlies the five types of Sufi writing outlined by Prof. Nasr in the introduction to this volume: 1) ethics, 2) doctrine, 3) esoteric sciences, 4) sacred history, 5) depiction of Paradise and the literary creation of a celestial atmosphere. Here the purpose of authority is to free the soul from the perplexities posed to it by reason. The two major divisions within Islam: Sunnism and Shi'ism, present different methods of attaining certainty and 'systematizing' religious authority as a means of freeing the soul through recapturing the vision of that time when Muslims were relatively untroubled by such concerns.

The author/compiler of the text that has been the subject of this essay has achieved a distinctive vision of the nature of this authority and also of the means whereby the believer may have access to it. In so doing, he has drawn upon all the major resources available to the greater Islamic tradition: the Koran, *ḥadīth*, *Kalām*, Philosophy, and Sufism. The resultant synthesis would appear to be most appealing given the fact that his book went through ten printings in rapid succession during the 1960's in Lebanon. It is eminently representative of the period in Twelver history between the Mongol invasions and the establishment of the Safavids. It preserves a record of the development of this history by reacting against the ways and usages of mainstream Twelver Shi'ism, which may be seen as an attempt to disassociate itself from specific trends in more primitive Shi'ism on the one hand, by rejecting certain religious postures exemplified in some of the material translated below, and identifying more closely with Sunnī Islam by adopting its system of jurisprudence. This phenomenon mirrors a similar development within Sunni Islam where Sufism may be seen as an attempt to counter the confidence placed in consensus (*ijmā'*) as a starting point for recreating the 'celestial atmosphere' of Medina by investing in a more personalistic style of piety.

By the time our author was writing, his home, Hilla, had become the centre of Twelver Shi'ism. Hilla had been a Shi'ite centre since its establishment by the powerful Shi'ite dynasty, the Mazyadids, in 1101/1690. But it was about a century later that it really came into its own, replacing Aleppo, as the centre of Shi'ite learning. Its fortunes continued to rise in this regard until well after the Mongol invasion. Because the Shi'ite leaders of Hilla submitted without reservation to Mongol rule, life in the small city was permitted to continue undisturbed. This augured extremely well for the continued elaboration of a distinctive Shi'ite theology and jurisprudence. Momen states the case most succinctly:

While Baghdad, the centre of Sunni orthodoxy, had been devastated, Hilla, the main centre of Shi'ism, had submitted to the Mongols and was spared. The killing of the 'Abbasid Caliph threw Sunni theology and constitutional theory... into some disorder, while the occulted Imam of the Shi'ites had not been affected.¹

If Shi'ism is seen in part as a protest movement in reaction to mainstream Sunni Islam, then the processes set in motion by these historical developments are ironic. Shi'ism was now irreversibly on its way to becoming another orthodoxy. That Bursi's piety shares much with the religious orientation known very generally as Sufism, another 'protest movement,' is confirmed by the fact that our author resorts to the basic terminology and categories of thought of Sufism in attempting to make clear his own chosen 'method' or vision of authority. Thus a believer is referred to as a gnostic ('*ārif*) who, through his love (*maḥabba*), and knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of the Imāms as the sole bearers of religious authority (*walāya*), both draws nearer to spiritual perfection and to an ever deepening knowledge of his own self, whose superfluous qualities will be shed in the process. The central idea of his vision or system is carried by the word *walāya*. Obviously, I am not suggesting that Rajab Bursi had to go outside the Shi'ite textual tradition for this word. In this instance the coincidence in terminology between Shi'ism and Sufism is not terribly meaningful. The main thrust of this terminology, both in Sufism and in the writings of Bursi, is to establish a personal, intimate link with the 'spirit' of religion. Other terms and motifs, including the considerable influence of Ibn 'Arabī, as will be seen, are more indicative of Sufi influence. But most importantly, Rajab Bursi rejects the position of the *fuqahā'* of Hilla as being only partially (if at all) conducive to the kind of certitude his religion demands. Again, this would seem to have a great deal in common with Sufism. In some respects, the difference in attitude between Bursi and his contemporaries may also be compared usefully with the later tensions between the Akhbāris and the Usulis, a tension which may be briefly described as one between reason and revelation.²

While Rajab Bursi has been condemned by some authors as holding an immoderate belief in the Imams, most who have written about him also speak quite highly of his poetry. It is perhaps the poet in him that speaks in such strong terms. Poets, we are told, perceive reality intensely. It is therefore not surprising that they express themselves with equal intensity. While it would not be a complete mistake to attempt to classify Rajab Bursi's religious doctrine on the basis of his deeply felt experience of his love for the Imams, his book is not doctrine in the strict sense. That his mind was active and searching is clear from the above excerpts. And his recourse to "explanations" of the spiritual laws laid bare throughout the *Mashāriq*, based on Ibn 'Arabī's ideas, appealed to him possibly as much for what they said as for what they left unsaid. In the end, it would be difficult to answer the question: Was Rajab Bursi more in love with the Imāms or the ideas that made this love reasonable?

1. Momen, *op. cit.* pp. 91-92.

2. This is however something of an oversimplification. In addition to the article by Kohlberg cited above, see also Juan Cole, 'Shi'ī Clerics in Iraq, Iran, 1722-1780: The Akhbārī-Usulī Conflict Reconsidered,' *Iranian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1985), pp. 3-33.

APPENDIX

Bursī's works as listed in Fikr:

- 1) *Mashāriq al-anwār* (*Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fī asrār Amīr al-Mu'minīn*). Printed in India in 1303/1885-6 and 1318/1900-1 and in Beirut in 1379/1959-60.
- 2) *Mashāriq al-amān wa lubāb ḥaqā'iq al-īmān*.
- 3) *Risāla fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-rasūl wa al-ā'imma min munsha'āt nafsihi*.
- 4) *Ziyāra li-Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.
- 5) *Lum'a kāshif*. (*Fi-hā asrār al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt wa al-ḥurūf wa al-āyāt wa mā yunāsibuhā min al-du'āt wa mā yuqāribuhā min al-kalimāt wa ratabahā 'alā tartīb al-sa'āt wa ta'aqub al-awqāt fī al-layālī wa al-ayām li-ikhtilā al-umūr wa al-aḥkām*).
- 6) *al-Durr al-thamīn fī dhikr*. 500 Koranic verses indicating the virtues of 'Alī.
- 7) *Lawāmi'anwār al-tamjīd wa jawāmi'asrār al-tawḥīd*. Possibly appearing at the beginning of the *Mashāriq al-anwār*.
- 8) *Risāla fī tafsīr sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ*
- 9) *Risāla fī kayfiya al-tawḥīd wa al-ṣalāt 'alā al-rasūl wa al-ā'imma 'alayhim al-salām*.
- 10) *Kitāb fī mawlid al-Nabī wa Fāṭima wa Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa faḍā'luhum 'alayhim al-salām*.
- 11) Another book on the excellences of 'Alī.
- 12) *Kitāb al-ālīfayn fī waṣf sādāt al-kawnayn*. Excerpts of this are reproduced in the *Bihār al-anwār* (see above).