

army the only serious defeat that the invaders suffered during the whole campaign. However, deserted on the very battlefield by almost half of his followers he was obliged to retreat southwards pursued by Čingiz-Khān in person at the head of the main Mongol army. He was overtaken on the banks of the Indus and after offering desperate resistance (8 Shawwāl 618/24 November 1221) escaped to safety by riding his horse into the river and swimming to the farther side. After a successful expedition against a petty rādjā in the Salt Range Djalāl took the field against Nāsir al-Dīn Kūbača [q.v.], the ruler of Sind, and sought in vain to form an alliance with Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltmish [q.v.] of Dihli. He remained nearly three years in India and then decided to make his way to 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, where his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn had now established himself. In 621/1224 he appeared in Kirmān, where Burāk Hādijib [q.v.] had seized power. Djalāl al-Dīn found it expedient to confirm him in his usurped authority before continuing his journey to Fārs, where he stayed only long enough to marry a daughter of the Atabeg Sa'd [q.v.], and to 'Irāk-i 'Adjam, where he was at once successful in dispossessing his brother. The winter of 621-2/1224-5 he passed in Khūzistān, his troops colliding with the forces of the Caliph al-Nāsir. He then proceeded to attack and overthrow the Atabeg Öz-Beg [q.v.] of Ādharbāydjān, whose capital Tabriz he entered on 17 Rādjāb 622/25 July 1225. From Ādharbāydjān he invaded the territory of the Georgians capturing Tiflis on Rabi' I 623/9 March 1226. Here he received a report that Burāk Hādijib had risen in revolt, and he travelled, according to Djuwaynī, from the Caucasus to the borders of Kirmān in the space of 17 days. Returning to the west he laid siege, on 15 Dhū 'l-Kā'da 623/7 November 1226, to the town of Akhlāt [q.v.] in the territory of al-Ashraf [q.v.] but was obliged to raise the siege almost immediately owing to the severe cold. In the following year the Mongols reappeared in Central Persia and Djalāl al-Dīn engaged them in a great battle before the gates of Isfahān. The result was a Pyrrhic victory for the invaders who at once retreated northwards and had soon withdrawn beyond the Oxus. After another campaign against the Georgians Djalāl al-Dīn again, in Shawwāl 626/August 1229, laid siege to Akhlāt. With the fall of the town in Djumādā I 627/April 1230 he found himself involved in war with the combined forces of al-Ashraf and Kay-Kubād I [q.v.], the Sultan of Rūm. Defeated in the battle of Arzindjān (28 Ramaḍān 627/10 August 1230) he withdrew into Ādharbāydjān and had no sooner concluded peace with his opponents than he was threatened with the approach of new Mongol armies under the command of Čormaghun. A Mongol force overtook him in the Mūghān Steppe and he fled first to Akhlāt and then to the vicinity of Āmid. Here the Mongols made a night attack in his encampment (middle of Shawwāl 628/17 August 1231): roused from a drunken sleep he made off in the direction of Mayyāfarīkūn and met his death in a nearby Kurdish village, where he was murdered for reasons either of gain or of revenge. The ruler of Āmid recovered his body and gave it burial, but many refused to believe that he was dead, and time and again, in the years that followed, pretenders would arise claiming to be Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and transl. O. Houdas, 2 vols., Paris 1891-5; Djuzdjānī, *The Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, transl. H. G. Raverty, London 1881; Djuwaynī, *The history of the world-*

conqueror, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Barthold, *Turkestan*; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953; H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958; I. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmsahlar devleti tarihi*, Ankara 1956. (J. A. BOYLE)

DJALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ B. BAHĀ' AL-DĪN SULTĀN AL-'ULAMĀ' WALAD B. HUSAYN B. AHMAD KHATĪBĪ, known by the sobriquet Mawlānā (Mevlānā), Persian poet and founder of the Mawlawiyya order of dervishes, which was named after him, was born on Rabi' I 604/30 September 1207 in Balkh, and died on 5 Djumādā II 672/1273 in Konya. The reasons put forward against the above-mentioned date of birth (Abdūlbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlānā Celāleddīn*, 44; idem, *Mevlānā Şams-i Tabrizi ile altmış iki yaşında buluştu*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, iii, 153-61; and *Bir yazı üzerine*, in *Tarih Coğrafya Dünyası*, ii/12, 1959, 468) are not valid. His father, whose sermons have been preserved and printed (*Ma'ārif. Madimū'a-i mawā'iz wa sukhānān-i Sultān al-'ulamā' Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Husayn-i Khatibi-i Balkhi mashhūr ba-Bahā'* Walad, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfarr, Tehran 1333), was a preacher in Balkh. The assertions that his family tree goes back to Abū Bakr, and that his mother was a daughter of the Kh'ārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (Aflākī, i, 8-9) do not hold on closer examination (B. Furūzānfarr, *Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn*, Tehrān 1315, 7; 'Alīnaqī Sharī'atmadārī, *Naḥd-i matn-i mathnawī*, in *Yaghmā*, xii (1338), 164; Aḥmad Aflākī, *Arislerin menkibeleri*, trans. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1953, i, Önsöz, 44). According to the biographical sources, he left Balkh because of a dispute with the Kh'ārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad and his protégé Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10) and, when his son Djalāl al-Dīn was five years old (Aflākī, ed. Yazıcı, i, 161), i.e., in 609/1212-3, emigrated to the west. In fact the sermons of Bahā' al-Dīn contain attacks on the Kh'ārizmshāh and the above-named religious philosopher. But according to the same book of sermons, he was in Wakhsh between 600/1203 and 607/1211, and in Samarkand in 609/1212-3 (Ma'ārif. ed. Furūzānfarr, *Muḥaddima*, 37 and *Fihl mā Fih*, ed. Furūzānfarr, 173 respectively). He must, however, have returned from Samarkand to Balkh, as according to the sources the emigration took place from there. The date of 609/1212-3 for the emigration is in any case too early (*Isl.* xxvi, 117 ff.). As according to Aflākī he arrived in Malatya only in 614/1217, one may perhaps assume that he emigrated in 614/1217 or the year before. Whether his quarrel with the Kh'ārizmshāh was connected with the latter's hostile attitude towards the Caliph in Baghdād cannot be settled, but would be possible. In 616/1219 Bahā' al-Dīn was in Sivas, stayed for some four years in Akşehir near Erzindjān, went to Larende, probably in 619/1222, and stayed there for seven years. In Larende there is the tomb of Mawlānā's mother, Mu'mina Khātun (Azmi Avcioglu, *Karaman'da mader-i Mevlānā cāmi ve türbesi*, in *Konya dergisi*, v, no. 35, 2088). Bahā' al-Dīn married his son in Larende to Djuwhar Khātun, the daughter of Sharaf al-Dīn Lālā.

In the year 626/1228, at the request of the Saldjūk Prince 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubad, the family moved to Konya, where Bahā' al-Dīn Walad died on 18 Rabi' II 628/1231 (Aflākī, i, 32, 56). A year after his death Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥakkik, an old pupil of his, came to Konya to visit his former master, but found that he was no longer alive. Djalāl al-Dīn became a *murid* of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn until the latter's death nine years later. Burhān al-Dīn,

however, withdrew to Kayseri after some time and died there, probably in 637/1239-40. His tomb is in Kayseri. According to Aflākī, *Djalāl al-Dīn* went to Aleppo and Damascus after the arrival of the Sayyid to complete his studies. *Burhān al-Dīn* is supposed to have made him aware that his father possessed, besides exoteric learning, other learning that could be won not through study but through inner experience. After the death of *Burhān al-Dīn Djalāl al-Dīn* was alone for five years. On 26 *Djumādā II* 642/1244 the wandering dervish *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrizī* came to *Ḳonya* and put up in the *khān* of the sugar-merchants. *Djalāl al-Dīn* met and talked to him; *Shams* asked him about the meaning of a saying of *Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī*, *Djalāl al-Dīn* gave the answer. According to Aflākī, *Djalāl al-Dīn* had already seen *Shams* once in Damascus (*Furūzānfar, Mawlānā*, 65-6). However that may be, the appearance of *Shams-i Tabrizī* made a decisive change in the life of *Mawlānā*. In the *Ṣūfī* manner he fell in love with the dervish and took him into his home. It will be possible to say something about *Shams's* remarkable personality only when his collected sayings, the *Maḥālāt*, have been edited. He constantly wore a black cap (*kulāh*) and because of his restless wandering life was called *paranda* "the flier". Although, as his *Maḥālāt* show, he had the usual theological conceptions of his time, he tried to keep *Mawlānā* away from the study of books. It seems from his sayings that he had a certain bluntness of character. *Shams-i Tabrizī* is called in the sources *sultān al-ma'shūkīn*, "prince of the loved ones", and *Mawlānā's* son *Sultān Walad*, who knew *Shams* well, and was aware of the relationship *Shams* had with his father, develops in the *Ibtidānāma* a theory that there is another class of "lovers who have reached the goal" (*āshīkān-i wāṣil*) besides the "perfect saints" (*awliyā'-i kāmīl*). Beyond these there is a further stage (*maḥām*), that of the "beloved" (*ma'shūk*). Until *Shams* appeared nobody had heard anything about this stage, and *Shams* had reached it. *Shams* showed *Mawlānā* this way of *Ṣūfī* love, and *Mawlānā* had to re-learn everything from him. *Mawlānā's* love for *Shams-i Tabrizī* turned him into a poet, but at the same time caused him to neglect his *murīds* and disregard everyone but *Shams*. The *murīds* were angered by this and maintained that they were more important than the foreign, unknown dervish and are even said to have threatened *Shams's* life. Thereupon *Shams* fled on 21 Shawwāl 643/11 March 1246 to Damascus. But the *murīds* did not achieve their end. *Mawlānā* was quite disconcerted, and sent his son *Sultān Walad* to Damascus. *Shams* could not resist the spoken entreaties of *Sultān Walad* and the written poetical entreaties of *Mawlānā*, and returned on foot with *Sultān Walad* to *Ḳonya*. But at once the *murīds* began to murmur again and took pains to keep *Shams* away from *Mawlānā*. *Shams* is said to have declared that he would now disappear for ever and no-one would be able to find him again. On 5 *Shabān* 645/5 December 1247 *Shams* was murdered with the participation of *Sultān Walad's* brother 'Alā' al-Dīn, or at his instigation, and the corpse was thrown into a well and later found and buried by *Sultān Walad*. It seems that his coffin has been discovered in the latest repairs done on the burial-place in *Ḳonya*, (*A. Gölpınarlı, Mevlânâ Celâleddîn*, 83). It is understandable that *Sultān Walad* says nothing of this murder in the *Ibtidānāma*, not wanting to make the family scandal public. *Shams's* death was obviously kept from the *Mawlānā*, as he went to Damascus

twice to look for him. His spiritual condition is depicted in touching verses by *Sultān Walad (Walaḍnāma* 56-7) : he became all the more a poet, devoted himself to listening to music and to dancing (*samā'*) to an extent that even his son obviously felt was immoderate, and found the lost *Shams* in himself. In most of his *ghazals* the *takhalluṣ* is not his own name, but that of his mystic lover.

Shams had, however, flesh and blood successors. In the year 647/1249 *Mawlānā* announced that *Shams* had appeared to him again in the form of one of his *murīds*, *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb* of *Ḳonya*. He appointed the goldsmith, who was illiterate but distinguished by his handsomeness and pleasant character, as *khalaf*, and thus as the superior of the other *murīds*. He himself wanted to retire from the offices of *shaykh* and preacher. The *murīds* found that *Shams al-Dīn*, the *Tabrizī*, had been more bearable than the uncultured goldsmith's apprentice from *Ḳonya*, whom they had known from childhood. Plans were even made to murder him, and then revealed. The *murīds* noticed that *Mawlānā* threatened to desert them completely, and they asked remorsefully for forgiveness. We may assume that the loyal attitude of *Sultān Walad* himself and the modest, pleasant personality of *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* helped to surmount this second crisis. For ten years *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* filled the office of a deputy (*nā'ib* and *khalīfa*), then he became ill and died, according to the inscription on his sarcophagus, on 1 Muḥarram 657/29 December 1258 (A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 355). His successor, *Ḳelebi Ḳusām al-Dīn Ḳasan*, whose family came from *Urmiya*, was to be the inspirer of the *Mathnawī*. *Ḳusām al-Dīn's* father was the chief of the *akhīs* in *Ḳonya* and the surrounding districts and so was known as *Akhī Turk*. *Ḳusām al-Dīn* lived with *Mawlānā* for ten years until the latter's death on 6 *Djumādā II* 672/18 December 1273; his appointment as *Shaykh* must therefore fall approximately in the year 662/1263-4, and there must therefore be five years between the death of his predecessor and his own taking office (according to this the statement in *Isl.* xxvi, 124-5, should be corrected). After *Mawlānā's* death *Ḳusām al-Dīn* offered the office of *Khalifa* to *Sultān Walad*, the son of the master, who, however, declined. *Ḳusām al-Dīn* died in 683/1283.

On the people's insistence *Sultān Walad* now accepted the title of *Shaykh* and held it until his death on 10 *Radjab* 712/1312. He was followed by his son *Ulu 'Arif Ḳelebi* (d. 719/1319), followed by his brother 'Abid Ḳelebi, followed by his brother *Wāḡid Ḳelebi* (d. 742/1341-2). A list of the *Ḳelebis* to the present day can be found in A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 152-3, and in *Tahsin Yazıcı's* translation of the *Manāḳib al-'arīfin*, ii, 62-6 of the *Önsöz*.

The real history of the order begins with *Sultān Walad*. He founded the first branches of the order and helped it to gain greater respect. Already in the lifetime of *Mawlānā* the members of the order had the title *Mawlawī* (Aflākī, i, 1, 334). At first they were recruited from among artisans, which gave offence (Aflākī i, 151). The central part of the religious practices was held by listening to music, and dancing, which were indeed usual among other orders, but never had the greatest importance, as with the *Mawlawis*. The dance ceremony in the regular, solemn form which is usual later, was, as *Gölpınarlı* has proved, first introduced by *Pir 'Adil Ḳelebi* (d. 864/1460) (*Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 99-100). On this ceremony cf. H. Ritter, *Der Reigen der tanzenden Derwische*, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, i; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan*

sonra, 370-89, and *Mevlevî âyınleri* (Istanbul konservatuari neşriyatı, Türk Klâsiklerinden VI-XV cild) 1933-9 publ. by Istanbul Music Conservatoire.

Mawlânâ's piety and thought have not yet been the object of a thorough examination. Anyone undertaking such an examination would have to take care not to rely too much on the Mathnawî commentaries, which read into the work the views of their own time or their personal views. Also the *Diwân* of Mawlânâ has only now become available in a critical edition, so that the examination can really begin. According to A. Gölpınarlı, himself a former Mawlawî dervish, the Mawlawîs do not regard their order as a Şîfî order in the strict sense. Gölpınarlı is inclined to connect the order with the Malâmâtîyya movement from Khurāsân. Even in reading the sermons of Mawlânâ's father one notices a gladness praised there which reminds one of the "merriness of hearts" (*îtibat al-kulûb*) of the Kalandariyya, who are related to the Malâmâtîyya (cf. Ritter in *Oriens*, viii, 360 and xii, 15). Some of the Çelebis lived like Kalandar dervishes, as Ulu 'Arîf Çelebi, and still more his brother 'Âbid Çelebi, and the Diwâne, Mehmed Çelebi, who was used in the expansion of the order (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra*, 101-22). But of course this does not prove anything for Mawlânâ himself. He appears to have been of a philanthropic, anything but fanatical, strongly emotional type, to judge from the countless love-poems in the *Diwân*, easily inflamed, inclined to work off his excitement in the dance. Whether his religious ideas possess anything original besides the general mystical piety of his time, will have to be shown by the analysis of his works, which are :

1) The *Diwân*, containing *ghazals* and quatrains. There are also Greek and Turkish verses in this, the presence of which shows a certain connexion with sections of the common folk and also with the non-Muslim elements of the Konya population. His *takhallus* is "Khâmûsh". This, however, is usually replaced with the name of Shams-i Tabriz. In some *ghazals* Şalâh al-Dîn also appears as the *takhallus*. Former impressions and editions of the *Diwân* have now been superseded by the good edition of Badî' al-Zamân Furûzânfar, *Kulliyât-i Shams yâ Diwân-i kabîr, mushţamil bar kaşâ'id wa ghazaliyyât wa mukaffâ'ât-i fârsi wa 'arabi wa tardîdât wa mulam-ma'ât az guftâr-i Mawlânâ Djâlâl al-Dîn Muḥammad mashhûr ba-Mawlawî*, Tehran 1336 ff., of which so far three volumes have appeared. Complete Turkish translation by 'Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, Divân-i kabîr*, Istanbul 1957 ff. So far three volumes have appeared. Of earlier selections and translations the following are still important: R. A. Nicholson, *Selected poems from the Divân-i Shamsi Tabriz*, edited and translated with an introduction, notes and appendices, Cambridge 1898; S. Bogdanov, *The Quatrains of Jalâlû-d-dîn Rûmî and two hitherto unknown manuscripts*, in *JASB*, 1935, i, 65-80.

2) *Mathnawî-i ma'nawî*. Didactic poetical work in double verses, in six *daftars*. (The seventh *daftar* supposedly discovered by Rûsûkhî Ismâ'il Dede is spurious). The long poem was inspired by Ḥusâm al-Dîn Çelebi, who suggested to Mawlânâ that he should produce something like the religious *mathnawîs* of Sanâ'î and 'Attâr. Mawlânâ is supposed to have at once pulled the famous eighteen verses of the introduction out of his turban already written. The rest he dictated to Ḥusâm al-Dîn. The date when the work was begun is not known. We know only that between the first and second *daftar* was a pause of two years, caused by the death of Ḥusâm

al-Dîn's wife. The second *daftar* was started in 662/1263-4, as the poet says himself (ii, 7). Mawlânâ dictated his verse whenever it occurred to him, dancing, in the bath, standing, sitting, walking, sometimes in the night until morning. Then Ḥusâm al-Dîn read out what was written and the necessary corrections were made. The whole is composed very informally and without any thought of a well-planned structure. Thoughts hang together in free association, the interspersed stories are often interrupted and continued much later on. (On the style, cf. Nicholson's edition, 8-13 and the preface to Gölpınarlı's translation). The classic edition is that of R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawî of Jalâlû'd-dîn Rûmî, edited from the oldest manuscripts available; with critical notes, translations and commentary*, London 1924-40 (GMS, vi, 1-8). Latest Turkish translation: Mevlâna, *Mesnevi, Veled İzbudak tarafından tercüme edilmiş, Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı tarafından muhtelif şerhlerle karşılaştırılmış ve esere bir açılma ilâve edilmiştir*, Istanbul 1942 ff. The fourth edition is now in the press. On European translations before Nicholson cf. his edition ii-xv; on Urdû translations cf. *Catalogue of the library of the India Office*, ii, vi, *Persian Books*, by A. J. Arberry, London 1937, 301-4. The best known earlier printed Turkish commentaries and translations are: Ankaralı Ismâ'il Rûsûkhî, *Fâtih al-Abyât*, Istanbul 1289, six volumes; Bursalı Ismâ'il Hakkî, *Rûh al-Mathnawî* (Commentary on one part of the first *daftar*) Istanbul 1287; Sarı 'Abdallâh Efendi (to the first *daftar*) Istanbul 1288, five volumes; translation in verse by Nâhîfî, Cairo 1268; 'Âbidîn Paşa, Istanbul 1887-8, six volumes. On the commentaries and translations written and printed in Irân and India, and the earliest oriental editions cf. Nicholson, Introduction to i, 16-18; vii, Introduction 11-12 and the above-mentioned catalogue by Arberry, 301-4. On the Tehran edition of 'Alâ al-Dîn cf. 'Alinaķî Sharî'atmadârî, in *Nakâ-i matn-i Mathnawî*, in *Yaghma*, xii, 1338. On the sources of the stories in the Mathnawî; Badî' al-Zamân Furûzânfar, *Ma'âkhidh-i kaşâ wa tamthilât-i Mathnawî*, Tehran 1333 (see *Oriens*, viii, 356-8); on the *hadîths* quoted in the Mathnawî: idem, *Ahâdîth-i Mathnawî mushţamil bar mawâridi ki Mawlânâ dar Mathnawî az ahâdîth istişâde karde ast bâ dhikr-i wudûh-i riwâyat wa ma'âkhidh-i ânhâ*, Tehran 1334.

3) *Fihî mâ fîh*. Collection of Mawlânâ's sayings. (The title comes from a verse of Ibn al-'Arabî). Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *The Table Talk of Jalâlû'd-dîn Rûmî*, in *Centenary Supplement to the JRAS*, 1924, 1-8. Edition by Badî' al-Zamân Furûzânfar, Tehran 1330. Turkish translation: Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, *Fihî mâ fîh*. Çeviren, tahlilini yapan, açıklamalarını hazırlayan Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1959.

4) *Mawâ'iz macâlis-i sam'i*. Mawlânâ'nin 7 öğütüdür. Düzelten Ahmed Remzî Akyürek, mütercimi Rizeli Hasan Efendi-Oğlu, Istanbul 1937.

5) *Maktûbât*. Mevlânâ'nın mektupları. Düzelten Ahmed Remzî Akyürek, Istanbul 1937. Also Şerefeddin Yaltkaya in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1939, vi, 323-45; Fuad Köprülü, in *Belleten* 1943, vii, 416.

Bibliography: H. Ritter, *Philologica XI. Maulânâ Galâl-addîn Rûmî und sein Kreis*, in *Isl.*, xxvi, 1942. (Life. Sources for biography, manuscripts of the works along with the works of his father, his son, and of Shams-i Tabrizî). The most important biographical sources are: Sultân Walad, *Ibtidânâme*, publ. by Djâlâl Humâ'î, *Walaadnâme, Mathnawî-i Waladî bâ taşhîh wa mukaddîma*, Tehran 1315; Faridûn b. Aḥmad Sipahsâlâr,

Risāla-i Sipāhsālār. Latest edition: Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Aflākī al-ʿĀrifī, *Manāḥib al-ʿĀrifin*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, i, Ankara 1959. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından.)

Translations: Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs. Récits traduits du persan et annotés*, 2 vols., Paris 1918 and 1922 (unreliable); Tahsin Yazıcı, *Ahmet Eflâkî, Âriflerin menkıbeleri (Manāḥib al-ʿĀrifin)*, 2 vols., Ankara 1953 and 1954 (Dünya Edebiyatından Tercüme. Şark-İslâm Klâsikleri: 26). On the value of the work as an historical source cf. Cl. Huart, *De la valeur historique des mémoires des derviches tourneurs*, in *JA* 1922, 19, 308-17; Fuad Köprülü, in *Belleten*, 1943, 422 ff.

Portrayals: Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad maṣḥūr ba-Mawlāwī*, Teheran 1315-17; H. Ritter, article Celāleddīn Rūmī in *IA*. (On other portrayals see Mawlāwī ʿAbd al-Muḥtadīr, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, Calcutta 1908, i, 630); *Konya halkevi kültür dergisi*, *Mevlāna özel sayısı*, İstanbul 1943; Abdülhakî Gölpinarlı, *Mevlānā Celāleddīn. Hayatı, Felsefesi, Eserleri, Eserlerinden seçmeler*³, İstanbul 1959; idem, *Mevlānā'dan sonra Mevlâfîlik*, İstanbul 1953; idem, *Konya'da Mevlāna Dergahının Arşivi*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii, 1-4, 130-53.

On the meaning of the eighteen introductory verses of the *Mathnawī*: Ahmed Ateş, *Mesnevi'nin onsekiz beytinin mânâsı*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953, 37-50. On Mawlānā's Turkish verses: Mecdud Mansuroğlu, *Celāleddīn Rūmī Türkische Verse*, in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, xxiv, 1952, 106-15; idem, *Mevlāna Celāleddīn Rūmī'de Türkçe beyit ve ibareler*, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı*, *Belleten* 1954, 207-20. On the Greek verses of Mawlānā and Sultān Walad; P. Burguière and R. Mantran, *Quelques vers grecs du XIII^e siècle en caractères arabes*, in *Byzantion*, xxii, 1952, 63-80. (H. Ritter)

ii) It is not easy to summarize systematically the main lines of Djalāl al-Dīn's thought. He was not a philosopher (in his works there are often attacks against the vacuity of purely intellectual philosophy) and claimed not to be a classical poet (both in the *Diwān* and the *Mathnawī* he proclaims his dislike for rhymes and poetical artifices) but above all he was a passionate lover of God who expressed his feelings in a poetically unorthodox, volcanic way, thus creating a style which is unique in the entire Persian literature. Historically, influences on him by the religious and philosophical thought of Ghazzālī, Ibn ʿArabī, Sanāʿī, and ʿAttār have been traced. The importance of the influence of Ibn ʿArabī on him has been perhaps exaggerated. The following account outlines as shortly as possible some of the main trends in Djalāl al-Dīn's thought. Quotations from the *Mathnawī* are from Nicholson's edition mentioned in *Bibliography*.

God: The absolute transcendence of God seems conceived not only spatially and intellectually but even morally. God is Himself the Absolute Value, Good and Evil being relative to Him and both at His orders (ii, 2617 ff.). Reality is ordered in four "spaces": the Realm of Nothingness, of Phantasy, of Existence, of Senses and Colours (ii, 3092-7). God is beyond Nothingness and Being. He works in the Nothingness, which is His Workshop (ii, 688-90; ii, 760-2; iv, 2341-83). In this sense is difficult to speak of a real "pantheism" in Djalāl al-Dīn: in any case immanentism is totally foreign to his turn of mind.

Creation: Djalāl al-Dīn seems to accept the Ashʿarī idea of the discontinuity of time and creation. God creates and destroys all in discontinuous atoms of time (i, 1140-8). He creates things murmuring enchanting words in their ears while they are still asleep in the Nothingness (i, 1447-55).

The World: The non-human World is something created by God in preparation for the creation of Man. Nature is a hint of God: every tree that germinates from the dark earth extending its branches towards the sun is a symbol of the liberation of Spirit from Matter (i, 1335-6; 1342-8). Creation has been however progressive. In a famous passage (v, 3637 ff.) Djalāl al-Dīn sketches a theory of mystical evolution (not to be mistaken for a scientific and Darwinistic evolution). The emergence of Man (who always remained Man, even in his former stages of development) from the animal kingdom is a first step indicating further journeys to the realms of the Angels and of the Godhead.

Man: Man is not simply a compound of body and soul. The human compound is formed by a body, his manifest part, a deeper soul (*rūḥ*, *ψυχή*), a still more concealed mind (*ʿaql*) and, even deeper, a *rūḥ-i wahy* (spirit partaking of Revelation) present only in Saints and Prophets (ii, 3253 ff.). Djalāl al-Dīn's spiritual anthropology does not accept an indiscriminate possibility for every one to reach the highest stages of sanctity. Prophets and Saints are "different" from ordinary men. In a very interesting passage Djalāl al-Dīn shows the pragmatic utility of bowing in veneration to the Holy Men: it is the only way of breaking the ever-reappearing humanistic pride and superbity of Man (ii, 811 ff.).

God speaks through the mouth of the "man of God". The Prophet, the Holy Man is the manifest sign of the Unity of God, he is above the normal human standards (i, 225-7).

Ethics: Djalāl al-Dīn is far from speaking the language of modern "liberal" religious thinkers. The exterior practices of worship are binding for all. The reason given for this is also of a typically Muslim pragmatic character: the exterior rites are useful, like the presents of a lover to his Beloved. If Love were purely a spiritual thing why should God have created the material World? (i, 2624 ff.). On the problem of freedom and destiny he acutely remarks that there is a great difference between the momentaneous act of God (*ṣunʿ*) and the result of that act (*maṣnūʿ*), between *kaḏāʿ* (the act of deciding or predestining) and *maḳḏī* (the predestined thing). One has to love the *ṣunʿ* of God, not his *maṣnūʿ* like an idolater (iii, 1360-73). When his spiritual eyes are open, man recognizes that he is, at the same time, totally "operated" and moved by God (i, 598 ff.) and totally free, of a freedom unmeasurably above the petty freedoms of ordinary men (i, 936-9). To reach this deeper freedom in God, efforts and action (*kūshish*) are necessary (i, 1074-7). Perfect examples of this supreme freedom are the Saints and the Prophets (i, 635-7).

Life after death: The nearness to God in the worlds beyond is never felt by Djalāl al-Dīn as a real absorption in God without any residue. The metaphors he uses to express *fanāʿ* in an interesting passage of the *Mathnawī* (iii, 3669 ff.) are for instance the following: the flame of the candle in the presence of the sun (but yet the candle exists and "if you put cotton upon it, the cotton will be consumed by the sparks") or a deer in presence of a lion, or, elsewhere, as red-hot iron in the fire, when iron takes the properties of fire without losing its own individual essence. In that state it can claim to be fire as well as iron. The

soul near God becomes then one "according to whose desire the torrents and rivers flow, and the stars move in such wise as He wills" (iii, 1885 ff.). In another passage *Djalāl al-Dīn* tells of a lover who, as he reached the presence of his Beloved, died and "the bird, his spirit, flew out of his body" for "God is such that, when He comes, there is not a single hair of thee remaining" (iii, 4616, 4621). What an encouraging idea for a pantheist! But *Djalāl al-Dīn* is always ready to surprise us with some coup-de-scène. So the real end of the story is told some lines further, under the heading: "How the Beloved caressed the senseless lover that he might return to his senses" (iii, 4677 ff.). *Djalāl al-Dīn* goes even so far as to admit an element of activity in the otherworldly plane, so that the highest degree in the life of spirit "is not attainment but infinite aspiration after having attained": "... there is a very occult mystery here in the fact that Moses set out to run towards a *Khiḍr* ... This Divine Court is the Infinite Plane. Leave the seat of honour behind: the Way is thy seat of honour!" (iii, 1957 ff.).

Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's style: The style of the *ghazals* of *Djalāl al-Dīn's Diwān* is conditioned by the fact that many of them were "sung" by the poet himself or were destined to be sung. A well known tradition shows us *Djalāl al-Dīn* improvising odes while gently dancing around a pillar in his school, and another story tells how he found one of his beloved pupils and companions, the already mentioned goldsmith *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb*, while listening enraptured, in a street, to the rhythmic beat of his goldsmith's hammer. His powerful sense of rhythm is not always accompanied by equal attention to the strict rules of classical quantitative Persian poetry. He often complains against metres ("mufta'īlun mufta'īlun mufta'īlun killed me!") and more than one verse both in his *Diwān* and in his *Mathnawī* shows strong irregularities. In his *diwān* two styles can be distinguished, a "singing" and a "didactic" style. Often some *ghazals* begin in the former (strong rhythm, double rhymes etc.) to pass slowly into the second or *vice versa*. In the *Mathnawī*, which is a single uninterrupted discourse, where the Speaker is often drawn by a word or a casual connexion of words to pass into ever newer subjects, anecdotes and sub-anecdotes, three styles can be distinguished. The purely "narrative" style; at the end, or during the telling of a story, however, comments are introduced in a "didactic" style. Here and there, either in the context of a story or of its comment, the author seems to be suddenly taken away as by rapture and then he uses his "ecstatic" style, in which some of the best verses of the *Mathnawī* are composed. Both the narrative and the didactic styles are of a remarkable simplicity and colloquialness, almost unique in the Persian literature of that time. Elements of colloquial language penetrate sometimes even into the more refined language of the *ghazals* and of the "ecstatic" style of the *Mathnawī*. We have even some verses of *Djalāl al-Dīn* containing a few words and sentences in colloquial Greek. Because of its strongly personal features *Djalāl al-Dīn's* style found practically no imitators, but it is highly—and rightly—valued by modern Persians (even by those who do not fully agree with his mystical views) and perhaps exerted a certain influence in the movement of simplification and modernization of Persian literature begun in the past century.

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DJALĀL AL-DĪN TABRĪZĪ [see TABRĪZĪ, *DJALĀL AL-DĪN*].

DJALĀL AL-DĪN THANESARĪ [see THANESARĪ, *DJALĀL AL-DĪN*].

DJALĀL HUSAYN ʿĀLEBĪ (CELĀL HÜSEYİN ʿĀLEBĪ), Turkish poet. He was born in Monastir, the son of a *sipāhī* (?-978/1571?). As a young man he went to Istanbul to study, later wandered in Syria where he found protectors through whose help he entered the court of prince Selīm, who liked his easy manner and gaiety and who kept him at his court when he ascended the throne as Selīm II. *Djalāl* remained a boon-companion of the Sultan until he became involved in political intrigues and religious controversies; he then had to leave court life and returned to his home-town where he died.

His *diwān* has not come down to us. Many of his poems are collected in most *medjmuʿas*. His only surviving book is a small collection of *ghazels*: *Husn-i Yūsuf*, not yet edited.

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DJALĀL NŪRĪ [see İLERİ, CELĀL NURĪ].

DJALĀL REDJĀʿİZĀDE [see REDJĀʿİZĀDE].

DJALĀLABĀD, principal town and administrative centre of the region of the same name in the Kirghiz SSR, situated in the plain of Kongar to the extreme south of the essentially mountainous region which is a prolongation of the Tian *Shan* and whose mean altitude is from 2000 to 3000 m., the lowest regions of the plains being no less than 500 m. This former small town, of no economic importance, is now a large industrial city supported by the cotton production of the hinterland. The urban population reflects that of the region, peopled since the remotest past by Kirghiz, to whom have been added Uzbeks in the southern part, also Tatars, Tadjiks, and Russians. (H. CARRÈRE D'ENCAUSSE)

DJALĀLĪ (*Taʾrikh-i Djalālī*), the name of an era and also that of a calendar used often in Persia and in Persian books and literature from the last part of the 5th/11th century onward. The era was founded by the 3rd Saljūqīd ruler Sultān Malikshāh b. Alp Arslan (465-85/1072-92) after consultation with his astronomers. It was called *Djalālī* after the title of that monarch, *Djalāl al-Dawla* (not *Djalāl al-Dīn* as some later authors supposed). The era was also called sometimes *Malikī*. The epoch of the era (i.e., its beginning) was Friday, 9 Ramaḍān 471/15 March 1079, when the vernal equinox occurred in about 2^h 6^m. Greenwich time (in *Iṣfahān* 5^h 33^m).

The names of the astronomers who helped in the matter of the reform of the calendar and advocated the institution of the era are given in some sources, and include the name of the famous mathematician and poet ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī [q.v.]. As