

# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK ON SUFISM

*Edited by Lloyd Ridgeon*

# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK ON SUFISM

This is a chronological history of the Sufi tradition, divided into three sections, early, middle and modern periods. The book comprises 35 independent chapters with easily identifiable themes and/or geographical threads, all written by recognised experts in the field.

The volume outlines the origins and early developments of Sufism by assessing the formative thinkers and practitioners and investigating specific pietistic themes. The middle period contains an examination of the emergence of the Sufi Orders and illustrates the diversity of the tradition. This middle period also analyses the fate of Sufism during the time of the Gunpowder Empires. Finally, the third period includes representative surveys of Sufism in several countries, both in the West and in traditional “Islamic” regions.

This comprehensive and up-to-date collection of studies provides a guide to the Sufi tradition. The *Handbook* is a valuable resource for students and researchers with an interest in religion, Islamic Studies and Middle Eastern Studies.

**Lloyd Ridgeon** is reader in Islamic Studies at Glasgow University. His main research interests include Persianate Sufism and also Iranian history and modern Iranian culture. He has published extensively on areas including *javānmardī*, and he is currently writing a book on how the *ḥijāb* has been understood by modern Iranian seminarians.

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## LOVE AND BEAUTY IN SUFISM

*Joseph E. B. Lumbard*

Love and beauty have been defining elements of Islam from its inception. The introduction to each *sūrah* of the Qur'ān, *Bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*, repeats two Divine Names that convey God's omnibenevolence. These names are usually rendered using the terms "Mercy" and "Compassion," but as some have argued, "In the Name of God, The Ever-Loving, the All-Loving" better captures the meaning of this phrase. In the Qur'ān God also states "My loving-mercy (rahma) encompasses all things" (Q. 7:156; cf. Q. 40:7) and "He has ordained loving-mercy for Himself" (Q. 6:12; cf. Q. 6:54). Q. 17:110 equates the Divine Name *al-Rahmān*, "The Ever-Loving," with the supreme Divine Name, *Allāh*: "Say, "Call upon God (Allāh), or call upon the Ever-Loving (al-Rahmān). Whichever you call upon, to Him belong the most beautiful names." Beyond these verses that embed love, mercy, and compassion in the Divine Nature, God sends the Prophet Muhammad out of loving-mercy: "And We sent you not, save as a loving-mercy (rahma) unto the worlds" (21:107). The Prophet, in turn, enjoins loving-mercy upon the believers: "Show loving-mercy to those on earth, and He Who is in heaven will show loving-mercy to you."<sup>1</sup>

Love was also a prevalent theme in pre-Islamic Arabic literature. The three-part ode (*qasīda*), considered the highest form of art in pre-Islamic Arabia, would usually begin with an "amatory prelude" (*nasīb*), expressing the poet's yearning for a departed beloved.<sup>2</sup> Drawing upon this dual heritage, love came to be discussed in all fields of knowledge in the Muslim world, from belletristic literature to philosophy, theology, and even law. Through the poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273),<sup>3</sup> Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 1220), Ḥāfiz (d. 1389), and others, Sufi teachings regarding love have garnered more attention beyond the Islamic world than have expositions of love in other fields. While Sufism provides the most extensive discourse on love in the Islamic world, such discussions are but one dimension of an extensive love tradition. Many of the themes associated with the Sufi love tradition find direct reflections in the secular literary traditions of the Muslim world,<sup>4</sup> particularly *'udhrī ghazal* poetry, where the beloved becomes the personification of the ideal and the lover is condemned to die in love.<sup>5</sup> The secular literary tradition is filled with stories of the martyrs to love, such as Majnūn-Layla and Jamīl-Buythayna.<sup>6</sup> The Sufi tradition transformed these stories into a discussion of spiritual annihilation (*fanā'*) in the Divine Beloved or in Love Itself. As 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī (d. 1131) writes, when seeking God, "One must be of the quality of Majnūn (*majnūn ṣifatī*), who, from hearing the name of Layla, could lose his soul!"<sup>7</sup> Sufi



authors even appropriated the secular tradition of wine poetry (*khamriyya*), incorporating the language of intoxication into a spiritual discourse in which wine is understood as an allusion to the nourishment that the lover—the spiritual wayfarer—receives from the Divine Beloved while traveling the spiritual path. As Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126) writes,

Of that wine which is not forbidden in our religion  
You'll not find our lips dry till we return to non-existence.<sup>8</sup>

While Sufi love traditions have had many iterations throughout the lands of Islam up until today, the most sustained and influential has been that of the Persian Sufi love tradition,<sup>9</sup> which coalesced into a “School of Love” in the early thirteenth century, spread throughout the Persianate lands and influenced developments in multiple languages, such as Pashto, Tamil, Gujarati, Hindi, Turkish, Urdu, and even Chinese. This “school” is not a direct succession of Sufi initiates marked by a spiritual genealogy like the Sufi orders (*ṭarīqahs*), rather it designates a major trend in which all aspects of creation and spiritual aspiration are presented as an unfolding of Divine Love. As Omid Safi observes, “The Path of Love may be described as a loosely affiliated group of Sufi mystics and poets who throughout the centuries have propagated a highly nuanced teaching focused on passionate love (*‘ishq*).”<sup>10</sup> This chapter will trace the development love in early Sufi literature, then focus upon the Persianate Sufi love tradition, with occasional references to developments in other lands, particularly the school of Ibn ‘Arābī (d. 1240) and the poetry of ‘Umar ibn al-Fārid (d. 1235).

### **Beginning of the Sufi love tradition**

Rābi‘ah al-‘Adawiyya (d. 801–802) provides some of the first recorded expressions of love in the Sufi tradition,<sup>11</sup> such as these oft-cited verses:

O Beloved of hearts, I have none like unto Thee,  
Therefore have pity this day on the sinner  
Who comes to Thee.  
O my Hope and my Rest and my Delight,  
The heart can love none other than Thee.<sup>12</sup>

Rābi‘a’s belief that God alone is the goal of love echoes throughout the literature of early Sufism.<sup>13</sup> An important feature of this attitude is that one should seek God, the Uncreated, rather than Paradise, which is created; as Rābi‘a expresses it, “First the neighbor, then the house” (*al-jār thumma al-dār*). Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 875) expands upon this sentiment, saying,

If the eight paradises were revealed to me in my hut, and the dominion of both the worlds and all their environs were given to me, I still would not wish them in place of a single sigh that rises at morning tide from the depth of my soul recalling my yearning for Him.<sup>14</sup>

Rābi‘a’s contemporary, Shaqīq Balkhī (d. 810), was among the first to write of stages on the Sufi path in which love (*maḥabba*) for God was envisioned as the highest and noblest station of spiritual attainment, beyond that of mere longing for Paradise.<sup>15</sup> This vision of love became a common feature of Sufi texts, such that Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 945)<sup>16</sup> wrote of love as “a fire in the heart, consuming all save the will of the Beloved,”<sup>17</sup> or as that which “erases all that is other than God from the heart,”<sup>18</sup> thus framing love as a burning desire that directs all aspiration (*himmah*) toward God alone.

From this early period forward, love came to be recognized as an advanced stage of spiritual wayfaring. Moreover all forms of love were understood as reflections of this highest love. In *Kitāb al-Maḥabbah wa l-shawq wa l-uns wa l-riḍā* (*The Book of Love, Longing, and Contentment*) of the *Revival*, Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) outlines five different types of love: (1) love for oneself; (2) love for one who supports and completes oneself; (3) love for one who does good out of appreciation for the good he does; (4) love for all that is beautiful in its essence (*fi dhātihī*); and (5) love for one with whom one has a hidden inner relationship. He then contends that each of these forms of love is in fact love of God and concludes that all stages of the path toward God derive from love and lead to love.<sup>19</sup>

Love for God is the ultimate aim among the stations and the highest summit among the degrees, for there is no station beyond the perception (*idrāk*) of love except that it is a fruit from among its fruits and a consequence of its effects, such as longing (*shawq*), intimacy (*uns*), contentment (*riḍā*), and their sisters. And there is no station before love, except that it is a prelude to it, such as repentance (*taḥba*), forbearance (*ṣabr*), asceticism (*zuhd*), and the like.<sup>20</sup>

### From *Hūbb* to *‘Ishq*

The earliest discussions of love in Sufi texts usually employ the words *ḥubb* and *maḥabba*, both from the same root—*ḥ-b-b*—when referring to love, and reveal an ongoing debate regarding the use of the word “*‘ishq*,” which indicates more passionate modes of love and later came to predominate in the Persianate Sufi tradition.<sup>21</sup> The first extended Sufi treatise on different theories of love, *‘Atf al-alif al-ma’lūf li l-lām al-ma’tūf* (*The Inclination of the Intimate Alif towards the Lām to which it Inclines*) by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (d. late fourth/tenth century), reveals that many Sufis had begun to regard *‘ishq* as a higher degree of love than *maḥabba*. Al-Daylamī attributes this position to the greatest luminaries of the generation before him, Bayāzīd al-Bistāmī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910), and Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922). Regarding his own understanding, he states that there are ten stations (*maqāmāt*) on the Sufi path, concord (*ulfa*), intimacy (*uns*), affection (*wadd* or *mawadda*), love (*maḥabbah*), comity (*khilla*), ardor (*sha’af*), zeal (*shaḡhaf*), devotion (*istihṭār*), infatuation (*walah*), and rapture (*haymān*), which are completed by *‘ishq*.<sup>22</sup> He concludes that *‘ishq*

is the boiling of love (*ḥubb*) until it pours over its outer and inner extremities...As for its reality (*ma’nā*), it is that one’s share (*ḥaṣṣ*) departs from everything except his beloved (*ma’shūq*) until he forgets his love (*‘ishq*) because of his beloved.<sup>23</sup>

This understanding of *‘ishq* stands in stark contrast to that of many dialectical theologians (*mutakallimūn*), who did not oppose the use of the terms *ḥubb* and *maḥabba* to refer to the relationship between the Divine and the human, but understood *‘ishq* as passionate love or even physical lust that should be avoided.<sup>24</sup> In light of such positions, the gradual move toward the use of the term *‘ishq* in the Persianate Sufi tradition may reflect an effort to disassociate Sufi teachings from those of the theologians and advocate for the superiority of the knowledge obtained through spiritual unveiling (*kashf*) over that obtained through the processes of study and acquisition associated with the religious sciences. In his *Treatise on Love* (*Maḥabbat Nāma*), Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī (d. 1089) encapsulates this understanding of *‘ishq* as a reality beyond the duality of lover and beloved that characterizes *maḥabba*:

'*Ishq* is both fire and water, both darkness and sun. It is not pain, but a bringer of pain, not affliction but a bringer of affliction. Just as it causes life, so too it causes death. Just as it is the substance of ease, so too it is the means of blights. Love (*mahabbah*) burns the lover, but not the beloved. '*Ishq* burns both seeker and sought.'<sup>25</sup>

### **The school of love**

Early Sufi texts exhibit extended discussions of love and many Sufis regarded love as the highest stage of the spiritual path, or even the first among the Divine Attributes, as in the case of al-Ḥallāj.<sup>26</sup> In the early sixth/twelfth century a series of texts emerged in which '*ishq* was presented as the Divine Essence beyond the duality of lover and beloved, the whole of creation was presented as an unfolding of love, and all stages of the Sufi path were spoken of as stages of love. At the forefront of this tradition was the *Sawāniḥ al-'ushshāq* (Aspirations of the Lovers) of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, regarded by many as "the founding text of the School of Love in Sufism and the tradition of love poetry in Persian,"<sup>27</sup> the poetry of Sanā'ī of Ghazna (d. 1131), Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr al-Sam'ānī's (d. 1140) *Rawḥ al-arwāḥ fī sharḥ asmā' al-malik al-fattāḥ* (The repose of spirits regarding the exposition of the Names of the Conquering King), Rashīd al-Dīn al-Maybudī's (d. ca. 1126) Qur'ān commentary *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār* (The unveiling of secrets and the provision of the pious), and 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī's *Tamḥidāt* (Paving the path).<sup>28</sup> The view of love espoused in these works shaped the works of their successors, such as Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 1209),<sup>29</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 1220),<sup>30</sup> Rūmī, Ḥāfīz, and generations of Muslims from the Subcontinent, Central Asia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and other regions up to our own times.

Texts that discuss the spiritual path in terms of love often caution the reader that love can never be expressed in words. As Rūmī writes,

Whatever I say of love by way of commentary and exposition,  
when I get to love, I am ashamed at that.  
Although the explanation with the tongue is clear,  
that love which is tongueless is yet clearer.<sup>31</sup>

As such the writings of the school of love do not offer systematic explanations of love as might be expected from philosophical or theological texts. Instead these texts provide a tapestry of metaphors and allusions woven for those who aspire to follow the Sufi path. As 'Ayn al-Quḍāt writes, "An explication of love cannot be given except through symbols and images."<sup>32</sup> Each author's experience of love for the Divine is ever more variegated than the experience of love for other human beings that we all experience. Thus each writes from his or her unique experience of God. Many symbols and images, such as the cheek, the tress, and the lips, became common; yet they were each employed in different ways, leading to diverse forms of expression. As a result the technical vocabulary is not always interchangeable from one author to another and requires that each text be understood on its own terms. As Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī explains,

There is no doubt that every lover gives a different sign of the beloved, every realizer provides a different explanation, and every verifier makes a different allusion. The declaration of each is:

Our expressions are many and Your loveliness one,  
Each of us points to that single beauty.<sup>33</sup>

In short, one must realize that the realities are primary and the terms employed to convey them are secondary. Thus when Ibn al-‘Arabī presents love as having four levels with ‘*ishq*’ as the second stage below *wudd* and *ḥubb*, the latter being the highest level,<sup>34</sup> this does not mean that he is contradicting Rūmī or Ḥāfīz for whom the term ‘*ishq*’ is used to convey the all-encompassing reality of Love.

### Love’s descent

The majority of treatises on love focus upon the path of ascent whereby the lover-wayfarer increases in love until being obliterated in the Divine Beloved as stated in some texts, or until both lover and beloved are obliterated in Love, as stated in others. This path is understood by many as a retracing of the path of descent whereby the human being came into existence and came to be separated from the Beloved. The whole of this journey is seen as being contained in the famous Qur’ānic phrase, *He loves them, and they love Him* (Q. 5:54). The first part indicates the descent of God’s love, and the second indicates the return to God through love. The ascent is prefigured in the descent. As Aḥmad al-Ghazālī writes, “The root of love grows from eternity. The dot under the letter *bā*’ (b) in *He loves them* (*yuhibbuhum*) was planted as a seed in the ground of *they love Him*. No, rather, that point was planted in *them* (*hum*), for *they love Him* to come forth.”<sup>35</sup> From this perspective, Q. 5:54 alludes to an immortal bond of love between God and human beings, a bond that defines the human condition and renders the human being forever in search of the eternal beloved. As Aḥmad al-Ghazālī puts it, “The special character of the human being is this: is it not enough that he is beloved before he is a lover? This is no small virtue.”<sup>36</sup> This interpretation is affirmed by the fact that, while God loves all creation, the only creatures noted as the specific recipients of God’s love in the Qur’ān are human beings. Furthermore, since God’s attributes are eternal, this verse indicates that God’s love for human beings is eternal, with no beginning and no end.

For the Sufis in the school of love, the covenant between God and humankind, established on what the Persianate tradition refers to as *rūz-i alast*, “the Day of *am I not* [your Lord],” is an eternal covenant of love. The Qur’ānic reference is Q. 7:172: *And [remember] when your Lord took from the Children of Adam—from their loins—their progeny, and made them bear witness concerning themselves: “Am I not your Lord?” They said, “Yea, we bear witness.”* When God said to humankind, “*Am I not your Lord,*” this was the manifestation of His love for them. When humankind responded, “*Yea*” (*balā*), this was the manifestation of their love for God. Only through God’s making human beings beloved did they become lovers, and all of their love and striving for God originates from God’s pre-temporal love for them. As al-Ghazālī writes, “‘*He loves them*’ is before ‘*they love Him*’—no doubt. Bāyazīd [al-Baṣṭāmī] said, ‘For a long time I imagined that I desired Him. He Himself had first desired me.’”<sup>37</sup> From this perspective, human love for God is the self-same love that God has for human beings. Although a human being’s love finds expression in the temporal order, such love is but a reflection or refraction of the eternal love that lies at the root of all creation; its origin is beginninglessness and its goal is endlessness.

### The path of ascent

The return of the human being to God, the path of ascent, is understood through a science that envisions the human being as traveling through four inner realms or faculties: the soul (*nafs*), the heart (Ar. *qalb*/Per. *dil*), the secret (*sirr*), and the spirit (Ar. *rūḥ*/Per. *jān*). As Maybudī writes, “Inward migration is that you go from the soul to the heart, from the heart to the

secret, from the secret to the spirit, and from the spirit to the Real.”<sup>38</sup> Each of these realms will also have many stages. As Maybudī says of those who migrate for the sake of God, the Real,

They migrate inside the curtains of the soul until they reach the heart. They migrate inside the curtains of the heart until they reach the spirit, and they migrate inside the curtains of the spirit until they reach union with the Beloved.<sup>39</sup>

This journey of return to the Real is traveled within the heart, the faculty of love, which vacillates between pain and relief, sorrow and happiness, and expansion and contraction until the heart becomes completely aligned with the spirit, that latter of which, as ‘Ayn al-Qudāt observes, retains “the quality of beginninglessness,”<sup>40</sup> and has never fully descended into the world of creation. In contrast to the spirit and the heart, the soul is by nature a recalcitrant beast that must be tamed. The majority of the discussion of the Sufi path thus focuses upon the heart because “the heart is the reality of the human being”<sup>41</sup> and is where the journey occurs. From one perspective, Sufi wayfaring is the process of turning the heart away from the soul and toward the spirit, of transforming the heart from a hardened entity that slouches toward the soul and the world into a luminous entity that aspires to the spirit and the heavens as it gradually becomes aligned with them. The goal of the wayfarer is for the heart to be completely aligned with the spirit, or as some put it, to travel beyond the heart and dwell fully in the realm of the spirit. As Maybudī writes,

The heart is the road, and the Friend is the homeland. When one arrives at the homeland, one no longer walks on the road. At the beginning there is no escape from the heart, but at the end the heart is a veil.

As long as someone stays with the heart he is the desirer. The one without a heart is desired. At first the heart is needed because one cannot traverse the road of the Shariah without the heart. Thus He said, “a reminder for one who has a heart” (Q. 50:37). At the end, remaining with the heart is duality, and duality is distance from the Real.<sup>42</sup>

### **Witnessing beauty**

The heart is transformed by perceiving and contemplating God’s Beauty, being drawn to God’s Beauty, and conforming to or manifesting God’s Beauty. When the heart has been fully transformed, it will realize that all beauty is in fact God’s Beauty. Such a realization is essential to fulfilling the covenant with God. As Rūzbihān Baqlī writes:

In everything deemed beautiful, there is the effect of that Beauty (*husn*), because every particle of engendered being has a spirit from the Real’s act, in which it is in direct contact with the quality of the attributes and the self-disclosure of the essence. In particular, things deemed beautiful have no eye except the eye of the Real. Whatever is closer to the quarry of beauty (*jamāl*) is closer to the covenant of love.<sup>43</sup>

As seen above, all modes of love are understood as reflections of God’s Love and thus as a means by which the wayfarer can be drawn to the Divine Beloved. Sufi authors differed as to whether or not the love of one human being for another could play a positive role in this process. Some authors, such as Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, maintained that since love for human beings (*ishq-i khalq*) is finite, it cannot penetrate to the depths of the heart. But

other Sufis, such as Rūzbihān Baqlī and Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 1238), had a more positive view of love between human beings, seeing it as “a bridge, across which every seeker necessarily must fare to reach the farther—divine—shore.”<sup>44</sup> This understanding of love and beauty led to *shāhid bāzī* or “witness play,” which is most widely represented as the practice of gazing upon beardless young men, but has a broader meaning for Sufi authors.<sup>45</sup> In *shāhid bāzī* the human form is understood as the fullest manifestation of beauty in the created world. As Rūzbihān Baqlī writes, God made human beings “the niche of His splendor’s light, the resplendence of His attributes, and the loci for the manifestation of the projection of His self-disclosure.”<sup>46</sup> To contemplate beauty in the human beloved is thus to behold the manifestation or self-disclosure of Divine Beauty, because human forms are loci in which God displays His own form:

Alas! “I saw my Lord on the Night of the Ascent in the most beautiful form.”<sup>47</sup> This “most beautiful form” is imaginalization (*tamaththul*). If not, then what is it? “Truly God created Adam and his children upon the form of the Merciful” is another type of imaginalization (*tamaththul*). Oh! For His Names! One of them is *muṣawwir*, which is “The Form Giver” (Q. 59:24). But I say that He is *muṣawwar*, that is, “The Form Displayer.” Do you know in which market these forms are displayed and sold? In the market of the elite? Hear it from Muṣṭafā, blessings be upon him, when he said, “In Paradise there is a market in which forms are sold.”<sup>48</sup> “In the most beautiful form” is this.<sup>49</sup>

The forms one witnesses in this world are not only made by God, but they also display God. The most beautiful form is that which was given to Adam, since as another *ḥadīth* states, “God created Adam upon His form.”<sup>50</sup> Human beauty is differentiated from other forms of created beauty because the human being has the potential to display the full radiance of all God’s Names and Qualities as some phrase it, or of the Divine Essence as others maintain,<sup>51</sup> whereas other created forms only display some of God’s attributes. The self-disclosure of Divine Beauty in the human form is thus the most immediate manner in which to contemplate Divine Beauty. Some even maintain that it is necessary to contemplate the self-disclosure of Divine Beauty in the human form because very few can obtain direct access to God’s supreme beauty. As Rūzbihān Baqlī writes,

The beginning of all lovers (*‘āshiqān*) proceeds from the path of those who witness (*shawāhid*), except for some of the elite among the People of recognizing Oneness, for whom witnessing the universal occurs in their spirit (*jān*) without witnessing transient existents. This is among the rare occurrences from the unseen.<sup>52</sup>

From this perspective, spiritual attainment requires that one witness beauty as manifest in the form of individual existents as propaedeutic to witnessing Divine Beauty. As ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt puts it, to be a *shāhid bāzī* is to have attained to the higher levels of the spiritual path wherein one lives through God and dies through God:

If you want to know more about life and spiritual death (*mawt-i mā’navī*) hear what Muṣṭafā said in his supplication, “O God! I live through You and I die through You.” Do you not have any knowledge of what dying through Him is and of what and living through Him is?

Alas! This is a state that is known by those who are witness players (*shāhid bāzān*) and who know what it is to be alive with the witness and what death is without the witness. The witness and the witnessed reveal life and death to the true witness players (*shāhid bāzān*).<sup>53</sup>

### **Love and beauty**

The relationship between the lover and the beloved is defined by beauty and love. Beauty draws one toward unity through attraction and love is attracted to beauty. The two become so interwoven that they are often indistinguishable, since receiving love is beauty's *raison d'être*. As Nūr 'Alī Shāh Iṣfahānī (d. 1798) writes,

Beauty (*ḥusn*) is the final cause of creation and love constitutes beauty's foundation. Moreover, it is obvious to everyone who has an intellect that beauty is nothing other than love. Though they have two names, they are one in essence.<sup>54</sup>

Everything is intrinsically beautiful and recognizing beauty is seeing things as they truly are. As 'Irāqī puts it,

O friend, when you know that the meaning and reality of things is His Face, then you will say, "Show us things as they are," until you see clearly that "In everything there is a sign Indicating that He is one."<sup>55</sup>

While aspects of beauty can be perceived by any faculty of perception, the only thing in creation that is able to perceive beauty in all of its many manifestations is the human heart. The beloved is therefore dependent upon the lover's heart in order to be fully realized—in order to be fully beloved. Beauty is an intrinsic and necessary reality of all that exists and is what draws the lover to the beloved. Ugliness, however, results from the failure of the eye to behold the true nature of a thing. To truly behold a thing is to see the manner in which it manifests God's Beauty. In this regard Rūzbihān Baqlī writes,

If God disclosed Himself through a thing to a thing, that thing would be beautiful (*ḥasuna*) through His self-disclosure in the eyes of all the recognizers and the witnesses. If He curtailed Himself from a thing that thing would be ugly in the eyes of the viewers.<sup>56</sup>

But it is only when one has learned to see with what Rūzbihān refers to as "the eye of contentment" (*'ayn al-riḍā*) that one can truly recognize beauty. From this perspective, the beloved is an intermediary through which beauty itself is observed. To witness beauty in and of itself is then to begin moving beyond the duality of lover and beloved. The lover's longing for the beloved is therefore provisional and not yet the full realization of love. To overcome the duality between the lover and the beloved the lover must continue to endure the trials of flirting and coquetry that come from the beloved, or rather from the divine manifestations of the attributes of Love and the beloved within the lover's heart.<sup>57</sup> These glances, this flirting, and this coquetry are manifest as the states and stations of the spiritual path by which the heart matures until it is able to perceive the fullness of pure beauty that lies beyond the duality of lover and beloved.

### **The path of love**

The process by which the wayfarer progresses in love can be conceptualized as four stages: (1) the wayfarer loves what is other than the beloved; (2) the wayfarer becomes attached to what pertains to the beloved; (3) the wayfarer loves only the beloved; and (4) the wayfarer transcends the duality of lover and beloved and is immersed in the ocean of Love. These stages are not exclusive of

one-another; while traveling the path and maturing in love, the lover-wayfarer will vacillate between them. As discussed above, some do not consider the first stage, love for what is other than the beloved, to be part of spiritual wayfaring. Others, however, maintain that since all beauty is a manifestation of God, every attraction, no matter how faint, is a reflection or refraction of love and thus a part of the overall process by which one is drawn toward complete love. As 'Irāqī writes, "Whatever they love after essential love...whether they love beauty (*husn*) or doing what is beautiful (*ihsān*)—these two could not be other than it."<sup>58</sup> From this perspective, the fact that God "made beautiful all that He created" (Q. 32:7) and that, as the Prophet Muhammad has said, "God is beautiful and He loves beauty,"<sup>59</sup> indicates that recognizing beauty and being drawn toward beauty is both a recognition of God's Beauty and a manifestation of God's Love. Based upon this understanding, 'Ayn al-Qudāt advises his readers, "Alas! If you do not have love for the Creator, at least cultivate love for the creatures so that the worth of these words are obtained by you."<sup>60</sup> Elsewhere, he writes that such love is a natural state: "One loves every existent thing, since every existent thing is His act and handiwork."<sup>61</sup> From this perspective, any form of love can serve as a means by which one begins the path toward complete love. Nonetheless, such love is only a first step. As 'Ayn al-Qudāt clarifies, "Do not think that you and your likes have known love, apart from its trappings without reality. Love is only obtained by the one who obtains recognition (*ma'rifa*)."<sup>62</sup>

When the wayfarer embarks upon the path of love, "the lover wants the beloved for his own sake." Such a person "is a lover of himself through the intermediary of the beloved, but does not know that he wants to use her on the path of his own will."<sup>63</sup> When the wayfarer travels beyond these early stages, an intricate interplay between lover and beloved continues to build, as the attributes of the beloved become more present in the lover. To love more fully the lover must boil away the delusions of self and reflect the attributes of the beloved. By negating the ego in spiritual poverty (*faqr*), the lover realizes since one cannot be a lover without a beloved he is dependent upon the beloved. In the process of negation, the lover's heart is then roasted (*dilī biryān*) until he moves beyond the illusion that he exists through his own self and loves through his own self and ceases to love the beloved for his own sake.

As the lover matures, the heart is more roasted as the lover comes to realize that sacrifice is central to love and that upon the path, "suffering is what is essential in love and comfort is borrowed."<sup>64</sup> This occurs because the fullness of companionship is found in unification, and complete unification requires the obliteration of one's self. For the lover and the beloved to be companions, they must in fact cease to be. The wayfarer will thus experience affliction, pain and oppression as "love subdues the lover, bringing him from his illusory self to his true self."<sup>65</sup> For this stage to be complete, "the sword of the beloved's jealousy" must fall and cut the lover off from all that is other than the beloved. Until the lover has surrendered completely, he remains a hypocrite. For the full reality of love to be realized the lover must allow himself to be completely consumed by the beloved, such that he loves none but the beloved. When this occurs there is longer talk of a separate lover, for to speak of a "lover" is to posit a separate "I" outside of God, the Supreme "I." To insist that one is a lover is to insist upon one's own agency, and thus upon one's own "I" and to thus remain trapped within the confines of one's own ego. 'Ayn al-Qudāt refers to this stage as being what is other than the Beloved: "Alas! What will you hear?! For us, death is this: one must be dead to all that is other than the Beloved until he finds life from the Beloved, and becomes living through the Beloved."<sup>66</sup> To die in the Beloved is thus the only way to find true life:

Whoever does not have this death does not find life. I mean, what you know to be "death" is not that real death, which is annihilation. Do you know what I am saying? I



### *Love and beauty in Sufism*

am saying that when you are yourself and are with your self, you are not. But when you are not with yourself, you are all yourself.<sup>67</sup>

All of these stages of the path are modalities of complete love that are bestowed upon the wayfarer until one is fit to wear “the robe of love.”<sup>68</sup> The wayfarer who has reached this stage has moved beyond the delimitations of separation and union and thus beyond the need to experience love’s attributes via the beloved. There is therefore no longer a need for the interplay between lover and beloved. As ‘Ayn al-Qudāt writes,

In in-between love, a difference can be found between the witness and witnessed. As for the end of love, it is when a difference cannot be made between them. When the lover at the end of the path becomes love and when the love of the witness and the Witnessed become one, the witness is the Witnessed and the Witnessed the witness.<sup>69</sup>

At this point one is able to see all aspects of creation with the eye of contentment (*‘ayn al-ridā*) and to recognize everything as a self-disclosure of Love. The heart has been brought into conformity with the spirit and the spirit reflects nothing but the Real. This stage lies beyond knowledge and no report can convey its reality to those who have not experienced it. As Aḥmad al-Ghazālī writes,

Not everyone reaches this place, for its beginnings are above all endings. How could its end be contained in the realm of knowledge, and how could it enter the wilderness of imagination? This reality is a pearl in a shell, and the shell is in the depths of the ocean. Knowledge can reach no more than the shore. How could it reach here?<sup>70</sup>

### **The prophets**

Those who have reached the highest degree of perfection are those who love God most ardently and whom God loves most. These are the prophets in whom God manifests His Beauty, and through whom God displays His Beauty to others. As Baqlī writes, “Beauty is inherited from them by the people of beauty in this world and the next, and they are the center of God’s beauty in the world.”<sup>71</sup> As the Prophet Muhammad is considered to be the most exalted of the prophets in whom the fullness of prophethood is realized, he is also the most beautiful and the most beloved of creation. For members of the School of Love, Q. 3:31, *Say, “If you love God follow me; God will love you,”* alludes to the centrality of the Prophet in this path. As William Chittick observes, for those who follow this path, “The clear meaning is, ‘If you love God, then you must follow me, the supreme example of a perfect lover of God and a perfect beloved of God.’”<sup>72</sup>

The one who is most beautiful among creation is also the one who is most able to witness the beauty of God in God and as manifest in all things. As Baqlī writes,

The Real did not open up any heart other than Muhammad’s heart to the God-given knowledge, the unknown knowledge, and the realities of recognition, *tawḥīd*, unveiling, witnessing secrets, and lights, because his heart was the oceans of [divine] self-disclosure and approach.<sup>73</sup>

God is most perfectly revealed and manifest in the heart of His most perfect creation, the Prophet Muhammad, and his heart is where God most fully witnesses His Own Beauty and Perfection

in its “delimited” form. Since witnessing His Own Beauty and Perfection in delimited forms is the purpose of creation itself, the prophets are the lynchpin by which all of creation is sustained. God’s gaze is fixed upon His creatures only because it is fixed upon Himself qua manifestation, and the center of that gaze is upon the most perfect manifestation, the Prophet Muhammad, the chosen, al-Muṣṭafā, through whom God most fully loves His Own self-disclosure:

Alas! O listener of these words! By the spirit of Muṣṭafā, people have imagined that God’s grace and love for creation is for their sake. It is not for the sake of creation! Rather, it is for Himself: when a lover gives a gift to his beloved, and is kind to her, he does not actually show this kindness to the beloved as much as he shows it out of love for himself. Alas! From these words you imagine that God’s love for Muṣṭafā is for Muṣṭafā. But this love for him is for Himself!<sup>74</sup>

### Conclusion

As love pertains to the realm of eternity and lies beyond the realm of form and matter, it is an expression of the eternal relationship between the Divine and the human and thus extends beyond any one religion. To borrow from the introduction to Rūmī’s *Mathnawī*, love “is the roots of the roots of the roots of religion.”<sup>75</sup> To realize the fullness of love is in fact the reason for which every prophet has been sent and for which religions are established. The religion of love is thus at the heart of every religion. As Hāfiẓ expresses it,

Whether we are drunk or sober, each of us is making  
For the street of the Friend. The temple, the synagogue,  
The church and the mosque are all houses of love.<sup>76</sup>

Although all religions express love and help one find love, the lover seeks a direct relationship with God that cannot be contained within a creed and thus follows a path that transcends the bounds of religion. In this vein Bulleh Shah (d. 1757) exclaims,

When I studied the lesson of love,  
my heart became afraid of the mosque.  
I went to enter the temple of the lord,  
Where a thousand conches are blown.<sup>77</sup>

In this vein, ‘Ayn al-Qudāt writes,

O friend! The religion and creed of the lovers is love—their love is the beauty of the Beloved...Whoever is a lover of God, his religion is the beauty of the encounter with God, and for him the lovely face is God.<sup>78</sup>

This immediate relationship with God cannot but transcend the categories to which we are accustomed. As Sanā’ī writes:

For the one who has taken love as his guide,  
Faith and infidelity are but the curtains at his door.  
Universal and particular, all that’s in existence,  
Is for the way of love but the arches of the bridge.  
Love is beyond both intellect and soul,  
It’s the “I have a time with God”<sup>79</sup> of [spiritual] men.<sup>80</sup>

This does not mean that one must abandon Islam to embrace the path of love; all of the authors cited here remained Muslim and many served functions pertaining to the religious

sciences. Rather this understanding indicates that to love God and move closer to Him one must realize the relativity of the categories and conceptions of God that creeds provide. As ‘Ayn Quḍāt writes,

When one reaches the quest’s end, there is no religion (*madhhab*) other than the religion of the Sought Itself. Ḥusayn Maṣṣūr [al-Ḥallāj] was asked, “Which religion do you follow?” He said, “I follow the religion of my Lord.” For the great ones of the Path, their Master is God. Thus, they follow God’s religion, and are sincere, not insincere. Insincerity is halting and sincerity is ascending.<sup>81</sup>

### Notes

- 1 *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Kitāb al-Birr wa’l-silah, 2049.
- 2 For a brief discussion of the place of the *nasīb* in the *Qasīda*, see Abdulah El Tayib, “Pre-Islamic Poetry,” in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. Beeston, T. Johnstone, R. Serjeant, and G. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 27–109.
- 3 The clearest exposition of which is William Chittick’s, *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).
- 4 For a discussion of love in early Arab literature, see Lois Anita Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* (New York: New York University Press, 1972).
- 5 For a brief history of the development of the ‘*Udhri ghazal*’ see Andras Hamori, “Love Poetry (*Ghazal*),” in *‘Abbāsīd Belles-Lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham, G. Rex Smith, and R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 202–217.
- 6 For an analysis of the extensive literature regarding the Majnūn legend in the literary traditions of Muslim lands, see Michael W. Dols and Diana E. Immisch, *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011). For a study focused upon the manner in which the legend has been treated in Sufism, see Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, *Laylī and Majnūn: Love, Madness and Mystic Longing in Niẓāmī’s Epic Romance* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- 7 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, ed. ‘Afīf ‘Usayrān (Reprint: Tehran: Intishārāt-i Manūchihri, 1994), 97–98.
- 8 Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, *Sawāniḥ*, ed. Nasrollah Pourjavady (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 1980), 3.
- 9 For a discussion of the manner in which Persian Sufi poetry remained a central component of multiple Muslim cultures for over 500 years, see Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam?: The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).
- 10 Omid Safi, “The Sufi Path of Love in Iran and India,” in *A Pearl in Wine: Essays on the Life, Music and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan*, ed. Zia Inayat-Khan (New Lebanon: Omega Publications, 2001), 224.
- 11 Margaret Smith, *Rābī‘a the Mystic and Her Fellow Saints in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928; reprint, Cambridge: Oneworld, 1994); Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1975), 55. For the most up to date analysis of Rābī‘a’s place within the Sufi tradition, see Rkia Cornell, *Rabi‘a: From Narrative to Myth* (London: Oneworld, 2019).
- 12 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 55.
- 13 Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā’*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (London: Luzac & Co.: 1905; rpt. Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, n.d. 2 vols), 1:159.
- 14 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d., rpt of Cairo 1933 edition, 4 vols), 4:313.
- 15 Shaqīq Balkhī, *Adab al-‘ibādāt*, ed. P. Nwyia in *Trois oeuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1982), 17–22.
- 16 For a list of Shibli’s sayings on love, see Richard Gramlich, *Alte Vorbilder des Sufitums* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1995), 1:654–665.
- 17 Abu l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah fī ‘ilm al-ṭasawwuf* (Beirut: Dār al-Khayr, 1413/1993), 324.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 321.

- 19 For al-Ghazālī's explanation of how each mode of love is love for God, see Joseph Lumbard, *Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, Remembrance, and the Metaphysics of Love* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016), 140–148.
- 20 Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:257.
- 21 This process is detailed in Joseph Lumbard, "From *ḥubb* to *'ishq*: The Development of Love in Early Sufism," *Oxford Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18 (2007), 345–185.
- 22 Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī, *'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'alā 'l-lām al-ma'tūf: Livre de l'inclination de l'alif uni sur le lām incliné*, ed. J. C. Vadet (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1962), 24. English translation by Joseph Norment Bell and Hasan Mahmoud Abul Latif al Shafie, *A Treatise on Mystical Oneness* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005). To maintain terminological consistency, I have used my own translations for this chapter.
- 23 al-Daylamī, *'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'alā 'l-lām al-ma'tūf*, 24.
- 24 For a discussion of conceptions of *'ishq* among various classes of *Cūlamā'*, see Lois Anita Giffen, Section 3, Chapter 2.
- 25 'Abdallāh Anṣārī, *Maḥabbat Nāma*, in *Majmū'a-ye rasā'il-i farṣī-ye Khwājah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī*, ed. Muḥammad Sarwar Mawlā'ī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1998), 356–357.
- 26 Regarding al-Ḥallāj's understanding of love, al-Daylamī writes,

Al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr [al-Ḥallāj] is separate from the rest of the Shaykhs in this claim. He is separate in that he indicated that love is an attribute among the attributes of the Essence in all respects and wherever it is manifest. As for Shaykhs other than him, they have indicated the unification (*ittiḥād*) of the lover and the Beloved in a state where love attains to the annihilation of the whole of the lover in the Beloved, without claiming that the Divine nature *lāhūt* [is incarnated in] the human nature *nāsūt*.

(al-Daylamī, 28)
- 27 Leonard Lewisohn, introduction to *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), xxii. In her article in this same volume, "The Radiance of Epiphany: The Vision of Beauty and Love in Ḥāfiz's Poem of Pre-Eternity," Leili Anvar writes that the *Sawānih* is "justly considered as the founding text of the School of Love in Sufism and the tradition of love poetry in Persian," 124.
- 28 For analysis of 'Ayn al-Qudāt's teachings, see Mohammed Rustom, *Inrushes of the Spirit: The Mystical Theology of 'Ayn al-Qudāt* (Albany: SUNY Press, in press).
- 29 For a comprehensive analysis of Baqlī's theory of love and beauty, see Kazuyo Murata, *Beauty in Sufism: The Teachings of Rūzbihān Baqlī* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2017).
- 30 For 'Aṭṭār's teachings on love, see Cyrus Zargar, *Religion of Love: Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and the Sufi Tradition* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, forthcoming).
- 31 Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī*, ed., trans., and ann. R. A. Nicholson as *The Mathnawī of Jalāl'uddīn Rūmī* (London: Luzac 1925–40), 1:112–113.
- 32 'Ayn al-Qudāt Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, 125.
- 33 Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī, *Lama'āt*, ed. Muḥammad Khwājawī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mawlā, 1992), 63.
- 34 For an analysis of the stages of love in Ibn 'Arabī's *Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya*, see Hany T. A. Ibrahim, "Ibn 'Arabī's Metaphysics of Love," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, 63 (2018), 49–70.
- 35 *Sawānih*, 44.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 21–22.
- 38 Rashīd al-Dīn al-Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār*, ed. 'Alī Asghar Ḥimkat (Tehran: Dānishgāh, 1952–1960, 10 vols.), 1:581. Translated by Chittick, *Divine Love*, 163.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 2:663. Translated by Chittick, *Divine Love*, 164. Those who discuss the path sometimes differ in their use of technical terminology and place the secret above the spirit, while others only discuss three inner realms, the soul, the heart, and the spirit. This chapter discusses the path in terms of the soul, the heart, and the spirit, as these terms in this order are the most frequently employed.
- 40 *Tamhīdāt*, 150.
- 41 Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Jedda: Dār al-Minhāj, 2013), V:14.
- 42 Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, 4:36–37. Translated by Chittick, *Divine Love*, 189.
- 43 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *Abhar al-'Ashiqīn*, ed. Henri Corbin and Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Les jasmīne des fidèles d'amour; Kitāb-e 'abhar al-'āshiqīn* (Tehran: Département d'iranologie de l'Institut franco-iranien, 1958), 41. Translation by Murata, *Beauty in Sufism*, 126.

- 44 Leonard Lewisohn, “Sufism’s Religion of Love, from Rābi’a to Ibn al-‘Arabī,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 167.
- 45 The most comprehensive examination of *shāhid bāzī* can be found in Cyrus Ali Sargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn ‘Arabi and ‘Iraqi* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2011), especially Chapter 5. Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī’s association with *shāhid bāzī* is discussed in Lloyd Ridgeon, “The Controversy of Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī and Handsome, Moon-Faces Youths: A Case Study of *Shāhid-Bāzī* in Medieval Sufism,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1 (2012), 3–30. Leonard Lewisohn also contributes an excellent study that touches upon *shāhid bāzī* in the works of Ḥāfiẓ in “Ḥāfiẓ in the Socio-historical, Literary and Mystical Milieu of Medieval Persia,” in *Ḥāfiẓ and the Religion of Love* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 3–73.
- 46 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *‘Abhar al-‘Ashiqīn*, 3. My translation.
- 47 This is a well-known ḥadīth frequently cited in Sufi texts. *Musnad al-Dārimī*, 2204.
- 48 This phrase is part of a ḥadīth: “Verily in Paradise there is a market in which there is no buying or selling, except for forms of men and women. So whenever a man desires a form, he enters it” (*Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Kitāb ṣiffat al-janna: Hadith 2747).
- 49 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 296. My translation.
- 50 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Kitāb al-birr, 2841.
- 51 Baqlī *‘Abhar al-‘Ashiqīn*, 35. My translation.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 17. My translation.
- 53 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 320. My translation.
- 54 Nūr ‘Alī Shāh Iṣfahānī, *Majmū‘a-i āthār-i Nūr ‘Alī Shāh Iṣfahānī*, ed. Javad Nurbakhsh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khāniqāh-i Ni‘mat Allāhī-i, 1971), 2.
- 55 ‘Irāqī, *Lama‘āt*, 134. This last line is a verse of poetry by the ascetic poet Abu ‘l-‘Aṭāhiyya (d. 825 or 826) that is often cited in Sufi texts: Ismā‘īl b. Qāsim Abu ‘l-‘Aṭāhiyya, *Dīwān Abi ‘l-‘Aṭāhiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādr, 1964), 122.
- 56 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *Kitāb mashrab arwāḥ wa huwa’l-mashhūr bi hazār u yak maqām*, ed. Naṣridīn Nazif M. Hoca, (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1974), 73. Translated by Murata, *Beauty in Sufism*, 41.
- 57 Joseph E. B. Lumbard, *Aḥmad Al-Ghazālī, Remembrance, and the Metaphysics of Love* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 173.
- 58 ‘Irāqī, *Lama‘āt*, 69.
- 59 *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 131.
- 60 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 96. See also *Tamhīdāt*, 107. Translated Mohammed Rustom, “‘Ayn al-Quḍāt and the Fire of Love.” In *Mysticism and Ethics in Islam*, edited by Bilal Orfali, Atif Khalil, and Mohammed Rustom (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, forthcoming).
- 61 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 140. Translated Mohammed Rustom, “‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, and the Fire of Love.” In *Mysticism and Ethics in Islam*, eds. Bilal Orfali, Atif Khalil, and Mohammed Rustom (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, forthcoming).
- 62 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Nāmahā*, ed. ‘Aḥīf ‘Usayrān (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Āsāṭīr, 1998), 2:153. Translated by Rustom, “‘Ayn al-Quḍāt and the Fire of Love.”
- 63 *Sawāniḥ*, 29.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 65 Lumbard, *Aḥmad al-Ghazālī*, 177.
- 66 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 288. Translated by Rustom, “‘Ayn al-Quḍāt and the Fire of Love\*.”
- 67 *Ibid.*, 287. Translated by Rustom, “‘Ayn al-Quḍāt and the Fire of Love\*.”
- 68 *Sawāniḥ*, 52.
- 69 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 115. Translated Mohammed Rustom, *Inrushes of the Spirit: The Mystical Theology of ‘Ayn al-Qudat* (Albany: SUNY Press, Forthcoming).
- 70 *Sawāniḥ*, 8–9.
- 71 Baqlī, *Mashrab*, 133. Translated by Murata, *Beauty in Sufism*, 101.
- 72 William Chittick, *Divine Love: Islamic Literature and the Path to God* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 35.
- 73 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *Kitāb al-Ighāna*, 109. Translated by Murata, *Beauty in Sufism*, 122.
- 74 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 217. Translated Mohammed Rustom, *Inrushes of the Spirit*.
- 75 Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Masnawī Ma’nawī* (Tehran: Wizārāt-i farhang wa irshād-i islāmī, 2000), 33.
- 76 *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Khānlarī, Ghazal 78:3. Trans. Robert Bly and Leonard Lewisohn, *The Angels Knocking on the Tavern Door* (London: Harper perennial, 2009).

- 77 Bullhe Shāh. *Kullīyāt-i Bullhe Shāh*, ed. Faqīr Muḥammad Faqīr (Lahore: Al-Faiṣal Panjābī Adabī Academy, 1960), 19.
- 78 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 286. Translated Mohammed Rustom, *Inrushes of the Spirit*.
- 79 Allusion to a famous ḥadīth often cited in Sufi texts.
- 80 Sanā’ī, Ḥakim Majdūd ibn Ādam. *Kitāb Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqah wa Sharī‘at al-Tarīqah*, ed. Moḥammad-Taqi Mudarris Riḍawi (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān, 1970), 327. Translated by Nicholas Boylston, “Writing the Kaleidoscope of Reality: The Significance of Diversity in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century Persian Metaphysical Literature of Sanā’ī, ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt and ‘Aṭṭār.” (PhD Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2017), 84.
- 81 ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt, *Tamhīdāt*, 22. Translated Mohammed Rustom, *Inrushes of the Spirit*