The early Sufi movement arose in the society of the `Abbasid Empire, an environment that by the late ninth century was saturated with the culture of Arabic literature. Poetry had been enormously important for the pre-Islamic Arabs, and it continued to serve as a powerful means of communication both in the heartland of the caliphate and in the far-flung provinces from North Africa to central Asia. It is not surprising to find that the mystics resorted to the dense literary medium of poetry to convey both deep emotion and abstract insight. Poetry became a natural ancillary to the exposition of Sufi discourse on the soul and its experiences, and it was pervasive in Sufi discourse. As Sarraj related,

I heard al-Wajihī say, I heard al-Tayalasi al-Razi say, I visited Israfil, the teacher of Dhu al-Nun (may God have mercy on them both), and he was sitting and drumming his fingers on the ground, chanting something to himself. When he saw me, he said, “Can you recite something beautiful?” I said, “No.” He replied, “You have no heart.”

Arabic verses are sprinkled liberally in the collections of Sufi teachings that emerged in the late 10th-century works of Sulami, Sarraj, Kalabadhi, Khargushi, and Sirjani. The Baghdadian Sufi Ja`far al-Khuldi claimed that he knew by heart the collected poems of 130 Sufis. Many of the verses quoted in early Sufi writings, when they are not anonymous, are credited to the famous pioneers of Baghdadian Sufism, including Junayd, Abu `Ali al-Rudhbari, Sari al-Saqati, Abu al-Husayn al-Nuri,
Sumnun al-Muhibb, and others. Surprisingly, this body of Arabic mystical poetry has received very little scholarly attention.

One of the problems in the study of early Sufi poetry is related to a widespread tendency to identify this mystical tradition primarily with its Iranian and Indian examples, in contrast to the supposedly inferior spiritual and intellectual capacities of the Semitic races, particularly the Arabs. This attitude was an example of the larger prejudice against Arabic poetry, which many Orientalist scholars considered to be extravagant and lacking in literary merit.  

In part this opinion could be charitably interpreted as a result of the widespread recent popularity of the Persian poetry Rumi, which tends to eclipse other figures in Sufi tradition. Still, it is remarkable to see how easily an Orientalist scholar like R. A. Nicholson could fall into racial language in his description of Sufi poetry in 1921:

One of the deepest differences between Arabs and Persians shows itself in the extent and character of the mystical poetry of each people. As regards Persia, the names of Sana‘i, ‘Attar, Jalalu‘ddin Rumi, Sa‘di, Hafiz, and Jami are witnesses enough. Whether quantity or quality be considered, the best part of medieval Persian poetry is either genuinely mystical in spirit or so saturated with mystical ideas that it will never be more than half understood by those who read it literally. When we turn to Arabic poetry of the period subsequent to the rise and development of Sufisim, what do we find? No lack of poets, certainly, though few of them reach the first rank and their output is scanty compared with the opulent genius of their Persian contemporaries. But from Mutanabbi and Ma‘arri down to the bards unknown in Europe who flourished long after the Baghdad Caliphate had fallen, it is remarkable how seldom they possess the note (as Newman would say) of mysticism. The main reason, I think, lies in racial endowment. The Arab has no such passion for an ultimate principle of unity as has always distinguished the Persians and Indians.
Although it may be surprising to some, this kind of racial interpretation of mysticism has proven to be remarkably tenacious, so that some of the most prominent modern admirers of an Arab Sufi poet such as Ibn `Arabi have presented him in a de-Semitized fashion to make him fit into a model of universal mysticism. 4 Without going into the details of this problem, it suffices to say that this biased attitude reveals a lack of attention to the phenomenon of Arabic Sufi poetry as a formative component of the Sufi tradition.

Defining Sufi poetry is not easy to do, however, and despite the massive presence of poetry in Sufi circles, there is surprisingly little discussion of this question in modern studies of Sufism. A few reflections on this category of Arabic literature are therefore necessary. One precedent was a tradition of ascetic poetry (zuhdiyya), associated particularly with the eminent poet Abu al-Atahiyya (d. 829). This kind of poetry was characterized by a moralizing stance critical of the enticements of the world, and it was probably seen as a counterbalance to the secular poetry of love and wine that was so dominant in the courtly culture of the early caliphate. 5 This kind of preaching against the attractions of worldly life is indeed a frequent theme in Sufi poetry. Another model was the romantic genre of `Udhri poetry that emphasized chaste love, a characteristic supposedly found among the Arab tribe of the Banu `Udhra; this tendency was exemplified by figures like the legendary Majnun, who languished in hopeless longing for his beloved Layla. 6 `Udhri verse provided a “courtly” model of poetry that emphasized the sufferings of the lover, frequently in highly exaggerated yet memorable terms. 7 At the same time, and this is sometimes not acknowledged, what eventually becomes Sufi poetry also draws undeniably upon the poetry of frankly erotic love and intoxication typified by the great Abu Nuwas (d. ca. 815), the drinking companion of the Caliph al-Amin and a founding figure of the "modernism" of the `Abbasid era. 8 The early Sufi writer Hujwiri found himself quoting a scandalous line from Abu Nuwas – though anonymously – when arguing that listening to poetry and music required being fully present for God:
How excellent, though on a frivolous topic, are the words of the poet [Abu Nuwas] who declared his love for wine!

“Give me wine to drink and tell me it is wine.

Do not give it me in secret, when it can be given openly,”

i.e., let my eyes see it and my hand touch it and my palate taste it and my nose smell it: there yet remains one sense to be gratified, viz. my hearing: tell me, therefore, this is wine, that my ear may feel the same delight as my other senses.  

Likewise, Ruzbihan Baqli cited the same verse, but only attributed it to “one of the lovers.”

Qushayri, when discussing spiritual intoxication and sobriety, quoted another verse by Abu Nuwas, but he attributed it to his Sufi teacher and substituted a Sufi term for intoxication. Thus there were a number of different emphases and directions to be found in early Arabic Sufi poetry.

There are some indications that early Sufi writers were defensive about the attractions of poetry, particularly insofar as the melodious singing of such verses might compete with the recitation of the Qur’an. One way of justifying the religious value of poetry was to appeal to the example of the Prophet Muhammad. Sarraj observes that Ka`b ibn Zuhayr recited his celebrated ode “Banat Su`ad” in the presence of the Prophet. Likewise, Khargushi recorded a hadith in which the Prophet praised the pre-Islamic poet Labid as the best of the Arab poets. Despite this nod to the classical Arabic tradition, however, it was uncommon for early Sufis to refer to the corpus of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (exceptionally, Ibn `Arabi would later write poems in the ancient Bedouin style). The literary style of most Sufi poetry had much more in common with the contemporary poems of the `Abbasid era. This connection becomes explicit in a case such as the Sufi poet Qannad, who is said to have studied the Diwan of the famous Abu Tammam (d. 845). Even Qushayri, who does not include much poetry in his writings, quotes verses from the `Abbasid poet (and one-day caliph) Ibn al-Mu`tazz.
In what still remains the most substantial essay yet published in English on the nature of Arabic mystical poetry, Annemarie Schimmel in 1981 briefly outlined three major types of Sufi poems defined by their formal characteristics:

We may discern here descriptive poems, in which the Sufis tried to tell of their experiences in the mystical “states” (alḥāl); technical poems with often complicated word plays, poems, and allusions; and popular poems which, as will become clear, often prefigure the mystical poetry in the non-Arabic areas.17

The range of styles employed in these poems attests to the experimental character of Arabic Sufi poetry, which tentatively opened up a range of possibilities, including the description of inner psychological states, opaque exploration of coded terminology and word-play, and bold emotional declarations that could be appreciated by a wider public. All of these characteristics are found in the poems attributed to Hallaj.

The literary forms of poetry circulated in Sufi groups were indistinguishable from the standard forms of Arabic poetry in terms of rhyme, meter, and even subject matter. Much of this poetry is very brief, consisting of a few lines at most. Early Sufi poetry has at times been described as “little concerned with literary conventions,”18 although in fact one can find plenty of examples of rhetorical flourishes typical of the `Abbasid “new style” (bādi’). The long and intricate odes (qasidas) that developed in pre-Islamic Arabia and were perfected by the poets of the early caliphate were not commonly found in early Sufi works; as Schimmel comments, “the classical form of the qasida with its traditional framework was used by them only much later.”19 It is possible that the classical odes were initially seen as too worldly, due to their courtly associations.

The flowering of that complex literary form as a mystical genre would take place in the thirteenth century, in the prodigious qasida compositions of Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) and Ibn `Arabi (d. 1240). As Denis McCauley points out, early Arabic Sufi poetry differed from the refined and lengthy
creations of the two most famous 13th-century expositors of this art, Muhyi al-Din ibn `Arabi (d. 1240) and Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235). Early Sufi poetry was often recited at communal gatherings featuring the ritual recitation of divine names (dhikr), where Sufi adepts engaged in the discipline of listening (sama’), often to musical accompaniment. For the most part, those poems were relatively straightforward, without complicated metaphysical references, and their impact was often manifest in the state of ecstasy attained by listeners. In contrast, Ibn `Arabi and Ibn al-Farid composed long, intricate odes with dense allusions typical of court poetry, often recalling the classical pre-Islamic ode, and generally aimed at (in the case of Ibn `Arabi at least) a restricted circle of intimate disciples, rather than a wider public. As for Ibn al-Farid, his poetry has taken on a liturgical popularity despite its difficulty. In these respects, both Ibn `Arabi and Ibn al-Farid differed from the Andalusian Sufi al-Shushtari (d. 1269), whose verses drew upon popular demotic Arabic rather than the conventions of the formal ode.

In contrast, most of the Hallajian corpus consists of the shorter occasional piece (muqatta’ a or qit`a), which generally lacks the double rhyme in the opening line that is characteristic of the formal ode, and which is also usually concerned with a single topic. The shortest pieces are only one or two lines, the latter resembling the quatrain (ruba’i) that would become popular in Persian literature. These stipulations underline the exceptional character of a dozen Hallajian poems identified by Massignon as full-fledged odes (qasidas), averaging ten lines or more originally (poems 34, 45, 58, 71, 76, 79, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 114). [Add section on ode as transformation (Stefan Sperl), in contrast to the qit`a as an occasional piece restricted to a single theme]

While classical Arab literary critics did not devote much time to the discussion of Sufi poetry as a separate genre, there are examples that indicate the perception that a particular style was characteristic of Sufis. As Homerin points out, the classical Arab poet al-Mutanabbi (d. 965) was criticized by the commentator al-Tha’alibi (d. 1038) for “imitating the expressions of the Sufis and
using their tangled words of abstruse meanings.” Another commentator remarked that al-Mutanabbi seemed to have taken a particular expression “from the style (tarz) of Sufi speech,” specifically quoting a verse by Hallaj as an example. What these critics seem to have had in mind was the “intricate and sophisticated style… characterized by antithesis (tibaq), paronomasia (jinas), and the repetition of verbs and an abundance of prepositions in contrast and opposition within a single verse.” While this description clearly recalls the style of Hallaj, this kind of poetry is a logical development of the formation of a technical language for mystical experience developed by Sufis. Schimmel draws attention to how “another genre [of poetry] became common in which the Sufis skillfully used their recently developed technical vocabulary and played on all the possible derivations of Arabic words, with their three radical consonants, to attain a highly complicated web of words which could be disentangled only by the initiate.” As an example, there are several places in Hallaj’s poetry where prepositions pile up disconcertingly, to indicate obliquely that all things must be simultaneously connected to God. In poem 113, Hallaj is arguing against the philosophers who believe that God is the first cause that is known by reason from his effects; to the contrary, Hallaj insists that God is only known through himself: “One doesn’t prove the Creator by his work; / have you seen a creature that builds from time? // The proof is for him, from him, to him, by him, / from Truth’s witness in scripture’s descent.” Occurring in the midst of a poem, his clustered prepositions effectively summarize a much more complex argument (see another example in poem 70).

While the point of these verses by Hallaj may appear intuitively clear through the use of simple language, they actually demonstrate his mastery over the emerging technical vocabulary of Sufism. This mystical jargon was not always admired, as one can see in this anecdote about the Baghdadian Sufi, Ibn `Ata, who ended up being killed by the caliph’s police for his support of Hallaj:
Some of the theologians said to Ibn `Ata, “What is it with you Sufis, that you deconstruct words so that they are strange to the ear of listeners, and you abandon customary language? This only has two outcomes: either you’re distorting things, or in God most high no distortion takes place. So it must be the case that in your teaching there is an external flaw that you conceal from people with [these] words.” Ibn `Ata said, “We do this because it empowers us, because this activity is dear to us; we didn’t want anyone else besides this group to know it, and we didn’t want to employ ordinary, common words, so we invented special words.”

The technical vocabulary of Sufism was in fact collected and circulated in the form of dictionaries of mystical terms, which were circulated in Sufi circles. It is striking that the very first definition in the Sufi lexicon of Sarraj is identical in form with the piled up prepositions in Hallaj’s poem.

And the meaning of their saying, “the Truth, by the Truth, for the Truth”: Now “the Truth” is God, for in the Qur’an commentary of Abu Salih on the verse “and if the Truth had followed their desires” [Qur’an 23:71], he said “the truth is God most high.” Abu Sa`id al-Kharraz said in some of his sayings, “the devotee is dependent with the Truth, by the Truth, for the Truth”; that is, with God, by God, for God. Therefore, “from him, by him, for him” means from God, by God, for God.

This is precisely the language employed by Hallaj and other Sufis in their poetry, as well as their prose writings. In poem 85, in which the first five verses are essentially a list of Sufi technical terms, Hallaj remarks that “These are expressions for the people to whom / the world is nothing but a coin.” Louis Massignon rightly drew attention to the decisive role that Hallaj played in the elaboration of Sufi terminology, and it is not accidental that the vocabulary of Hallaj formed the core of Massignon’s *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism.*
Beyond these formal characteristics, it is important to locate Sufi poetry in the social context where it was performed. In modern scholarship, the mystic is often seen in a timeless fashion, as by definition centered on the eternal and infinite source; the poem expresses a state of spiritual absences or separations on one hand, or realization of essential unity with God on the other.\textsuperscript{31} As Th. Emil Homerin points out, however, it is important to step back from modern romantic concepts of the poet as an isolated figure expressing private sentiments as a direct transcription of personal experience.

Many medieval and modern readers have viewed this poetry as verse accounts of Sufi doctrine reflecting a mystic's endeavors to describe an experience of great profundity and overwhelming emotion. Yet, too often, such explanations are based on romantic notions of poetry that focus on an individual's lonely self struggle, and they isolate this poetry from its larger social, religious, and literary context.\textellipsis Mystical verse, then, is as much a collective as an individual vision of reality that interprets human existence in order to imbue life with sense and significance.\textsuperscript{32}

Although the extent of early Arabic Sufi poetry is not large, it is evident that, particularly in the eastern lands, it was commonly recited in community, in sessions where music was performed and ecstasy was a common phenomenon.

Many examples could be cited to demonstrate the significance of poetry in the early Sufi community, but the following instance provides an admirable illustration:

It is related of Abu al-Husayn al-Nuri (may God have mercy on him) that he gathered with a group of shaykhs by invitation, and a discussion took place among them regarding religious knowledge. Abu al-Husayn al-Nuri fell silent, then he raised his head and recited these verses:

\begin{quote}
Many a cooing dove at dawn
\end{quote}

chanted a lament in the thicket
And my weeping may have affected her and her weeping may have affected me
But if she complains, I don’t get it and if I complain, she doesn’t get it
Unless in passion, I know her; and she, too, in passion knows me.

There was not a single person in the group who did not rise and go into ecstasy when al-Nuri recited these verses.

There are several points about the story that claim our attention. There is first of all the remarkable depiction of Nuri either recalling, or more probably composing, extemporaneous verses to respond to a scholarly dilemma. Then there is the fact that the imagery of the poem is exceedingly conventional in terms of early Arabic poetry. The invocation of the dove as the model of a complaining lover is typical, and it is enhanced here by the claim of an empathetic relationship between the poet and the dove, which is unfortunately at first limited by their mutual incomprehension. But then all limitations are exploded by immersion in passion, which creates an instant understanding between the complaining dove and the lover. While there is no overt reference to any mystical topic in this poem, the effect is unmistakable: all those present stood and entered into empathetic ecstasy (tawajud), simply upon hearing about the dramatic empathy describing the poem. Such mystical emotion is crucial to the Sufi practice of listening to poetry and music. This is far from an isolated example of the deep resonance of conventional Arabic poetry in Sufi circles. The great Persian poet Rumi, who himself was steeped in the Arabic poetic tradition, quoted similar verses by an Umayyad poet, describing the emotional interaction between a poet and a dove, in the preface to Book IV of his Mathnawi.

So it is impossible to separate Sufi poetry from the other kinds of literary production that flourished in the early `Abbasid era. Several vignettes from Sarraj’s account of Sufi writers will illustrate the range of poetic registers that occur in Sufi literature. Sarraj comments at length on the practice of letter-writing among Sufis, indication the prominence of this activity as an intimate form
of communication between like-minded spiritual aspirants. “Al-Junayd wrote a letter to Mumshad al-Dinawari, and when it reached him, he turned it over and wrote what he wrote on the back: ‘Only a correct one to a correct one, and the two do not differ in reality.’”35 Evidently poetry was frequently both a topic and a medium in such correspondence, as one can see in a letter from Khalid al-Suri, who said,

I wrote a letter to Abu `Ali al-Rudhbari, in which were these lines:

My secrecy, Abu `Ali, is for my love

of you, fleeing from sharing it.

How happy you are, town of Rudhbar! What right
do you have over us? Without him, you are a desert.

Then he received me for some days, and I had a volume in my hands. He took it from my hands and wrote on the back:

Love incited you to love; in its frustration

there is a heavenly grace, and in its blame is an attraction.

Master of passions! From a well with no return

you’ve enjoyed pure desire, but not its goal.

Stand beneath his bench with your affection for him,

infatuated in anxious sufferings for him!36

What is striking in this exchange of verses, which receives no further comment from Sarraj, is the artful invocation of complex conceits of love poetry, combined with the very physical practice of writing as an intimate communication, what one critic calls “the experience of writing, and the writing of experience.”37 Indeed, the very image of writing appears in highly conventional lyrics of Sufis like Abu `Ali al-Rudhbari, in these lines:

I wrote to you with the water of my eyelids,
and my heart was drenched with the water of desire.

My hand inscribes, and my heart is not fatigued,

but my eyes erase whatever they have written.38

This embodiment of love poetry in letters will find expression in the correspondence between Hallaj and his admirer from Shiraz, Ibn al-Khafif.

By its very nature, therefore, the poetry recited in Sufi circles could not be separated from the verses recited in more worldly settings. Indeed, the texts could be the same in both cases. As Sarraj conceded, "One who undertakes to listen to these quatrains belongs to one of two perspectives: either distracted people among the frivolous and contentious, or the people who have attained noble states, embraced pleasing stations, mortified their souls with austerities and struggles, cast aside the world beyond their manifestation, and concentrated on almighty God in all their thoughts."39 Immediately preceding the exchange between Rudhbari and Suri described above, Sarraj relates a story about the presence of worldly poetry in Sufi circles:

I was in Ramla, and a Hashemite man was there who owned a famous singing girl with a beautiful voice and elegant speech. So we asked Abu `Ali al-Rudhbari to write a message to him asking permission to visit her, so we could hear something from her. So in my presence he immediately wrote, “In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate! It has reached me – may God answer your request, and give you your hopes – that you have one of the resorts of refreshment, where the hearts of the people of ecstasy alight, so they can drink from it with the vessels of faithfulness, a wine bequeathed them by the realities of purity. And if we are permitted to enter it, then for us it is incumbent on the master of the resort that he should beautify the assembly by excluding others, and veil it from gazing eyes; our coming is dependent on your permission. Farewell.”40
We are not told the outcome of this request, which was expressed in elegant and formal rhyming prose. Contrary to the strict gender seclusion typically enjoined in Sufi manuals for regulating the practice of listening to poetry and music, this anecdote indicates that Sufi adepts could find professional singing girls attractive for the performance of poems that invoke “the realities of purity” – although privacy might be necessary to avoid social complications! Using key Sufi terminology for inner states of ecstasy is nevertheless linked in the letter with the wine imagery that was integral to secular court culture.

Another story related by Sarraj connects poetry to the deeper cosmic forces linking humanity and nature.

I heard al-Junayd (God's mercy upon him) say, Sari al-Saqati handed me a letter, saying, "This is the place for your fulfilling my wish." So I opened the letter and in it was written, "I heard the camel driver in the desert calling out and saying,

I weep, but do you know what makes me weep?
I weep from worry that you will depart from me
and end my union and exile me."  

The verses contained in the letter obliquely request an intimate friend not to leave. The supposed context for this brief account is the figure of the camel driver, who by this time was legendary for reciting poetry to urge his steeds through the desert; the influence of these conventional love lyrics, when combined with the power of the melodious human voice, was understood to have such an effect that even animals respond eagerly to it. This became a familiar theme in Sufi literature, and Sarraj elsewhere related in fuller detail the tragicomic story of the camel driver whose voice was so beautiful that he drove his master's camels to their deaths. Nor would that be the only case in Sufi literature where ecstatic death resulted from listening to recited poetry.
This leads to the question of whether one can discern a Sufi aesthetic when it comes to poetry. The problem is that the poetry circulating in Sufi circles in many ways could not be distinguished, in textual terms, from other forms of poetry found in early Arab culture. In other words, Sufi poetry cannot be defined necessarily as the composition of particular authors, nor even as a definite style or literary genre. It is instead the reception and interpretation of this poetry that connects it to Sufism. Sufi poetry may then be defined as poems that are listened to and understood through the hermeneutics of Sufism, regardless of their origin or authorship.

It is important to emphasize this performative dimension, and its psychological impact, as a defining feature of early Sufi literature in its aesthetic dimension. One may in fact stipulate that this is an aural phenomenon, since much of the discussion of poetry in Sufi texts is linked to the experience of listening (as in many cultures, reciting poetry aloud would have been the norm, rather than silent reading). It is noteworthy that music or the production of sound does not feature as a topic in manuals of Sufi practice; it is instead listening (sama`) that forms the central concern of early Sufi literature, rather than the visual dimension which has been highlighted in the aesthetics of later Sufi poetry.43 In the earliest specialized Arabic text devoted to this question of listening, Abu `Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 1021) explained how the capacity of the listener determined the experience of the text that was heard, whether it was the Qur’an or poetry:

Junaid said, “Listening is from the perspective of the listener, and therefore the most lawful thing that the listener listens to is the Qur’an, because it is a remedy, a mercy, a guidance, and a clarification. And the lowliest thing he can listen to is poetry -- but perhaps listening to the Qur’an may be obscure to its listener, even though it is a remedy and a mercy, and it may be that poetry is a wisdom in the heart of the listener, even if it is foolishness in itself.” . . .

So the one who realizes the truth in listening hears the false as true, and the one who does not realize the truth in it hears the truth as false.44
There is an obviously apologetic tone in Sulami’s defense of poetry, which brings in the unimpeachable Sufi master Junayd to bolster the case for listening to poetry. But next, Sulami introduces the classic example of Sufi hermeneutics, a story usually ascribed to Abu Hulman, who heard a Baghdad street vendor shouting out the name of the herbs he was selling, “O country thyme (ya sa`tara al-barri)!” Abu Hulman fell down in a faint, and when he was asked later for an explanation, he said that he understood instead, “At the Hour [of Resurrection], you will see my piety (al-sa`at tara birri)!” Regardless of what was actually said by the street vendor, the Sufi understood a message aimed directly at him, and he was overwhelmed by the thought of his inadequacy to face God directly. There are numerous examples in Sufi literature of this adventitious taking warning from seemingly innocuous stimuli.45 For Sulami, this variable hermeneutic meant that listeners could be divided into separate categories, so that the ordinary masses should be prohibited from listening to poetry, because they would understand it in inappropriate ways; in contrast, the same texts were permitted or recommended to Sufi disciples and adept mystics, who could interpret them in a spiritual fashion.

In a similar vein, Sarraj concludes his chapter on poetry with these reflections about its interpretation:

In these poems some things are difficult and some things are clear, and there are subtle allusions and delicate meanings. Whoever looks at them should contemplate them so that he comprehends their aims and their secrets, so that he does not associate their author with anything inappropriate to them. But if this is difficult for him and he does not understand, he should seek the explanation by questioning one who does understand, since there is a theory for every station and an expert for every science; but if we pursued this clarification, the book would be too long!46
The implications are clear: Sufi poetry is definable only in the interpretive context where the Sufi mentality holds sway.

1 Luma’, p. 288.


6 Hamori, pp. 205-6.


10 Ruzbihan Baqli, Mantiq al-asrar, MS Tashkent, p. 32; Sharb-i shatiiyyat, p. 177.


12 Luma`, p. 275.

13 Khargushi, p. 457, also cited by Sarraj, pp. 110, 387.


15 Passion, 2:128.


19 Schimmel, p. 19.


27. Schimmel, p. 21.


33. *Luma`, p. 305.


38 *Luma*, p. 249.

39 *Luma*, p. 299.


42 *Luma*, pp. 270-1. Variants on this story are repeated by Hujwiri (*Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 399-400) and Sa`di (*Gulistan*, book 2, story 27).

43 Vision, particularly the vision of the divine in forms, is the focus of Cyrus Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics: Beauty, Love, and the Human Form in the Writings of Ibn `Arabi and `Iraqi* (Charleston, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2011).


46 *Luma*, p. 257.