CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
IN THE TRADITION OF SHIRAZI LOVE MYSTICISM
— A Comparison between Daylamî’s ‘Atf al-Alif
and Rûzbihân Baqlî’s ‘Abhar al-‘Ashiqîn —

MASATAKA TAKESHITA*

Introduction

Rûzbihân Baqlî Shirâzî was a famous Persian Sufî of the twelfth century. He was a master of love mysticism, one of those Sufîs whom Corbin called fîdèles d’amour. Shihâb al-Dîn Suhrâwardî called him a “lover-gnostic” (al-‘ârif al-‘âshiq), and his anecdote as a master of love appears in ‘Irâqî’s ‘Ushshâqîn (The Book of Lovers) and Ibn ‘Arabî’s Futûhât al-makkîya. He wrote many books on Sufism, the most important of which are the commentary on the Qur’ân, Arâ’is al-bayân, the commentary on ecstatic utterances of early Sufîs, Sharh-i shâthiyât, which includes the translation of Hallâj’s Kitâb al-tawâsîn and many sayings of Hallâj, and the book of mystical love, ‘Abhar al-‘âshiqîn. While the old type of Sufîs denied the love of men or women because of the exclusive love of God, around the twelfth century, there appeared a new type of Sufîs, especially in Iran, who affirmed the human secular love as a necessary preparatory stage toward the divine love. Aḩmad Ghazzâlî, ‘Ayn al-Qûdât al-Hamadânî, and ‘Irâqî were the representatives of this new trend of love mysticism, which particularly developed in Iran and bore beautiful fruits in Persian poetry, such as Hâfez and Jâmî. Generally speaking, the ‘Abhar al-‘âshiqîn of Rûzbihân Baqlî Shirâzî is placed in this trend. However, while the three representatives mentioned above are clearly related to each other, Rûzbihân Baqlî stands alone. ‘Ayn al-Qûdât al-Hamadânî was a disciple of Aḩmad Ghazzâlî, and his book on love, Tamhidât, was clearly influenced by the latter’s Sawânih. As for ‘Irâqî, he himself states in the introduction of his treatise on mystic love, Lamâ‘î, that he follows the manner of Aḩmad Ghazzâlî’s Sawânih. Therefore, Aḩmad Ghazzâlî’s influence on them is conspicuous. On the other hand, in Rûz-

* Associate Professor in Islamic Studies, Faculty of Letters, Tokai University.

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bihān, there is no influence of Aḥmad Ghazzālī. Rather, the two are quite different in thought and style. The recent translator of Aḥmad Ghazzālī’s Sawānīḥ, Nasrollah Pourjavady, remarks as follows in his introduction:

Moreover, I avoided [to utilize for a commentary on the Sawānīḥ] even two very important sixth century Persian Sufi writers whom I believe were neither influenced by nor even acquainted with A. Ghazzālī’s ideas, namely Shīhāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī Māqṭūl and Rūzbihān Baghlī of Shiraz.\(^{(11)}\)

Thus Rūzbihān’s ‘Abhar does not belong to the tradition of Aḥmad Ghazzālī, but strangely enough it is connected with the oldest complete and extant mystical book on love, ‘Aṭf al-alīf al-ma’lūf ila’l-lām al-ma’ṭūf (The Book of the Inclination of the Tamed Alif toward the Inclined Lam; henceforth abbreviated as ‘Aṭf) written by a Shirazi Sufi of the mid-tenth century, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Daylāmī.\(^{(12)}\) Daylāmī was a disciple of the famous saint of Shiraz, Ibn Khaḍīf, and his hagiographer. However concerning his own life, little is known. Scarce facts scattered in local chronicles and hagiographies are compiled by Jean-Claude Vadet in the introduction to his translation of the ‘Aṭf.\(^{(12)}\) Not only are his biographical data scarce in later sources, but this important work of mystical love is seldom mentioned by later Sufis. The fact that the work is preserved in only one manuscript also shows that it is seldom read in later times. Vadet suggests that later silence on him is due to the suspicion of a Ḥallajian inclination of Daylāmī.\(^{(14)}\) It is well-known that Daylāmī’s master, Ibn Khaḍīf, associated with Ḥallāj, and in fact, according to Massignon, after Ḥallāj’s execution, the ‘Aṭf is the first work in which the admiration for Ḥallāj is openly expressed and his long fragments are quoted with acknowledgement.\(^{(15)}\)

Although strangely enough Rūzbihnān never mentions either Daylāmī nor the ‘Aṭf, it is certain that he utilized Daylāmī’s ‘Aṭf for his composition of the ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn. Jean-Claude Vadet in the introduction to his translation of Daylāmī’s ‘Aṭf compared the two works briefly, and sufficiently established Rūzbihān’s indebtedness to Daylāmī.\(^{(16)}\) He also dealt with the possible line of the transmission of Daylāmī’s work to Rūzbihān in a masterly fashion.\(^{(17)}\) In this article I wish to show exactly to what extent Rūzbihān’s ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn is indebted to Daylāmī’s ‘Aṭf, and where their main differences lie, by comparing the corresponding parts of the two works more carefully.
I. Places of Correspondences

As was pointed out by Vadet, Rūzbihān Baqli's borrowing from Daylamī's 'Atf is mainly concentrated in the latter's third chapter; however, it is not by any means limited to it. In this section, we will examine Rūzbihān's Ābhar al-'āshiqīn chapter by chapter, and point out the corresponding part of Daylamī's 'Atf, in order to determine the exact extent of Rūzbihān's borrowings.

In contrast with the brief prologue of Daylamī's 'Atf, the Ābhar starts with a long and elaborate prologue. In this prologue, the author describes the vision of a beautiful, young girl who appeared before him. Seeing that the author became enamored with her, she rebukes him in the following manner:

In Sufism, to see other than God is idolatry (kufr) and danger. It is the loss of life and the waste of sight for the intellect and knowledge ...(20) To return from that [yonder] world is a sin of negligence. Your glance of me [as an object of contemplation] is a place of your ruin, or perhaps you have lost your way ... (21) In my view, there is no way of licentiousness (ibāhat) for Sufism. To look at me is not for saints (ahl-i walāyat) ... (22) Oh Sufi, with that love yonder [i.e. divine love] does this love below [i.e., human love] have anything to do? (23)

Facing the above criticism of the beautiful beloved, the author defends the religious and mystical value of human love as a preparatory stage for divine love with evidences taken from the Qur'an, hadith and the saying of Dhu al-Nūn Miṣrī. (24) Hearing his eloquence, she says to him, “Certainly, you are an eminent expert in this science, but tell me whether it is lawful to apply the term ‘love’ in relation to God (hal yajuz itlaq al-'ishq 'ala Allah ta'āla) ... Is it lawful to use the expressions such as ‘love toward God’ (’ishq ‘alā Allāh), ‘Love coming from God’ (min Allāh), ‘Love through God’ (bi-Allāh) and ‘Love in God’ (fī Allāh) ?” (25) The answer of Rūzbihān to her question is taken from the brief second chapter of Daylamī's 'Atf, entitled “Is the Application of the Term Love in Relation to God Lawful?” (hal yajuz itlaq al-'ishq 'alā Allāh min Allāh). (26) Indeed, the title of this chapter itself is used word by word in the above question of the beautiful girl. However, after having exhausted all the content of the second chapter of the 'Atf, Rūzbihān continues his argu-
ment with new materials not found in Daylamī. In other words, the materials taken from the ‘Atf form only the beginning of the long elaborate speech in the defence of “love” (‘ishq). This speech indeed impressed her, and it is she who encourages him to write a book on love in Persian.

By God, can you explain to me in Persian [the implication of] the human love (‘ishq insāni) in the divine love (‘ishq rabbānī) in a little book, which will be a [spiritual] guide for us as well as all the lovers and the beloved, and a station [to meditate] for the travelers [of the way] of the lovers?  

As the lover always obeys the order of the beloved, Rūzbihān immediately complies with her order, and writes a book, and this is how the ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn was written.

In the second chapter entitled “Introduction of the Book” (Fi tamhid al-kitāb), Rūzbihān classifies love into five classes: bestial (bahīmī), natural (ṭabī‘ī), spiritual (rūhānī), intellectual (‘aqli) and divine (ilāhī). This classification of love is taken from the short introductory part of the long third chapter of Daylamī’s ‘Atf.

The third chapter of Rūzbihān’s ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn entitled “Mentioning of Rational and Traditional Evidences Concerning Human Love” (Fi dhikr al-shawahīd al-shar‘īya wa al-‘aqliya fī al-‘ishq al-insānī) is mainly taken from the long fourth section of the third chapter of the ‘Atf entitled “Excellence of Love” (Al-fāṣl al-rābī’ fī fadīla al-mahabba wa al-hubb): Both start with the quotation from the Qur’ān, “I threw upon you a love from Me” (20/38) followed by the comment of Mujāhid on it. In this section, Rūzbihān quotes altogether seven hadīths, all in Arabic. All the hadīths except one appear in the above mentioned section of the ‘Atf in the same order. Because Rūzbihān sometimes quotes the hadīth imperfectly, it is helpful to check the corresponding part of Daylamī’s ‘Atf. For instance, the prophet’s saying, “God loves the old affection” (inna llāha yuḥibbu al-wadda al-qadīma) is here quoted without any context, however, Daylamī gives the proper context: ‘A’isha said to him one day, “I see you give too much friendship and honor to that old woman.” Then, the prophet replied, “She was a friend of Khadija. God loves the old affection.” (Daylamī gives even another version of this hadīth). From the same section of the ‘Atf, Rūzbihān borrows not only the hadīths,
but also two ideas. One is the idea that human love is the indication and measure of divine love, that is, the more one is loved by other people, the more one is beloved of God.\(^{(31)}\) The other is the idea that, of all the mystical stations such as fear (\textit{khauf}), hope (\textit{rija'}), patience (\textit{sabr}), and trust (\textit{tawakkul}) only love (\textit{mahabbat}) and contentment (\textit{rida}) do not disappear in the presence of God.\(^{(32)}\) However, in the case of contentment, there is a slight difference between them. Daylami states that a half of contentment survives, and gives the following reason: Contentment consists of two parts. One part is the absence of rebellion at the time of trial, in this sense, it is a kind of patience, and this part disappears like patience. The other is happiness of the heart at the vision of divine inspirations (\textit{wāridāt}). This part is a kind of love, and does not disappear. On the other hand, Rūzbihān also states that contentment does not disappear. However, he neither divides contentment in two parts, nor gives any convincing reason for its subsistence, but simply states that it is because contentment is a characteristic (\textit{khāṣṣa}) of God.\(^{(33)}\) It is interesting to note that he gives a similar reason for the subsistence of love in the presence of God: love does not disappear, because it is an essential attribute (\textit{sifat-i dhāti}) of God. On the other hand, according to Daylami, love does not disappear because the cause of love, which is the vision of beauty and splendor, never disappears both in this world and the next.\(^{(34)}\)

The title of the fourth chapter, “The Excellence of Lovers Who Get Intimacy with Beauty and the Beautiful, and [the Excellence of] the Beautiful Beloved” (\textit{Fi fadilat al-muhibbin alladhina ya'laflina al-hasan wa al-mustahsan wa al-mahbūbin al-mustahsanin}) of the \textit{Abhar al-'ashiqin} is similar to the titles of the fifth section (“the Excellence of the Lover”) and the sixth section (“the Excellence of the Beloved”) of the \textit{Atf}. However, their contents are different. This chapter contains four \textit{hadiths} and two Qur'anic quotations. Although the first two \textit{hadiths} also appear in the \textit{Atf},\(^{(35)}\) there is no overall correspondence between the fourth chapter of the \textit{Abhar} and the sixth section of the third chapter of the \textit{Atf} beyond the title.

The fifth chapter entitled, “The Excellence of Beauty, the Beautiful, and the Beautiful Being” (\textit{Fi fadilat al-husn wa al-hasan wa al-mustahsan}) is one of the longest chapters of the book. Almost all the materials of this chapter are taken from the first, second, and third sections of the third chapter of the \textit{Atf}. Namely, in the \textit{Atf}, \textit{husn}, \textit{hasan} and \textit{mustahsan} are each given a separate section.

The first half of the sixth chapter entitled, “The Manner of the Essence of
Human Love and Its Quiddity” (Fi kayfiya jawhar al-'ishq al-insānī wa māhiyyatuhu) roughly corresponds to the third section of the fourth chapter of the 'Atf. The fourth chapter of the ‘Atf, “The Meaning of the Noun Love (mahabba) and Its Cognates and their Meanings”, is devoted to lexicography of the synonyms of love. In the first section, the opinions of the literati (ahl al-adab) are given, in the second section, the opinion of Sufis, and in the third section, the author’s opinion. In the beginning of the third section, Daylami classifies nouns into three classes: nouns derived from attributes inherent to the divine essence; nouns of actions peculiar to God; nouns of actions of His servants, namely, those which appear with their acquisition (iktiṣāb).(38) Next, this peculiar linguistic method is applied to the word love (mahabba).(37) Then Daylami states that in order to designate love, many words are derived from different degrees and stages proper to that notion. Altogether there are ten stages; the term “love” ceases to apply to the eleventh, which is the highest of all, and another name, that is, “eros” (‘ishq) is necessary to designate this culmination of love. The ten stages of love are as follows: ʿulfa, uns, wudd, mahabba, khulla, shaʿaf, shaghaf, istiḥṭar, walah, hayamān.(38) Daylami gives each word lexicographical explanations. He first explains the original meaning of each word, then quotes verses from Arab poets as examples. On the other hand, in the beginning of the sixth chapter of the ‘Abhar al-ʿāshiqīn, Rūzbihān Baqli mentions the four pillars (arkān-i arba’a) of love, saying that the basis of love is four things (chahār chīz) and from these four things human love takes its place in spiritual things (rūhāniyāt).(39) Then he describes the process of the formation of love and its transformation through the various stages (maqām), which culminate at the highest stage of eros (‘ishq); these stages are: ʿulfat, uns, wudd, mahabbat, khullat, shaʿaf, shaghaf, istiḥṭar, walah, hayamān, hayajān, ‘aṭsh, shawq.(40) Every word, except the last four, which are hastily enumerated with little explanation, is explained in the same manner with Daylami, using the same ancient Arabic verses. Although hayajān and shawq are not found in Daylami, ‘aṭsh is mentioned in the explanation of hayamān. Daylami says that hayamān is derived from the word hayām which means a kind of disease of the camel which cannot quench the thirst (‘aṭsh) and dies. Then Daylami quotes the poem of Majnūn, “Like a camel which suffers from hayām, no water can quench my thirst, and my thirst (ṣadā) slowly causes me to die,” and glosses the difficult word ṣadā as thirst (‘aṭsh).(41) While Rūzbihān does not give any explanation of the word hayamān, he explains the word ‘aṭsh, saying that it is called ṣadā.(42) Did Rūzbihān
read the 'Atf too hastily and misunderstand the text?

From the seventh chapter, Rūzbihān’s borrowing from Daylāmī stops. Only the beginning of the last chapter entitled “The Perfection of Love” (Fi kāmāl al-‘īshq) shows an important correspondence with the sixth section of the fifth chapter of the 'Atf. Since Rūzbihān’s borrowing here is not concerned with materials, but Daylāmī’s very thought on the origin of love, it will be treated later. Furthermore, a poem by Samnūn al-Muḥībb quoted in the last chapter appears in the twenty-first chapter of the 'Atf entitled “The Definition of the Perfection of Love”. However, in spite of the similarity of the title, these two chapters are quite different in content.

Quantitatively speaking, of the twenty-four chapters of Daylāmī’s ‘Atf, four chapters, more precisely, the second and the third chapters in their entirety, and one section from the fourth and the fifth chapters respectively, are incorporated extensively by Rūzbihān Baqīlī. Out of 139 pages of the Vadet edition, these parts amount to approximately twenty pages. That is 14% of the entire book. On the other hand, in six chapters out of the thirty-two chapters of the ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqin, namely, chapters one, two, three, five, six, and thirty-two, borrowings from Daylāmī’s ‘Atf are found. These parts amount to approximately twenty-eight pages out of the entire 126 pages of the Nūrbakhsh edition. That is 22.2% of the entire book.

II. The Analysis of the Third Chapter of the ‘Atf

Now let us examine more carefully the third chapter of Daylāmī’s ‘Atf which is most heavily utilized by Rūzbihān. The long and rather confused third chapter of the ‘Atf entitled “Some Characteristics of Love” (Dhikr ba‘d al-khiṣāl li‘l-maḥābbā wa al-‘īshq) is intended by the author as an introduction (muqaddima) to the whole book. It consists of a brief introductory part followed by six sections (fasl), but actually there is an unnumbered supplementary section which is not announced by the author in his plan, entitled “The Opinions of Theologians and Scholars on the Subject of Love”. This section is not utilized by Rūzbihān, and because it is totally out of context, it must be a textual error. First, in the brief introduction, the five classes of love (divine, intellectual, spiritual, natural, and bestial) are enumerated, and then he mentions three things as the causes of love, that is, ḥusn (beauty), ḥasan (beautiful one), and mustahṣin (appreciator of beauty). From the appreciation of beauty...
(istihsān) appears love (hubb), and the appreciator of beauty becomes a lover (muhibb), and the object of appreciation (mustahsan) becomes the beloved (mahbūb).

All the reasons (asbāb) and the causes (dawā′ī) of love are in our opinion three in number. The first is an idea (maʿna) which God brought out (abda) from Himself to the world and named Husn. Then He brought out a person (shakhṣ), and dressed him with that idea, and named him Hasan. Then He desired to manifest (yuzhir) other notions (maʿāni) which would correspond (yuqabil) with these two ideas, so that He could manifest His secret through them [i.e., Husn and Hasan] in them [i.e., other notions]. Thus, He manifested Mustahsin and matched him with the former (i.e., Husn).

Then from his appreciation of beauty (istihsan), He manifested Hubb (love), and then dressed Mustahsin with it. Thus, Mustahsin became Muhibb (lover). At the same time, Hubb became the counterpart (qabala) of Husn; Mustahsin the counterpart of Mustahsan (the one whose beauty is appreciated), that is, Mahbūb (the beloved). (45)

According to Daylami, all the causes of love are praiseworthy (mamduh) in view of the Law (shari′a) and the intellect (ʿaql). (46) Then he expounds the excellences of all these elements of love one by one, devoting one section for each element, namely, Husn, Hasan, Mustahsan, Hubb, Muhibb (that is, Mustahsin), and Mahbūb. It is strange that Mustahsin is put together with Muhibb, while both Mustahsan and Mahbūb are given an independent section. This treatment does not agree with the above quoted description of the causes of love. Also it must be noted that the length of each section is very uneven. While the first, second, and fourth sections are long and filled with quotations of the Qur′an and hadith, the other three are very sketchy with few hadith quotations.

Although Daylami, in the introduction quoted above, tries to connect six concepts which are the subjects of the following six sections, its logic is not very clear, and his attempt unsatisfactory. Therefore, it is no wonder that Rūzbihān ignored these introductory remarks of Daylami. Consequently, he does not follow Daylami′s order of presentation. The materials compiled by Daylami in the third chapter of the 'Atf are dismantled and rearranged by Rūzbihān in the following manner: The brief classification of five kinds...
of love is introduced with much amplification in the second chapter. The long fourth section entitled “The Excellence of Love” is transferred to the third chapter with a different title. The titles of the fifth and sixth sections correspond to the fourth chapter of the ‘Abhar. However, since these sections of the ‘Atf are too brief, they are certainly of little use to Rūzbihān. There is only one hadith in these two sections, however, Rūzbihān does not overlook it, and uses it in the beginning of the fifteenth chapter. The first, second, and third sections are put together into the fifth chapter, but keeping the titles of these sections for the title of the chapter, that is, “On the Excellence of Ḥusn, Ḥasan, and Mustahsan”. However, since Rūzbihān does not distinguish between Ḥusn, Ḥasan, and Mustahsan, this title does not make much sense. The correspondences of the third chapter of the ‘Atf and the chapters of ‘Abhar are summarized as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Third chapter of the ‘Atf</th>
<th>Corresponding chapters of the ‘Abhar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Section 1 (excellence of Ḥusn)</td>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
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<td>Section 2 (excellence of Ḥasan)</td>
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<td>Section 3 (excellence of Mustahsan)</td>
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<td>Section 4 (excellence of Ḥubb)</td>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
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<td>Section 5 (excellence of Mubiibb)</td>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
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<td>Section 6 (excellence of Majhib)</td>
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III. The Differences between Daylamī’s ‘Atf and Rūzbihān’s ‘Abhar

As was already mentioned, the parts borrowed directly from Daylamī do not exceed one-fourth of the entire ‘Abhar. Therefore, one cannot accuse Rūzbihān of plagiarism, nor deny Rūzbihān’s originality in this work. In this section I would like to examine the basic differences between the two works.

Although both works deal with the mystical theory of love, their overall structures are quite different. Generally speaking, Daylamī’s work shares many characteristics with works on the theory of secular love written by philosophers, theologians and belletrists. First, he devotes more space to the theory of love in general. We have already examined as far as the fourth chapter of his book, after which he deals with such topics as the origin of love, the quiddity (māhiya)
of love, the attribute (ṣifa) and the manner (kayfiya) of love, praiseworthy and blamable love. Only five chapters (chap. 14–18) are concerned exclusively with love between man and God. Secondly, Daylami usually presents opinions of different groups of people in each subject, and then gives his own opinion at the end. He quotes not only many anecdotes and sayings of the Prophet and his companions, and early Sufi masters, but also opinions of theologians, Greek philosophers and physicians, Arab poets and philologists. For instance, the Chapter five, entitled “The Origin and the Beginning of Love”, is divided into the following six sections: sayings of ancient sages (i.e., Greek philosophers), opinions of astrologers, opinions of physicians, opinions of theologians, opinions of Sufis, and opinions of the author. His quotations of many Greek philosophers and physicians are especially remarkable.(49)

On the other hand, Rūzbihān does not divert his attention from the field of Sufism. Even when he talks of love in general, he never forgets that God alone is the ultimate object of love. Indeed, almost one-third of the entire book (chap. 20–31) is devoted exclusively to divine love. The parts he chose from the ‘Atf to use in his book also show where his interests lie. The opinions of various groups on the subject of love, which occupy the greater part of the ‘Atf, are totally ignored by Rūzbihān, while the parts which are exploited by Rūzbihān mainly consist of Qur’anic quotations and prophetic hadiths.

The works also differ stylistically. As is mentioned above, the greater part of Daylami’s work consists of anecdotes and sayings of various people. Daylami simply cites them one by one without any comment of his own. His own view usually comes at the end of the chapter in an independent section entitled “author’s views”. On the other hand, Rūzbihān’s work is written in the highly artistic poetical prose, for which he is duly famous. Annemarie Schimmel describes his distinctive style as follows:

What so profoundly impresses the reader in Rūzbihān’s writings, both in his commentary on the Shatḥiyāt and his ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn ... is his style, which is at times as hard to translate as that of Ahmad Ghazzālī and possesses a stronger and deeper instrumentation. It is no longer the scholastic language of the early exponents of Sufism, who tried to classify stages and stations, though Baqli surely knew these theories and the technical terms. It is the language refined by the poets of Iran during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, filled with roses and
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nightingales, pliable and colorful. (50)

In order to develop his thought, Rūzbihān does not need much support from anecdotes and the sayings of others. Except in those chapters, where he borrows materials from Daylami, he uses hadith quotations rather sparingly. (51) And even when he quotes hadith and the Qur’an, they are skillfully interwoven into his stylistic prose, just as verses of Sanā’i and of his own are perfectly mingled with it. The difference in style becomes most clear in those parts where Rūzbihān borrows materials from the ‘Atf. Even when Rūzbihān follows Daylami very closely, he never blindly copy the text, rather he tries to incorporate the material into his stylistic, overdecorative prose, and gives it the distinctive touch of his. The following are two good examples of Rūzbihān’s reworking on the materials taken from the ‘Atf. In the first example, Daylami’s original text runs as follows:

The Prophet said to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, “Say, ‘Oh Lord, please cast your love (mawadda) on the heart of the believers for me; please appoint for me intimacy (walija) and love (hubb) with you; appoint for me a pact (‘ahd) with you.’” Then God said, “Lo! those who believe and do good works, the Beneficent will appoint for them Love (wadd). (Qur’an, 19/96), i. e., [He will appoint] love (mahabba) on the heart of the believers. (52)

The following is Rūzbihān’s verbose version of the same hadith.

Therefore, the leader of the witnesses of the Unseen and the combatant of the horses of the battlefields of the hearts said to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, “Say, ‘Oh, Lord, please cast your love on the heart of the believers for me; please appoint for me intimacy and love with you; appoint for me a pact and love (wadd) with you.’ ”

When the human love (mahabbat-i insān) [which originates] from the divine attributes (ṣifat-i rubbāni) called the hearts of the Friends of God and drew the spirits of the believers from the mines of human natures to the eternal world, so that they could find the perfect gnosis in the source of witnessing (‘ayn-i mushāhada) through the beauty of attribute, the magnificent love (mahabbat-i jalālī) of God sent this
Qur'anic verse in agreement with the prayer of His Holiness the Leader (hadrat-i sayid, i.e., Muhammad): “Lo! those who believe and do good works, the Beneficent will appoint for them Love. (Qur'an, 19/96), i.e., [He will appoint] love (mahabba) on the heart of the believers. (the underlined parts are written in Arabic and almost indentical with Daylamî). (53)

In the second example, the text of Daylamî runs as follows.

‘Abdullah b. Barida relates from his father as follows: the Prophet said, “three things cause to increase the power of sight: view of greenery; view of beautiful faces, and view of running water.” ‘Ā’ishā relates: greenery and a beautiful face pleased the Prophet. Also she relates, the Prophet used to command the armies, saying, “when you send a messenger, choose the one whose face is beautiful and whose name is beautiful, and he [also] said, “trust your affairs to those whose face is handsome, because the beautiful shape is the first grace [of God] which meets you from [an unknown] man.” (54)

The following is how Rūzbihān presents these hadîths.

‘Ā’ishā relates: Greenery and a beautiful face pleased the Prophet. The soul of that hero (javānmard, i.e., Muḥammad) [who is] free from troubles of human passions, at that moment when you see from soul to soul, is guiltless and his beauty refreshes the beauty of the worldly things. He said: three things cause to increase the power of sight: view of greenery, view of beautiful faces, and view of running water. He explained the means to quiet the spirits in this problem, because seeing with the eye of Love is for spiritual beings the means to God, and the excess of the light of seeing and intuition surpasses the rules of the Law. Also she relates: the Prophet used to command the armies, saying, “when you send a messenger, choose the one whose face is beautiful and whose name is beautiful, and he [also] said, “trust your affairs to those whose faces are handsome, because the beautiful shape is the first grace [of God] which meets you from [an unknown] man. (the underlined parts are written in Arabic and almost indentical with Daylamî). (55)
IV. Similarities between the ‘Abhar and the ‘Atf

In the parts which we have examined so far, Rūzbihān mainly borrowed from the ‘Atf the topics (such as the lawfulness of love, the excellences of beauty and love, stages of love,) and the hadiths and Arabic verses which Daylāmī compiled under these topics as evidences. Daylāmī’s own thought is not directly borrowed by him. However, there is an exception. It is the last chapter entitled “The Perfection of Love”. Here his very thought depends directly on that of Daylāmī.

In the beginning of this chapter, Rūzbihān writes as follows concerning the divine origin of love:

The eternal essence of God is attributed (mausūf) eternally to His attributes. Love (‘ishq) is one of the attributes of God. He was in love with Himself, thus, love, the lover, and the beloved are all He. From that love comes a homochrome (yak rang), which is His attribute. And He is transcendent from changes and generations. Love is the perfection of affection (mahabbat). And affection is an attribute of God. Do not be misguided by names, because love and affection are one and the same thing; both are His attributes, and subsist in His essence. In that [essence] there is no change, not because He is affectionate (muhibb) to Himself, but because He is a lover (‘āshiq) of Himself. Changes and generations do not have any access to Him. Know that the affection of God is just like the knowledge of God. He continues to love (muhibb) Himself for Himself as He continues to know (‘ālim) [Himself] through Himself, and see Himself through Himself. There is no division (inqisām) in His Oneness (ahadiyat). (56)

Love is the essential attribute of God; love, the object of love, and the lover are in God one and the same thing, just as in God the knower, knowledge, and the known are one and the same thing, and from this divine attribute of love comes the loves existing among creatures. These ideas expressed in the beginning of this chapter by Rūzbihān ultimately go back to Ḥallāj. (57) Indeed Daylāmī affirms that Ḥallāj is unique among Sufi masters in that he alone considered Love an essential attribute of God. (58) Also it is Ḥallāj who preferred
the term ‘ishq to hubb or mahabba to designate “love”. Daylamî’s own view on the origin of love follows much the same line as Ḥallāj’s, but without the latter’s mythopoetical language.

The origin of Love (mahabba) is that it is an eternal quality (mawsûf) of God. It is an attribute which exists in Him. He Himself was in this attribute (ṣifâ) without ceasing to seeing Himself, for Himself, and though Himself, in the same manner He is the perceiver of Himself, for Himself, and through Himself. In the same manner, He loves (ahabba) Himself, for Himself, and through Himself. And here the lover (muhîb), the beloved (mahbûb) and love (mahabba) are one and the same thing; there is no division (inqîsâm) in it, because He is Oneness Itself (‘ayn al-ahadîya), and in Oneness there are no two things. 

It is obvious that the above quoted passage of Daylamî is the source of Rûzbihân. Both Daylamî and Rûzbihân compare the self-love of God to the self-seeing (nâzîr ilâ nafsihi) of God. Although Daymalî uses here the word mahabba and Rûzbihân primarily ‘ishq, this difference is not important, because it does not mean that Daylamî avoids the term ‘ishq. As we have seen already, both Daylamî and Rûzbihân give ‘ishq the highest place in the stages of love. In this respect, both follow the tradition of Ḥallāj, who expressed the love of God with ‘ishq.

Then, Rûzbihân continues to describe the manifestation of the divine attribute of Love to the creature in a following manner:

When He (God) wished to open the treasure of His essence with the key of His attributes, He manifested Himself (ta’jallî kard) to the spirits of the gnostics through the beauty of love, and He appeared to them through the special attributes. They found a dress (libâstî) from each attribute: from knowledge, knowledge; from speech, speech; from will, will; ... from affection (mahabbat), affection; and from love (‘ishq), love. All these were He. And He is manifest (zâhirî) in them; the effect (ta’lîthîr) of attributes came in them; their attribute became subsisting (qâ’îm) in that effect. There is no incarnation (hulûlî) in that world. The servant is servant, and the Lord is Lord.
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The above quotation corresponds to the following passage of Daylamī:

From eternity God manifested (abrazā) for the sake of all His names which are common [to the creature] their effects (ta’thīrāt); they [i. e., their effects] were the contingent (al-hadath) which is next to eternity. Then He manifested love (maḥabbā) from His [attribute of] Love; mercy from His Mercy; power from His Power; and other attributes from the rest of His Attributes.(63)

But there is an important difference in terminology, i. e., Rūzbihān’s use of the technical term tajalli to signify the manifestation of God.(64) The idea that the beauty of God manifested itself in beautiful objects on earth also exists in Daylamī, but Rūzbihān is very zealous to warn the reader not to confuse it with the concept of incarnation (hulūl), which is always associated with Hallajian heresy. The concept of tajalli is frequently contrasted with that of hulūl, as can be seen in the above quotation.(65) And he tries to reconcile his idea of tajalli with the transcendence of God. There comes the idea of iltibās (perplexity).(66) However, the term iltibās has another meaning, that is, “to clothe”,(67) And Rūzbihān often uses the metaphor of God’s clothing of Himself in a shape of Adam, or a beautiful man. This clothing is indicated in the famous hadīth, “God created Adam in His image”. The importance of this hadīth for Rūzbihān is clear, when one compares the occurrence of this hadīth in the two works. In the ‘Atf it appears only once.(68) But in the ‘Abhar, this hadīth is quoted frequently even in the early chapters where Rūzbihān relies heavily on Daylamī for his materials.(69)

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the following can be said from the comparisons between Daylamī’s ‘Atf and Rūzbihān’s ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn. Rūzbihān certainly read Daylamī’s book, and utilized it as a source without acknowledgement. But it cannot be said that Rūzbihān plagiarized it, because the parts directly borrowed from Daylamī’s book do not exceed one-fourth of the entire book. Furthermore, the borrowings are mainly concentrated in the first part of the book, and they are mostly hadīths used for the proofs of lawfulness of love and excellences of beauty, the beautiful one, and love. Also the overall style of the two books are
different. Daylami's book abounds not only in anecdotes and sayings of early Sufi masters, but also in quotations of Greek scientists, philosophers, ancient Arab poets and Islamic theologians. It has much similarities with the secular theory of love. On the other hand, Rūzbihān's book is written in highly ornamental prose filled with poetical metaphors. It seldom diverts from the field of Sufism. Nevertheless, there are interesting similarities between them with respect to the divine origin of Love. In this respect, both Daylami and Rūzbihān are influenced by the Hallajian theory of love. Probably, Rūzbihān took it through Daylami. However he tries to emphasize the difference between the concept of *hulūl* and that of *tajallī*. Also his concept of *iltihās* and the metaphor of clothing are not found in Daylami. While Daylami tries to blend Ḥallāj into philosophy and support his views with many quotations of *hadith* and other authorities, Rūzbihān hides Ḥallajian thought with highly poetical and sometimes enigmatic prose and sophisticated terminology. According to Massignon, Daylami probably received the Ḥallajian theory of love, not from Ibn Khafīfī, but from Abū Ḥayyān Tawḥīḍī, who, in turn, received it from Abū Sūlamān Māntiqī Sijistānī. Therefore it can be said that Daylami represents the philosophical Hallajism, which tries to interpret Ḥallāj’s thought in terms of Hellenistic philosophy. On the other hand, in Rūzbihān, we see a representative of experiential Sufism. He is not interested in philosophy nor metaphysics; he is a ‘practicing’ Sufi full of mystical visions. However, in spite of these differences, we can still notice in them a continuation of the Ḥallajian tradition of love mysticism in Shiraz, the tradition which is distinct from that of Aḥmad Ghazzālī and that of Ibn ‘Arabī.

**Notes**


Besides the above mentioned works in Western languages, there are two monographs in Persian on Rūzbēhān’s life and works: Muḥammad Taqī Mīr, *Sharh-i ḥāl wa āthār wa asḥār-i Shaykh Rūzbēhān Baqlī Fasā’ī Shīrázī* (Shiraz, 1354 A. H. Solar); Ghūlām ‘Alī Āriya, *Sharh-i āhwāl wa majmā‘a-yi asḥār-i be-dast āmade-yi Shaykh Shattāh Rūzbēhān Fasā’ī* (Teheran, 1368 A. H. Solar). Also the introductions of Corbin and Mo’in in their edition of Rūzbēhān’s *Abhar al-ʻashīqīn* are both very informative (Rūzbēhān Baqlī Shīrázī, *Kitāb ‘abhar al-ʻashīqīn*, ed. by H. Corbin & M. Mo’in (Paris–Teheran, 1958, pp. 1–113 of Persian section for Mo’in’s introduction and pp. 1–128
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of French section for Corbin’s introduction).

(2) Javād Nūrbakhsh in the preface to his edition of ‘Abhar al-‘āshiqīn (Teheran, 1349 A. H. Solar), p. ba. I am very much obliged to Dr. Berndt Ratke for kindly sending me a copy of this book.


(4) Ibn ‘Arabī, Futūḥāt al-makkiyya, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1329 A. H.), 2: 315. Massignon (“La Vie et les oeuvres”, p. 455) thinks that the hero of this episode is not our Rūzbihān Shīrāzī, but Rūzbihān Miṣrī. However, Mo’in (“Persian Introduction”, p. 10), Āriya (p. 31, n. 1), and Corbin (En Islam iranien, 3: 68-70) support the identification with our Rūzbihān.


(7) “The third name [after ʿAbd al-Ghazzālī and ʿAyn al-Quḍāt] in the chain of the great love mystics of Iran is that of Rūzbihān Baqlī...” (Annemarie Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam [Chapel Hill, 1975], p. 296).

(8) Annemarie Schimmel, Gärten der Erkenntnis (Düsseldorf-Köln, 1982), p. 90. However, according to Naṣrullāh Pūrjavādī, the author of the Lauḍī, which is clearly modelled on the Sawā‘īn, is wrongly attributed to ʿAyn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī: its real author is Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Naqūṯī, a disciple of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī. (Naṣrullāh Pūrjavādī, Sūltān-i Tariqāt: Sawā‘īn-i Zendāq wa Sharḥ-i Ahār-i Khājā Ahmad Ghazzālī [Teheran, 1358 A. H. Solar], p. 78; idem., “Introduction” in his edition of Ahmad Ghazzālī’s Sawā‘īn [Teheran, n. d.], pp. 27-28.).

(9) Kulliyāt-i ‘Irāqī, p. 376.

(10) Concerning the influences of ʿAbd al-Ghazzālī’s Sawā‘īn on later love mysticism in Iran, see Pūrjavādī, Sūltān-i Tariqāt, pp. 75-81.


(14) Ibid., p. 4.


In this article, Massignon translated the fragments of Hallāj preserved in the ‘Atf and dealt with the problem of transmission of these fragments from ʿAllāh to Daylāmī.

(16) Vadet, pp. 12-17.

(17) Ibid., pp. 18-23.

(18) Ibid., p. 15.

(19) This prologue is translated by Corbin into French in his French introduction to the ‘Abhar, pp. 112-126.

(20) Rūzbihān, ‘Abhar, p. 5. There are two editions for the ‘Abhar. One is Corbin & Mo’in’s edition mentioned in n. 1. The other is Nūrbakhsh’s edition mentioned in n. 2. Since the Nūrbakhsh’s edition is based on better manuscripts, in the present paper, I use his edition as a text of my translation.

(21) Ibid., p. 6.

(22) Ibid., p. 7.

(23) Ibid., p. 8.

(24) Ibid. Here the Qur’ānic verse, “We will tell you the best of the stories” (12/3), the hadīth, “Whoever loved and remained chaste and hid his love and died, died a martyr’s death” and Dḥū al-Nūn’s words, “Whoever becomes intimate with God becomes intimate with all beautiful things and handsome faces” are quoted. This hadīth is quoted several times in the ‘Abhar, while...
only once in the ‘Atf (p. 56). These words of Dhū al-Nūn are commented by Rūzbihān in the Sharḥ-i shahīyāt, pp. 150–154. This passage of the Sharḥ is translated by Massion into French. (“La vie et les œuvres”, pp. 464–65.)

(27) Rūzbihān, ‘Abhar, p. 11.
(28) Only the hadīth, “God created Adam in His shape” does not appear in the ‘Atf. For the importance of this hadīth for Rūzbihān, see infra, p. 127 and n. 69.
(32) Rūzbihān, ‘Abhar, p. 2; Daylami, ‘Atf, p. 13. Even the examples of the mystical stations are same between them.
(35) The first hadīth, “there is no good for those who do not have intimacy with anyone and with whom no one has intimacy” appears twice in the ‘Atf (p. 14; p. 56). The second hadīth, “Whoever loved, remained chaste, concealed his love and died, died as a martyr,” are quoted very often in the ‘Abhar without mentioning the famous Ibn Dā’ūd anecdote. On the other hand, in the ‘Atf it was quoted only once (p. 56), however with the story of Ibn Dā’ūd. Concerning Ibn Dā’ūd’s anecdote associated with this hadīth, see the full account in Lois Anita Giffen, Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs (New York, 1972), pp. 10–11.
(36) Daylami, ‘Atf, p. 20. The meaning is not very clear. Judging from the examples given by him, the first class is the divine Names which can be shared by the creature, like “knower”; the second class is normal primary nouns, like “camel”, “mountain”.(Probably, their naming is considered the actions special to God.) The third class is the names derived from human actions, like “tailor”.
(37) Ibid.
(39) Rūzbihān, ‘Abhar, pp. 36–37. However, since he does not enumerate these four things, it is not clear what they are. See Corbin’s interpretation in the En Islam tranien, 3: 97.
(44) These parts are: chap. 1, pp. 8–10; chap. 2–3, pp. 14–21; chap. 5, pp. 26–35; chap. 6, pp. 36–39; and chap. 32, pp. 119–121. However, even in these parts, Rūzbihān intermingles his own thought freely with the materials taken from the ‘Atf.
(46) Ibid., p. 7.
(48) For the secular love theory, see Giffen’s Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs mentioned in n. 33, and especially for Hanbalite theory of love, see Bell’s Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam mentioned in n. 37.
(50) Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, p. 298.
(51) For instance, let us compare the fifteenth chapter, “Love of the Servant toward God”,
of the ‘Atf to the twentieth chapter, “On the Beginning of the [divine] Love, Which Is the Stage of Humble Submission (‘ubūdiya)”, of the ‘Abhar. The former mainly consists of sayings and anecdotes of prophets and Sufi masters. Even a poem by Majnūn is quoted. On the other hand, in the latter, only one hadīth and two short Qur’anic verses are quoted.

Daylami, ‘Atf, p. 11.


Ruzbihān, ‘Abhar, p. 28.

Ibid., p. 119.

Massignon dealt with Ḥallāj’s thought on love in his article, “Interférences philosophiques” (mentioned in n. 15), and emphasized its importance in the history of Islamic thought. The long fragment of Ḥallāj on love, on which Massignon’s study is based, is preserved in three versions: the first, in Daylami’s ‘Atf, pp. 26–28 in Arabic; the second, in Ruzbihān’s Mantiq al-Asrār (still in manuscript) in Arabic; the third, in Ruzbihān’s Sharḥ-i Shāfiyāt, pp. 441–444 in Persian.


Ruzbihān, ‘Abhar, pp. 119–120.


Daylami who uses the word ‘ishq throughout; Ruzbihān in most cases replaces it with the word mahabba. See Massignon, “Interférences philosophiques”, p. 232.

See supra, p. 118.

Ruzbihān, ‘Abhar, pp. 119–120.

The concept of tajalli, one of the key-terms to understand Ruzbihān’s thought, is analyzed by Corbin, who rendered it as théophanie (En Islam iranien, 3: 19, 80–97 passim).


The concept of iltibās is closely connected with that of tajallt. Corbin renders it as amphibolie. See Corbin, En Islam iranien, 3: 19, 80–97 passim.

See the Farhang-i Nafti, s. v. “iltibās”. It is interesting to note that in the lexicographical section of Sufi technical terms in the Sharḥ-i Shāfiyāt, talabbus (although the section is erroneously entitled “On talbūs”) is included (pp. 626–27), but not iltibās.


Ruzbihān’s uses of the imago Dei hadīth in the ‘Abhar al-‘Āshiqīn and the Sharḥ-i Shāfiyāt are analysed in my article, “Adam created in His Image: Ruzbihān’s concept on Man” (Kami no sugata ni tsukurareta Adam) in K. Riesenhuber (ed.), The Image of Man in the Middle Ages (Chūsei no Ningenzō, Tokyo, 1986), pp. 293–313. (in Japanese).