



NILDE

Network Inter-Library Document Exchange

Il presente documento viene fornito attraverso il servizio NILDE dalla Biblioteca fornitrice, nel rispetto della vigente normativa sul Diritto d'Autore (Legge n.633 del 22/4/1941 e successive modifiche e integrazioni) e delle clausole contrattuali in essere con il titolare dei diritti di proprietà intellettuale.

La Biblioteca fornitrice garantisce di aver effettuato copia del presente documento assolvendo direttamente ogni e qualsiasi onere correlato alla realizzazione di detta copia.

La Biblioteca richiedente garantisce che il documento richiesto è destinato ad un suo utente, che ne farà uso esclusivamente personale per scopi di studio o di ricerca, ed è tenuta ad informare adeguatamente i propri utenti circa i limiti di utilizzazione dei documenti forniti mediante il servizio NILDE.

La Biblioteca richiedente è tenuta al rispetto della vigente normativa sul Diritto d'Autore e in particolare, ma non solo, a consegnare al richiedente un'unica copia cartacea del presente documento, distruggendo ogni eventuale copia digitale ricevuta.

Biblioteca richiedente: Biblioteca Universitaria Interdipartimentale di Reggio Emilia

Data richiesta: 16/05/2023 10:16:09

Biblioteca fornitrice: SURAD, Servicio de documentacion, CSIC

Data evasione: 17/05/2023 10:41:14

Titolo rivista/libro: The Spirit of the letter: Approaches to the Esoteric Interpretation of the Qur'an

Titolo articolo/sezione: Parte I: Capitolo 3 Towards a Prophetology of Love: The Figure of Jacob in Sufi Commentaries on Surat Yusuf

Autore/i: ?

ISBN: 978-0-19-878333-6

DOI:

Anno: 2016

Volume:

Editore:

Pag. iniziale: ?

Pag. finale:

Towards a Prophetology of Love: The Figure of Jacob in Sufi Commentaries on *Sūrat Yūsuf*

ANNABEL KEELER

THIS CHAPTER explores the interaction of Sufi doctrine and Qur'anic exegesis through four Sufi commentaries on *Sūrat Yūsuf* (Q. 12) composed between the fifth/eleventh and seventh/thirteenth centuries, namely the *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* ('[Mystical] Realities of Interpretation') of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* ('Subtleties of Allusions') of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), the *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār* ('Unveiling of Secrets and Provision of the Righteous' of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (fl. 520/1126) and the *'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān* ('Brides of Elucidation Concerning the [Mystical] Realities of the Qur'an' of Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 606/1209).¹ In particular, the chapter focuses on the way that the emergence and development of love mysticism is reflected in the Sufis' understanding both of the sura and of the prophet Jacob, and it also considers changes in method or approach to the interpretation of Jacob, that is, what might be called hermeneutical developments in Sufi prophetology.

The starting point for this study is a seminal article by Paul Nwyia, 'Un cas d'exégèse soufie: l'histoire de Joseph'.² In his article Nwyia observes how in the allegorical treatise on love by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), entitled *Mūnis al-'ushshāq*,³ the figures of Joseph, Zulaykhā (the wife of the one who purchases Joseph in Egypt and his would-be seductress)⁴ and Jacob are identified with the archetypes of Beauty (*ḥusn*), Love (*'ishq*) and Grief

(*huzn*) respectively.⁵ He then shows how the same correspondence occurs in an earlier mystical work, Sulamī's commentary on the Qur'an, the *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, where Joseph is likewise seen to represent beauty, Zulaykhā love, and Jacob grief. However, as Nwyia points out, in this commentary Jacob's grief is often viewed with a critical eye. For example, in the commentary on Q. 12:84: [...] *and his [Jacob's] eyes were whitened with the sorrow he was suppressing*,⁶ Ibn 'Aṭā' al-Adamī (d. 309/922) is cited as explaining, 'Jacob lost his sight because his weeping was flawed, since it was directed towards his son. Adam's eyes, however, remained intact despite his copious weeping because his weeping was for the sake of the truth', while Abū Sa'īd al-Qurashī (d. 330/941) states that 'Adam and David did not lose their sight because they were weeping out of fear of God, whereas Jacob was punished and became blind because he was weeping at the loss of his son'.⁷

Nwyia observes on the basis of these interpretations that the Sufi commentators seem to expect a 'superhuman attitude' towards suffering on the part of Jacob – one that they also expect of themselves, and that what they find particularly unacceptable is Jacob's complaint when he cries out, *Alas, my grief for Joseph!* (Q. 12:84), indicating some deficiency in his patience (*ṣabr*) with regard to the grief he was experiencing.⁸ Perhaps in order to vindicate both the prophet Jacob and the Sufis' view of him, Nwyia ends his article on a more positive note with an interpretation of this same verse taken from the mystical commentary on the Qur'an composed by Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 606/1209), the *'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqīqat al-Qur'ān*. In Rūzbihān's interpretation, Jacob is no longer simply identified with grief, but with love, and indeed is shown to have been at the most advanced station in the way of love.⁹

Rūzbihān's interpretation, though it differs greatly from the views of Qurashī and others cited in Sulamī's commentary, does not represent any sudden change of perspective. Rūzbihān's commentary was, after all, written some two hundred years after Sulamī's compilation. An examination of Sufi commentaries composed during the intervening period reveals only a gradual shift in Jacob's role from grieving father to lover. In this study, I trace this change in Jacob's role and how this coincides with a

coming to the fore and maturing of the doctrines of mystical love, starting with Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, then looking at Qushayrī's *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* and Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār*, and ending with Rūzbihān Baqlī's *'Arā'is al-bayān*.¹⁰

Before looking at the place of love and the emergence of Jacob's role as lover in the commentaries, it is worth considering to what extent the subject of love features in *Sūrat Yūsuf* itself. The most obvious instance, and where love (*ḥubb*) is actually mentioned, is in the episode between Zulaykhā and Joseph (Q. 12:23–34). Although in the Qur'an Zulaykhā is reprimanded by her husband for her cunning and wrongdoing (Q. 12:28–9), the Muslim scripture, unlike the Bible, informs us (Q. 12:30) that love for Joseph had *smitten her to the heart* or penetrated to her very core (the word used is *shaghafa* meaning 'to reach the pericardium'), an indication that her action was at least not the result of mere lust.

In the case of Jacob, the theme of love in the Qur'anic story of Joseph is not stated but implied by his grieving over Joseph's absence to the point of losing his sight (Q. 12:84), and in his being described by Joseph's brothers as *in plain aberration* (*ḍalāl mubīn*) (Q. 12:8); this aberration is interpreted by many commentators to mean love, or excessive love.¹¹ Another detail, which occurs only in the Qur'anic account, is that as Joseph's brothers are setting off from Egypt to fetch their father, Joseph commands that his shirt be cast over his father's face, so that he might regain his sight. Even as the caravan is setting out from Egypt, Jacob, far away in Canaan, is able to perceive Joseph's scent (Q. 12:94). Here is certainly the suggestion, if not of love, then of a very particular, almost numinous, bond between Jacob and Joseph – although this point is not focused on by early Sufi exegetes.

Thus, in the Qur'anic story, love is only directly mentioned in relation to Zulaykhā, and only present by implication in relation to Jacob. More prominent in *Sūrat Yūsuf* are the themes of God's guidance and protection of the righteous,¹² the invincibility of the divine will – what might be described as the inevitable prevailing of *taqdīr* (God's preordaining of things) over *tadbīr* (human strategy, contrivance and design),¹³ and God as the source of all knowledge.¹⁴

Turning now to the Sufi commentaries on *Sūrat Yūsuf* and, in particular, Sufi interpretations of the figure of Jacob, my focus will mainly be on three episodes in the story which involve him: firstly, his reluctantly entrusting Joseph to the care of his brothers (Q. 12:13) and suffering the consequences; secondly, his losing his sight from copious weeping in separation from Joseph (Q. 12:84); and thirdly, the sending of Joseph's shirt to heal his sight, and his being able to catch the scent of Joseph from far away in Canaan (Q. 12:93–6).

Regarding the first of the commentaries under consideration, Sulamī's *Ḥaqqā'iq al-tafsīr*, it should be stated that although this work of Sufi exegesis was composed in the early fifth/eleventh century, it represents a compilation of the comments and interpretations of many earlier Muslim mystics, including some famous names in the history of Sufism, such as Ja'far al-Šādiq (d. 148/765), Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 298/910), Ibn 'Aṭā', al-Ḥusayn b. Manšūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), Abū Bakr al-Shibli (d. 334/946), and others.¹⁵ These interpretations were evidently derived from oral as well as written sources.¹⁶

Overall in this mystical commentary on the story of Joseph, the content adheres to the above-mentioned themes that are most evident in the sura itself, in particular, the divine omnipotence and the powerlessness of human contrivance (*tadbīr*) in the face of the divine preordaining (*taqdīr*), and the necessity, therefore, for human beings to both submit to the divine will (*taslīm*) and have complete trust in God (*tawakkul*). Many of the interpretations of the words and actions of Jacob in Sulamī's commentary are centred on this theme. The subject of love features little, and mostly revolves around the discussion of the verse concerning Zulaykhā: [...] *He has smitten her to the heart [or pericardium] with love* [...] (Q. 12:30), mentioned earlier. Love is only briefly mentioned in relation to Jacob, firstly in the context of Q. 12:85, when the brothers rebuke their father for never ceasing to mention (or think about) Joseph.¹⁷ Here, Qurashī begins with an apparently critical comment, 'You will not cease remembering Joseph. When will you remember Joseph's Lord?' and then adds a general observation, 'One who is in a state of longing (*mushtāq*) never ceases mentioning [the name of]

his companion and beloved (*anīs wa ḥabīb*) until people reproach him, irrespective of whether he dies [of love] or attains proximity [with the object of his love].'¹⁸ The second mention of love concerning Jacob occurs when he is accused of being in his *old aberration* (*dalālīka'l-qadīm*) (Q. 12:95), where aberration is glossed as love in a comment attributed to Ja'far al-Šādiq.¹⁹

Given that, in Islam, Jacob is considered to be one of the prophets, many of the interpretations cited in Sulamī's commentary might appear to be surprisingly critical, even bearing in mind the fact that the commentators are seeking to draw an exemplary lesson (*'ibra*) from them. For example, when Joseph's brothers ask Jacob to allow Joseph to come with them, and he says: *I fear lest the wolf should devour him* (Q. 12:13), Sulamī cites the following comment from Abū 'Alī Jūzjānī (fl. third/ninth century), 'Jacob feared the wolf so it was inflicted on him. If he had feared God [instead], both the wolf and the treachery of Joseph's brothers would have been withheld from him.'²⁰

At the point when Jacob reluctantly accepts Joseph's brothers' reassurance that they will take good care of him, Ibn 'Aṭā' comments:

If he [Jacob] had sent him with them, surrendering to destiny (*qada'*), he [Joseph] would have been protected. But he placed his reliance on their reassurance that, *We shall take good care of him* [Q. 12:12], and they were treacherous. If he had left off planning (*tadbīr*) and that reliance on their care, he would have been protected, as was the case later [when Benjamin was taken from him] and he said *God is the best guardian* [Q. 12:64].²¹

We have seen above in the citations from Nwyia's article the critical comments made by Ibn 'Aṭā' and Qurashī concerning Jacob's copious weeping to the point of losing his sight, and the adverse comparison they make of his weeping with that of Adam and David.²² But Qurashī, who is one of Jacob's sternest critics, also states: 'God sent the revelation to Jacob: "O Jacob! Would you grieve for other than Me? By My glory, I will take away your sight, and will not return it to you until you forget him."²³

No particular significance is given in this commentary to Joseph's command that his shirt be thrown over Jacob's face, or to

Jacob's catching the scent of Joseph from afar, although Ja'far al-Šādiq suggests the intention behind this was that the source (i.e. the shirt) which should bring him the joy (of imminent reunion with Joseph) should be the same as that which had brought him the sorrow (of separation from him).²⁴ Abū Ya'qūb al-Nahrajūrī (d. 330/941–2) interprets both the shirt and the curing of Jacob's sight allegorically: 'God cast over [Jacob's] face the light of His good pleasure (*riḍā*) so he could see again the workings of divine destiny (*qaḍā'*)'.²⁵

From these examples it can be seen that the main concern in Sulamī's commentary is with divine preordination, and the need not to trust, or become preoccupied with, any other than God. Love is not entirely absent from Sulamī's commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*, but it arises almost exclusively when the word *ḥubb* is mentioned in the pericardium verse concerning Zulaykhā (Q. 12:30), the only exceptions being Qurashī's general comment about the one in a state of longing and Ja'far al-Šādiq's gloss of the word *ḍalāl* applied in relation to Jacob.

A definite shift in perspective may be seen when it comes to Qushayrī's commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf* in his *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*. Qushayrī began this commentary as a mature scholar and mystic in the year 437/1045–6, and while he must certainly have drawn on earlier sources and often cites his Sufi master Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d. 405/1015), the *Laṭā'if* is a literary work that was carefully crafted by him, and rather different from the compilation made by Sulamī.²⁶ In Qushayrī's commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*, the subject of divine predestination continues to figure prominently, yet we now find that love is beginning to make more of an appearance. Moreover, in Qushayrī's commentary, love receives only brief attention in relation to Zulaykhā,²⁷ and occurs mainly in the interpretations that concern Jacob.

The motivation of love is first ascribed to Jacob when he sends Joseph off with his brothers – and it can be seen that Qushayrī's interpretation is in marked contrast to the comments cited by Sulamī. The brothers cunningly try to persuade Jacob to release Joseph, arguing that he should be allowed to go out and play (Q. 12:11–12). Qushayrī comments that 'Jacob agreed [to let Joseph

go] even though the separation was grievous for him. But the lover (*muḥibb*) gives the comfort of the beloved (*rāḥat al-maḥbūb*) precedence over his own likes.²⁸ One significant hermeneutical point to mention here is that Qushayrī makes these comments in the form of a generalised observation, drawing an analogy between Jacob's conduct and the custom of lovers.²⁹ This is similarly the case when he is 'drawing the lesson' (*ibra*) concerning divine predestination, in which he does not directly criticise Jacob. For example, when Jacob tells Joseph not to relate his dream to his brothers (Q. 12:5), Qushayrī comments: 'When something has been predestined, preaching and caution can be of no benefit, for indeed, advice and caution was what Jacob gave to Joseph. But since the decree had been issued in pre-eternity, what was to happen happened.'³⁰

Returning to the theme of love in Qushayrī's commentary, we find that later in the sura when Jacob, who is already separated from Joseph, learns he is also to be deprived of Benjamin, he vows to keep *comely patience* (Q. 12:83) and then sighs *Alas, my grief for Joseph!* (Q. 12:84). In contrast to critical comments on the breaking of this vow made by earlier commentators cited by Sulamī,³¹ Qushayrī sympathetically observes that 'the resolve of lovers to be patient is always broken'.³²

Love features again in Qushayrī's commentary on Jacob's losing his sight from weeping. Although he includes a comment from Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq which is reminiscent of some of the comments we discussed earlier, namely, 'Jacob was weeping for a creature so he lost his sight, but David was weeping for God so his sight remained', Qushayrī also includes a more nuanced comment by Daqqāq, who points out that the Qur'an uses the word *abyaḍat* ('whitened') of Jacob's eyes, not the verb *'amā* which actually means 'to go blind'. This, Daqqāq explains, is because 'Jacob did not really go blind; his eyes were merely veiled to prevent him from seeing other than Joseph'. There follows Qushayrī's general observation: 'For there is nothing harder for lovers than looking at other [than the beloved] in times of separation.'³³

Qushayrī raises the subject of love again when he interprets Jacob's catching of the scent of Joseph, even as the caravan is departing from Egypt. He says:

Jacob was the only one to catch the scent of Joseph, because he alone had sorrowed in separation from him [. . .] Thus it is that only lovers catch the scent of their loved ones. But for outsiders (*ajānib*), such a statement is difficult [to understand]; [they wonder:] 'How could a human being have such a scent?'³⁴

The interpretation continues in a similar vein, but as in every other case in this commentary, love is always discreetly ascribed to Jacob, by analogy, through some general observation about the custom of lovers (*sunnat al-aḥbāb*). For Qushayrī, Jacob represents the lover only in as much as his words and actions typify the way lovers behave. Moreover, Qushayrī does not at any point consider the nature of Jacob's love for Joseph, or how this love can be reconciled with his prophetic knowledge and love for God. Insights into these matters are to be found in the later Persian commentary by Maybudī, the *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār*.

Maybudī began to compose his *tafsīr* in the year 520/1126, at a time when love mysticism had found a significant presence in the Sufism of Khurasan. Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 520/1126) had composed his seminal treatise on love, the *Sawānīh*;³⁵ a rich common language of metaphors had developed among Sufis for the expression of their experiences of mystical love; and poets such as Sanā'ī (d. 525/1131) were beginning to compose *ghazals* on the subject of mystical love.³⁶ Maybudī was, moreover, a follower of 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), for whom love was, as his biographer Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil has suggested, 'the dynamic of all spiritual wayfaring'.³⁷ The unique structure of Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār* places his Persian translation of the Qur'anic verses, the exoteric commentary and the esoteric or mystical commentary in three separate sections (called '*nawbats*'). This structure is applied to successive 'sessions' (*majālis*) comprising between five and fifty verses. It is in the mystical sections of the *Kashf al-asrār* that the main interest and originality of Maybudī's commentary lie, and it is here that the impact of the doctrines of love, in terms of both content and style, is immediately evident.³⁸

The centrality of the doctrines of love to Maybudī's mystical commentary as a whole may be gathered from his description of the

Qur'an itself as 'an epistle whose title is eternal love (*mihr-i qadīm*), and whose content is the story of love and lovers'.³⁹ It is no surprise, therefore, to find that love is the predominant theme in his commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf* – so much so that when he comments on Q. 12:3, *We narrate to you the best [or most beautiful] of stories* (*aḥsan al-qīṣas*), he defines the story of Joseph simply as: 'the story of lover ('*āshiq*) and beloved (*ma'shūq*), the tale of separation (*firāq*) and union (*wiṣāl*)'.⁴⁰ It is worth noting here that whereas Qushayrī and Anṣārī only employed words deriving from the Arabic root *ḥ-b-b* (*ḥubb*, *muḥibb*, *maḥbūb* and so on) for love, and Anṣārī, in addition, the Persian word *dūstī*,⁴¹ Maybudī frequently uses derivatives from the root '*-sh-q*' (such as '*ishq*', *āshiq* and *ma'shūq*) as well as derivatives of the root *ḥ-b-b* and the Persian words *mihr* and *dūstī*.⁴²

In Maybudī's commentary, love involves both Zulaykhā and Jacob, but there is no question that the main protagonist in the story is Jacob, and this is indicated by the fact that he is introduced first, even before Joseph, in the mystical section. Maybudī writes:

When the seeds of the pain of love were being scattered in the hearts of [God's] friends, Jacob was [already] on the highway of this affair. Stripped of all otherness (*tajrīd*) and in pure isolation for God (*tafrīd*), he had been brought to [a state of] sincerity (*ikhhlās*) in the crucible of spiritual discipline (*riyāḍat*) and had become worthy of the seed of the pain of love ('*ishq*'). When that seed reached the soil of his heart, it was tended with the water of 'He showered His light upon them' until the jasmine of the covenant of love came up.⁴³

Already in this passage we can see a change in hermeneutical approach: Jacob is now being directly identified as a lover, as the one who has been destined and nurtured to be an adept in the way of divine love. But what of his love for Joseph? Maybudī states that Joseph was made into Jacob's *qibla* (focus of attention). This, he explains, was a 'pretext' (*bihāna*): Joseph was made into Jacob's '*qibla*' so that the true nature of his love for God would be concealed:

Then, by way of pretext, the Joseph-beauty was made into his *qibla*, humanity was shown the way to its own kind, and the cry

went up, 'Jacob's neck has been hooked in the snare of desire for Joseph'. From behind the veil of jealousy the very essence of truth (*nuqṭa-yi ḥaqīqat*) said, 'Call me Arsalān so no one should know who I am'.⁴⁴

For Maybudī, this is an example of God's jealous protection (*ghayrat*) of His lovers, His keeping their knowledge and love of Him hidden from uninitiated outsiders – here, evidently, Joseph's brothers.

As Maybudī's commentary proceeds, it becomes clear that there is another reason for Joseph to become the focus of Jacob's love: it is so that the pain that is latent in 'the seed of love' can be made manifest, and so that love can be perfected through suffering, in this case, the suffering of separation from Joseph. Thus, towards the end of the story, when Jacob is able to catch the scent of Joseph even as the caravan is setting off from Egypt, Maybudī reminds us that earlier on, when Joseph had been cast into a pit only a short distance away, Jacob had not been able to perceive his scent, whereas now, at a distance of seventy parasangs, he could perceive it. He explains: 'This is because, until a man is cooked (*pukhta*) by love and beaten (*kūfta*) about by love's affliction, that scent, [the scent of love], will not reach him'.⁴⁵ Another purifier in the way of love is jealousy. In the pain of separation, the lover naturally tries to find solace in another. But such turning to another for consolation arouses jealousy in the beloved. So it was, Maybudī explains, that Joseph, realising that in his absence Jacob was consoling himself with the company of Benjamin, jealously commanded that the latter be snatched from his father, [saying], 'Let the dust of others not settle on the page of affection, for there can be no sharing in love, and no room for two beloveds in one heart'.⁴⁶

Later, when Benjamin is accused of stealing Joseph's cup and is not allowed to return to Canaan with his brothers, Maybudī explains that, knowing he would now be deprived of seeing Benjamin, Jacob's suffering reached its limit, and from the pain in his heart and utter desolation he cried out, *Alas, my grief for Joseph!* (Q. 12:84). It is now that the divine jealousy is aroused. Maybudī states that the warning (lit. revelation, *waḥy*) came from the All-powerful One:

O Jacob! How long this sorrow and regret at being apart from Joseph? [. . .] Know that you are keeping apart from Us as long as you remain occupied with him [. . .] Now Jacob! See that you do not mention the name of Joseph any more or I will have your name removed from the register of prophets.⁴⁷

This passage in Maybudī's commentary is reminiscent of the comments cited from Qurashī and others in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*. But because Maybudī is concerned to complete the story of Jacob as divine lover, he shows how the situation is resolved. Once Jacob has repented of his excessive grieving and ceased to mention Joseph's name, the command is given to Gabriel to return Joseph to Jacob's memory again. This dispensation from God suggests two things: firstly, that Jacob had completely submitted to the divine command by relinquishing his remembrance of Joseph, thereby purifying his love of God from all others; and secondly, on condition of the realisation of the first, that Joseph's role as a human '*qibla*' for divine love was legitimate in God's eyes. This idea is expressed in Maybudī's explanation of the loss of Jacob's sight:

For Jacob, to look at Joseph was, by intermediary (*ba-wāṣiṭa*'), to witness God. Whenever Jacob looked upon (*mushāhada*) Joseph with his bodily eye, the eye of his innermost secret (*sirr*) gazed in the witnessing (*mushāhada*) of God. So, when the vision of Joseph was veiled from his sight, the witnessing of God was likewise veiled from his heart. All Jacob's grieving was for the loss of the witnessing of God, not for the loss of Joseph's company, and all that sorrow and lamentation for Joseph was because he had lost his mirror (*ā'ina*). He did not weep at the loss of the mirror itself [i.e. the person of Joseph], but for the intimate companion (*mūnis*) of his heart [i.e. the contemplation of God], which he no longer saw, and for this loss he burned [in anguish]. Of course, that day when he saw Joseph again he fell down in prostration, for his heart found [once more] the witnessing of God. That prostration was made in his witnessing of God, for only God is worthy of prostration.⁴⁸

More than a human *qibla* for the love of God, Joseph has here become, in effect, a theophany of God, though Maybudī does not

actually use the term theophany (*tajallī*, Ar. *tajallā*), preferring to speak in terms of the reflection of God in the mirror of Joseph, and we may note the theological caveat with which the passage ends. In fact, the contemplative aspect of love that Maybudī has presented here is not typical of his commentary. Although he was evidently familiar with, and cites passages from, Aḥmad Ghazālī's *Sawānīḥ*, he does not share Ghazālī's metaphysical identification of love with God.⁴⁹ For Maybudī, as for Anṣārī, love is the dynamic of the spiritual way; it is the purifying, 'sacrificial' (to use that word literally) fire that burns away all other than God.

However, this passage does prefigure in an interesting way the love doctrines of Rūzbihān Baqlī of Shiraz. Rūzbihān was born in the early sixth/twelfth century and died in the early seventh/thirteenth century, that is to say, he lived approximately two generations after Maybudī.⁵⁰ Rūzbihān's doctrines of love are both subtle and precise, variously expressed in terms of his own experiences of unveiling and veiling,⁵¹ of progression through a succession of veils,⁵² and of an ascension through degrees or stations of love. These doctrines of love are set out in Rūzbihān's Persian treatise *Abḥar al-āshiqīn* ('The Jasmine of Lovers').⁵³ Like Aḥmad Ghazālī, he developed a metaphysical understanding of love which embraced both God's creation of the universe, and the aspirant's return to God.⁵⁴ A brief introduction to his doctrines of love and some of the key terms he uses will be necessary here, before examining his commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*.

For Rūzbihān, God was the first lover (*āshiq*) and love (*ishq*) is a divine attribute;⁵⁵ God was and is eternally Love, Lover and Beloved.⁵⁶ Creation is for Rūzbihān an act of divine self-revelation and the whole universe is a theophany of God – Rūzbihān frequently uses the Arabic word *tajallā*, or its Persian equivalent *tajallī*. But this creation or theophany is itself a divine act of love, as is suggested by the Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth qudsī*) in which God says: 'I was a hidden treasure and I desired [lit. 'loved'] (*aḥbabtu*) to be known, so I created the universe that I should be known.'⁵⁷ Human beings in particular are seen as a theophany of divine beauty⁵⁸ – theophany understood here not as an indwelling (*ḥulūl*) of the Creator in the creature, but rather as the manifestation of an image

in a mirror.⁵⁹ It is by loving this manifestation of divine beauty in the earthly mirror that the seeker begins the journey towards divine love. Human love is in fact seen as the training ground for divine love, as the initiation which makes it possible for the seeker to journey from 'relative' or 'metaphorical' love (*ishq majāzī*) to 'real love' (*ishq ḥaqīqī*) or divine/lordly love (*ishq rabbānī*).⁶⁰ Rūzbihān even states that unless a person has experienced human love, he will remain a striver (*mujāhid*) or a renunciant (*zāhid*), not a mystic (*ārif*).⁶¹ Rising from the level of human to divine love, as Henry Corbin has stated, does not involve the transfer of love from one object to another, but rather a transformation of the subject.⁶² This path of transformation is a long one, and the lover will inevitably endure suffering and trials until he attains the level of a 'theophanic awareness', that is, he sees the object of his love purely as a theophany of God, the beauty that is before him as God's beauty.⁶³ Rūzbihān refers to this spiritual station with a specific term, one which is key to understanding his doctrines of love, and which occurs frequently in his commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*, namely *iltibās*.⁶⁴ The Arabic word *iltibās* (8th form verbal noun from the root *l-b-s*) is usually translated to mean 'something ambiguous or confusing'. Corbin has rendered it in French as 'amphibolie', while Ballanfat has 'équivoque', both words conveying the sense of having a double or more than one meaning, or two sides.⁶⁵ Carl Ernst, on the other hand, taking the word back to the principal meaning of its verbal root (to wear, clothe oneself), has rendered *iltibās* as 'creation's clothing with divinity'.⁶⁶ But Rūzbihān has clearly chosen this term to convey the paradox that by God's manifesting Himself through theophany, He is at the same time veiling from the seeker His sublime reality – in fact, theophany is by nature simultaneously revealing and veiling God. Thus the term *iltibās* in Rūzbihān's writings refers both to the ambivalent nature of the divine theophany, and to the station in which the theophany is perceived as such by the lover of God.⁶⁷

However, the station of *iltibās* (here: theophanic vision or awareness) does not represent the summit of mystical experience; Rūzbihān indicates that to experience God without intermediaries, to be freed from *iltibās*, occurs through effacement (*maḥw*) or

through the annihilation of the self (*fanā'*), often, although not always, mentioned along with the concomitant state of subsisting in God (*baqā'*).⁶⁸ At this point the lover no longer contemplates the image in the mirror; rather, he becomes the mirror in which God contemplates Himself and the world.⁶⁹ He becomes one with love, and thus lover, love and beloved are all one.⁷⁰

Most, if not all, of the aspects of Rūzbihān's doctrine of love discussed above are expounded in his commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*, and particularly through his interpretation of the figure of Jacob.⁷¹ In his commentary on Q. 12:3, *We narrate to you the best [or most beautiful] of stories*, he explains that its beauty is in: '[the sura's] elucidation of human love (*'ishq insānī*) [. . .] and its flight from this [human] level to the level of divine love (*'ishq ulūhiyya*)', and explains that 'the trial of human love is a ladder (*maraqī*) [in the ascent] to witnessing the eternal beauty which is without beginning or end'.⁷² Continuing his commentary on this verse, he states:

The affair of Joseph is all about his father's love (*'ishq*) for him, as well as that of others who saw him, because Joseph's face was clothed with the loveliness of eternal beauty (*husn al-jamāl al-qadīm*) and he was a mirror (*mir'āt*) of God in the land of God, through which God was manifested (*tajallā*) to [His] servants.⁷³

Later, Rūzbihān indicates that Jacob's love of Joseph was linked to his love of God:

They sold him for a paltry sum [Q. 12:20]. If they had possessed the passion and love (*'ishq wa maḥabba*) of God that Jacob had, and had seen the lights of the Creator's omnipotence that Jacob saw in Joseph's face, they would not have sold him for the two worlds.⁷⁴

The ambivalent nature of human love and its potential danger is shown in relation to Zulaykhā. For example, Rūzbihān glosses 'Azīz's (Potiphar's) advice to his wife to receive Joseph with honour (Q. 12:21) with the words:

Do not look at him with the gaze of lust, for indeed his face is a mirror of the theophany of God in the world (*mir'āt tajallā*

al-ḥaqq fi'l-'ālam) [. . .] Place the love of him in your heart (*qalb*), not in your lower self (*nafs*). For the heart is the locus (*mawḍi'*) of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and obedience (*tā'a*), and the *nafs* is the locus of temptation (*fitna*) and lust (*shahwa*).⁷⁵

However, in Rūzbihān's commentary, it is not only Joseph who is the object of love. Much discussion has been raised among commentators by Q. 12:24: *She verily desired him, and he [would have] desired her if it had not been that he saw the proof of his Lord*. There is an ambiguity in the Qur'anic construction here because the clause *if it had not been that he saw the proof of his Lord* follows the statement *and he desired her*.⁷⁶ Rūzbihān takes advantage of this ambiguity, and allows that Joseph did experience desire for Zulaykhā.⁷⁷ He begins his discussion of the desire experienced by Joseph in his commentary on the words, *And God was predominant in his career* (Q. 12:22):

There was an unveiling to Joseph in the face of Zulaykhā such that the holy (*quds*) became manifest [in her]. [God] drew him by that holiness (*quds*) to [that] desire (*himma*), so that he might taste the sweetness of human love and thereby attain divine love, and ascend to the kingdom of pre-eternity and eternity.⁷⁸

The significance of Rūzbihān's showing that Joseph was drawn into desire for Zulaykhā, and thus into the station of testing (*imtiḥān*) and *iltibās*,⁷⁹ will be discussed in due course, but for the moment we should return to our main protagonist in the way of love, namely Jacob. Looking more closely at Rūzbihān's interpretation of the words and actions of Jacob, we find that he also introduces the theme of human contrivance (*tadbīr*) versus divine decree (*taqdīr*), but unlike some of the earlier commentators he shows no criticism of Jacob. When Jacob allows Joseph to go with his brothers, Rūzbihān explains that Jacob was well aware of what his brothers were plotting, but he gave what was decreed by God priority over strategy.⁸⁰ Rūzbihān often speaks, as here, of Jacob's prophetic knowledge of future events, of what has been decreed by God. Thus when Jacob says to Joseph's brothers in Q. 12:13, *I fear lest the wolf should devour him* – a caution that was seen as misplaced fear in

the earlier commentaries – Rūzbihān glosses the prophet's words as follows:

'I fear the wolf of divine decree that will separate me and my son, though you [my sons] may be unaware of what I see.' He saw God's jealousy concerning him, so that he should not look upon intermediaries (*wasā'it*) in witnessing His reality (*fī shuhūd haqiqatihi*) [...] Jacob, by the light of his spiritual perception (*firāsa*) saw what would happen to Joseph until the end of his life, and he conformed by following the will of God.⁸¹

The mention of God's jealousy concerning witnessing His reality through intermediaries brings us again to Rūzbihān's doctrine of *iltibās* and Jacob's station as lover of God. This is clearly explained in his commentary on Jacob's loss of sight (Q. 12:84). Like the earlier commentators, he also introduces a comparison with the prophets Adam and David, but he draws the opposite conclusion from this comparison. There are notable similarities in this passage to Maybudi's commentary on the same verse.

The wisdom in the fact that Jacob's sight was lost but Adam and David's sight remained [despite their weeping] is that Jacob's weeping was the weeping of a grief (*huzn*) that had been kneaded with the pain of separation (*ma'jūn bi-alam al-firāq*). This was due to loss of the theophany (*tajallā*) of God's beauty [which was held] in the mirror (*mir'āt*) of Joseph's countenance. God granted to Jacob the special privileges of love (*khaṣā'is al-'ishq*), and in that station of love He furnished him with subtle realities pertaining to the station of *iltibās*. When that intermediary (*wasā'ita*) was lost, so also was the beholding of the beauty of God (*muṭāla'a jamāl al-ḥaqq*). So the matter of separation was momentous [for him], as was the distance of the day of reunion. Thus, the light of vision went along with the object of vision, so that he should not look at any other than him.⁸²

The weeping of Adam and David, on the other hand, was a weeping of regret (*nadam*) in the elementary station of repentance (*tawba*), and the grief and burning of repentance and regret were not as powerful. If they, like Jacob, had been in the station

of love (*'ishq*), then their existence would have wasted away. For how far is the station of repentance from the station of *'ishq* and *iltibās*, which constitute one of the highest degrees of gnosis.⁸³

We note that Rūzbihān says here that *'ishq* and *iltibās*, that is, the station of loving and contemplating the theophany of divine beauty in creation, comprise one of the highest degrees of mystical knowledge or gnosis (*ma'rifa*); but there is higher to go, as was suggested by Jacob's awareness that the contemplation of God through intermediaries would arouse divine jealousy. This is confirmed by Rūzbihān's commentary on Joseph's command in Q. 12:59 that his brothers should bring Benjamin to Egypt (thus separating him from Jacob). He writes:

Joseph [saw] in the heart of Jacob some inclination towards intermediaries, and he wanted the old man to attain the isolation (*ifrād*) of the eternal (*qidam*) from creation (*hudūth*),⁸⁴ which itself presupposes the complete purification (*tajrid*) of his innermost secret (*sirr*) from all created beings (*ḥadathān*)⁸⁵ with respect to the beauty of the Merciful. Out of his kindness towards Jacob, [he called for Benjamin] that he might thereby gently remove him from engendered existence (*kawn*), and that no dust of created beings should remain in the arena of majesty (*kibriyā'*).⁸⁶

This doctrine is also expounded in Rūzbihān's commentary on an earlier passage concerning Joseph. It will be recalled that in Rūzbihān's commentary on Q. 12:20, Joseph, by desiring Zulaykhā, had himself been drawn into the station of *iltibās*. After the Qur'an has informed us (Q. 12:24) that Joseph was deflected from this desire by seeing *the proof of his Lord*, it includes the following divine comment: *Thus it was that We might ward off from him evil (sū') and indecency (fahshā')*. Explaining the need for the proof that Joseph saw, and his being protected from evil and indecency, Rūzbihān states that this was the manifestation of the sheer eternal Essence (*ṣarf dhāt al-qadīm*), which required [of Joseph] the isolation of the eternal from creation, complete purification, oneness

(*tawhīd*) and his being brought out of the station of *iltibās*. Rūzbihān then explains:

If the mystic stays in the intermediate station of intermediaries (*wasā'it*) and divine theophany in created beings (*iltibās*), and is thus deprived of the sheer oneness of God (*tawhīd al-ṣarf*), he remains veiled from seeing the essence of the everlasting (*kunh al-qidam*) and the holiness of the pre-eternal (*quds al-azal*). What could be a greater evil and indecency than stopping at part of the way, and being cut off from attaining the All (*al-kull*) and the ultimate Origin (*aṣl al-aṣl*)?⁸⁷

Rūzbihān goes on to intimate that Joseph attained the station of beholding the divine essence and attributes by way of annihilation of self (*fanā'*) and subsisting [in God] (*baqā'*).⁸⁸ However, being freed from *iltibās* is not permanent. As Ernst in his study of Rūzbihān's doctrines explains, 'The tension between absolute transcendence and the necessity of manifestation is never abolished. Rūzbihān insists on both, and it is the movement between the two that creates the dynamism of his experience.'⁸⁹

Thus we find that Rūzbihān glosses Jacob's words, *He is the most merciful of those who show mercy* [. . .] (Q. 12:64), as follows: 'It is out of His mercy that He will cause me to catch the scent of Joseph, and will anoint my eye with looking at his face, and after that, He will disregard my turning in my love for Him [God] to other than Him, and will show me His beauty and majesty.'⁹⁰ We can see here an echo of Maybudī's commentary, where Gabriel is commanded by God to return Joseph to Jacob's memory. What Rūzbihān appears to be saying is that God will permit Jacob to re-enter the level of *iltibās*, of contemplating the theophany of God in creation.

Conclusion

In the four commentaries examined here we have seen a gradual rise to prominence of the theme of love. In Sulamī's commentary, love features little and is almost entirely centred on the pericardium verse concerning Zulaykhā. In Qushayrī's *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, love

has begun to assert its presence, albeit discreetly. In Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār*, the whole story is identified with love, seen here as a purifying fire which, through the burning anguish of separation, cleanses the heart of all other than God. In Rūzbihān's *'Arā'is al-bayān*, the contemplative and metaphysical aspects of the doctrine of love have been more fully developed, and these are expounded throughout his commentary on *Sūrat Yūsuf*.

As love gradually comes to the fore in these commentaries, so also do we find an evolution in the figure of Jacob. To begin with, he is the old prophet who suffers because he has placed his trust in other than God, and who loses his sight because he has grieved too much for a mortal. Then, gradually, he takes on the role of lover. In Qushayrī, he is only so by analogy, through comparison with the general custom of lovers, but then, later, in the commentaries of Maybudī and Rūzbihān he is himself completely identified with the lover. Ironically, perhaps, the more fully he becomes the lover, the less critical the interpretations become, and the more his qualities as prophet appear to be respected.

Certainly, the commentaries of Maybudī and Rūzbihān clearly reflect the doctrines of their authors.⁹¹ But can we go further than this and see a reflection of the changing role of love in Islamic mysticism over the period spanned by these four commentaries? I would contend that this is a possibility. Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* was compiled in the first part of the fifth/eleventh century, and the commentators cited by him belonged to the second/eighth to fourth/tenth centuries. During that period, apart from isolated mystics such as Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 185/801), Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), Sumnūn al-Muḥibb (d. 300/913) and Shibli, who gave priority to love in their teachings, most mystics regarded love as a state or station on the spiritual path. Although Qushayrī is not regarded as a proponent of love mysticism, he lived at a time when love was becoming much more prevalent in the Sufism of Khurasan.⁹² Perhaps some evidence of the influence of this emerging movement can be traced in his interpretations.⁹³ By the time of Maybudī, love is already more widely understood as a mystical way in itself, while with Rūzbihān, we find a more articulated, all-encompassing enunciation of the way of love.

As for the hermeneutics of prophetology, the commentaries examined here seem to fall into two more or less distinct stages. This hermeneutical development does not reflect any change in the aim of the commentaries, which consistently appears to be one of drawing out the spiritual lessons from the story; what is involved here is a development in the methodological approach. I have included in the first stage the commentaries of Sulamī and Qushayrī. Here, we find that each action or saying of the prophet Jacob is interpreted in a self-contained way, in order to understand its spiritual significance, or to draw from it some salutary lesson. Only exceptionally do we find a number of actions linked to become part of an allegorical interpretation representing some progress on the spiritual path, as when, for example, Jacob's apparent initial reliance on other than God is contrasted with his recognition, later on, that God is the best of protectors – the former resulting in his separation from Joseph and the latter in his reunion with both Joseph and Benjamin. Another feature of this first stage is that the sayings and actions of the prophet are evaluated as *his* sayings and actions, so that he, as Jacob, becomes an example to be followed, or not to be followed, in what he said or did. The actions only become universalised by analogy, as for example when Ibn 'Aṭā says, 'This is the situation of one who relies on his Lord, as compared with one who relies on other than Him', and of course the various observations made by Qushayrī concerning the custom of lovers.

At the second hermeneutical stage, exemplified by the commentaries of Maybudī and Rūzbihān, the prophet is being viewed as a prototype of the spiritual wayfarer, in Jacob's case, an adept in the way of divine love, while sayings and actions of the prophet are interpreted to represent the stations through which Jacob as lover of God progresses, or states which he experiences. The way that this is expressed is not that Jacob is like the lover, but that he actually is the lover.

This hermeneutical shift allows these two exegetes to unfold surprisingly detailed expositions of their doctrines of love. With Maybudī, Jacob becomes the perfect example of a lover of God whose love needs to be purified through the intense suffering of separation from a human object of love, namely Joseph, who has

effectively become for him a mirror for the divine Beloved. With Rūzbihān, Jacob is the exemplar of one who has been granted the special privileges concomitant with an advanced station in love ('*ishq*') and an elevated degree of gnosis (*ma'rifa*), a station in which he must necessarily undergo the vicissitudes of the alternate veiling and unveiling of God through the phenomenon of *iltibās*. It is with these two authors that we can see a true maturation of the 'prophetology of love' in Sufi exegesis.

NOTES

- 1 For the purposes of this chapter, I am using Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, MS Or 9433, British Library, London; Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm Basyūnī (Cairo, 1968–71), and MS Fazl Ahmed Paşa 117, Köprülü Library, Istanbul; Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār*, ed. Ali Asghar Hekmat et al. (Tehran, 1331–9 Sh./1952–60); and Rūzbihān Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān fi ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān*, lithograph edn (Lucknow, 1315/1898).
- 2 Paul Nwyia, 'Un cas d'exégèse soufie: l'histoire de Joseph', in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Henry Corbin* (Tehran, 1977), pp. 407–23.
- 3 Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, *Mūnis al-'ushshāq* or *Fī ḥaqīqat al-'ishq*; Persian text in *Majmū'ah-yi muṣannafāt-i shaykh-i ishrāq*, *Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā Suhrawardī*. Volume III: *Majmū'ah-yi āthār-i fārsi-yi shaykh-i ishrāq*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Tehran, 1970); tr. William M. Thackston as *The Mystical and Visionary Treatises of Shihabuddin Yahya Suhrawardi* (London, 1982).
- 4 Neither the one in Egypt who purchases Joseph (Q. 12:21) nor his wife are named in the Qur'an. In his *tafsīr*, Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) cites Ibn 'Abbās as having named the purchaser of Joseph as Qitfir (probably an Arabic equivalent for Potiphar), while according to another unnamed source he was called Itfir b. Rūḥayb, and his title was al-'Azīz. Literally, this word means 'powerful, honoured or precious', and the title is sometimes translated as 'Governor or Ruler of the land'. In any case, 'Azīz was evidently a title given to the one who was in charge of the treasures of Egypt, and this is further confirmed by the fact that later, after Joseph, at his own behest, has been placed in charge of the treasures of the land (Q. 12:55), he is addressed by his brothers as *yā ayyuhā'l-'azīz* (Q. 12:78). As to the name of 'Azīz's wife, Ṭabarī relates in his *tafsīr*, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, that she was Rā'il bint Rā'a'il. See Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafsīr āy al-Qur'ān*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1955–69), vol. XVI, pp. 17–18. Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī likewise names her as Rā'il, though he also gives another alternative: Bakā Bint Fiyūsh. See Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 128. However, many sources give her name as Zalīkah or Zulaykhā, which is the name by which she is generally known in Sufi literature.
- 5 Nwyia, 'Un cas d'exégèse soufie', p. 410.

- 6 Translations of the Qur'an in this chapter are slightly modified from Marmaduke Pickthall, tr., *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran. An Explanatory Translation* (New York and London, 1930), unless otherwise stated.
- 7 Nwyia, 'Un cas d'exégèse soufie', p. 421. No doubt the allusion here is to Adam's weeping out of repentance and regret concerning his disobedience, as when he says (Q. 7:23): 'Verily we have wronged ourselves [...]'
- 8 Ibid., p. 421.
- 9 Ibid., pp. 422–3.
- 10 Both the exoteric and esoteric exegesis of the Qur'anic story of Joseph are discussed in Annabel Keeler, 'Joseph ii: In Qur'anic Exegesis', *Elr*, vol. XV, pp. 34–41.
- 11 E.g. Ṭabarī (citing Qatāda and others who gloss *ḍalāl* as *ḥubb*) and Bayḍāwī (who uses the expression *ifrāt fi maḥabba Yūsuf*, 'excess in the love of Joseph'). See Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'* *al-bayān*, vol. XVI, p. 257. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) explains *ḍalāl* in this verse as being on account of Jacob's abandoning moderation in love (*li-tarkihī al-ta'dīl fi'l-maḥabba*); see 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl*, published as *Beidhawī Commentarius in Coranum*, ed. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (Henricus Orthobius) (Leipzig, 1846–8), p. 453. Among Sufi commentators, see Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fol. 125a, where Ja'far al-Šādiq interprets *ḍalāl* both as *maḥabba* and as *'ishq* ['passionate love'], and Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 206 (who uses the word *maḥabba*). Zulaikha, when she is subject to malicious gossip by the women of Egypt, is also accused of being in *ḍalāl mubīn* (Q. 12:30), which the commentators, again, interpret as love (*maḥabba* in the case of Ibn 'Aṭā' and Qushayrī, but *'ishq* in the comments attributed to Ja'far al-Šādiq).
- 12 E.g. Q. 12:22, 24, 34, 101, 110.
- 13 E.g. Q. 12:67–8, 76 and the whole story.
- 14 E.g. Q. 12:22, 37, 76, 86, 96, 101, 102.
- 15 For more on Sulamī's Qur'an commentary, see the Introduction, n. 40, and Chapter Two of this volume.
- 16 See Gerhard Böwering, 'The Qur'an Commentary of al-Sulamī', in Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little, eds, *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 41–56, at p. 42. An indication of the oral transmission is the frequent use of chains of transmission (*isnāds*) that are included in this commentary.
- 17 The verb *dh-k-r* can mean either 'to mention' or 'to remember'.
- 18 Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fols 123b–124a. Earlier (fol. 123b) a more severe comment of Qurashī is cited in which God threatens Jacob that He will take away his sight (lit. his two eyes) if he does not forget Joseph.
- 19 See this chapter, n. 11.
- 20 Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fol. 114a. Sulamī cites anonymously one comment (maybe his own, fol. 113b) which notes that Jacob did not trust the brothers because of the jealousy and hatred he could see in them through his spiritual perception (*firāsa*) and prophethood.
- 21 Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fol. 113b. See analogous comments in the 'Minor Qur'an Commentary of Sulamī', *Ziyādāt Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, ed. Gerhard Böwering (Beirut, 1995), p. 63. The translation of the Qur'an cited here is from Muhammad A.S. Abdel Haleem, tr., *The Qur'an: A New Translation* (Oxford, 2004).
- 22 These comments may be found in Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fol. 123b.
- 23 Ibid. One exception to this negative trend in interpreting Jacob's grief comes from Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), who attributes Jacob's sigh to his realisation that, if such was the intensity of his grief at being separated from his son, how much more it would be at his being separated from God. Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fol. 124a; Sahl al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'aẓīm*, ed. Muḥammad Bāsīl 'Uyyūn al-Sūd as *Tafsīr al-Tustarī* (Beirut, 2002); English translation by Annabel Keeler and Ali Keeler as *Tafsīr al-Tustarī* (Louisville, KY, 2011), pp. 97–8.
- 24 This comment is not included in MS OR 9433, but appears among those attributed to Ja'far al-Šādiq which were edited on the basis of other manuscripts by Paul Nwyia and published as 'Le tafsīr mystique attribué à Ġa'far Šādiq', in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 43 (1967), pp. 179–230, reprinted in Nasrollah Pourjavady, ed., *Majmū'ah-yi āthār-i Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī* (Tehran, 1369 Sh./1990), p. 35.
- 25 Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, MS Or 9433, fol. 125a.
- 26 On Qushayrī's *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, see this volume, Chapter Seven, and Martin Nguyen, *Sufi Master and Qur'an Scholar: Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and the Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (Oxford, 2012).
- 27 There are two points when the question of love is discussed in relation to Zulaikha in Qushayrī's *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*. The first, as with Sulamī, is in the context of Q. 12:30 relating the gossiping of the women of Egypt, where Qushayrī notes that Zulaikha's love inevitably aroused blame (*malāma*), and further that, because she was of nobler rank than the women of Egypt (they being servants), they were all the quicker to blame her. The second is in the context of Q. 12:51, where Qushayrī (perhaps drawing on a comment of Ibn 'Aṭā') notes that the wife of 'Azīz turned the blame onto Joseph when her love was imperfect, but when she reached the ultimate point in love, turned the blame onto herself. Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 189.
- 28 Ibid., p. 172. Lit. 'over what his *nafs* loves' ('*alā maḥabba nafsīhi*'). MS Fazl Ahmed Paşa 117, fol. 125b, however, has the variant '*alā mashaqqa nafsīhi*', which would translate as 'over his own discomfort'.
- 29 We have seen one instance of this in Qurashī's general comment about the one in a state of longing, cited earlier.
- 30 Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 168.
- 31 As, for example, that of Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Faraj al-Sāmarī, known as Ibn al-Farajī (d. 270/883). See Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, fols 114a–114b.
- 32 Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 199; MS Fazl Ahmed Paşa 117, fol. 129b. Compare Qushayrī's chapter on patience (*ṣabr*) in his *Risāla*, where he says that the patience of worshippers should be kept, while the patience of lovers is best abandoned. Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd b. al-Sharīf (Cairo, 1966), p. 404, tr. Alexander D. Knysh as *Al-Qushayrī's Epistle on Sufism* (Reading, 2007), p. 202.
- 33 Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, vol. II, p. 200.
- 34 Ibid., p. 206; MS Fazl Ahmed Paşa 117, fol. 131a. By 'outsiders' Qushayrī presumably means those who are not privy to love – probably those who are not initiated into, and have not experienced, the love of God.
- 35 Aḥmad Ghazālī, *Sawāniḥ*, ed. Helmut Ritter (Istanbul, 1942); ed. Nasrollah Pourjavady (Tehran, 1359 Sh/1980); translated with an introduction and

- glossary by Nasrollah Pourjavady as *Sawānih, Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits* (London, 1986).
- 36 On these developments and on Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār*, see Annabel Keeler, *Sufi Hermeneutics: The Qur'an Commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī* (Oxford, 2006).
 - 37 'Le moteur de tout cheminement spirituel'. 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, *Chemin de Dieu: Trois traités spirituels*, tr. Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil (Paris, 1985), translator's introduction, p. 43. De Beaurecueil is referring here to Anṣārī's *Ṣad maydān*, where the spiritual path culminates in the station of love (*dūstī*), although Anṣārī's later works *Manāzil al-sā'irīn* and *Ilal al-maḡāmāt* reveal a more sober approach with a greater emphasis on *tawhīd*. On parallels between the teachings of Anṣārī and of Maybudī, and on the place of love in Anṣārī's works, see Keeler, *Sufi Hermeneutics*, pp. 111–16.
 - 38 An abridged translation of the mystical sections (third *nawbats*) of the *Kashf al-asrār* by William C. Chittick has been published as *Kashf al-asrār: The Unveiling of the Mysteries* (Louisville, KY, 2016).
 - 39 Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. I, p. 278.
 - 40 Ibid., vol. V, p. 11.
 - 41 For example in Anṣārī, *Ṣad maydān*, text and French translation in Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil, 'Une Ébauche persane des *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*: le *Kitāb-e Ṣad maydān* de 'Abdullāh Anṣārī', *Mélanges Islamologiques d'Archéologie Orientale* 2 (1954), pp. 1–90. English translation by Nahid Angha as *Stations of the Sufi Path: The Hundred Fields (Ṣad maydān) of Abdallah Anṣārī of Herat* (Cambridge, 2010).
 - 42 For a discussion of the use of these terms, see Joseph E.B. Lumbard, 'From *Hubb* to *ʿIshq*: The Development of Love in Early Sufism', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, no. 3 (2007), pp. 345–85. I have employed the word 'love', rather than 'passion' or even 'passionate love' in translating *ʿishq*, firstly because it appears that Maybudī uses the words *dūstī* and *ʿishq* more or less interchangeably, and secondly because I believe that by this time, when it can be said that love mysticism was an established 'movement' in Khurasan, those who used the word *ʿishq* shared an understanding that it implied an intense and uncompromising love of God which demanded total sacrifice of the self. See Carl Ernst's remarks on Rūzbihān's use of *ʿishq* and *maḥabba* in his article, 'Rūzbihān Baqlī on Love as "Essential Desire"', in Alma Giese and J. Christoph Bürgel, eds, *Gott ist Schön und Er liebt die Schönheit / God is Beautiful and Loves Beauty: Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel* (Bern, 1994), pp. 181–9. It is interesting that, in contemporary Iran, whenever people speak of divine love (or even deep and devoted love of the imams), they tend to use the word *ʿishq*.
 - 43 Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. V, p. 11. 'He showered His light upon them' is an allusion to the following hadith: 'Verily God created the creatures in darkness, and then He poured upon them some of His Light', which is again cited in *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. VI, p. 543. It is cited in the same form in Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ed. and tr. David Buchman as *The Niche of Lights* (Provo, UT, 1998), p. 12. This appears to be a variation of a hadith which is listed in Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* (Cairo, 1895), vol. II, pp. 176 and 197, and by al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1937), *Kitāb al-Imān*, ch. 18 (*Mā jā'a fi iftirāq ḥādhihi'l-umma*), no. 3. In all of

- these versions the hadith has 'cast' instead of 'poured', and it is extended with the statement: 'Whosoever was touched by that light found guidance and whomsoever it missed went astray.' In the latter form it is cited and explained by Maybudī in *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. I, p. 570. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī also lists this hadith more than once; in *Nawādir al-uṣūl fi ma'rifat aḥādith al-rasūl*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā' (Beirut, 1992), vol. II, Principle 287, p. 413 we find one version with 'poured' and another with 'cast'.
- 44 Ibid. Arslān (or Arslān) is a Turkish word meaning 'lion', and was popular as a name with the connotations that the lion has courage, as for example the Turkish sultan Alp Arslān (r. 455–65/1063–72). I cannot account for the phrase 'Call me Arslān so no one should know who I am', other than that perhaps it was associated with Turkish slaves, therefore a king might wish to be disguised as a slave. Nicholson glosses Arslān as '(Turkish slave)' in his translation of Book VI of Rūmī's *Mathnawī* (as *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī* [London, 1925–40], line 3960). Maybudī again uses this expression when he observes that the inner wealth of the Companions of the Prophet was concealed with outer poverty. See Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. VIII, p. 180. It is interesting that C.S. Lewis named the lion in his children's books 'Aslan', another form of the Turkish name, and of course Aslan was a disguise for Jesus.
 - 45 Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. V, p. 140.
 - 46 Ibid., vol. V, pp. 105–6. On different aspects of jealousy and its role in the way of love see my *Sufi Hermeneutics*, under index references for jealousy and *ghayrat*. See also Aḥmad Ghazālī's *Sawānih*, ch. 4, where he discusses the three swords of jealousy.
 - 47 Maybudī, *Kashf al-asrār*, vol. V, p. 128.
 - 48 Ibid., pp. 139–40.
 - 49 On the doctrines of Aḥmad Ghazālī, see Nasrollah Pourjavady, *Sulṭān-i ṭarīqat* (Tehran, 1358 Sh./1980).
 - 50 On the life, works and doctrines of Rūzbihān Baqlī, see Henry Corbin, *En Islam iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophiques* (Paris, 1972), vol. III, chs I–VI, the introduction both to his edition of Rūzbihān's *Abḥar al-āshiqīn* (Tehran and Paris, 1981), and to his French translation of this work under the title *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour* (Paris, 1991); Paul Ballanfat's introduction to his French translation of Rūzbihān's *Kitāb al-Ighāna*, published as *L'ennuagement du cœur* (Paris, 1998), and of Rūzbihān's *Kashf al-asrār*, published as *Le Dévoilement des secrets* (Paris, 1996); Carl W. Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism* (London, 1996).
 - 51 See, for example, Rūzbihān's *Kashf al-asrār*, ed. Firoozeh Papan-Matin with Michael Fishbein as *The Unveiling of Secrets, Kashf al-Asrār: The Visionary Autobiography of Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (1128–1209 A.D.)* (Leiden, 2006); French translation by Ballanfat as *Le Dévoilement des secrets* (see n. 50); English translation by Carl W. Ernst as *The Unveiling of Secrets: Diary of a Sufi Master* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997).
 - 52 See, for example, Rūzbihān, *L'ennuagement du cœur*.
 - 53 Rūzbihān Baqlī, *Abḥar al-āshiqīn*; French translation by Henry Corbin as *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour*. The stages in the way of love are particularly described in chs 16–32. See also Carl W. Ernst, 'The Stages of Love in Early

- Persian Sufism', in Leonard Lewisohn, ed., *The Heritage of Sufism*. Volume I: *Classical Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700–1300)* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 435–55. In his composition of 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, Rūzbihān was clearly influenced by an earlier philosophical/mystical treatise on love by another Shīrāzī, Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī (fl. fourth/tenth century), entitled *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'alā'l-lām al-ma'tūf*, ed. Jean-Claude Vadet (Cairo, 1962); English translation by Joseph Norment Bell and Hassan Mahmood Abdul Latif Al Shafie as *A Treatise on Mystical Love* (Edinburgh, 2005). A comparison between the two works has been made by Masataka Takeshita in his article, 'Continuity and Change in the Tradition of Shirazi Love Mysticism – A Comparison between Daylamī's 'Atf al-Alif and Rūzbihān Baqlī's 'Abhar al-āshiqīn', *Orient* 23 (1987), pp. 113–31. Takeshita observes that the main influence of Daylamī's work is noticeable in the early chapters of the 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, especially in the 'borrowing' of hadiths justifying 'the lawfulness of love, excellences of beauty, the beautiful one'. In general, Daylamī's work includes far more non-Sufi material and has aspects in common with secular treatises on love (on which see Lois Anita Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* [New York, 1972]), whereas Rūzbihān is more centrally concerned with Sufism and the theme of mystical love. Takeshita sees the similarities in the discussion of the divine origin of love in the two works as an indication that both were influenced by Ḥusayn b. Mansūr al-Hallāj, Rūzbihān probably through Daylamī's work.
- 54 Interestingly, however, there is no evidence that Rūzbihān was influenced by Aḥmad Ghazālī, on which see Takeshita, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 113–14; Ghazālī, *Sawānīh, Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits*, translator's introduction, p. 8. See also Nasrollah Pourjavady, 'Massignon et la notion Hallagienne de l'amour essentiel en mystique Persane: examen critique', in Ève Pierunek and Yann Richard, eds, *Louis Massignon et l'Iran* (Paris, 2000), pp. 1–7.
- 55 For Ernst's discussion of Rūzbihān's use of the word 'ishq vis-à-vis mahabbā, see this chapter, n. 42.
- 56 Rūzbihān, 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, p. 138: 'In/by Himself He was and is a lover of Himself (nafs-i khwad-rā ba-nafs-i khwad 'āshiq būd). Thus He was Love ('ishq), Lover ('āshiq) and Beloved (ma'shūq); and 'He does not cease being a lover (muḥibb) by Himself and for Himself, just as He does not cease knowing ('ālim) Himself and contemplating (nāzar) Himself.' It is this doctrine in particular (namely, that God was from pre-eternity Love, Lover and Beloved) that is said to derive from Hallāj. See Takeshita, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 125–8; Ernst, 'Rūzbihān Baqlī on Love', pp. 186–8; Pourjavady, 'Massignon et la notion Hallagienne', pp. 3ff.
- 57 This hadith is also alluded to in Rūzbihān, 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, ch. 32, para. 277: 'When He wished to open up the treasure of His Essence (kanz-i dhāt) with the key of His Attributes to the spirits of mystics, He manifested Himself (tajallī kard) to them by the beauty of love (ba-jamāl-i 'ishq), and He became manifest (zāhir) to [or upon] them through particular attributes.' Thus the theophany of the beauty of love 'precedes' the manifestation of the other attributes. The hadith is also alluded to in the *Kitāb al-Ighāna* (*L'ennuagement du cœur*, p. 147), and directly cited (ibid., p. 209), where Rūzbihān proposes that the objects of

God's intention were the prophets, friends of God and believers, that they should know and adore Him. For sources of this tradition, see Keeler, *Sufi Hermeneutics*, p. 144, n. 29.

- 58 Often, but not exclusively, divine beauty is manifested in the beauty of prophets and purified souls, the first theophany of divine beauty having been in Adam, which is why Rūzbihān often cites the saying of the Prophet, 'God created Adam upon His own image'. For this hadith see Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, ed. Muhammad Fu'ād al-Bāqī (Beirut, 1972), *Kitāb al-Janna*, no. 28, vol. IV, p. 2183, *Bāb yadkhulu al-janna aqwām af'idatuhum mithlu af'idat al-tayr*; and *Kitāb al-Birr*, no. 115, vol. IV, p. 2017, *Bāb al-nahy 'an qarab al-wajh*.
- 59 Rūzbihān frequently forestalls his critics by rejecting the idea of *hulūl*, and insisting on God's transcendence beyond creatures. See, for example, Rūzbihān, 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, ch. 5, paras 60 and 66–7.
- 60 Ibid., ch. 13, para. 147: '[...] for in human love are to be found the rules (*aḥkām*) of divine love'; also ch. 14, para. 160: 'Thus in this world does God lead the lover, by degrees, to the heavenly ascent (*mi'rāj*) of divine love ('ishq rabbānī), for in the garden of love [human love] is, after all, love (*ham 'ishq ast*), and the rule of the former may be studied in the text book of the latter.'
- 61 See Rūzbihān, 'Arā'is al-bayān, p. 414. On Rūzbihān's views on the difference between *zuhd* and 'ishq see 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, ch 7, para. 79 and ch. 21, para. 216.
- 62 Rūzbihān, *Le jasmin des fidèles d'amour*, translator's introduction, p. 39.
- 63 For a study of loving and contemplating God through human beauty, see Cyrus Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn 'Arabī and 'Irāqī* (Columbia, SC, 2011).
- 64 The concept is peculiar to Rūzbihān, and is not seen in either Daylamī or Hallāj.
- 65 For Corbin's rendering, see his *En Islam iranien*, vol. III, p. 19; Rūzbihān, *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour*, translator's introduction, p. 33; for Ballanfat's rendering, see Rūzbihān, *L'ennuagement du cœur*, e.g. pp. 50, 60, 72 and 88, and idem, *Le dévoilement des secrets*, e.g. pp. 147, 159, 176, 205, and 275.
- 66 Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī*, pp. 35–6 and ch. 2, p. 104, n. 56. Ernst may also have in mind those passages where Rūzbihān speaks of God's 'clothing the servant with His attributes', such as 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, ch. 30, para. 271, and ch. 32, para. 277. However, there can also be an aspect of reciprocity in 8th form verbs, and the subtle reciprocity of *iltibās* is discussed by Corbin, for example, in *En Islam iranien*, pp. 97–8.
- 67 Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī*, p. 36.
- 68 See Rūzbihān, 'Abhar al-āshiqīn, ch. 29, paras 262 and 263, where effacement (*maḥw*) and intoxication (*sukr*) are associated with a vision freed from intermediaries, and sobriety (*saḥw*) with *iltibās*. See also ibid., ch. 30, para. 272, and ch. 32, para. 279: at the theophany (*tajallī*) of [His] sublime Majesty ('*azamat*) neither love nor lover remains, for it is the place of the annihilation of love (*maḥall-i fanā-i 'ishq*). See also Rūzbihān, *Kashf al-asrār*, paras 62, 66 and 109, tr. Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī*, pp. 36 and 85. In the *Kashf al-asrār*, Rūzbihān often speaks of an experience of 'melting' at the encounter with the divine sublimity. See also Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, vol. III, pp. 130–34, citing *Risāla-yi Qudsiyya*.

- 69 See Rūzbihān, *Le Jasmin des fidèles d'amour*, translator's introduction, p. 39.
- 70 Rūzbihān, *Abhar al-āshiqīn*, ch. 32, para. 278.
- 71 That is to say, the doctrines are consistently presented in Rūzbihān's own interpretations of the verses, though he often adds statements gleaned from earlier commentaries that are not necessarily consistent with his own views. This he does presumably for the sake of completeness or out of respect for the earlier commentators.
- 72 Rūzbihān, *Arā'is al-bayān*, p. 407.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid., p. 413.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 413–14.
- 76 *Laqad hammat bihi wa hamma bihā law lā an yarā burhāna Rabbihi*.
- 77 Exoteric commentators vary in their interpretations of this verse according to their understanding of the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* (immunity from sin) in relation to prophets. Ṭabarī, for example, includes in his commentary numerous traditions which not only indicate that Joseph did experience desire for Zulaykhā, but also describe the point to which that desire took him. Other exegetes who do not accept any moral infallibility on the part of a prophet either interpret the word *hamm* in different ways (e.g. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī/Ṭabarsī, d. 548/1154) or look for other ways to explain Joseph's desire, for example, his desire was merely to drive Zulaykhā away (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, d. 606/1209). On this, see Keeler, 'Joseph ii: In Qur'ānic Exegesis'. Sufis who commented on this verse, probably because of their interest in the ethical as well as mystical significations of the Qur'an, likewise found different ways of explaining Joseph's desire, for example, that his desire was to correct her, as can clearly be seen in the commentaries of Sulamī, Qushayrī and Maybudī, or that sin is not implied in the desire itself but rather in the intention to implement it, which was seen on the part of Zulaykhā and not Joseph. Rūzbihān himself includes some of these 'apologetic' comments towards the end of his commentary on this verse. See this chapter, n. 71.
- 78 Rūzbihān, *Arā'is al-bayān*, p. 414. Rūzbihān explains more about the mutual love between Joseph and Zulaykhā in his commentary on Q. 12:24 (ibid., p. 416), which in summary can be said to consist of an ontological explanation of the origin of Zulaykhā's love and Joseph's beauty, both of which derive from two eternal mines (*al-ma'danayn al-azalayn*): those of [God's] eternal beauty and love (*jamāl al-qidam wa maḥabbat al-azal*). When Zulaykhā's desire was aroused, upon her heart's being drawn to the mine of the beauty and love of Joseph, his desire was also aroused to its capacity for loving her and [perceiving] her beauty. Thus the two desires were coming into being, the one from the other.
- 79 Ibid., p. 417.
- 80 Ibid., p. 410.
- 81 Ibid., p. 411.
- 82 That is, Joseph, but by consequence God, since Joseph is the theophany of God. Compare Rūzbihān's pleading for the presence of his beloved in *Abhar al-āshiqīn*, ch. 12, para. 138: 'You have become the *qibla* of [my] soul [. . .] Do not keep my soul veiled by the world from the Beloved, for the soul cannot exist without the Beloved'.

- 83 Rūzbihān, *Arā'is al-bayān*, p. 438.
- 84 I.e. accidents in the philosophical sense, originated beings.
- 85 Lit. 'that his innermost secret be stripped of all originated beings'.
- 86 Rūzbihān, *Arā'is al-bayān*, p. 430.
- 87 Ibid., p. 417.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī*, p. 39. See also, Ballanfat's introduction to *L'Ennuagement du cœur*, p. 36, regarding the eternal, cyclical alternation between knowing and unknowing.
- 90 Rūzbihān, *Arā'is al-bayān*, p. 431.
- 91 Rūzbihān's doctrines of love are of course expounded in his other works, as noted earlier. In the case of Maybudī, his doctrines of love are consistently expounded throughout the *Kashf al-asrār*.
- 92 See Keeler, *Sufi Hermeneutics*, ch. 4, on this development.
- 93 I have noted this possibility elsewhere with regard to Qushayrī's interpretation of Q. 7:143. See Annabel Keeler, 'Sūfi tafsīr as a Mirror: al-Qushayrī the *murshid* in his *Latā'if al-ishārāt*', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1–21, at pp. 13–15.