In the recently published third volume of J. E. Bregel’s Persidskaya Literatura (Moscow 1973) p. 1334/35, we find a notice of a Persian work entitled Daqī’īqu’l-Haqqīq, written in 720 h by Ahmad-i Rūmī. It is described as a Sufi-treatise, written as an imitation of, or answer to (nazira) Galālu’d-dīn Rūmī’s Matnawī. A very incomplete survey of the extant manuscripts is given. B. Furūżānfar, in the introduction of his Šarḥ-i Matnawī (vol. I, Tehran 1346 š, p. 10), acknowledges his indebtedness to a Persian work by one Ahmad-i Rūmī, written in 720 h, of which he was unable to establish the title. From the ensuing discussion of this composition it appears that he is referring to the same Daqī’īqu’l-Haqqīq. However, we shall see later that Furūżānfar’s description of the work as a first step towards a commentary of the Matnawī-i Ma’navī, was not quite correct. Apparently, neither Bregel nor Furūżānfar were aware of the fact that this Ahmad-i Rūmī is the author of 3 or 4 works of a didactical nature, and besides, is known to have composed lyrical poetry. In this paper we aim to put forward all available information of a biobibliographical nature concerning Ahmad-i Rūmī and his compositions, and to determine, as far as possible in this early stage, his importance for the study of Mawłānā’s influence on later Persian Sufi-literature.

Ahmad’s Compositions

First of all, we shall have to concern ourselves with the identification of Ahmad-i Rūmī’s works. Daqī’īqu’l-Haqqīq (“Subtleties of Mystical Truths”), apparently the most popular of Ahmad’s compositions,
consists of 80 chapters (fusūl). Each fāṣl opens with an āya or a hadīth with a Persian translation. In some cases it is compiled upon, but usually it serves as a starting-point for the discussion of certain aspects of Sūfī-doctrine. The subject-matter is illustrated by verses from the Diwān-i Kabīr and Maṭnavi of Gallalū d-dīn Rūmī. Each chapter is concluded by a poem of between 30 and 60 verses in maṭnāvī, metre ramāl as the Maṭnavī-i Maṭnāvī. In most copies, the text is preceded by a short introduction, partly in prose, partly in verse, and a table of contents. The incipit runs as follows (after bismillah):

al-hādīlī rabīl-ī-lāmīn wa-l-āqībatu l-l-muttaqīn wa-sālīhī lāhū 'alā sayyiđnā muḥammadīn wa-sālīhī āmūna... (f. 118 b 1.1 sqq).

The first verse after the words āqīz-i kitāb ("beginning of the book"), introducing the actual beginning of the verse introduction, is:

ibītīdā bā-nām-i rāhmān u rāhmān

dastgīr-i mārd u zan dar waqī-i bim (f. 119 b 1.2)

Fāṣl I opens with the following hadīth: aš-sārātatu aqwālī wa-l-šariṭatu aš-dārī wa-l-haqqātā bālī (f 120 a 1.4).

The author’s name appears three times in the text; twice in the introduction (f. 118 b 1.4 and f. 119 a 1.6), and once at the very end (f. 320 a 17). Ad-Ḍārī’s VII p. 33 ed. falsely attributes the work to Mawlnā’s son, Sulṭān Walad (d. 712), which is quite incompatible with the date of composition, which is 720 h (sic f. 319 b ult.). The title Daqīq-i-l-Haqīqā is mentioned at the end of the prose introduction (f. 119 a 1.1). Quite a few texts, however, read Haqq-i-d-Daqqāq or Haqīqā wa Daqqāq. Yet another variant is shown on f. 1 b of Fūrūzānfar’s copy of the work, now preserved in the Central Library of the University of Tehran, no. 8538. Here we read: “the manuscript from which this copy was made, is entitled Haqīqā wa Daqqāq; but in reality, it is Saqqāq-i Haqīqā — but God knows the truth best!” Since this title does not occur elsewhere, we may safely assume it to be incorrect; moreover, its meaning is far from clear. While it is impossible, on the basis of the information in the various manuscripts and catalogues, to decide in favour of any of the above titles, we find supporting evidence for a reading Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq in another work by Ahmad-i Rūmī, viz. ad-Daqqāq fī t-Tūrīq, in which that reading occurs repeatedly (e.g. f. 12 b, 151 b). It is for this reason, and for the sake of convenience, that we shall henceforth use the title Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq. A survey of the extant manuscripts can be found in the appendix.

2. All quotations from Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq (abbreviation to DH) are made from the Cod. 1968/2 Warna, preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden (cf. Catalogus Codicium Orientalium V p. 41).

Outside the catalogues of manuscripts and the works of Bregel and Fūrūzānfar, referred to above, Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq is mentioned only once in scholarly literature, viz. Alexander von Kēg’s article in ZDMG 60/1906/590 ff. This article is intended as a correction of a notice of a work Haqqāq wa Daqqāq in Blochet’s Catalogue des Manuscripts Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. I (Paris 1905) p. 96 no. 143. Blochert gives no incipit, but the beginning of fāṣl I (the hadīth: aš-sārātatu aqwālī etc.) corresponds with the first chapter of our Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq. However, for reasons unknown to me, Blochet adds: “cet ouvrage est évidemment différent du Ḥaqq īqāt al-Daqqāq d’Ahmed Roumi qui est décrit dans le Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts de Rieu, t. I, p. 39 “. This statement is definitely incorrect: the MS described by Rieu is the same as Blochet’s no. 143. Von Kēg, too, comes to this conclusion, but his article is somewhat confusing. On the basis of observations from a private manuscript, he argues that Blochet’s Haqqāq wa Daqqāq is the title not of one book, but of two, both dealing with the same subject, and both by Ahmad-i Rūmī. One of these, bearing the title “Kitāb-i Ḥaqqāq”, would be identical to our Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq, the second, “Kitāb al-Daqqāq”, would constitute an entirely different work. On p. 591 he gives the incipit of Kadi-Daqqāq:

ibītā kardām ba-nām-i ānī dī

gul dīhād az tāra gī bā rāng u bō

and then quotes some verses in order to establish the author’s identity:

zīn sabab gāndhā namūmād ay kīrām

man ki hastām ahmād-i rūmī ba-nām

(“Therefore, o noble ones, I made a great effort; I, who am called Ahmad-i Rūmī”).

Among the verses, quoted by Von Kēg, there is one which deserves special attention (p. 592 1.2):

nām nihādām maʿārif bā kīdāb
dārā dar way nāṣ u rāhāt-i luľābāb

(“I gave this book the title Maʿārif; it contains quotations from the Qurān and (it will afford) peace of heart”). This verse inspired me to the theory, that the headings Haqqāq and Daqqāq in Von Kēg’s MS should be attributed to the copyist’s whim: they were probably suggested by the title Daqīq-i-l-Haqqāq or one of its variations, such as for instance Haqqāq wa Daqqāq. The work which Von Kēg styled K. ad-Daqqāq should properly be called Kitāb-i-Maʿārif or perhaps, as we shall see presently, Ummul-Kītāb, but in any case not K. ad-Daqqāq. This was not difficult to prove.

Had Von Kēg turned to Blochet, Catalogue I p. 28 no. 44, he would have come across a MS “Ummul-Kītāb; traité par Ahmed
Roumi on l’explication de quarante traditions ou versets du Koran, a work of 40 chapters, of which the incipit is identical to that of Von Kégl’s Daqā‘iq. All of Von Kégl’s quotations, with the exception of the one verse citing the title, are indeed to be found in Ummul-Kitāb; there can, therefore, be no doubt that they are identical. Now, considering the fact that this work was written in 727 h (f 163 b 1.8), and that, as stated above, the title Daqā‘iq ‘l-Haqā‘iq occurs several times in another work of Ahmad’s, viz. ad-Daqa‘iq fi l-Farā’īq, which was probably composed two years earlier, in 725 h, and in which Daqā‘iq ‘l-Haqā‘iq is described as a single work of 80 chapters and not a combination of one work Haqā‘iq and another, Daqā‘iq, of 80 and 40 fuṣūl respectively. I think we have conclusive evidence of the incorrectness of Von Kégl’s arguments.

It is more difficult to decide upon the correct title of the work. A considerable number of manuscripts of a work “Ma‘ārif” by Ahmad-i Rūmī are to be found in the USSR. If these should prove to be identical to our Ummul-Kitāb, we may well assume the original title to have been Ma‘ārif. If, however, the Russian “Ma‘ārif” should be a different composition, the title Ummul-Kitāb would probably be correct. We shall look at the arguments in favour and against this in the following. The Alphabetic Catalogue of MSS found by 1959-1963 Expedition in Gorno-Badakhshansk Autonomous Region, ed. B. G. Gafurov and A. M. Mirzaev (Moscow 1967), p. 94 no. 218 (1960/15) a mentions a Ma‘ārifu‘l-Asrār or Ma‘ārif by Ahmad-i Rūmī, “adapt of Galālūd-din Rūmī”. It is described as a text in prose and verse alternately, in the form of a commentary on ayāt, abdāt, and diqta of sūfī-sayyxs, divided into 40 fuṣūl. Unfortunately, no incipit is given. The authorities mentioned in the catalogue are ‘Abdullāh-i

1 Suppl. Persan 115. Dated Muharram, 990 h; copied at Mardin; 165 folia. The title will be abbreviated in the notes to UK. The erroneous description of the work as a collection of 40 traditions is followed by Massaigon, Bibliographie Hollende (Paris 1920) p. 47, and La Legende de Hulàoui Mansur en pays Turcs, in: Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1941-1946, p. 111, where UK (“Sharī‘e arba‘in”) is quoted in the chapter on the development of the hulài-legend in the masnaviya.


3 Von Kégl’s Daqā‘iq, too, contains 40 chapters, as is stated in a verse quoted by him, op. cit. p. 91 al-d.

4 Defective, poor copy, 91 ff; dated 1214 h, which, however, is probably the date of the MS from which this copy was transcribed. Other MSS of Ahmad’s Ma‘ārif in the USSR are the following: Tashkent, see Sbornie Vostochnykh Rukopisan Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR, ed. A. A. Semenov, vol. III (Tashkent 1955) p. 209 no. 2251 (18th Cent.A.D.), Lenigrad, see Kritiki Jtnb. Katalog (Persidkie i Tadzhikskije Rukopisn Institute Narodov Azij an SSR, O. F. Akiminskiin a.o.), Moscow 1964 p. 156 nos. 1063 (A 858) and 1064 (C 1491), entitled Haqā‘iq ‘l-Ma‘ārif (sic).

Ma‘ārifu ‘l-Manṣūr al-Halāli‘d-dīn Rūmī and ‘Aynu ‘l-Quṣūt ‘l-Hamadānī. So far, this description fits Ummul-Kitāb. However, unlike Ummul-Kitāb, the prose sections in Ma‘ārif are in rhythmic prose. Ma‘ārif is said to be preceded by an introductory maṣnawi in ḥaṣāq, not ṛamūl as in Ummul-Kitāb. Since it as not been possible to obtain photographs of the Russian Mss, we are unable to solve this question. Merely for the sake of convenience, we have in this paper adopted the title Ummul-Kitāb.

The structure of Ummul-Kitāb is much the same as that of Daqā‘iq ‘l-Haqā‘iq, but differs on a number of points. Six of the total of 40 chapters open not with an āyā or a haḍīth but with dicta of a number of sūfī-sayyxs and imāms, and fāṣı VII begins by contrasting mu‘tazalī and sunnī-views on the createdness of the Qur’ān. Usually a gūzāl of Galālūd-dīn is quoted in full in the prose-section, from which one verse is singled out by the words: Maṣnū‘ī in gūzāl in bayt as-sīdīr (“the relevant verse in this ode is the following”). Some chapters contain a gūzāl or maṣnawi (in many cases of the su‘dāl wa gūzāl-type) by Ahmad-i Rūmī himself. The prose-section is followed by an anecdote in maṣnawi (ramūl) of varying length, at the end of which the Maṣnawi-i Ma‘ārif is quoted. The incipit runs as follows (after bismillah): al-hamdu li‘l-lāhī raḥmān rāḥīm ‘alā amīn ‘a‘lam wa‘l-salātu wa‘l-salātina ‘alā yasir xalqihī muhammadīn wa‘l-dīnīn wa‘l-ṣabīḥīn aṣghīn (f 2 b 1.1 sqq.); it is followed by a versified doxology:

bīḍī ka kardam ba-nām-i inki dī
gul dīhāz iz tīrū gī bā rūng u bāt (etc.)

The拴nd is followed by the verses quoted by Von Kégl, in which the author’s name is given. However, instead of the verse cited above featuring the title “Ma‘ārif”, we read in the Paris-MS (f 4 a 1.4):

nām bīhādīm wa-rā ummūl-Kitāb
iard dīr wa yasīr inšā‘ī ʿībūb

“I gave it the title Ummul-Kitāb; it contains a tradition from the Qur’ān and traditions, oh intelligent one!”. The introduction ends with a table of contents; the first chapter starts with the quotation of Qur’ān 7:54 (f 1 a 1.3).

Next, we come to the discussion of yet another composition, this time of quite a different nature, entitled ad-Daqa‘iq fi l-Farā’īq. Of this work two MSS are known to me. The first of these is preserved in Cairo, Dārū‘-i-Kutub no. 59 (tāsawwuf fārisī ‘l-ṣārī). The incipit (after bismillah) runs as follows: al-hamdu li‘l-lāhī raḥmān rāḥīm ‘alā inšā‘ī ʿībūb wa-rā ummūl-Kitāb.”
Theology is followed by the praise of the prophet (f 3 a 1.1). Apart from prose-headings and quotations of āyah, abādī, and sayings of ‘Ali and sūfī-saints, the bulk of the text is written in īrāmī-maṇwāri. The author names himself on f 4 a 1.3: 

ahmad-i rūmī-si nām u nisbat-am
sāl pāngāh-ast u andar gurban-am
(“My name is Ahmad-i Rūmī; I am 50 years of age, and live abroad”). On f 4 a/b a versified table of contents is to be found, followed by verses of a general, introductory nature, in which we read the title of the work (f 5 a 1.3):

bā risāla nām bīhdām ē nām
ad-daqaqīq fī-tāriq ē kirām
(“I gave the treatise the name — what name? ad-Daqāqīq fī-tāriq, o noble ones!”). After a heading dar bayān-i ānī khalīqi bā-čahār naw- and (explaining that the creatures consist of four kinds) (f 5 b) a description is given of the four grades of human beings, for the highest of whom (the xāzī-i xāyss) this composition was meant. The first Bāb (“dar bayān-i gawkhar-i ēmrān”) starts on f 6 a 1.1. There are a few lacunae in the text, notably in Bāb IV where the fāṣil 1-7 are missing. The text ends abruptly on f 171 b, which is badly damaged, in fāṣil 9 of Bāb XII; fortunately, this is the last fāṣil of the last Bāb, therefore, not much is lacking.

The Careme text is of rather poor quality; the copist was obviously of Turkish extraction, as appears from the Turkish glosses in the hand of the copist, and the numerous cases of plene spelling throughout. While the verse-sections of Daqaqīq-i Ḥaqīqīq and Ummul-Kitāb are not of any great poetical quality, there really is no doubt that the high incidence of unmetrical verses in ad-Daqāqīq fī-tāriq is due to the scribe’s apparently insufficient command of the Persian language. It will, therefore, be imperative to consult another manuscript of the work, which is described in a notice of Prof. Nabibāzī Qāzī: “A rare manuscript of Daqāqīq at-tāriq - a Persian maṭnawī by Ahmad-e

Rūmī”, in the Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, 1967 (Wiesbaden 1971), p. 279. F. Qāzī’s MS is probably somewhat defective at the beginning, for he writes that it does not contain the usual doxology and eulogium of the prophet, whereas the Cairo-MS has both.

Ad-Daqāqīq fī-tāriq does not follow the structural pattern of Ahmad’s other works. There are 12 Bāb’s, each consisting of varying numbers of fāṣil. The abwāb and fāṣil do not start with the quotation of an āyah or hadīt. The fāṣil begin with a heading in prose, consisting of a title, a short characteristic of the anecdotal material (if present) and the number of verses in that fāṣil. The verse-text explains some theory, with numerous quotations from the Qur’ān, abdādī and -although less frequently than in Ahmad’s other works — from the Maṇwāri. This is usually followed by an illustrative anecdote. The verse-sect is concluded with one or two verses summarizing the gist of the preceding (“zā’īn bayān maṭnād-am in-āst”) and a quotation from the Maṇwāri. It should be noted that all three works described here have numerous verses in common, while also the choice of āyah, abdādī and anecdotal material is very similar. But, whereas Daqāqīq-i Ḥaqqīq and Ummul-Kitāb deal with the theory of mysticism and ethics, ad-Daqāqīq fī-tāriq is mainly concerned with the practical side of šī‘ī-life.

In addition to Ahmad’s didactical works, I know of one instance of lyrical poetry by him. On f 40 b of a MS of the Maṇwāri-i Maṇwārī in the library of Edinburgh University, we find a gazal written by “Ahmad-i Rūmī, pupil of Ḥadrāt-i Mawlawī”12. This gazal is strikingly more fāṣil than Ahmad’s other poetical efforts. Is shows a remarkable resemblance to his lyrical poetry of Ḡulālū’d-din and Sulṭān Walad. Although the taxāliaq is indeed “Ahmad” it is, of course, impossible on the basis of just this one poem to prove conclusively that it is Ahmad-i Rūmī’s. Until more material has been collected, we shall have to rely on the copyist’s indications13.

The metre is haṣāq-i muṣammam-i xaṣab (maflatū maflītū maflītū fa’īlūn; first hemistich maflatū maflītū maflītū fa’īlūn). We shall give the text and transition in full:

11 See the Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library, ed. M. Hukk, H. Ehté and E. Robertson (Hertford 1925), p. 256 no. 281. The manuscript is dated 892/1486. The gazal is written in the hand of the copyist of the Maṇwāri.

12 Ahmad’s numerous qatādās in UK all lack a taxāliaq. Characteristically, the muṣāq of these qatādās usually features one hemistich in which the metre is written out in full, e.g., in fāṣil XXV (f 106 b 1.4):

fa’īlūn maflatū fa’īlūn
gar tu ḡabāb-dill biḍā bāqā.
The Biography of Ahmad-i Rumi

Having presented a survey of Ahmad’s remaining works, we shall now have to take a look at the available biographical material. Mawlavi-biographers such as Aflakî, Sipahsâlî, Tâqîb Dedî and Esrâr Dedî make no mention of him, nor do the other, more general biographical works. Blech’s
16 attributes Ummul-Kitâb to “the Ahmad ibn Mohammad Roumi el-Hanefi, who mourat in 717 de l’hégire (Hâdji Khâlifâ ..., t. IV p. 582)”. This is chronologically impossible, unless we assume the date in Hâqî Khâlîfa to be incorrect. 17 For confirmation one would have to study that Ahmad’s work, al-Qawwâl’s Askhab fîl-Hukm bî’r-Sîhha wa-l-Ma’gab (GAL S II 313; Tunis, Zayt. IV 235/2361-1). There is perhaps some circumstantial evidence in support of Blech’s theory, in the fact that our Ahmad-i Rûmî may well have been a hanafite. Frequently, when treating of questions relating to fiqh and dogmatics, Aḥmad appears as a sound exponent of the hanafite-school. For instance, in faṣl XL of Daqdî ‘l-Ḥaqiq, discussing the relation of the šīd to imām, the relevant paragraph from the Wasıjtī Aḥ Şanfī is quoted. 18 In the ensuing discussion of the question, whether a man’s works are an essential component (rûkûn) of his faith, Aḥmad explicitly takes the negative hanafite stand. The matter is treated in a similar fashion in Ummul-Kitâb faṣl IX. Many other examples could be given. Not without significance is the fact, that Abu Ḥanîfa is usually referred to as “Imâm-i A’zâm”, Massignon, Hallâlç Mansûr en pays turcs p. 111, prefers the identification of Aḥmad-i Rûmî with Şüṭân Walâd’s grandson, Muzaflâr ad-dîn Ahmad Pâšâ (d. ca. 740/1340; cf. Aflakî, II 898, 997). However, it seems unlikely that Ahmad Pâšâ, were he the author of the works here discussed, would describe himself merely as a “pupil of Mawllânâ” (see p. 240 infra), with no reference to his noble ancestry whatsoever.

Hâqî Khâlîfa mentions several other Aḥmad-i Rûmî’s. Chronologically impossible are the Aḥmad-i Rûmî of Ḥ.Xal. III p. 198/9 (no. 4911) and p.454 (no. 6413) and V p. 380 (no. 11378), and the Ahmad ar-Rûmî al-‘Āqîshûrî of vol. I p. 249/50 (no. 485) and vol. III p. 382 (no. 6061). (Qâṣî’s remark 19, that these last two Ahmads are one and the same person, can only be conjectural, since Brockelmann’s information is probably based on H.Xalîfa). The notice of a third

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16 Catalogue des MSS persans, 1 28.
17 (K) was composed in 727 h; f. 163 b 1.8.
18 al-Imâm ‘isrā’în bî’r-Sîhha wa-l-Ma’gab, i.e. the opening line of the Wasıjtī Aḥ Şanfī; cf. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed (London 1932) 125.
Ahmad “al-ma’rūfa bi-bni’t-mudarris”, H.Xali‘a III p. 400 (no. 6137) does not offer any perspective either. About the Ḥaqīqī ‘qul-Daqqāiq, H.Xal.III p. 78 (no. 4555) nothing more is known. Therefore, we would seem to be entirely dependent on Ahmad’s own works for biographical material.

Daqqā‘ī ‘qul-Ḥaqīqī was composed in 720 h, as we read in fasl LXX of that work: in zamān ki az ārīs-i haqrat-i masṭafta ... hafrad u bīst sal-āst ("This time, which is 720 years after the prophet")21, and the last verse of the same fašt:

bād ‘isrīn sab’ainā’ā sa’d tamām
k’īn rīsālāt dar ‘āwad šud anţamā’22

("It was in the year 720, that this treatise was written, at ‘Awad"). Umūm-i Kītāb was written in Dūl-i-Hīgga, 727 h:

sab’a-mā’a sab’ā ‘isrīn šud tamām
in rīsālāt mān-i dī-l-hīggh ay kīrām23

"This treatise was completed in 727, in the month Dūl-i-Hīgga. Oh noble ones!). As the date of composition of ad-Daqqā‘ī fi ‘r-Tariq, Qazi gives 725/1325.24 I cannot find any reference to this date in the (defective) Cairo MS. In any case, as we have seen above (p. 232), this work was written after Daqqā‘ī ‘qul-Ḥaqīqī. At the time of composition of ad-Daqqā‘ī fi ‘r-Tariq, Ahmad was fifty years of age:

alīm-i rūmī-sī nām u nīsah-arn
sāl panghāst u andar gurbat-arn25

The Alphabetical Catalogue of MSS found by 1959-63 Expedition ... p. 94, gives 1350 AD (= 751/52 h) as the approximate year of Ahmad’s death, without stating on what basis this conjecture was made.

On the basis of the nisba “Rūmī” we may assume that Ahmad originated from Asia Minor. One would have hoped to find some reference to Konya, the seat of the mawlawi-order, but in fact, the only place in Turkey mentioned by name is ‘Alāna26. This was not his place of birth: Ahmad passed there on his travels. These travels later took him to India, where he took up his abode at ‘Awad. There,

21 Ahmad-i Rūmī’s work is occasionally confused with a Turkish work Daqqā‘ī ‘qul-Haqīqī by Kenālpâlizadeh Ahmad Čeleş Efendi (ed. 940/1533). See esp. Munzawi, Fihrist-i mawâli-yi xattî-fīrâd, vol. I (Teheran 1348 s) p. 49, re a MS in the Dihudā Library (no. 45). Munzawi’s statement, that the MS in that library is different from Kenâlpâlizadeh’s work, is incorrect.

22 DH f 318 b 1.10.

23 DT f 4 a 1.5/6.


26 DT f 4 a 1.5/6.


28 UK f 131 b sqq.

29 UK f 97 a sqq.

30 UK f 518 b sqq.

31 DT f 111 f 151 b sqq.

32 DF f 119 a 1.6, DT f 4 a 1.7, 4 b 1.8 sqq., UK f 3 b ult.; see also
pupils was the sūfi-convent or xānaqāh, it was for their benefit, that he wrote a manual on sūfi-praxis, viz. ad-Daqīqī's fi īrārī. It should be noted, however, that although Ahmad explicitly called himself a "murid of Mawlānā"19, he was not a mawlāwī in the strict sense of the word. As we shall see later, his directions for the organisation of sūfi-life in the xānaqāh were not of an exclusively mawlāwī-nature. Indeed, he does not seem to have had any direct links with the mawlāwīya as an institution. No reference is made to the spiritual authority exercised by the Ālebbi-Mullā in Konya or to other prominent mawlāwīs of his time. When we call Ahmad a mawlāwī, it is because he acknowledges in Gallūlūdīn's sole guide on the sūfi-path. Ahmad is Mawlānā's murid, Mawlānā is—by some notational-type of relationship—his šāykh.20

It is inevitable in the system of the murid's unconditional obedience to his šāykh, that the latter's words should acquire an authority, which stands at a par with that of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.21 This is most certainly the case with Mawlānā's Maṣnawi and Diwān as they appear in Ahmad-i Rūmī's ūvāre: throughout Daqīqī's Ḥaqqī's qwāma and Ummul-Kitāb, we find Ahmad's arguments and statements supported not only by Ḥadīth and ahādīt, but equally by quotations of Mawlānā. Maṣnawi's verses may either support a theory22 or a description23; in other cases, an argument based on Ḥadīth and ahādīt may be further supported by adducing one or more verses of Maṣnawi of the same purport.44 Also, Ahmad often looks to Mawlānā for authority for his interpretation of certain Qur'ān-verses.45 This function is explained by the author himself as an essential element of Daqīqī's Ḥaqqī's qwāma. In the introduction of that work, we read: "They (= Ahmad's pupils) asked for some words, by way of a religious sermon (wa'r-i dīnī); therefore, I wrote whatever came to my mind from the Qur'ān. Ḥadīth and the discourses of my šāykh and guide, Sāh Mawlānā Gallūlūdīn u dīn, treasurer of the secrets of (all) creatures. Again, when refuting the criticism aroused by Daqīqī's Ḥaqqī, that work is described as containing Ḥadīth, ahādīt and quotations of Mawlānā, in such a way, that Ahmad "did not" lay that foundation for the purpose of altering it or keeping anything hidden. The precepts of Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and my šāykh's verses are, after all, held in esteem all over the world—how, then, would any false critic have the power or courage to question (my work)! How could he alter the original meaning, and how indeed could he open his mouth to taunt me?"46. This lack of distinction between God's words and those of a mere mortal (and a poet at that!), may well have been the reason why Ahmad was criticized by his more orthodox colleagues—just as they would criticize those, who called the Maṣnawi a "Qur'ān in Pahlawi-tongue."47

Ahmad quotes no other poets than Mawlānā: this fact is acknowledged by himself in ad-Daqīqī's fi īrārī. Unfortunately, these quotations are very careless indeed. At times one is tempted to suspect

UK faci V and VI. This is a usual feature of didactic sūfi-literature and, indeed, the rīdātī is in general; similarly, e.g. Wāhir-i Kāhrī, Lubb-i Lāhūrī, Maṣmūrī, ed. Taqwī, p. 1 1/9 sqq.; Dāya, Mīrādāt-i Ḫābed p. 8 1 2 sqq.; Ḩavīr-i, Ḩadd-i Muhājīb, tr. R.A. Nicholson, p. 3; Sulaim, Rūdast-i Mḥulāqāyī ed. ‘Affī (Cairo 1364/1945) p. 86 1.5, etc.

48 E.g. DH f136 b 1.14.

49 E.g. DT f14 a 1.4: aft muridān-i galābūl-haqq u dīn.

50 DT f152 b 1.1: šāykh-i ʿawād, 1.3: ʿawād-i šāykh.

51 For the murid's absolute obedience, see: Maṣnawi, I 1605, 1614, 2596 sqq. etc., Mīrādāt-i Ḫābed p. 146 f. Abū Saʿīd b. Abīl-Xayr ranked his own sayings openly at the same level as the Qur'ān, cf. Zainb, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism (New York 1969) p. 176/7, cit. Ibn Munawwar Andar-i-motion, Tehran 1332 h. p. 110. It was quite customary for the murid to discard all learning and knowledge acquired previously, and to surrender unconditionally to the murid's words. Thus, Mawlānā's relation to Ṣāmsūdīn Tatrīzī (Walad-nimā p. 198 11/12): "The šāykh and Teacher became a learner; he studied with him (= Ṣāmsū) every day. He had been an accomplished student, and became a novice again; he had been a follower (of orthodox teachings), and became a follower once again (i.e. of Ṣāmsū)." (Perhaps the first muqadda should be read as mutaqadda, "one who is followed").

52 E.g. DH XI f147 a: man's earthly aspects (gīl) ruling the common, but subdued by the elect; quot. Maṣnawi IV 3025/6, III 224/27.

53 E.g. DH IV f128 a/b, the true sūfī described as the "lion of the Road"; quot. Maṣnawi 1.389.
the authenticity of the verses attributed to Mawlānā. In Ḥumr‘ul-Kitāb we come across quite a number of prose citations of such sūfī-authors as ‘Aynu‘l-Qudāt-i Hamadānī (fsd IX), Sulaymān-i Dārānī (V) and Sa‘dū‘d-dīn Ḥanawī (VI); we have already referred to the Imām-i A‘zam, Ābū Ḥanīfā. Apart from this, the redaction of certain anecdotest runs so closely parallel to the version of these stories in ‘Aṣfār’s Taḏkira‘tul-‘Awiyya‘, that we must conclude that Ṣāḥib consulted that work for his own compositions56. Actually, the Taḏkira‘tul-‘Awiyya‘ is once mentioned by name, in a section dealing with Bayāzīd’s dictum “on the day of judgement Muḥammad will come under my banner”57. Bīšāqis remark, that Nizāmī is cited as an authority in Ḥumr‘ul-Kitāb is incorrect58.

A very striking work in Ṣāḥib’s works is their conscious orientation on the Maqāni-i Ma‘nawi and Mawlānā’s Diwan59. In ad-Daqa‘iq fi‘l-Tariq, for instance, we come across an obvious reference to the exordium of the Maqāni, beginning with the word bišāma‘ in which “words are likened to the “reed-flute” (nay)” and the “meaning (ma‘nī)” to the musician, or, in another comparison, the “meaning” to the sugar in the “cane of words”60. Indeed, the word bišāma‘ fulfills a well-nigh magical function. In Daqa‘iqul-‘Haqīqa‘, every new chapter is introduced thus:

bišāma‘ aknān fasl-i diqār ay soni
sā biyāhād dill u qfānāt rawsanī

Similar verses usually precede anew fasāl and abwāb in ad-Daqa‘iq fi‘l-Tariq. The metre of all maqāni-sections is rama‘ul the Maqāni-i Ma‘nawi. The anecdotal material draws heavily on the Maqāni61.

From Ṣāḥib’s own description of Daqa‘iqul-‘Haqīqa‘ (see p. 241 of this paper), it will be clear, that we must be very careful in accepting Furūżānfar’s description of that work as a commentary on the Maqāni62; it was certainly not intended as such. Furūżānfar considers the āyat and abdadīt cited at the beginning of each chapter to serve as a commentary of the Maqāni-quotations which appear at the end of that chapter. While indeed, we occasionally do find the contents of a chapter neatly summarized in the final quotations from the Maqāni, there are also numerous fasāl in which the quoted Maqāni-verses have reference to a minor aspect of the argument only63. These quotations are to my view a stylistic element, serving to underline, rather than in themselves constituting, the quintessence of the chapter64. As a part of a similar compositional pattern, they occur again in Ḥumr‘ul-Kitāb.

While the formal commentaries of the Maqāni were not to appear until over a century later65, Ṣāḥib’s works can be considered the first instance of a class of works in which Mawlānā’s verses constitute an essential element of the composition, without being the subject of actual exegesis66. These compositions, however, usually take on the form of selections with explicative chapter-headings, or selections of Maqāni-verses, linked by verses of the author67. Ṣāḥib’s approach is, as far as I can see, quite original and perhaps even unique.

Ṣāḥib’s teachings

The subject-matter of the works here discussed, betrays the authorship of a moderate sāfī-theologian, well-versed in tafsīr, fiqh and kalām68. Ḥumr‘ul-Kitāb especially, contains elaborate discussions of theological questions, in which Ṣāḥib takes great pains in contrasting the tenets of the ahī-i sunnat wa ġam‘at with such heretical teachings as that of the Mu‘tazila on the createdness of the Qur‘ān69.

57 E.g., the chapters XIV, LVIII, LXII.
58 E.g., DH LXIII, LVIII.
59 The oldest surviving commentary, in verse (mataqībī), is Kumānu‘l-Hasa‘qul-Fī Ḥumr‘ul-Kitāb by the kubrawīsāy Muḥammad-dīn Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Khwārizmī (d. 840 or 845 h); British Museum, Or. 12984 (cf. G. M. Meredith Owen, Handlist, p. 76). This author later composed a prose-commentary entitled Gushā‘irul-‘Ahd wa-Tawḥīdul-A‘wil; ed. Lucknow 1312/1894; for MSS see Mawsū‘, Fihrist, III I 116.
60 We are not considering here, compositions of a different genre altogether, namely the poetry of early mawlāwīs such as Sūlān Walād, Ulū‘ Ārif Čelebi and others, which, although showing certain individual characteristics, was clearly intended as an imitation of Mawlānā.
61 Examples of the first type are Lubbi‘ i ‘alāb-i Maqāni by Ḥusayn b. ‘All Wali‘-i Kāfī (d. 910 h), ed. Tehran 1319 h, and Gubari‘-i Maqāni by Yūsuf-i Šinā‘āk (d. 925 h; cf. Ḥ. Xal. V 375, Gulpərnr, Mərvelən dən sona Mərvelər V 124f., Leiden Cod. 1767 f 13a-21 a); of the second type, Gubari‘-i Towbāh by Šahdī (d. 956 or 957; cf. Ḥ. Xal. V 232, VI 598; Rama p. 592/3; Leiden Cat. Cod. Orientalium II p. 112; there exists a commentary of a similar arrangement by Axünd Mullā ‘All Nāfī, cf. Mawsū‘ II I 1255). It should be noted that these, too, all stem from the 10th cent. and later.
62 Cf. UK XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXI (all teaching predestination); XXXV, XVIII, XVII etc.; DH XI, LXVI, LXXV etc.
63 UK XVII
and that of various unorthodox groupings (Mu'tazila, Karramites etc.) on the interpretation of Qur. 7:54 "Verily, your Lord is Allāh, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then seated Himself upon the throne". Ahmad's taṣfīr of this verse can be said to constitute the main theme of Unmula'l-Kitāb, and indeed, Daqīqī's Ḥaqqīq and the theoretical part of ad-Daqīqī's Fit-Tariq, the "throne" is, as so often in Shīʿī-litterature, interpreted as the heart of the true believer. The heart is the "masgīlī-agaqā"; the true house of God. There is no place in the heart for anything or anyone but God; there, God's Beauty can be perceived with the eye of the heart. This results in numerous adhortations to turn from exterior matters to one's spiritual innermost, or, as it is phrased elsewhere, to "mount the Burāq of the attraction of love" and travel from the "world of clay (al-amīl-gīlī) to the "world of the heart (al-amīl-dīlū)."

The vision of God's Beauty can be attained by the true lover (āšīq) only. Ahmad's conception of love differs somewhat from Mawlānā's: his idea of love is little more than the sūfi's superior piety and religious contemplation. As such, it is almost synonymous with "poverty (faqr)"; it involves total abstinence from this world in the desire to find God within one's own heart. Ad-Daqīqī's Fit-Tariq, Bah XXI (158 A) distinguishes between allegorical love (īsīq-i maqāzī), leading to real, divine love (īsīq-i haqqīqī) for which it is an indispensable condition. The theme of allegorical love is unusual in Ahmad-i Rūmī's works: it does not appear again, and in the present context it is not elaborated upon. Ahmad's most striking deviation from Mawlānā's ideas is, that in his theory of love there is no place for the in- intoxicated lover, whom we find so often in Mawlānā's poetry (especially in the lyrical odes, of course) extolling the all-embracing Beauty of the Beloved in human form. This can be explained only partly as being due to the purely didactical nature of Ahmad's work. Wine-symbolism is almost completely lacking. Otherwise, his conceptions run more or less parallel to Galālī's; notably, on the subjects of spiritual evolution and the mutual attraction of kindred parties.

Although Daqīqī's Ḥaqqīq and Unmula'l-Kitāb deal with similar themes, they apply different techniques. The former must be considered a collection of moralistic sermons, serving to describe character and manner of the sūfi. It abounds in exhortations to fight one's animal lusts and to rely on God for one's livelihood: injustice towards one's fellow-creatures is most strongly condemned. This is accompanied by occasional expositions on psychology and more or less detailed discussions of technical terms such as īmān, faqr, tawba etc. In this approach, theory is subordinated to the description of the believer: he who possesses all these virtues, will find the Beauty of God within himself. In Unmula'l-Kitāb, however, it is the theory behind that thesis which comes first. Incidentally, it must be remarked that Ahmad's approach was basically of a popularizing nature: Mawlānā's often so ecstatically expressed ideas are "abstracted" to a type of ascetic mysticism, which could be understood by a less-inspired class of sūfī. Ahmad's treatment of sīūl-doctrine certainly breathes a spirit quite averse from the highly complex philosophical commentaries of later centuries, which had recourse to Ibn 'Arabi's pantheistic mysticism in every line. It is more reminiscent of such relatively orthodox sīūl-manuals as Makki's Qutūl-Qulūb and Gazzālī's Iḥyā', than of Ibn 'Arabi.

Another aspect of sīūlism, the relationship of murid and murīd, receives considerable attention in Daqīqī's Ḥaqqīq, but only in ad-Daqīqī's Fit-Tariq does it constitute the main idea behind the work. It treats of the more practical aspects of sīūl-life: its very purpose is the practical application of a set of ideas, the theory of which has been expounded elsewhere. Only the Bahī's I, II and III are concerned with the theory of faqr (= īsīq); it distinguishes material destitution from spiritual poverty, and it describes the function of the āshīq as the spiritual guide, whose instruction will eventually lead to Beatitude. The most perfect mystic is the faqrī-i zāzī, who feeds himself on God's Beauty; a lower category is the faqrī-i gāmī, who may be forced to provide for himself by begging. In the following abwāb, the subject is actual sīūl-praxis.
Báb IV (f 62 a) discusses the xirqa and its various colours. Báb V (f 63 a) is dedicated to a number of offices and rules of the súfi-convent. It treats in detail of such questions as what persons can be allowed into the convent, how to behave there, the origin of the xánâqáh’s funds, rules for begging, travel etc. Báb VI (f 68 b) deals with súfi-morals (zâyád), it defines tawba, fasting, rizaq, concentration on God, etc., and stipulates the purpose of and times for dikr. It condemns lying, and warns against the company of women and beardless youths. The subject of Báb VII (f 95 b) is the abáh-i šáykh (“manners of the šaykh”), in which we come across a detailed description of the attributes of initiation: shaving the head (tardá), bestowing the qulqul (cap), xirqa and súggádá, and a set of rules of conduct for the šaykh himself. Báb VIII (f 118 a) describes the disciplinary exercises which the šaykh commands his murids to perform in retreat. The criterion for these are the thoughts (zayád) coming up in the murid during his xalwat. The various sublimes (“ulwi) and lowly (sufí) xayláları are set forth in Báb IX (f 122 a); the distinction between these two categories lies mainly in the presence or absence of Divine Beauty (hassan-i haqq) therein. Only the šaykh can determine their true nature. An intricate system of shorter and longer periods of retreat for various categories of murids is outlined in Báb X (f 125 a). The discussion of the position of the šaykh is concluded in Báb XI (f 134 a) with a detailed description of different types of knowledge (“ilm) and the statement, that it is essential for the šaykh to be well-versed in the religious sciences (“ilm-i din). The šaykh, and the learned in general, are of vital importance to the muslim community: if they are corrupt, the whole society is corrupted. Báb XII (f 158 a) is entitled dar bayán-i ‘iqú u istímá’ (‘on love and listening’); the treatment of the theme of love is very summary, and clearly serves as an introduction to the theme of samá’ only. The inner turmoil resulting from divine love brings the lover “to the boîl”; in the sound of the lute (čang), drum (daff), reed-flute (nay) and rebeck (rabáh), he discerns the praise of God, which brings him to dancing. Causes and legitimacy of samá’ are discussed; three conditions are laid down (faq 6-8): 1. the right time (zamán): one should have sufficient time, no one should have other activities to sec to, it should not be close to prayer time; 2. the right place (makád): secluded, away from the eyes and ears of the common people; 3. the right company (ixván): all participants should be of equal or comparable spiritual rank. 

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AN UNKNOWN MAWLAWI-POET: AHMAD-I RÚMÍ

The final, ninth faqí on ecstasy and the rending of the xirqa, is unfortunately defective. As long as no systematic, over-all research into the praxis of the súfi-orders has been done, it is hard to determine the origin and originality of Ahmad’s precepts. In fact, many of his stipulations can be found in Misbatu’l-Hidâya4 by Mâmmûd-i Kâshâni (d. 735), a Persian version of Suhrâwi’s ‘Awârîf-ul-Ma’ârif; the Awârîf-ul-Ahâb wa-Fususul-Adîb of Yahyâ Bâxzarî (d. 736) and other manuals of súfi-praxis. It must be noted, that ad-Dâqiqi’s fî l-Turîq, observes the same arrangement as Báb V of Misbatu’l-Hidâya on the masâhâshin (p. 146 f), viz. xirqa, xánâqáh and its rules, xalwat and samá’, in that order. But apart from the similarity in material and approach of Ahmad and contemporary writers on this subject, Ahmad’s work is different in numerous details. 

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44 Ed. Ğ. Hûmî’l, Tehran 1323 š. 
45 E.g., kitchen-services, which play such a significant rôl in mawlawi-initiation (cf. A. Gâlâpan, Merlevdân namah Merlevdîh, Istanbul 1953, p. 397), appear as such in DH LVIII. In Mawlâ’s time, the only initiation-ceremony (beside bestowing the xirqa, of course), was the shaving of the head (Merlevdîh 187; DH LVIII f 268 a). There are two notable deviations from mawlawi-practice: 1. begging is allowed (DH XXXIII, DT V/2, III/18; comp. AFKAI, tr. Huurt 1 219/20); 2. the xalwat is not accompanied by extensive conventi-services (DT XIX, comp. Merlevdîh 391). The verse in DT XII, f 163 b 11: gâr rasâd dar gôl-i bozûk-i nây čâv-râd dar čâv-râd zârî-pây (“If the sound of the flute should reach his ear, he would bring the cycle (of existence) turning under his feet”), cannot be taken as a direct reference to the mawlawi-whirling dance. The whirling dance, likened to the cycle of existence, occurs long before Mawlâ; cf. Ahmad-i Gâlâfî (d. 520/1126), Badawirî’s-‘îmâd (ed. J. Robson, Tracts on Listening to Music, London 1938), p. 99/100. Šâyâ Şü’lîn, too, was moved by the wine of love to dance in a similar way; cf. Aittiqr, Munâqâ’ul-Wâqî, ed. M. E. Mâskâr (Tehran 1337 š), p. 88 1.5. 

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81 Similarly, UK XXXVII (f 151 b 1.3 sqq). 
82 See also DH LVII. 
83 This is based on a saying of Ğuwâni; cf. Rûdân Qâlibî, ed. ‘Abd al-Hâlin Mâmûd a.o. (Cairo 1966), vol. II p. 645; Sârâqî, K. al-Lâma’, ed. R. A. Nicholson (Leiden/London 1914)
Ahmad-i Rūmī's organization seems to have disappeared leaving no trace other than the works described in this paper.

Appendix: Survey of the extant manuscripts of Daqīqī's-Ḥaqqī in vols. I (p. 117) and II (p. 1334) of his Persïdskevya Literaturam is very incomplete. He enumerates a total of 29 copies, plus the Cairo-MS no. 59 (taṣawwuf fārisi Tarīqat), which, as we have seen above, is an entirely different work. An additional 14 manuscripts, including the two oldest known to me, are listed below. I have not been able to establish where Von Kegel's copy may have gone.

BUHAR, see the Catalogue Raisonné of the Bihûr Library, vol. I (Calcutta 1921) p. 144 no. 188; dated 1272 h. CALCUTTA, see Ivanov, Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta 1924) p. 567, no. 1187; dated 1133 h. CAMBRIDGE, Or. 1557 (9), cf. Arberry, A 2nd Suppl. Handlist of the Mah. MSS in the University and Colleges of Cambridge (Cambridge 1952) p. 60 no. 345 (9); dated 1144 h. DACCA, see the Descriptive Cat. of Persian MSS in the Durap Univ. Library, vol. I (Dacca 1960) p. 284 no. 286; dated 1102 h. DUSHANBE, Tajik, Academy of Sciences, no. 2331/1, cf. Katalog Vostronochnykh Rukopisu Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR, A.M. Mirzeov/A.N. Boldyrev (Dushanbe 1968), p. 132 no. 485. Defective, poor copy; undated (ca. 1500 AD). KABUL, see Manuscripts d'Afghanistan (Kâbul 1963), p. 124 no. 121 (72); dated 976 h. KONYA, Mevlâna Müzeisi no. 2103 (clt 420), cf. Gölpınarlı, Mevlânâ Müzeisi Yazmalar Kataloğu, vol. II (Ankara 1971) p. 162; dated 1001 h. (this and the following MS are written in Persian, not Turkish, as Gölpınarlı would have it).—Mevlâna Müzeisi, no. 2102 (clt 419), cf. Gölpınarlı, Katal. II p. 162; undated (11th cent. h.).—Mevlâna Müzeisi: a fragment of DH is described by Gölpınarlı (Katal. II p. 53) as the 3rd item in a mecmuâ dating from the 9th cent. h., no. 1731 (clt 315), ff. 17 a-30 a. Not identified as such by Gölpınarlı, but from the quotations it is clear that DH is meant. Starts from fâsl XXX; described as defective at the end, but a quotation from fâsî LXXX is given. LEIPZIG, Cod. 274 (3) Warn., ff. 424 b-459 b, cf. Catalogue Codicum Orientalium, vol. II (Leiden 1851) p. 110/111; containing the first 33 fâsi only, prose section of the introd. lacking; dated 851 h.—Cod. Or. 8666; defect., begins at the end of fâsl III. Rather careless copy; dated 1019 h.—Cod. 1688 (2) Warn., ff. 111 b-320 a; cf. CCO V (Leiden 1873) p. 41. Undated (10th/11th cent. h.). PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, cf. Blochet, Catalogue des MSS persans, vol. I (Paris 1903) p. 96 no. 143; undated (late 17th cent. AD). TASHKENT, a separate chapter of DH, entitled fašî-i ñahâf u yuâum a: haqqî's-ud-dalqî, is described in Semenov, Descr. Catalogue of the Persian, Tajik ... MSS (Tashkent 1956) p. 21 no. 42/205. From the description it appears that this chapter deals with the subject of play and laughter as the destruction of the heart, as in the other MSS of DH. This notice is immediately preceded by no. 41/205, fâsl-i nishânât at: haqqî's-ud-dalqî, which, according to Semenov, is different from the corresponding chapter of DH by Ahmad-i Rûmî. TEHRAN, Central Library of the University of Tehran, no. 8538 (formerly in the possession of Radî al-Zamîn Farûzânfar). Damaged, but otherwise good copy; 194 ff. clear nasta'îlî. Undated (10th cent. h.). The incipit (f 1 b) is slightly different from other copies of DH: (after bismillah) al-fânûn il-ållâb ûl-ållâh 'âlîamûn u-wâlînûn 'âlîn šarî'în ûl-wâliyûn wa-làthînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn wâlînûn. In the following, the work is attributed to Gâlîd-dîn Rûmî, which is incompatible with the verse in line 14 of f 2 a, where the author in named as Ahmad-i Rûmî (the same contradictory attribution occurs in the Konya MS no. 2102). The first verse (f 1 b penult.) is quite different from the usual ibridî kardam etc.; otherwise, this text does not contain any notable differences.
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