A Study about the Persian Cultural Legacy and Background of the Sufi Mystics Shams Tabrizi and Jalal al-Din Rumi

By Rahgozari Minatalab

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منگر به هر گذایی که تو خاص از آن مایی
به عصا شکاف درا که تو موسی زمانی
بشکن سبب خویان که تو یوسف جمالی
به صف اندرا آنها که سفیدنار وقتی
بستان ز دیو خانم که تویی به جان سلیمان
جو خلیل رو در آنس که تو خالصی و دلخوش
بشكل ز تی اصولان مشنو قرب غولان
تو به روح بی رویلی ز درونه باجمالی
تو هنوز نابیدی ز جمال خود که دیدی
تو جنین نهان دریغی که مهی به زیر میغی
جو تول کن ندارد چو تو جان جهان ندارد
جو توج دوالفقاری تن تو غلاف چوبن
تو جو نار با یلی بسته تن تو چو کنه پر یا
چه خویان است ز خالص چو به آتش اندراید
مگری ای برادر تو ز شعله های آذر
به جدا تو را نسور رخ تو جو ز فرورد
تو ز خاک سر پراور که درخت سرپرست
ز غلاف خود برون آ چو توج آبادی
شکری زشکرفسان که چه تو یی نوشندی

بدران قیام مه را که تو آفتان را
جو مسیح دم روان گن که تو نیر از آن هوا
در خیر است برك که علی مرضایی
بشکن سبیا ابتکار که تو آفتان را
جو خور آب حاجیان که تو جوهر بقاعی
که تو از شرف اصلی که تو از بلند چایی
tو از ان ذوالجلالی تو ز پرتو خدا
سحری جو آفتانی ز درون هم میرابی
بدران تو میغ تن را که مهی و خوش لفابی
که جهان کاوه است این و تو جان جان فرایی
اگر این گلاف بهکست تو شکسته دل چرا
تو به جنگ خویان باید چه گه ز با گشایی
جو کند درون آتش هنر و گهرتمایی
ز پرای امتحان را چه شود اگر درایی
که خلیل رادهای تو ز قدیم اشنایی
تو پری به فقر قربی که شریفت گهرتم
ز کمین چنان برون آ که تو نقد بب روایی
بوار نای دولت که عظیم خویان توایی (دیوان شمس)
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Introduction and reason for this article

"If the Turk, the Roman, and the Arab are in love, They all know the same language, the beautiful tune of Rabab"

Recently, UNESCO in the year 2007 declared the Persian poet Rumi as one of the world’s universal cultural icon. The Afghan, Iranian, Turkish governments all laid claim to Rumi’s heritage and tried to maximize their association with the Persian poet Rumi. Obviously such an association brings about a national prestige despite the fact that Rumi is a universal figure. Also recently, especially with the demise of the USSR, there has been an increase in pan-Turkist nationalist activism in various Altaic regions and a many Persian cultural figures like Avicenna, Biruni, Nasir al-Din Tusi, Eyn al-Qodat Hamadani, Bayazid Bistami, Suhrawardi, Nizami Ganjavi and etc. have been falsely claimed to be Turkic without any serious argument. Many of these like Biruni and Nezami lived in an era when the area they were born in was Iranian. Due to penetration and incursions of Turkic nomads, eventually some of these Iranian speaking regions like Khwarizmia, Arran and Sherwan, Sogdiana, Marv and etc. became Turkified in speech the same as the Greek and Armenian languages gave away to Turkic speakers in Anatolia, and Egypt gave away to Arabic. At the time of the mentioned figures, which are claimed today for nationalistic reasons by some of the new countries, all of these men were of Iranian ancestry but more importantly, they all contributed to Iranian culture and have important Persian works. Some of these extravagant claims are impossible (like Eyn ol-Qodat Hamadani, Suhrawardi, Bistami who was of Zoroastrian descent and Nasir al-Din Tusi) that there is no need to respond to them.

On the other hand, figures like Nizami Ganjavi and Biruni were born in areas that are today Turkified or Turcophone. This was not the case during the time of these authors, but many people who study these figures do not have correct information and background on the chronology of the linguistic Turkification in Central Asia, Caucasus and Azerbaijan region of Iran.

For example, during the time of Biruni, the area of Khwarizm spoke the Iranian Chorasmian language.

I refer to the short but very significant contribution of the late French Orientalist to the al-Biruni Commemoration Volume published in India(L. Massignon, "Al-Biruni et la valuer internationale de la science arabe" in Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume, (Calcutta, 1951). pp 217-219.):

In a celebrated preface to the book of Drugs, Biruni states:

"And if it is true that in all nations one likes to adorn oneself by using the language to which one has remained loyal, having become accustomed to using it with friends and companions according to need, I must judge for myself that in my native Chorasmian, science has as much as chance of becoming perpetuated as a camel has of facing Ka’aba."

Indeed al-Biruni has recorded months and other names in the Iranian Chorasmian, Soghdian and Dari-Persian languages and he states equivalently:

و أما أهل خوارزم، و إن كانوا غصناً من دوحة الفرس
Translation: **And the people of Khwarizm, they are a branch of the Persian tree**


The late eminent philologist Professor David Mackenzie on the old Iranian Chorasmian Language(Encyclopedia Iranica, "The Chorasmian Language", D.N.Mackenzie) states:

"The earliest examples have been left by the great Chorasmian scholar Abu Rayhan Biruni. In his works on chronology and astronomy (ca. 390-418/1000-28) he recorded such calendrical and astronomical terms as some of the traditional names of days, months, feasts, and signs of the zodiac."

While showing perfect knowledge of the native Chorasmian calendar, as well as other Iranian calendars (Persian, Sogdian) and also Hebrew, Arabic, Greek calendars, Biruni is clear for example that he does not other calendars(like those of the Turks) as well:

"As to the months of other nations, Hindus, Chinese, Tibetians, Turks, Khazars, Ethiopians and Zangids, we do not intend, although we have managed to learn the names of some of them, to mention them here, postponing it till a time when we shall know them all, as it does not agree with the method which we have followed hitherto, to connect that which is doubtful and unknown with that which is certain and known "(Athar)

Biruni collected the months and calendars of many nations, which are recorded in his book.

On the order of the old-Turkic (old Uighur, which he calls toquz-oghuz) month names, which are just ordinals (readily recognizable in any variety) jumbled, he adds a note that:

"I have not been able to learn how long these months are, nor what they mean, nor of what kind they are"(Athar, pg 83).

However, a modern Western scholar whom we rather not name did not know about the East Chorasmian Iranian language and just based on modern geography, has mistaken Biruni’s Iranian Chorasmian language for Turkic. She did not for example read about this Iranian language in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Encyclopedia Iranica, Iranian language sources or other linguistic sources. That is sometimes negligence of the history of the region produces mistakes and this is due to the fact that many scholars of literature do not have a grasp of the history of the region (Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia) during the medieval era. So that mentioned Western author for example mistakenly thought that the Chorasmian Iranian language at the time of Biruni must be the same as the language spoken in Chorasmia (in modern Uzbekistan/Turkmenistan) today.

Another example is Avicenna. For example, Avicenna whose father was a native of Balkh (the same place where Rumi’s father was possibly born) and his mother was from Bukhara (her name was Sitareh which is Persian for star and even today the majority of inhabitants of Bukhara are Iranian Persians(Tajiks)).
Avicenna in the book of “The Healing: (Ash-Shifa) in Chapter 5 (Concerning the caliph and Imam: the necessity of obeying them. Remarks on politics, transactions and morals) states:

“...As for the enemies of those who oppose his laws, the legislator must decree waging war against them and destroying them, after calling on them to accept the truth. Their property and women must be declared free for the spoil. For when such property and women are not administered according to the constitution of the virtuous city, they will not bring about the good for which the property and women are sought. Rather, these would contribute to corruption and evil. Since some men have to serve others, such people must be forced to serve the people of the just city. The same applies to people not very capable of acquiring virtue. For these are slaves by nature as, for example, the Turks and Zinjis and in general those who do not grow up in noble climes where the condition for the most part are such that nations of good temperament, innate intelligence and sound minds thrive” (Chris Brown, Terry Nardin, Nicholas J. Rengger, “International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War”, Published by Cambridge University Press, 2002, pg 156-157).

Let us look at the original Arabic of this sentence as well:

وّانه لابد من أنس يخدمون الناس، فيجب ان يكون هؤلاء يجرون على خدمه أهل المدينة الفاضلة، و كذلك من كان من الناس بعيداً عن تلقى الفاضلة فهم عبيد” بالطبع، نثلى الترك والزنج، و بالجملة الذيننشأوا في غبر أقاليم الشريفة التي أكثر احوالها ان ينشأفيها حسن النزاهة صحيح القرايح والعقل.

In another phrase, Ibn Sina states: “In the languages we know...” and then he brings an example of Persian and Arabic. Had he known any other languages, then he would have given examples as well. Thus he did not even speak Turkish and all his works are in Persian and Arabic.

The statement of Avicenna with this regard is given here from his book Ishaarat (Dehkhoda dictionary):

لكن اللغات التي تعرفها قد خلت في عاداتها عن استعمال النص على هذه الصورة...فيقولون بالعربية لأشياء من ح..و كذلك ما يقال في فصح اللغة الفارس هيج ح نيبست.

As per Nizami Ganjavi, there exists a detailed article on how USSR nation building and modern ethno-nationalism have forged the most baseless arguments (even false verses) in order to deprive of his Iranian heritage:


(see PDF file)

http://www.archive.org/details/PoliticizationOfTheBackgroundOfNizamiGanjaviAttemptedDeiranizationOf

Sufficient to say, his mother was Iranian Kurdish(Iranic speaking), he was raised by a Kurdish uncle and his father-line goes back before the coming of the Seljuqs and is of Iranian Anyhow, there is no doubt
that culturally, mythological relics, poetry (he considered himself a successor of Ferdowsi) he was Iranian and his stories are rooted in Iranic/Persian folklore. An important manuscript that shows the Iranian culture of the Caucasus before its Turkification in language has come down to us by the Persian poet Jamal Khalil Shirvani:


This article attempts to address the background of Rumi as well as the fact that people have tried to deprive him of his Iranian heritage. Note when we say Iranian, we mean it in the ethno-cultural-linguistic sense rather than citizenship of modern Iran. Thus this term covers the totality of Iranian speaking civilizations and those that have been greatly affected by it enough to be absorbed and melted in to it.

We start by quoting a Turkish scholar with this regard.

Even according to the Turkish scholar Talat. S. Halman:

“Baha ad-din (Rumi’s Father) and his family eventually settled in Konya, ancient Iconium, in central Anatolia. They brought with them their traditional Persian cultural and linguistic background and found in Konya a firmly entrenched penchant for Persian culture. In terms of Rumi’s cultural orientation – including language, literary heritage, mythology, philosophy, and Sufi legacy – the Iranians have indeed a strongly justifiable claim. All of these are more than sufficient to characterize Rumi as a prominent figure of Persian cultural history” (Rapture and Revolution, page 266).

Although Professor Talat S. Halman does not delve into ethnic genealogy of Rumi, he remarks:

“The available documentary evidence is so flimsy that no nation (Iranian/Persian, Arabic, Turkish) can invoke jus sanguinis regarding the Rumi genealogy” and he also mentions: “Rumi is patently Persian on the basis of jus et norma loquendi”.

Thus there is no dispute about Rumi’s culture, literary heritage. And even his native language as mentioned was Persian. However some people try to point to genealogy and we shall look at this issue in this article. The problem with that approach is that the genealogies of many people are not known in the 13th century. And if it is known, up to what ancestor is this genealogy known? We will explore the genealogy issue in this article as well, but if genealogy was a concern, than majority of Anatolian Turks are not of Turkic genealogy but resemble Greeks, Armenians, Kurds and other natives of Anatolia. DNA evidence thus far has established:

“Another important replacement occurred in Turkey at the end of the eleventh century, when Turks began attacking the Byzantine Empire. They finally conquered Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 1453. The replacement of Greek with Turkish was especially significant because this
language belongs to a different family—Altaic. Again the genetic effects of invasion were modest in Turkey. Their armies had few soldiers and even if they sometimes traveled with their families, the invading populations would be small relative to the subject populations that had along civilization and history of economic development. After many generations of protection by the Roman Empire, however, the old settlers had become complacent and lost their ability to resist the dangerous invaders” (Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, in “Genes, People and Languages”, 2000, pg 152).

So when speaks about the 13th century, one is clearly speaking about culture and native language. If a person’s native language is Persian and their father’s native language is Persian, then that is sufficient to say they were genealogically Iranian. The genealogy of Rumi is not really known well beyond his great grandfather (Ahmad Khatibi), although some later sources had claimed it went back to the Caliph Abu Bakr. This point is discussed later on this article and we show that this is not accepted by modern scholars.

This study is concerned with the cultural identity and ethnic background of Jalal al-Din Rumi. Although there is no disagreement among serious Rumi scholars about his Persian cultural identity, there have been some groups within nationalist pan-Turkist circles trying to downplay his Persian cultural identity, language and ethnicity. Their politicized theory rests on three or four invalid and false arguments which we shall respond to in detail in this article:

A) Rumi wrote Persian because it was more poetic or common.

B) Rumi was genealogically Turkish

C) Rumi has a few scattered Mu’al’ammas in Turkish and uses archaic Central Asian Turkish words so he was Turkish

D) Sama’ was Turkish phenomenon

Thus there have been some people from Turkey or Turkic language background who advocate a Turkic genealogy for Rumi. We will show there is no proof of this and all indicators is that Rumi had an Iranian (Persian or other Iranian language group) background. Note, as it is well known, cultural identity, ethnicity (defined by native language and culture) and genealogy are different issues. For example many people in the non-Arabic Muslim world claim descent from the Prophet of Islam (SAW) but culturally they are no different than those who do not have such a background. On the other hand, most Egyptians are descendant of ancient Egyptians rather than Arabs of Arabian peninsula, however culturally they identify themselves as Arabs. Most Turkish speakers of Anatolia are closer genetically to their Greek neighbors than to the Turkic people of Central Asia. In other words, their cultural identity defines their ethnicity and not their 20th ancestor. Given there is hardly if any pure backgrounds in the Middle East, then cultural identity will supersede genealogy when assigning a poet to a particular civilization. Thus repeating for emphasis what the Turkish professor Talat Halman has stated: “Baha ad-din (Rumi’s Father) and his family eventually settled in Konya, ancient Iconium, in central Anatolia. They
brought with them their traditional Persian cultural and linguistic background and found in Konya a firmly entrenched penchant for Persian culture. In terms of Rumi’s cultural orientation – including language, literary heritage, mythology, philosophy, and Sufi legacy—the Iranians have indeed a strongly justifiable claim. All of these are more than sufficient to characterize Rumi as a prominent figure of Persian cultural history” (Rapture and Revolution, page 266) and he also mentions: “Rumi is patently Persian on the basis of jus et norma loquendi”.

As per modern scholars, virtually all the Western sources we have looked at identify Rumi as a Persian poet and a native Persian speaker. Few scholars however have taken the legendary claim that his father’s lineage goes back to the first Caliph Abu Bakr and we shall discuss this issue later. However if this legendary claim was correct, Rumi would still be considered a native Persian since he was a native Persian speaker and of Iranian cultural orientation.

Among the Western scholars, one can quote Franklin who clearly states:

Franklin Lewis, Rumi Past and Present, East and West, Oneworld Publications, 2000.:  

“How is it that a Persian boy born almost eight hundred years ago in Khurasan, the northeastern province of greater Iran, in a region that we identify today as Central Asia, but was considered in those days as part of the greater Persian cultural sphere, wound up in Central Anatolia on the receding edge of the Byzantine cultural sphere, in which is now Turkey, some 1500 miles to the west?” (p. 9)


“Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian, but he had learned during his stay in Konya, enough Turkish and Greek to use it, now and then, in his verse”

And even Halman agrees although he tries to provide justifications for Western scholars although Western scholars have looked at other reasons besides culture and background (for example sedentary population of Vakhsh or the Balkhi language and Aflaki’s Manaqib and its clear references to various ethnic groups and etc.). Halman states(pg 266):

“In the West scholars have always accepted Rumi as a Persian on the basis of his exclusive use of the Persian language and because he remained in the mainstream of Persian cultural heritage. No account seems to have been taken of the Turkish and Afghan claims, except some occasional references such as the one by William Hastie in his introduction to The Festival of Spring, featuring his translations from Rumi’s Divan:

The Turks claim Jelaleddin as their own, although a Persian of royal race, born of Balkh, old Bactra, on the ground of his having sung and died in Qoniya, in Asia Minor…Whence he was called Rumi “the Romans,” usually rendered “the Greek,” as wonning within the confies of old Oriental Rome.
Obviously the native language, exclusive use of Persian language and also mainstream Persian cultural heritage are sufficient to describe Rumi as a Persian poet. This author (writer of this article) claims Iranian ethnicity and speaks Persian as a native language and knows his ancestors up to three generations back who spoke Fahlavi-type Iranian dialect. However we do not know our 20th ancestor. Thus if genealogy is of concern, then it can have bearing on ethnicity only to the point where such a genealogy is known consciously to that person and that genealogy is different from the culture and language of the person who knows that genealogy. In the case of Rumi, his father was a native Persian speaker (as shown later in the article) and one concludes that genealogically he is Persian up to the ancestors we know. However as mentioned, ethnicity is defined by culture, mythological orientation and native language.

We should make a point on the Afghan claim here. Rumi according to most up to date scholarly sources was born in Vakhsh Tajikistan, although Vakhsh itself was part of the greater province of Balkh at that time. However, when we talk about Persian/Iranian in this article, we are not talking about modern nation-states or citizenships. Rather we are taking the viewpoint of Persian culture, Persian native language and Persian background (which is mainly defined by native Persian language since today most Anatolian Turks are not genetically related to the Turkic groups of Central Asia and are closer genetically to Greeks and many native Persian speakers might not be descendants of the Achaemenids but rather various groups who adopted the Persian language and culture).

In this sense, the term Iranian/Iranic/Persian covers the main groups of Afghanistan (Pashtuns, Tajiks, Nuristanis, and Baluchs) and the term “Turk” covers Oghuz Turks, Kipchak Turks and etc. That is generally, despite the shared Islamic civilization, we can state that several majors groups existed (although by no means an exhaustive list):

1) Iranians (‘Ajam, Tajiks, Tats, Persians, Kurds) which covers all Iranian speakers. 2) Turkic groups (to which we should add Islamicized Mongols who became Turcophones). We should note some sources have mistaken the Soghdians and other Iranian speakers for Turks due to geographical proximity 3) Arab speaking Muslims, most of these whom lived in territories that was not Arabic speaking before Islam and hence many scholars consider them Arabicized 4) Indian Muslims covering all Indic languages 5) Berbers of Africa 6) Caucasian groups such as Daghestanis, Lezgins and etc. 7) (and other groups of course in East Asia, Africa, China and etc.)

So to say Rumi was an Afghan or Turkish based on where he lived is actually retroactively misplacing history and an anachronistic usage of modern boundaries for a time when such boundaries did not exist and there was no concept of nation-state or citizenship based on set borders. At that time even, there was no Ottoman empire and so Rumi cannot be an Ottoman. So from a geographic point of view, Rumi as shown by his culture was part of the Iranian zone of Islamicate culture.

In this article, we examine more than cultural, linguistic, heritage and genealogical background of Rumi. We also examine the background of close friends of Rumi, mainly Shams Tabrizi and Hesam al-Din Chelebi. We provide an overview of the usage of the term “Turk” in three majors: Diwan Shams Tabrizi
(where misinterpretations have taken place), the Mathnawi and finally the Manaqib al-‘Arifin. We also overview Rumi’s father (Baha al-Din Walad) and Sultan Walad’s (Rumi’s son) literally output. The study shows that Rumi’s everyday language (not just poetic language) was Persian and thus his native language was Persian. His cultural heritage was Persian. His genealogy is also discussed and based on the work of his father, we also show that his father’s native language was Persian and hence Rumi’s genealogy is also Persian. On his particular genealogy, there have been some that have claimed he was a descendant of the Caliph Abu Bakr and we examine this claim as well. However from our point of view since Rumi’s native language was Persian and his literary output was in Persian, then he is an Iranian cultural icon and eventually the genealogy of most figures in the 13th century Islamic world cannot be traced back to more than their great grandfather (Ahmad Khatibi in the case of Rumi). And going back further, the genealogy of all humans go back to caveman and possibly a single man and women in Africa and the only firm statement is that the genealogy of Rumi which is through his father was Persian as they were native speakers of Persian and Persian was their mother tongue.

**On the Persianized Seljuqs**

The Seljuqs and the Seljuqs of Rum (1077 to 1307) were the dynasty that controlled Konya at the time of Rumi. While the Seljuq’s father-line was Turkish (in the sense of Altaic tribes of Central Asia and specifically the Oghuz tribes), they were completely Persianized after they rose to power. From the point of view of culture, identity and administration, the Seljuqs are Persian and one can see that Sultan Walad disparages Turks in one of his poems (see the section on Sultan Walad) while he praises the Seljuq ruler Sultan Mas’ud. Similarly, Rumi disparages the Oghuz tribes but at the same time he was in favor with the Seljuqs. Thus the Seljuqs despite their Altaic father-line were completely Persianized in language and culture by the time of Rumi and the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum.

With this regard, the eminent historian Rene Grousset states:

"It is to be noted that the Seljuks, those Turkomans who became sultans of Persia, did not Turkify Persia-no doubt because they did not wish to do so. On the contrary, it was they who voluntarily became Persians and who, in the manner of the great old Sassanid kings, strove to protect the Iranian populations from the plundering of Ghuzz bands and save Iranian culture from the Turkoman menace" (Rene Grousset, The Empire of the Steppes, (Rutgers University Press, 1991), 161,164)

And many other authors and historians agree.


"For the Seljuks and Il-Khanids in Iran it was the rulers rather than the conquered who were "Persianized and Islamicized".

"
Even their lineage was slowly changed according to some sources.

M.A. Amir-Moezzi, "Shahrbanu", Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition:

"... here one might bear in mind that turco-Persian dynasties such as the Ghaznavids, Saljuqs and Ilkhanids were rapidly to adopt the Persian language and have their origins traced back to the ancient kings of Persia rather than to Turkish heroes or Muslim saints ..."

John Perry states:

“We should distinguish two complementary ways in which the advent of the Turks affected the language map of Iran. First, since the Turkish-speaking rulers of most Iranian polities from the Ghaznavids and Seljuks onward were already Iranized and patronized Persian literature in their domains, the expansion of Turk-ruled empires served to expand the territorial domain of written Persian into the conquered areas, notably Anatolia and Central and South Asia. Secondly, the influx of massive Turkish-speaking populations (culminating with the rank and file of the Mongol armies) and their settlement in large areas of Iran (particularly in Azerbaijan and the northwest), progressively turkicized local speakers of Persian, Kurdish and other Iranian languages. Although it is mainly the results of this latter process which will be illustrated here, it should be remembered that these developments were contemporaneous and complementary.

... Both these processes peaked with the accession of the Safavid Shah Esma'il in 1501 CE. He and his successors were Turkish-speakers, probably descended from Turkicized Iranian inhabitants of the northwest marches. While they accepted and promoted written Persian as the established language of bureaucracy and literature, the fact that they and their tribal supporters habitually spoke Turkish in court and camp lent this vernacular an unprecedented prestige." (John Perry. Iran & the Caucasus, Vol. 5, (2001), pp. 193-200. THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF TURKISH IN RELATION TO PERSIAN OF IRAN)

According to Professor Ehsan Yarshater ("Iran" in Encyclopedia Iranica):

A Turkic nomadic people called Oghuz (Ghozz in Arabic and Persian sources) began to penetrate into the regions south of Oxus during the early Ghaznavid period. Their settlement in Khorasan led to confrontation with the Ghaznavid Masud, who could not stop their advance. They were led by the brothers Tögrël, Čaghri, and Yinal, the grandsons of Saljuq, whose clan had assumed the leadership of the incomers.

Tögrël, an able general, who proclaimed himself Sultan in 1038, began a systematic conquest of the various provinces of Persia and Transoxiana, wrenching Chorasmia from its Ghaznavid governor and securing the submission of the Ziyarids in Gorgan. The Saljuqids, who had championed the cause of Sunnite Islam, thereby ingratiating
themselves with the orthodox Muslims, were able to defeat the Deylamite Kakuyids, capturing Ray, Qazvin, and Hamadan, and bringing down the Kurdish rulers of the Jebal and advancing as far west as Holwan and Kanaqayn. A series of back and forth battles with the Buyids and rulers of Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, and Armenia ensued; and, although the Saljuqids occasionally suffered reverses, in the end their ambition, tenacity, and ruthlessness secured for them all of Persia and Caucasus. By the time Tögrel triumphantly entered Baghdad on 18 December 1055, he was the master of nearly all of the lands of Sasanian Iran. He had his title of Sultan confirmed by the caliph, and he now became the caliph’s protector, freeing the caliphate from the bond of Shiite Buyids.

After nearly 200 years since the rise of the Saffarids in 861, this was the first time that all of Persia and its dependencies came under a single and powerful rule which did not dissipate and disband after a single generation. Tögrél (1040-63) was followed by his nephew Alp Arslan (q.v.; 1063-73). He was a warrior king. In his lifetime the realm of the Saljuqids was extended from the Jaxartes in the east to the shores of the Black Sea in the west. He captured Kottalan in the upper Oxus valley, conquered Abkhazia, and made Georgia a tributary, and he secured Tokharestan and Čaghanian in the east. In 1069 he crowned his triumphs with his defeat of the eastern Roman emperor, Romanos Diogenes, by sheer bravery and skillful planning; after extracting a huge tribute of 1,500,000 dinars he signed a peace treaty with the emperor for 50 years. This victory ended the influence of Byzantine emperors in Armenia and the rest of Caucasus and Azerbaijan, and spread the fame of the Saljuqid king in the Muslim world.

Alp Arslan was succeeded by his son Malekšah (1073-92). Both were capable rulers who were served by the illustrious vizier Nezam-al-Molk (d. 1092). Their rule brought peace and prosperity to a country torn for more than two centuries by the ravages of military claimants of different stripes. Military commands remained in the hands of the Turkish generals, while administration was carried out by Persians, a pattern that continued for many centuries. Under Malekšah the Saljuqid power was honored, through a number of successful campaigns, as far north as Kashgar and Khotan in eastern Central Asia, and as far west as Syria, Anatolia, and even the Yemen, with the caliph in Baghdad subservient to the wishes of the great Saljuqid sultans.

The ascent of the Saljuqids also put an end to a period which Minorsky has called “the Persian intermezzo”(see Minorsky, 1932, p. 21), when Iranian dynasties, consisting mainly of the Saffarids, the Samanids, the Ziyarids, the Buyids, the Kakuyids, and the Bavandids of Tabarestan and Gilan, ruled most of Iran. By all accounts, weary of the miseries and devastations of never-ending conflicts and wars, Persians seemed to have sighed with relief and to have welcomed the stability of the Saljuqid rule, all the more so since the Saljuqids mitigated the effect of their foreignness, quickly adopting the Persian culture and court customs and procedures and leaving the civil administration in the hand of Persian personnel, headed by such capable and learned viziers as ‘Amid-al-Molk Kondori and Nezam-al-Molk.

After Malekšah’s death, however, internal strife began to set in, and the Turkish tribal chiefs’tendencies to claim a share of the power, and the practice of the Saljuqid sultans to
appoint the tutors (atabaks) of their children as provincial governors, who often became enamored of their power and independence, tended to create multiple power centers. Several Saljuqid lines gradually developed, including the Saljuqids of Kerman (1048-1188) and the Saljuqids of Rum in Anatolia (1081-1307); the latter survived the great Saljuqs by more than a century and were instrumental in spreading the Persian culture and language in Anatolia prior to the Ottoman conquest of the region.

According to the Encyclopedia of Islam:

“Culturally, the constituting of the Seljuq Empire marked a further step in the dethronement of Arabic from being the sole lingua franca of educated and polite society in the Middle East. Coming as they did through a Transoxania which was still substantially Iranian and into Persia proper, the Seljuqs with no high-level Turkish cultural or literary heritage of their own – took over that of Persia, so that the Persian language became the administration and culture in their land of Persia and Anatolia. The Persian culture of the Rum Seljuqs was particularly splendid, and it was only gradually that Turkish emerged there as a parallel language in the field of government and adab; the Persian imprint in Ottoman civilization was to remain strong until the 19th century.” (“Saljuqids” in the Encyclopedia of Islam).


"Turcoman armies coming from the East had driven the Byzantines out of much of Asia Minor and established the Persianized sultanate of the Seljuks."

C.E. Bosworth, "Turkish Expansion towards the west" in UNESCO HISTORY OF HUMANITY, Volume IV, titled "From the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century", UNESCO Publishing / Routledge, 2000. p. 391:

"While the Arabic language retained its primacy in such spheres as law, theology and science, the culture of the Seljuk court and secular literature within the sultanate became largely Persianized; this is seen in the early adoption of Persian epic names by the Seljuk rulers (Qubād, Kay Khusraw and so on) and in the use of Persian as a literary language (Turkish must have been essentially a vehicle for everyday speech at this time). The process of Persianization accelerated in the thirteenth century with the presence in Konya of two of the most distinguished refugees fleeing before the Mongols, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad and his son Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose Mathnawī, composed in Konya, constitutes one of the crowning glories of classical Persian literature."

The Turkish scholar Halman also states:
“Bahaddin and his family eventually settled in Konya, ancient, Iconium, in central Anatolia. They brought with them their traditional Persian cultural and linguistic background and found in Konya a firmly entrenched penchant for Persian culture. “ (Halman, 264)

Koprulu mentions:

Meanwhile, the Mongol invasion, which caused a great number of scholars and artisans to flee from Turkistan, Iran, and Khwarazm and settle within the Empire of the Seljuks of Anatolia, resulted in a reinforcing of Persian influence on the Anatolian Turks. Indeed, despite all claims to the contrary, there is no question that Persian influence was paramount among the Seljuks of Anatolia. This is clearly revealed by the fact that the sultans who ascended the throne after Ghiyath al-Din Kai-Khusraw I assumed titles taken from ancient Persian mythology, like Kai-Khusraw, Kai-Ka us, and Kai-Qubad; and that. Ala’al-Din Kai-Qubad I had some passages from the Shahname inscribed on the walls of Konya and Sivas. When we take into consideration domestic life in the Konya courts and the sincerity of the favor and attachment of the rulers to Persian poets and Persian literature, then this fact (i.e. the importance of Persian influence) is undeniable. (Mehmed Fuad Koprulu, Early Mystics in Turkish Literature, Translated by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff, Routledge, 2006, pg 149)

In our opinion, to claim that Rumi grew up in a Turkish environment or in a Turkish state is a nationalistic point of view and is baseless. What matters in the medieval Islamic period is that the concept of nation states did not exist. So the concept of culture and self-identity is paramount. Even Turkish scholars do agree that the Seljuqs lacked Turkish identity (how else can someone like Sultan Walad call Turks as world-burners and thank Sultan Masu’d for defeating them? Or in another poem ask Sultan Masu’d to fight against the Turks?) and were Persianized.

Without a doubt Konya and the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum was diverse and from numerical point of view, Iranian refugees were probably a minority relative to Armenians, Greeks, Turks, and etc. However from a cultural point of view, Iranian culture and literature predominated and the Seljuqs themselves lacked a Turkish identity. So Iranian culture was predominant in the Seljuq Sultanate and this was due to such refugees as Rumi’s father and the Persianization of the Seljuks. In modern Turkey, Iran and etc. the majority of the population cannot trace their lineage more than their grand-father or great grand-father. Of course DNA might help, but overall, it is culture that makes identity. For example many “Turks” in Anatolia are descendants of Greeks, Albanians, Slavs and other diverse people of the Ottoman empire who have adopted Turkish identity. The same can be said about other countries of the region. With this regard, the Seljuqs from an ethnicity and identity point of view should be considered a Persianized group despite their Altaic lineage. And the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum should be considered as a Persianate state and most of the administrators of this state were Persians and Persianized muslims.

Some distortions due to nationalistic reasons
According to C.E. Bosworth: “Similarly such great figures as al-Farabi, al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina have been attached by over enthusiastic Turkish scholars to their race”. (Clifford Edmond Bosworth, “Barbarian Incursions: The Coming of the Turks into the Islamic World.” In Islamic Civilization, Edited by D. S. Richards. Oxford, 1973. Pg 2) and he references specifically: “See, for instance the arguments of A.Z. V. Togan regarding the putative Turkishness of al-Biruni, in his Umumi Turk Tarihine Giris (Istanbul, 1946). pp 88-9.” (pg 2)

We should note that Farabi although described as a Persian (By Ibn Abi ‘Sayba and Al-Shahruz in the 13th century) or Turk by Ibn Khalikan (13th century) was in all likelihood an Iranian Soghdian from central Asia and his usage of Soghdian words and even modified Soghdian-Arabic Alphabet in the Kitab al-Horuf provides an elegant proof.

An article on his probable Sogdian origin can be found here:

G. Lohrasp,” Some remarks on Farabi’s background: Iranian (Soghdian/Persian) or (Altaic)?” (2009)


http://www.archive.org/details/SomeRemarksOnFarabisBackgroundIranicsoghdianpersianOraltaic

The other two scholars, Abu Rayhan Biruni and Avicenna were Iranians and their native language was Chorasmian and Persian respectively.

Unfortunately, one scholar which we would rather not mention has based his knowledge on Rumi on the same author (Zekki Velid Togan) and has claimed “Rumi was presumably” Turkish without writing a single article on Rumi himself. It should be noted that the term “Turk” itself was a generic term and did not specifically refer to Altaic speakers of today. However other scholars like C.E. Bosworth are erudite enough not to reference just any Turkish source and Togan’s viewpoint on Biruni shows that he is not unbiased when it comes to claiming medieval figures.

Here we provide examples of actual distortions in texts.

Example 1)

Mohammad Hossein Zadeyeh Sadiq (an advocate of pan-Turkist historiography who even claims that 70% of the Avesta language is Turkish and the ancient Sumerians, Elamites, Urartu, Iranian Medes were Turks and etc. and received his degree in Turkey) states in his book: “Torki Saraayaan Maktab Shams o Mowlana” (Publisher: Nedaayeh Shams, 1386 (Solar Calendar) (pg 122):

ملوی علاقه‌ی خاصی به فرزنده داشت و همه جا او را به همراه خود به محاک و مجالس می‌برد و او را فعال حود میدانست. افلاکی دربار اور محمد: "حضرت ولد از نقل والد خود، سالهای بسیار به صفا تمام عمر میراند و سه محلد ممتنوب و یک جلد دیوان ترکی‌ای انتشی فرموده از معارف و حقوق و غیراب اسار عالم را پر کرد"(حسن محمدنزادة صدیق، "ترکسیرایان مکتب شمس و مولوی", تیریش، نیاز، ص 1386. صفحه 122).
We noted that on page 119, the author refers to the Manaqib Aflaki the Yazichi edition.

We looked at the same book:

(شمس الدين احمد افلاكي العارفي، مناقب العارفين، سال 1362، به همت تحسين يزيجي، دنيائي كتاب)

And it said:

«حضرت ولد از نقل والد خود، سالهای بسیار به صفای تمام عمر میراند و سه مجلد مثنویات و یک جلد دیوان انساء فرموده از معارف و حفایق و غرایب اسرار عالم را پر کرد»

Thus Mohammad Zadeh Sadiq has taken the liberty to distort the word of Aflaki and add the highlighted red word “Torki” (Turkish) to the above phrase!!

We looked at a recent English translation as well(Shams al-Din Aflaki, "The feats of the knower’s of God: Manāqeb al-‘ārefīn", translated by John O’Kane, Brill, 2002.)

[18] “Mowlana had a special likeness for his son Sultan Walad and took him to all gatherings and places of discourse and considered him his “action”. Aflaki says about Sultan Walad: “Meanwhile, after his father’s death Valad lived on in tranquility for many years and he composed three books of mathnaviyyat and one volume of Turkish collected poetry (Divan)”

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(pg 561)

So Hossein Mohammadzadeyeh Sadiq has brought a distortion to the work of Aflaki. Aflaki does not use the term “Turkish Divan” but simply “Divan”. Hence the words of Aflaki are distorted and the word “Turkish” was added as an adjective to the Divan in the book written by Hossein Mohammadzadeyeh Sadiq. Such distortion of primary sources is unacceptable in academia and scholars should be careful when looking at Turkish sources (even by scholars as such as Togan who has some good works as well).

Example 2)

According to Dr. Firuz Mansuri, another distortion has occurred by Fereydun Nafiz Ozluk. We will just list this distortion here (although we are reporting it and have not seen the original text of Nafiz Ozluk like the above example of distortion).

According to Dr. Mansuri:
او آشان ٓلاٗا ٝ ٌِطإ ُٝك ٝ ذٔآی ٗٞیٍ٘كگإ ٚهیود ُٓٞٞی قن ٍٜٗٔی اٍٝ ههٕ چٜانقّ ٍٓلاقی
(ٓصلاً اكلاکی)
چٍٖ٘ تهٍٓآیك کٚ آٗإ کلاً ٓفاُق ػٍٕإ ذهکٜٔ٘ای آٗاُٚٞی ػٍِٚ ٌِعٞهٍإ تٞقٗك.
چٍٖ٘ تهٍٓآیك کٚ آٗإ کلاً ٓفاُق ػٍٕإ ذهکٜٔ٘ای آٗاُٚٞی ػٍِٚ ٌِعٞهٍإ تٞقٗك
.
قيمت‌هایی از تهیه‌نامه سلطان ولد نقل می‌شود:

به دویل شاه شاهانی به صوتی شیر زیرانی

همه ترکان ز بیم جان شده در عار و گ‌هنان

چو نبود شیر در بیشه رود از گرگ اندیشه

بلگ اکتون بشد موشی، چو امید شیر حق غران

چو ماران رفته در گ‌ها در آن بیشه به اندها

همه جون روز می‌دانند که خواهی کوفت سره‌سان

همه در گریه ناله، بحون در غرق چون لاله

گهی بر موت خود گریان، گهی بر خوف خان و مان

چو رنگوران بی‌درمان پسته‌نداش دسته‌ا از جان

به اومیدی طمع کرده که بک از شه رسد غفران

گذشت از حداکن رحمت مکن شاهان توشن رحمت

حیات خلق اگر خواهی بکن آن جمله را قربان

لکم اندر قصاص خلق حیات و این شنو از حق

قصاص چشم ششم امید به دندان هم بود دندان

حیات اندر قصاص امید جهان از این خلاص آمد

تنودی هیچگونه زنده بین گرد نامی فرمان

خوارج را مهل زنده اگر میرست اگر بشه

که خویی کشتی باشد شه شرع ابت قران

ولد کردهست نفین ها برون از چرخ و برون‌ها

از آثار مولانا و سلطان ولد و تمامی نویسندگان طریقت مولوی در تیم‌هی اول قرن چهارم میلادی (مثل افلاکی)
چنین نیز یک‌گانی که ناگزیر منتظر عضبان ترکمن‌ها انیا نال نه به سلجنفان بودند. در مکتب‌های مولانا و دیوان
سلطان ولد و منابع افلاکی، برخی مولوی‌ها نسبت به ترکمن قرامان اعلو و اشرف اعلو دشمنی نشان داده و آنژ
مختلف به جای گذشته‌اند.
در آن تاریخ تنها این قصیده، بله که مترجمان سایر منابع تاریخی و ادبی هم دلالت بر این دارند که شهرنشینان، به ویژه اهلی قولی، از ترکان کوچ رو که محل آسایش عمومی و مخالف نظامی اداری حکومت بودند، در خوشی نداشتهند و نسبت به آنها اظهار کنند و نفرت میکردند. فردیون نافذ او زود مترجم دیوان سلطان ولد به ترکی، در نخستین بیت منظومه فوق، به جای کلمه‌ی «همه ترکان» لفت خواه را گمارده است. اشجان با این اقدام به مورد و تحریف اشکال، حس کننده و نفرت سلطان ولد را نسبت به ترکان برده‌بوشی کرده و از جمش خواندن‌گانی که فارسی نمی‌دانند، پنهان داشته است. سلطان ولد در منظومه‌ی دیگر گه از پروری سلطان مسعود بر ترکان سخن رانده اورده است.

ترکان عالمسوز را از غار و کوه بیش‌ها
آورده در طاعت خدا جون شاه ما مسعود شد


According to Dr. Firuz Mansur, “It should be noted that Fereydun Nafidh ‘Ozluk, the translator of the Diwan of Sultan Walad, has changed the word “Hameh Torkaan” to “Khawarij” in the poem above”.

Of course the reason for this mistranslation and omission would be because the poem beseeches Sultan Masud Seljuqi who defeated the Qaramanlou (we shall describe this episode in the Sultan Walad) to not let one Turk who had fled into mountains and caves escape alive. Seeing the severity of the poem and the justice sought by Sultan Walad from Sultan Masu’d, the Turkish translator Fereydun Nafidh ‘Ozluk changed the word “Hameh Torkaan” (All the Turks) to Khwarij (an Islamic sect that developed during the time of Imam Ali (AS) which became disdained for its political miscalculations, cursing of the caliphate of Ali and political and literalist beliefs). Since this author has not seen the translation of Fereydun Nafidh ‘Ozluk, we have just quoted Dr. Mansuri. However, we doubt Dr. Mansuri would make such a thing up and it is unfortunate that such a mistranslation due to nationalistic reasons can occur. The severity of this distortion is the same as the first distortion. Especially since the Qaramanlou actually banned Persian from the Divan and employed Turkish and are seen in a positive light by Turkish nationalist and of course such a severe condemnation from Sultan Walad would not go well with nationalist type translators like Fereydun Nafidh ‘Ozluk.

Example 3)

We demonstrated two episodes about Mehmet Onder quoted in Franklin. Obviously the site of the graveyard of Shams brings prestige and various places have been assumed. However no sufficient evidence exists with this regard.

Let us quote Franklin here:

“One would not usually pose the question: “who is buried in Gowhartash’s tomb?” Yet Mehmet Onder, the director of the Mevlana Museum in Konya, has done precisely this (see Chapter 13
While repairs to the so-called “Shrine of Shams” (torbat-e Shams), a site in Konya, were underway, Onder summoned Golpinarli to the shrine. Onder had discovered a small wooden door raised up a few steps above the main structure. This trapdoor led to a stone staircase, at the bottom of which Onder found a small crypt housing a single plaster-inlaid sarcophagus along the edge of the left wall, directly under the decorative wooden sarcophagus/cenotaph on the floor above.

Though there was no inscription on this hidden sarcophagus, Onder won Golpinarli over to the opinion that I must be the grave of Shams. Across from this shrine traditionally associated with the name of Shams al-Din is a well, supposedly dug in the Seljuk era. Somewhere nearby this site, Onder claims to have found a stone inscription from the madrasa of Gowhartash. Of course, this slab has been used in the rebuilding of a later minaret and therefore might not originally have been associated with this site. Far more troubling, however, is the fact that there is only one sarcophagus in the crypt of the mausoleum. Golpinarli assumes with Onder that the tomb belongs to Shams, leaving Gowhartash with no grave of his own.

Naturally, we might just as well reach one of several other conclusions: (a) this is the grave of Gowhartash and Aflaki is wrong about Shams being buried next to him; (b) this is not the site mentioned in Aflaki’s anecdote – Shams and Gowhartash are buried side by side at some other unknown locations; or (c) the account of Aflaki is entirely baseless from beginning to end. Nevertheless, Schimmel has ratified the conclusions of Golpinarli and Onder, triumphantly concluding that “the truth of Aflaki’s statement has been proved” (ScT 22). She even offers an imaginary reenactment of the crime. Professor Mikail Bayram at the Seljuq University in Konya shares this opinion, even indicating that the bones of Shams have been found (personal interview with the author in Konya, May 15, 1999).“(Franklin, pg 189-190)

On the Turkish scholar Onder, Professor Franklin also mentions:

“Mevlana Jalaleddin Rumi(Ankara: Ministry of Culture, 1990), a translation by P.M. Butler of a Turkish work by Mehmet Onder of the same name (1986), was printed by a typesetter with an imperfect knowledge of English, as the many mistakes reflect.

... 

This rather unsophisticated work has two principal goals – to assist tourists who want to know something more about Rumi than can be gleaned from the museum brochures, and to aggrandize Turkish culture.

.. 

This book published by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, displays an extremely exuberant ignorance, or an ethnocentric agenda. In the introduction, Onder refers to Rumi as “the great
Turkish mystic” and “a great Turkish intellectual.”. He then turns Rumi into a Turkish prophet, calling Mevelana “the eternal gift of the Turkish people to all humanity” (210). In fact, there is no reference to the minor detail that language spoken by Baha al-Din was Persian or ‘Attar wrote his Asrar Name in Persian, nor do we learn that Rumi composed the Masnavi in Persian until page 138, three pages after learning that the prose preface to each book are in Arabic (but then the book [101] even insinuates that the Koran is in Turkish!). Throughout Onder deliberately leaves us to assume that Rumi’s other works are in Turkish, and indeed when he can no longer contain his misplaced patriotism, bursts out with the utterly ludicrous statement that “There is no doubt that Mevlana’s mother tongue was Turkish, since Balkh, from which he migrated with his father, was the cultural centre of Turkestan and Khorasan, both regions of predominantly Turkish population” (207). Though Onder begrudgingly allows that Rumi was probably taught Arabic and Persian at a very early stage in his education (208), he insists that Rumi spoke Turkish throughout his life (whether the Kipchak or Oghuz dialect, Onder cannot tell), not only with his family, but also “when addressing people and in his sermons.”. Rumi chose to write “most of his works in Persian and some in Arabic” only because it was the convention of the day (208). Onder’s “evidence” for this unsupported and insupportable theory consists of the assertion that Rumi uses an Anatolian Persian dialect (whatever that might be, it would still be Turkish, which is from an altogether different language family, and that his Divan and Masnavi are interspersed with “particularly high percentage” of couplets and passages in Turkish. This is a very creative use of statistics, since a couple of dozen at most of the 35,000 lines of the Divan Shams are in Turkish and almost all of these lines occur in poems that are predominantly in Persian” (pg 548-549)

Note Baha al-Din Walad is Rumi’s father whom we have devoted a section to in this article. We note that not even 0.1% of all the literary output (prose and poetry) of Rumi are in Greek/Turkish combined. Furthermore, all the lectures and sermons of Rumi are in Persian not in Turkish (which negates the argument that Rumi composed in Persian because it was the convention) and the sermons/lectures/letters (Majales-i Sabe’, Maktubat and Fihi Ma Fih) are replete with Persian poetry of Attar, Sanai and etc. The sermons and lectures, in an informal yet elegant tone were recorded by Rumi’s students and again provide a sufficient proof of his everyday language being Persian. We shall examine these in another section. Unlike what Onder claims, there is not a single sermon and lecture of Rumi in Turkish. Thus “when addressing people and his sermon”, Rumi’s work is overwhelmingly Persian with the exception of two Arabic sermons in the Fihi ma Fih (among the 69 Persian sermons). This is an elegant proof of everyday language of Rumi and a self-evident refutation of Onder. However, as shown Mehmet Onder has tried to downplay Rumi’s Persian heritage for tourists who visit Konya and has falsely claimed that Rumi’s sermons and letters are in Turkish (where-as none of them are in Turkish and they are overwhelmingly Persian with the exception of few in Arabic ).

D)

Another outright falsification is seen in a recent manuscript circulating in the internet called “Soroodhaayeh Torki Mowlana” by Mehran Bahari (2005) which was updated in 2008. The author trying to downplay Rumi’s Persian work claims on page 65:
The Turkish nationalist author tries to give the impression that Fihi Ma Fihi is in Arabic. However out of the 71 discourses, only two are in Arabic and both the Persian and Arabic are vernacular everyday spoken language rather than formal and literary. The reason this is not mentioned is of course due to the fact that it shows Rumi’s and the Mowlavi order’s everyday language was in Persian and these discourses were written down by his students of Rumi while Rumi was lecturing in Persian. There is not a single discourse in Turkish. The fact that there is not a single sermon or lecture of Rumi in Turkish has made some of these authors to downplay the overwhelming number of lectures, letters and sermons of Rumi which are in Persian. Obviously, this provides an elegant proof of Rumi’s everyday interaction with his followers and also the native language of Rumi.

Elsewhere the Turkish nationalist author tries to claim that in the 12th century, the language of Balkh was Turkish (page 70) and this is responded to later when we discuss Baha al-Din Walad. We demonstrate for example that actual works from Balkh at that time use the term “Zaban-i Balkhi” which means the language of Balkh and this “zaban-i bakhli” is shown to be a Persian dialect. There is a section in this article that proves this point conclusively. However, the Turkish nationalist author quotes a certain website (on page 70) to claim otherwise:

The Turkish nationalist writer is trying to reference the book *Farsnaameyeh Nasseri* written in the Qajar era between 1821-1898! In order to explain why the author of the Farsnaameyeh Nasseri wrote in Persian (the actual author of Farsnaameyeh Nasseri gives no such reason and the Turkish nationalist authors tries to put words in mouth and formulate a reason!), the Turkish nationalist writer claims that the author of Nasseri explains this by: "*My upbringing is Persian though I am Balkhi*".

But in actuality, no where does the author of Farsnameyeh Nasseri explains why he wrote in Persian. Rather the correct reading of the sentence in the context of the book is "*My upbringing is from Fars province although I am from Balkh*”. The book is called “Fars-nameh” because it is about Ostane-Fars (Far province in SW Iran) but the author of *Farsnama* is referencing that he is originality is from Balkh. No where does the author of the Farsnama even explain in this work about why he is writing Persian (since it is obvious) and the addition “explanation of why the author wrote in Persian” has nothing to do with “Tarbiyat Parsi” (upbringing in Fars as opposed to Balkh). Thus the nationalist writer tries to use such a sentence (without correct understanding) and then claim that the language of Balkh is not Persian!

Furthermore, we doubt Farsnameyeh Nasseri has such a quote since the author of Farsnama claims Seyyed ancestry and according to Iranica:
“The Fārs-nāma-ye nāšeri is itself the main source for the biography of Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Ḥosaynī Fasāʾī and the history of his ancestors (ed. Rastgār, pp. 924-35, 1035-58). Fasāʾī belonged to the thirty-seventh generation of a family of sayyeds (claiming descent from the prophet Moḥammad). Members of the family, named Daštakī (q.v.) after the quarter of Shiraz (which later on became part of the quarter Sar-e Dezak) where they owned houses, were prominent scholars and civil servants, with branches in Persia (Shiraz and Fasā), Mecca, and Hyderabad (Deccan).” (AHMAD ASHRAF and ALI BANUAZIZI, “Fars-nameyeh Nasserī” in Encyclopedia Iranica)

Rather the Turkish nationalist author probably misplaced the Farsnameh of Ibn Balkhi (written during the Seljuq era) with the Farsnameh of Nasser! And again the Farsnameh of Ibn Balkhi is clear, because Ibn Balkhi himself was from Balkh but the family took residence in Fars province during the time of his grandfather. (C. EDMUND BOSWORTH, “Ebn al-Bakhli” in Encyclopedia Iranica).

The Turkish nationalist author is trying to limit the word “Persian” to the province of Fars in Iran and this is a clear distortion. So he is looking for a text that distinguishes Fars province from Balkh in order to separate these two Iranian cultural regions of that time.

It is true that Fars province means Persian/Persia, but the Persian(Iranian) people and the Persian language is prominent in Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and other parts of Central Asia and Caucasus at that time. But the nationalistic author tries to limit the Persian language to “Fars province” and anyone that has said “I am from Fars not say province X” he tries to portray it as if the person is not Persian! For example if the someone said: “My upbringing is from Fars not Khorasan”, the nationalistic author would claim that means the person is not Persian (for example Ferdowsi or Asadi Tusi among countless others)!

Then the nationalist author quotes Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) that “the city of Balkh was the capital of Turkish kingdom” and reaches the conclusion that Persians arrived there after Turks (since there is no Turkish Kingdom that had Balkh as its capital unlike the Samanids or Kiyanids but it was a major city under Turkish dynasties like Seljuqs and Khwarizmshahids). This is like saying “Qonya was the capital of the Turkish Seljuqs”, so the Greeks came to Qonya after Turks!

Also anyone that looks at the book of Ibn Khaldun knows that Ibn Khaldun has counted Sogdians (mistakenly) as Turks.

And a look at Biruni states that Balkh was the capital of Keyanian Iranian dynasty (which is taken as equivalent of Achaemenids). Also modern historians uniformly agree that the language of Balkh early in the Sassanid era was the Bacrtian Iranian language. However, during the late Sassanid era and after Islam, it was only the capital of the Arabs and Samanids and Balkh is actually called the cradle of the
Khorasani Parsi-Dari (Persian) language by classical sources. Also many sources indicate Balkh was Persian speaking during the time of Rumi (as we shall see in the section of Baha al-Din Walad). There is no doubt that the area of Balkh (today its major urban center Mazar-i Sharif is still Tajik speaking) was Iranian long before the Turks entered the region of Central Asia and the best proof of this is the Bactrian language (before the area switched to Parsi-Dari).

Strabo (1st century B.C.) states (Geography, 15.2.1-15.2.8):

The name of Ariana is further extended to a part of Persia, and of Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north; for these speak approximately the same language, with but slight variations.

And even after the Arabs, according C.E. Bosworth, "The Appearance of the Arabs in Central Asia under the Umayyads and the establishment of Islam", in History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. IV: The Age of Achievement: AD 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century, Part One: The Historical, Social and Economic Setting, edited by M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth. 1999. Excerpt from page 23: "Central Asia in the early seventh century was ethnically, still largely an Iranian land whose people used various Middle Iranian languages.

C. Edmund Bosworth: "In early Islamic times Persians tended to identify all the lands to the northeast of Khorasan and lying beyond the Oxus with the region of Turan, which in the Shahnama of Ferdowsi is regarded as the land allotted to Fereydun's son Tur. The denizens of Turan were held to include the Turks, in the first four centuries of Islam essentially those nomadizing beyond the Jaxartes, and behind them the Chinese (see Kowalski; Minorsky, "Turan"). Turan thus became both an ethnic and a geographical term, but always containing ambiguities and contradictions, arising from the fact that all through Islamic times the lands immediately beyond the Oxus and along its lower reaches were the homes not of Turks but of Iranian peoples, such as the Sogdians and Khwarezmians." (C.E. Bosworth, “Central Asia: The Islamic period up to the Mongols” in Encyclopedia Iranica).

We shall discuss more about Balkh later, however as shown, the Turkish national author has presented the Farsnama of Ibn Balkhi in a distorted fashion and has ignored many sources in order to claim that Balkh was inhabited by Turks before Iranians. Where-as the name Balkh itself has an Iranian etymology and its old language was Iranian Bactrian. We should also make clear by the term Turk, what is meant today is not necessarily the same as that of some Arabic writings. Today it refers to Altaic speakers but in Islamic times especially the Abbasid era, the term was used for variety of Iranian groups as well.

Referring to the “Turkish” troops in Baghdad, M.A. Shaban states:

“These new troops were the so-called “Turks”. It must be said without hesitation that this is the most misleading misnomer which has led some scholars to harp ad nauseam on utterly unfounded interpretation of the following era, during which they unreasonably ascribe all events to Turkish domination. In fact the great majority of these troops were not Turks. It has been frequently pointed out that Arabic sources use the term Turk in a very loose manner. The Hephthalites are referred to as Turks, so are the peoples of Gurgan, Khwarizm and Sistan. Indeed, with the exception of the Soghdians, Arabic sources refer to all peoples not subjects of the Sassanian empire as Turks. In Samarra separate quarters were provided for new recruits
from every locality. The group from Farghana were called after their district, and the name continued in usage because it was easy to pronounce. But such groups as the Ishtakhanjiyya, the Isbijabbiya and groups from similar localities who were in small numbers at first, were lumped together under the general term Turks, because of the obvious difficulties the Arabs had in pronouncing such foreign names. The Khazars who also came from small localities which could not even be identified, as they were mostly nomads, were perhaps the only group that deserved to be called Turks on the ground of racial affinity. However, other groups from Transcaucasia were classed together with the Khazars under the general description. (M.A. Shaban, "Islamic History", Cambridge University Press, v.2 1978. Page 63)

However, even adding to what M.A. Shaban has stated, some further Arabic sources have mistaken even Soghdians with Turks. And Ibn Khaldun’s mistake of Sogdians with Turks is exactly of this nature. In Islamic sources, such groups as Sogdians, Khwarizmians, Hephtalites, Alans, and even Tibetians, Mongols and etc. have been called “Turk”, while none of these groups are Turkic speaking (except for the Mongols who according to some linguist speak a language that is part of the Altaic languages and can be said to be close to Turks according to those linguists). Even the Avesta Turanians are today seen as an Iranian people. However, the nationalist author thinks that just because someone lived under a Turkish kingdom, then they must be Turkish. Like for example since Anatolian Greeks lived under the Seljuqs, then they must be Turks!

As per the etymology of Balkh, Daniel Coit Gilman, Harry Thurston Peck, Frank Moore Colby, "The New international encyclopædia, Volume 2", Dodd, Mead and Company, 1902. pg 341: "The name of province or country appears in Old Persian inscriptions (B.h.i 16; Dar Pers e.16; Nr. a.23) as Bāxtri, i.e. Bakhtrī. It is written in the Avesta Bāxδi. From this latter came the intermediate form Bāxli, Sanskrit Bahlīka, Balhika ‘Bactrian,’ Armenian Bahl, and by transposition, the modern Persian Balx, i.e. Balkh"

**Shams Tabrizi and his background**

**Tabriz in the pre-Mongol and Ilkhanid era**

Although today the inhabitants of Tabriz speak Azeri-Turkish and follow twelve Imami Shi’ism, this was not the case during the time of Shams Tabrizi (as shown below by many direct evidences). In the time of Shams Tabrizi, the language was a Persian based language and the people were primarily Shafi’i Muslims (the sect followed today by Western Iranians such as the Sunni Kurds and Talysh). Despite this wide difference of language and religion, some sources are not aware of this historical fact and have misplaced time/place in order to retroactively Turkify the background of Shams Tabrizi. It is a shame that some scholars who write about literature do not take the time to research the area they are writing about during that era!

The process of Turkification of Azerbaijan as mentioned was long and complex and there are still remnants of Tati and other Iranian languages in Caucasus and NW Iran. The language of Azerbaijan at
the time of Shams Tabrizi was what scholars called “Fahlavi-Azari” (“Azerbaijanian Pahlavi”), which is an Iranian language.

Ebn al-Moqaffa’(d. 142/759) is quoted by Ibn Al-Nadim in his famous Al-Fihrist that the language of Azerbaijan is Fahlavi and Azerbaijan is part of the region of Fahlah (alongside Esfahan, Rayy, Hamadan and Maah-Nahavand):

اِبْنِ نَدِيمِ دِرْهُمُ السُّوْرُسَتِ مِنَةِ بِنْسَدُ:

(اِماَّ فَهْلِيْوَةُ مَنْسَبَتُ إِلَى قُهْلَةٍ اِسْمُ يَقَعُ عَلَى خَمْسَةِ بُنَادَانِ وَهُنَّ أَصْفَاهَانُ وَرَوْى وَهْمَدَانُ وَمَاهُ تَنْؤْوَانُ وَآذِرُبِيْجَانُ وَأَمَّا الْفَرْسِيَةُ فُقَّدَتْ مَنْدَ المَدِينَتِ وَهُنَّ كَانُتُ كَانُتُ مِنْ بَيْبِ الْمَلَكُ وَهِيَ مَنْسَبَتُ إِلَى حَاضِرَةِ الْبَابُ وَالْعَالِبُ عَلَيْهَا مِنْ لَغَةَ أَهْلِ خَرَاسَانِ وَالْمَشْرَقِ وَالْلُّغَةُ أَهْلُ بَلَخُ وَأَمَّا الْفَرْسِيَةُ فُكَّدَتْ بِهَا الْمَوَالِدُ وَالْعَلَمَاءُ وَأَشْبَاهُهُمُ وَهُنَّ لَغَةُ أَهْلْ فَارْسِ وَأَمَّا الْحُوَرَيْةُ فِي هَذَا كَانَتُ مَكَّلُ المَلَكُ وَالْأَشْرَافُ فِي الْحَلَوِّ وَمَوَاحِظِ الْلُّغَةِ وَالْلِّذَّةِ وَمَعَ الْحَاشِيَةِ وَأَمَّا السُّرِيَّانَيَةُ فُكَّدَتْ بِهَا أَهْلِ الْسَوَادُ وَالْمَكَانِيَةُ فِي نَوْعَ مِنَ الْلُّغَةِ الْسُّرِيَّانِيَّةِ فَارْسِيَّة:

A very similar explanation is given by the medieval historian Hamzeh Isfahani when talking about Sassanid Iran. Hamzeh Isfahani writes in the book Al-Tanbih ‘ala Hoduth al-Tashif that five “tongues”or dialects, were common in Sassanian Iran: Fahlavi, Dari, Farsi (Persian), Khuzi and Soryani. Hamzeh (893-961 A.D.) explains these dialects in the following way:

Fahlavi was a dialect which kings spoke in their assemblies and it is related to Fahleh. This name is used to designate five cities of Iran, Esfahan, Rey, Hamadan, Maah Nahavand, and Azerbaijan. Farsi (Persian) is a dialect which was spoken by the clergy (Zoroastrian) and those who associated with them and is the language of the cities of Fars. Dari is the dialect of the cities of Ctesiphon and was spoken in the kings’/darbariyan/ ‘courts’. The root of its name is related to its use; /darbar/ ‘court*’ is implied in /dar/. The vocabulary of the natives of Balkh was dominant in this language, which includes the dialects of the eastern peoples. Khuzi is associated with the cities of Khuzistan where kings and dignitaries used it in private conversation and during leisure time, in the bath houses for instance.

Source:


Ibn Hawqal, another 10th century Muslim traveller states:

“the language of the people of Azerbaijan and most of the people of Armenia (sic; he probably means the Iranian Armenia) is Iranian (al-faressya), which binds them together, while Arabic is also used among them; among those who speak al-faressya (here he seemingly means Persian, spoken by the elite of the urban population), there are few who do not understand Arabic; and some merchants and landowners are even adept in it”.


It should be noted that Ibn Hawqal mentions that some areas of Armenia are controlled by Muslims and others by Christians. Of course the land denoted as Armenia was much bigger than present Armenia.


Al-Muqaddasi (d. late 4th/10th cent.) considers Azerbaijan and Arran as part of the 8th division of lands. He states:

“The language of the 8th division is Iranian (al-’ajamyya). It is partly Dari and partly convoluted (monqaleq) and all of them are named Persian”


المقدسي، شمسالدين ابوعبدالله محمد احمد، احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقالييم، ترجمه دكتر علینقی وزیری، جلد 1، جاب اول، انتشارات مؤلفان و مترجمان ایران، 1361، ص 377.

Al-Muqaddasi also writes on the general region of Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan and states:

“They have big beards, their speech is not attractive. In Arminya they speak Armenian, in al-Ran, Ranian (Aranian); Their Persian is understandable, and is close to Khurasanian (Dari Persian) in sound”


Al-Mas’udi the Arab Historian States:
“The Persians are a people whose borders are the Mahat Mountains and Azarbaijan up to Armenia and Arran, and Bayleqan and Darband, and Ray and Tabaristan and Masqat and Shabaran and Jorjan and Abarshahr, and that is Nishapur, and Herat and Marv and other places in land of Khorasan, and Sejistan and Kerman and Fars and Ahvaz...All these lands were once one kingdom with one sovereign and one language...although the language differed slightly. The language, however, is one, in that its letters are written the same way and used the same way in composition. There are, then, different languages such as Pahlavi, Dari, Azari, as well as other Persian languages.”

Source:

Thus Al-Masu’di testifies to the Iranian presence in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan during the 10th century and even names a local Iranian dialect called Azari. This Azari was an Iranian language and should not be confused with the Turkish language which is called Azeri or Azerbaijan Turkish. Both names are derived from the geographical location Azerbaijan, however Azeri Turkish came in much later into the area and most likely became the predominant language of Azerbaijan in the Safavid era.

Original Arabic of al-Masudi from www.alwaraq.net:

Falarris amma jad bladha aljall min almahatat wa 'inbarha wa Azdribjan ala min bilad Arminia w Aran w lilfan tila hao abab alawabi ari wa tirastan w miskat w basharjan w jurjan w ariwsher, wa hii nissapaw, wa huraa wa wuro w ughir zan blad xranawas wa xekhistan w kerman w faras w xawas, w ma insh Allah min aras ala'mawin fi halat halat minu jarfula alain w mulku mulka laik w lasana xawas, ala ameen kano yana ibiyanin fi shin, yapeer min almahatat w mulku ameen laik w mukarn w halat halat, w ha inluwif bi halat fila'ad laik w mukarn w halat halat.

Ahmad ibn Yaqubi mentions that the

People of Azerbaijan are a mixture of ‘Ajam-i Azari (Ajam is a term that developed to mean Iranian) of Azaris and old Javedanis (followers of Javidan the son of Shahrak who was the leader of Khurramites and succeeded by Babak Khorramdin).

Source:

Finally a source on Tabriz itself:

“Zakarrya b. Mohammad Qazvini’s report in Athar al-Bilad, composed in 674/1275, that “no town has escaped being taken over by the Turks except Tabriz” (Beirut ed., 1960, p. 339) one may infer that at least Tabriz had remained aloof from the influence of Turkish until the time”.
The linguistic Turkification of Iranian Azerbaijan was a complex multi-state process:

From the time of the Mongol invasion, most of whose armies were composed of Turkic tribes, the influence of Turkish increased in the region. On the other hand, the old Iranian dialects remained prevalent in major cities.

“Hamdallah Mostowafi writing in the 1340s calls the language of Maraqa as “modified Pahlavi” (Pahlavi-ye Mughayyar). Mostowafi calls the language of Zanjan (Pahlavi-ye Raast). The language of Gushtaspi covering the Caspian border region between Gilan to Shirvan is called a Pahlavi language close to the language of Gilan”.

Source:

Professor. John Perry states:

“We should distinguish two complementary ways in which the advent of the Turks affected the language map of Iran. First, since the Turkish-speaking rulers of most Iranian polities from the Ghaznavids and Seljuks onward were already Iranian and patronized Persian literature in their domains, the expansion of Turk-ruled empires served to expand the territorial domain of written Persian into the conquered areas, notably Anatolia and Central and South Asia. Secondly, the influx of massive Turkish-speaking populations (culminating with the rank and file of the Mongol armies) and their settlement in large areas of Iran (particularly in Azerbaijan and the northwest), progressively Turkicized local speakers of Persian, Kurdish and other Iranian languages. Although it is mainly the results of this latter process which will be illustrated here, it should be remembered that these developments were contemporaneous and complementary.

2. General Effects of the Safavid Accession

Both these processes peaked with the accession of the Safavid Shah Esma'il in 1501 CE. He and his successors were Turkish-speakers, probably descended from Turkicized Iranian inhabitants of the northwest marches. While they accepted and promoted written Persian as the established language of bureaucracy and literature, the fact that they and their tribal supporters habitually spoke Turkish in court and camp lent this vernacular an unprecedented prestige.” (John Perry. Iran & the Caucasus, Vol. 5, (2001), pp. 193-200. THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF TURKISH IN RELATION TO PERSIAN OF IRAN)
According to Xavier Planhol, a well known scholar of historical geography (a branch that studies both history and geography and their interaction) and specialist on cultural history of Islam as well nomadicization of Iran, Central Asia and Turkey: "This unique aspect of Azerbaijan, the only area to have been almost entirely "Turkicized" within Iranian territory, is the result of a complex, progressive cultural and historical process, in which factors accumulated successively (Sümer; Planhol, 1995, pp. 510 -- 12) The process merits deeper analysis of the extent to which it illustrates the great resilience of the land of Iran. The first phase was the amassing of nomads, initially at the time of the Turkish invasions, following the route of penetration along the piedmont south of the Alborz, facing the Byzantine borders, then those of the Greek empire of Trebizond and Christian Georgia. The Mongol invasion in the 13th century led to an extensive renewal of tribal stock, and the Turkic groups of the region during this period had not yet become stable. In the 15th century, the assimilation of the indigenous Iranian population was far from being completed. The decisive episode, at the beginning of the 16th century, was the adoption of Shi’ite Islam as the religion of the state by the Iran of the Safavids, whereas the Ottoman empire remained faithful to Sunnite orthodoxy. Shi’ite propaganda spread among the nomadic Turkoman tribes of Anatolia, far from urban centers of orthodoxy. These Shi’ite nomads returned en masse along their migratory route back to Safavid Iran. This movement was to extend up to southwest Anatolia, from where the Tekelu, originally from the Lycian peninsula, returned to Iran with 15,000 camels. These nomads returning from Ottoman territory naturally settled en masse in regions near the border, and it was from this period that the definitive "Turkicization" of Azerbaijan dates, along with the establishment of the present-day Azeri-Persian linguistic border-not far from Qazvin, only some 150 kilometers from Tehran. (in the 15 st century assimilation was still far from complete, has been the adoption of a decisive Shiism in the 16 st Century)" http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/unicode/v13f2/v13f2024i.html

The famous Sunni Shaf’I Muslims of the area like Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, Shams Tabrizi, Shaykh Mahmud Shabistari and etc. lived in a time when Azerbaijan was far from Turkicized. Indeed Shaf’ism today is followed by the Sunni Iranian speaking Kurds and Talysh (remnants of the once wider Iranian/Persian speakers) of the area where-as the new incoming Turks were uniformly Hanafite Muslims until the region became Shi’ite. As shown below, direct evidence clearly demonstrates Tabriz still had an Iranian language during the time of the Ilkhanids and words from the Old Fahlavi-Azari Iranian dialect are recorded by Rumi through the mouth of Shams. The reader can learn more about the complex processes of Turkicization of the historical area of Arran, Sherwan and Azerbaijan in the article below:


The Tabrizi Iranian language as a special case
As noted, even after the Mongol invasion (the bulk of its troop being Turkish),
“Zakarrya b. Mohammad Qazvini’s report in Athar al-Bilad, composed in 674/1275, that “no town has escaped being taken over by the Turks except Tabriz” (Beirut ed., 1960, p. 339) one may infer that at least Tabriz had remained aloof from the influence of Turkish until the time”. (“Azari: The Iranian Language of Azerbaijan” in Encyclopedia Iranica by E. Yarshater http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/v3f3/v3f2a88b.html)

The language of Tabriz, being an Iranian language, was not the standard Khurasani Dari. Qatran Tabrizi has an interesting verse mentioning this in a couplet:

بليل به سان مطرب بيدل فراز گل
گه پارسي نوارد، گاهي زند دري

Translation:

The nightingale is on top of the flower like a minstrel who has lost it heart

It bemoans sometimes in Parsi (Persian) and sometimes in Dari (Khurasani Persian)

Source:

(riali khoi, mohammad amin. “molehezati darbaareyeh zabaan-i kohan azerbaijan” (some comments on the ancient language of azerbaijan), ‘itilia’at siyasi magazine, volume 181-182)

This comprehensive article is also available below:


There are extant words, phrases and sentences attested in the old Iranian dialect of Tabriz in a variety of books and manuscripts. Here are some examples:

1)

Hamdullah Mostowafi mentions a sentence in the language of Tabriz:

انگور خلوقی پی چه در، در سوه اندرین
یک جمله از ریزان تبریزیان در نزهت القلوب حمدالله مستوفی: "تباره اگر صاحب حسنی را با لباس ناسرا یابید، گویند "انگور خلوتی بی چه در، دی سوه اندرین"; یعنی انگور خلوتی (انگوری مرغوب) است در سید در به دری به "98 pg".

Translation:
“The Tabrizians if they see a fortunate man in an uncouth clothes say: He is like a fresh grape in a ripped fruit basket.”

Source:
مستوفی، حمدالله: «نزهت القلوب»، به، کوشش محمد دبیرسیاقی، انتشارات طهران، 1336


2) A mulama’ poem (meaning ‘colourful’, which is popular in Persian poetry where some verses are in one language and others in another language) from Homam Tabrizi where some verses are in Khorasani (Dari) Persian and others are in the dialect of Tabrizi:

بدیم چشم مستفت رفتم از دست
کوام و آذر دلی کیا بنتی مست
دلانم خود رفته و می دانم که روزی
به مهرت هم بشی خوش کیامت از دست
به آب زندگی ای خوش عبارت
لوانت لادم جمن دیل و کیان بست
دمی بر عاشق خود مهربان شو
کری سر مهرورزي کست و نی کست
به عشقات گر همام از جان بیاین
موازش کان بوان یمرت وارست
کرم خا و ابری بیشم بویینی
به بویت خته بام زاهنام

Source:

انصاری، غلامرضا: “تاریخ تبار و زبان آذربایجان”， انتشارات فکر روز، 1377.


3) Another ghazal from Homam Tabrizi where all the couplets except the last couplet is in Persian, the last couplet reads:

«وهرار و ول و دیم یار خوش بی / اوی یاران مه ول بی مه وهاران»

Transliteration:

Wahar o wol o Dim yaar khwash Bi
Awi Yaaraan, mah wul Bi, Mah Wahaaraan

Translation:

The Spring and Flowers and the face of the friend are all pleaseant
But without the friend, there are no flowers or any spring.

Source:

کارنگ، عبدالعلی: «تاتی و هرزنی، دو لهجه از زبان باستان آذربایجان»، تبریز، 1333. 1952.

Another recent discovery by the name of Safina-yi Tabriz has given sentences from native of Tabriz in their peculiar Iranic dialect. A sample expression of from the mystic Baba Faraj Tabrizi in the Safina:

انانک قدهی فرجشون فعالم اندرون اپراردا چاشمکش نه بیف قدم کینستا نه بیف حدوت

Standard Persian (translated by the author of Safina himself):

جندانک فرح را در عالم آوردهاند چشم نه بر قدم افتاده است نه بر حدوتن

Modern English:
They brought Faraj in this world in such a way that his eye is neither towards pre-eternity nor upon createdness.

Source:
منوچهر مرتضوی، زبان دیرین آذربایجان، نیایید موقفات دکتر افشار، 1384.


Indeed the Safina is a bible of the culture of Tabriz which was compiled in the Il-khanid era and clearly shows the region at its height. It is also a clear proof that the language of the people was Iranian at the time and had not transformed Turkic.

A sample poem in which the author of the Safina writes "Zaban Tabrizi"(Language of Tabriz):

دَجَان چوجرخ تکوی می ابر رهشه مهر دورش
جُوش دَ کارده شکویت ولول وارد سَر یَو
پَری بقهر ازه میر دون جو زن یون هنرمند
پروکری آنروتون مئی که آن هریوه
اکیز بخت ورامو کی چرخ هانزموئی
ژزور منشی چو بخت اهوه قدیوه
نه چرخ استه نبوئی نه روز ورو فوئی
روم چو واش خلیوه زمم جو بورضی ریوه


http://www.archive.org/details/LocalPoemsInIranicDialectsOfTabrizHamadanMazandaranQazvinInThe

6) A sentence in the dialect of Tabriz (the author calls Zaban-I Tabriz (dialect/language of Tabriz) recorded and also translated by Ibn Bazzaz Ardabili in the Safvat al-Safa:

علیشاه جو در آمد گستناخ وار شیخ را در کنار گرفت و گفت حاضر باش بریان تیریزی گو حرفم زانه یعنی سخن بصرف گو حرفمت رسیده است، در این گفتند دست بر کتف مبارک شیخ رد شیخ را غیرت سر بر کرد

The sentence “Gu Harif(a/e)r Zhaatah” is mentioned in Tabrizi dialect.

Source:

7) A sentence in the dialect of Tabriz by Pir Hassan Zehtab Tabrizi addressing the Qara-Qoyunlu ruler Eskandar:

یک جمله از "پیر حسن زهتاب تیریزی" خطاب به اسکندر قراقویونلو: اسکندر! رودم کشتنی، رودت کشاد! (اسکندر! فرزندم را کشتنی. خدا فرزندت را بکشید) (زیاحی خویی، ص13)
“Eskandar! Roodam Koshti, Roodat Koshaad”

(Eskandar! You killed my son, may your son perish”)

Source:

رباحی خویی، محمدامین، «ملاحظاتی دربارهی زبان کهن آذربایجان»: اطلاعات سیاسی - اقتصادی، شماره 182-181


Also Available at:


The word Rood for son is still used in some Iranian dialects, specially the Larestani dialect and other dialects around Fars.

8)

Four quatrains titled Fahlaviyat from Khwaja Muhammad Kojjani (d. 677/1278-79); born in Kojjan or Korjan, a village near Tabriz, recorded by Abd-al-Qader Maraghi

(Fahlaviyat in Encyclopedia Iranica by Dr. Ahmad Taffazoli, http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/v9f2/v9f232.html)

(Dr. A. A. Sadeqi, “Ash’ar-e mahalli-e Jame’al-Alhaann,” Majalla-ye zaban-shenasi 9, 1371./1992, pp. 54-64)

The actual quatrains are available here:

http://www.archive.org/details/LocalPoemsInIranciDialectsOfTabrizHamadanMazandaranQazvinInThe

A sample of one of the four quatrains from Khwaja Muhammad Kojjani
9) Two qet’as (poems) quoted by Abd-al-Qader Maraghi in the dialect of Tabriz (d. 838 A.H./1434-35 C.E.; II, p. 142)

(Fahlaviyat in Encyclopedia Iranica by Ahmad Taffazoli, http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/v9f2/v9f232.html)


10)
A ghazal and fourteen quatrains under the title of Fahlaviyat by the poet Maghrebi Tabrizi (d. 809/1406-

(Fahlaviyat in Encyclopedia Iranica by Dr. Ahmad Taffazoli,
http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/v9f2/v9f232.html)

(M.-A. Adib Tusi “Fahlaviyat-e Magrebi Tabrizi,”NDA Tabriz 8, 1335/1956
Also available at: 

11)
A text probably by Mama Esmat Tabrizi, a mystical woman-poet of Tabriz (d. 9th/15th cent.), which occurs in a manuscript, preserved in Turkey, concerning the shrines of saints in Tabriz.
Also availale at: 

Example of Shams Tabrizi speaking the North West Iranic dialect of Tabriz
12)
An interesting phrase “Buri Buri”(which in Persian means “Biya Biya”or in English “Come! Come!”) is mentioned by Rumi from the mouth of Shams Tabrizi in this poem:

ولی ترجیع بنجم در نیایم جز به دستوری
که شمس الہین تبریزی بفراورد مرا بوری
مرا گود ییا بوری که می باغم تو توری
که نا خوانت عسل گرد دقی نا مومت شورب نوری

The word “Buri”is mentioned by Hussain Tabrizi Karbalai with regards to the Shaykh Khwajah Abdul-Rahim Azh-Abaadi:

مرقد و مزار...خواجه عبدالرحیم ازابادی...در سرخاب مشخص و معین است...وی تبریزی آن منسوب به
کوچه اجاباد(ازاباد) که کوچه معینی است در تبریز در حوالی درب أغیل...و از آنجین استماع افکاره که
حضرت خواجگه در اوایل به صنعت باافندگی ابرشم مشعوری می نموده آند و خالی از جمعیتی و تروی
نبوده و بسیار اخلاص به درونبانی داشته، روزی حضرت بابا مزید وی را دیده و به نظر حفیظنی شناخته که
در معرف الهی در صدف سیبیه اش مختلفی است. گفته: عبدالرحمی بوری بوری به یا بیا، که دیگران را نان از بارار است و تو را از خانهای یعنی کلام تو از الهامات ربایی باشد.


In the Harzandi Iranic dialect of Harzand in Azerbaijan as well as the Iranic Karingani dialect of Azerbaijan, both recorded in the 20th century, the two words “Biri” and “Burah” means to “come” and are of the same root.

Source:

کارنگ، عبدالعلی، «ننی و هرزینی، دو وجه از زبان باستان آذربایجان»، تبریز، جاییاهنی-ی شفق، 1333.


We note already that this phrase been used Baba Taher in his Fahlavi dialect poem and Baba Taher lived two centuries before Rumi and Shams:

بئره کر دیده جیب کی بسارم
بئره لیلی و مجفونی بسارم
فریدون عزیزم رفته از دست
بئره کر تو فردودی بسارم

بئره لیل بیلیم از سر سور
بئره امه سحر از مو بیاموز
تو از دره گلی ده روز نالی
مو از دره دل آرامم شب و روز

On the importance of Safinaye Tabriz
Safina-yi Tabriz (The Vessel of Tabriz or The Treasury of Tabriz, Persian: سفینه تبریز) is an important encyclopedic manuscript from 14th century Ilkhanid Iran compiled by Abu'l Majd Muhammad b. Mas'ud Tabrizi between 1321 and 1323. Based on the manuscript, the book has been published in facsimile by Tehran University Press. As it constitutes a rare Islamic manuscript that has recently been discovered, it has generated a great deal of interest among Islamic, Western, Iranian and Middle Eastern scholars. It is almost perfectly preserved, and contains 209 works on a wide range of subjects, in Persian and Arabic as well as some poetry denoted by Fahlaviyat and the Iranian language of Tabriz. According to Professors A. A. Seyed-Gohrab and S. McGlinn: “The Safineh: is indeed a whole treasure-house, compressed between two covers. One of the important features of the Safinah is that it contains works of a number of philosophers who were not known until the discovery of the manuscript.”

The texts of the Safina-yi Tabrizi contain separate chapters covering Hadith (Prophetic(PBUH&HP) tradition), lexicography, ethics, mysticism, jurisprudence, theology, exegesis, history, grammar, linguistics, literature, literary criticism, philosophy, astronomy astrology, geomancy, mineralogy, mathematics, medicine, music, physiognomy, cosmography and geography. According to Professors A.A. Seyed-Gohrab and S. McGlinn, some of the best available texts of important works of Islamic culture and learning are contained in this work.

A sample poem in which the author of the Safina writes “Zaban Tabrizi” (Language of Tabriz):

دَجَان چوجِره نکویت مو ایر رهشه مهر دورش
چوجِره دَ کارده شکویت ولول ودَارد سَرَ یوَه
پَرْدی بقهر اره میر دون جو بور زون هنرمند
پِروکاری آئرتوئن منی که آن هریوه
اکیِز بَحَت ورامو کی چَرخ هانزموییتی
زَوزِر منشی چوجِبَخت اهون قدیروه
نه چَرخ استه نبوئی نه روزو ورو فوئی
زوم چو واش خللیوه زمَم جو بورضی ریوه

Sadeqi, Ali Ashraf. “Chand She’r beh Zaban-e Karaji, Tabrizi wa Ghayreh” (Some poems in the language of Karaji and Tabrizi and others), Majalla-ye Zabanshenasi, 9, 1379./2000, pp.14-17.

Available at:

http://www.archive.org/details/OnTheKarajiAndTabriziIranicDialectsFoundInTheSafinayeTabriz
We should also mention that an unfortunate error occurred in a recent overview of the book: A.A. Seyed-Gohrab & S. McGlinn, The Treasury of Tabriz The Great Il-Khanid Compendium, Iranian Studies Series, Rozenberg Publishers, 2007. And it is understandable that the authors were not linguists, the mention a Turkish dialect (Turki and Gurji). However, the actual poem is here:

http://www.archive.org/details/OnTheKarajiAndTabriziIranicDialectsFoundInTheSafinayeTabriz

Here are the exchanges given by two Iranian authors with regards to this mistake (taken from another article):

Dear. Dr. Ghoraab,

I have the book you edited Safina Tabrizi and also your book on Nizami Ganjavi: Love, Madness and Mystic longing. Both are excellent books.

I just wanted to make a correction on your article on Safina. Pages 678-679 of the Safina are not about a Turkish dialect (Tabrizi and Gurji)(page 18 of your book), but they are both Iranian dialects that predate the Turkification of Tabriz. For more information, please check these two articles by Dr. Ashraf Saadeghi

http://www.azargoshnasp.net/languages/Azari/zabankarajitabrizi.pdf
http://www.azargoshnasp.net/languages/Azari/AshrafSadeqiasharmahalimaraqi.pdf

There are Karaji and Tabrizi languages. Both are studied in detail by Dr. Saadeghi

Tashakkor,

....

Here was the response with this regard.

From: "Seyed, Gohrab A.A.

...I would like to thank you very much for your kind email and your friendly words about my books. I deeply appreciate your constructive critical note and will surely correct this in a second edition of the book.

With kind regards and best wishes,
Thus the original Tabrizi language as mentioned in the Safinaye Tabriz is an Iranian dialect and here we quote again Baba Faraj Tabrizi in this dialect.

انانک قدهی فرجنشون فعالم آندره اوواراتا چاکمشنه بیف قدم کینستا بیف حدود

Standard Persian (translated by the author of Safina himself):

چندانک فرج را در عالم اووردانت چشم او نه بر قدم افتاده است نه بر حدود

Modern English:

They brought Faraj in this world in such a way that his eye is neither towards pre-eternity nor upon createdness.

Source:

منوجه مرتضوى، زبان دیرین آذربایجان، بنیاد موقوفات دکتر افشار. 1384.


We should note that based on Safinaye Tabrizi, Professor. Mortazavi also states that the language of Shams Tabrizi was the old Fahlavi dialect of Azerbaijan. Thus the Safinaye Tabriz as well as other sources mentioned clearly reflects the fact that Tabriz was an ethnic Iranian speaking cultural town at that era.
This remarkable text (the actual manuscript) should be in the library of any serious Rumi scholar since it gives a complete mirror of the culture of Tabriz at that time and also helps explaining the figure of Shams Tabrizi.

On the name of Tabriz and its districts
The name of Tabriz in Armenian which has borrowed heavily from Middle Persian and Parthian is TavRezh. In modern Persian this is Tabriz.

According to Britannica 2009:


However, Britannica not always being the most reliable source, further confirmation is needed. The Dehkhoda dictionary has explained this name well:

In the Kurdish language “rizh” is the same as Persian “riz” and “tav” is the same as Persian “tab”. Thus both forms Tabriz/Tavrezh indeed means “heat flow” and could be related to the volcanic mountains of the area. The name seems to be from the Parthian/Sassanid era as it is attested in the Armenian form. The Parthian/Sassanids also had influence and control (through Marzabans) in the Caucasus and it is possible the name “Tiblis” in Georgia is of the same form, given that the Iranian origin Bagtariads (who were Christianized and possibly Armenianized in some areas but Armenian keeping a large number of Middle Persian) controlled for a long time. According to some authors, the name Tafrish/Tabres in Central Iran could also be related.

As it is well known, this name had existed well before the linguistic Turkification of Azerbaijan. As the name Azerbaijan itself had existed well before its Turkification and goes back all the way to the Persian Atropat.

An important fact is that the two districts of Tabriz mentioned by Shams Tabrizi. They are called Surkhab and Charandaab. Both names are Iranian of course. Surkhab means the red water. As per Charandaab, the “aab” part is obvious but the “Charaan” part needs further examination. Two possible theories are related to the Persian word “Charaan” which means to graze in greenery, and thus as an analogue to Surkhab, Charaandaab could mean Green water. Another possibility is that the word is related to the Parthian chr which in Middle Persian is chrx (wheel, circle) and the name could mean “water circle”. Be that it may, the etymology of both words Sorkhab and Charandaab are clearly
Iranian. It is significant that these two districts are also the oldest district of modern Tabriz and they both have Persian names. The fact of the matter is that these two districts are the ones that mentioned in the old classical sources and provide another proof of the Iranian linguistic character of the area during the time of Shams Tabrizi.

**Shams Tabrizi’s work Maqalaat**

The Maqalaat is the main written legacy that we have from Shams Tabrizi. It is a book of Shams oral teaching which was written down by Rumi’s students, probably his son Sultan Walad.

According to Lewis:

“Rumi repeatedly refers to the asrar, or “secrets,” of Shams, which may of course refer to his oral teachings, but may also designate a written text. If the latter, it represents the name which Rumi gave to the collection of Shams’ writings. Some manuscripts of these discourses of Shams are entitled the Kalemät (“Sayings”) or Ma’aref (“Gnostic Wisdom”) of Shams. By scholarly convention, however, these notes are now generally referred to as the Maqalat, or “Discourses”, of Shams. This is the title given to them in one partial manuscript of the work, a copy in all likelihood written out in the hand of Rumi’s son, Sultan Valad; if so, the copy may date to the lifetime of Shams.

A critical edition of Shams’ lectures with copious annotation and indices running to slightly over 1,000 pages was published by Mohammad-‘Ali Movahhed in 1990 as Maqalat-e Shams Tabrizi (Tehran: Khwarizmi).

A reading of the Maqalat of Shams will go much further to dispel the myths about the man. Shams’ writing reveal him to have been a man well versed in the philosophical and theological discourse of his day, though something of an iconoclast. The Maqalat reveals Shams as an engaging speaker who expressed himself in a Persian both simple and profoundly moving. Foruzanfar considered shams’ *Maqalat* one of the true treasures of Persian literature, with a depth that required several contemplative rereading. In addition to its own intrinsic value, Shams’ Maqalat constitutes the single most important primary source (aide from Rumi’s own writings, of course) for understanding Rumi’s spiritual transformation and his teaching” (Franklin Lewis, Rumi Past and Present: pp 136-137).

The Maqalaat shows the everyday language of Shams Tabrizi was Persian and the work itself is in informal Persian. Indeed, these lectures were noted and written down by Shams’ students:
"Fortunately, Shams did leave behind a body of writings or, more precisely, notes taken down by his own or Rumi’s disciples from lectures of Shams.” (Franklin, pg 135)

The Maqalaat is the main written legacy that we have from Shams Tabrizi. It is a book of Shams oral teaching which was written down by Rumi’s students, probably his son Sultan Walad. Indeed Shams Tabrizi really loved the Persian language as he himself states:

زبان پارسی را چَ ضذٍ است؟ بذیی لطیفیّ، خَبی، کَ آی هعاًیّ، لطافت کَ در زبان
پارسی آمده است و در نازی نیامده است.

Shams Tabrizi of Ismaili origin? Conclusion

It is well known that Dowlatshah Samarqand (d. 1487) and then Nur Allah Shushtari (d. 1610) and several others have claimed that Shams Tabrizi was a descendant of the Persian Ismaili Imams of Alamut. This point of view however is rejected by most modern scholars. Early orientalist scholars including E.G. Browne have adopted this viewpoint. It may have been possible for Ismailis to do Taqqiya after the capture of Alamut and pass themselves as Shafi’ites, but there is currently no conclusive proof with this regard.

Another theory is that Shams ad-din Muhammad was the son of ‘Ali who was the son of Malikdad (Persian word meaning given by the King were Malik is an Arabic loanword and Dad is Persian for given). This theory is based on Aflaki (the author of Manaqib al’Arifin which will say more of later) who is also always not accepted by scholars in every genealogical detail.

With regards to Shams Tabrizi we examined the two aspects: cultural and ethnic. From the point of view of cultural contribution, the everyday language of Shams Tabrizi was Persian and his oral teaching is recorded in Persian. With regards to his ethnic background, he was a speaker Fahlavi Persian dialect as mentioned by the word “Buri” in one poem and also the general picture given by the language of Tabriz at that time.

As mentioned during the time of Shams Tabrizi, the people of Tabriz were Shafi’ite Sunnites and spoke the Tabrizi Persian dialect. Turks as well as Khorasani and Eastern Iranians (like Pashtuns and Persians (Tajiks) of Afghanistan and Tajikistan today) were generally Hanafis. That is while it is very rare for Turks to be Shafi’ites in history, Shafi’ism is the common rite in Western Iran and still all Iranian Sunni speakers of Western Iran such as Kurds and the Sunni Talysh follow this rite. This however was not the case in say Khorasan and Balkh and Central Asia were Hanafism (founded by an Iranian Muslim) was the prevalent rite for Iranian and Turkish Muslims of that area.

The Iranian culture of Tabriz is also fully reflected in the grand manuscript of Safinaye Tabriz. Also the fact that Shams Tabrizi is linked to the Ismaili Hassan Sabah or Malikdad shows that he was of Iranian background. His pir has also been mentioned as “Seleh-Baaf” which again shows the usage of Persian in that area at that time. Unfortunately, some modern scholars do not have enough information on Tabriz
at that time, but the manuscript of Safinaye Tabriz provides a complete picture of the cultural activity and the Sufic mystism and Shafi’î Islam prevalent there. So there is no more excuses (although unfortunately some of these scholars have written about the manuscripts without looking at its finepoints and confirming it with facts in the manuscript).

In passing, we would like to mention an interesting point with regards to Rumi and Shams Tabrizi. Shams Tabrizi considered the Persian language even sweeter than Arabic:

Where-as Rumi considered Arabic sweeter than Persian:

**Hesam al-Din Chelebi and other Rumi companions**

Hesam al-Din Chelebi was Rumi’s favorite student and Rumi designated him as his successor. His background is clearly Kurdish as mentioned by several sources.

According to Franklin: “Rumi traces Hosam al-Din’s descent through a famous but uneducated mystic, Abu al-Vafa Kordi (d. 1107). This would mean Hosam al-Din had some Kurdish blood, which makes perfect sense, since Rumi describes his family as hailing from Urmia in Northwestern Iran” (pg 215-216).

His full name is also given as Hosam al-Din Hasan the son of Muhammad the son of Hassan (Badi’ al-Zaman Foruzanfar, Sharh-e ahval va naqd va tahlil-e asar-e Shaykh Farid al-Din Mohammad-e ‘Attar-e Nayshaburi, Tehran, Tehran University Press, 1139-40, reprinted by Zavvar publisher, 1382. (FB))

Thus we note that Shaykh Abu al-Vafa Kordi was born even prior to the Seljuq takeover of Urmia from local Kurdish and Daylamite dynasties.

This is also mentioned by Turkish authors:

“Husam al-Din Chelebi’s grandfather was a great saint, Shaykh Taj al-Din Abu al-Wafa, who was Kurdish and died in Baghdad in 1107. Although this great saint was illiterate, he was a Gnostic. Some members of the community who only valued education levels, high positions, wealth, and physical appearances asked him to preach to them in order to embarrass this great saint. Shaykh Abu al-Wafa al-Kurdi replied: “God willing, I shall preach tomorrow. Be present.” The night he supplicated sincerely to God, performed the ritual prayer, and went to bed. In his dream he saw the Prophet of Islam. The Prophet gave good news to this illiterate Kurdish saint: “God manifested Himself to him through his name ‘Âlim (All knowing) and Hakim (All-Wise).”. The next day when he sat on the Kursi, or chair, to begin his sermon in the mosque, his first sentence was: “I slept as a Kurd at night and got up as an Arab in the morning” (Şefik Can, M. Fethullah Gulen, Zeki Saritoprak, "Fundamental of Rumi’s Thought: A Mevlevi Sufi Perspective", Tughra; Second edition edition (December 1, 2005). Pp 78)
This is mentioned by Aflaki as well:

“The feats of the Bayazid of the age, the Jonayd of the era, key to the treasuries of the Celestial Throne (‘arsh), custodian of the treasure of the earth’s surface (farsh), Friend of God on earth (ard), performer of customary practices and religious duty (fard), intercessor for the supporters on the Day of Review (‘ard), Hosam al-Haqq va’l Din b. Hasan b. Mohammad b. al-Hasan b. Akhi Tork, who associated himself with the revered Shaykh [Mowlana], saying: “I went to bed a Kurd and I woke up an Arab”. God be pleased with him and his ancestors and how excellent his descendants!(Shams al-Din Aflaki, "The feats of the knowers of God: Manāqeb al-‘ārefīn", translated by John O’Kane, Brill, 2002.) (hence forth referred to as Aflaki)

Note, the translator (John O’Kane) has put [Mowlana] in brackets, where-as the revered Shaykh is probably Shaykh Abu al-Vafa Kordi and not Mowlana.

And Rumi also calls him from Urmia and of Kurdish descent in the introduction of the Masnavi:

Some might point to the curious title “Akhi Tork” (mentioned by several scholar), for Mohammad, the actual name of Hosam al-Din’s father. However, in Persian script, like in Arabic, the short vowels are not written and diacritic signs are used to clarify when required.

We should first mention that this is a title and not the actual name of Mohammad. Nevertheless going with the opinion of scholars of Rumi, why was he given such a title?

According to Şefik Can, M. Fethullah Gulen, Zeki Saritoprak, “Since Husam al-Din’s father was the head of Akhi group living in and around Konya, he was called “Akhi Turk”. (pg 78)

The Akhi groups were fraternal brotherhoods and it seems Hosam al-Din’s father was the head of one of these guilds in Konya. Ibn Battuta (13th century) connects the word with Arabic “my brother” while other sources have connected the word with the Uighyr “generous”. In our opinion, since the guilds were a sort of brotherhood, and since the members of these groups addressed their leader as “Akhi” (my brotherhood), probably the Arabic term makes more sense. Such guilds are not seen at the time in Central Asia but they are in Iran and Anatolia. Be that it may, accoring to Franklin: “These brotherhoods, with their code of civic virtue and mercantile morality, but which also exhibited features of a militia or a mafia-like gang, constituted a king of alternative to the Sufi orders and their focus on ascetic and Gnostic spirituality”.(pg 216).

Thus it is likely given the location of Konya, the title “Akhi Turk” (my brother Turk) was adopted by Mohammad (Hosam al-Din’s father) and thus Hosam al-Din was also given the title Ibn Akhi-Tork (the son of Akhi-Tork). However as mentioned, a title cannot be used to resolve this matter. A clear
indicator of Hosam al-Din’s Kurdish background can be ascertained by the fact that Hosam al-Din was also a Shafi’ite Sunni.

According to Franklin: “Aflaki reports that Hosam al-Din, like Shams of Tabriz, followed the rites of the Shafe’I school of Islamic law. One day Hosam al-Din said that he wished to convert to the Hanafi creed, “because our mster of the Hanafi creed”. Rumi told him that it would better to keep his own creed and simply to follow the mystical teachins of Rumi and guide the people to his creed of love” (pg 226)

Overall, most of the Iranians from Central Asia and Khorasan were Hanafis however the majority of Iranians from Western Iran (like Shams Tabrizi, the city of Tabriz before Safavids, Suhrawardi, Shaykh Mahmud Shabistari, , Kurds, Sunni Talysh and Hosam al-Din) were Shafi’ites. However, when it comes to Turkic Sunni Muslims, they were uniformly and overwhelmingly (not just majority but overwhelmingly and uniformly) were Hanafis (an exception is in the Caucasus were in the Northern Caucasus some tribes were converted to Shafi’ism in a much later period than that of Rumi). Here are some statements with this regard.

“The Turkmens who entered Anatolia no doubt brought with them vestiges of the pre-Islamic inner Asian shamanistic past but eventually became in considerable measure firm adherents of the near-universal Islamic madhab for the Turks, the Hanafi one”(Mohamed Taher, “Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture”, Anmol Publication PVT, 1998. Turkey: Pg 983).

Another testament to this is from traveller Ibn Batuttah who lived in the 14th century. On Turks, he provides some description of their religion: “..After eating their food, they drink the yogurt/milk of mare called Qumiz. The Turks are followers of Hanafism and consider eating Nabidh (Alcoholic beverage) as Halal (lawful in Islam).”(Ibn Batuttah, translated by Dr. Ali Muvahid, Tehran, Bongaah Publishers, 1969).

“There have sometimes been forcible and wholesale removals from one “rite” to another, generally for political reasons; as when the Ottoman Turks, having gained power in Iraq and the Hijaz in the sixteenth century, compelled the Shafi’ite Qadis either to change to the Hanafi “rite” to which they (the Turks) belonged, or to relinquish office.”(Reuben Levy, “Social Structure of Islam”, Taylor and Francis, 2000. Pg 183).

“Hanafism was founded by a Persian, Imam Abu Hanifa, who was a student of Imam Ja’far Al-Sadeq, ... His school held great attraction from the beginning for Turks as well as Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. Today the Hanafi school has the largest number of follows in the Sunni world, including most Sunni Turks, the Turkic people of Caucasus, and Central Asia, European Muslims, and the Muslims of Indian subcontinent “(Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. “The Heart of Islam: Enduring Values for Humanity”. HarperColins, 2004. Pg 68).
“On the other hand, because the Turkish rulers were so devoted to Islamic beliefs, they had accepted Hanafism with a great vigor and conviction” (Mehmed Fuad Koprulu’s, Early Mystics in Turkish Literature, Translated by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff, Routledge, 2006, pg 8).

This is still the case today in modern Turkey:


Thus we believe both the Shafi’ism whom all Sunni Kurds follow (where-as all Sunni Turks follow Hanafism like all Sunni Tajiks (Iranians) of Central Asia and Afghanistan) as well as the various testaments to the Kurdish ancestry of Hosam al-Din (whose ancestry goes back before the Seljuq era in the area) are sufficient that Hosam al-Din was also Kurdish (and hence Iranian in the ethno-linguistic sense).

On two other Rumi companions, for example, Fereydun Sepahsalar and Salah al-Din Zarkub, there is not enough information although we believe these were also among the Iranian refugees that fled to Konya. Fereydun Sepahsalar is a pure Persian name and Sahal al-Din Zarkub has the title “Zarkub” as a trade. However there is not sufficient detail with this regard. Based on examination of Aflaki though, it is our opinion that for example Salah al-Din Zarkub was Persian (or possibly Kurdish). This is illustrated by this anectode:

[23] Likewise, it is a well-known story that one day Shaykh Salah al-Din happened to hire Turkish laborers to do building work in his garden. Mowlana said: ‘Effendi’—that is to say lord—‘Salah al-Din, when it is time for building, one must engage Greek laborers and when it is time for destroying something, Turkish hirelings. Indeed, the building of the world is assigned to the Greeks, whereas the world’s destruction is reserved for the Turks. When God—He is sublime and exalted—ordered the creation of the world of sovereignty (‘alam-e molk’), first He created unaware-infidels, and He conferred on them long life and great strength so they would strive like hired laborers in building the terrestrial world. And they built up many cities and fortresses on mountain peaks and places on top of a hill such that after generations had passed these constructions were a model for those who came later. Then divine predestination saw to it that little by little these constructions would become completely destroyed and desolate, and be eradicated. God created the group of Turks so that they would destroy every building they saw, mercilessly and ruthlessly, and cause it to be demolished. And they are still doing so, and day by day until the Resurrection they will continue to destroy in this manner. In the end, the destruction of the city of Konya will also be at the hands of wicked Turks devoid of mercy.’ And this being the case, it turned out just as Mowlana said. (pg 503)
Now this anecdote from Aflaki makes it fairly clear that neither Rumi nor Salah al-Din were Turks and felt any Turkishness. Such disparaging remarks would be unthinkable even assuming its hagiographic nature if any of these two characters were Turkish. We shall examine Aflaki in this own section.

**Baha al-Din Walad and Rumi’s parents**

**Genealogy of Rumi’s parents**

Rumi’s father Baha al-Din Mohammad Walad was an important mystic and scholar in his own right. The most widely acknowledged study on him is that of Fritz Meier.

According to Franklin:

> “Among German scholars who have devoted their attention to Sufism, the systematic and exacting standards of Hellmut Ritter, Fritz Meier, Richard Gamlich and J.C. Burgel are truly admirable. Consider, for example, the Swiss scholar Fritz Meier’s (1912-9) work on Baha al-Din Valad, *Baha-I Walad: Gundzuge seines Lebens und seiner Mystic* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), running to over 450 pages. Meier has done more than any other single Person in the West to clarify the biographical details and theology of Rumi’s father and thereby, Rumi himself. Meier’s thorough and precise study provides an amazing mine of carefully research and carefully considered information, as well as a wealth of insightful analysis about Rumi’s family and their area of operation” (Rumi: Past Present, east and West, pp 540-541).

According to Schimmel:

> “In recent years, the most important publication concerning Rumi’s background is the voluminous book by the indefatigable Swiss scholar Fritz Meier, *Bahad-I Walad* (Leiden, 1989). This book, the result of painstaking analysis of the life and work of Maulana’s father, finally offers reliable about Maulana’s early days. Meier’s finding requires changes of the first pages of our book. To sum up: Baha-I Walad did not live in Balkh itself but in a small place north of the Oxus (present-day Tajikistan) by the name of Wakhsh, which was the under the administration of Balkh. (That his son stated to have come from Balkh would correspond to modern American’s claim to hail from New York while he might have been born and raised in a small town in upstate Ney York or in Long Island.” (Schimmel, Annemarie. *“The Triumphal Sun. A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi”*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993. xiv)

According to Lewis:

> “Baha al-Din’s father, Hosayn, had been a religious scholar with a bent for asceticism, occupied like his own father before him, Ahmad, with the family profession of preacher (*khatib*). Of the four canonical schools of Sunni Islam, the family adhered to the relatively liberal Hanafi rite. Hosayn-e Khatibi enjoyed such renown in his youth – so says Aflaki with characteristic exaggeration – that Razi al-Din Nayshapuri and other famous scholars came to study with him (Af 9; for the legend about Baha al-Din, see below, “The Mythical Baha al-Din”). Another report
indicates that Baha al-Din’s grandfather, Ahmad al-Khatibi, was born to Ferdows Khatun, a daughter of the reputed Hanafite jurist and author Shams al-A’emma Abu Bakr of Sarakhs, who died circa 1088 (Af 75; FB 6 n.4; Mei 74 n. 17). This is far from implausible and, if true, would tend to suggest that Ahmad al-Khatabi had studied under Shams al-A’emma. Prior to that the family could supposedly trace its roots back to Isfahan. We do not learn the name of Baha al-Din’s mother in the sources, only that he referred to her as “Mama” (Mami), and that she lived to the 1200s.” (pg 44)

Finally according to Fritz Meyer himself (we did not have access to the German and have used the professional Persian translation by Maryam Musharraf):

خانواده به ‟خطیبی” نام داشت که به‌اوزار نام خانواده‌ای از عالیان ناحیه‌ای اهل اصفهان است. خانواده به‌نام خود خود را به خلیفه ابوبکر بن مسیاندزد ورد. ولد به معنی پسر لقب به‌یا بود زیرا مادرش تا سنین سالخوردگی نز و را با همین نام می‌نامید. به‌یا نیز مادر خویا ”مامی” با ”مامی” می‌خواند است. (صفحه 448)

Thus Fritz Meier suggests that the family’s genealogy goes back to Isfahan and more specifically to the Khatibi scholars of the Hanafi rite. At the same time, he states that the family claimed descent from Abu Bakr (although he does not specify in our Persian translation when such a claim was made?). However the Encyclopedia Iranica article by H. Algar as well as the Encyclopedia of Islam on Rumi discounts this claim.

According to the Encyclopedia of Islam

Djalal al- Dīn Rūmī b. Bahā’ al-Dīn Sulṭān al-’ulamā’ Walad b. Ḥusayn b. Ahmad Khaṭībī , known by the sobriquet Mawlānā (Mevlānā), Persian poet and founder of the Mawlaviyya order of dervishes, which was named after him, was born on Rabī’ 1 604/30 September 1207 in Balkh, and died on 5 Djamāda II 672/1273 in Konya. The reasons put forward against the above-mentioned date of birth (Abdulbaki Gölpinarlı, Mevlānā Celâleddin 3, 44; idem, Mevlānâ Şams-i Tabrızī ile altmış iki yaşında buluştu, in Şarkiyat Mecmuası, iii, 153-61; and Bir yazi üzerine, in Tarih Coğrafya Dünyası, ii/12, 1959, 468) are not valid. His father, whose sermons have been preserved and printed ( Ma’ārif. Madjmū’-a-i mawā’ī wa sukhanān-i Sulṭān al-’ulamā’ Bahā’ Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn-i Khāṭībī-i Balkhī mashhūr ba-Bahā’-i Walad, ed. Bādī’-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 Khwārizmshāh ’Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (Aflākī, i, 8-9) do not hold on closer examination (B. Furūzānfarr, Mawlānā Djalāl Dīn , Tehrān 1315, 7; ‘Alīnaḵī Şarī’i atmadārī, Nakd-i matn-i māthnawi , in Yaghmā , xii (1338), 164; Aḥmad Aflākī, Ariflerin menkibeleri, trans. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1953, i, Önsöz, 44).

According to the Encyclopedia Iranica:

**BAHĀʾ-AL-DĪN MOḤAMMAD WALAD** B. ḤOSAYN B. AḤMAD KAṬĪB BALKĪ (546-628/1151-1231), father of Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī (q.v.), the great Sufi poet and eponym of the Mevlevî order, with reference to whom he became posthumously known as Mawlānā-ye bozorg (the elder Mawlānā). In his lifetime he was generally known as Bahāʾ-e Walad, and often referred to in addition by the title solṭān al-ʿolamāʾ (king of the scholars). According to his grandson, Solṭān Walad (d. 632/1235), the title originated with a dream seen on the same night by all the muftis of Balkh, in which the Prophet himself designated Bahāʾ-al-Dīn as solṭān al-ʿolamāʾ; when they awoke, they hastened to pay homage to him (Walad-nāma, ed. J. Homāʾī, Tehran, 1315 Š./1936, p. 188; see also Ferīdūn Sepahsālār, Resāla-ye Sepahsālār, Kanpur, 1319/1910, p. 7 and Šams-al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, Manāqeb al-ʿārefīn, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara, 1959, I, p. 7). Bahāʾ-e Walad himself records that the title solṭān al-ʿolamāʾ was given him in a dream by an old man of luminous visage, and thereafter he insisted on using the title when signing the fātwās he issued (Maʿāref, ed. B. Forūzānfar, Tehran, 1333 Š./1954, I, pp. 188-89).

Bahāʾ-е Walad says that he was approaching the age of 55 on 1 Ramażān 600/3 March 1203 (Maʿāref I, p. 354); he must therefore have been born in 546/1151-52. His father was a scholar and ascetic of great eminence in Balkh, the offspring of a family that had been settled in Khorasan for many generations. According to many writers, they were descended from the caliph Abū Bakr (Resāla-ye Sepahsālār, p. 6; Manāqeb al-ʿārefīn I, p. 7; Jāmī, Nafaḥāt, p. 457). Sepahsālār does not provide a complete genealogy and the six, seven, or eight generations mentioned by other authors are clearly too few to bridge the six centuries that elapsed between Abū Bakr and Bahāʾ-е Walad (see B. Forūzānfar, Resāla dar taḥqīq-e aḥwāl wa zendagānī-e Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Dīn Moḥammad, Tehran, 1315 Š./1936, p. 4). The two lines found in some copies of the Walad-nāma that attribute Bakri descent to Bahāʾ-e Walad were probably inserted in the text by a copyist (see A. Gölpınarlı’s footnote to his translation of Walad-nāma under the title İbtida-name, Ankara, 1976, p. 237). There is no reference to such descent in the works of Bahāʾ-е Walad and Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Dīn or in the inscriptions on their sarcophagi. The attribution may have arisen from confusion between the caliph and another Abū Bakr, Šams-al-ʾemma Abū Bakr Saraḵsī (d. 483/1090), the well-known Hanafite jurist, whose daughter, Ferdows Ḵātūn, was the mother of Aḥmad ᴾᴵᵗb, Bahāʾ-е Walad’s grandfather (see Forūzānfar, Resāla, p. 6).

Tradition also links Bahāʾ-е Walad’s lineage to the Kūrāzmšāh dynasty. His mother is said to have been the daughter of Ḵᵛārazmšāh Muḥammad Kūrāzmšāh (d. 596/1200), but this appears to be excluded for chronological reasons (Forūzānfar, Resāla, p. 7). (H. Algar, “BAHĀʾ-AL-DĪN MOḤAMMAD WALAD”, Encyclopedia Iranica)

Franklin touches upon this point in the section “The Mythical Baha al-Din” (pp 90-91) of his book:
“The persistence of a community of individuals residing physically in the shrine of a saint and the schools and hospices that sometimes grew up around them, as well as the spread of an order promulgating esoteric teachings and a reverential attitude towards its founding fathers, naturally tend to create a legendary even miraculous vita for them. Sultan Valad himself already contributed to this super naturalizing tendency in his “Book of Beginnings” (Ebdeta Nama), in which he compares Baha al-Din to the famous Sufis of the past. This naturally leads him to describe his grandfather’s life according to the expectations of the hagiographical genre.

Because his pupil, Borhan al-Din, and his son, Jalal al-Din Rumi, provide precious little information about Baha al-Din, the brief account by Sultan Valad (SVE 187-93) offers the earliest coherent portrait of him. The halo of holiness which already obscures Baha al-Din the man in his grandson’s account shines even more blindingly in the chronicle of Sepahsalar (Sep 10-21) and in the “Acts of the Gnostics” by Ahmad Aflakii (Af 7-55). Later writes, such as Jami, Dowlatshah and Amin Ahmad Razi, whether committed or not to the perpetuation of a mythic image of Baha al-Din and Jalal al-Din, effectively reinforced or enhanced the popular and miraculous reputation of their subjects by repeating the tale of the earlier “biographers.” For decades scholars, relying rather too credulously on these accounts, have likewise repeated these legends, lending them an air of respectability.

The outstanding feature in the hagiographer’s mythical portrait of Baha al-Din in his fame as a theologian and scholar of religious law. Though Baha al-Din may indeed have achieved some reputation in Vakhsh or even Balkh or Samarqand, he did not enjoy wider renown as a religious scholar or public figure, as I have been at pains to show. No mention of Baha al-Din Valad has turned up in the sources contemporary to him, such a biographical dictionaries or the works of other religious scholars such as Fakhr al-Din Razi. Much later sources describe him only in relation to his famous son, not as an independent figure. Baha al-Din’s own writing, Ma’rif, were never disseminated to a wider audience in the medieval period and he could not, therefore have been famous as an author.

Baha al-Din’s disciples also traced his family lineage to the first caliph, Abu Bakr (Sep 9; Af 7; JNO 457; Dow 213). This probably stems from willful confusion over his paternal great grandmother, who was the daughter of Abu Bakr of Sarakhs, a noted jurist (d. 1090). The most complete genealogy offered for family only stretches back six or seven generations and cannot possibly reach to Abu Bakr, the companion and first caliph of the Prophet, who died two years after the Prophet, in A.D. 634 (FB 5-6 n.3). One would furthermore expect descent from Abu Bakr, were it part of the family lore during the lifetime of Baha al-Din, to be a source of pride and professional authority, yet there is no mention of this in the writings of Baha al-Din or Jalal al-Din Rumi, nor do the inscriptions on their sarcophagi mention it. Mention of this supposed lineage does turn up in some manuscripts of our earliest biographical source, Sultan Valad’s Ebteda Name (SVE 187), but Golpinarli speculated that a later copyist interpolated these remarks on the basis of Aflaki (AF 8) or Sepahsalar (Sep 9). Whether or not this is so, we have seen how Sultan Valad errs or ignores a great many facts about his grandfather.
Ahmad Aflaki (Af 7-9) makes the claim that Baha al-Din’s mother was the daughter of ‘Ala al-Din Mohammad Khwarazmshah (r. 1200 – 1220), described as “the paternal uncle” of Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah. Jami repeats this (JNO 458), but the chronology is impossible (FB 7), and in any case, the portrait of her that emerges from Baha al-Din’s comments does not square with a royal lineage (Mei 45). Furthermore, the association of religious figures with royalty in the Iranian hagiographical tradition (e.g., the intermarriage of the last Sassanian princess with the ‘Alid family) is typological and must therefore be viewed with extreme skepticism.

The hagiographers likewise assert spiritual descent from famous Sufis for Baha al-Din. Aflaki (998) and Sepahsalar (9) link him, through his grandfather, with Ahmad Ghazzali (d. 1126), younger brother of the more famous Abu Hamed Ghazzali, and Jami (JNO 457) relays the suggestion that Baha al-Din may have been a disciple of the great Najm al-Din Kobra (d. 1220). Neither attribution is corroborated, explicitly or implicitly, in the writings of Baha al-Din, Rumi or Sultan Valad; this fact, in itself, almost certainly negates the possibility. The meeting with ‘Attar has been dealt with above, along with the miraculous dream about the title “Sultan al-ulama”. Through the main contours of this legendary image of Baha al-Din dissolve like a mirage under close scrutiny, the picture which emerges from the Ma‘aref, of a visionary, God-intoxicated mystic who achieved wider recognition only in his seventies, is no less remarkable.” (Lewis, 90-92)

So what do we know from all these data? We only know with certainty that Rumi’s great Grandfather was Ahmad Khatibi. The claim descent from Abu Bakr the companion of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is dismissed by modern scholars and is seen as a later development in the history of the sect. The claim descent of Rumi’s mother or Baha al-Din’s mother to the Khwarzmshah is also dismissed by scholars due to impossibility and chronological reasons. Obviously to claim descent from royalty or the companion of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by later followers of the sect would be a cause of prestige. Then also there is the claim of Baha al-Din Walad’s family going back to the Khatibun Hanafi scholars of Isfahan.

Thus we do not have the most exact account and are left clueless on Rumi’s father-line beyond Ahmad Khatibi. However the native language of Baha al-Din Walad is sufficient to show that the family’s native language was Persian and hence they were Persian. We did not expect in the beginning to be able to trace Baha al-Din Walad’s ancestry to Darius the Great. However the native sedentary populations of towns such as Sarakhs, Isfahan, Balkh, Vakhsh and etc. were Persians and the incoming Turkish nomads were either Iranianized or had tribal associations, none of it seen in Rumi or Baha al-Din’s work. Thus we must concentrate on culture again and in this case we examine the language of Balkh, Vakhsh and also the work of Baha al-Din Walad.

On Vakhsh and Balkh and the languages of these areas

Annemarie Schimmel, "I Am Wind, You Are Fire," p. 11. She refers to an (1989) article by the German scholar, Fritz Meier: "Afghan and Persian admirers still prefer to call Jalaluddin 'Balkhi' because his family lived in Balkh before migrating westward. However, their home was not in the actual city of Balkh, since the mid-eighth century a center of Muslim culture in Khorasan (now Afghanistan). Rather,
as the Swiss scholar Fritz Meier has shown, it was in the small town of Wakhsh north of the Oxus that Baha'uddin Walad, Jalaluddin's father, lived and worked as a jurist and preacher with mystical inclinations."

Franklin Lewis, "Rumi--Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teachings, and Poetry of Jalâl al-Dîn Rumi," 2000, paperback 2003, pp. 47-49. Professor Lewis has devoted two full pages of his book to the topic of Wakhsh, which he states has been identified with the medieval town of Lêwkand (or Lâvakand) or Sangtude, which is about 65 kilometers southeast of Dushanbe, the capital of present-day Tajikistan. He says it is on the east bank of the Vakhshâb River, a major tributary that joins the Amu Daryâ River (also called Jayhun, and named the Oxus by the Greeks). He further states:

"Bahâ al-Dîn may have been born in Balkh, but at least between June 1204 and 1210 (Shavvâl 600 and 607), during which time Rumi was born, Bahâ al-Dîn resided in a house in Vaksh (Bah 2:143 [= Bahâ'uddîn Walad's book, "Ma`ârif." See translation below--note inserted here by Ibrahim Gamard]). Vakhsh, rather than Balkh, was the permanent base of Bahâ al-Dîn and his family until Rumi was around five years old (mei 16-35) [= from a book in German by the scholar Fritz Meier--note inserted here]. At that time, in about the year 1212 (A.H. 608-9), the Valads moved to Samarqand (Fih 333; Mei 29-30, 36) [= reference to Rumi's "Discourses" and to Fritz Meier's book--note inserted here], leaving behind Baâ al-Dîn's mother, who must have been at least seventy-five years old."

Thus modern scholarship is unsure of the birth place of Baha al-Din, but has very much agreed that the birth of Rumi in Vakhsh (Tajikistan). Traditional hagiography had indicated Balkh near Mazar-i Sharif in modern Afghanistan as the birth place of Rumi. Two explanations that are given is that: 1) Balkh was province rather than a city and Wakhsh was under Balkh's administration; 2) Baha al-Din was born in Balkh or was from Balkh, but he has moved to Vakhsh to be the local religious preacher of the area.

In general the two areas are close and the language of the urban centers was Persian and could not have been different. And Vakhsh itself was considered as part of Balkh province at that time. Before the advent of Islam, Eastern Iranian languages were dominant in Central Asia.


C. Edmund Bosworth: "In early Islamic times Persians tended to identify all the lands to the northeast of Khorasan and lying beyond the Oxus with the region of Turan, which in the Shahnama of Ferdowsi is regarded as the land allotted to Fereydun's son Tur. The denizens of Turan were held to include the Turks, in the first four centuries of Islam essentially those nomadizing beyond the Jaxartes, and behind them the Chinese (see Kowalski; Minorsky, "Turan"). Turan thus became both an ethnic and a geographical term, but always containing ambiguities and contradictions, arising from the fact that all through Islamic times the lands immediately beyond the Oxus and along its lower reaches were the homes not of Turks but of Iranian peoples, such as the Sogdians and Khwarezmians." (C.E. Bosworth, "Central Asia: The Islamic period up to the Mongols" in Encyclopedia Iranica).
In addition to Sogdians and Khwarezmians, we may also add Hephtalites whom modern science considers Eastern Iranian (50-60 years ago various theories were floated around about Hephtalites) but modern has shown based on detailed etymological analysis that they were also Eastern Iranians.

Xavier Tremblay *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde. Le manichéisme parmi les peoples et religions d’Asie Centrale d’après les sources primaires*, Vienna, 2001, Appendix D "Notes sur l’Origine des Hephtalites"

or


We should note that Muslim writers have confused Altaic speaking Turks with some Iranian peoples like Sogdians, Hephtalites, Alans and also even Tibetians, Chinese and Mongols.

After the Arab invasion of Persia, large numbers of Persian speakers were brought to Central Asia and surprisingly, the Arab invasion strengthened Persian in Central Asia at the cost of other East Iranian languages. According to FOUCHÉCOUR:

“Another factor in the evolution of Middle Persian to Persian was the geographical spread of this language in the wake of the Arab conquest. Following the path of the Arab invasion, Persian spread from its own heartlands to Central Asia (Transoxania). For their conquests, the Arabs enlisted indigenous peoples in their armies. These local populations did not speak a standardized Persian and in many cases did not even use Persian among themselves. Nevertheless, the Persian of the time served as a *lingua franca* for these enlisted men. They were to spread this new version in the conquered provinces, from Azerbaijan to Central Asia, to the detriment of other Iranian languages or other dialects of Persian. Such was the case of Sogdian, a language belonging to an age-old culture that was largely engulfed by Persian. Thus Persian became, in due course, the court language of the first semi-independent Muslim principalities, most notably those founded in the Greater Khorasan.” (CHARLES-HENRI DE FOUCHÉCOUR, “Iran: Classical Persian literature” in *Encyclopedia Iranica*)

Thus, after Islam took hold, the new Persian language which was a continuation of Khorasani dialect of Middle Persian with admixture of Sogdian, Bactrian and other East Iranian languages and influenced by Arabic vocabulary became predominant in the region. Especially after the rise of the Samanid dynasty, Persian slowly absorbed Soghdian and Chorasmian language regions.

During Baha al-Din’s time, Balkh was still a Persian speaking region. For a clear example of this, we refer to the book Zhakhira Khwarizmshahi. The Zakhira Khwarizmshahi ("Treasures dedicated to the king of Khwarazm") is a Persian medical Encyclopedia written by the Persian scholar Sayyid Zayn al-Din Isma’il al-Husayni al-Jurjani (Gorgani) (1040-1136 A.D.).

The Dehkhoda dictionary under Balkh makes a reference to the Zakhira Khwarizmshahi and states:
مردم بلخ تا زمان مؤلف ذخیره خوارزمی شاهی (نیمه اول قرن ششم هجری) به فارسی تکلم می کردند. رجوع به ریشه بلخی و پیشه گرایشی در ذخیره خوارزمی شاهی شود.

Looking in the actual manuscript of Zakhira Khwarizmi (available in Tehran University library and University of Chicago among other major universities of the world), this was found:

از ریش بلخی و علاج ان، ریش بلخی ریشی بود کی از سطح گوشت دور فرود و بهن پاز می شود و یا خفقات بود و باشک کی غمش ار و باشد کی با نا بود و باشد کی به نا بود و این ریش اندر نواحی بلخ بیشتر باشند و ارا بهین سبب ریش بلخی گویند و به ریاست دهستان نپسیار بود و اهل بلخ ان را به نیمه گریدگی گویند.

Thus the book provides everyday usage of the Balkhi-Persian dialect in the region.

Other historical attestations clearly state that Balkh was a Persian speaking region and had the best form of Dari-Persian. In the Darab Nama of Tartusi, it mentions that the language of Balkh Dari:

در مقابل در کتاب داراب نامه طرطوسی (بکوشش ذیح الله صفا) آمده است:

و آن مرد لفظ دری داشت و همه جهان خواهدن تا لفظ دری گویند، ولیکن نتوانند مگر مردمان بلخ و هر که زبان اهل بلخ بیامورند.

Translation: "And that man had the Dari language, and the entire world wants to know have the Dari language, however they cannot do this except the people of Balkh and whoever learns the language of the people of Balkh".

Ibn Nadeem (d. 995 or 998 A.D.) also in his al-Fihrist mentions

این نتید در الفهرست مینویسد:

اِل۸ فارسی فنوسوب ایل به فنله اسم یقع علی خمسه بلدان وَهی اسفهان وری و همدان و ماه تهاوند واذربیجان وَاما الدنیا فلقة مدن المدنین وَها كان يتكلم من باب الملك وَهي متسویة الى حاضرة الباب والغالب عليها من وَله اهل خراسان والمشرق وَ اللغة اهل بلخ وَاما الفارسیة فنكم بها الموادیة والعلوم وَاشاهم وَهي لَهة اهل فارس وَاما الحوریة فيه كان يتكلم الملك والأشراف في الخلوة وَمواقع اللفب وَاللغة وَمع الحاشیة وَاما السریانیة فكان يتكلم بها اهل السواد والمقاتنة في نوع من اللفظ بالسیراتی فارسی= ایا فنلوی متسوی اسم به فنله که نام نهدة شهر است بر نیب شهر: اسفهان وری و همدان و ماه تهاوند واذربیجان، وَ دری لفظ شیرهای مذابن اسم وَدرزابان بادشا بدن زبان سخن میگنند وَ متسوب اسم به مردم دری وَ لفظ اهل خراسان وَ مشرق وَ لفظ مردم بلخ بر ار زبان غالب است. ایا فارسی کلامی است که فنوان وَ علم وَ مانند ایشان بدان بخ گویند وَ ان زبان مردم اهل فارس باشد، ایا خوری زبانی است که ملک وَ اشراف در خلوت وَ مواضع لفب وَ لفظ لید با نیمیان وَ حاشیت حوزه فنی اوترکوکنند. ایا سریانی است که مردم سواد بدن سخن راند.

Translation: And Dari language is the language of Khorasan and the people of the East and the vocabulary of the natives of Balkh was dominant in this language, which includes the dialects of the eastern peoples.
Professor. Gilbert Lazard notes:

"The language known as New Persian, which usually is called at this period (early Islamic times) by the name of Dari or Parsi-Dari, can be classified linguistically as a continuation of Middle Persian, the official religious and literary language of Sassanian Iran, itself a continuation of Old Persian, the language of the Achaemenids. Unlike the other languages and dialects, ancient and modern, of the Iranian group such as Avestan, Parthian, Soghdian, Kurdish, Balochi, Pashto, etc., Old Middle and New Persian represent one and the same language at three states of its history. It had its origin in Fars (the true Persian country from the historical point of view) and is differentiated by dialectical features, still easily recognizable from the dialect prevailing in north-western and eastern Iran in (Lazard, Gilbert 1975, “The Rise of the New Persian Language” in Frye, R. N., The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 4, pp. 595–632, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.)

Dari or Modern Persian is really the Khorasani dialect of the Middle Persian language.

Al-Masudi (d. 956 A.D.) also mentions Dari and states:

"The Persians are a people whose borders are the Mahat Mountains and Azerbajian to Armenia and Arran, and Bayleqan and Darband, and Ray and Tabaristan and Masqat and Shabaran and Jorjan and Abarshahr, and that is Nishabur, and Herat and Marv and other places in land of Khorasan, and Sejistan and Kerman and Fars and Ahvaz...All these lands were once one kingdom with one sovereign and one language...although the language differed slightly. The language, however, is one, in that its letters are written the same way and used the same way in composition. There are, then, different languages such as Pahlavi, Dari, Azari, as well as other Persian languages."

Thus the Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi and the exact phrase “Zaban-i Balkhi” (The Balkhi language) and also the fact that Dari language was associated with Balkh (even the time of Darabnama and al-Fihrist) are sufficient proof that the language of everyday people of Balkh was Persian. Today also, the majority of the city of Mazar-i Sharif speaks Persian and are Tajiks (Persians). The Turkic minority in the area are the Turkmens who were nomadic until recently and the Uzbeks who were not in the area until the Mongol invasion and both of these live mainly in the villages around Mazar Sharif (the actual city being mainly
Tajik). But during the time of Baha al-Din, books like Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi provide sufficient proof of the language prevalent in Balkh and the phrase “Zaban-i Balkhi” in the Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi clearly points to the Balkhi languages.

However as noted, modern scholarship states Rumi was born in Vakhsh, but Vakhsh itself was considered part of Balkh at the time. Vakhsh was just part of the regional administration of Balkh and thus when the Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi is speaking of “Zaban-i Balkhi”, we can state that it is the dialect of the region of Balkh in the wider sense (which also includes Vakhsh). Today the inhabitants of Vakhsh are also Tajik people and pre-Islamic time, they were likely Sogdians and Hephthalites. The Turki speakers in Tajikistan who make up 10-15% of the population (in 2009) are Uzbeks who were not formed as a group in the area until after the Mongol invasion. During the time of Baha al-Din, Vakhsh had transitioned from Ghurid rule to that of the Khwarizmshahi dynasty. The name Vakhsh probably has a Sogdian etymology and is related to the word Oxus. Minorsky and other scholars have connected the Greek word Oxus (which is pre-Christian) to the word Vakhsh (Hudud al-Alam). At the pre-Christian time, the area of Central Asia was Iranian speaking (Eastern Iranian languages) and the fact the name Vakhsh and Vakhsab was kept during the time of Rumi shows that a linguistic shift in the area to Turkic had not occurred, since the Turkic name for the river is Qizil-Su. The Hodud al-‘Alam states about Vakhsh (Dehkhoda):

That is its major cities were Halaward and Levkand (or Lawkand). Both names are Soghdian/Fahlavi.

Although linguistic Turkification of Central Asia, parts of Caucasus and Azerbaijan were always favorable to Turks (due to political dominance), it is notable that both Vakhsh and Mazar-i Sharif are still predominantly Iranian Tajik speaking even today.

We will examine Baha al-Din’s work (Ma’arif) and show that some rare words of probable East Iranian origin are prevalent in the everyday language.

Thus from this analysis of historical sources (especially Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi and al-Fihrist), we can see that the language of Balkh was Persian. The language of Vakhsh in Tajikistan was also Persian as shown by the colloquial everyday language of Ma’arif.

Contribution to Persian culture and Baha al-Din Walad’s native language

We note some very interesting colloquial Persian terms that are rarely used today and possibly have Soghdian origin are found in the Ma’arif. The most outstanding of these (in our opinion) from the Ma’ari are bolded below:

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These words show the colloquial style of the text in many aspects and are example of rare Iranian words (some of them seem Soghdian) that have been encountered much less in standard Persian. They require meticulous linguistic analysis from Iranian linguists. For example “Balg” for Barg or Roozhidan clearly shows the influence of the native Persian or the Balkhi language.

To ascertain Baha al-Din’s everyday language, some people might argue that this colloquial and informal jargon language of his is not sufficient. However we believe there is a definitive proof that Baha al-Din’s native language was Persian and if he were not, he would write in a more formal language. Another proof beyond the everyday colloquial term and formal language has to do with the way Baha al-Din addresses his biological mother. Obviously, a person from a specific ethnic background would call their mother a term that they have used since they were infants. The Arabic word for mother is **Umm**, the Turkish word is **aanaa** and the Persian term is **Maam**.

For example, the Khorasani Iranian poets Ferdowsi and Naser Khusraw:

\
| سدیگر بیرشیدش افراسیاب |
| از ایران و آز شهر و آز مام و باب |
| (فردوسی) |
| وز باب و ز مام خوشن پروردش |
| تا زو پرود باب و مامش |
| (ناصر خسرو) |
\

What is clear is that Baha al-Din Walad calls his mother “Maami” in his informal everyday jargon (a non-native Persian speaker who learns formal Persian would not use such an informal term). “Maam” is the Persian for mother (see Ferdowsi/Naser Khusraw above) and an Indo-European cognate with the similar English word. The “i” is also similar and expresses deeper affection and everyday family language usage. Baha al-Din Walad in his writing does not use his mother’s formal name but constantly refers to her as “Maami”.

Thus closer examination of the colloquial language of the Ma’arif and its informal language reveals that the Persian used in that book is the everyday language of Baha al-Din Walad. This Persian has been influenced by Soghdian and other Eastern Iranian languages and that is why rare terms like “Roozhidan” (interestingly modern Persian uses Rooz but Kurdish uses Rooz) are used. It of course had Arabic loan words and even some Turkish and Greek loan words, since Persian civilization was bordered by Arabic and Turkic civilization and has been influenced by Greek civilization as well. But the overall colloquial Persian language of Balkh contains many words that have now disappeared in modern Persian but some of these words can be glanced at the Ma’arif (as shown above).

“Maami” in itself indicates again that Baha al-Din Walad speaks Persian as his native language with his mother and the term is something that he has used since he was a child. Obviously had his language
been Turkish or Arabic, then one would expect terms that are composed of “AAnaa” or “umm” rather than “Maami”.

Thus from an ethnic point of view, Baha al-Din Walad was a native Persian speaker. We cannot trace his genealogy or virtually many other people (say Shakespeare) more than three generations back to Ahmad Khatibi (who was a preacher himself in native Persian speaking lands) and obviously culture and native language is the key matter that defined ethnicity. From the viewpoint of culture, Baha al-Din Walad has also made a significant contribution to the Persian language and culture.

According to Franklin:

“For Baha al-Din, the ideal situation would undoubtedly have included a ruler predisposed to heed and foster his teachings, to abstain from wine and other impieties, and to uphold and spread poetry and religious learning, preferably of the Hanafi School and preferably in a Persian-speaking area. He would have had few if any qualms of conscience in accepting princely patronage or cultivating influence for pious purposes under such ideal circumstances”(page 76)

And according to Bosworth, Baha al-Din brought Persian culture with him to Anatolia.

C.E. Bosworth, "Turkish Expansion towards the west" in UNESCO HISTORY OF HUMANITY, Volume IV, titled "From the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century", UNESCO Publishing / Rutledge, p. 391:

"While the Arabic language retained its primacy in such spheres as law, theology and science, the culture of the Seljuk court and secular literature within the sultanate became largely Persianized; this is seen in the early adoption of Persian epic names by the Seljuq Rulers (Qubad, Kay Khusraw and so on) and in the use of Persian as a literary language (Turkish must have been essentially a vehicle for every days speech at this time). The process of Persianization accelerated in the thirteenth century with the presence in Konya of two of the most distinguished refugees fleeing before the Mongols, Baha al-din Walad and his son Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumi, whose Mathnawi, composed in Konya, constitutes one of the crowning glories of classical Persian literature."

Again, we like to go back to emphasizing culture. Since although we demonstrated that Baha al-Din’s native language was Persian, what matters from a modern viewpoint is his impact on Persian language and culture. That is we may never know that Baha al-Din’s ancestry goes back to say Darius the Great, Abraham, or Alexander the Great or etc. Eventually it goes back to Adam. Thus we assign to a civilization (in this case Persian civilization) based on his native language, and also his cultural contribution which are all in Persian.

Baha al-Din’s Ma’arif is a religious, moral and spiritual text written in a colloquial Persian which has many deep spiritual insights. The Masnavi indeed has also many of these insights and they go back to the traditional Persian Sufism of Khorasan. Although, from the extant texts available, one has to admit that Baha al-Din Walad from a scholarly and exoteric point of view cannot be compared to Fakhr ad-din Razi and we believe that he fled due to the Mongol invasion rather than any rivalry with Fakhr ad-din
Razi or other people. The comparison of him with Fakhr ad-din Razi was possibly done to bring him to same scholarly status as that of Razi. Obviously, from a spiritual status, we cannot judge who had a higher rank (only God can) but from a purely scholarly status and output, Fakhr ad-din Razi is an unparalleled scholar of his own time.

Nevertheless, the spiritual insights of Baha al-Din Walad are deeply rooted in traditional Khorasanian Islamic Sufism. Here are some examples (taken from the translation of Franklin) among the many:

*The kernel of worship is melting away the self and the rest of worship is merely the husk.*

*Until you pass away from this plane of being, you will not receive being from His being.*

*Die before death and bury yourself in the grave of desirelessness and rejoice.*

**Conclusion on Baha al-Din Walad**

What do we know about Baha al-Din’s genealogy? The claimed maternal royal descent from the Khawrizmshahs for Rumi or Baha al-Din Walad is dismissed by scholars and as seen as a later fabrication. Indeed Baha al-Din Walad’s mother seems like a simple Woman. The claim of descent from Abu Bakr is also not in his writing or that of Rumi’s. Even if such a claim was true (since many sources have stated it after Rumi), we should note that Baha al-Din’s native language was Persian, his work is in Persian and he was thoroughly Persianized. However, as mentioned, modern scholars have dismissed the lineage from Abu Bakr. The claim might have been made according to one source because Bahal al-Din’s mother was related to a certain Abu Bakr Sarkhasi (a Hanafi scholar from Sarkhas). Then there is the paternal claim descent from the Khatibun families of Isfahan put forward by Fritz. The only firm knowledge we have of Baha al-Din’s genealogy is that he is a descendant of a certain Ahmad Khatibi who preached again in Persian speaking towns. It seems that being a Islamic preacher ran through many generations of Rumi’s family, because Sultan Walad and Rumi themselves gave sermons and lectures to their followers (we shall say more about these later in the article).

Given this information, we next examined the Ma’arif and the languages of Vakhsh/Balkh. The colloquial style of the Ma’arif with some very terms (many of them possibly Soghdian) show that the language of Vakhsh was Persian at that time. We brought the Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi where the Balkh Persian is again shown to be the language of Balkh. Indeed, Balkh according to classical sources (Ibn Nadeem) and even the Darab-Nama (written around the time of Rumi) is the center for the Dari-Persian. Also the informal and family vernacular reference to his mother as “Maami” rather than a phrase containing the Arabic “Umm” or Turkish “Anaa” is another indicator that Baha al-Din Walad was a native Persian speaker. Indeed the only writing we have from him are in Persian in a colloquial/formal Persian (not informal Persian learned in non-Persian lands) and thus his contribution is directly to the Persian language and culture. As shown later, among the notable figures mentioned for the order by Sultan Walad, all of them are either from Khorasanian Persian background (Attar, Sanai, Bayazid) or Iraqi Persian background (Junayd Baghdadi, Abu Bakr Shibli, Maru’f Karkhi) or Farsi (province) Persian background like Hallaj. From a linguistic point of view, some of the rare Iranian terms used in the
Ma’arif are also indicators of his native Iranian language. These terms deserve more careful study. Overall we can clearly state Persian was the native and everyday language of Baha al-Din Walad based on the informal and everyday style of the Ma’arif and also the native term of endearment used for his own mother “Maami”.

Rumi

We already discussed the background of Baha al-Din Walad and his native Persian language.

Obviously, Rumi’s native language was also Persian based on his father As noted by Annemarie Schimmel, The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi, SUNY Press, 1993, p. 193:
"Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian, but he had learned during his stay in Konya, enough Turkish and Greek to use it, now and then, in his verse"

According to Franklin also:

“At some point Sultan ‘Ezz al-Din invited Rumi as his guest to Antalya, but Rumi hid from the messengers the Sultan had sent to escort him (Af 1020-21). It seems the story is based on some real historical circumstance, as Rumi himself alludes to his reasons for not going to Antalya in Discourse 23 of his Fihī ma fīh (Fih 97):

“One should go to Tokat, for it is a warm place. Antalya is warm, too, but the people are mostly Greek (Rumian) there. They do not understand our language, though there some even among the Greeks who understand us!”(Franklin, 126)

Obviously, given that all of Rumi’s work, speeches, letters and writings except a couple of dozen or so couplets attributed to him (mainly in mixed verses) are in Persian, and all of his sermons and discourses recorded by his students are in Persian, then this points to the fact that Rumi stayed in Konya at that time because Persian was an important language there and widely spread then. A large number of Iranian refugees had taken refuge there. For example in the Walad-nama (see the section on Sultan Walad), after several verses in Arabic, Rumi’s Son, Sultan Walad states:

فارسی گو که جمله دریایند
گرچه زین غافلند و درخوایند

Translation:

Tell the tale in Persian so that all may understand it,

Even though they lack insight and are (spiritually) sleep

And Rumi after couple:

And he mentions this again after writing some Arabic in another Ghazal:
And Rumi states the same thing with regards to Persian after some Arabic verses:

\[
\text{اـلایی اـلایی، وتإ پانٌی گٞی}
\]

\[
\text{کٚ ٗثٞق ِهٚ قن ظٔؼی ِکه ـٞنقٕ تٚ ذٜ٘ایی}
\]

Oh Muslims, Oh Muslims, Let me say it in Persian

Because is it not polite to eat all the sweets by myself in a gathering and not share it

This article is not intended to give a full biography of Rumi and scholars like Foruzanfar and Franklin have already done the latest research on this imatter. Rather we just want to point to some points that have not been looked at detail by those who try to disclaim Rumi from Persian civilization and assign him to other civilizations.

Thus from the above examples, it is sufficient to state that when Rumi states “Greek (Rumian) there. They do not understand out language,” he is explicitly stating that they do not understand Persian because as shown below, the everyday language of Rumi (his language) was Persian as well. This is not surprising since his father’s native language was also Persian.

The Persian lectures, letters and sermons of Rumi and his everyday language

Three major works of prose have come down from Rumi. Two of them were recorded by his students and disciples while the other one contains his letters. All three works are in Persian except two discourses in Arabic out of 71 total discourses and three letters out of 150 letters.

The first Prose work of Rumi is called Fihi Ma Fih (“What in it is in it”)“

“The discourses of Rumi or Fihi ma Fih, provides a record of seventy-one talks and lectures given by Rumi on various occasions, some of them formal and some of them rather informal. Probably compiled from the notes made by various disciples, they were put together in an effort to preserve his teaching quite likely after his death. As such, Rumi did not “author” the work and probably did not intend for it to be widely distributed (compare the genesis of de Saussure’s Course in General Linguistics.). As Safa points out (Saf 2:1206) the Discourse reflect the stylistics of oral speech and lack the sophisticated word plays, Arabic vocabulary and sound patterning that we would expect from a consciously literary text of this period. Once again, the style of Rumi as lecturer or orator in these discourses does not reflect an audience of great intellectual pretensions, but rather middle-class men and women, along with number of statesmen and rulers.
The notes probably reflect only a portion what was said on any given occasion. Prayers, formal sermons and so forth have been left out and only the meaty instructions and elucidations that the disciples felt distinctive and worth noting were preserved.” (Franklin, pg 292)

The second prose work of Rumi is called the Majales-e Sabe’ (literally, “seven sermons or seven sessions”). These sermons according to Franklin are:

“The Seven Sermons,” is, as its name suggests, a small compilation of seven sermons or formal lectures of a didactic nature (technically, “sittings” or majles) formal lectures of didactic nature (technically, “sitting” or majles) attributed to Rumi. Unlike the Discourses, Rumi delivered these homilies on questions of ethnics and faith on ceremonial occasions, probably in a mosque, perhaps after Friday prayers.

We cannot fix the date of the most of these sermons, though one of them may have been delivered when Rumi’s parents were still alive. ...Some of these sermons could date from much later in life. Rumi’s sermons typically began with an exordium in Arabic, followed by a prayer in Persian. The sermon itself gives a commentary on the deeper meaning of a Koran verse or a hadith. The style of the Persian is rather simple, but the quotation of Arabic and the knowledge of history and the Hadith display the preacher’s firm grounding in the Islamic sciences. The sermons include quotations from poems of Sana’i, Attar, and other poets, including many lines from Rumi himself. “(Franklin, pg 293).

The best edition of the Majales was produced Towfiq Sobhani (1986), based on the oldest manuscript (in Konya, Turkey, dated 1352). In actuality, we should mention that is it not surprising that Rumi gave Friday prayer sermons because his father and ancestors (Khatibi) were also preachers.

Finally, the Maktubat is the collected letters of Rumi. There was an earlier edition by Fereydun Nafiz Uzluk (whom we mentioned also with regards to some unsound theories and possible distortions in the introduction).

According to Franklin with regards to the edition of Uzluk:

“Unfortunately, the use of an inferior manuscript, faulty editorial decisions and printing mistakes virtually nullify the usefulness of this edition. The seventeen pages of errata do include some manuscript variations, but primarily correct typographical errors; even so, Sharaf al-Din Yalet Qaya added an additional five pages of mistake to this” (pg 294).

The best edition has been produced again the Iranian scholar Towfiq Sobhani (1992). According to Franklin: “Towfiq Sobhani has thankfully made these editions obsolete and readers should henceforth refer to his edition of Maktubat-e Mowlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Daneshgahi, 1371/1992)” (pg 294)
According to Franklin: “Rumi’s letters reveal that an extended community of disciples and family members looked to Rumi as an intercessor, not only with God, but also with men of state and influence. He sought to help them in their economic and communal affairs, and wrote recommendation letters, introducing individuals to potential patrons and asking for assistance. The letters testify that Rumi kept very busy helping family members and administering a community of disciples that had grown up around him. It should dispel the notion foisted on us by Sultan Valad that he lived a reclusive life withdrawn from the affairs of the world after the disappearance of Shams. In contrast with the prose of his Discourses and Sermons, the style of the letters is consciously sophisticated and epistolary, in conformity with the expectations of correspondence directed to nobles, statement and kings”. (pg 294-295)

Thus we have three prose works from Rumi with the major one being Fihi ma Fih. All these works are in Persian except for: 1) The discourse 22 and 34 in Fihi Ma fih which are in Arabic, and the rest of the discourses are in Persian for a total of 71 discourses 2) The introductory short prayer in the seven sermons are Arabic before he switches to Persian 3) Out of the 150 letters of the Maktubat, about three are in Arabic, and four which consist of Arabic poems. All the rest of these prose are in Persian.

What does this tell us about Rumi’s everyday language? The informal and common folk prose of the Fihi ma Fih, and the seven sermons as opposed to the more informal and literary Maktubat clearly shows that Rumi used Persian language as his native language as well as his literary language. If his literary language was separated from his native language, then one would expect that in formal and common folk gatherings where he is guiding his disciples or in the public sermons that he is giving, he would do it so in the more widely spoken languages of Anatolia (say Greek or Turkish) or in a language used more often for religious instructions (Arabic). However, the fact that the common folk idiom of Fihi ma Fih are discourses in oral speech proves beyond any doubt that Rumi’s everyday language for himself and his followers was Persian, which was also his native language.

Response to couple of nationalistic statements with regards to Rumi’s prose and Rumi’s everyday language (not just literary language)

When confronted with the immense Persian poetry of Rumi, some nationalists who try to disclaim Rumi from his Persian heritage usually repeat the same argument.

Professor Talat S. Halman states:

“In Turkey, where language is the primary ethnic detriment and carries a forceful national mystique, the language question has been an emotional one. In the introduction to his verse translation of Mesnevi, Abdullah Oztemiz Hacitahiroglu writes: “The fact that the Mesnevi was composed in Persian and consequently remained alien to the Turkish people has been a source of sorrow for all Turks in all eras.” As a result, many Turkish authors and scholars offered various explanations and excuses. Former senator Feyzi Halici of Konya, a well-known poet who has translated several hundred poems by Rumi and published many poems on him, has stated in the English postscript to his book entitled Dinle Neyden (Listen to the Reed):
It is wrongly believed in Europe that Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi was of Persian origin. This was caused by the fact that the master wrote in Persian. But we must bear in mind that in the Middle Ages in most European countries the literary works were written in Latin, though each country had her own language. So it was in the Middle Eastern countries... “Farsi” being the common language for literary works, Mevlana had written his masterpieces in Persian.

Samiha Ayveri, a Turkish Specialist of Ottoman and Islamic culture summarily states:

“There are those who think of Rumi as the representative of Persian culture because he wrote his works in Persian. But in that era the scholarly language was customarily Arabic and the literary language was Persian...As is known, Rumi was Turkish” (Halman, pg 267-268)

That Rumi belongs to the Persian cultural world is clear. We shall discuss his relationship to the Persian cultural world briefly in a later section. But for example, virtually all the Sufis that come up in Masnavi are Persians (Attar, Sanai, Kherqani, Shibli, Junayd, Hallaj, Bayazid, Abu Said..) except a few who are Arabic (Dhul-nun mesri). From a cultural myth point of view, Rumi has referenced Persian heroes like Rustam, Esfandiyar and etc. and has nothing with regards to Turkish mythology. These issues will be discussed later.

However, the best response to such nationalist nonsense that Rumi wrote in Persian because it was the literary language are these:

First of all Rumi did not like writing poetry as he has stated several times. So naturally if he did not like writing poetry, he would not use the common literarily language. But if he wrote poetry, then he must have wrote it also for people that understood him. That is his inner circles besides Rumi himself were native Persian speakers.

Second, the lectures of Rumi are informal, vernacular and colloquial discussions which he gave in front of his students. These are not literary Persians (like the official letters of his in the Maktubat), but provide the best proof of the everyday spoken language of Rumi. These lectures (Fihi ma Fih) and Sermons (Majales Sabe’) establish clearly that Rumi’s everyday language was Persian and he was not just using Persian for literary value.

For example, in Konya, he gives sermons in Persian not Turkish. In the Fihi ma Fih (which were written down by his students), his lectures to his students are in Persian not Turkish or Greek, which would have reached a wider audience. As noted by Franklin and Safa: “As Safa points out (Saf 2:1206) the Discourse reflect the stylistics of oral speech and lack the sophisticated word plays, Arabic vocabulary and sound patterning that we would except from a consciously literary text of this period. Once again, the style of Rumi as lecturer or orator in these discourses does not reflect an audience of great intellectual pretensions, but rather middle-class men and women, along with number of statesmen and rulers” (Franklin,292). Where as we note when it comes to literary Persian, we can also see it in Rumi’s official letters. As noted again by Franklin: “In contrast with the prose of his Discourses and sermons, the style of the letters is consciously sophisticated and epistolary, in conformity with the expectations of correspondence directed to nobles, statement and kings”. Thus the fact that Rumi users oral Persian
(and not just written language) in a common folk fashion in the Fihi ma Fih and the Seven Sermons while using literally sophisticated Persian in the Maktubat totally negates any sort of the nationalist arguments that are quoted in Halman’s book. Indeed Rumi used Persian everyday not just as his literary language, but as a language to correspond with officials, as a language to guide his disciples and as a language of his Friday sermons. Indeed Aflaki also always mentions him speaking in Persian and few times in Arabic. We shall also show based on the book of Aflaki that Rumi’s everyday language was Persian as Rumi even curses in Persian and a person curses in his native language. His dialogues in that book are also recorded in Persian.

Third, Turkish nationalist writer Fereydun Nafiz Uzluk has come up with the baseless argument that the Seven Sermons were originally in Turkish but then translated in Persian. However this argument falls flatly in its face, because the seven sermons are replete with poetry of Attar, Sanai and other Persian poets in their context, as well their style of Persian (although not literally) are highly poetic spiritual discussions. For example let us just quote the introduction of the first sermon and let the average Persian reader be the judge:

ملكا و پادشاه! آننشهای حرص ما در به آب رحمت خوش بنشان. جان مشتاقان را چرا وجدت بچهان. ضمیمی دل ما را به انوار معرف و اسرار وجدت، منور و روشن دار. دامهای امید ما را که در صحرای سعت رحمت تو بار گشاده‌ایم به مرگان سعادت و شکارهای کرمت مشرف و مکرم گردان. آه سحرگاه سوختگان راه را به سمع قبول و عاطفه استماع خن. دود دل بیدلان را که از سور فراق آن مجمع ارواح، هر دم آن دود بر تابیانه فلک برمی‌آید، به عطر وصال معطر گردان. قال و چیل ما را و گفت و شنود ما را که چون پاسبانان بر بام سلطنت عشق، چویک می‌زند از اجرای؛ یوفیهای اجورهم غیر حساب» نصب مدام بخشش فرما. قال ما را خلاصی حال گردان. حال ما را از شرفات قال در گزان. ما را از دشمن‌کامی هر دو جهان نگاه‌دار. آنها دشمنان می‌خواهند بر ما، از ما درار. آنها دوستان می‌خواهند و گمان می‌برند. ما را عالیتر و بهتر از آن گردان. ای خزانه‌ای لطف تو بیابان و ای دربای با یهنای با كرم تو بیکران.

....

....

مثلت هست در سراي غرور
مثل سحرش نشایور
در نموز آن یخک نهاده به پیش
کس خریدار یک و او دریش
بخ گداران شده ز گرمی و مرد
This is highly sweet style of Persian and its clear it is given from the pulpit and then a piece of poetry from Sanai is embedded within the sermon. Many times Rumi quotes Sanai, Attar and other Persian poets in these sermons and thus clearly establishes his Persian cultural heritage and orientation. Also Fereydun Nafiz Ozluk and his like were not experts in the Persian language as exemplified by the faulty edition of the Maktubat they produced. Thus Fereydun Nafiz Ozluk’s claim is also refuted by the fact that he must now claim that: Sanai and Attar also wrote in Turkish! and they were also translated to Persian!

Furthermore, as mentioned the Fihi ma Fih provides an example again of everyday colloquial but eloquent Persian. Both texts are not in a literary form of Persian but rather in a colloquial form and also the most important fact is their context. The sermons from pulpit and the lectures given to his students were given by Rumi but not written by him. They were written by his students and Rumi had no intention to produce literary work here. Thus this clearly establishes the everyday language of Rumi, and the everyday language of the followers of Rumi and his father was Persian. Why else would someone in Konya give sermons in Persian or instruct his students in Persian, both in a colloquial common language but eloquent and oratory fashion. So again, the arguments of the proponents of the claim “Rumi wrote in Persian because it was the literary language” are totally negated by the fact that Rumi’s everyday spoken language as shown in the Fihi ma Fih and the Seven Sermons was in Persian and nothing else. And from a cultural point of view, the sermons are replete with quotes from Persian poets like Attar, Sanai and etc. but nothing from any Turkic cultural item. We will describe this cultural heritage of Rumi in another section.

Rumi’s Persian poetry

The two well known books of poetry by Rumi are the Mathnawi and the Diwan (also called Diwan-i Kabir). These works are very different by the fact that the Mathnawi is a didactic poetical work full of wisdom and advices where-as the Diwan-i Shams is a mystical book of longing and passion. Although hard to compare, the Mathnawi which was written after the Diwan is the seminal work of Rumi and responsible for his fame. Both books have come down to us in different manuscripts.

According to Franklin:

“The manuscripts versions differ greatly in the size of the text and orthography. Nicholson’s text has 25,577 lines though the average medieval and early modern manuscripts contained around
27,000 lines, meaning the scribes added two thousand lines or about eight percent more to the poem composed by Rumi. Some manuscripts give as many as 32000!" (Franklin, pg 306)

The Mathnawi is an immense contribution to Persian literature and culture and one of its crowning achievements. The book is in Persian except for the occasional Quranic verses and Hadeeth sayings that are embedded in the poetry. Franklin and other scholars have clearly shown that many of the stories are well rooted in the Perso-Islamic civilization, especially that of Khorasan. Some themes have come from the Kalila-o Demna which came to Iran via India during the Sassanid era and was popularized in the Perso-Arabic Islamic world through the Sassanid medium. Overall, sources such as Attar, Kaila va Demna, Tha’labi, the four discourses of Nezami ‘Aruzi, Ghazzali, Sanai and other major themes, stories and figures of the Persian-Arabic Islamic world are mentioned. Besides these, the Qur’an and Hadeeth also occupy the foremost place alongside Attar and Sanai for the sources of many of the stories and insights.

The other major work of Rumi is of course the Diwan (or Diwan-i Shams)

According to Franklin:

“The Foruzanfar’s edition of the Divan-e Shams compromises 3229 ghazals and qasidas making a total of almost 35000 lines, not including several hundred lines of stanzaic poems and nearly two thousand quatrains attributed to him" (pg 314).

A large part of the Roba’is attributed to Rumi are not his, however the overwhelming majority of Ghazals and Qasidas are not in doubt.

“With respect to the roba’is, or quatrains, it is highly likely that many of the quatrains the manuscript tradition attributes to Rumi are not his. We have already seen how Rumi quotes a quatrain of Najm al-Din Daye in his Discourses without mentioning the author’s name. The Roba’i as a genre was early on associated with Sufi gatherings and music” (Franklin, 302)

“The number of Roba’is attributed to Rumi varies widely, even wildly, from manuscript to another. Many of the larger collections contain quatrains attributed to earlier poets and can be discounted as false attributions to Rumi, but the short, pithy and essentially oral nature of the Roba’is have appeared separate from the Divan in several publications” (Franklin, 303)

Overall, according to Franklin:

“The printing press was only introduced to the Muslim world two hundred years ago, and did not become the predominate mode of publication until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In a pre-print culture, book must, of course, be copied out by hand, and this provides ample opportunity for scribal and editorial errors – misreading of difficult words, deliberate “improvements” or interpolations added by scribes, erroneous or intentional misattribution of poems to other authors, etc. In some cases, the manuscript tradition has amplified the corpus of various authors’ work by ten percent or more over the centuries. Ferdowsi’s Shah name, for example, probably consisted of about 50,000 lines originally, but before modern text editors
began working from the oldest manuscripts and sifting out the lines which can be with relative certainty be discarded as later accretions, the received text of Ferdowsi’s poem contained about 60,000 lines. Like, the Masnavi of Rumi contains 25,577 lines in Nicholson’s critical edition (not 27,000 as Rypka says), but late pre-modern manuscripts and nineteenth-century printings contain anywhere from 27,700 to as many as 32,000 lines, an accretion of between two and seven thousand lines that do not come from the pen of Rumi.

Foruzanfar’s critical edition of the Divan-e Shams contains over 35,000 lines, and though some scholars have questioned the attribution of a large part of the Divan-e Shams to Rumi (especially the roba’is, many of which have been proven to be by other poets), radical skepticism seems unwarranted. “Franklin, pg 296).

The Divan is not a didactic text, but rather a book of poetry on mystical love. The Dar al-Masnavi website has described it succinctly but very well:

“The "Divan" is the inspiration of Rumi's middle-aged years. It began with his meeting Shams-i Tabriz, becoming his disciple and spiritual friend, the stress of Shams' first disappearance, and the crisis of Shams' final disappearance. It is believed that he continued to compose poems for the Divan long after this final crisis-- during the composition of the Masnavi. The Divan is filled with ecstatic verses in which Rumi expresses his mystical love for Shams as a symbol of his love for God. It is characteristic of Persian Sufi poetry for it to be ambiguous as to whether the human beloved or the Divine Beloved (= God) is being addressed. It is also an essential feature of the particular kind of Sufism Rumi practiced that mystical "annihilation in the spiritual master" [fanâ fi 'sh-shaykh] is considered a necessary first stage before mystical "annihilation in God" [fanâ fi 'llâh] can be attained. The Divan is filled with poems expressing this first stage in which Rumi sees Shams everywhere and in everything. Rumi’s "annihilation" of his separate self was so intense that, instead of following the tradition of including his own name in the last line of odes/ghazals, he often uses the name of his beloved spiritual master and friend instead. Or he appeals to (mystical) Silence [khâmosh] which transcends the mind and its concepts.” (Dar al-Masnavi Website)

All the poetry of Rumi in the Mathnawi are in Persian (except for a small number of Arabic Quranic and hadith phrases) and the Diwan Shams is 99% Persian, with the exception of some Arabic, and very small number of Turkish (about some couple of Dozen verses or so) and Greek.

As noted by Annemarie Schimmel, The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi, SUNY Press, 1993, p. 193: "Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian, but he had learned during his stay in Konya, enough Turkish and Greek to use it, now and then, in his verse"

And as noted by Franklin: “Living among Turks, Rumi also picked up some colloquial Turkish.” (pg 315)

The number of Greek verses according to http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~opoudjis/Play/rumiwalad.html are 14 macaronic verses. Since one does not know how long a website may last, we have included in the appendix the Greek verses of Rumi and his son Sultan Walad based on this website:
The number of Turkish verses due to manuscript differences is unknown exactly. But they are very small and do not make even half a percent of his output.

According to Mehmed Foud Kopurlu, the, “Turkish work consists of about eight or ten lines of poetry” (Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Early Mystics in Turkish Literature, trans., ed., and with an introduction by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Routledge, 2006). Pg 208

According to Mecdut MensurOghlu: “The Divan of Jalal al-Din Rumi contains 35 couplets in Turkish and Turkish-Persian which have recently been published me” (Celal al-Din Rumi’s turkische Verse: UJb. XXIV (1952), pp 106-115)

According to Halman:

“The Iranian claim on the ground of language is incontrovertible, although some Turkish writers have tried to create the impression that Rumi composed a substantial body of verse in Turkish in addition to Persian. The statistical record is clear: The Mesnevi (Persian: Mathnawi) consists of nearly 26,000 couplets: the Divan-I Kebir (Persian: Divan-e Kabir) probably has about 40,000 couplets, although the figure varies greatly. Of this vast output, everything is in Persian except for a handful of poems, couplets, lines, and words in Turkish, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew. Mecdut Mansuroglu, a meticulous Turkish scholar, found only ten Turkish poems in all of Mevlana’s work. Sherefdin Yaltkaya, in an earlier study, compiled a total of 103 words of Turkic origin in Mevlana’s Persian poetry. This is infinitesimal compared with hous output in Persian. Rumi is patently Persian on the basis of jus et normal loquendi.” (Halman, pg 267)

However as noted, the 1952 work of MensurOghlu mentions 35 couplets in Turkish and as far as we know, Rumi does not have any verses in Hebrew. As per the number of Turkic words in Rumi’s words (assuming their etymology has been done correctly which is very hard to say since the noted scholar might not be aware that many words of Sogdian origin have entered Turkish like Khatun or some words like Tegin and etc. are not of Turkish origin but possibly Eastern Saka), we will say something about that in the next section.

According to Franklin:

“a couple of dozen at most of the 35,000 lines of the Divan-I Shams are in Turkish, and almost all of these lines occur in poems that are predominantly in Persian”(Franklin, pg, 549)

Be that it may, due to different manuscript edition, one can upper bound the number of Turkish verses at no more than 100 (this is an upper bound but probably couple of dozen or so is more correct). If we assume this upper bound, then the number of Turkish verses are about 1/3 of one percent of the Diwan (not counting the quatrains which are all in Persian) and if we assume the number of MensurOghlu, it is about one tenth of one percent. Clearly an insignificant number. We will have something to say about the reliability of these verses in the next section.
The number of Greek verses are also insignificant. The number of Arabic verses are slightly more although again insignificant compare to the number of Persian verses. According to the Dar al-Masnavi website: “In Forûzânfar’s edition of Rumi’s Divan, there are 90 ghazals (Vol. 1, 29; Vol. 2, 1; Vol. 3, 6; Vol. 4, 8; Vol. 5, 19, Vol. 6, 0; Vol. 7, 27) and 19 quatrains entirely in Arabic. In addition, there are ghazals which are all Arabic except for the final line; many have one or two lines in Arabic within the body of the poem; some have as many as 9-13 consecutive lines in Arabic, with Persian verses preceding and following; some have alternating lines in Persian, then Arabic; some have the first half of the verse in Persian, the second half in Arabic.”

All together, these should not make more 1000 lines and thus an upper bound for the number of Arabic verses is 3%. So overall, we can say at least 96.5% of the output of the Divan-i Kabir is in Persian.

Golpinarli and Vladimir Mir Mirughli make an important point about the Diwan: “Three poems have bits of demotic Greek; these have been identified and translated into French, along with some Greek verses of Sultan Valad. Golpinarli (GM 416-417) indicates according to Vladimir Mir Mirughli, the Greek used in some of Rumi’s macaronic poems reflects the demotic Greek of the inhabitants of Anatolia. Golpinarli then argues that Rumi knew classical Persian and Arabic with precision, but typically composes poems in a more popular or colloquial Persian and Arabic.” (Franklin, 316)

Both the Mathnawi and Diwan are crowning pieces of Persian literature and an immense contribution to Persian culture. They are universal works, however one needs to know the Persian language and be familiar with the Sufic-Islamic culture to fully appreciate them. Thus although universal, one can say there would be no Rumi in its current form without the Persian language and the Persian language would not have been rich without Rumi.

Thus we have three major prose works in Persian and two major books of poetry in Persian. These are Rumi’s contribution to the Persian culture and language. His contributions to Arabic is minor and his contribution to Greek and Turkish is negligible (assuming that these are not later attributions).

Response to an invalid arguments with regards to the Diwan

In Turkish nationalistic writings, the author has encountered several different arguments in order to claim a Turkish cultural background for Rumi. We examine these arguments here.

Invalid Argument: “Rumi was a Turk because he has some verses in Turkish”
The first argument can be summarized as follows: “Rumi was a Turk because he has some verses in Turkish,”

As already pointed out:

A)
As noted by Annemarie Schimmel, The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi, SUNY Press, 1993, p. 193: "Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian, but he had learned during his stay in Konya, enough Turkish and Greek to use it, now and then, in his verse"

And as noted by Franklin: "Living among Turks, Rumi also picked up some colloquial Turkish." (Franklin, pg 315)

B) Rumi’s Turkish verses are miniscule. As noted, if we combine the literally output of Rumi’s Persian poetry (both Mathnawi and the Diwan) and take an upper bound, we do not even get one third of one percent of Turkish poetry from Rumi’s total output (35 verses are said out of 60,000 verses of Diwan and Masnavi).

Also Rumi has some Greek verses and even more Arabic verses. Just because he has verses in Greek does not make him of Greek background. These Greek verses are appended to the appendix of this article. Even his chosen pen-name was “Rumi” (Greek) and the word “Rumi” in Rumi’s poetry is used for Greek rather than Anatolian Muslim (for example the famous story of the Persian, Greek, Arab and Turk arguing over the same grape).

http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~opoudjis/Play/rumiwalad.html

C) Assuming that the Greek and Turkish verses are reliable (in terms of manuscripts), what can we say about them? Rumi himself had students from many backgrounds as well as his poetry in the Divan-i Shams were recorded by his students. He might be walking the Bazar, town square, talking to his students and etc. and then all of the sudden in an impulsive nature compose poetry. Given the colloquial language that he uses, and given the fact that Greek and Turkish were widely spoken in the region, this fact that he has some verses in Greek and Turkish is not surprising (assuming again that the manuscripts are valid and authentically verified). However what is surprising is that despite coming to Anatolia at a very young age, these Greek and Turkish verses are miniscule and do not even make one tenth of all of Rumi’s literally output (prose and poems combined). Also as shown, even Sultan Walad who had slightly more Greek and Turkish admits that his knowledge of these languages (Greek and Turkish) is relatively poor. This is discussed in a later section but it provides a sufficient proof that the native language of Rumi’s son Sultan Walad was also Persian and not the more widespread Greek and Turkish.

D) All of the prose of Rumi and his ordinary demotic lectures in the Fihi ma Fih and Seven sermons are in Persian. Hence the Persian language was Rumi’s native and everyday language. It is the language he
used to guide his followers and the language he used when conversing with Shams. It was the native language of his father and Rumi’s everyday language.

E) According to Halman: “A refutation of the Turkish claim may be found in historical fact evinced by Turkish sources. No Ottoman Tezkire’ tush-shuara (poet’s live; Who’s Who in Poetry) lists biographical data on Rumi, thus indicating that he was not considered a Turkish poet by the Ottoman Turks themselves. Also significant is the statement of Mehmed Fuad Kopruli, generally recognized as the greatest scholar of Turkish literary history in the twentieth century: “Although one encounters several pieces of Greek and Turkish verse in the Divan-I Kebir, these could not be considered, on the basis of their nature and numbers, sufficient to presume that he was a Turkish poet”. Golpinarli corrobates this view: “With Mevlana’s arrival from Balkh to Anatolia, a branch of Iranian literature was transported into Anatolia. The Turkish couplets and the few Turkish words he used in Mulemmas [compound verses in two or more languages] could never confer on him the status of a Turkish poet” (Halman, pg 268-269)

This is clear by itself and does not need additional commentary.

F) Finally, there have been Persians that have actually produced Turkish works in the courts of the Timurids and also in the Ottoman lands. And their works are significant unlike the negligible (assuming the manuscripts are authentic) verses of Greek and Turkish poetry. Two examples suffice

Or the Iranian author Mirza Habib Esfahani has written in Persian and Ottoman Turkish


Excerpt: "HABIBESFAHANI, Mirzā, Iranian poet, grammarian and translator, who spent much of his life in exile in Ottoman Turkey (1835-93). A prolific and versatile writer and translator in both Persian and Turkish, Mirzā Ḥabib is celebrated in particular for his Persian grammar, Dastur-e Soḵān. Mirzā Ḥabib’s most important work in Turkish is his Kaṭṭ va kaṭṭāṭān (Istanbul, 1305/1888), a biographical dictionary of Persian and Turkish calligraphers. He also published a Turkish translation of Gil Blas as well as his Divān in Turkish and a versified history of the Ottomans."

Another is the Iranian author Sad al-Din Masud ibn Umar ibn Abd Allah al-Taftazani.

Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, Volume 1, London, 1900. excerpt from pg 202: "...the next work in Turkish poetry is versified translation of Sa'adi's Bustan or 'Orchard' made in 755 by the great and famous Persian schoolmen Sa'd-ud-Din Me'sud-i-Taftazani."

And many other Iranian peoples, especially Kurds and also Persian immigrants to Anatolia who have written in Turkish languages.

Invalid Argument: Rumi uses some Turkish words in his poetry

The second argument is: “Rumi uses some Turkish words in his Persian poetry”

One wonders if this needs a response even. Rumi also uses Greek, and Arabic words in his poetry. For example the following words (and many more) are of Greek origin and had entered Persian:

ديهيم , اقلليم , لفت , دفنت , زمرد , كلید , قلم , سمدر , ارغنون , اکسیر , موسيقی , فلسفة

And there are more Greek verses. Also we should note that the Khorasani Persian used by Rumi (and later the Persian that was spoken by Iranians of Konya and Anatolia who had fled the Mongol invasion) was an area that was controlled and neighbored by Turks for a long time. According to the Professor Xavier Planhol, an expert in Historical-Geography (an extensive field which requires expertise in both of these subjects) as well an expert on nomadism in the Middle East:

“The Turks, on the other hand, posed a formidable threat: their penetration into Iranian lands was considerable, to such an extent that vast regions adapted their language. This process was all the more remarkable since, in spite of their almost uninterrupted political domination for nearly 1,000 years, the cultural influence of these rough nomads on Iran’s refined civilization remained extremely tenuous. This is demonstrated by the mediocre linguistic contribution, for which exhaustive statistical studies have been made (Doerfer). The number of Turkish or Mongol words that entered Persian, though not negligible, remained limited to 2,135, i.e., 3 percent of the vocabulary at the most. These new words are confined on the one hand to the military and political sector (titles, administration, etc.) and, on the other hand, to technical pastoral terms. The contrast with Arab influence is striking. While cultural pressure of the Arabs on Iran had been intense, they in no way infringed upon the entire Iranian territory, whereas with the Turks, whose contributions to Iranian civilization were modest, vast regions of Iranian lands were assimilated, notwithstanding the fact that resistance by the latter was ultimately victorious. Several reasons may be offered.”

(Xavier Planhol, Land of Iran, Encyclopedia Iranica)

We should note that Halman mentions 103 Turkish words in Rumi’s poetry based on the Turkish scholar Yaltkaya (1934), but no reliable etymology has been offered of these (and the manuscripts are not clear). For example many people are not aware that the word Khatun (see Encyclopedia of Islam) is considered Soghdian or many Turkic titles are actually from the Xiongnu language.

Either way, due to centuries of Turkish rule, starting from the Ghaznavids, Turkish words had penetrated the Persian language, but their number as pointed out by Professor Planhol are no more than 3% of the total historical Persian vocabulary (many of them not used anymore in modern Persian but they reached their peak during the Safavid era). This author has just picked the first 100 verses from the Mathnawi
and the first 100 verses from the Ghazals. Multiplying by 10, this is about 2000 words. Not a single word among these was in Turkish. Thus the frequency of these words is also very small.

Also, the argument is also invalid because Ottoman Turkish had at least 20% Persian vocabulary, but this does not make all the native writers of that language as Persians. Overall modern Persian contains a considerable number of Arabic words, and to a lesser extent some Turkish and Greek words. Also increasingly words of Indo-European origin (French and English) have entered the language.

Invalid argument: Rumi has traces of Central Asia Turkish in his poetry

The third argument is: “Rumi’s verses show some traces of Eastern Khorasani Turkish. The linguist Doerfer claims some words are close to the Khorasani Turkic in his work (Turkische Folklore-Texte aus Chorasan) and that language of Balkh was Khorasan Turkic. For example Rumi uses the feature –GAY instead of jek to indicate future tense”

This argument is invalid also as Gerhard Doerfer is a linguist but not a Rumi scholar nor has he written any article on Rumi. However, this author had to search to find what Doerfer said exactly. In his book Doerfer, Gerhard, "Türkische Folklore-Texte aus Chorasan", Wolfram Hesche. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1998. Doerfer does not mention Rumi at all except in an incoherent footnote where he states on page 15 (footnote 30):“The language of Mowlana Jalal al-Din Rumi has in some important matters some similarities with the people of Langar (in Iranian Khorasan). One should note that Rumi was from Balkh and the people of Langar were the same turban. Does Marbili here mean Marvi?”

We already see that Doerfer does not make such a claim that the language of Balkh was Khorasan Turkic. If indeed Doerfer made such a claim, he has relied on Togan to hypothesize about Rumi’s ancestry but has not stated anything firm (as mentioned in the introduction, Zekki Velid Togan was a major pan-Turkist and although some of his writings have been deemed scholarly, others have been criticized severely and we noted an example of severe criticism by Bosworth on Togan’s invalid claim of Abu Rayhan Biruni the Iranian Chorsamian). We already note the Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi were “Zaban-i Balkhi” is explicitly mentioned and it is Persian dialect and provides a direct proof on the language of Balkh. Also Doerfer had not kept up to date with the most recent scholarship on Rumi and Rumi is from Wakhsh Tajikistan. Furthermore, what does a similar turban (which is available in Khorasan) from modern day have to do with the 13th century?

As per the word –gAy instead of jek, or other similar features, according to the same linguist (and not Rumi scholar): “In three places in Southeast Khoran Turkic we find Uzbek or Oghuz Uzbek dative in –GA after vowels. ...The Un-Oghuz Uzbek feature suffix in –GAY has entered some areas, as has the southern Uzbek personal suffix of the first-person plural –bIz instead of –mIz, both occurring in Northeast Khorasan Turkic and Langar” (G.Doerfer, "The Turkic Languages of Iran" in Lars Johanson, Éva Csató, "The Turkic languages", Taylor & Francis, 1998. pg 279.)
However, let us note that a linguist who has not studied Rumi’s work is working with hypothesis that are not provable and imaginative. For example we just saw that Doerfer did not know that Rumi was born in Wakhsh. Furthermore, we need to mention why such a methodology is invalid.

A) **There is not a single verse of Western Turkish from Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan before the Mongol era.** As mentioned the language of Balkh was zabani Balkhi which was the Persian dialect mentioned in Dakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi (see the section of Baha al-Din Walad in this article). The language of Wakhsh is also the same colloquial and informal language that one sees in the Ma’arif and as demonstrated by careful examination, this was the native language of Baha al-Din Walad.

B) So there is no really valid basis for comparison. There was numerous Turkic dialects in Anatolia, undoubtedly many which showed more Central Asian features in their every day speech relative to others. After all, many Turkish groups and tribes were pushed to Anatolia from Central Asia. They brought various Turkic dialects, many of them whom were merged or have died out. However Rumi was neither of tribal nor Turkish as demonstrated by his father’s work and his own work and came from a Persian cultural background. But he did come into contact with Turks of various dialects and backgrounds in Anatolia.

C) There is not enough of information on all of these dialects, many of them which have transformed, merged, evolved or disappeared. Rumi was in touch with speakers of some of these dialects through the cities he lived. The Seljuqs themselves where from Khorasan or Central Asia and brought with them numerous Turkic tribes who were part of their army. Indeed all the Turks that migrated to Anatolia came from Central Asia either came through the Caucasus or Iran. So naturally in their variety of dialects, some areas kept their Central Asian features longer than others. That is their evolution occurred at various rates depending on the area and these dialects were present in Anatolia. For example one would not expect the same Turkish dialect in Laranda (where Sultan Walad was born) be like that of Konya (where Rumi was productive for most of his life). Just like there was different dialects of Greek in Anatolia at the the time also.

D) So we could not expect that in the 13th century, there was a unifying Turkish dialect. Just like today there is not a unified Persian or Turkic dialect. Indeed there was not a unified and standard Turkish language in the Turkey of the 20th century (we are not counting the Ottoman language and are concerned with widely a languages). Typically, the migrant tribes showed more Central Asiatic features. Even today for example, two villages 30 miles away can speak a great variety of Kurdish. Or in Iran there is a variation between various Persian dialects spoken in different cities and also various Azeri-Turkish dialects (Tabriz and Urmia...)

E) From a linguistic aspect Iranica (once again Doerfer) mention:

>Azeri belongs to the Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family. In the eleventh century the “Türân defeated Ėrán” and a broad wave of Oghuz Turks flooded first Khorasan, then all the rest of Iran, and finally Anatolia, which they made a base for vast conquests. But it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the East Anatolian dialects of Turkish and Azeri, on the one hand, and between Azeri and “Afsharoid” dialects or even Khorasan Turkic, on the other hand. There is a plethora of transitional phenomena among all Oghuz idioms. (G. Doerfer, “Azeri Turkish” in
Encyclopedia Iranica). Undoubtedly, this was even more true when there was a variety of Turkic tribes, without a lack of mass communications and divergences, evolutions, transformations of their dialects could have occurred even in a few generations. Also more importantly, the Khorasan Turkic dialects are not present in Balkh nor Wakhsh. In actuality, many theories are put forth on how this dialect came about, but given its close similarity to Azerbaijani Turkish, it is likely that the Turkoman tribes (Ghezelbash) of Eastern Anatolia who migrated to Iran during the Safavid era brought these dialects to both Azerbaijan and Khorasan. Later these dialects had mutual correspondences with more archaic forms of Oghuz and Uzbek Turkic. Indeed the Safavids moved these tribes to Khorasan (along with Kurds) to protect the frontier against Uzbeks.

So overall finding various Central Asian Turkish features in different dialects of Turkish that were present in Anatolia is not surprising and Rumi himself had contact with different Greeks and Turks who spoke different dialects of Greek and Turkish. After all this is the 13th century, were these dialects were transplanted into Anatolia recently and there was of course divergence among these dialects and languages, say even in places like Laranda and Konya. Just like there is divergence among the Tehran Persian, Mashhadi Persian and Isfhanai Persian and this is true specially before the era of mass communication where just a short distance created divergence in dialects.

Again we would like to emphasize that there is not a single verse of Western Turkish (Oghuz Turkish) before the Mongol invasion from Balkh or Wakhsh. Neither does Rumi’s father have a single verse of Turkish but his colloquial and informal everyday Persian provides a sufficient proof of his native language (as well as other factors covered in the previous section). Furthermore, the Ma’arif of Baha al-Din Walad clearly demonstrates the colloquial and informal language that was present in Wakhsh as he himself preaches there and lived there before coming to Anatolia. To conclude, the usage of unsound methodology (trying to say find words that might exist in the 20th century Turkish dialects of Central Asia but have almost disappeared in the 20th century Turkish dialects of Turkey due to evolution of the language and dialects) in order to study the culture and background of Rumi only yields full of contradictions and hypothesis that cannot be proven. Specially if one does not study the prose and poetic works of Rumi, Sultan Walad and Baha al-Din Walad nor studies the history of the region (for example not knowing about Dhakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi or Rumi was born in Wakhsh) and ignores all of his works and concentrates on a word that could have been used by some Turks in Anatolia at that time which is not present today.

Invalid argument: Rumi’s usage of the word Turk shows he was a Turk
The fourth argument has to do with the usage of Turk in the Mathnawi and Diwan-i Shams.

The argument given is the following verses (listed by Halman):

بيگانه میگوید مرا زن گویم
در شهر شما خانه‌ی خود میگویم
“I too belong to this place, don’t think I’m a freak;
I settled in these parts, a hearth is what I seek.
To you I might seem like a foe, but I am not.
I am Turkish though Hindi is what I speak” (Halman, 293)

And this verse:

What Roman face I have, what inner Turks I have
Why does it matter, that I do know Hulaku?
Ask Hulaku in the end, to not set forth those Turks
Because from that wilderness, I do not know Hulaku
My heart like an arrow flies, the bow of my body roars
Even though I do not know, that hand and arm, I do not know
Let go of the Hindu words, look at the Turks of meaning
I am that Turk who does not know Hindu, who does not know.

If taken literally, then we must note Rumi says he knows Hindi one place and he does not know in another place. However these verses are chosen selectively by those who try to detach Rumi from Persian civilization.

Since in the Diwan there are also these verses by Rumi
“You are a Turkish moon, and I, although I am not a Turk, know that much, that much, that in Turkish the word for water is su” (Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

And

“Everyone in whose heart is the love for Tabriz

Becomes – even though he be a Hindu – a rose-cheeked inhabitant of Taraz (i.e. a Turk)"

(Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

And

“I am sometimes Turk and sometimes Hindu, sometimes Rumi and sometimes Negro”

O soul, from your image in my approval and my denial” (Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

Indeed not only these, but Rumi claims to be Rustam, Shah (King), or ask others to be like Jamshid and Kayghobad...

..
Furthermore, Rumi in his Diwan points to the Ghuzz Turks as bringing misery:

غَمْ مُخُورُ اَرْ دِی و غَرَت
وز در من بین کارگرایی
(دیوان شمس)

Do not be miserable because of yesterday, plunders and Oghuz

And look through my door for miracles

This is mentioned in the Mathnawi as well:

آَن غَرَان تَرِک خَوِن رَیز أَمْدَنَد
بَهْر يُغِمْ پِرْو دَهْی تَاگِه زَدَنَد
دو کَسی از عِیان دَه یَافَتَنَد
در هَلَاَک آَن یَکی پَشْتَافَتَنَد
(مثنوی)

Those blood-shedding Ghuzz Turks came

They entered a village for plunder

They saw two of the rich men of the village

They went swiftly to kill one of them

So where does this take us?

According to Halman: “Reading Rumi’s ethnic and national references with an eye to finding clues about his identity or allegiance is both confusing and frustrating” (pg 292).

However, as should be noted the Divan-i Shams is a mystical text and the metaphor of Turk, Hindu, Rumi, Abyssian are part of this language without taking any national or ethnic meaning. That is why in this article we have taken a comprehensive approach and we shall examine the Masnavi as well as Manaqib of Aflaki to show clearly that Rumi was not a Turk. The language of the Divan-i Shams is not
confusing for those who are aware of its metaphorical nature. We need to explain this in an independent section (see the next section) so that confusion with this regard does not arise.

Persian poetry images and symbols: Turk, Hindu, Rum, Zang/Habash

چو کرسی نهاد از برجرخ شید
جهان گشت چون روی رومی سپید
(فردوسی)

The words “Turks” (Turks), “Hindus” (Hindus), “Rums” (Greeks, Romans), “Zang/Habash” (Blacks, Ethiopians) are favorite symbols of the earliest Persian poets in forming poetic images. As we shall show, in the context of compare and contrast, as well as in other contexts, these words did not have an ethnic meaning but rather were used to contrast various moods, colors and feelings. It is very important to cross-reference the verses of various poets using such symbolic imagery for a better understanding of their usage in Persian poetry. In other words, just like one cannot study Rumi in depth without studying Sanai, Attar, Nezami, and of course Ferdowsi, one cannot understand Persian poetry without proper understanding of its symbols and imagery. We study the usage of these symbols in the Persian literature among Attar, Hafez, Khaqani, Nizami, Rumi, Amir Khusraw and Sanai. Poetic symbols in Persian poetry have been studied by various scholars who had a deep understanding of the Persian language.

According to Franklin:

The raids that conquered India in the name of Muslim rulers were carried out mostly by the Turkish dynasty of the Ghaznavids. Turks earned reputation as brave fighters, first as slaves, in which capacity they formed the royal guard of the caliph; then as the rulers of eastern Iran, under the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs. The beloved is not infrequently compared to a young Turkish warrior-prince who slays suitors right and left with haughty charms. ((Franklin D. Lewis, "Rumi: swallowing the sun : poems translated from the Persian", Publisher Oneworld, 2008. , pp 175-176)

Here is a poem also translated by Franklin which uses some of these imageries:

THAT REDCLOACK

who rose over us last year
like the new moon
has appeared this year
in a rust-colored dervish coat

The Turk you saw that year
busy with plunder
is the same who came this year
like an Arab
It's the very same love,
though in different garb:
He changed clothes and appeared again
It's the same wine, though the glass has changed
See how happy he comes in his tipsiness!
The night's gone —
Where are my morning partners in drunken revel
now that the torch lights up the window of mysteries?
When the Abyssinian age began, the fair Greek disappear
Today it emerges with great hosts of battle
Proclaim:
the Sun of Truth of Tabriz has arrived!
for this moon of many lights
has climbed the wheeling skies of purity!(Franklin D. Lewis, "Rumi: swallowing the sun : poems translated from the Persian", Publisher Oneworld, 2008. Pg 94)

Among Western scholars who has studied this subject in detail, the later Professor Annemarie Schimmel is noteworthy. We will quote two of her articles here before giving more examples from Persian poetry as well as various Persian poets.

We quote her paper here:
Turk and Hindu

“O Venus, from your Hindu-eyes notch the arrow on the bow like a Turk!”

Over the preceding chapters we have observed that Persian poetry is imbued to a certain extent with images that evoke the external interplay of Beauty and Love, or the tension between legalism and love, between intellect and inspired madness. As with Mahmud and Ayaz, we may also discern this tendency in another favorite combination that arose in historical and social reality but served mostly as a poetical image whose original context was soon forgotten: the contrast between Turk and Hindu. ‘Turks enjoyed an important role as soldiers in the Abbasid Empire beginning in the mid-ninth century, and former military slaves soon rose to become rulers (sultans) in their own right, especially on the eastern fringes of Iran and in their homeland, Transoxania.

Indeed the idea of the Turk as the beloved first emerged, it seems, in the days of Mahmud of Ghazna, whose love for Ayaz of the Oymaq tribe was a model for the delight one could take in one’s love for a Turk. The Turk was considered as beautiful as the moon, even though he might be cruel. Soon the Turkish type of beauty became prominent both in pictures and in poetical descriptions: a round face with narrow eyes and a minute mouth. The most famous expression of an Indo-Persian writer’s infatuation with a “Turk” is Amir Khusrau’s verse:

His tongue is Turkish, and I don’t know Turkish— how nice it would be if his tongue were in my mouth!

Turkish cities in Central Asia, such as Chigil and Taraz, became ciphers for the dwelling place of the beloved, where the lover directs his thoughts. Thus Hafiz asks, using a fitting tajnis:

That Turk with a fairy’s countenance went away from me yesterday — what mistake (khata) did he see, that he took the road to Khata [Cathay]?

As for the Hindu, he is the perfect contrast to the Turk. Like the Greeks, the peoples of Western and Central Asia regarded the Indians as black, and the Arabs were in contact with the dark-skinned inhabitants of southern India well before the advent of Islam. Thus the black Hindus came to be compared to devils, both in travelogues and in mystical visions—where the angles of course resembled Turks. Moreover, India was for the Muslims a country benighted in blackest heathendom:

Light up the candle of monotheism,
Set forth into infidel Hindustan:

says Sana’i. The term Hindu, then, meant in the first place “black,” but also “lowly slave” -- a slave who had to serve and obey the ruling Turkish princes, as the first Muslim dynasties in northern India were indeed Turks.

The beloved’s beauty mark, the black mole, the tresses, the eyes, could all be called “Hindu” because of their blackness, but the term also implied treacherous and faithless behavior. The “infidel tresses of
Hindu origin”lurk like highway robbers, or else they stretch across the pale ear like a naked Hindu on a white bed. The Hindu tresses may even open a shop: “Give a life for every hair!” And the small mole may be a Hindu child that plucks roses from the cheek.

Images of this kind show that the apparently negative connotation of the “black” Hindu could be transformed into something quite lovable, and in somewhat later times Katibi Isfahani would give a delightful description of the beloved’s face, ridiculing the narrow-minded theologian who would rather not admit that a Hindu infidel can reach Paradise:

*O ascetic, if you deny that a Hindu finds the way toward Kauthar*

*And an infidel comes to the eternal garden,*

*Then look how those tresses and the mole came on his face and his*  

*Ruby mouth: an infidel in the garden of Paradise, a Hindu at the well of*  

*Kauthar!*

Hindustan is, then, logically, the country of blackness (and for some poets it was even the veritable Hell, as Khushhal Khan, the Pathan warrior, states).

A late poet, longing for his home in Iran, sighed during his stay in India:

*Like a black hair that finally turns white*

*Draw myself from India to Iran.*

And Hazin, in a comparable situation, saw his stay in Hindustan as proof of sad fact that the day of his life had ended in black night.

More famous, however, is Talib-i Amuli’s remark, on his emigration from Iran to India, that now perhaps his bad luck (called in both Persian and Turkish “black fortune”) would finally leave him alone:

*Nobody has ever brought a Hindu as gift to Hindustan— therefore leave your “black fortune”in Iran!*

The darkness could, however, also gain a positive meaning—was not the Water of Life hidden in darkness? Therefore Molla Shakibi praised the Mughal Khankhanan ‘Abdur Rahim, the greatest benefactor of poets around 1600, with the verse:

*Come, cupbearer, give the Water of Life!*

*Draw it from the Khankhanan’s fountain!*

*Alexander sought it but found it not,*

*For it was in India and he hastened into the darkness.*

In astrology, Saturn, connected with black, is called “the Hindu of the sky” or else the Hindu doorkeeper, as it was the last planet known to medieval observers. Hence the chapter in Nizami’s Haft Paykar about Saturday, which is ruled, as its name says, by Saturn, takes its comparisons, images, and stories entirely from this sphere of blackness. The Indian princess whom Bahram Gor visits is a gazelle with Turkish—
that is, dangerous—eyes, eyes of the kind that are often called “drunken Turks,” and the black tresses on her rosy cheeks resemble fire-worshiping Hindus.

The Muslims had a certain knowledge of the rites of cremation as practiced by the Hindus, and Amir Khusrau in particular, who lived in India, sometimes alludes to the custom of satti, the burning of widows.

_Learn from the Hindu how to die of love—_

_It is not easy to enter the fire while alive._

He also describes sunrise with a related image:

_The Hindu Night has died, and the sun_

_Has kindled the fire to burn that Hindu._

The custom of satti formed on one occasion the topic of a Persian epic, Nau‘i’s _Suz u gudaz_ (Burning and Melting), which was composed for Akbar’s son Daniyal and was several times illustrated.

Cross-relations with the fire worship of the Zoroastrians occur now and then (see also chapter 6 above). A typical example, from the late sixteenth century, is by Yolquli Anisi, who tells his beloved:

_My heart is a fire temple when I think of you,_

_And on it is your brand, like a black Hindu who tends the fire._

Such mixture of images is found as early as Nizami’s _Haft Paykar._

The Hindu was the slave of the Turkish rulers, and for this reason poets liked the idea that they would lovingly become Hindu slaves if only their Turkish beloved would be kind to them—an idea paradoxically elaborated in Hafiz’s often-quoted Ghazal about the “Turk of Shiraz” (see below).

The word Turk came to designate, in India as in parts of Europe, the Muslim in general, and the positive picture of the moonlike Turkish beloved often also has a tinge of cruelty to it. Poets developed a large stock of metaphors about the pillaging, drunken “Turk” who gallops through the countryside, shooting arrows with his eyelashes to wound his admirers: perhaps he plays polo with the severed head of a victim who enjoys being treated like that, and he plunders (yaghma) every place. Such negative images—without the positive aspect—can be found, for instance, in satires by ‘Ubayd-i Zakani. But when reading these descriptions one must always keep in mind that the beloved in traditional Persian poetry is indeed cruel and does not care for his lover, and that the lover, in turn, seems to relish all the wounds inflicted on him—for the beloved’s cruelty is better than outright indifference.

The mystics too made use of the Turk-Hindu contrast. Rumi saw the whole world as a dark Hindustan that must be destroyed “in Turkish style” so that the soul may finally be freed from material fetters. And Turk and Hindu appear in “the Hindustan of clay and water and the Turkestan that is the spiritual world”.

As Saturn is the “Hindu of the sky,” Mars, the martial planet, is rightly called the “Turk of the sky.” But in the service of the beloved both are lowly slaves, as Bayram Khan, a Turcoman general in Mughal service, sings:
For your castle, old Saturn is the doorkeeper;
For your Hindu curls the Turk of the sky is a Circassian slave!
Much later another poet from India would complain:
From grieving for you I have black fortune and wet eyes—
I own [the whole area of] black (fertile) soil from India to the Oxus!
The contrast of Turk and Hindu was certainly strengthened by the realities of Muslim history at the turn of the first millenium, but the many possible interpretations of both terms made them a favorite for poets throughout the centuries. With these possibilities in mind one gets closer to the secret of Hafiz’s famous (and often misinterpreted) verse:
If that Turk of Shiraz would take my heart in his hand,
I would give for his Hindu mole Bukhara and Samarqand.
The Shirazi Turk has a black—Hindu—mole, and for this mole, which is traditionally seen as a black slave, the poet is willing to sacrifice the most of beautiful cities of the Turkish empire. Besides this grand exaggeration in which all values seem to be reversed, the verse contains three names of cities (Shiraz, Bukhara, Samarqand), as well as three parts of the body (hand, mole, heart), and furthermore plays on the contrast of giving and taking, so that a whole chain of rhetorical figures is incorporated into these seemingly simple lines which express the poet’s hope for some kindness from his beloved. But the whole beauty of the verse is inevitably lost in translation, especially in translations by those unaware of the delightful wordplay which the poet—effortlessly, as it seems—puts before his readers.
The Turk also appears, though rarely, in other connections. On a few occasions the aggressive riders from the steppes are contrasted with the complacent, urban Tajiks, and sometimes a poet collects a veritable “league of nations” around his friend’s face:

“The Turk of your eye carries away the heart from the Arab and the Soul from the Persian; the Abyssinian mole on your face makes the Hindu a slave!”

In the eighteenth century Qani’the historian of Sind, considered that Byzantines, Europeans, and Indians were all variously destroyed by his beloved’s face, his down, and his lip—each of which corresponds to a color: white, black, and red.

Besides the Turk and the Hindu one finds the juxtaposition of Rum and Habash-Byzantium and Ethiopia—to allude to white and black, but in this connection the meaningful symbolism that lies behind Turk and Hindu is lacking. The Ethiopian or Negro, Zangi, is usually remembered for his curly hair, as Sa’di says in the Gulistan:

The world is more confused than a Negro’s hair.

A similar combination of the Daylamites—mountain-dwellers near the Caspian Sea—with curly, “broken” hair occurs in early Persian poetry.
From the late sixteenth century onward the role of the Turk as dangerous beloved was taken over at least in part by the Firangs—the “Franks”—that is, the Europeans and in particular the Portuguese, who from 1498 had begun to settle on the southern and western coast of India and had plundered affluent ports, like Thatta in the Indus Delta, most cruelly. They thus could replace the pillaging Turk, and the “European prison” became a new image in Indo-Persian poetry. This prison sometimes seems rather colorful, and the Europeans are generally connected with colors and pictures, for European paintings were brought to Mughal India beginning in the days of emperor Akbar and were copied by indigenous artists with amazing skill: hence the new combinations in color imagery in later poetry. But the Turk and the Hindu still survive in folk poetry, even in lullabies.

Another article by Professor Schimmel also gives remarkable examples of these symbolic images in Persian poetry in addition to supplying the original Persian alongside the English translation.

Annemarie Schimme Turk And Hindu A Literary Symbol


A field which is still to be elaborated is the study of Persian symbolic language. Though scholars like Ruckert and Hammer-Purgstall, like Ritter and Rypka and, recently, Bausani in his Storia della letteratura Persiana (Motivi e Forme della poesia Persiana, cf. also his Persia Religiosa) have dealt with several symbols and topoi which are preferably used in Persian poetry — and therefore later on also in Turkish and Urdu poetry — there is still a large field for further investigation into the development of certain symbolic expressions.

We need not mention here the symbols taken from the Quran, starting with the ruz-i alast (روز الالم) which is alluded to in poetry so frequently with dush / دوش «yesterday»; or the use of Quran personalities; or the old Iranian tradition which is interwoven in the fabric of lyrical poetry, the most famous example being the Jam-i Jam (جام چم). Others, like the Rose and the Nightingale, gul u bulbul (گل و بزبل) can, in their elementary meaning, be traced very far back in the history of religions, the complaining nightingale being only the poetical transformation of the primitive concept of the soul-bird.

Of special interest are, however, those symbols which stem from a certain historical person or a specific act in history — the classical example is the figure of Mansur — al-Husain ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922), the martyr mystic who has become, at least since ‘Attar’s time, a central symbol of mystical love, suffering, and, though by wrong interpretation of his cry ana’l-haqq (انالحق) a representative of the essential unity of being not only in Persian poetry but as well in Turkish literature and even more in Muslim India where his name is well known to the Urdu, Sindhi and Punjabi poets, so that even the simple villagers of the Indus valley remember him in their songs.

Persian poetry has always liked the use of pairs of contrasting symbols, and the literatures under its influence share this predilection. A famous example of this style is Hafiz’s oft-quoted couplet:
«If this Turk from Shiraz would take my heart in his hand,
I would give for his Hindu-mole Samarqand and Bukhara”

with the confrontation of Turk and Hindu. It is interesting to follow the development of this contrast-
pair in early Persian poetry.

Hammer-Purgstall has given, in the introduction of his Geschichte der schonen Redekunste Persiens
(1818) some explanations of common Persian symbols; here we find f.i. that the eyelashes are the two
battle arrays of the Indians; the eye, too, can be called a Hindu since it is black, whereas the beautiful
white face is Turkistan; the down (khatt / خط) and the mole (Khal / خال) are likewise compared to India
and Hindus — that means, Hindu has, in later time, become synonymous with black; Turk, Turkish is
everything white and lovable, (cf. Steingass’dictionary s.v. هندو)

Turks are already mentioned in the poetry of the early Abbasid period — Abu Nuwas compares the
bubbles of wine to Turks who shoot their arrows, and this connection of the word Turk with the young,
dangerous but attractive hero is common in early Persian poetry too — thus, when Farrukhi addresses
his friend

تَرکَشَ ایْ تَرکَ به یک سو فکن و جامه، جنگ

«Throw the quiver aside, oh Turk, and the dress of war...» The Hindus, on the other hand — mentioned
in prophetic traditions as well as the Turks — have been mostly described in Arabic sources of old as
blackish, and Hindustan was, at least from the time of Mahmud of Ghazna, the typical battlefield (cf.
Asadi, in Shafaq, Tarikh 136 who, however, compares the night still to a negro, Zang, not to a Hindu) for
the Muslims who were, in the Ghaznawid period, mostly of Turkish origin. Thus Sanai says in the Hadiqa:

شمع توحید را منور کن
قصد هندوستان کافر گن

Make the candle of tauhid shining,
Turn toward infidel Hindustan.

Sometimes the famous Indian swords are mentioned, and the Muslim knew about the strange customs
of Hindu ascetics, who might even burn themselves (thus Naubakhti in the فرق الشیعه — Biruni’s book
on India then enlarged the knowledge of his coreligionists about Indian customs.

The slaves which were brought from India were considered ugly, mean, and blackish — in contrast to
the Turkish slaves —, and in a poem by Mukhtar-i Gaznawi (quoted by Fritz Meier in Die schone
Mahsati, p. 8) the poet says that he kept well an ugly Hindu slave until he became good so that one
could kiss him.

It may be that the famous love story of Sultan Mahmud and Ayaz which has become a symbol in itself
may have contributed to the development of the symbol Turk’for the beloved which is very common, it
seems, in the Seljukid period. In Mahsati’s poetry (i.e. first quarter of the 12th century) the Turk-i Tir
andaz ( ترك تير انداز) or the Turk who uses his club for beating people are common symbols for the friend (cf. Meier No. 5, No. 149, p. 362). At that time the theories of mystical love developed in Iran, theories which are reflected in the work of Ahmad Ghazzall and ‘Ain-ul-qudzat Hamadani.

The fact that here the beloved is not only beautiful but also extremely cruel — so that the lover finds his highest happiness in being wounded or even killed through him — seems to have made the Turk, who was already connected with the qualities of both beauty and cruelty, a fitting symbol of the Divine Beloved — a fact that is expressed verbally by Ruzbihan Baqli (d. 1209) who told that he had seen his Divine Beloved in the shape of a Turk wearing his silken headgear awry (i.e. the kajkuldh / کع۸ کلاه of later Persian poetry). Ritter has drawn the attention of the reader to the fact that Abu Hamid Ghazzall has mentioned in his Mishkat ul-Anwar that Turks at the end of the earth are fond of perfect beauty that they prostrate before things of overwhelming beauty. (Ritter, Meer der Seele 454, Gairdner, mishkdt 92).

By the end of the 12th century, the symbol Hindu for black is used commonly by Nizami: — The Indian princess — described with the famous contrast-pair as

«Gazelle with Turkish (i.e. killing) eyes, from Hindu origin»

is that of Saturday which is ruled by Saturn which is poetically called the هندوى هندوى بارىك بين سيهر and has, according to astrological tradition, black colour. But Nizami has also compared the crow to the Indian:

زاغ جز هندوى نسب نياشد
دردى از هندوان عجب نياشد
« The crow is surely of Hindu origin,
and to steal is not astonishing in Hindus » (HP 112)

And how beautifully has he, as Ritter has pointed out, used this symbolism in his description of the fire in winter:

مجوسى ملنى هندوستانى
چو زردشى امده در زندخوانى

«A magician from Hindustan, like Zardusht starting with murmuring the zand». (Khosrow o Shirin) or,

آتش افرخته ز صندل و عود
دود گرديش چون هندوان پسجد
« The fire lit from sandal and aloe-wood,
the smoke around it is like Hindus in prostration.»

تركى از نسل روميان نسبش
فرة العين هندوان لقبش
« A Turk from Byzantine origin,

whose surname is «the object of pleasure to the Hindus»;» (cf. Ritter, Bildersprache 12 f.)

In ‘Attars work (d. 1220) we find again a number of allusions to Indian and Turkish subjects — the self-sacrifice of the Hindu ascetic is mentioned in the Ilahiname (6/9), the Hindu is several times shown as a seeker of religious truth (cf. Mantıq ut-tair 31/2, Musibatname 19/4 where he asks «What shall I do with the house without the Lord», i.e. the Kaeba, cf. Meer der Seele 262, 522, 533). Even Mahmud of Ghazna whose destruction of the temple of Somnath has become one of the famous symbols of the victory of faith over infidelity (MT 36/6) is said to have put a little Hindu boy besides him on the throne (A pious Hindu slave is also mentioned IN 176/13). The Hindu in the Ilahiname (79/9) is contrasted with the beautiful princess of China, not with a Turk. The Turk is depicted in ‘Attar’s epic in the usual way — cruel, but also an object of love (Mus. 32/1, 33/8, IN 10/7). The picture is, however, different when we turn to ‘Attar’s divan (ed. by Said Nafisi). Here the term Hindu is almost exclusively used for the meant and obedient slave: the poet often calls himself a Hindu, and tells his beloved that he would like to become «the Hindu of the Hindu of his curling locks (467). Though once he claims to be «not a Hindu-yi badkhu, of bad character, in the service of his beloved but an Abessinian who bears his mark»

He mostly declares himself to be the Hindu slave of the Turkish beloved (465):

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The classical locus is perhaps in 371:

The cruelty of the Turkish beloved is alluded to in the lines:

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Attar uses astrological symbolism in the words (466)

« Hindukhan became the surname of the Lord of the Heaven »

« Hindukhan became the surname of the Lord of the Heaven »
since the Turk of the Heaven (i.e. Mars) became your Hindu(slave)», 

A verse which has probably influenced Maulana Rumi’s verse (Div. V 2130)

«The Turk of the Heaven (i.e. Mars) becomes the servant of Him, 

who became His (i.e. the beloved’s) Hindu.»

Though Rumi has sometimes compared black and white, good and bad to Rumis and Abessinians (Div. Y 2428), the contrast-pair Hindu-Turk is completely developed in his poetry — thus when the Prophet says in the Mathnawi (I 2370)

«I am the polished mirror, Turk and Hindu see in me that what exists.»

The day is compared to the beautiful Turk with fair face (Div. II 524):

«The day is hidden in the night, a Turk in the midst of Hindus,”

and just as the infidels shout when the Muslim Turks fight them

«the Hindu night is uttering loud cries since the Turk entered the tent (Div. II 252)»

Maulavi Rumi compares, as most profane poets, the curls of the beloved to Hindustan (Div. V 2363) but gives the whole symbolism of Turk and Hindu a more metaphysical sense, since for him this world is the Hindustan of polluted earthly life, and thus he can say in a description of spring that (Div. II 570):

«The baggage of the nice-looking Turks from the Turkistan of the other world came to the Hindustan of clay and water by the order of that prince.»

And the comparison of Sanai — the Hindustani Kafir — is carried on further when Rumi says (Div. IV 1876):

«Like a Turk (or in the Turkish way) pillage the little Hindu of existence...»
i.e. kill the natural worldly existence and reach the Turkistan-i ‘adam. It may be interesting to throw a look at the symbolism of a Persian-writing poet who lived in Hindu environment, Amir Khosrau. In his Divan (ed. M. Darwesh, introduction Said Nafisi) the symbol of the turk-i tir andaz is used very often (1416, 1081, 1104, 350, 243), the intoxicated Turk appears likewise (347, 848), the rose-cheeked (308) and coquettish (289), or white faced (1096) Turk are frequently mentioned. The Hindus are mentioned comparatively rarely (cf. 449 the contrast Turk-Hindu); perhaps the most interesting example of the use of this symbol is the last verse of a Ghazal (186)

هنودوان را زنده سوزند این بچین مرده مسوز
بنده خسرو را که ترک است آخر و هندوی تست
«They burn the Hindus alive; do not burn such a dead, (namely) the slave Khusrow who is a Turk, and yet your Hindu».

These few notes which should be elaborated by careful exegesis and collection of material from early Persian poetry show that the couplet in Hafiz’ famous ghazal stands in a long literary tradition which reflects also some political and social features of the Islamic Empire in its contact with its neighbours — and the contrast pair Turk-Hindu has always remained popular, be it in the poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, or even in a lullaby from Shiraz, which Zhukovsky noted down in 1886:

*There came two Turks from Turkestan
and carried me to Hindustan...*

Before summarizing the relevant information provided by Professor Schimmel, we will provide more examples of the usage of the term, Turk, Rum, Hindu, Habash/Zang.

One of the earliest poets who considered Turks to be the ideal type of beauty is actually the Persian poet Ferdowsi:

که ترکان به دیدن برجهره اند
یه جنگ اندران یاک یی بهره اند

Thus Ferdowsi says that Turks in the view are as beautiful as fairies.

Even before Ferdowsi, one of the first Persian poets (Rudaki) states:

ترک هزاران به پای بیش صف اندر
هر یک چو ماه بر دو هفته درفشان
And we also noted Qatran Tabrizi, who is one if not the first Persian poet from Azerbaijan who composed in Eastern Khorasanian Persian:

ای حور ترک بیکر و ای ترک حوروش
هم زینت بهشتی و هم زیور خزر
ّ
شكفتنه لاله در جمن چو روی ترک ده ساله
نشسته در جمن زاله چو عكس ماه در بروين

Instead of listing about thousands of uses of Hindu, Turk, Rum, Zang and Habash amongst in Persian poetry, we take examples from the recent excellent book of Professor Rahim Afifi. The author of each of these couplets is given. We note that many times these imageries come together in the sense that all four (Turk, Hindu, Rum, Zang) can be used in a single verse.

Some examples of the symbolic meaning of Hindu as allusion and imagery:

Hindu=From India, Slave, Overseer, Watcher, the blackness of the hair of the beloved.

تغ تو داند كه چيست رمز و اشارات دين
طرقه بود هندوئی از عربی ترجمان
(خاقانی)

تا بر در حكم توست کامش
شد هندوئی هندوئی تو نامش
ابن هندو هندوئی چه نام است
یعنی حجر تو را غلام است
(خاقانی)
We note Kamal Ismail uses the word Hinduyeh-Dozd or the Hindu Thief. Something used by other Persian poets including Nizami.

Hindu beh Azar Sookhtan ( Burning the Hindu in the fire=symbolically getting rid of darkness and become day/light):

Jon Qrşçe Aşş Qşşn Gşşn Gşşf Fndr Dşn
بنمود بهندوستان هندو به آذر سوخته
(مجهر بیلفائی)

هندوبراز=کتابه از دواو

فلم به یمن بینیش چه گرم رو مرغی ست
که خط روم ۷‌د دم به دم ز هندوبراز
(سعدی)

Hinduvash (Hinu-face=like a slave, servant):

شها سخن غلام من ام اگر چه هست
هندووشی که قیمت نیکو نیاورد
(مجهر بیلفائی)

Hinduyeh Atash-neshin (The Hindu sitting in fire=A symbol for the hair of the beloved):

زلف تو هندو نزاد، لعل تو کوترا نهاد
هندوی آن‌ش نشین کوترا آن‌ش نشان
(خواجو)

Hinduyeh Aiinehdaar Cheshm (The Hindu holding the mirror for the eye=a symbol for the blackness of the eye):

هندوی آیینه‌دار جشم=کتابه از مردمک چشمک
رشاشه از سرنشک کند شانه از مزه
بیش رخ هندوی آیینه‌دار جشم
هنرکی جون هندوی بدسودایی است
روز عرضش نویت رسولایی است
(مولوی)

هنریه بیمار (The Hindu of the eye=the blackness of the eye):

هنریه بصر – کتابی از مردمک چشم
روی تو کرک فکارت دریغ است
در نظر هندوی بصر که پسنده
رویت ای ترک اگر تخواهم دید
زمخت هندوی بصر که پسنده
(عطر)

هنریه بکر سالخورده (The old pure Hindu=the black rock of Mecca):

هنریه بکر سالخورده- کتابی از حجرالاسواد
هنریه بیغ – شمشیر و بیغ هندی
هنریه بیغت ز حد شرق نا اقصای غرب
چون شه سبارگان در تحت قرمان

(خواجه)

Hinduyeh Charkh (literally the Hindu Wheel=used as an image for Jupiter)

هندوی جرخ - کتابی از ستاره رخ، کیوان

لقب خاص سعد اکبر باد

(جمال عبداللهزاده)

برآویخت هندوی جرخ از کمر

به هزارنی شب حضرتای زر

(تظامی)

Hinduyeh Choobak zan – (The Hindu with the wooden weapon=symbolically means the head servant)

هندوی چوبک زن - کتابی از مهتر پاسبان

برفرار نام قدرت هندوی چوبک زن است

پاسبانه قلعة هفتم که حاوندش رحل

(شمس طبیسی)

Hinduyeh Chahaar Paareh Zan-(A symbol of a dancing slave, dancer...)

هندوی چاریاره زن
کتابه از نبده و رز خرید، مطرب، رقاص(چهارباره زنگهای کوجی) است که رقاصان هنگام رقص در انجشتن گند و آن (را به صدا در آورند)

شارکی ز تو مطرب چمن گشته
هندوی چهارباره از گنیت
(خلاقانه)

هندوی رلف
کتابه از سیاهی رلف محبوب

دل را ز بند هندوی رلفت خلخال ده
چون رای مدح میر ملایک خصال کرد
(شمس طبیسی)

کارم از هندوی رلفش وارگون
روز من شب شد، شب شیم روز جنون
(شیخ بهرام)

Hinduyeh-Shab (The Hindu of Night=symbol of the darkness of night)

هندوی شب – کتابه از تاریکی شب

خوش خفتهای چه هندوی شب یاسبیان تست
ای طفل طبع درد چه گیری به یاسبان
(مجری بلوغان)

پاز از هندوی شب چون ماه راد
در سر رونتنی توری فناد
مردم چشم شبی تا سحر پاس داشت
گرچه بر ایوان ماست هندوی شب پاسبان
(خواجه)

Hindu-Guy (Literally one that talks Hindu)
آن که به هندی سخن گوید
ز رومی رخ هندو گوی او
شه رومیان گشته هندوی او
(نظامی)

هندوی مه بوش
کتابی از زلف سیاه شب
از چه روی هندوی مه بوش شما در ناب شد
گر به مستی دووش آمد دووش بر دووش شما

Hinduyeh-Noth-Chashm (The Hindu with nine eyes=a black reed music instrument with nine holes)
النی از موسيقی (نی سیاه) که دارای نه سوراخ است
جبش ده ترک لرهدار ز شادی
هندوی تنه چشم را به بانگ در اورد
(خاقانی)
Hinduyeh-Haft-Chashm (the Hindu with seven eyes=another black reed that has 7 holes)

هندوی هفت چشم

آنتی از موسيقی (نی سیاه) که دارای هفت سوراخ است.

همان زاغ گون هندوی هفت چشم

برارد فربد بیدرد و خشم

(اسدی طوسی)

Hindu Haftom Pardeh=One of the stars or planets, Jupiter or Saturn

هندوی هفت پرده

کتابی از ستاره، رحل و دو کیوان

ای به رسم از آغاز دوران داشته

طارم قدر تو را هندوی هفت پرده چرخ پاس

(انوری)

Hindu Haftom Sra

هندوی هفت سرا حارس ایوان توست

ورنه کجا یافته منزلت برتری

(شمس طبیسی)

Hindi (a symbol of sword, dagger)/Hindish

هندی-کتابی از شمشیر

سجمنامه مصری، مصر گشاست هندیش

مصري کلگ ملك هد، هندی تیغ جان سنان

(مجیر بیلفانی)
Hindi Dragon (symbol of sword, dagger)

Hindi Parand (Indian Silk=another symbol of sword, dagger)

Hindu-Vash (used as in slave)
Hinduyeh Atash Neshin (used for the hair of beloved)

Some examples of the symbolic meaning of Turks as allusion and imagery: Tork (symbol of the beloved, loved one, and the Sun)

Torkkaar/Torkaar (Turkish work-symbol of aggressiveness)
ترکاری و یاغی بسیان هموار و ناهموار
(مولوی)

Tork-i-Aseman (The Turk of Sky=symbolically the Sun):

بود جون ترک آسمان به جهان
زهر گلنارگون پردت نهان
(امیر خسرو)

Torkan-i Charkh (The Turk of the Wheel = symbol for the moon, sun and the 5 classical planets: mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn)

ترکان چرخ
کتابی از سیاران هفتگانه که عبارتند از عطارد، زهره، ماه، آفتاب، مشتری، مريخ و زحل.
شب که ترکان چرخ کوه کند
کاروان حیات بر هر است
(خاقانی)

ترکان خدیو-بادشاه ترکستان
جو ارجاسب بنشیند گفتار دیو
فرود آمد از گاه ترکان خدیو
(دقيقی)

ترکان سخن-گفته از سخن ابادار و نگز
ران عرضه کند یه عرضه فكر
ترکان سخن ز خرگه فكر
ابن ترکاند خانهراش
خاقانی از لقب فنادش
(خاقانی)
ترکان فلک-کتابه از ستارگان هفتمانه
همه ترکان فلک را پس از این
خلق تماجی ایشان شمرند
(خافافی)

ترک آهو چشم-کتابه از محیوب
من سگت، ای ترک آهو چشم، برفع بارگن
کر برای دیدن روی تو چشمم جار شد
(هلالی)

ترک افلاک - کتابه از ستاره، مربیخ یا بهرام
در جهان از نبایت قهرت
ترک افلاک قهرمان باشد
(سلمان ساوجی)

ترک برجهره-کتابه از محیوب زیبا روي
آن ترک برجهره که مانند فرشتهست
یارب گل پاکش ز چه ترکیب سرشنست
(اوقدی)
آن ترک بیچره که دوش از برم رفت
ابا چه خطای دید که راه خطا رفت

(حفاظ)

Torktaaz (Attacker, someone that attacks like Turks)

ترکتاز - حمله کننده
به دستش اندر شمشیر ترکتاز بین
ندیدی ار تو به یک جای همیر آتش و آب

(معزی)

ای طبع روسیه سوی هند پاز رو
وی عشق ترکتاز سفر سوی جند کن

(مولوی)

عاقبت وقتی ارچه قاعده بود
ترکتاز غم تو آن برداشت

(مجری بیلقانی)

Torktaaz Kardan, Torktaazi Kardan (To attack in a Turkish manner=literally pillage and plunder)

ترکتاز کردند، ترکتازی کردند
کتابه از نازاژ کردند
هجوم بردن به ناگاه، ناخذ و ناز کردند

باز فکر تو جشم پاز کنید
موکب روح ترکتاز کنید

(اوحدی)
گر از بهر آن کردن این ترکنار
که چون بندگان پیشت ارم نمان
(نظامی)

ترکناری کم و بوسه بیابی زنمت
تا که گوهی که مرز وز تو که دارد بازم
(جمال عبدالرزاق)

ظرف گله شکستهای آشوب خلق شو
دامان فتنه بر زدهای ترکنار کن
(سلیم)

ترکناری - کتابی از نامتوردن با شتاب و ناگاه.

ماه با این ترکناری چیست؟ جز هندوی او
خاصه کو چون قیرگون از قیروان آمد بید
(مجهر بیلغانی)

ترک ترلکوش - کتابی از محبوب (ترلک، جامهی آستین کوتاه و پیدا باشند)
ترک خنجر کش لشکر لشکر ترلکوش
بت خورشید بناغوش و مه دردری نوش
(خواجو)

ترک تندخو - کتابی از محبوب

فکر گفه کنید آن ترک تندخو
تیعی چنان رساند که از استحوان گذشت
(بابافاغانی)

ترکجوش - گوشت نیم بخته و کتابه از ناتمام

این ترک جوش آمد و لی ترجمه بسوم میرسد
ای یان یاکی که ز تو جان می‌بیاند دهر جسم

ترک جوشش شرک گردی نیم خام
از حکم گردنی بهثن تمام
(مولوی)

Tork-Chihreh (Turkish face=symbol of the beloved)

ترکچره-کتابه از ژیا و زلف

طفلان طبع من به صفت ترک چهره‌اند
وین طرفه تر که ارمنی بوده مادرم
(محیر بیلفانی)

ترک چنین نگار-کتابه از محبوب
مگن ترکی ای ترک چنی وگار
بیا ساعتی چنین در ابرو میار
(نظامی)

ترک حصاری-کتابه از خورشید
جو ترک حصاری ز کار اوینورد
عروس جهان در حصار افنداد
( createStackNavigator )

Tork Del Siyah (The Turk with the black heart=symbolically means the eye of the beloved)

ترک دل سیاه
کتابه از چشم میشوق
dلم ز نگوس ساقی امان نخوست به چان
چرا که شیوه آن ترک سیاه‌دار دانست
( حافظ )

ترک رزم آرای گردون-کتابه از مروج یا بهرام

ترک رزم آرای گردون گردد ارایید مجال
کمترین هندو را چاکر ز بهر اختبار
( ابن بیمن )

Tork-e-Zard-rooy (The Turk with the yellow face=Symbol for the Sun)

ترک زرد روی-کتابه از آفتاد

عزم سبک عبان تو هر دم به مهر گود
کای ترک زردروی روی چرا تیزتر نراني
( شمس طبیسی )

ترک شبهر-کتابه از آفتاد

تا به نوروزی شود در خرگه ترک شبهر
تقریب گرم از جرم خور بر گوشه خوان یافته (خواجو)

ترک سلطان شکوه (کتابه از آتاب)

دگر روز کاین ترک سلطان شکوه

ز دریای چین کوه بر زد کوه (نظامی)

ترک شکار افکن(کتابه از محیوب)

ای ترک شکار افکن، شمپیر مکش برمن

یا آنکه پس از کشتن بردند به فتراکم (هلالی)

ترک شگر ریز(کتابه از محیوب)

شهد و تشنه آن ترک شکربرم

که نفل مجلسش نفل سیاه خویشتن بودی (پابایفانی)

Tork-e-Sobh (The morning Tork=the Sun)

ترک صبح
(کتابه از خورشید)

در بای اسب شام کند اطلس شفق
در جیب ترک صبح نهد غنی تسا

(عطار)

Tork-e-Sahraayeh Aval (The first Tork of the Sahara-a symbol of the moon)

ترک صحرای اول - کتابه از ماه
ترک این صحرای اول با جلاجلهای نور
گرد ملکت به طریق پاسبانی امدهست

(سنان)

Tork Tab’ (Turkish natured=symbol of cruelty and harshness)

ترک طبع- کتابه از ستمگر، جورپیشه

با عدل تو دست ترک طبعان
خوشروی بوستان گرفته

(مجیر بیلفانی)

ترک طنار-کتابه از محیوب

به گاه شرح چشم ترک طنار
همی کن فن سر فرم پار
بدید ان نقشها را ترک طنار
ز تخت شاه جهن تا دیر ایجاز

(عارف اردبیلی)

ترک عفیق گیسو- کتابه از محیوب.

خانه روشن شد از آن یاد سنججل سینه
تکر فلک-کتابی از ستاره مربوط به پرهام و نبرد آفاق

(اووئید)

Tork-e-Falak (The Tork of heaven=symbolizing the planet Mars or the Sun)

ترک فلک-کتابی از ستاره مربوط به پرهام و نبرد آفاق

(اووئید)

تکر فلک-کتابی از ستاره مربوط به پرهام و نبرد آفاق

(اووئید)

هجره گل‌نشد از آن ترک عقیقی گیسوی

(اووئید)

تکر فلک-کتابی از ستاره مربوط به پرهام و نبرد آفاق

(اووئید)

پرده‌ای که ترک فلک

 التجربه هندی به شماست

(ابن بیگ)

اگر به تکر فلک بیش او کم بندد

فلک به جای گلبر بر سر شهید بنطاق

(سلمان ساوجی)

ترک فلک را بین داغ حبش بر جهن

طرش شب را نگ‌نوش زین در شگن

(خواجو)

غلام است ترک فلکه مرنورا

جو بدخواه تو در عرب راه نبست

(طالب املی)

چجو علم افراحت به پنج رباط

ترک فلک فرن به سبل پاسان

(امیر حسین)
ترک کافرکیش-کتابه از محیوب
چیست قصد خون از آن ترک کافر کیش را
ای مسلمانان نمیدانم گناه خویش را
(وخشی)

ترک کج کلاه-کتابه از محیوب
گر آن بودی که یکنگیا خویشتن بودی
سر در یک ترک کج کلاه خویشتن است
(پارا فغاني)

ترک کمانکش - کتابه از محیوب

ترک کمان کشید به کمین میکند ولی
ترک هواش عشق گرفتن نمیتوان
(خلاج)

ترک گردوان-کتابه از سناره میریخ يا بهرام

ترک گردوان که میخزند کج
مست نه جرعة سفال من است
(فیضی)

ترک وار - همچون ترک حملهکنن
خیز تا ترک وار در تازیم
هنیز را در انس تازیم
ترک و تاز - کتابی از نارنج و گلار و جولان
غافلم از ترک و تاز جراغ صانع - از غرور
پیش یاب سبل بیشه‌هار در حواله ما
(صانع)

ترکوش-مانند ترک و کتابی از زیبا و چو دوست داشتنی
ای جوان ترکوش میر کدامین لشکری
ای خوشان کشوری کانجا تو صاحب کشوری
(وحشی)

ترکی آوردن-کتابی از سخت گرفتن-سندبلی کردن.

اگر تاز غمت خشمش و ترکیب ارد
به عشق و صر کمر بسته چو خرگاهم
(ملوی)

ترکی تاز کردن - کتابی از با شناب ناخن.

طوطئی مرده چنان پروا کرد
کتاقتاب شرق ترکی تاز کرد (ملوی)

ترکی صفتی- کتابی از ببوفایی و عهدشکنی

ترکی صفتی وفای ما نیست
ترکانه سخن سرای ما نیست
(نظامی)

ترکی کردن-کتابه از جور و ستم کردن، سخت دلی کردن، کینه ورژ کردن.

مینیبند آن سفیهانی که ترکی کرده‌اند
همچون‌چه‌چشم تنه ترکان گور ایشان تنگ و تاز
(سنانی)

خون خوری ترکانه کایی از دوستی است
خون مخور، ترکی مکن، تازان مشو
(خاقانی)

مکن ترکی ای میل من سوی تو
که ترک توام بلکه هندوی تو
(نظامی)

Some examples of the symbolic usage of Rum(Greek) in Persian allusion and imagery: Rum o Zang
(Greek and Black=Day and Night)

روم و زنگ-کتابه از شب و روز، روشئی و ناریکی,

سوم روز کابن طاق باریچه رنگ
برآورد باریچه روم و زنگ
(نظامی گنجوی)
هر زمانی همی رسید مددش
دو سیاه روز و شب ز روم و زنگ
(مسعود سعد)

Rumi (Greek=Sun, brightness)

رومنی-کتابه از روشناپی افتابت

نماید گاهی رومی از بیم بیشت
گریزان و آن زرد خنجر به مشت
(اسدی طوسی)

رومنی بتهان گشت چو دوران حبش رسید
امروز در این لشکر جراز برآمد
(مولوی)

Rumiyaaneh Roo Daashtan (Having the face of a Greek=bright face, light face, beautiful face)

رومنیانه رو داشتنت-کتابه از سفید چهره، رزاب روی بودن

رومنیانه روی دارد، زنگیانه رلف و خال
چون کمان چاچان ابروی دارد پر عتیب
(سعدی)

رومنی ابیض-کتابه از روز روشین
از روی تو و موبی تو داردند تشانی
ابن رومی ابیض دگر آن شامی اسود
(ابن حسام)
Rumi Bachegan (Greek Kids=tear drops of the eye)

خون گرم وژ دو هندوی جشن
رومی بچگان دوام بیتم
(خاقانی)

Rumiyeh Talkh (The bitter Greek=a bitter wine)

رومی تلخ-کتابه از شراب تلخ.

حیدت جامی و شیرین شدن به رومی تلخ
کرامتی است که از بیر جام میگوید
(جامی)

رومی خوی-کتابه از دو رنگ و مثلون المراج.

هوا جون خاک یا از خوک باکه شد
خروج از دهر دمی رومی خوی بستنی
(خاقانی)

رومی رخ-کتابه از زیبا روی.

رومی رخی و باد جو بر رلف تو جهد
از مشک ساده شکل جلیپا همی کند.
(ادیب صابر)

رومی. روم بودن-کتابه از یکرو و یکنگ و یکدل و باصا بودن.
دلت از باد حق چیزی نداست
همه میل. دلت با چینه دان است
اگر رومی. رومی در حقیقت
چرا میل. دلت با زنگیان است؟
(قاسم انوار)

رومنیزاده، رومیزاده-کتابه از روش و درخشان

شیوه رومی زاده خورشید را گوی
برمکش نب نه میان آفینتش
تیره کرده آسمان به دوده شب
جهه اختران رومی زاد
(شمس طبیسی)

رومنی زن رعنا - کتابه از آفتار
گرچه زان آبد خاتون عرب را نگرد
در پسن آبینه رومی زن رعنا بینند
(خاقانی)

رومنی سلب - جامه رومی
آزاده دلی است بندگی کوش
صوفی صفی است ششتری بوش
رومی سلیمی است لبک محروم
زنگی طریبی است لبک با غم
(خاقانی)

رومنی و زنگی - کتابه از روزگار، شب و روز سپید و سباهی.
مگر با من این بیم‌ها پلنگ
جو رومی و زنگی نیاشعد دو رنگ
(نظامی)

بدین دو رومی و زنگی گر اعتبار کنی
ز روم تا در زنگیار پگشاید
(ظهیر قاریابی)

دو قرن رومی و زنگی غنات در پار دم بسته
به گیرد قیمه ازب همی یابند از جولان
(انیر اخسنیکی)

الا تا روز با شب دو رنگی است
زمانه گاه رومی گاه زنگی است
(امیر خسرو)

رومانی و زنگی نمودن جهان-کتابه از روشینی و تریگی شب و روز.

جهان را نبست کاری جز دو رنگی
گهی رومی تمامی گهی زنگی
(نظامی)

رومیوش - مانند رومی و کتابه از صاف و روشین.

پیا سافی آن می که رومیوش است
به من ده که طبعم چون زنگی خش است
(نظامی)
Some examples of the symbolic usage of Zang/Habash (Blacks/Ethiopians) in Persian poetic allusions and imageries: Habashi (Abyssenian/Black=symbol of blackness, symbol of darkness of the beloved's hair)

**Zangi (Black/ symbol of the darkness and darkness of night)**

زنگی - کتابی از سیاهی و تاریکی شب

گهی آید آن زنگی تاخته
ز سیمین سیر نیمی اندخته
(اسدی طوسي)

در عزیمت و هزیمت هر زمان زنگی و روم
این گران کرده رکاب و آن سبک کرده عبان
(سید حسن غزنوی)

زنجیانه-همجو زنجیان - کتابی از سیاه
رومانیه روزی دارد زنگی‌های زلف و حال
جو کمان‌چابه‌ای ابروی دارد پرعبتیب
(سعدی)

خاوانی است هنروی آن هنروتی زلف
و آن زنگی‌های خال سیاه مدورش
(خاوانی)

زنگی بچگان-کتابه از خال سیاه محبوب
در گلشی بوستون روشی
زنگی بچگان ز ماده زاده
(سعدی)

زنگی بچگان نک-کتابه از خوش‌رهایی انجور سیاه.
انداخته هنروی کليور
زنگی بچگان نک را سر
سرهای نهی ز طریه کاخ
آوبخته هم به طریه شاخ
(نظامی)

زنگی بچگان زر-کتابه از دانه‌های انجور سیاه
خون زنگی بچگان رز مخور یبوست
گر همی خواهی که شاخ بفا برگرد
(شمس طبیسی)

زنگی بر زنگ‌ها-کتابه از تاریکی شب
در روز چو ایمن شدی زین رومی با عریبه
شب هم مکن اندیشه‌ها یازنگی بر زنگ‌ه
(مولوی)

زنگی پیر-کتابه از تاریکی شب
گردش انجام از ورای اتیر
خیل رومی به گردن زنگی پیر
(سناتی)

زنگی نار-کتابه از تاریکی شب
از آن گریان شدم کاین زنگی نار
چو زنگی خود نميخندید یکی بار
(نظامی)

جنگی چیب-سیاه رود، بیشبانی سیاه
راویه ما اشتر ما هست این
پس کجا شد برد زنگی چیب
(مولوی)

زنگی چارباره زن-کتابه از توانانه و مطرب
سار مسکن که نیست چون یلی
رومی ارغون زن گلزار
لاجرم شاید از برسته بید
زنگی. چارباره زن شد سار
(خاتمی)
زنجی خفته-کتابه از تاریکی شب.
ارباد یک دو عطسه که زد صبح بردماغ
زنجی. خفته تا به کمر گه نشست بار
(انی اخسپگی)

Zangi Del/Zangi Deli (Zangi heart, Zangi heartedness, =merciless, black hearted)

زنجیدل - کتابه از آن گه برهم و سیاهدل است
زنجیدلی - کتابه از کینهوری و شفاوت، سختدلی.

زو غوغای زنجی سلام عرب
گریزان تنانی که چون امدم
(خافانی)

چو او زنجیان فارغ دل آمد
بست زنجی دلی را حاصل امد
(عطار)

زنجی رشت - کتابه از تاریکی شب
چون ز سرمای صبح زنجی رشت
دم دمید اندر آتش و انگشت
صبخم پرون همی رد خیل
گفتی چان همی بود بواللیل
(سناتی)

زنجی سرگشته-کتابه از موه سیاه معشوق
ای آن که مه گرد شب انجیختهای
Thus as we can see:

“The Hindu in Persian poetry is used a symbol for ugliness, black, of evil omen, mean servant of Turkish emperors, the nafs, the base soul which on other occasions is to compared to an unclean black dog. Yet, even the nafs if successfully educated – can become useful, comparable to the little Hindu-slave whose perfect loyalty will be recognized by any Shah. Turk is from Ghaznavid times onwards equivalent with the beloved; the word conveys the idea of strength, radiance, victory, sometimes cruelty, but always beauty; ..These stories in which the Turkish warrior-not endowed with too much intelligence-is slightly
ridiculed, are by far outweighed by those allusions (not stories) in which the Turk is contrasted to the Hindu as the representative of the luminous world of spirit and love, against the dark world of the body and matter”

(Schimmel, Triumphal Sun).

Also as Professor Annmarrie Schimmel alluded to:

“Besides the Turk and the Hindu one finds the juxtaposition of Rum and Habash-Byzantium and Ethiopia—to allude to white and black”.

Thus the multitude of examples given from Persian literature from the above books and articles does not denote ethnicity, especially when comparing and contrasting.

We note some examples that show multiple of contradiction if we are to take them literary.

**Attar:**

Attar is a well known Persian poet and philosopher and has had tremendous influence on Sufism and mysticism. So much so that Rumi considers himself to be in the niche of a street while he considered Attar to have travelled through the Seven Cities of Love.

Attar says:

کی توائنم گفت که هندوی توام

هندوی خاک سگ کوی تو ام

If we are to take this literally, then Attar is actually an Indian (Hindu) and he was not Iranian. And here will quote again from Schimmel who quotes:

The classical locus is perhaps in 371:
«Since my Turk gave me a kiss I became from the bottom of my heart his Hindu...»

Thus if we are to take this literally, then Attar was a Turk or had a Turk who gave him a kiss and his heart became a Hindu.

Here again:

«not a Hindu-yi badkhu, of bad character, in the service of his beloved but an Abessinian who bears his mark»

Thus now Attar is a Ethiopian (Abessinian).

«The Turk of the Heaven (i.e. Mars) becomes the servant of Him, who became His (i.e. the beloved’s) Hindu.»

Now heaven is a Turk, for who is a servant to those that became his Hindu.
"He is a Turk and I from the bottom of my heart his Hindu, necessarily he has come to work with his sword." (129)

Thus as we can see if we are to take Attar’s imagery and symbolism literally, then there would be arguments between Ethiopians and Indian nationalists about the ethnicity of Attar.

**Abu Esmail Abdallah Al-Ansari Al-Heravi (Khwaja Abdullah Ansari of Herat):**

He was born in Herat and is considered one of the outstanding Persian writers and mystics. Khwaja Abdullah Ansari was a descendant of the companion of the Prophet of Islam, Abi Ayub Ansari. This companion of the Prophet or one of his early descendants migrated to Herat and eventually the family became Persianized.

The Pir of Herat, Khwajah Ansari writes:

ای شب تو کیستی زنگی سیاهی و من ختنی زادهی چون ماهی
ای شب تو بر خرابهای تاریک چون بومی و من بر تخت روزگار اسکندر رومی.


**Translation:**

*Oh Night, What are? A black Zangi, and I am of Khotanese descent (look like) a moon (beautiful).*

*Oh Night, you are upon the dark ruins like an owl and I am on the throne of the age of Eskandar-e-Rumi (Alexander the Greek).*

Thus if we take this literally, then the well known Ansari, a descendant of the companion of the Prophet of Islam, would be of Khotanese descent. Of course the contrast between Dark/African/Zang and Khotanese is a well known contrast used by many Persian poets. In another poem, he compares love to the Turk because both of them plunder.
Amir Khusraw:

Amir Khusraw, according to Annmarrie Schimmel, was born to a Turkish father and an Indian mother and is one of the most important Persian poets of India. Although ethnically, he was not Iranian, but rather Indian/Turkic, nevertheless, culturally he was Iranian.

Schimmel quotes this verse from Amir Khusraw and then further explains:

“The tongue of my friend is Turkish
And I know no Turkish –

Amir Khusrau’s own father was of Turkish extraction and the great mystic guru in Delhi Nizamuddin Auliya affectionately called the poet Turki Allah ‘God’s Turk’. However the word Turk was traditionally used to also mean a beautiful, fair-complexioned, lively, sometimes also cruel beloved, compared to which the miserable lover felt himself to be but a lowly, humble, swarthy Hindu slave. The literary counterpart turk-hindu, which can also mean ‘black-white’, was in use for centuries in Persian literature, and had has its counterpart in reality on the subcontinent since the days of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Mahmud was of Turkic lineage, and he invaded India no fewer than seventeen times between 999 and 1030. As a result the Turks were established as a military force, and they also formed the ruling class, under whose auspices the theologians and lawyers henceforth had to work”


Thus if one was to take this verse out of context, Amir Khusraw who knew Turkish (note his praise of India) did not know any Turkish, although he said:
“And there are the numerous languages of India which, when imported, develop more beautifully than it was possible in their native country – is not the Persian of India much superior to that of Khurasan and Sistan? Do not people learn the finest Turkish here?”


We should note something here about the cultural identity of person like Amir Khusraw, Blban (one of his patrons) and the Turco-Mongols that settled in India. Schimmel points out: “In fact as much as early rulers felt themselves to be Turks, they connected their Turkish origin not with Turkish tribal history but rather with the Turan of Shahnameh: in the second generation their children bear the name of Firdosi’s heroes, and their Turkish lineage is invariably traced back to Afrasiyab—weather we read Barani in the fourteenth century or the Urdu master poet Ghalib in the nineteenth century. The poets, and through them probably most of the educated class, felt themselves to be the last outpost tied to the civilized world by the threat of Iranianism. The imagery of poetry remained exclusively Persian.” (Annemarie Schimmel, Turk and Hindu: A Poetical Image and Its Application to Historical Fact)

As Canfield also notes: “The Mughals, Persianized Turks who had invaded from Central Asia and claimed descent from both Timur and Genghis strengthened the Persianate culture of Muslim India.” (Robert L. Canfield, Turko-Persia in historical perspective, Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Khaqani:

Afzal a-din Badil Ibrahim who received the penname from the Shirvanshah Khaqan ‘Azam Abul’Mufazzar Khaqan-i Akbar Manuchehr b. Faridun and was also known as Hassan al-Ajam Khaqani (the Persian Hassân) may be regarded as the second most important literary figure of the Islamic Caucasia after Nezami Ganjavi. In actually, when it comes to certain forms like the Qasida, he would be the greatest poet of the area. He was born to a Christian mother(possibly Iranian, Armenian, Georgian) and an Iranian (Iranic) father. He writes about his mother:

نسطوري و موبيدي نزادي

“Nesturi o Mobedi Nejaadesh” (Of Nestorian and Zoroastrian(Mobed being the title of Zoroastrian priests). That is his mother’s family might have been originally Zoroastrians who converted to Nesrotrian Christianity, like many Iranians did in the late Sassanid era.
Here are some verses that Khaqani Shirvani literally claims to be a Hindu (that is if we read it literally):

گر دلم سور سموم بادیه
پس مفرح کر لب و خالش کنم
کمترین هندوی او خاقانی است
گر بیشتر نام متفاوت کنم
(خاقانی)

خاقانی است هندوی آن هندویانه رلف
و آن زنگیان خال سیاه مدورش
(خاقانی)

Thus at least twice Khaqani is claiming to be a Hindu here. But these verses are obviously not taken literally. Or for example, in his famous “Aivaan Mada’en”, Khaqani remarks:

ابتست همان درگه گورا ز شهان بدهی
دلهم ملك بابل، هندو شه ترکستان
(خاقانی)

This is that same kingly court, which had from its great Kings (relative to it) a Daylamite was a king of Babylon, A Hindu the King of Turkistan

Nizami:

We also discuss some imagery by the Persian poet Nezami who also had an influence on Rumi (although not as much as Attar and Sanai).

As Schimmel has already noted:
By the end of the 12th century, the symbol Hindu for black is used commonly by Nizami: — The Indian princess — described with the famous contrast-pair as

«gazelle with Turkish (i.e. killing) eyes,  
from Hindu origin»

آهوی ترك جشم هندو زاد

is that of Saturday which is ruled by Saturn which is poetically called  
the هندوی سیه or هندوی بارک بين and has, according to astrological tradition, black colour. But Nizami has also compared the crow to the Indian:

زاغ جز هندوی نسب نباشد  
دردی از هندوان عجب نباشد  
« The crow is surely of Hindu origin,  
and to steal is not astonishing in Hindus » (HP 112)

 تركی از نسل رومیان تسبیش  
قرة العین هندوان لقبیش  
« A Turk from Byzantine origin,  
whose surname is «the object of pleasure to the Hindus»

Here are some other examples.

In praise of one of the rulers:

همه تركان چین باندند هندوشن  
میاد ار چینیان چینی بر اروش
Translation:

*May all the Turks of China be his Hindu (slave),*

*May no frown come upon his brows from the Chinese*

We note that *Chin* in Persian poetry (Shahnameh and Panj Ganj) is actually Western China and parts of Central Asia that were ruled by Khaqan. That is why the Khaqan of Gok Turks in the Shahnameh is called the Khaqan of Chin.

Here is another example from Nizami:

سیاهان حبش ترکان چینی
جو شب با ماه کرده هم‌شینی

Author’s translation:

*Siyaahaan Habash (The blacks of Ethiopia), Torkaan Chini (the Turks of China),

*Cho Shab (like the night) baa maah (with the moon) kardeh hamneshi (have gathered together): The blacks of Ethiopia, the Turks of China, like the night with the moon have gathered together.*

Note here that the Siyaahaan Habash (blacks of Ehtiopia) are the color of the night while the Torkan Chini are the moon (and the stars).

Another example: Here is one where the Kurd’s daughter is of Hindu Mole, Indian nature/created and Turkish eye and face.

کرد را بود دخترا با جمال
لعبتی ترک چشم و هندوخال
مین ترک رخساره هندو سرنشت
ز هندوستان داده شه را بهشت
The Kurd had a daughter with beautiful face
A lovely beauty with Turkish eyes and Indian mole
A bride of Hindu components and Turkish face
From Hindustan has given the king a paradise

When the King of India offers his daughter to Alexander the Great, Nezami Ganjavi writes this description of her in his Eskandarnama:

A great beauty of Hindu origin with Turkish face
It has made Hindustan (India) a Paradise for the King
Not a Hindu, but a Khatai Turk in name
But when it comes to stealing hearts, as adept as a Hindu
From her Roman face and Hindu (sweet) talks
The King of Rome (Alexander) has became her Hindu (Slave)

Another example: A verse from Shirin in Khusraw o Shirin:
If my eye because of Turkishness has narrowed,
Came apologizing the chivalrous Hindu.
(Here in my opinion Nizami is describing the blackness of the eye beautifully)

Here the whiteness of the eye is the Turk and the blackness of the eye is the Hindu, furthermore, Turks in Persian poetry are known for Tang-Cheshmi (narrow eyedness) due to the fact that the Turks described in Persian poetry are the original Asiatic Turks and not the linguistically Turkified people of later Azerbaijan, Caucasia and Anatolia. We shall discuss this in the next section.

We now quote some verses from the translation of Haft Paykar with regards to Persian imagery. Original Persian of some of these verses is brought here:

“The Slav king’s daughter, Nasrin-Nush
A Chinese Turk in Grecian Dress”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 51-52)

Thus we can see that if we take the verse literally, Slavic king had a daughter who was a Chinese Turk in Grecian Dress. But the verse makes perfect sense given the brief overview that was given on Persian poetic symbols, imagery and allusion.

“A fair Turk from Greek stock it seemed
The Joy of Hindus was its name”
Thus we can see the symbols Rum, Hindu and Turk all at play in a two verses.

We note that when the Persian Sassanid King Bahram enters the black dome which is identified with the kingdom of India:

“When Bahram please sought, he set
His eyes on those seven portraits
On Saturday from Shammasi temple went
In Abbassid black to pitch his tent;
Entered the musk-hued dome and gave
His greetings to the Indian maid”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 105)

“See what a Turkish raid heaven made,
What game with such a prince it played
It banished me from Iram’s green
Made my black lot a legend seem”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 108)

“A queen came forth from her palace dome
Greek troops before Ethiops behind
Her Greeks and Blacks, like two-hued dawn,
Set Ethiops troops against those of Rum (in reality Greece=Rum)"

(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 108)

While still in the black dome (associated with the kingdom of India) he meets a lady by the name Turktaz (Turkish attack, Turkish raid). This is reminiscent of this verse of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari of Herat:

عشق آمد و دل بکرد گارد
ای دل تو به جان بر این بشارت
ترکی عجب است عشق، دانی
که ترک عجب نیست گارد

Here is another use of this in the Haft Paykar:

“My love”, said I, “What will you? Fame
You surely have; what is your name?”

She said: “A lissome Turk I am,
Turktaz the beautiful my name
In harmony and accord, I said
Our names are to each other wed
How strange that Turktaz your name
For mine-Turktaazi-is the same
Rise; let us make a Turkish raid
Cast Hindus aloes on the flame;
Take life from the Magian cup
With it, on lovers sweetmeas sup”

(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, 119-120)
“I’ll favor you, at life’s own cost
If You’re a Turk, I am your black”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 128)

(Here Hindu or Ehtiop was probably translated as Black)

“Without the light’s radiance, like a shade,
A Turk, far from that Turkish raid”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 131)

“The Chinese-adorned bride of Rum
Said ‘Lord of Rum, Taraz, Chin”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 133)

In the tale of the Greek’s daughter in the Yellow dome we read:

“Each newly purchased maid she’d hail
As ‘Rumi’queen and Turkish belle”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 134)

“Although her Turkish wiles enflamed,
He kept his passion tightly reined”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 137)
In the Turquoise Dome

“In Egypt dwelt a man, Maahaan
More beautiful than the full moon,
Like Egypt’s Joseph, fair of face;
A thousand Turks his Hindu Slave”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 175)

“Till the nights Ethiop rushed day’s Turks,
The king ceased not his joyful Sport”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 216)

Chinese King apologizing to Bahram:

“I’m still his humble slave; of Chin
At home, but Ehtiop to him”
(Julia Meysami, Haft Paykar, pg 257)

Rumi:
Since we already brought some examples from Rumi (see the introduction of this section), we bring few more examples here.

According to Annemarie Schimmel: “Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian, but he had learned, during his stay in Konya, enough Turkish and Greek to use it, now and then in his verses.”

Here are two contradicting verses from Rumi:

ای تُرک، ماهجه‌هر، چه گردد که صبح، تو
ای بی‌ه جرمه، من و گویی که: گل برو!
تو ماه، ترکی و من اگر ترک نیستم.
"You are a Turkish moon and I, although I am not a Turk,
I know this little that in Turkish the word for water is su"

"I am sometimes Turk, sometimes Hindu, sometimes Rumi and sometimes Negro,
O Soul, from your image is my approval and denial"

"Everyone in whose heart is the love for Tabriz, becomes -- even though he be a Hindu -- he becomes a rose cheeked inhabitant of Taraz (i.e. Turk)" (Schimmel, Triumphal Sun)

Note Taraz is a city in central Asia known for its beauties. All these contradictory verses have symbolic meaning and should not be taken out of their context.

Here are some more:

When the Turk of Happiness and the Hindu of Sadness arrived

In love everything changes

From an Armenian they make a Turk (that is something impossible can happen)
Hundreds of thousands of Roman-Faced Spirits

He has thrown in the midst of the Zangis (Blacks)

Your magic bewildered me

O who has made a Turk appear as a Hindu

That Turk that you saw plundering the year before

Has now come this year like an Arab

Here are more examples which we do not provide translation:

أن ترك كه ان سال يه غماس يديدي
آمست كه امسال عرب وار برامد

جو هزارات روح رومي روی را
در مین رنگیان افکنده ای

MISSIONAL AND SCHOOL OF INTERCULTURAL MINISTRY

۴۵۰۰۰۰۰ روح‌های سیاه‌پوستی که سحر
ای رنگ نموده هندوی را

آقایی که سال به گماس بیدیدی
آنست که امسال عرب وار برامد

که فاقع کرد
شند هزارات ترك و رومی بنده و هندوی خم

آقایی که سال به گماس بیدیدی
آنست که امسال عرب وار برامد

بیش آن جسم های ترکانه
بنده آی و کمیته هندویی

آن چه وی را است که ترکان همه هندوی ویند
ترک تاز غم سوادای وی از جنگ گنست

هندوی ساقی دل خویش دی که بر مسخت
تا ترک غم قمر دراموز طوی نیست

روزیست آندر شب نهان ترکی میان هندویان
شب ترک تازی‌ها بگن کان ترک در خرگاه شد

جان های باطن روشنان شب را به دل روشن کن
هندوی شب نه می‌دان کان ترک در خرگاه شد

ز ترکستان آن دنبی به ترکان زیارو
به هندستان آب و گل به آمر شهویار آمد

هندوان خرگاه تن را رفتند
ترک خلوت دید و در خرگاه شد

ران سو که ترک شادی و هندوی عم رسید
آمد شدیست دایم و راهیست نایدید.

رومی پنهان گشته چو دوران حبش دید
امروز در این لشکر جرار براد.

یا رب سیاه شاه حبش تا کجا گریخت
ناگه سیاه قصر روم از کجا رسد.

شب شرق تا به گرفته سیاه زنگ
رومی روزشان به یکی بار می‌کشید.

گر سیاه روزی پود رنگی و هندوی توست
چه غمست از سبیه فرج از آن تو پود.

ما شب گریزان و دوان و اندر بی ما زنگان
زیرا که ما بردم زر تا پاسان اگاه شد.

شیخ هندو به خانفاه آمد
نی تو ترکی درافنک از بامش.

بی صورت با هزار صورت
صورت ده ترک و رومی و زنگ

ترکی همه ترکی کند تاجیک ناجیکی کند
من ساعی ترکی شوم یک لحظه ناجیکی شوم.
We note all these symbolic allusions and imagery are part of Persian poetry and have been used by many Persian poets including Hafez, Sa’adi, Sanai, Attar, Khaqani and Nizami Ganjavi. Nezami Ganjavi, Attar, Rumi, Hafez, Khaqani, Sanai and several other Persian poets used them extensively. Unfortunately due to lack of knowledge of Persian language and literature, some people have tried to read these in ethnic-literal sense through the prism of modern nationalism and thus when faced with the literally contradictory readings, have tried to play around with Rumi’s Persian heritage. If taken literally, then Rumi was a Roman, Black, Hindu, Turk, Tajik or anything as he has made comparisons to
these. Virtually in all these verses, Hindu and Turk, or Rumi and Black have come together showing the clear symbolism and contrast. In the above examples we have shown how Turk, Hindu, Zangi/Habash, Rum is used for description and symbols of slavery, rulership, slave (Hindu), ruler (Turk), Soldier/Warrior (Turk), cruelty, moon faced, beauty, ugliness, trees, birds, flowers, stars, climes, complexions, colors (yellow, white, black), animals (the eye, face), planets, day (Rum, Turk) and night (Hindu, Habash/Zang), languages, tears, hair, face, various moods and feelings without taking any ethnic meaning. An interesting example was given by Khwajah Abdullah Ansari who compares “love” and “turk” due to both being plunderers (note Rumi also mentions this in an anectode in Aflaki).

Which Turks are described in Persian Poetry?

Today there are two groups of Turkic speakers in term of physical characteristics (phenotypes) and the genotype also show a greater variety. The Turcophones of Anatolia, Azerbaijan and the Caucasus as opposed to the Turks of Central Asia, China and Siberia are overwhelmingly Caucasian looking. It is easily shown that Persian poets (Attar, Hafez, Sanai, Rumi, Khaqani, Nezami, Salman Saveji...) use the term Turk metaphorically and non-metaphorically, the term is rooted in the the Mongloid types of Central Asia and not the Caucasian type of the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Turkey. This is important since the association of Turks in classical Persian poetry at least up to the time of Hafez has to do with the Central Asian types. Of course, the Caucasian types (who are mainly linguistically Turkified due to the elite dominance of Turks) are not physically different than Persians, Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs and etc (of Caucasian Mediterranean) where-as the Mongoloid types are radically different. It is clear that the primary heritage left by the Turkic nomads and invaders of the region was that of language (heavily influenced by Persian and Persianized Arabic) rather than culture. Thus it was their distinctive facial and physical features which made the Turks of Central Asia as the ideal type of beauty in Persian literature.

We quote Professor Peter Golden who has written one of the most comprehensive book on Turkic people in English up to this time:

“The original Turkish physical type, if we can really posit such, for it should be borne in mind that this mobile population was intermixing with its neighbors at a very stage, was probably of the Mongloid type (in all likelihood in its South Siberian variant). With may deduce this from the fact that populations in previously Europoid areas of Iranian speech begin to show Mongolid influences coincidental with the appearances of Turkic people.”
We have also quoted Prof. Schimmel who has said:

“Soon the Turkish type of beauty became prominent both in pictures and in poetical descriptions: a round face with narrow eyes and a minute mouth.”

Iraj Anvar, the translator of forty eight ghazals from Rumi also mentions this:

“It indicates people from the North, with high cheek bones and almond shaped eyes, considered to be the most beautiful people”.


We now quote many Persian poets including Rumi, as well as Muslim historians account. One attribute of Turks identified in Persian poetry is Tang-Cheshm (literally: narrow-eyes) which is part of the Mongloid features.

Nizami Ganjavi mentions this fact at least four times with respect to Turks:

ز بس که آورده ام در چشمها نور
ز ترکان تنگ چشمشی کرده ام دور

“I brought so much light into this world, that I cast away narrow-eyedness from Turks”

Nizami Ganjavi describing the anger of Alexander at the Khaqan:

به یفرین ترکان زبان یپرگشاد
که بی فتنه ترکی ز مادر نزاک
ز چینی یخز چین آبزو مخواه
ندارند پیمان مردم یگاه
سخن راست گفتند پیشینیان
که عهد و وفا نیست در چینیان
According to Ibn Athir, when the Mongols reached the Alans (Iranian tribe) and Qipchaq (Turkic Tribe) tribes, the Mongols told the Qipchaq:

“We and you are of the same race, but the Alans are not from you, so that you should help us. Your religion is also not like theirs.” Thus the Qipchaq turned away from the Alans, but later on the Mongols attacked the Qipchaq.

(Al-Kamil Ibn Athir).

In Persian literature, when Turks are described, they are described with the physical feature of the Turks of Central Asia and Yakuts. For example this statue of an ancient Turkish King of the Gok-Turks Kul Tegin exemplifies this http://www.ulkucaklari.org.tr/kulturedebiyat/grafik/kultigin.jpg
Rumi also describes this physical characteristics of Turks at least four times:

Translation:
The Turk started laughing from the story
His narrow eyed became closed at the time

The two eye of the Turk of Khita, what shame from narrowness?
Why should the world traveler complain about this nakedness?
He said o narrow-eyed Tatar
Are youn not hunting us with your eyes?

The Turks, they are narrow-eyed but can see far
They are good looking but follow their own desires

And other examples from Hafez, Sanai, and Naj al-Din Daya.
باین نا جشن نرگان نان کردد. گور تو

گچ خود را گو رنگ در مسافت صد کر

خاطرات تجم الین رازی معروف به دایه

وی یکی از رهبران مهم صوفیه و نثر نویسی یافت این روزگار است که تا سال 653 زنده بوده است. او

شکرگزار تجم الین کری است که در حمله مسلمان به حاکمیت میاند مجنک کشتند شده است. مهم تربین

اثر وی، ت天花 نصوف مرخصی که سلوک عرفانی را به زبان پارسی دری شرح داده است. در نخستین ای ای می خوایم:

در تاریخ شهر ماه هرچه و عصر و سنتان (617) لشکر خود گزار است. نا گوتا یافته بر ان دیار، و آن

فتنه و فساد و قتل از هر کس که از ان ملاعین ظاهری گشت. در همین عصر و دیار کر و اسلام

کسن شهابی نداده است و در همین تاریخ نیامده اما انتها خواجات(پیغمیر) علیه الصلو و السلام از فتنه های

آخر همان خبر ناز داده است و قرموهه: لا تقوم الساعة حتي تقابلوا. این اعیان چغریبالمهجور خرجه و موج با این

الانهف کان ووجههم المهجور المطرقة، صفت این کفار ملاعین کرده است و قرموهه که، قبامت برخیزد.

تا اگنا که شما با نرگان قطعی نکنی، قومی که جشن های ایوان خرد ایوان و بیبی هایشان بهن و روی

های ایوان سرخ بود و فراموش جم، سرخ بود در کشیده، و بعد از ان قرموهه است: و یکی الهرج، قبل

با رسول الله! ماه الرحم؟ یان: الفنلت، قرموهه که قتل پرسنیل. به حقیقت، این واقعه یا است که

خواجات علیه الصلو و السلام به نور بیش از ششصد و اند سال ناز دیده بود. قتل ازین بیترن چگونه

بود که از یک شهر ری که مولود و منشا این صعیف است و واپس به یکی فلاده و گردنه، چه که در خیبر عیان گنجد... عافیت جن بلا به غایت رسیدن و ولایت به روی آف از یکی فلاده و گردنه

استخوان...این صعیف از شهر همدان که مسکن بود به شب بیرون آمد. یا جمعی از درویشان و عزیزان در

معرض خطیب هرچ تمام تر، در شهر سه ماه عصر و استمنه به راه ارپت و بر عقب این فقیر خبر جن

رسید که کفار ملاعین...به شهر همدان امتداد و حصار دادند و اهل شهر به دفتر و وسیع پوششانند. چون

طقا مفاوت نمادان- کفار دست یافتنی و شهر بستنی و خلیف بسیار کشنند و بسي اتفاق را و عورات را

اسیر بردن و خرابی تمام کردن و افزایی این صعیف را که به شهر بودند، بیشتر شهر دیدند.

بازه به باغ ما نگرگی

وز گلین ما تمادی برگی

Note this part:

قومی که جشن های ایوان خرد ایوان و بیبی هایشان بهن و روی های ایوان سرخ بود و فراح

همچون سیر بوس یا کشیده
Views on ethnicity in the Mathnawi

The Mathnawi as opposed to the Diwan-i Shams does not contain the metaphors of Turk, Hindu, Abbysian and Rumi and is a didactic text.

But the stories about Turks usually show a person that is cruel and/or lacks intelligence. The story of the Turkish amir who gets easily cheated by a tricky tailor, the drunk Turk who disliked music played by mystical singers, the story of the Turk in Balaghasun who lost one of his two bows, or the story of the Oghuz tribesmen who come to village and plunder, and etc.

According to E.H. Whinfield: “The Turk, who typifies the careless pleasure-seeker, was so intent on listening to the jokes and amusing stories of the tailor, typifying the seductive world, that he allowed himself to be robbed of the silk which was to furnish him with a vesture for eternity.”

The story of the Turk and the Tailor is one of those which is very humorous.
گفت: گفت درزی ترک را هی خاموش کی اگر مصاحبه گذگ قیام تنگ نیاد

که بر این را بهای روز جنگ
تنگ بالا بهبود میآی را
گفت صد خدمات کمی ای دو وداد
پس بیبیمود و بدیل ای روی گار
از حکایتکی میزان دگر
وز بخلان از تحشراتشان
همچگو آتش کردن مفرضاً برون

ماضیک گفت درزی و ترک را از قوت خنده بسته شدن دو چشم تنگ او و فرصت یافتن درزی

پانچ ای که خیانت درهایند و کردن نبای چند
ترک خندیده گرفت از دست‌ان
پاره‌ای ذکر کردن را نبای چند
ترک را از لذت افسانه‌ان
اطلیس چه؟ دعوی چه؟ رهین چه؟
لایه کردن ترک گر به خدا
گفت گفت خندیده‌ای این هی
پاره‌ای اطلس سبک بر نیفه رد

همچنین بار سوم ترک خطا
گفت لاغی خندیده‌زن و بار
پاره‌ای سبکه غفلت همه‌انه
پس سوم بار از قیا ذکری و شاخ
جون چهارم که این ترک خطا
رحم آدم بر یک ان استاد را
گفت مولف کشت این مفعون دین
بوسه افسانه کرد بر استاد او

گفت درزی گویی از به خدا
کردن ای گری که لاغی گرفت
مست ترک مدعی از قبوفه
که ز خندیده یافت میان فراخ
لاغ از این استا هی کردن افتضا
کرد در باقی فی و بیداد را
به چر کین به خسارست و غبن
که گم به خدا افسانه گو

واهی بر تو گرم لاغی درگا
این کن یا خوشی خود هی به کس؟!
تو به جای خنده خون گرستنی

جنده خندیده بی‌حاله از همود
بر لب گرم خوشی ایست
جنده جویی و دستان فلک
که نه قفل میان کردن فانوست
بجو چر کیهان یون تور بر
گامی مینالگان طلاب خام
چون دی اماده داده را بر باد داد
تا به سعد و نحس ای لاغی کن

پیان آهن بی‌کاران و افسانه‌خوان مثل آن ترک‌اند و عالم غرر غدار همچگو آن درزی و شهوت مصاحبه

گفت این دنبال و عمر همچگو آن اطلس بیسان این درزی
Overall, there developed a literature based on Persian writers view of Turks in Ottoman times were the term Turk to some extent became identified with lack of intelligence.

Another story is about the cruelty of Oghuz tribes and starts with:

The first verse starts with:

"Those blood-spilling Oghuz Turks came
And set to immediately plunder a town"

The adjective blood-spilling for Oghuz Turks is firmly negative here.

There is a major difference in the Mathnawi were the term Turk is not an allusion or metaphor and the Diwan-I Shams were Hindu vs Turk, or Zang/Abbyssian vs Rum/Turk, or Tajik (softness, settled) vs Turk (warrior, soldier, rapid, movement, migratory, plunderer (which metaphorically means of the heart as well)..etc.) are used as metaphors. The Diwan-i Shams metaphors required a more detailed treatment and that detailed treatment was provided in the previous section.

Ethnicity in Aflaki

Professor Speros Vryonis Jr has done a detailed and recent study on the division and distinguishing of ethnic groups in the text of Aflaki.
Before we provide more details with regards to Aflaki, it is worth reading what Professor Speros Vryonis Jr. has to state:

Closely related to the religious groups are the divisions according to ethnic groups. Interestingly, Aflaki is often more sensitive to ethnic and linguistic differentiations than to shades of religious difference. Aflaki and his social world were attuned to linguistic differences since Persians, Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Mongols lived juxtaposed in many Anatolian cities. Baha al-Din Walad, Rumi, Sultan Walad, and Amir Arif were all Persian speakers by birth and Arabophone by education and training. For this circle, at least, Persian was both the spoken and written language. It was certainly the language of cultural prestige and of much of the administrative bureaucracy. In the text of the *Menakib*, Rumi is made to quote Arabic within his Persian discourse, and having studied in Syria he often spoke to Arabic visitors in their language. He almost certainly spoke and understood Turkish and some Greek, as is certainly the case of Sultan Walad who, alongside his Persian writings, has left mystical poetry in the dialect of spoken Turkish and demotic Greek.

A few examples of this sensitivity to and familiarity with the polyglot environment of Konya and Seljuk-Beylik Anatolia are recorded in our author. In one episode a Turk appeared in the Konya bazaar holding a fox skin and selling it at auction, calling out in Turkish "delki, delki" (tilki) or, "fox, fox". Rumi, who happened to be in the bazaar heard the Turk, and the regularity of the cadenced cry sent him into his ceremonial dance, crying out at the same time, "Where is the heart, where is the heart." Obviously Rumi understood Turkish and took the opportunity to pun in the two languages. In the celebrated incident or anecdote of the hostile water spirit that lurked in the river near Ab-i Garm, Eflaki refers to him in Persian as Lord of the Water. Eflaki then adds, "the Turks call him Su Isa (Lord of the Water)." Once more Eflaki is aware of both Persian and Turkish nomenclature and language. Finally, for our last example, Eflaki records the Greek sobriquet of certain members of Rumi's family. The author informs us that Meleke Hatun, the daughter of Rumi, was better known as Efendopoulo (daughter of the master); Amir Arif's daughter, also Meleke Hatun, was known as Despina. In both cases, these daughters were better known by their Greek sobriquets than by their Islamic names.

The most prominent of the Anatolian ethnic groups, in Eflaki, was the Persians. This is so not because they were the most numerous; certainly they were not. For at that time the most numerous groups were the Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. The Persians appear as the most prominent in Eflaki because they dominated much of the Seljuk administration as well as the literary domain, and because Eflaki himself was Persian. There was a steady immigration of Persian
administrators, merchants, craftsmen, and religious men into Anatolia where their talents found ready employment and where there also must have been a Persian ethnic network. The most capable of these Iranian administrators, and the most powerful local politician is the famous pervane, Mu'in al-Din Sulayman. Persian statesmen administered and managed the finances, the foreign relations, and the internal conflicts of the declining Seljuk state. Even court chronicles were written in Persian. But the most brilliant contribution to this hybrid culture of Seljuk Anatolia was the mystical poetry, in Persian, of Rumi and his son Sultan Walad; the work of Eflaki is itself another monument.

Although the Turkish element (both sedentary and nomadic) was very large, for it represented the military and governing classes as well as large numbers of nomads, this group nowhere receives the same attention in Eflaki as does the Persian. Indeed if Eflaki were taken as the sole source, one' would derive a very incomplete picture of this new ethnic group which, in the end, would predominate in the period of the rise and history of the Beyliks.

The mere fact that Eflaki differentiates ethnically by employing the epithet "Turk" indicates that to him religious lines were not the only marks of sociocultural distinction. Ethnic demarcations were also important to him, and this further implies that Eflaki was writing in a social, cultural, and literary milieu where ethnic differences were important and had some resonance.

I have already referred to the individual, whom Eflaki describes as a Turk, who was auctioning off a fox skin in the Konya bazaar. We must assume that the people of the marketplace understood his advertisement in the Turkish language. In addition, our author refers to an individual who occupies a privileged place within Islamic legal and religious institutions: a kadi (judge) who challenged Rumi as to whether the rebab and the setar were permissible in Islam. Although the kadi remains nameless, Eflaki nevertheless qualifies him ethnically as a Turk. In other words, to Eflaki, the ethnic affiliation of the kadi was more important than his name. In the upheavals between the Seljuk administration of Konya and the Turcoman Karamanid dynasty, the latter are said to have placed a garrison of one hundred Turkish horsemen on the city's citadel. Finally, it should be noted that the epithet appears occasionally as part of the extended name of prominent Akhis.

In Eflaki's work there is another use of ethnic nomenclature to denote values of a different kind. In one particular verse, Rumi (in Eflaki) states that he has men (followers) "who have a Greek face and a Turkish soul." The contrast made here in terms of ethnic moral attributions, is that between corporeal and spiritual-emotional-mystical. In the previously discussed examples the differentiating ethnic epithets are morally neutral as applied to the kadis-, soldiers, and petty merchants. In the case of Rumi's verse quoted above, the epithet Turk, applied to the soul, is very strongly positive in regard to the mystical and emotional virtues of the Turks; this concurs with the analysis by Annemarie Schimmel of the contrast between Hindu and Turk in the writings of Rumi. Another example of the ethnic epithets preserved in Eflaki as denoting ethical virtues or their lack is: "I went to bed a Kurd and awakened an Arab".
At the same time, and paradoxically, the image of the Turks in Eflaki, in contrast to the works of Rumi, is often a negative one, and coincides with the remarks of the Persian Seljuk chronicler Karim al-Din Aksarayi. The following paraphrased anecdote from Eflaki, is an example:

A Turk came to town [Konya] and upon catching sight of the madrasa of Rumi entered its portals. Therein he saw that the grounds were swept and watered, and the jurists were seated about, with their great turbans and sumptuous clothing, receiving the daily ration of bread and meat as the porter distributed them. This sight was a great revelation for the Turk, opening as it did a bright new world, and he contemplated it with great pleasure. He departed, clothed himself appropriately and reentered the madrasa. The mudarris quickly perceived, by the Turk's demeanor, that he was not a member of the ulama [ulama, doctors of Islamic theology] and that his goals were other than spiritual. Then he pointedly explained to the visitor that hard work and long years were the necessary prerequisites for the enjoyment of the status, privileges, and benefits of a member of the ulama.

The contrast in this case is obviously between a person of nomadic ("Turk") background and an urban dweller.

The story of the Germiyanid amir is even more pointed. Amir Arif went to visit the son of Alishir, prince of Germiyan, who was resident in the city of Ladik. The amir had encamped, together with his large army, in the plains of Alam al-Din Bazari and there he formally received the Mawlawi "caliph" and his retinue. When the customary prayers and recitations commenced, Alishir became restless and was generally bored. He thus began to preoccupy himself with his ghulams (gulam, page), for, says Eflaki, "he was a Turk without manners and ignorant of the nature of the saints." Here the author has broached the negative aspect of the ethnic epithet, which along with the more positive ones became attached to the ethnicon in Persian literary and cultural circles.

In the same negative vein is the famous story of Salah al-Din Zarkub who hired Turkish laborers to build the wall around his garden. On visiting Zarkub, Rumi addressed the following remarks to him:

Efendi, or Khodaband, Salah al-Din, for this construction one must hire Greek workmen and at the time of destruction Turkish workers are necessary. For the construction of the world is special to the Greeks and the destruction of this same world is reserved for the Turks.

Of other Muslim ethnic groups resident in Asia Minor, the Kurds, who must have been numerous in southeastern Anatolia, are mentioned only in the Arabic proverb quoted above, "He went to bed a Kurd and awoke an Arab " This is, as pointed out, an ethical application of the ethnicon.

Of the dhimmis in Seljuk society, those most frequently mentioned in our text are the Greeks. It should be noted that the dhimmis are always, and without exception, at least in Eflaki,
distinguished by their ethnic affiliation. The word *kafir* (unbeliever) is also in use. The Greek is referred to as *Rum* or *Rumi*, the Armenian as *Ermeni*, and the Jew as *Yahudi*. The matter of the ethnic appellation of the Greek speaker as *Rumi* or *Rumiyan* has been obscured in much of the scholarly literature by the fact that the geographical term used to denote Anatolia is also *Rum*, as in *bilad ar-Rum*. Thus a person who comes from or resides in Anatolia would also be called a *Rumi*, as in the case of Djalal al-Din Rumi. In Eflaki, however, almost the only example of the use of the epithet *Rumi* in the geographical sense is for Djalal al-Din Rumi himself. In most other cases the context makes it clear that Eflaki has employed the term in an ethnic sense denoting Christians who are at the same time Greek. It is important to investigate the term *Rumi*, as the specific determination of its use and meaning has a direct and essential bearing on the appearance, or not, of a Greek ethnic group in Eflaki's social world.

The specific examples of the term *Rumi* or *Rumiyan* break down into several categories. The first deals with individuals or groups that use this identifying epithet and are converted to Islam. At the funeral ceremony of the famous flutist Hamza, Djalal al-Din Rumi is said to have converted one hundred infidel Greeks. In regard to the obstinate and narrow-minded Safi al-Din Hind, Rumi declared that "it is easier to convert to Islam seventy infidel Greeks than to lead Safi al-Din to the right path." A Greek architect who constructed a chimney in Rumi's house was eventually converted to Islam. Now if the epithet *Rumi/Rumiyan* were to denote only geographical provenance, the above texts would make little sense, for all inhabitants of Asia Minor, Muslim and Christian alike, would have been *Rumi/Rumiyan* and so the distinction would have had no meaning. This is confirmed by the conversion of the famous Thyrianos Ala al-Din. Before his conversion, Eflaki says he was a *kafir* and a *Rumi*. What is decisive in this instance is that his pre-Muslim name, Thyrianos, which is Greek, has been preserved. In another episode Eflaki speaks of two painters who moved about in the circle of Rumi. Eflaki says of them: "Both painters were *Rumis* [i.e., Greeks]" They are described as having been proficient, indeed incomparable, in their art of the icon. Their arti-sanal status alone strongly suggests that they were Greeks, since Anatolian Arabs, Turks, and Persians did not command this skill. Once again Eflaki preserves the names of the two painters: Kaloyan and Ayn al-Dawlat. The first name is obviously Greek and means Good John. The second painter was converted to Islam by Rumi and only his Muslim name is given. It is clear that *Rumi* as used here by Eflaki means Greek, not Anatolian.

A second domain in which the use of *Rumi* would tend to suggest an ethnic rather than a geographical use is the domestic or household realm. Eflaki relates that one Baha al-Din Bahri had a servant-cook in his home who was a *Rumi* and who hustled up some fried rice from the day's leftovers to feed Djalal al-Din Rumi during his visit to Baha al-Din. More specific is the case of Khwadje Majd al-Din of Maraga, who in his house in Konya had a large number of female slaves, all of whom, much to his amazement, had mystical visions. One of them, a certain Siddiqa, saw frequent visions of colors, angels, and prophets. Eflaki states that she was of Greek race. Her name is Muslim and undoubtedly indicates her conversion, whereas her slave status probably precludes...
that she was Muslim, Turkish, or Persian in origin. Obviously, in speaking of a slave of Greek origin, Eflaki means exactly what he says.

There are three anecdotes in which the apposition of *Rumi* with one or more other ethnic groups shows clearly that Eflaki more often employs *Rumi* as an ethnic rather than a geographical designation. The first of these episodes has to do with the spectacular funeral ceremony and procession for Rumi in 1273. The procession was heavily attended and included people from every religious community and ethnic group in Konya-. The text reads:

> And all the nations with the religious leaders and the leaders of the state were present, Christians and Jews, *Rumiyan* [Greeks] and Arabs and Turks and others.

Here the juxtaposition of *Rumiyan*, Arab, and Atrak, that is, Greeks, Arabs, and Turks, allows us only one interpretation: *Rumiyan* is clearly used as an ethnic epithet denoting Greeks.

In the second story Salah al-Din Zarkub, as we saw above, is given Rumi's explanation of the difference between *Rumiyan* workers and Turkish workers. The understanding and explanation of the opposition of *Rumiyan* and Turkish clearly shows that we are dealing with Greeks. In a third and last episode we have once more the appearance of builders. Sultan Walad hired Greek workers to plaster the terrace of Rumi's *madrasa*, after which he paid them in cash and prepared a meal for them.

In summation, *Rumi* or *Rumiyan* in all these specific examples refers to the ethnic Greek and not to Anatolians. Thus the Greeks in Eflaki's social world appear as a fairly frequent presence. They emerge as converts, builders, plasterers, painters, monks, priests, and domestic slaves. There are frequent mentions of conversions of Greeks to Islam within the circle of Rumi and the Mawlawis; they are to be seen en masse at the funeral of Rumi; and Amir Arif is a frequent visitor to the neighboring Greek monastery of Aflatun where he came for the company of the monks and their fine wine cellar.

The remaining two ethnic groups, the Armenians and the Jews, are mentioned less often than the Greeks and again only where their activities touch upon Rumi and the Mawlawis. After a grand *sema* sponsored by the Seljuk official Alam al-Din Qaisar and attended by the amirs, the grandees of Konya, the *ulama*, and the poor, Rumi exited onto the streets of Konya. The strains of the *rebab* issuing from a nearby wine tavern fell upon his ears and once more he was inspired to dance. He danced until dawn and all the *runud* came out of the tavern and fell at the feet of Rumi. It turns out that these *runud*, who on the following day came again to Rumi and converted to Islam, were Armenians.

In a second incident, which I have examined elsewhere, the *runud* of Erzurum and Erzincan acknowledged as their mystical superior an Armenian-speaking dervish. This indicates that here also, in cities with very significant Armenian populations, the local Armenian Christians, as in Konya, were important constituent elements of the *runud* commanded by the Akhis. The sole
Armenian mentioned by name, Tenil, is also a member of Seljuk urban society. He was, by vocation, a butcher.

As for the Jews, they too are present but even more vaguely. We learn that when Shams al-Din Tabrizi requested wine from Rumi, the latter went to the Jewish quarter of Konya to secure it. The Jews and their rabbis appear at Rumi’s funeral and there is also an incident of the conversion of a rabbi to Islam. (192-197)

As Speros Vryonis states: “The mere fact that Eflaki differentiates ethnically by employing the epithet "Turk" indicates that to him religious lines were not the only marks of sociocultural distinction. Ethnic demarcations were also important to him, and this further implies that Eflaki was writing in a social, cultural, and literary milieu where ethnic differences were important and had some resonance.”

Obviously, Rumi was not a Turk because if he was, Rumi, Sultan Waland and Aflaki would not constantly distinguish Turks as unusual and foreign in the Manaqib and constantly identify the ethnicity of Turks, Rumis, Armenians and etc. We do not see this with regards to Persians since Rumi, Sultan Walad, Aflaki and etc. were all Persians.

For example, we look at some of these anecdotes. All of these were taken from the recent translation:


[257] Report: It is transmitted that Amir Mohammad-e Sokurji, who was the intimate disciple of Soltan Valad, related the following: “When the imperial self (Shahzada) of the world Keyghatu Khan, arrived in Aqsara after the death of Mowlana, he sent a reputable ambassador to invite the commanders and the Turks of Konya to declare their obedience and come forth to welcome him. It happened that some of the rogues (ronud) out of impudence and quarrelsomeness put his ambassador to death. When news of this reached the king’s ear, he was greatly angered and a yarlgih was issued, to the effect that all the soldiers go to Konya and, having laid siege to the city, kill the inhabitants and engage in plundering and looting. On this occasion none of the officers and commanders was able to ward off his wrath. All the people of Konya were very upset because of this news. They saw no other remedy for their salvation than to seek refuge at the sanctified sepulchral shine [of Mowlana]. Absolutely everyone went to the tomb and wept and uttered supplications.

When Keyghatu arrive in the vicinity with a huge army, one night in a dream he beheld Mowlana come forth from his cupola with frightening appearance. Undoing his blessed turban,
Mowlana made a circle with it around the city’s battlements. After that in extreme anger he came to Keyghatu’s room, placed his fingers on the ruler’s throat and began to strangle him. Keyghatu cried out asking for quarter. Mowlana said: “Oh ignorant Turk! Give up (tark) this idea and undertaking. Take back your Turks (torkan) to your lady (tarkan) as quickly as possible. Otherwise, you will not escape with your life.” Keyghatu immediately woke up and called his commanders and courtiers.

When we went before him, we found him extremely frightened and shaking and weeping. Without our asking, he told what he had seen in the dream. All the noyans and the courtiers with one accord lowered their head and said: “We were worried about this matter. This city and this clime belong to Mowlana, and whoever sets out to attack this region (Diyar), no member (deyyar) of his lineage remains and he is destroyed. But out of fear of the king it was impossible to speak.” Again a yarligh was issued, to the effect that the army retreat.

When it was morning, Keyghatu in person, along with all the commanders honored himself by visiting the sanctified sepulchral shrine. I myself had also not yet seen the sepulchral shrine. Summoning Soltan Valad, the king became his disciple. He performed sacrifices and gave out alms to those living by the sepulchral shrine and to the leaders of religion. Having forgiven the sin of the city’s inhabitants, he departed with a happy heart. The inhabitants of the city were overcome with joy and they sent the king an honorific present made of sumptuous preparations of every kind.

For my part, my old former affection and love increased a thousand fold, and I became a disciple of Soltan Valad. As a thanks offering for this mercy, I had the vaulted arch of the sepulchral shrine renovated’. (pg 229-231)

[221] (Sultan) Valad also said: “One day two jurists who were Turks came to visit my father. They brought a small amount of lentils as a gift and felt ashamed because of the paltriness of it. Mowlana recounted: “One day God Most High sent a divine inspiration to Mostafa – peace be upon him – to the fact that: ‘Let those endowed with intelligence donate wealth and goods to me.’. Mostafa instructed everyone to bring wealth according to his ability and the extent of his capacity. Some brought half their wealth, others brought a third, and our Abu Bakr brought all his wealth – so that a limitless amount of wealth results. Some brought camels, others gold, and other weapons of war.” (pg 210)

[331] Report: It is also transmitted that one day Mowlana had grown passionate uttering higher meanings, and a crowd of every kind of group was present. He recounted a story: “It happened that a Turk came to the city. Suddenly he arrived before the door of a madrasa. He saw that the madrasa has been swept and sprinkled with water, and the jurists were seated wearing big...
turbans and precious clothes. After a while he saw the doorkeeper of the madrasa come and bring for each of them items like bread, meat and other things which were their rations, and give each person his share. The Turk liked this situation very much. The next day the unfortunate Turk left his family and his village, made himself a turban and robe (jobba), and entered the madrasa. After greeting the teacher with “salaam”, he sat down alongside him.

It happened that the jurist teacher was a man of poverty (faqir) (note: Faqir means spiritualist in the popular sense of the word). He knew through clairvoyance (feraasat) that the Turk was not a religious scholar and that he come because of some other motive. The teacher said: “Oh dear friend, by means of external adornment and a robe and a turban a person does not become a religious scholar and a jurist. And without ascetic struggle a person does not attain direct witnessing. For years one must drink the liver’s blood and repeat the experience over and over again. And one must become soiled with the smoke of the lamp. Then perhaps, through success from God and His favor, a nobody may become somebody (kas-i) and from his existence somebodies and nobodies may be able to learn what it is to be somebody (kasi)”

Now the group who are worshippers of appearance and have remained with the beauty of appearance and find external education sufficient and have donned the faraji for appearance’s sake and are never knows of meaning, seers of meaning and extractors of meaning—they are like that Turk who has been mentioned. It is necessary to undergo hardship for years so that an ephemeral (yak-dama) human being may perhaps become someone of “that moment” (an-dami). And he recited:

‘It takes years of sitting in the sun
For the ruby to acquire color, brilliance and glow.
For dung to turn into musk, oh disciple,
It must graze within that garden for years
Heart and soul became like a thread in witnessing
So that the tip of the string appeared to me
In asceticism the body becomes like a specter (khiyal-i),
To chase away fantasies (khiyalat) from the interior. (pg 274-275)
student of religious learning was quietly repeating his lesson and was observing Khodavandgar’s (Rumi’s) states. I had also succumbed to sleep. The Turkish jurist saw that Mowlana mounted the green light and little by little began to ascent to the wind [in the roof]. As soon as he reached the window, the jurist woke me.

When I perceived what was happening, I was unable to bear the burden and to keep control over myself. Like someone utterly bewildered, I let out a shout and lost consciousness. The companions who had been asleep all woke up together. When I regained my senses, Mowlana said: “Majd al-Din, why did you let out a shout and release your quarry from your gullet? A Turk who is a recent disciple is able to bear the burden, but you divulge the matter. Many things like this occur to abdals to God. Acquire the state of close intimacy (Mahrammiyat) so you do not become deprived (mahrum). After all: ‘Whoever conceals his secret is a master over his affair’ is a saying of the manly men, isn’t it?”

If man were a keeper of secrets,

Good and bad would not be revealed

Whatever belonged to the unseen realm

Would all become visible for him (pg 266)

[347] There is also a true report that one day Mowlana said: “They will rebuild our tomb seven times. The final time a rich Turk will come forth and build my tomb with alternating bricks of gold and pure silver, and around my tomb a very big city will grow up and our tomb will remain in the middle of the city. At that time, our Mathnavi will take on the role of a shaykh. (pg 281)

[22] Report: Likewise, the most perfect of the disciples, Mowlana Salah al-Din-e Adib (the Man of Letters)---God have mercy on him---related the following: ‘Accompanying Chalabi ‘Aref, I went to the province of the son of Mantesha’ Mas’ud-Beg , and he was from among the supporters [Mowlana’s] family. One night he arranged a gathering, brought together the religious scholars and shaykhs of this province, and held a sama’-session for Chalabi. Moreover, they had their own shaykh ---a man who was a Turk but of enlightened heart and pure simplicity. Indeed many times things he said would actually take place, and the Tarkan of the Turks (Tarkan-e Torkan) believed in him deeply. He was also called to the gathering. The moment he entered through the door, he passed by Chalabi with complete indifference, without greeting him with “salaam” or paying him any attention, and sat down in the seat of honor while mumbling and muttering something under his breath. After Chalabi began performing the sama’, he dragged the shaykh by his collar, brought him into the midst of the dance, and recited this quatrain:
“When lovers set foot on the road of non-being,
They escape all existence other than the beloved
They died unto this deceptive, impermanent life
They take flight the way lovers flee from it”

And then he let go of him and the shaykh immediately fell down and began to foam at the mouth. After the second day the Turkish (Tork) shaykh quit (tark) the world and died. At that a great tumult broke out among the commanders, and Mas’ud-Beg was very afraid. Meanwhile the people of this province, in droves, became disciples and rendered many services. The next morning, Mas’ud Beg rose and going to Chalabi in complete supplication, presented his apologies. He bestowed on him five male and female slaves, ten handsome horses, ten fine cloaks of saqerlat cloth and twenty sufe-e morabba’. And he sent him sums of feluris [gold coins: florins] and silver in cash, and he became Chalabi’s disciple. Having been distinguished by divine favor, he made his lovely son, Shoja’ al-Din Orkhan, a disciple—God Most High have mercy on them! (pg 595)

[36] Report: The religious scholars among the companions related that one day Sultan Valad said: ‘The king of those have lost their wits, our Faqih Ahmad – God have mercy on him—was engaged in studying jurisprudence with Baha-e Valad. He was a Turk, a simple-hearted man, and he was also his disciple. Due to one glance (nazar) from my grandfather he became incomparable (bi-nazar) in the world and such a state came over him that he threw the book from his hand. He became filled with passion and set out on the road to the mountains. Engulfed in the ocean of bewilderment and divine omnipotence, he wandered about for many years in the mountains practicing ascetic austerities. In the end the secret of Oveys-e Qarani—God be pleased with him—was manifested to the famous jurist, and he became completely drawn to God (majdhub) and deprived of reason. A group of people asked Baha-e Valad about the man’s state and his madness. Baha-e Valad replied: “From those brimming cups of ours which Sayyed-e Serr-e-Dan [Borhan al-Din] quaffed, a single drop reached this man.”

Likewise, my father also said one day: “The intoxication of Faqih Ahmad is but a single whiff from the ocean of intoxication of Mowlana Shams al-Din-e Tabrizi, and no more.”

You’re drunk on wine, while I’m drunk on a whiff.

At Keyqobad’s banquet, the whiff as well is no trifle. (pg 30-31)

[71] Likewise in the of Qaramanids the city of Konya was in Qaramanid hands. Because Chalabi favored the army of the Mongols, this party was annoyed and would frequently raise objections, saying: ‘You do not want us who are your neighbors and supporters (mohebban) but you definitely favor the foreign Mongols.’ Chalabi replied: ‘We are dervishes. Our glance is
turned toward the will of God. Whomever God wishes and whomever He entrusts with his Sovereignty, we are on that person’s side and we want him.’

*When the bondsman is content with God’s predestination*

**He becomes a willing bondsman under Command**

‘This being the case, God Most High does not want you but He favors the army of the Mongols. He has taken sovereignty away from the Saljuqs and given it to the family of Chengiz Khan, in accordance with: *God gives His kingship to whom He will* (2/248). We want the same as God wants.’ Thus the sons of Qaraman, despite being devoted supporters and disciples, were angry and were on guard against Chalabi. Meanwhile, they had entrusted the citadel of Konya to a person by the name of One Eyed Qelechi Bahad or, and his gallows’ thief (dozd-e daar), having been made commander of the fortress (dezdar), was guarding the citadel with one hundred Turks devoid of shame.

It so happened that one day Chalabi, along with a group of disciples, entered the citadel through the Sultan Gate. Bahador descendent from a cur, arrived and ordered them to beat the companions, and they even struck the rump of Chalabi’s horse with a whip. He returned to the blessed madrasa and became so upset and morose that it is impossible to describe. After a while, Bahador was afflicted with colic of the navel. He rolled upon the ground and let out screams. As much electuary and opium as they gave him, the pain would not subside. After the third day of his being in the heat and burning, a tumor appeared in his infidel interior and his whole impure, shameless body began to swell up. Crying and shouting out profusely, he sought the assistance and clemency from Chalabi. But it was of no avail. Thus they placed this lowly, worn-out brute on a wagon and were carrying him to Laranda. Half-way along the route he let out a sigh and burst. He consigned his infidel soul to Hell, and no one from that company remained. (pg 647-648)

[23] Likewise, it is a well-known story that one day Shaykh Salah al-Din happened to hire Turkish laborers to do building work in his garden. Mowlana said: ‘Effendi’— that is to say lord—‘Salah al-Din, when it is time for building, one must engage Greek laborers and when it is time for destroying something, Turkish hirelings. Indeed, the building of the world is assigned to the Greeks, whereas the world’s destruction is reserved for the Turks. When God—He is sublime and exalted—ordered the creation of the world of sovereignty (‘alam-e molk’), first He created unaware-infidels, and He conferred on them long life and great strength so they would strive like hired laborers in building the terrestrial world. And they built up many cities and fortresses on mountain peaks and places on top of a hill such that after generations had passed these constructions were a model for those who came later. Then divine predestination saw to it that little by little these constructions would become completely destroyed and desolate, and be eradicated. God created the group of Turks so that they would destroy every building they saw, mercilessly and ruthlessly, and cause it to be demolished. And they are still doing so, and day by
day until the Resurrection they will continue to destroy in this manner. In the end, the
destruction of the city of Konya will also be at the hands of wicked Turks devoid of mercy.’
And this being the case, it turned out just as Mowlana said. (pg 503)

From the above samples, it is clear that Rumi in Aflaki had an Iranian identity and not a Turkish one and
Turks are clearly distinguished as separate from the order itself. Obviously, someone who says:

“Oh ignorant Turk! Give up (tark) this idea and undertaking. Take back your Turks (torkan) to
your lady (tarkan) as quickly as possible. Otherwise, you will not escape with your life.”

“Majd al-Din, why did you let out a shout and release your quarry from your gullet? A Turk
who is a recent disciple is able to bear the burden, but you divulge the matter. Many things like
this occur to abdals to God.”

“Indeed, the building of the world is assigned to the Greeks, whereas the world’s destruction is
reserved for the Turks. “

“when it is time for building, one must engage Greek laborers and when it is time for destroying
something, Turkish hirelings.”

“God created the group of Turks so that they would destroy every building they saw, mercilessly
and ruthlessly, and cause it to be demolished.”

Furthermore all the conversations of Rumi in Aflaki are recorded in Persian (despite Persians being a
minority in the area) and sometimes in Arabic. For example, usually when someone curses, they do so
in their native language.

According to Franklin: “Rumi also swore, as we learn in the Discourse (Fih 88) and Aflaki (Af 151-2),
saying gharr khwahar, roughly “slut of a sister,” a curse which would, addressed to a male, impugn his
honor. Sana’i had also used this curse, as did Shams (Maq 83).”(pg 317)

Thus the complete picture provided by Aflaki shows ethnicity was not only distinguished by
language/background and even having the same religion did not mean ethnicity was not distinguished
back then. From Afkali’s anecdotes, it is clear that neither Rumi or Sultan Walad were Turks and had any
sort of Turkish identity, the comments above again shows that Rumi’s native language was Persian and
naturally, even when swearing, it was again in his native language. The conclusion of this Section will be
part of the overall conclusion of the article.
Sultan Walad, Rumi’s son

Sultan Walad was Rumi’s son and thus knew Rumi personally. He had spent his life with Rumi, had daily interactions with him and probably knew the physical Rumi better than anyone else. He was given the name of his grandfather Sultan al-Ulama Baha al-Din Walad. Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi sent Sultan Walad and his brother Ala al-Din Muhammad to Aleppo and Damascus for the study of religious sciences. Sultan Walad was deeply trusted by Rumi, and it was him that Rumi sent to seek Shams Tabrizi after the disappearance of Shams. Sultan Walad married the Daughter of Salah al-Din Zarkub, Fatima Khatun. He had two daughters by her and one son (Jalal Ali-Din Arif). Sultan Walad at the insistence of his entourage, took up the succession which, at his father's death, he had declined in favor of Husam Al-Din.

Sultan Walad’s work

Sultan Walad’s work has been surveyed by Lewis (237-240) and statistically speaking, more 99% of the work is in Persian, with the rest being in Arabic, Turkish and Greek. Based on the direct information provided by the books, and its overview by the Encyclopedia of Islam and Franklin Lewis, we will give a brief overview here(with some direct quotes from these two sources).

1) The Diwan

The Diwan of Sultan Walad, in Persian contains 925 Ghazals and Qasida, and 455 quatrains. Approximately there are 12500 lines. Sultan Walad used twenty-nine different meters and composed nine poems in Arabic, fifteen in Turkish, 22 verses in Greek and the rest in Persian. That is overall 12300+ lines of Persian poetry, 129 in Turkish, 22 in Greek and 70 lines in Arabic. The Greek verses occur in four different Ghazals and we have included them as an attachment:

2) Ibtidā -nāma, also called Walad-nāma or Mathnawi-yi Waladī.

This Persian poetic verse book of Sultan Walad, in the style Mathnawi (a type of Persian verse) is the Ibtidā-nāma (The book of the beginning), also called Walad-nāma (The book of Walad) or Mathnawi-yi Waladī. Composed around 1291, it is written in the meter of the Hadiqa of Sanai. It constitutes an important source for the biographies of Baha al-din (Rumi’s father) and Mawlana (Rumi) as well as for the early history of the order. It chronicles the history of the Mawlawwiya order, as well focusing primarily on Rumi. It also describes the predecessors and successors of Rumi. One of the students of Rumi, Salah al-Din Zarkub who had a close spiritual relationship with Sultan Walad is also mentioned. This work provides a firsthand account by Rumi’s son who was very close to the many of the events described in the book. Overall, it is a hagiographical book, and promotes an image of Rumi as a miracle-working saint. It also provides a firsthand account of the Mawlawwiya order and the major personages associated with its history, including Baha al-Din, Borhan al-Din, Shams, Rumi, Salah al-Din Zarkub, Hosam al-din and finally Sultan Walad. The work contains over 9000 lines of poetry in Persian and 76 lines of Turkish.
3)  

*Rabāb-nāma*, a Persian Mathnawi, composed, at the behest of a notable, within five months of the year 700/1301 in the meter *ramal* of his father's Mathnawi. It contains 7745 lines in Persian, 35 in Arabic, 22 in Greek and 157 in Turkish. A critical edition was prepared by Ali Soltani Gordfaramazi in 1980 and published in Montreal as a collaborative effort between McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies and the University of Tehran under the title: "*Rabāb-nāma az Sultan Walad, Farzand-e Mowlana Jalal al-Din Mowlavi*". Sultan Walad composed the *Rabāb-nāma* between April and August of 1301 at the request of certain saint whom Sultan Walad repeatedly praises in the text. This "man of God" approached Sultan Walad with the suggestion that since had already produced a Mathnawi in the meter of Sanai's *Hadiq*, he should now set to work on a mathnawi in the same meter as the Mathnawi of his father, Rumi.

Sultan Walad begins this work in an imitation the song of the reed flute (Persian: *Nay*) at the beginning of the Mathnawi, but instead has the *Rabāb* start the opening tale:

“Hear in the cry and wail of the *Rabāb*

*A hundred chapters on the depth of love*”

At one point Sultan Walads references his father's work as being “sent-down”, suggesting he regarded Rumi's writing as quasi-divinely inspired.

4)  

The *Intihā-nāma* is another Persian Mathnawi. It was composed for the purposes, and is a kind of summary of the first two Mathnawi (*Ibtida Nama and RababNama*). It contains about 8300 lines of Persian poetry (Lewis).

5)  

The *Ma’arif Waladi* also called *al-Asrār al-djalāliyya*. It is a prose work in a style approaching the spoken language and containing accounts of Sultan Walad's thoughts and words. The title is an evocation of his grandfather's work by the same title. An uncritical edition appeared as an appendix to an undated Tehran print of Mawlānā's *Fihi mā fih*; a scholarly edition was prepared by Najib-Mayil-I Hirawi, *Ma’arif*, Tehran 1367/1988. This work is in Persian and contains 56 of the sermons and lectures from the pulpit by Sultan Walad and recorded by others. It also again shows that the everyday language of preaching and guidance of Sultan Walad was in Persian and is replete with quotes from Rumi, Attar and Sana’i.

Indeed like Rumi, Sultan Walad "speaks of Sana‘i and Attar as the eyes of the heart and the spirit respectively, which he set before himself as an example".

**Sultan Walad's admits he does not know Turkish and Greek well**

Overall we possess close to 50 verses in Greek and 370 in Turkish by Sultan Walad. By all means, this is negligible relative to the 37000+ lines of verses in Persian and the 56+ sermons in Persian. Thus the
Greek and Turkish output of Sultan Walad are less than 1% of his total output where-as the Persian output is about 99% of his literary output.

This makes one wonder why such is the case. If some want to argue that Persian was the literary language, they have no argument again because the Ma’arif Waladi is recorded lecture notes and sermons of Sultan Walad in everyday colloquial Persian by the followers of the order. So had he just used Persian for literary purpose, then one would expect that the sermons from the pulpit where he is guiding his everyday followers should be in Arabic or Turkish or Greek or in another language. However, it was in Persian which shows that the everyday language of the order was Persian and it was also the native language of Sultan Walad.

Despite the approximately 50 verses in Greek and 370 in Turkish, Sultan Walad admits his knowledge of Greek and Turkish is rudimentary. That is while he knew these languages, he did not feel complete mastery over them.

According to Franklin:

“Sultan Valad elsewhere admits that he has little knowledge of Turkish”(pg 239)

“Sultan Valad did not feel confident about his command of Turkish”(pg 240)

Sultan Walad actually admits the fact that his knowledge of Turkish and Greek is rudimentary four times.

1) In the Ibtedanama, Sultan Walad states:

بگذر از گفت ترکی و رومی
كه آين اصطلاح محرمی
گوي از پارسي و آز تاری
كه در آين هر دخوش همیعازی

Translation:

Abandon the speech of Turkish and Greek
Since you are deprived of these expressions
Instead speak Persian and Arabic
Because you are well versed in these two

In another poem in the *Rababnama*, he states:

**Türkche bilseyd üm ben eyed üm size** (If I had known Turkish, I would have told you)

Sırlarin kim tanridan de ğdi (The secrets that God has imparted on me)

Bild üreyd üm s özile bildügümi (I would have informed you in words of what I know)

*Bulduraydum ben size bulduğu*umu (And let you find what I have found)

*Dilerem kim g öreler kamu am* (I wish that all could see that (truth) )

*Cümle yoksullar ola benden gani* (And that all the poor would be rich because of me;)

*Bildürem dükeline bildügüm* (That I would inform all of what I know)

*Bulalar ulu kiçi bulduğu*umu (And let great and small find what I have found)

See:


Also quoted in:


Again this is clear example of Sultan Walad admitting that his Turkish was not on par with his Persian.

3)

In the Turkish lines of *Ibtidanama* he also states:

**Türk dilin bilürmisediyüm ben - soz ile bellu gostereydiim ben**

*If I had known Turkish, I would have made it clear with words*

4) And again in the Diwan he states:

تورکچه اگر بيلديم بي سورى بين ايليي ديم
تاتجى اگر ديل سور گوم اسرار اولي

*If I had known Turkish, I would have made one word into a thousand*
But when you listen to Persian, I tell the secrets much better

Source:

Sultan Walad, Mowlavi-ye Digar: Shaamel-e Ghazliyaat, Qasaayed, Qet’at, Tarkibat, Ash’are Torki, Ash’ar-e ‘Arabi, mosammat, roba’iyat (Tehran, Sanai, 1984) Pp 556

One wonders how many times Sultan Walad has to admit that he does not know Turkish and Greek well. So why did Sultan Walad make this miniscule contribution to Turkish and Greek which is less than 1% of his total literally output? Despite his rudimentary knowledge of these languages (and he could have sought the help of a Greek or a Turk for understanding some of these words). According to Mehmed Foud Kopurulu: “The fact that he occasionally resorted to Turkish derives from his fear that a large majority, who did not understand Persian, would be deprived of these teachings” (Mehmed Fuad Köprüülü,, 209)

At the same time Mehmed Fuad Köprüülü, states(Mehmed Fuad Köprüülü,, 209):

“I will not go into a lengthy description here of these poems, which were written in a very crude and primitive language and with a very defective and rudimentary versification replete with Zihaf {pronouncing a long vowel short} and Imala {pronouncing a short vowel long}.”

Thus Sultan Walad admits that he is not proficient in Turkish and Greek as he is in Persian. But he did have Greek and Turkish followers and thus he could have asked their help in understanding some of those words and trying to make the message of Rumi clear for non-Persians. He prefers Persian to state the secrets and mystical wisdoms that were imparted to him by his father. At the same time, he wanted to provide guidance to the non-Persian followers of the order. Given the fact that the Ma’arif Waladi is also his sermons, and in an everyday colloquial language, this provides a conclusive proof that the family of Rumi was Persian speaking and Sultan Walad himself grew up in a native Persian speaking environment. Hence this is another proof that the native language of Rumi was Persian. Also the fact that his sermons from the pulpit are in Persian also shows that he was a native speaker of the Persian language.

Sultan Valad’s view on the Turks

During the time of Sultan Walad there was an intense rivalry between the Turkish Qaramanlu and the Persianized Seljuqs of Anatolia. At one poin the Qaramanlu attacked Konya and pillaged the town.

According to the Encyclopedia of Islam: “Following this, they were headed by Giineri Beg, who seems to have been a member of the Karamanid dynasty. The defeat of the Mongol army by the Mamluks at Hims in 680/1281, and the death of Abaka following this, led to disturbances in Turkey. Karaman Oghlu Giineri Beg carried out frequent acts of plunder in the Konya region,”

And

“As Sultan Masud lived in Kayseri and there was no competent governor in Konya, the Karamanids were emboldened to carry out frequent raids and acts of plunder in and around the city. On one occasion, under the command of Khalil Bahadur, they raided and plundered the city
for three days in succession. Sultan Masud thereupon requested help from Gaykhatu, who had recently succeeded to the Ilkhanid throne, Gaykhatu came to Anatolia with a large army, which also included Georgian soldiers. Laranda and Eregli and the villages around these cities were destroyed with particular savagery. The number of captives taken from the lands of the Karamanids and Ashraf Oghullari alone (690/1292) was 7,000.


(Note F. Sumer displays a Turkish nationalist viewpoint on the Karamanids and would support the Karamanids. Anyhow we wanted to demonstrate the conflict between the Seljuqs and Karamanids)

The disdain for the Qaramanlou is shown by Aflaki, Sultan Walad, the Maktubat of Mowlana and etc. and requires its own detail study.

What is interesting is that during the takeover of Konya, the Qaramanlou made Turkish the official language of the court and administration. However, Sultan Masud of the Seljuqs (whom we described as a Persianized dynasty who had left the Turkic origin) defeats them and retakes Konya. This episode is recalled by Sultan Walad where he praises Sultan Masud:


ظلم و ستم نابود شد، عدل و گرم موجود شد
هم عاقبت محمود شد، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
شد این جهان زنه ز، نو، از نیک و ید بئده تو
با بخت و فرخشه ز، نو، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
در روم شاهد، سر زده، پنسته شر و عربه
گلزار شد آتشکده، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
امد ندا از اسما، اندر زمین ای راهدان
نعم البدل بین در جهان، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
ترکان عالم سور را، از غار و کوه و بیشه 5
آورده در طاعت خدا، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
زین پس شود امام و امان، زین پس نماد ادنهان
عالم شود شیرین جون جان، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
تلخی کون حلوا شود، پستی بقین بالا شود
کار همه زنبا شود، جون شاه ما مسعود شد
بیمود رژه ری زجل، جارن را بردون کرد از وحل
شدن مشکلات بسته حل، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
صد رو نماید عشق ما، صد در گشاید عشق ما
صد جان گزاید عشق ما، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
خم از قدرشاده بین، بزم ابد پنهاده بین
بیساغری صد یاده بین، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
در خواب می‌شد ارم، در روی هزاران گون نعم تعبیر از آن شد روشنم، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
گر بنده‌هی شاهی بیا، ور طالب راهی بیا
گر کو و گر کاهی بیا، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
گویید چرا منت، در عاشقی بینا منت
در نم تن دریا منت، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
همجون که عیسی بر برم، از چرخ و کبوتر بگذرم
چز راه حق را نسرپرم، چون شاه ما مسعود شد
غرقه شوم اندر احده، در بیعت و محو بیعده
شکر شود زین بس یبد، چون شاه ما مسعود شد

Sultan Walad, Mowlavi-ye Digar: Shaamel-e Ghazliyaat, Qasaayed, Qet'at, Tarkibat, Ash'are Torki, Ash'ar-e ‘Arabi, mosammat, roba'iyat (Tehran, Sanai, 1984) Pp 536

Here Sultan Walad calls the Turks as “World-Destroyers” and praises Sultan Masud for bringing them under God’s control even if they were hiding in the plains, caves and mountain. After the defeat of the Qaramanlou Turks, Sultan Walad beseeches Sultan Masud to not let a single one of these Turks alive.

به دولت شاه شاهانی به صوتل شیر شیرانی
همه ترکان ز یمن چان شده در غار و گُ بهنام
چو نبود شیر در بیشه رود از گُزو انده بنا
بلگ اکنون بیش موشی، چو چدن شیر حق غران
چو ماران رفته در گُ ها در ان بیشه به انده‌ها
همه چون روز می‌دانند گه خواهی کوفت سرهاشان
همه در گریه تاله، چون در غرق چون لاله
گرهی بر موت خود گیان، گرهی بر خوف خان و مان
جو زنجران بی درمان بسته دستها از جان
به امیدی طمع کرده که بوک از شه رسد غفران
گذشت از حذاین زمخت مکن شااه تونشان رحیم
چه‌ی نع‌ن ره مک آن جمله را قراین
لکم اندر قصاص خلق جوی و این شنو از حق
قصاص چشم تشنام به دندان هم بوید دندان
چه اندر قصاص امد خوق از عصنع امد
نبودی هیچکس زنده بیرین گرد نامدی قرمان
خواج را مهل زنده اگر میرست اگر بنه
که خونی کشتی باشد سه شروع این قران
ولد کردست نفرین ها برون از جرخ و پروین‌ها
که بارب زین سگان باد بر هم خان و هم ایمان


This is in our opinion one of the more colorful poems of Sultan Walad and ties the concept of Qisas with political justice. Sultan Walad first praises Sultan Masud for making “all the Turks” (Hameh Torkaan) flee into the mountains and caves. Then he asks Sultan Masud not leave a single one of them alive and finally the last line Sultan Walad beseeches God: “O God, from these evil Dogs, take away both their life and faith”. As noted, in modern Turkish nationalism, the Karamanids are looked upon in a positive light. This is because of their anti-Persian stance and attempt at removing Persians and the Persian language from the courts and administrations. We could already see some tension as mentioned in the work of Aflaki between the two groups.

According to Dr. Firuz Mansur, “It should be noted that Fereydun Nafidh ‘Ozluk has changed the word “Hameh Torkaan” to Khawarij in his Turkish translation of the Diwan of Sultan Walad”.

This is what Dr. Firuz Mansuri states:

در آن تاریخ نتنه تنا این قصیده، بلکه مندرجات سایر منابع تاریخی و ادبی همه دلایل بر این دارد که شهرنشینان، به وزه اهلی قوینه، از ترکان کوچ رکه مخال أسایش عمومی و مخالف نظام اداری حکومت بودند. دل خوشی ندشتند و نسبت به آنها اظهار کرده و تقریب طبیعت ناکافی افزایش دیوان سلطان ولد به ترکی، در نخستین بیت منظمی‌های فوق، به جالی کلمه‌های “همه ترکان” لفت خواج را
گمارده است. ایشان با این اقدام بیمورد و تحریف آشکار، حسن کیه و نقره سلطان ولد را نسبت به ترکان برده‌نشینی گردید و آن جشن خواندنگانی که فارسی نمی‌داند، پنهان داشته اشت.


This poem is reminiscence of the poem of Sanai Ghaznavi who complains about crueltly of various rulers in his own era and uses the metaphor “Torki Kardan” as equivalent to crueltly.
گریه کردن پیش مشتی سگ پرست و موشخوار
روزگزاری بودن از ستمکش صبر کن دندان فشار
تا بپینی رنگ آن محتی کسان جون گل اثر
هم کنون بپینی که از میدان دل عیار
زن سگان آدمی کمخت و خر مردم دمار
و مواقف خواهی ای دجال یک چر سر برآ
یک صدای صور و زین فرعن طعم صهراز
صورت خونت نهان و سیرت رشته اشکار
تا بپینی گرگی آن سگ را چه می‌خوانی عیار
در شمار هر چه باشی آن شوی روز شمار
پاش تا در هاک بیبی شور و شور شار
شیر سیر و حاچ و شور سوز و مال مار
جز به هاک پای مشتی حاکسارست افخار
کردرپیش ساسگاه فهرش سنتگسار
پاش تا گل بابی آنها را یک امرودن خار
تا نداریان بدبای خبره همجزون خار خوار
پاش تا در جلومش ارد دست انضاف بهار
تا نداری خوارشان از روي نخوت زنهاز
در عرب بوللیت بود اندر قیامت بونهار
پاسبان در شناس آن ثلخ آب اندر بحار
بود دروشان قیماهی یافقا را بود و تار
جوان رفوت طبع ماندی خوشنی غفلت بیادر
کی بود اهل تار انکس که برجند تار
در و در هشت و هفت و در شش و پنج و جهار
ار گلست انجاها با حارست ور مل با حمار
زنست پاش نقض نفس خوی را از راه طبع
اندرن زندان برين دندان زنان سگ صفت
تا بپینی رؤی آن مردمکشان چون عفراز
گرچه آدم سیربان سگ صفت مستند
جوهر آدم برون تارد بارادر ناگهان
گر مخالف خواهی ای مهبدی در آر آسمان
یک طبانچه مرگ و زین مردرخواران یک جهان
پاش تا از صدمت صور سرافنی شود
تا بپینی موری آن خس را گه میدانی امیر
در تو حیوانی و روحمانی و شیطانی درست
پاش تا باد بپینی حان رای و رای حان
تا بپینی یک به یک را کشته در شاهین عدل
ویله از داری به جز باید به دست ارم ترا
کرزای هاک پایی بازی خی را خدا
پاش تا گل بابی آنها را یک امرودن جری
آن عزیزانی که انجا گلستان دولند
گلستانی کاکونون ترا هیزم توهم از حور دی
زنده بودنی که انجا زندگان حصرند
و آن سیاهی کر یبو ناموس حق نافوس رز
برده در عشق دان اسم ملامت بر فقیر
ور یفاخواهی در دروشان طلب زیرا که هست
تا ورای نفس خوشنی خوشنی کودک شمار
کی شود ملک تو عالم تو باشی ملک او
هست دلا یکتا موجش در دو گنی را ران که نیست
نیست یک رنگی بزرگ هفت چار از نهر انک
آن واقعیت ناگفته‌ای دارد که زمین عالی‌ترین مکانی از برخی از نقاط زمین است. این دیدگاهی وجود دارد که زمین به صورت کامل شناوری است. در دنیای طبیعی، هر اثری بر محیط زیست وجود ندارد که به ماهیت واقعی محیط زیست نماید. 

در زمین‌شناسی، خاک‌شناسی و همچنین در اکتشافات اخیر، این نظریه‌ها و نتایج جدیدی باعث شده که بتوانیم درک عمیق‌تری از جغرافیا و طبیعت داشته باشیم. 

به عبارت دیگر، این نظریه‌ها به ما امکان می‌دهند تا بهتری درک کنیم از کودک تا بزرگ، از مردم تا موجوداتی که در زمین وجود ندارند، خاک و آب و هوای دنیا را بهتری درک کنیم و جغرافیا و همچنین زمین‌شناسی را بهتری درک کنیم.
گرید خود گردنی همیج چون گرد مرکز دایره
2 از نگارستان نقاشی طبیعی برتر ای
بون ز دفیانا خود رستند هستند ونیم قریم
باردان نابود دین را اخیر از تلقین دیو
عقل اکر خواهان که ناگه در عقلهای نفکند
عقل بی شرع آن جهانی نور دهنده مرا
عقل جریهی که نواده گشت بر فران محيط
گرچه بوستنست بس دورست چان اکیند
پیشگاه دوست را مناسب چو بر درگاه عضق
عاسفان، خداست موعود تنشیفست و بر
رحم تیخ حکم را چه مصطفایا چه بیانگ
هرچه دوستواست بر تو هم ز باد و بود نست
از درون جان برامد نخوت و حق و عسکرد
تا ندانی کوشش خود پیشتاش حق دان از آنگ
ورته پیش ناوت انداران غیرت کی بود
جند جویی، بی حیایی حضو و سکر و انساس
جر به تسوئی "قات الله" با "قات الرسول"
جار گوهی جاریابی، عرش و شرع مصطفاست
جار یار مصطفا را مقداد دار و بدان
یاس خود خود زیر زیر زیر در بهار تر هوا
از زبان جاه جوانان تاداری طعم بر
کی نوان آمد به راه حق ز راه حق و حق
نی از آن دردی که دار مکروح دارن دیو نینج
نه جنان دردی که با جانان نگود دردمد
بر جنین بالا میر گستاخ کر مافیا لا
Conclusion about Sultan Walad

Rumi’s son Sultan Walad was born in Anatolia. In an environment where Persians were a minority, but culturally they predominated and even ran the Seljuq administration. The everyday language of Sultan Walad as demonstrated by his sermons was Persian. Furthermore, despite the fact that he lived in Anatolia where Greek and Turkish were important languages, he himself claims at least four times that his knowledge of Greek and Turkish are very rudimentary. He states also that he does not preach in Arabic and uses Persian, so that everyone may understand.

By everyone, he of course means the followers of the order and with this, we can ascertain that the majority of the followers of Rumi at that time were Persians and Persian speaking. Also we brought examples were Sultan Walad has some of the harshest comments for Turks and specially the Qaramani Turks who tried to make Turkish the official language. He calls the Turks as “world burners” and asks the Persianized Seljuqs to not even let one of the Turks alive. At the same time, he had Greek and Turkish followers, but these were to adopt Persian cultural traditions. So Sultan Walad like his father was a universal figure, but the above mentioned points clearly demonstrates his Persian background and
The Origin of Sama and a response to a false claim

According to Halman:

“Turkish scholars have advanced the argument that the Sema, one of the salient and dramatically effective aspects of the Melevi ritual, has its origin the ritual dances of the Turkic shamans in Central Asia. This viewpoint apparently does not conflict with the theory which B. Carra de Vaux summarizes in the following words: “The dance of the whirling derwishes, which goes back to Djalal al-Din, seems to be an attempt to express the Neo-Platonic idea of perfection and the harmony of the movement of heavenly bodies” (pg 272)

Furthermore Halman or another Turkish scholar claims without any proof or sources (ignoring even Sama’ among Shams Tabrizi and Attar and Sanai and Ghazzali who were all Persians like Rumi and major influences on Rumi):

“Persian communities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries vehemently denounced the use of music and dance in any religious, including Sufi, observances” (pg 273)

We shall show both of these statements to be utterly false and are written for nationalistic consumptions. Indeed Sanai, Attar, Al-Ghazzali and many other famous Persian Sufis have discussed Sama and music. We will first bring the relevant scholarly passages to discount the above two claims before offering more commentary.

According to Franklin:

“Sama is a difficult word to translate. It has usually been rendered as “audition,” but this sounds like a musical try-out. “Spiritual concert” has also been tried, but in the usage of Rumi it is much more than listening. Sama ideally involves the use of poems and music to focus the listener’s concentration on God and perhaps even induce a trance-like state of contemplative ecstasy (vajd, hal). When this happens, it often moves the listener to shake his arms or dance. It is therefore a kind of motile meditation or deliberative dancing, a mode of worship and contemplation. According to Mohammad b. al-Monavvar’s Asrar al-Towhid, the sama’ of Shaykh Abu Sa’id would include waving the hands (dast afshani) as well as circling about and stamping the feet. Abu Sa’id had learned this practice as a child(MAS 218), which had been well known in eastern Iran for over two centuries before the birth of Rumi. Sama’ was not, therefore, an incidental or chance hearing of music, but a liturgical and ritual use of music.

The manuals of Sufism had thoroughly covered the subject of sama’ by the time of Rumi, giving it a theoretical justification. In the mid-eleventh century, Hojviri devotes the last
chapter of his *Kashf al-mahjub* to it, first proving that the Prophet had encouraged the chanting of the Koran, and then proving that the Prophet had also listened to poetry. Hojviri goes on to show that the Prophet did allow singing and the playing of melodies. Of course, music can provoke a person’s base passions or it can send him into transports of spiritual bliss. The act of listening to music was not, therefore, in itself wrong or evil, but it could become sinful if the listener responded improperly. Dancing was not approved by Hojviri, though he did not forbid it, explaining that the movements of the dervishes in Sama’ are not dancing but responding to mystical ecstasy. Hojviri gives rules for proper behavior in *Sama’*, and these rule out looking upon beautiful boys (see below, “Rumi’s Sexuality”).

**Sari Saqati had compared the Sama’ to rain on fertile ground.** But it was a dangerous thing which needed a shaykh to guide and control it. As the *Owrad al-Ahbab* describes *Sama*, it is a grace from God that attracts the hearts of His servants to him...whoever listens with truth will reach the truth. Whoever listens with passion will become a heretic (Saf 3/1:200-201). Most of the Sufi orders practiced *Sama’*, though not all; the Naqshbandis of Naqshband’s own circle, for example did not (Saf 3/1:203).

The theologians, however, were divided about whether or not poems should even be recited in the mosque. Mo’ad b. Jabal, a companion of the Prophet, had said not, but later jurisprudents tended to be less strict on the matter, with even the Hanbalis making some allowances. Ibn al_Jowzi held the recitation of ascetic-oriented verse in the mosque permissible; however, Ibn Jobayr even heard al-Jowzi recite love poetry (*ash’ar min al-nasib*) in 1184 in the caliphal place at Baghdad, where he preaches twice a week (MAS 226). Abu Hafs ‘Omar Sohravardi, the caliphal envoy, also moved his hearers with poetry in the mosque once (MAS 227)). Ibn Taymiya allowed preachers to recite verses of a religious/didactic nature in the mosque, if based upon the Koran, the Hadith, or exhortations to penance. The Hanafi legal handbooks held all of these permissible and eventually would add love poems for the Prophet as licit genre for recitations in mosque (MAS 226). The Shiites also allowed love poems for the Imams. However, the Shafi’i Zarkashi (d. 1392) held that reciting anything but religio-ethical verses in the mosque was forbidden (MAS 227). The preacher of Molla Hosayn Va’ez-e Kashefi (d. 1505) considered the signing of poems in the mosque impermissible, but he would allow them to be recited without music (MAS 228).

Abu Najib ‘Abd al-Qaher Sohravardi (1097-1168) in his “Manners for Disciples” (*Adab al-moridin*, written c. 1155) explains that all the authorities agree on the permissibility of listening to a beautiful and melodious voice reciting the Koran, as long as the chanting does not obscure the meaning of scripture. Having established that the act of chanting is not objectionable, he takes up the question of whether or not it is licit to chant poetry. One can only judge, Sohravardi says, by the content of the verse in question, even then, poems which might be inappropriate for one person at a given level of development would not be objectionable for another person. Sohravardi explains that some people, as they listen to chanting and music, may weep out of sorrow, yearning or fear; others might clap or dance out of a sense of hope, joy or delight. Such
movements and cries arise from the human spirit and are not in and of themselves, forbidden, though those who have truly attained do not need act in this manner.

Among Rumi’s contemporaries in Konya, Akhi Evren was opposed to Sama’, an attitude probably not atypical among the fottovat orders. But Ahmad-e Faqih wrote a “whirling” poem, and ‘Eraqi praised the state of ecstasy brought about by listening to singers (qavval) tell of the beloved.

One account which Aflaki (Af 680-681) attributes to Sultan Valad tells us that it was the grandmother of Sultan Valad (the mother of Gowhar Khatun) who first encouraged Rumi to practice Sama. He did so, but at first simply shook his arm about. Only after Shams arrived in Konya did Rumi begin to practice the whirling dance.

On the other hand, Sepahsalar (Sep 64-5) says:

His holiness, our lord – may God increase the light he shines upon us – from the beginning of his career followed the practice and procedure of his father – his holiness our lord, Baha al-Din Valad, may paradise be his – including teaching, preaching, renunciation and ascetic exercises. He [Rumi] followed whatever forms of worship and renunciation were attributed to his holiness the Messenger - God’s peace and blessing upon him. In his prayers and fasting and exercises of self-renunciation, he [Rumi] would see epiphanies and spiritual stations to which no perfect man had ever attained, but he had never performed sama’. When his holiness, our lord and monarch of the beloved, looked upon our lord Shams of Tabriz, the Sun of Truth and Religion – God Magnify his mention – with the eye of insight, recognize him as the beloved and king of the saints who held a rank among the highest stations of the beloved ones, he fell in love with him and honored whatever he instructed. Shams then instructed him:

Enter into Sama’, for you will find increase of that which you seek in it. Sama’ was forbidden to the people because they are preoccupied with base passions. When they perform Sama’, their reprehensible and hateful characteristics increase and they are moved by pride and pleasure. Of course Sama’ is forbidden to such people. On the other hand, those people who quest for and love truth, their characteristics intensify in Sama’ and none but God enter their field of vision at such times. So, Sama’ is permissible to such people

Rumi Obeyed this instruction and attended Sama’ and observed with his own eyes in the state of Sama’ that which Shams had indicated, and he continued to practice and follow this custom until the end of life.

Indeed, Rumi became quite enamored with the ritual of turning and singing verse. Sama’ became Rumi’s flood of divine love, and he played it on and on.(Franklin, 309-11)

The Encyclopedia of Islam article on Sama also elaborates:
SAMA’, verbal noun from the root s-m-’ (like sam’ and sim’), signifying "hearing"; by extension, it often denotes "that which is heard", such as music, for example. The same applies to istimd’-"listening" (Lane, Lexicon, 1427b, 1429b; LCA, s.v.)

1. In music and mysticism.

The term is not found in the Kuran, but it exists in ancient Arabic, even in the sense of song or of musical performance (Lane, 1617b, s.v. mushar). In lexicology and in grammar, it signifies "that which is founded on authority", as opposed to kiysi "founded on analogy" (de Sacy, Grammaire, i, 347, and Lane,1429b). In theology, it is opposed to 'akl, "reason"(Goldziher, Richtungen, 136-7, 166). But it presents a specific sense in Sufism, where it generally denote the hearing of music, the concert, and in its particular sense, the Sufi tradition of spiritual concert, in a more or less ritualised form. Sama’- is then considered to be the "nourishment of the soul", in other words, a devotional practice which, according to Sufi authors, can induce intense emotional transports (tawddjud), states of grace (ahwal), of trance or of ecstasy (wadj, wudjud) and even revelations. These manifestations are often accompanied by movements, physical agitation or dance which are of set form or otherwise, individual or collective, of which Persian miniatures have left numerous testimonies and of which certain forms are still in use. The very sense of the term sama’, which has been widely discussed, suggests that it is actually listening which is spiritual, since music or poetry do not necessarily have a sacred nature. "Hearing", on the other hand, can be applied to any sound, natural, artificial or artistic, as well as to the "subtle" sounds of the hidden world or of the cosmos. In its predominant sense, hearing is a synonym of "understanding", in other words, comprehension, acceptance and application of the Revelation, and the practice of sama’, beyond ecstasy or rapture, can be an unveiling of mysteries, a means of attaining higher knowledge (Ruzbihan, Gisu Deraz).

Sama’- does not seem to appear until the mid-3rd/9th century among the Sufis of Baghdad, but while the association of music with ecstatic rites or practices is attested prior to Islam in the Religions of the Book(Mole), no solution has been found to the question of continuity between the latter and the Sufi practice of sama’-, in spite of numerous similarities. It could take the form of an extension of the hearing of the Kuraan to that of religious ghazals and kasidas, or furthermore, of sacralisation of the secular concert and a sublimation of tarab, that new custom which spread very quickly to Isfahan, Shiraz and in Khurasan (Purdjawadi,18). Sama’ is thus initially an "oriental" phenomenon, promulgated in particular by the Persian disciples of Nuri and of Djunayd. By the same token, all of the early authors dealing with sama’ were Persians, with the exception of Abu Talib Muhammad al-Makki (d. 386/996 [q.v.]). Subsequently, sama’- spread to all areas, but found most favour in Persian, Turkish and Indian Islam. The first writings, composed a century after the inauguration of the custom of sama’, coincided with the first attacks on the part of traditionalists who sought to condemn music (such as Ibn Abi ‘1-Dunya
(208-81/823-94 [q.v.], the author of the *Dhamm al-maldhi*, cf. Robson), and constituted a reply to them. According to Purdjavadi (*ibid.*, 22), these writings may be arranged in three groups and periods:

(1) 4th/10th century. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 412/941 [q.v.]), whose *K. al-Sama’* is the first monograph devoted specifically to *sama’*; al-Makki; al-Sarradj (d. 378/988 [q.v.]); al-Kalabadh (d. 380/990 [q.v.]), and Abu Mansur. They base their arguments on *hadiths* and on the logia of the ancient mystics (Dhu ’1-Nun al-Misri), being concerned above all to defend *sama’* from its detractors.

(2) 5th/11th century: al-Bukhari; Abu ’1-Kasim al-Kushayri (d. 466/1074 [q.v.]); al-Ghazall (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]). In these authors, too, the defensive aspect is featured, but the Sufis seem to rely on them more on account of their social and even political status.

(3) 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries: Nadjm al-Dln Kubra [q.v.], Ruzbihan Bakli Shirazi (d. 606/1209); Ahmadi Djam; Nadjm al-Di Baghdadi; ‘Abd al-Razzak Kashani; Ahmad Tusi (8th/14th century); etc. They take into account the social and ritual aspect and argue more rationally. After this period, *sama’* was included in its entirety among the customs of the mystics and was no longer the object of judicial debates. Writers confined themselves to extolling its qualities and its symbolic meanings, some going so far as to consider it an obligation for adepts (Ahmad Tusi, whose *Bawarik* has been erroneously attributed to Ahmad al-Ghazali (cf. Mojahed, 1980). After the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, the question of *sama’* seems to have been filed away or exhausted, and setting aside the orders which retained its practice and its theory (Mawlawis, Cishtis), did not give rise to any more original literature (Gisuh Deraz).

The function of *sama’*—as well as its conditions of performance, have evolved in a sense which al-Hudjwiri was the first to deplore, and which the aphorisms of the earliest Sufis (al-Halladj, Dhu ’1-Nun) had anticipated in their warnings. It became for some a form of delectionation or an sensual pleasure, all the more so that the rite now included dancing and was concluded with a meal. Furthermore, the proletariat indulged in profane *sama’*, in other words concerts with a religious pretext (Pouzet), not to mention rites of trance inherited from paganism and superficially Islamised (berated by Ibn Taymiyya). In order to restrain the adepts and counter the criticisms of the jurists, the majority of authors established conditions (al-Ghazali) and rules of propriety (al-Nasafi), and distinguished between the types of concert (*sama’*) in terms of the nature of the hearing: some listen according to their ego (*sama’*- *al-nafs*, or their nature, *tab’*), others according to the heart, others through the spirit. While for the first category, music (or *sama’*) is not to be permitted, as for the adepts, not all the *shaykhs* were unanimous as to the advantages which could be drawn from *sama’*. The contention was that *sama’*—is dangerous for
beginners and useless for the more advanced. Some maintained that it should be limited to the hearing of Kuranic psalmody (Ibn ‘Arabi), others did not approve of it, but none explicitly discouraged it, with the exception of Ahmad Sirhindi.

It is remarkable that the conditions of admissibility of sama’ have had practically no effect on the musical form itself, except that instruments with profane or dubious connotations are proscribed (al-Ghazali). This is why certain instruments, such as the tambourine (daff, bendir, mazhar) and the nay were more widespread, while certain orders were content with song. Similarly, romantic poems were adopted at a very early stage in Persia, on condition that they were to be interpreted by the adepts in a metaphorical sense—sometimes very subtle—relating to a spiritual object or to the person of the Prophet. Faced with the diversity of attitudes, sama’ has taken on extremely varied forms, especially in combining with or associating with collective dhikr, the ritualisation of an ecstatic technique, which probably appeared a few centuries later. At the present day, it is most often in the context of a ceremony of dhikr that sama’ is performed, in the form of chant sometimes accompanied by instruments, whether in the course of one of the phases of the ritual, or in association with the metrical shape of the dhikr. Thus the distinction drawn by anthropologists between sama’ and dhikr, on the basis of the participation of subjects, "set to music" in one case and "making music" in the other, is not applicable, all the more so in that even silent listening is generally accompanied by interior dhikr (khafi), as among the Mawlawis, often being transformed into audible dhikr (djahri, djali). In its primary definition, sama’ as hearing without acoustic participation of the adepts hardly survives except among the Mawlawis, the Bektashi-Alawis, the Indo- Pakistani Kawwalis, and in the rites of marginal groups such as the Yazidis, the Ismailis, the maled shamans of Balucistan (types damali, kalandari). On the other hand, in many rituals (hadra, hizb, dhikr), it survives as the introductory part (Kadiri of Kurdistan) or concluding part (Sufi brotherhoods of the Maghrib). In all these cases, the hymns or the instrumental pieces constitute specific repertoires generally distinguished from the music of the secular environment by means of their rhythms, their structures and their texts. Faced with the diversity of musical techniques put into practice, it is difficult to identify in purely formal terms a notion of “music of sama’”, except at the level of the force of expression, drawn from the dhikr as a form and as a mode of concentration. The difficulty in identifying a global specificity is due perhaps to the paradoxes underlined by certain shaykhs (al-Suhrawardi), according to which it is not sama- and dance which induce ecstasy, but ecstasy which arouses the dance, or furthermore, that sama’ is only a revealing instrument and that it only supplies that which is brought to it by the hearer. (J. During, “Sama’”, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2007. Brill Online.)

Thus as shown in the above two excerpts on Sama’ that Sama’ was an Iranian-Khorasanian Sufi phenomenon. Virtually all the names associated with it including Abu Said Abul Khayr, Hujwiri, Junayd Baghdadi (of Iranian origin), Abu al Hassan Nuri (Sufi in Baghdad of Iranian origin), Sari Saqati (Iranian origin), were early promulgators of Sama’. That is why the Encyclopedia of Islam states: “Sama’ is thus
initially an "oriental" phenomenon, promulgated in particular by the Persian disciples of Nuri and of Djunayd”

During Rumi’s own time, it was the Iranian Shams Tabrizi who encouraged Sama’ and we have other Iranian Sufis. Also other Iranian Sufis of that time including Najm al-Din Kubra, Rubzihan Baqli Shirazi, Ahmad Djam and etc. practiced Sama’. Franklin clearly also sates: “The manuals of Sufism had thoroughly covered the subject of sama’ by the time of Rumi, giving it a theoretical justification. “ and virtually all these manuals were written by Iranians Sufis. Indeed Fakhr ad-Din ‘Araqi who also visited Konya practiced Sama’ as well. Ghazzali a prominent Iranian theologian and Sufi (who emphasized the importance of Shari’ia) has also stated:

Finally an example from the poetry of Attar relating the concept of “bikhodi” (losing oneself) and Sama’:

جعحار حسّی مینیچان سماها محک صادق و معیار ناطق قلب است.
Thus unlike what was erroneously claimed, Sama’ was practiced by the Persian poet Rumi’s contemporaries including Shams, Fakhr al-Din Araqi, Najm al-Din Kobra, Ruzbihan Baqli and etc. The origin of Sama’ also dates back to at least the earliest days of Iranian Sufism and the Encyclopedia of Islam has mentioned that virtually all the prominent names in relation to the practical and theoretical developments of Sama’ are Iranians. Thus the nationalistic claims to locate Sama’ in Turkic shamanistic rituals or try to deny the Iranian-Sufic origin of this phenomenon has no scholarly value and is a forgery that has been coined to disclaim Rumi from his Khorasanian-Persian Sufi heritage.

On Rumi’s cultural predecessor and The Mawlawiya’s Spiritual lineage

In this section, we emphasize some aspects of Rumi’s Persian culture, in particular the spiritual saints mentioned by Rumi and Sultan Walad.

Thus repeating for emphasis what the Turkish professor Talat Halman has stated: “Baha ad-din (Rumi’s Father) and his family eventually settled in Konya, ancient Iconium, in central Anatolia. They brought with them their traditional Persian cultural and linguistic background and found in Konya a firmly entrenched penchant for Persian culture. In terms of Rumi’s cultural orientation – including language, literary heritage, mythology, philosophy, and Sufi legacy – the Iranians have indeed a strongly justifiable claim. All of these are more than sufficient to characterize Rumi as a prominent figure of Persian cultural history” (Rapture and Revolution, page 266)

In one Poem in the Diwan Sultan Walad explains the spiritual lineage of the Mowlavi and the major saints in it. After praising the ancient Prophets, then the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and then the four caliphs, he names Bayazid Bistami (Persian whose grandparents were Zoroastrians) after Ali (AS), and then Junayd Baghdadi (a Persian from Baghdad), Ma’ruf Karkhi (Another Persian), Abu Sa’id Abu’l Kha’ir (Another Persian), Shibli Baghdadi (born to a family originally from Samarkand and likely of Sogdian origin.), Mansur Hallaj (another Persian), Sanai (Persian poet), Attar (another Persian poet) and then Baha al-Din Walad (and then to Rumi and important personalities of the order).

Let us quote that section of the Diwan (Divan Walad, pp 522-523):

چون بازی وانت مزید از شیر شیران مزید
شید در زمان شاه علا ای عاشقان ای عاشقان
چونه جهید از جام حان توشید یک رطل گران
شید در طریقت بیشوا ای عاشقان ای عاشقان
کرخی از آن نخ نوشید مشتری بیگفت و گو
تیافقت دربی بها ای عاشقان ای عاشقان
چون بوسعد از یک وعید از غیر شد کلی بعد
شید عید و سورش دامعا ای عاشقان ای عاشقان
Thus besides the early Caliphs, all the Sufi saints that are quoted in the above poem are Persians. Furthermore, virtually all the Sufi saints quoted in the Mathnawi are Persian and the rest of them are of Arabic descent (like Buhlul and Dhul Nun Misri). This shows that Khorasanian Sufi order of Rumi was in reality a Persian-cultural order.

In this regard, two figures clearly stand out and those are the Persian poets and Sufis Attar and Sanai. Rumi states:

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و فلسفه گزشت عشق را عطار گشت
ما هنوز اندی حمیک کوهچه ایدم
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The seven cities of love were travelled by Attar

But we are still in the corner of the first lane

With regards to Sanai, the late Professor Arberry states:

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"Rumi, a far greater thinker and poet, freely acknowledges his indebtedness to Sanai, not only quoting from the Hadiqa in his own Mathnawi, but also in a direct confession:

Attar was the spirit, Sanai his twain
And in time thereafter, Came we in their train”
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The original Persian of that famous couplet is:
Rumi quotes Attar and Sanai many times in his everyday sermons as shown in his works the Seven Sermons and Fihi Ma Fihi. He praises Sanai numerous times for example:

Besides Attar and Sanai, Rumi was influenced by the Shahnameh and its characters are recounted in different poems.

Siyavash:

Key-Qobad:
Key Khusraw:

همه غایب همه حاضر همه صیاد و شکاری
همه ماهینه نه ماهی همه گیاهسرو و شاهی

Jamshid, Fereydun and Keyqubad:

آدم مگس ترابد، تو هم مگس میانش
جمشید پاپ و خسرو و سلطان و کیفایت
شذیم جمله فردیون چو ناج او دیدیم
شذیم جمله منجم چو آن سناره رسید

And finally the heroes most mentioned by Rumi is Rustam. In two poems, he puts the bravery of Rustam and Esfandyar in the same line as that of the first Shi’i Imam Ali (AS) who was given the title Haydar (lion) due to his bravery and chivalry.

For example in this famous line:

زن همه‌هان سنست عناصر دلم گرفت
شیر خدا و رستم دستان آروست

Here Rumi is stating:

*My heart is grieved by these companions of feeble nature*

*I seek and wish to have (as companions) the lion of God (a reference to Ali (AS)) and Rustam Dastan*

This mixture of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Iranian symbols of bravery speaks directly to the heart of some modern “intellectuals” who are trying to polarize Iran’s heritage.

In another poem, Rumi mentions the Hero Esfandyar with that of Imam Ali(AS):

...
Let go of the beggars (show offs), thou who are ours are of special quality

Do not sell yourself short, you are very valuable

Come as a one man army, because you are the Esfandyar of time

Throw away the gate of Khaybar from its roots, Because thou are Morteza Ali (AS)

Here is another place Rustam is mentioned:

I am the luster of mirrors, I am the Rustam of Battles

I am the power of hungry, I am the star of gatherings

Finally other heroes like Saam, Narimaan and etc. are mentioned:

رسمن خنجر کشید سام و نریمان رسید

جادوگانی ز فن چند عصا و رسن

مار کند از قرب موسی و
Thus the Shahnameh provides many of the symbols Rumi uses in his poetry. In reality, without Shahnameh, Sanai, Attar, Khorasani Persian Sufism there would be no Rumi.

Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi has taken a very symbolic and spiritual reading of the Shahnameh in his Alwah-i Imadi. Attar also in his Elahi Nama has taken a spiritual reading of the Shahnameh. The following poem has also been attributed to Rumi and has been retold by several different authors as a poem from Rumi (For example the Atashkadeh of Azar):

کیخسرو و سیاوش کاوس کیفیاد
گودین کر فرینگ کافرسیاپ زاد
زمی خوشست گیلوشیمی بیان کم
احوال خلق و قدرت شادی و علم و داد
ز ایران جان شیاوش عفل معاد، روي
از بیه این نتیجه به توران تن نهاد
پیران مکر پیشه که عفل معاس بود
آمد برسم حاجب و پیشش باپهاد
ابرد مرو را بر افراسیاب نفس
بس سعی کرد و دختر طبعش پرین بداد
تا چندگا در ختن کام و آرزو
بیچره با فرهنگی شهود بید شاد
گرسور حسد ز پی کینه و فساد
آمد میان ان دو شهر نامور فتاد
تادهیهای باطل و اندیشههای زشت
کردن تا هلاک سیاوش ایران براد
زیر سفال صفه در خنشده گوهش
پنهان نشک که داشت ز تحم دولته نزاد
کیخسرو وجود ز تریز عفل و نفس
موجود گشت و بال برگی همی گشاد
گیو طلب بیامد و شهراد برگرفت
از تو تن پرید به ایران جان چو پاد
ز انجاس بار برذ به زابلستان علم
Be that it may, Simorgh and Rustam are specially mentioned by Rumi many times and deserve their own study.

During Rumi’s time, we saw that the Seljuqs were a Persianate dynasty and Persian culture predominated. Even the verses of the Shahnameh were inscribed into the walls of Konya. However there were Armenians, Turks, Greeks (Rums) and other people besides Iranians (Kurdish/Persian/Zaza speakers) living in their domain. However when it comes to Mowlavi order itself, we saw that Rumi’s everyday language was Persian and he preached in Persian (all of his prose works that are recorded by his students) as did Sultan Walad.

This is specially the case with regards to the Mowlavi order as its founders were Iranians culturally and ethnically. In the Walad-nama (see the section on Sultan Walad), after several verses in Arabic, Rumi’s son, Sultan Walad states:

فارسی گو که جمله دریابند
گرچه زین غافلند و درخوابند

Translation:

Tell the tale in Persian so that all may understand it,

Even though they lack insight and are (spiritually) sleep

And Rumi after couple:

And he mentions this again after writing some Arabic in another Ghazal:

اخلایی اخلایی، زبان پارسی می گو
که نبود شرط در حلقه، شکر خوردن به تنهایی

And Rumi states the same thing with regards to Persian after some Arabic verses:

مسلمانان مسلمانان زبان پارسی گویم
که نبود شرط در جمعی شکر خوردن به تنهایی

Oh Muslims, Oh Muslims, Let me say it in Persian
Because is it not polite to eat all the sweets by myself in a gathering and not share it

So the cultural environment of the order was also Persian and this leaves no doubt that the order started as predominantly Persian speaking order. That is why the everyday vernacular and informal language of Rumi and Shams are in Persian and Rumi’s informal sermons are in Persian which contrasts with his formal writing in the Maktubat. All of this is not surprising as the founder of the order came from the Persian environment of Khorasan and the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum was dominate by Persian culture and literature. Thus the emphasis on culture, language, mythology and Sufi orientation (Khorasania-Persian Sufism) is the most important component that makes Rumi and all of these are sufficient to put Rumi in the realm of the Perso-Islamic civilization while not neglecting the fact that through this civilization, he brings out a universal message (the Mathnawi). As per genealogy, we note simply that Rumi’s ancestors (and his sons) were preachers and native Persian speakers. Also a study on the vast influence of Attar and Sanai (as well as Hallaj, Bayazid Bistami, Kherqani, Abul Khair, Junayd Baghdadi) on Rumi is beyond the scope of this article and we hope a separate study is undertaken by scholars on this issue.

Conclusion of this article

As mentioned in the introduction, there has been a rise of ethno-nationalistic historiography through due to the political-ideology of pan-Turkism. This nationalist historiography has not just stepped upon Rumi’s heritage but has claimed a host of Iranian scientists and poets such as Avicenna, Biruni, Nizami Ganjavi, Al-Ghazzali, Suhrawardi, Khwarizmi (the mathematician) and etc.

In this article, we examined the cultural, linguistic, heritage and genealogical background of Rumi and some of his closest companions. We also examine the background of close friends of Rumi, mainly Shams Tabrizi and Hesam al-Din Chelebi. It was shown that at that time, Tabrizian people spoke an Iranian language, followed Shafi’ism and even Rumi has quoted words from this unique Iranian language (i.e. “Buri”). Today Shafi’ism is also the Madhab of the Western Iranian Sunni people such as the Kurds and the Talysh, whereas Sunni Turks of the regions are uniformly Hanafi.

Another issue was discussed was the Seljuq empire. The Seljuqs had ancestors who were Altaic however by the time of Rumi, they were completely Persianized in language and culture.


"For the Seljuks and Il-Khanids in Iran it was the rulers rather than the conquered who were "Persianized and Islamicized".

C.E. Bosworth, "Turkish Expansion towards the west" in UNESCO HISTORY OF HUMANITY, Volume IV, titled "From the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century", UNESCO Publishing / Routledge, 2000. p. 391:
"While the Arabic language retained its primacy in such spheres as law, theology and science, the culture of the Seljuk court and secular literature within the sultanate became largely Persianized; this is seen in the early adoption of Persian epic names by the Seljuk rulers (Qubâd, Kay Khusraw and so on) and in the use of Persian as a literary language (Turkish must have been essentially a vehicle for everyday speech at this time). The process of Persianization accelerated in the thirteenth century with the presence in Konya of two of the most distinguished refugees fleeing before the Mongols, Bahā' al-Dīn Walad and his son Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose Mathnawī, composed in Konya, constitutes one of the crowning glories of classical Persian literature."

In the section “Some Distortions due to Nationalistic Reasons” we discussed was distortions and misrepresentations of primary text. A clear example was given by one author who has inserted the word “Turkish” in the quote of Aflaki below while it does not exist. That author misrepresented the quote of Aflaki:

“Mowlana had a special likeness for his son Sultan Walad and took him to all gatherings and places of discourse and considered him his “action”. Aflaki says about Sultan Walad: “Meanwhile, after his father’s death Valad lived on in tranquility for many years and he composed three books of mathnaviyat and one volume of Turkish collected poetry (Divan)”

Where-as Aflaki does not use the highlighted red word “Turkish” at all in that anecdote and this was added in by the nationalist Turkish author.

Another distortion was mistranslation by Fereydun Nafidh Ozluk on the poem of Sultan Walad. Another distortion for example was Mehmet Onder who claimed that: “when addressing people and in his sermons, Rumi used Turkish”. Where-as all the sermons, lectures and letters of Rumi are in Persian except a handful which are in Arabic and not a single one of them is in Turkish. Indeed the sermons and lectures are replete with Persian poetry which also invalidates another false claim that “these sermons were originally in Turkish” as if the works of Attar and Sanai were also “originally in Turkish”!

In the section on “Shams Tabrizi and his Background” we looked closely at the culture and language of Tabriz at that time. Direct evidence from Safinayeh Tabrizi leads to the “Zaban-i Tabriz” and the “Zaban-i Tabrizi” leaves absolutely no doubt that Tabriz at that time had an Iranian speaking population and spoke a Persian dialect. Furthermore, the districts of Tabriz mentioned by Shams are also “Sorkhaab” and “Charandaab” with clear Persian names. Also some words like “Buri Buri” (Biyaa Biyaa) were recorded by Rumi from the mouth of Shams demonstrating the western Iranian dialect of Shams Tabrizi and this word exists in Fahlaviyat of Baba Taher, in the Iranian Laki, Harzandi and Karigani (the last two are remnants of a more widespread Iranian language in Azerbaijan at one time) tongues.

We mentioned the importance of the Safinayeh Tabriz for understanding the intellectual and Sufic culture of Tabriz and hence Shams Tabrizi himself. The book Safinayeh Tabriz is thus indispensable for future Rumi and Shams Tabrizi studies. Interestingly enough, the statements and sentences in the
Persian dialect of Tabriz (zaban-i Tabrizi) from this book have mystical Sufi orientations. Like this one from Baba Faraj Tabrizi:

انانک قدمی فرخشون فعالیم آنده اووارادا چاشمتش نه بيف قدم کیستنا نه بيف حدوث

Standard Persian (translated by the author of Safina himself):

چندانک فرح را در عالم آوردها نه ششم او نه بر قدم افتاده است نه بر حدوث

And here:


http://www.archive.org/details/LocalPoemsInIranicDialectsOfTabrizHamadanMazandaranQazvinInThe

From the viewpoint of cultural contribution, we have lecture notes taken by the students of Shams in the form of Maqaalaat and this work is in informal everyday Persian. The lectures are in Persian as this was again the everyday language of Shams Tabriz. Furthermore, the conversational style of Shams itself has been considered a masterpiece by Persian scholars and thus it makes an important contribution to the Persian literary heritage.

As Shams notes himself:

زبان پارسی را چً شدي است؟ بدیه لطیفی َ خُبی، کً آن معاوی َ لطافت کً در زبان پارسی آمدي است َ در تازی تیامده است.

In the Section on Baha al-Din Walad (Rumi’s father), we showed that Baha al-Din walad was a native Persian speaker. Indeed traces of Eastern Iranian language are found in the Ma’arif of Baha al-Din Walad. We also mentioned the Zaban-i Balkhi, which was the language of the large area of Balkh (which is now in modern Afghanistan and Tajikistan). As noted by the Dekhoda dictionary:

مردم بلخ نا زمان مؤلف دخیره خوارزمشاهی (بیمه اول قرن ششم هجری) به فارسی تکلم می‌کرده اند. رجوع به ریش بلخی و بیشه گریگی در دخیره خوارزمشاهی شود.

The Dakhireyeh Khwarizmshahi provides direct evidence of the Balkhi language. From the point of native language, we noted the vernacular form “maami” used by Baha al-Din Walad to address his mother. Obviously, if Baha al-Din Walad was a non-native Persian speaker, he would not use such colloquial terms as seen in the Ma’arif.

We note some very interesting colloquial Persian terms that are rarely used today and possibly have Soghdian origin. The most outstanding of these (in our opinion) from the Ma’ari are bolded below:

پرتوز - آس کرده - آیان - انگله - پاش - بلگ (برگ) - پاشنه کوهه - پتله - ترنجیده - رشید (دره فشرده) - تنهاهته-توره (دیوار-فصله و واسطه) - چراگ وره (ظرفی که چراگ در ان نهند و برند) - خانه خوادونه (خداونه) - خونک در چجزیده (غم در گرفته) - چخماندین (خشمگین و آشفته) - دیوک زده (چیزی که آفت دیوان بان رسد) - رژیزین (ظرف شدن) - سراغ (مجمعه) - گیسو پوژ زنان - سکیگ (مقطع کردن) - سیگوله (سیب ناخ و نارسیده) - غیزین (خزیدن) - غیرزک (لاه و لجن) - کریاک (خرچنگ) - رفخج (نامناسب) - دوچه (کشتی کوچک) - خنور (کاسه و ظرف)
Thus from an ethnic point of view, Baha al-Din Walad was a native Persian speaker.

What do we know about Baha al-Din and Rumi’s genealogy? The claimed maternal royal descent (by later followers) from the Khawrizmshahs for Rumi or Baha al-Din Walad is dismissed by scholars and as seen as a later fabrication in order to tie the family to royalty. Indeed Baha al-Din Walad’s mother is seen as a woman of non-royal background in his Ma’arif. The claim of paternal descent from Abu Bakr is also not in his writing or that of Rumi’s. Even if such a claim was true (since many sources have stated it after Rumi), we should note that Baha al-Din’s native language was Persian, his works are in Persian and he was culturally Persian. However, as mentioned, modern scholars have dismissed the lineage from Abu Bakr. The claim might have been made according to one source because Bahal al-Din’s mother was related to a certain Abu Bakr Sarkhasi (a Hanafi scholar from Sarkhas). Then there was the paternal claim descent from the Khatibun families of Isfahan put forward by Fritz. The only firm knowledge we have of Baha al-Din’s genealogy is that he is a descendant of a certain Ahmad Khatibi who preached again in Persian speaking towns and lived in a Persian cultural environment. It seems that being a Islamic preacher ran through many generations of Rumi’s family, because Sultan Walad and Rumi themselves gave sermons and lectures to their followers (we shall say more about these later in the article). From the viewpoint of culture, the Ma’arif is again an important contribution to Persian literature and its style of Persian is very pleasant. It also shows the solid basis of Khorasanian Sufism in the foundation of Masnavi.

In the Section on Rumi, we noted that Rumi has five important works. These are the Mathnawi, Diwan, Fih Ma Fih, Majalis-i Sabe’ and the Maktubat. Unlike what Turkish nationalist scholars like Mehmet Onder and Fereydun Nafidh Ozluk claimed, Rumi’s everyday language was Persian. The best proof is that the lectures in Fih Ma Fih and the sermons in Majalis Sabe’ were recorded by his students and these works are in highly informal and vernacular Persian which constrasts with the literarlly and formal style of the Maktubat (which were official letters). The fact that Rumi gave lectures in Persian clearly shows that the Mawlawiya order started as a Persian phenomenon. Either way, the Mathnawi, Diwan-i Shams, the Seven Sermons and Fih Ma Fih are major contributions to Persian literature with the Mathnawi being Rumi’s most important work.

We also responded to some invalid claims in that section on Rumi. For example Fereydun Nafidh Ozluk has tried to claim (without any proof but mere conjecture) the seven sermons were originally in Turkish! yet we showed that the seven sermon is in a sweet style of Persian and is replete with the poetry of Sanai, Attar and other Persian poets intertwined with the sermons. This invalidates the claim of Fereydun Nafidh Ozluk since these Persian poets also wrote in Persian. Overall the lectures of Rumi noted down by his students (in private settings as well as in public settings like the Friday prayers) leaves no doubt that the everyday spoken language of Rumi was Persian and it was is native language.

We also showed another invalid argument claiming that Rumi uses Turkish word. However the number of Turkish words are very small and these Turkish words much like Arabic and Greek words had entered the Persian language. Another invalid argument was that some of these Turkish words are not found today in the Anatolian Turkish dialect, however as noted, at that time in the 13th century, the Turkish dialects of the region were much varied and many places had not yet lost their Central Asian features.
The Seljuqs themselves and many tribesmen had only recently arrived in Anatolia and thus this invalid argument has no basis. There is absolutely not a single verse in the Oghuz dialect from the region of Balkh and the Zaban-i Balkhi as noted was Persians. So one cannot look at 13th century were more archaic forms of Persian was used (with archaic vocabulary from other languages it had borrowed) and then try to juxtaposition it into the 20th century.

Furthermore, another invalid argument has risen because of couple of dozen or so of Turkish couplets (mainly in mixed verses) among the more than 350000 couplets of Persian poetry in the Divan. The proponents of Turkish identity want to claim this as a proof that Rumi was Turkish. However as noted, Rumi also has about a dozen Greek couplets and much more Arabic couplets. Rumi’s mother tongue was Persian as scholars state but he learned some Greek and Turkish in Anatolia. Any migrant to a new place who grows up in that place will pick up the prevalent local languages. So just like Rumi is not a Greek because of the number of miniscule verses in Greek, he is not Turkish because of the number of miniscule verses in Turkish. Together the Greek and Turkish verses make up less than one third of a percent of the Divan of Shams. Also as noted in the section of Sultan Walad, the family was native Persian speaking and Sultan Walad complains four times about his incomplete knowledge of Greek and Turkish. Also as noted many Iranians have also written in Ottoman Turkish, but Rumi basically has left nothing in Greek or Turkish although these languages were more widespread than Persian. His everyday sermons and lecture notes recorded by his students was Persian and it is clear from this that he lived in a Persian environment in the sense that his daily interaction with his followers was also in this language and this was his native language.

We provide an overview of the usage of the term “Turk” in three majors: Diwan Shams Tabrizi (where misinterpretations have taken place), the Mathnawi and finally the Manaqib al-‘Arifin. It was noted that the Mathnawi is a didactic poetical work full of wisdom and advices where-as the Diwan-i Shams is a mystical book of longing and passion. In the Mathnawi, the stories about Turks usually show a person that is cruel and/or lacks intelligence. The story of the not too smart Turkish amir who gets easily cheated by a tricky tailor, the drunk Turk who disliked music played by mystical singers, the story of the Turk in Balaghasun who lost one of his two bows, or the story of the Oghuz tribesmens who come to village and plunder, and etc.

However in the Divan-i Shams, the word Turk, Hindu, Rum and Habash are used in a metaphoric and symbolic sense. The same should be said of the Shahnameh characters. Rumi at various times has called himself a Hindu, Turk, Rumi, Habash, Tajik and etc., while at other times he has disclaimed these.

Note these examples:
“You are a Turkish moon, and I, although I am not a Turk, know that much, that much, that in Turkish the word for water is su” (Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

“Everyone in whose heart is the love for Tabriz

Becomes – even though he be a Hindu – a rose-cheeked inhabitant of Taraz (i.e. a Turk)”

(Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

And

“I am sometimes Turk and sometimes Hindu, sometimes Rumi and sometimes Negro”

O soul, from your image in my approval and my denial” (Schimmel, Triumphal Sun, 196)

Overall, we note all these symbolic allusions and imagery are part of Persian poetry and have been used by many Persian poets including Hafez, Sa’adi, Sanai, Attar, Khaqani and Nizami Ganjavi, etc. in their mystical works. Nezami Ganjavi, Attar, Rumi, Hafez, Khaqani, Sanai and many other Persian poets used them extensively. Unfortunately due to lack of knowledge of Persian language and literature, some people have tried to read these in ethnic-literal sense through the prism of modern nationalism and thus when faced with the literally contradictory readings, have tried to play around with Rumi’s Persian heritage. If taken literally, then Rumi was a Roman, Black, Hindu, Turk, Tajik or anything as he has made comparisons to these to himself. Virtually in all these verses, Hindu and Turk, or Rumi and Black have come together showing the clear symbolism and contrast. We have shown how Turk, Hindu, Zangi/Habash, Rum is used for description and symbols of slavery, rulership, slave (Hindu), ruler (Turk), Soldier/Warrior (Turk), cruelty, moon faced, beauty, ugliness, trees, birds, flowers, stars, climes, complexions, colors (yellow, white, black), animals (the eye, face), planets, day (Rum, Turk) and night (Hindu, Habash/Zang), languages, tears, hair, face, various moods and feelings without taking any ethnic meaning. An interesting example was given by Khwajah Abdullah Ansari who compares “love” and “turk” due to both being plunderers (note Rumi also mentions this in an anecdote in Aflaki).

In the section on “Which Turks are described in Persian poetry?” we noted that the Turks that are mentioned are the narrow-eyed and round-faced ideal type of beauty which resemble the Turkic faces.
of Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Turkomens, Uighyurs, Yakuts and other Turkic people. This is an important note, since it was the wide difference of look from the Mediterranean Caucasoid looks of Iranians that made these the ideal type of beauty in Persian poetry.

Finally, in the Section of Rum, we looked at the work of Aflaki. As noted by Professor Speros Vyronis:

“Eflaki and his social world were attuned to linguistic differences since Persians, Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Mongols lived juxtaposed in many Anatolian cities. Baha al-Din Walad, Rumi, Sultan Walad, and Amir Arif were all Persian speakers by birth and Arabophone by education and training. For this circle, at least, Persian was both the spoken and written language.”

Also noted by Speros Vyronis:

The mere fact that Eflaki differentiates ethnically by employing the epithet “Turk” indicates that to him religious lines were not the only marks of sociocultural distinction. Ethnic demarcations were also important to him, and this further implies that Eflaki was writing in a social, cultural, and literary milieu where ethnic differences were important and had some resonance.

We brought some of these anecdotes from Aflaki which clearly shows Rumi and his followers distinguished themselves from Turks.

Obviously, Rumi has everywhere distinguished himself from Turks in these:

“Oh ignorant Turk! Give up (tark) this idea and undertaking. Take back your Turks (torkan) to your lady (tarkan) as quickly as possible. Otherwise, you will not escape with your life.”

“Majd al-Din, why did you let out a shout and release your quarry from your gullet? A Turk who is a recent disciple is able to bear the burden, but you divulge the matter. Many things like this occur to abdals to God.”

“Likewise, it is a well-known story that one day Shaykh Salah al-Din happened to hire Turkish laborers to do building work in his garden. Mowlana said: ‘Effendi’— that is to say lord—‘Salah al-Din, when it is time for building, one must engage Greek laborers and when it is time for destroying something, Turkish hirelings. Indeed, the building of the world is assigned to the Greeks, whereas the world’s destruction is reserved for the Turks. When God—He is sublime and exalted—ordered the creation of the world of sovereignty (‘alam-e molk’), first He created unaware-infidels, and He conferred on them long life and great strength so they would strive like hired laborers in building the terrestrial world. And they built up many cities and fortresses on mountain peaks and places on top of a hill such that after generations had passed these constructions were a model for those who came later. Then divine predestination saw to it that little by little these constructions would become completely destroyed and desolate, and be eradicated. God created the group of Turks so that they would destroy every building they saw,
mercilessly and ruthlessly, and cause it to be demolished. And they are still doing so, and day by
day until the Resurrection they will continue to destroy in this manner. In the end, the
destruction of the city of Konya will also be at the hands of wicked Turks devoid of mercy.’
And this being the case, it turned out just as Mowlana said. (pg 503)”

In the work of Aflaki it is clear that the Turks are differentiated from Rumi and his inner circles. Even if
all these anecdotes were not true, the fact is that Rumi is constantly differentiated from Turks and they
are seen as foreigners relative to Rumi. At the same time, it should be noted that Rumi had both Greek
and Turkish followers. It is very interesting though that ethnic identifies are used more than religious
identifiers in the work of Aflaki and it shows that a perception of ethnic identity was also present. This
identity was in both a cultural sense and native language sense.

Overall, from the Section of Rumi, we showed that from the perspective of modern historiography what
is the most important is the cultural contribution of Rumi. As noted several times, even Turkish scholars
note that: “Baha ad-din (Rumi’s Father) and his family eventually settled in Konya, ancient Iconium, in
central Anatolia. They brought with them their traditional Persian cultural and linguistic background and
found in Konya a firmly entrenched penchant for Persian culture. In terms of Rumi’s cultural orientation
– including language, literary heritage, mythology, philosophy, and Sufi legacy – the Iranians have
indeed a strongly justifiable claim. All of these are more than sufficient to characterize Rumi as a
prominent figure of Persian cultural history”.

We also overview Rumi’s father (Baha al-Din Walad) and Sultan Walad’s (Rumi’s son) literally output.
The study shows that Rumi’s everyday language (not just poetic language) was Persian and thus his
native language was Persian. His cultural heritage was Persian. His genealogy is also discussed and
based on the work of his father, we also show that his father’s native language was Persian and hence
Rumi’s genealogy is also Persian.

In the Section on Sultan, Rumi’s son who was born in Anatolia, we showed once again decisive proof of
the family Iranian culture and background. The everyday language of Sultan Walad as demonstrated by
his sermons was Persian. Furthermore, despite the fact that he lived in Anatolia where Greek and
Turkish were important languages, he himself claims at least four times that his knowledge of Greek and
Turkish are very rudimentary. Of course Sultan Walad spent his whole time in Anatolia, but usually a
person is much more versatile in their everyday language and mother-tongue rather than other
languages. All the prose work of Sultan Walad are in Persian and 99%+ of his poetic work is also n
Persian. His lectures were also in Persian.

For example in the Ibtedanama, Sultan Walad states:

بگذر از گفت ترکی و رومی
که از این اصطلاح محرومی
گوی از پارسی و از تازی
که در این هر دو خوش همیازی
Abandon the speech of Turkish and Greek

Since you are deprived of these expressions

Instead speak Persian and Arabic

Because you are well versed in these two

He states also that he does not preach in Arabic (the more significant language for religious preaching) and uses Persian, so that everyone may understand.

By everyone, he of course means the followers of the order and with this, we can ascertain that the majority of the followers of Rumi at that time were Persians and Persian speaking. Also we brought examples were Sultan Walad has some of the harshest comments for Turks and specially the Qaramani Turks who tried to make Turkish the official language. We can already see some tension between the two linguistic groups at that time, although the Islamic religion survived as a great binder.

Sultan Walad calls the Turks as “world burners” and asks the Persianized Seljuq Sultan Masud to not even let one of the Turks alive.

Translation:

فارسی گو که جمله دریایند

گرچه زین غافلند و درخوابند

By everyone, he of course means the followers of the order and with this, we can ascertain that the majority of the followers of Rumi at that time were Persians and Persian speaking. Also we brought examples were Sultan Walad has some of the harshest comments for Turks and specially the Qaramani Turks who tried to make Turkish the official language. We can already see some tension between the two linguistic groups at that time, although the Islamic religion survived as a great binder.

Sultan Walad calls the Turks as “world burners” and asks the Persianized Seljuq Sultan Masud to not even let one of the Turks alive.
At the same time, he had Greek and Turkish followers, but these were to adopt Persian cultural traditions. So Sultan Walad like his father was a universal figure, but the above mentioned points clearly demonstrates his Persian background and culture. He wanted to spread Rumi’s universal message to the Greek and Turkish followers of the order and thus despite his rudimentary knowledge of this language, there are a miniscule number of Greek and Turkish verses in his work (possibly with the help of his students).

In the Section of the origin of Sama’, we responded to a Turkish nationalist argument claiming that Sama’ had its origin in the nomadic (and by the way mongloid) Turkic peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. Indeed as shown, Sama’ was an early Khorasanian and Baghdadi Persian Sufi phenomenon and has been mentioned very positively by many important figures like Sanai, Attar, Shaykh Abu Sai’d, Fakhr al-Din ‘Araqi, Suhrawardi, and theologians like Ghazali. Thus unlike what was erroneously claimed, Sama’ was practiced by the Persian poet Rumi’s contemporaries including Shams, Fakhr al-Din Araqi, Najm al-Din Kobra, Ruzbihan Baqli and etc. The Encyclopedia of Islam mentions its origin: “Sama’ is thus initially an "oriental" phenomenon, promulgated in particular by the Persian disciples of Nuri and of Djunayd. By the same token, all of the early authors dealing with sama’ were Persians, with the exception of Abu Talib Muhammad al-Makki (d. 386/996 [q.v.]). Subsequently, sama’- spread to all areas, but found most favour in Persian, Turkish and Indian Islam.”

Thus the nationalistic claims to locate Sama’ in Turkic shamanistic rituals or try to deny the Iranian-Sufic origin of this phenomenon has no scholarly value and is a forgery that has been coined to disclaim Rumi from his Khorasanian-Persian Sufi heritage.

In the end, we want to point out cultural contribution and cultural roots.

In one Poem in the Diwan Sultan Walad explains the spiritual lineage of the Mowlavi order and the major saints of this order. After praising the ancient Prophets, then the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and then the four caliphs, he names Bayazid Bistami (a Persian whose grandparents were Zoroastrians) after Ali (AS), and then Junayd Baghdadi (a Persian from Baghdad), Ma’ruf Karkhi (Another Persian), Abu Sa’id Abu’l Khair (Another Persian), Shibli Baghdadi (born to a family originally from Samarkand and likely of Sogdian origin.), Mansur Hallaj (another Persian), Sanai (Persian poet), Attar (another Persian poet) and then Baha al-Din Walad (and then to Rumi and important personalities of the order during his time).

In this regard, two figures clearly stand out and those are the Persian poets and Sufis Attar and Sanai.

Rumi states:

هفت شهر عشق را عطر گشته
ما هنوز اندر خم یک کوچه ایم

The seven cities of love were travelled by Attar

But we are still in the corner of the first lane
Besides Attar and Sanai, Rumi was influenced by the Shahnameh and its characters are recounted in different poems. The hero most mentioned by Rumi is Rustam. In two poems, he puts the bravery of Rustam and Esfandyar in the same line as that of the first Shi‘i Imam Ali (AS) who was given the title Haydar (lion) due to his bravery and chivalry.

For example in this famous line:

زین همرهان سبست عناصر دلم گرفت
شیر خدا و رستم دستان آروست

Here Rumi is stating:

My heart is grieved by these companions of feeble nature

I seek and wish to have (as companions) the lion of God (a reference to Ali (AS) ) and Rustam Dastan

This mixture of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Iranian symbols of bravery speaks directly to the heart of some modern “intellectuals” who are trying to polarize Iran’s heritage by setting these two epochs against each other.

Thus the teaching of Rumi were firmly grounded in the Persian Sufism which traces back to Junayd and Ma’ruf Karkhi, Bayazid Bistami and through them to the Prophet of Islam. The influence from Iranian traditions like Shahnameh are seen as well as texts that had been absorbed into Iranian civilization (including the Kalila o Demna which was versified by Rudaki and possibly Rumi had position of that copy).

Finally, we like to emphasize what we have left today. As Rumi said:

ای برادر توه همه انديشه هاي
مايشي خود استخوان و ريشه هاي

Oh Brother! You are essentially nothing but thoughts (Andisheh)

All of the rest of you is bone and Sinew

So it is thoughts through the medium of the Persian language that we have left, and indeed the bones and skins of these people are long gone and departed. What do we have left?

The outstanding contribution to Persian culture and literature by Baha al-Din Walad (the Ma’arif), Shams al-Din Tabrizi (the Maqalaat which was recorded by students of Shams while Shams was giving his lectures), Rumi (Masnavi, Diwan, Fihi ma Fih, Maktubat and the Seven Sermons) and Sultan Walad(Diwan, Rabab Nama, Ebetedaa Nama, Entehaa Nama, Ma’arif Walad) firmly place these great mystics as part of the Perso-Islamic Sufi heritage. They build upon the previous generations of Persian mystics including Attar, Sanai, Hallaj, Suhrawardi, Kherqani, Abu Sa‘id Abul Khayr, Aba Yazid Bistami and
etc and contributed to the Persian language and culture. These excellent works of inner wisdom are accessible to those who know the Persian language and any translation is at most an interpretation filtered through the spiritual capacity window of the translator. So these are enormous monuments of Persian civilization.

These are sufficient to show these men came from the Iranian civilization and at the same time, brought a universal message that resonates with human souls from the four corners, seven lands and all generations. Their message is universal because anything that truly has the imprint of the divine will be everlasting. Anything that does not have this imprint will fade away through the passage of time. Thus this article does not attempt to take away anything from the universality of these figures. Rumi was a man of God foremost and above all else. An American with spiritual intuition will speak and understand Rumi thana person of a Muslim background with no such intuition ("Zaban-i bi Zabani").

He belongs to any Iranian who understands his message as much any other people who can understand his message. In order to demonstrate our commitment to the universal message of Rumi, we have appended a scholarly on the Greek verses of Rumi and Sultan Walad.

They why write such a lengthy article some might ask? I believe it was important to elucidate the Persian culture, native language and Khorasani Sufism (which can be interpreted as a Khorasani and Iraqi Persian reading of the Qur'an and Islam) that gave rise to these universal figures and make sure for the sake of the truth that these are not distorted due to modern nationalistic reasons. These figures do not fall out of thin air and there was an underlying Persian Sufi civilization that produced Attar, Sanai, Rumi, Shams, Abdullah Ansari, Kherqani, Bayazid, Junayd, Hallaj in such a rapid manner. To downplay this civilization and culture is a distortion of history. To some extent, those who can respond to distortions of history should do so. The amount of distortion on Rumi's heritage was piling up (due to certain governments) and it was important that for someone that is capable to provide a response to these distortions. If anyone else is more capable, then they should proceed as well.

Another reason was that the article provided mention of some neglected materials in history. It is important to know these underlying basis (for example what gave rise to a Sanai, Attar, Rumi and if it is possible to have such a figures in the modern era? And if they do exist do they assume a much different form?). Thus this article was a response to those who try to reject the underlying basis for nationalistic reasons and deprive important figures of the Persian cultural heritage from the civilization they were attached to at the time. It is important for the modern Iranian (in the wider sense meaning Persian speakers and Iranian peoples) who possess the Persian language and hence are the direct inheritors of these important works to understand these works better.

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**Appendix A: Nick Nicholas: Greek Verses of Rumi & Sultan Walad**

The following has been taken from: [http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~opoudjis/Play/rumiwalad.html](http://www.tlg.uci.edu/~opoudjis/Play/rumiwalad.html)

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**Accessed 2009**

Nick Nicholas: Greek Verses of Rumi & Sultan Walad

The following are Greek verses in the poetry of Mawlana Jalal ad-Din Rumi (1207-1273), and his son, Sultan Walad (1226-1312). The works have been difficult to edit, because of the absence of vowel pointing in most of the verses, and the confusion of scribes unfamiliar with
Greek; different editions of the verses vary greatly. I give the latest edition of the verses (Dedes'), with translations; I then compare the various editions of the verses since the 1820s. The editions cited are:


Of the editions, the three first dealt only with the first poem of Sultan Walad. Burguière & Mantran collated manuscripts of Rumi and Walad anew in Turkey, so they present a new edition of the Arabic script poems in question. The journal editor H. Grégoire, and later on C.D. Mertzios, suggested corrections to their Greek reading. Dedes uses the Burguière & Mantran Arabic script edition, and did not inspect the manuscripts himself; but his readings appear more comprehensive, and are treated here as the base edition (filling in some of the Persian from Burguière & Mantran). Switches to Persian are indicated in (italics).

As I am not familiar with Sufiism (or Persian), I ask any readers familiar with Rumi and Walad to help out by
(a) providing text input for the Arabic script; (b) providing the translations that have appeared in Persian or Turkish editions of the texts; (c) providing explanations and commentary, or correcting commentary and translations.

Sultan Walad, Rababname:
University of Istanbul ms. F 1375 (Riza Pasha 3027) f. 220

General Note: Sultan Walad refers to the body (in constrast with the soul) as σκήνωμα, "tent"—the tent or tabernacle in which the soul temporarily dwells. This sense was used in Christian Greek (starting with 2 Peter 1:13), and Dedes believes it is evidence of Mevlana's discussions with the monks of St Chariton monastery, near Konya. "Slender", λυγερός, is an adjective used to praise women in mediaeval vernacular Greek ballads; this presumably explains why Mertzios seeks to emend one instance of the masculine adjective to a feminine.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المتاحة.
Tell how you govern yourself with the saints.
Don't eat alone, invite the others.
Your eyes clearly see God,
you're so joyful, your clothes cannot contain you.
In the light you see God in the face;
I put my forehead at your door.
Who placed his head like a slave's
will tread on the head of the angel.
Like the saints, he will always be alive.
Death will not come to him like to others.
Whoever here will stick with you,
will sell and buy with you,
whoever has your love in his soul
to see what your eyes see.
has said: "In the 'tent', (it is) like a burial.
Come our soul, you too mourn over the burial."
You said: "How much are you saying up here!
What do you want from us, calling us?
On Earth the 'tent' treads, down below;
the soul walks on the Upper Side.
On Earth our 'tent' will perish,
and our soul will rejoice with the saints.
The soul has taken root out of joy;
since it has come from there, it is embittered.
Again his soul goes back to His place,
to be forever happy there in His desire.
It was light there; here it is blackened.
Once again it has become fiery with the light of God.
It has been caught for a while down on Earth;
once again it has gone up above where it was created.
Having been a drop here, in separateness,
it has merged in again, it has become the sea.
It has drunk it up again [it has gone up again?], it has
been saved,
and filled with what it desired."
His soul speaks there like me,
"Who could there be in the whole world like me?"
"I found who I was looking for,
and from him I have learned what I speak.
I kiss him forever there without lips,
and there are a thousand servants like me there.
The beauty of God does not fit on the tongue:
come burn, my slender one, in His desire.
Who has given away his soul has lived;
who was broken here, has defeated all."
(Non-existence is eternal existence; existence on this earth is perishable.)

Paraphrase (Dedes)

[The poet Sultan Walad clearly is addressing his father Mevlana, who is probably already dead, and invokes him]

How you behave with the saints, tell us.
Don't enjoy the divine by yourself, let us share your divine life experience.
For now your eyes clearly see God
and you are so joyful your clothes cannot contain you.
With divine light you see God face to face
and in a show of piety I touch my forehead at the porch of your door.
Whoever has bowed his head like a slave
will tread on an angel's head.
Like the saints he will always be alive,
and he will not die like other human beings.
Whoever happens to have been reconciled with you here on Earth
and has given and taken with you;
whoever has your love in his soul,
so that he can see whatever your eyes see,
that person says: the soul in the body is like it is buried,
let our soul also mourn for that burial.

[Here dead Mevlana starts to speak of the relation of the soul to the body, and his experiences in Heaven]

And then you (Mevlana) said: How much are you saying here on Earth?
What do you want from us the departed, that you are calling?
The body of Man treads on Earth
while his soul walks above in Heaven.
Our human bodies will perish on Earth
while our soul will rejoice with the saints in Heaven.
The soul has grown roots in the joy of God,
but since it has departed there and come to Earth, it is embittered.
Yet people's soul will go back to the place of God to be glad there always in His desire. The soul was light there in Heaven, but when it came to Earth it became dark. Yet here too, with the light of God, it has become bright. For a little while it was attached to Earth but it has gone back to Heaven where it was created. And while it like was a drop here on Earth, a place of Separation of the Mortal from the Divine, it has reunited with the Divine and become a sea. The human soul has gone back there to Heaven and been saved and it has been filled with what it desired, namely the Divine.

[Walad speaks again of his father Mevlana]

His soul (Mevlana's) speaks there in Heaven like I do now: Who might there be in the whole world like me?

[Walad now apparently alludes to the meeting in Heaven of Mevlana with his friend and teacher Shams Tabrizi, who was secretly murdered in Konya. Mevlana thought that Tabrizi has permanently left Konya and kept looking for him, believing he was alive. For that reason he had travelled to Damascus twice. Walad had hidden the horrifying news from him to shield him. Mevlana resumes speaking.]

I found whom I was looking for [Tabrizi], and from him I have learned whatever I say. I kiss him forever, without lips, there in Heaven and there are servants of God like me there in the thousands. The tongue cannot express the beauty of God. Come burn, slender one, in His desire. Whoever has given (God) his soul, has lived. Whoever was crushed here on Earth, has defeated all.

Other editions

Burguière & Mantran (1952) | Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958) | Meyer (1895)
--- | --- | ---
Με τους άγιους πώς δικιέσαι λάλησε, Μαναχός μη τρως, τους άλλους κάλεσε. Φανερά τον θεόν θωρούν τα μάτια σου, Δίνει χορούς -- αχ! τι χαρά! -- στη ματία σου. Με το φως του θεού θωρείς το πρόσωπο. Θετνώ (?) γω στη θωριά σου το | Με τους άγιους πώς δικιέσαι λάλησε, | με τους άγιους, πώς δοκάση, λάλησε, μαναχός με προς τους άλλους κάλεσε. Φανερά τον θεόν θωρούν τα μάτια σου, δεν χορείς αχ την χαρά σε μάτια σου. με το φως του θεού θωρείς το πρόσωπο, ... το μέτωπο. |
μέτωπο.
Τις κεφαλήν έθεκεν όγιον δούλου,
Να πατήση στο κεφάλι του αγγέλου.
Οιόν τους άγιους, πάντα να 'ναι
ζωντανός,
Οιόν τους άλλους, μή του έρτη
θάνατος.
Όγιοι εδώ να κολλήσῃ (?)
μετά σεν,
Ν' αγοράσῃ, να πουλήση μετα
σεν
Όγιοι έχει στη ψυχή αγάπη
σου,
Να θωρή ό τι θωρούν τα μάτια
σου.
Έμπαιν' εις το σκίνωμα οιόν
την ταφή
Έλα, πέθανε ψυχή μας στην
tαφή!
Επεί σου είπα (?) εδώ πόσα
λαλείς
Τι γυρεύεις από μάς, που μας
cαλείς;
Είς τη γη το σκίνωμα μας να
χαθή,
Κι η ψυχή μας με τους άγιους
να βρεθή!
Η ψυχή -- αχ! τι χαρά! --
φτερώτηκεν,
αφ' ού ήρτεν απ' εκεί
πικρώτηκεν.
Πάλι του υπάγει η ψυχή στον
τόπο του,
Να χαρή πάντα εκεί στον πόθον
του.
Φοις ήτον εκεί, εδώ
μαυρώθηκεν,
Πάλι επί το φως του θεού
πυρώθηκεν.
Κάμποσον κάτω στη γη
επιστηκεν,
Pάλι πήγεν στα ψηλά που
πλάστηκεν.
Στ' άλλα(γ)μα ποι πετούν εδώ

άγγελος.
Οιόν τους αγγέλους, μή του
έρτη θάνατος.

Έλα, πέθανε ψυχή μας στην
θανή!
Εἶπες, εἶπα εδώ πῶς
(α)λαλείς

Σ' άλλα(γ)μα ποι πατοῦν εδώ
στη χωρισία,
Pάλι ποὺ πήγεν, εκεί
λυτρώθηκεν,
Κι απ' εκείνο το θηλίν
γυμνόθηκεν.

τις κεφάλιν έθηκεν όγιον
dούλου,
να πατήση στο κεφάλιν του
άγγελου;
όγιος αν το να καλέσῃ
μέτοπον:
... μέτοπον.
πού 'ν τις άλλους πάντα να 'ναι
ζωντανός;
πού 'ν τις άλλους μή τον έρτη
θάνατος;
όγιος έχει στην ψυχήν αγάπη
σου,
να θορή, ότι θωρούν τα μάτια
σου.
όγιον εις το σκίνωμα?
... ψυχή μας ....
... το σκίνωμα κατάνεται,
η ψυχή απάνω μύρια
τέρπεται.
... το σκίνωμα μας να χαθή,
και ψυχή μας με τους άγιους
να βρεθή.
η ψυχή αχ την χαρά
φυτρώθηκεν,
... εκεί πικρώθηκεν.
pάλι υπάει η ψυχή στον τόπο
του,
να χαρή πάντα εκεί στον
πόθον του.
φως απάνω εκεί εδώ
μαυρώθηκεν,
pάλι επί το φως του θεού
πυρώθηκεν.
και μέσα στα σύννεφα
επιστηκεν,
pάλι επήγεν στα ψηλά που
πλάστηκεν.
στ' άλλ', απ' θεον εδώσθη
χωρισία,
pάλι έδοκη των αγίων
πελασία.
pάλι τον παθόν εκεί
λυτρώθηκεν,
kai απ' εκείνο το παιδίν (?)
gυμνόθηκεν.
Speak with the saints as you are entitled to, 
don't eat alone, invite the others. 
Clearly your eyes see God, 
He dances -- ah! such joy! -- in your glance. 
With the light of God you see the face. 
I lower my forehead before your sight. 
Who holds his head like a slave's, 
let him tread on an angel's head! 
Like the saints, may he always stay alive,

Tell us how you deal with the saints, 
You cannot contain-- ah! your joy in your glance. 
I place my forehead before your sight. 
so an angel can tread on your head 
Like the angels, let death not come to him.

Burguière & Mantran (1952) 

Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958) 

Meyer (1895) 

Speak how you wait with the saints, 
invite me on your own to the others. 
Clearly your eyes see God, 
you can't fit him, out of joy, in your eyes. 
With the light of God you see the face, 
... the forehead. 
Who has placed their head like a slave's, 
to tread on the head of an angel? 
Whoever, if to invite a
Like the other (saints), let death not come to him.
Whoever attaches themselves to you (as a disciple),
Let him buy and sell with you.
Whoever has love in their soul for you,
let them see what your eyes see.
Enter this hut [i.e. the body] like entering the tomb:
Come, die, our soul, in this tomb!
Since I have told you everything you are saying here,
what do you want from us, calling us?
The hut [body] treads below, on Earth,
the soul walks up above.
May our hut [body] be lost on Earth
and may our soul be found with the saints!
The soul—ah, joy!—has taken wing:
since it had come from up there, it had been embittered.
Again the soul rises to Him, in His residence,
to rejoice forever in its desire for Him.
It was light there, here it is blackened,
(but) it is inflamed again with the light of God.
It was detained for a while down here on Earth,
it has ascended into the heights where it was created.
In the change (?) where souls fall, here, in exile,
they enter back into a sea of struggle.
Since the soul has returned to Him, there it is saved,
and it is filled with the feminine

Come die our soul in death!
You've spoken, I've spoken here, how you speak

In the change of clothing [i.e. the body]
in which [the souls] tread here in exile, ...
Who has gone back, is saved there,
And is stripped of that noose.

forehead:
... forehead.
Where else is there one who is a saint, to be alive forever?
Where is there someone else, death should not come to?
Whoever has your love in their soul,
will see what your eyes see.
Like in the hut [= body] (?) ...
... our soul....
....
...
... let the hut [body] be laid low,
the soul above enjoys a myriad things.
... our hut [body] will be lost,
and our soul will be found with the saints.
The soul, out of joy, has taken root,
... there it has been embittered. Again the soul goes to its place, to rejoice there forever in its desire.
The light up there has been lengthened here,
again it is fiery in the light of God.
And it is caught in the clouds, it has gone back to the heights where it was created.
Separation has been imposed on the other by God,
yet he has made an approach to the saints.
Again it is saved from suffering there,
and it is filled with that child (?).
His soul speaks there like me, we know who there might be in the [other] world still.
I found that one, his λ... I have eaten,
and from him I have learned
principle (?).

His soul speaks there like me:
Who might there be in the
whole world (as lucky) as me?
I’ve found who I was looking
for,
and from him I have learned
what I speak.
I kiss him forever there without
lips,
and there are a thousand
servants like me there.
The tongue cannot expres the
beauties of God:
come, let me too sing of desire
for Him.
Who has given away his soul
has lived;
who was seized here, has
defeated all.
(Non-existence is eternal
existence;
existence on this earth is
perishable.)

Meyer (1895)

με τοὺς ἁγίους, πῶς δοκάσῃ,
λάλησε,
μαναχός με πρὸς τοὺς
ἄλλους κάλεσε.

φανερὰ τὸν θεόν θωροῦν τα
μάτια σου,
δὲν χωρεῖς αχ τὴν χαρά σε
μάτια σου.
με τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ θωρεῖς
to πρόσωπο,
... τὸ μέτωπο.
tὶς κεφαλὴν ἔθηκεν ὀγιον
δούλου,
νὰ πατίσῃ στὸ κεφαλὴν τοῦ
ἀγγέλου;
ὄγιος αὐτὸ νὰ καλέσῃ
μέτωπον:

Salemann (1891)

μη τίς ἁγίου πῶς δοκάσῃ
λαλήσῃ
μοναχὸς μη πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους
καλέσῃ
(με τοὺς ἁγίους ... δοκάσαι
λαλῆσαι
... μὲ ... καλέσαι).
φανερὰ τὸν θεόν θωροῦν τα
μάτια σου
δὲν χωρεῖς αχ τὴν χαρά ...ιά
σου.
με τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ θωραρίν τὸ
πρόσωπο,
... τὸ μέτωπο.
tὶς κεφαλὴν ἔθηκεν ὀγιον
δούλου,
νὰ πατίσῃ στὸ κεφαλὴν τοῦ
ἀγγέλου;
ὄγιος εἰδὸ νὰ καλέσῃ μήνυσιν
ν’ αγοράσῃ νὰ ... μήνυσιν.

von Hammer (1829)

με τοὺς ἁγίους πως ... λαλήσῃ
μητρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καλήσῃ.
φανηταν θειον (θειον?) ... τα
ματια σου
συντριβασι αχθην ... αχ! την?
χαρα εις τα ματια.
μη το φως τον θειου του
προσοπου
Sant Augustin ... μη το πω
(ειπω?).
tην κεφαλην χθικην ... δουλου
να πατησει εις το κεφαλι του.

whatever I speak.
... I kiss him forever without
lips there
and there are a thousand
servants like me there.
The good things of God do not
fit on the tongue,
... in his desire.
Who has given his soul, has
lived;
who is crushed here, has
defeated all.

κε ηνπο άγηνπο, πώο δνθάζε,
ιαίζε,
καλαρόο κε πξνο ηνπο
άιινπο θαιεζε.
θαλεξά ηνλ ζεόλ ζσξνύλ ηα
καηηα ζνπ,
δελ ρσξείο αρ ηελ ραξά ζε...
ζνπ.
κε ην θσο ηνπ ζενύ ζεσξάο ην
πξσζσπν,
... ην κέησπν.
ηηο θεθαιήλ έζεθελ όγηνλ
δνύινπ,
λα παηήζε ζην θεθαιη ηνπ
αγγέινπ;
όγηνο αλ ην λα θαιεζε
κήλπζηλ:
κε ηηο άγηνο πσο ... ιαιεζε
κεηξνο ηνπο αιινπο θαιεζε.
θαλεξαηνλ ζεηνλ (ζενλ?) ... ηα
καηηα ζνπ
ζπλρσξεζαη αρζελ (αρ! ηελ?)
ραξα εηο ηα καηηα.
κε ην θσο ηνπ ... ζεηνπ ηνπ
πξσζσπν
Sant Augustin ... μη το πω
(ειπω?).
tην κεφαλην χθικην ... δουλου
να πατησει εις το κεφαλι του.
... μέτοπον.
πού 'ν τις ἀλλος πάντα να 'ναι ζοντανός;
πού 'ν τις ἄλλος μη τον ἔρηθ θάνατος;
ὁγιος ἐχει στην ψυχήν αγάπης σου,
να θωρή, ὅτι όφειρον τα μάτια σου.
ὁγιον εἰς το σκήνωμα?
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εσέν;
tις εδώ τζακώθην, όλους

νίκησεν;

Meyer (1895)

Speak how you wait with the saints,
invite me on your own to the others.

Clearly your eyes see God,
you can't fit him, out of joy, in your eyes.
With the light of God you see the face,
... the forehead.
Who has placed their head like a slave's,
to tread on the head of an angel?
Whoever, if to invite a forehead:
... forehead.
Where else is there one who is a saint, to be alive forever?
Where is there someone else, death should not come to?
Whoever has your love in their soul,
will see what your eyes see.
Like in the hut [= body] (?)
... our soul....

Salemann (1891)

Unless one who is a saint waits speaking
Unless alone he invites to the others
(Or: with the saints ... to wait to speak
... me ... to invite).
Clearly your eyes see God
You don't fit, out of joy, your ...ιά.
With the light of God you see the face,
... the forehead.
Who has placed the head ... of a slave,
to tread on the head of an angel?
Whoever is here will invite a message
to buy to ... a message.
Where is there one who is a saint, to be alive forever?
Where is there someone else, death should not come to?
Whoever you are ... your love to observe whatever your eyes observe.
Enter the hut ...
Come close by, and our soul ...

von Hammer (1829)

with the saints how... to speak,
of the mother, to invite the others.

made apparent divine
(god?) ... your eyes
to forgive αρηήν (ah! the?)
joy in the eyes.
Lest the light of ... his divine face
Saint Augustin ... that I won't say it.
the head ρζηθελ ... of a slave
to tread on his head.

A saint, I said here, how much you say
... how many you invite.
...
... let the hut [body] be laid low,
the soul above enjoys a myriad things.
... our hut [body] will be lost,
and our soul will be found with the saints.
The soul, out of joy, has taken root,
... there it has been embittered.
Again the soul goes to its place,
to rejoice there forever in its desire.
The light up there has been lengthened here,
again it is fiery in the light of God.
And it is caught in the clouds,
it has gone back to the heights where it was created.
Separation has been imposed on the other by God,
yet he has made an approach to the saints.
Again it is saved from suffering there,
and it is filled with that child (?).
His soul speaks there like me,
we know who there might be in the [other] world still.
I found that one, his λ... I have eaten,
and from him I have learned whatever I speak.
... I kiss him forever without lips there
and there are a thousand servants like me there.
The good things of God do not fit on the tongue,
... in his desire.
Who has given his soul, has lived;
... here how much you say
what ...ς, oh our saint, how many you invite.
... the hut treads below
the soul above enjoys a myriad things.
... our hut will be lost
and our soul will be found with the saints.
The soul, out of joy, ...v leave ... there ...v.
Again the soul flies to its place,
to rejoice there forever in its desire.
It was light there, here ...v
Again it leads the light of God ...v.
and straight to the ... it was caught,
it has gone back to the heights where it was created.
In the ... he gave separate shares, again ...
again ... there of salvation
and I put away (Or: From it?) the ...οτικον.
His soul speaks there like me,
who might there be (who treads?) in the world, another ...
me.
I found him ... I
and from him I have learned whatever I speak.
I kiss him forever without lips there
and there are a thousand servants like me there.
The good things of God do not fit on the tongue,
... in his desire.
Who has given his soul to you?
Who is crushed here, has defeated all?
who is crushed here, has defeated all.

**Gazal 81**

I'll speak here in Greek: you've heard, my fair rosy girl, what you have seen in my hearth. Come if it seems right to you.

How you speak like a little child: "I'm hungry, I want food!"

How you speak like an old man: "I'm trembling [from cold], I want [to sit in the] corner!"

How you speak, "my 'thin one' is horny, I want pussy!"

My soul is blackened; I have found water to bathe.

**Other editions**

**Burguière & Mantran (1952)**

Ν' είπε εδώ ρωμαϊκά, ν' ακούς εσύ, καλή ραδινή. 
Δίδεις εσύ, αστεία μου, να λίθος... φανή.

Πόσα λαλείς, οιόν παιδίτζι... εγώ θέλω φωνή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς, οιόν παιδί της Μπίζνας/Μπνίζας εγώ θέλω φανή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς, οιόν γιαβρούν (της) ρήγιζζας, εγώ θέλω γονή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς η ψυχή μου (?) θηκεν, θελώ μουνή.

**Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)**

Ν' είπε εδώ ρωμαϊκά, γαί' άκ'σε, καλή ραδινή.

Δίδεις εσύ, αστεία μου, ν' αληθώς... φανή. /

Εις τη γεία μου, να λυθής αν σοι φανή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς, οιόν παιδί της Μπίζνας/Μπνίζας εγώ θέλω φανή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς, οιόν γιαβρούν (της) ρήγιζζας, εγώ θέλω γονή.

Πώς (α)λαλείς η ψυχή μου κωφώθηκεν, θέλω μουνή. /

Πώς (α)λαλείς, η ψυχή μου καυλόθηκεν, θέλω μουνή.
Burguière & Mantran (1952)

I'll speak here in Greek, so you can listen, fair and slender (girl).
You agree, my delight, to the rock to appear...

However much you say, like a little child... I want a voice.
However much you say, like a... I have thrown away (?) : I want a parentage.
However much you say, my soul (?) ..., I want a convent.

My soul is darkened: I've found water to clear it up (?) .

Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)

I'll speak here in Greek, do listen, fair and slender (girl).
You agree, my delight, to truly... appear. /
For my health, be unbound if it seems right to you.
How you say, like a child of [Bisna = Bithynia?], I will reveal.
How you say, like the queen's child: I want a parentage.
However much you say, my soul is deaf, I want a convent./
How you say: my dick is horny, I want pussy.
My soul is darkened: I've found water to wash.

Gazal 504

Dedes (1993)

Ta μάτια τα είδα μετά σεν τις είδεν; 
γοιο σεν, καλούτσικη, εις τον κόσμον τις 
The eyes I have seen with you, who has seen them?
είδεν;
[vt] η θέα σου έκαψε με και σεν πάλι γυρέψα
εχάθηκα για σεν και κανείς να ήτο να με βρην.
Εις τον πόθο σου επά κλαίγω και κονόνω τα δάκρυα·
φωνάζω και λαλώ σε με 'πατόν πάλι να έρθην.
Ακούγε και θώρει εγώ για κείπην τι 'πάθα,
αιρίζει και λαλεί τούτο το θίαμα να μου 'ρτήν.
Βαλέντ χάνει σεν, για σεν ουδέ τρώγει, ουδέ
κοιμάται·
εγώ το θέλω έγινεν, κανείς να μη το είπην.

Who in the world, my pretty one, has seen
someone like you?
Your sight has burned me, and I seek you again.
I am lost for you, and would that noone would
find me.
For your desire I cry here, and I void tears.
I shout and cry out for you, to come back to me
myself.
Listen and look at what I have suffered for her [?]
This marvel froths and speaks to come to me.
Walad is losing you; for you he neither eats nor
sleeps.
Let no man say, that what I wanted has happened.

Other editions

Burguière & Mantran (1952)

Ta μάτια τα ... μετά μέναν (?) τις είδεν;
Τόσον καλούτσικη εις τον κόσμο να (?)
tους (?) είδουν.
[vt] η θέα σου έκαψε με, κ' εσέν πάλι
gυρέψα·
Εχάθηκα για σεν κ' έκανες ... να με βρούν.
Εις τον πόθον σου κλαίγω και κονόνω τα
dάκρυα·
Φωνάζω και λαλώ σε μέναν πάλι να
έρτουν.
Ακούγε και θώρει εγώ για κείπην τι πάθα.
Υβρίζει και λαλεί τούτο το θέαμα να μου
ρωτούν.
Βέλεντ χάνει σέν(α)· ουδέ τρώγει, ουδέ
κοιμάται·
Εγώ ότι θέλω έγινεν· κάνες να μη το είπουν
(?).

Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)

Τα μάτια τα είδα, μετά μέναν (?) τις είδεν;
Εχάθηκα για σεν και κανείς [δεν ήλθε] μήτε να
με βρούν.
Εις τον πόθον σου κλαίγω και σκοτώνω
(?)/κενώνφ τα δάκρυα·
Ακούγε και θώρει εγώ για κείπην τι 'γιανα.
Εγώ τι θέλω γίνειν, κανείς να μη το ειπείν.

Burguière & Mantran (1952)

The eyes... after me (?) who has seen them?
So beautiful in the (to seen them?).
[vt] Your appearance has burned me, and I still seek
you;
I am lost for you, and you have made it so they will
find me (dead?).

Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)

The eyes I have seen , after me who
has seen them?

I am lost for you, and noone [has
come] even to find me.
I cry for desire of you, and make my tears silent;
then I should and command (?) that they come back to me.
Listen and look at what I have suffered for her sake.
She curses and bids others ask me about this vision.
Walad is losing you; he neither eats nor sleeps.
What I want has happened; you have managed it so that they don't say anything (?)

What I want to happen, let noone say.

Gazal 582

Dedes (1993)

... (If you want me to be full of life)
Έλα απόψε κοντά μου, χρυσή κυρά.
Come near me tonight, golden lady.
Day and night the blessedness emanating from you comes from your beauty.
Έλα δώ για να δώκ(ω) εγώ καρδιά, χαρά.
Come here so I too can see a heart, (my) joy.

Other editions

Burguière & Mantran (1952) Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)

... (If you want me to be full of life)
Έλα απόψε κοντά μου, χρυσή κυρά.
Day and night the blessedness emanating from you comes from your beauty.
Έλα δώ για να δώκ(ω) εγώ καρδιά, χαρά.

Burguière & Mantran (1952) Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)
(If you want me to be full of life)
Come near me tonight, golden lady.
(Day and night the blessedness emanating from you comes from your beauty)
Come here, so I can give joy to (your?) heart.

Gazal 885

شیرو سو توما نادیلو
ابتیرمیسا نیدو فیلو
افو ایسنا آندی ندو فیلو
اکینو بیش سو لو افیلو
یشریشید شون سیسو نو شیلو
ایتا شیریسو بیشوکیلو
کونکینو بیسا نیدو بیلو
کس فیفس کدو ابیسا نیلو
اینا روس اسی افگیکی بیلو
ایبیسی آی نیلو
اینو تورر نادا کالی بیلو

Come here so I too can see
heart, joy.
Dedes (1993)

Master, from my heart I always want
to kiss the ground at your door.
What kind of a tree am I, I'd like to know,
to tremble for you like a leaf.
You kiss me for [throughout] this life;
I do not kiss you, master.
Whom you hate, I will hate.
Whom you desire, I will not kiss.
There are thousands of souls, they have become dust.
The thousand managed to get to your lips.
In the square, grapes, food everywhere
fall and flow from your hands.
Your love goes forth like a river,
and I turn in it like a mill.
The world wants me, and I am leaving.
You are leaving too, and I want you.
Give the bitter fruit to others,
to me, give a sweet apple.
A bad man is a thorn, and always cries.
Make me a flower, so I can laugh.
Walad speaks at Mevlana's doors:
I see the sea, and others see mud.

Other editions

Burguière & Mantran (1952)

Other editions

Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)
Master, with all my heart I constantly want to gaze on your earth [tomb], to kiss it. What kind of a tree am I, I'd like to know, to tremble for you like a leaf? You kiss me for [throughout] life; I do not kiss you, master. Who you hate, I must hate. Who you desire, I must not kiss. (Or: Who you hate, I want to hate, Him who you do not want me to kiss.) Thousands of souls have become dust, those thousands who have reached .... (?) The thousand who have reached your lip In the square there are grapes of all sorts (?) In the square there are grapes, food everywhere I fall at your hands and roll (?) Your love goes like a river and I turn in it like a mill. The world claims me and I flee (it?); you flee, though I claim you. Give the bitter nut to others, give me the sweet apple. Give the bitter fruit to others; A bad man is (like) a thorn, and cries without stop; gather flowers for me, so I can laugh. Walad speaks to Mevlana (about) his vision (?) Walad speaks at Mevlana's door I see a sea (?) I see the sea and others see the beach.

Rumi: Museum of Konya ms 67 (+ University of Istanbul ms F 334) ff 45v-46r

Rumi's verses are macaronic with (Persian) and ARABIC (which Rumi calls "Saracen" in Greek). Dedes says the Arabic verse is in imitation of the Koran.
Πού είσαι συ, αφέντη μου (όμοια ενεργεική κι ομοία φεγγαροπρόσωπε)
Να είπω σαρακηκιά (πώς είμαι εγώ και πώς είσαι συ).
(Ω λαέ, Ἦρθαμε σε σας με την προθεση να θυσιαστουμε για την αγάπη σας)
(Απο τοτε ποι σας ειλαμε οι ειπουμιες μας έγιναν φανερες).
(Αν μοι δώσεις ένα κρασι, εγώ θα χαρώ κι αν εσώ πάλι με βρίσεις, εγώ πάλι θα χαρώ.)
Αφέντη ό,τι θέλεις συ, θέλω και παρακαλώ.
(Αν εμέθυσες ο δούλος άκον εσώ τώρα λόγια κομμισσισμένα.)
Βοήθηση με κανάκι μου, σήμερα παρακαλώ.
...
Πού είσαι τοσλεμπή, πού είσαι, έποι θ' ζα; αγαπο σε.
(Ουτας χωρίς υπόληψη, χωρίς υπερηφάνεια, την πνοή τώρα της καρδιάς μου αναζήτα.)
Where are you, my Master (in the same way beneficial and moon-faced)
Let me say in Saracen (what I am like and what you are like)
(O PEOPLE, WE CAME TO YOU MEANING TO BE SACRIFICED FOR YOUR LOVE)
(SINCE WE HAVE SEEN YOU OUR DESIRES HAVE BECOME APPARENT)
(If you give me a cup of wine, I will rejoice, and if you curse at me, I will still rejoice.)
Master, whatever you want, I want and beg for.
(If your servant is drunk, now hear broken words)
Help me my lovely, today I beg you.
[2 Persian verses omitted]
Where are you, sir, where are you, hey where are you? I love you.
(Being of no repute, with no pride, now seek the breath of my heart.)

Other editions
πού είσαι εσύ, αφέντε μου ...  
να είπω σαρακηνικά (?) ...  
αφέντη, ό τι θέλεις, θέλω και παρακαλώ  
βοηθείς με, κανάκι μου· σήμερα παραλλώ.  
πού είσαι, τσελεμπή, πού είσαι, εί, πού 'σαι· αγά, πού 'σαι.  

πού είσαι εσύ, αφέντη μου ...  
να είπω σαρακηνικά (?) ...  
αφέντη, ό τι θέλεις, θέλω και παρακαλώ  
βοηθείς με, κανάκι μου· σήμερα παραλλώ.  
πού είσαι, τσελεμπή, πού είσαι, εί, πού 'σαι· αγά, πού 'σαι.  

Burguière & Mantran (1952)

Where are you, my Master? (Who are who does  
good and at the same time has a face [beautiful]  
like the moon.)  
Let me say in Saracen (?) (how you are and how I  
am).  
(O PEOPLE, WE CAME TO YOU MEANING TO BE  
SACRIFICED FOR YOUR LOVE) 
(SINCE WE HAVE SEEN YOU OUR DESIRES HAVE  
BECOME CLEAR)  
(If you give me a glass of wine, I will be happy; if  
you insult me, I will be happy.)  
Master, whatever you want, I want and beg for.  
(Since this servant is drunk, do listen to futile and  
scattered words.)  
You’re helping me, my lovely; today I am babbling.  
Where are you, sir, where are you, hey where are  
you? My lord, where are you?  
(Now that we have abandoned all pride and repute,  
seek out our heart.)  

Golpinarli (1951)

Where are you my master? the dispenser  
of benevolence and the moon-faced  
charmer?  
I will say in Sarrazin who I am and who  
you are.  
I came to you, friend to be sacrificed for  
love, and when I saw you my desires were  
magnified.  
If you give me a glass of wine, I'll be  
happy. and if you abuse me, I'll be happy.  
My lord, what you desire I desire and I  
seek.  
When I am drunk, listen to my babbling.  
O Lord, help me in my chattering!  
Where are you Chelabi Where are you?  
Where are you, dear? Where?  
I have abandoned pride and principles,  
console my heart!  

Rumi: Museum of Konya ms 67 (+ University of Istanbul ms  
F 334) ff 273v
Αθέληεο καο έλ θη αγαπνύκελ ηνλ
και απ' εθείλνλ έλ θαιή ε δσή καο.
Γηαηί γύξηζεο, γηαηί βξώκηζεο;
πε κε ηη έπαζεο, πε κε ηη έραζεο!
(Άη θαξδηά κνπ, άη ςπρή κνπ!
άη ην εηνύην κνπ, άη ην εθείλν κνπ,
αρ ζπίηη κνπ, αρ ζηέγε κνπ!
Αρ ζεζαπξέ κνπ, αρ ρξπζνπεγή!)
Έια θαιέ κνπ, έια ζάρε κνπ·
ραξά δε δίδεηο, δνο καο άλεκν!
Πνπ δηςά πίλεη, πνπ πνλεί ιαιεί·
κεδέλ ηζάθσζεο, θαιέ, ην γπαιί;
(Αρ θαξδηά κνπ, άη ςπρή κνπ,
άη ην εηνύην κνπ, άη ην εθείλν κνπ,
αρ ζπίηη κνπ, αρ ζηέγε κνπ!
Αρ ζεζαπξέ κνπ, αρ ρξπζνπεγή!)
Έια, θαιέ κνπ, έια, ζηάρη κνπ!

Dedes (1993)

Βουγιούρης (1952)

Γρέγορη (1952), Μετσιώς (1958)

Other editions

He is our Master and we love him
and because of Him our life is good.
Why have you come back, why did you get dirty?
Tell me what happened to you, tell me what you have lost!

Άρεινας Ηρών Κεγατούριος
He is our Master and we love him
and because of Him our life is good.
Why have you come back, why did you get dirty?
Tell me what happened to you, tell me what you have lost!
χαρά δε δίδεστι δος μας ἀνεμο.
pου διψά πίνει, που πονεί λαλεί.
μηδέν τζάκωσες, καλέ, το γυαλί (?)

Burguière & Mantran (1952) Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)

He is our Master and we love him,
and because of Him our life is good.
Why are you back, why have you rushed?
Tell me what happened to you, tell me what you have lost!

...Come my darling, come my shah.
You give no joy? Give us the wind!
Who thirsts, drinks; who hurts, cries out;
darling, have you smashed the glass (?)

Rumi: Museum of Konya ms 67 (+ University of Istanbul ms F 334) ff 290v

Dedes (1993)

Καλή τύχη απόνω σου, ἐν ἀφέντι τσελεμπή,  Good luck be with you, oh Sir and Master
(μεσάνυχτα στ' ὄνομά μας την μεγαλοσύνη  (at midnight in our name you seek greatness)
αναζητάς.) (With black clothes and a walking stick)

...
(Με μαίρα ρούχα και ραβδί γυρίζω σαν) wander like a monk.
καλόγερος (And with a turban and a pole, I became a stranger, an Arab.)
και με τουρμπάνι και κοντάρι ξένος γίνομαι (You are everything I am, my lord; you’re drunk, tough lion-tamer.)
άραβας.) (Speak whatever language you want, sweet-lipped Khusrow.)
(Είσαι το κάθε τι που είμαι, εμήρη εσύ, εμέθυσες (Speak whatever language you want, sweet-lipped Khusrow.)
σκληρέ λιονταροπήστη.) Your love has come to me, I am strangely burned.
(Οποια γλώσσα θέλεις μίλα, Χοσρόη, γλυκοχείλη.) Good day, my slender one, how are you, are you well?
ήρτε με η αγάπη σου, κάπηκα παράταρα· You can keep stealing, sir, get inside, come here.
(Είσαι του θεού το φως ή μήπως είσαι σε θεός, (Forget yourself for a moment, you with such sweet grace.)
όγγελος ή προφήτης.) Good day, my slender one, how are you, are you well?
Καλή μέρα λιγερέ, πώς <εί>στεν, καλά 'στεν; You can keep stealing, sir, get inside, come here.
'Ας κλέβεις, τσελεμπή, έμπα έσω, έλα 'δώ. (Forget yourself for a moment, you with such sweet grace.)
(Σέχάσου μια στιγμήν εσύ που έχεις γλυκιά την χάρη.)
καλή, ιλιγκέ, πού 'ζηην, καλώς ηην. Good day, my slender one, how are you, are you well?
ταλεύες, ηζειεκπή! έκπα πίζσ, έια 'δώ.
καλή, ιλιγκέ, πού 'ζηην, καλώς ηην. You are searching, sir! Get back inside, come here.
Grégoire (1952), Mertzios (1958)
(Είσαι του θεού το φως ή μήπως είσαι σε θεός, Good day, slender girl, where had you been? Welcome.
όγγελος ή προφήτης.) You are searching, sir! Get back inside, come here.
καλή μέρα, λιγυρή, πού 'στην, καλώς την. You are searching, sir! Get back inside, come here.
εσύ χαλεύες, τσελεμπή! έμπα πίσω, έλα 'δώ.
Burguière & Mantran (1952)