

Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn al-Rûmî's Relations with Qâdî 'Izz al-Dîn al-Râzî and Shams al-Dîn al-Mardînî

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Abstract

The mystical and intellectual milieu of the great Sufi poet Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn al-Rûmî (d. 672/1273) is vital reference point for researchers interested in the cultural structure and scientific life of Seljukid Anatolia. Both his scholarly and intellectual background and the political and sociocultural environment of Seljukid Konya, where he spent the most fertile years of his life, paved the way for Mawlânâ to develop diverse and multifaceted relations with many segments of society (scholars, Sufis, akhîs, hâfizes/memorisers, painters, architects, physicians, merchants, statesmen, rulers, khâtûns, poets, priests, etc.). From this perspective, our article aims to make a modest contribution to understanding the religious and scholarly life of Seljukid Anatolia through the relations between the prominent figures of the period. In this framework, the biographies of two jurists, one of whom was a qâdî/vizier and the other a faqîh/mudarris, are presented and the nature and degree of their relations with Mawlânâ are analysed. Qâdî 'Izz al-Dîn al-Râzî (d. 654/1256) was an essential figure of Rayy origin who held critical positions (ambassador, atabag, vizier) in the bureaucracy of the Seljuks of Türkiye. There is an intimate relationship between Qâdî 'Izz al-Dîn and Mawlânâ, who was also known for his piety and philanthropy and who favoured the scholars and scholarly assemblies. Shams al-Dîn al-Mardînî (d. after 656/1258) was a critical Hanafî faqîh of 13th-century Seljuk Konya. However, we owe our knowledge of him almost entirely to early Mawlawî sources, especially the manâqibnâmahs. Therefore, he is an example of a person who came within the field of view of researchers due to the intimate relations he developed with Mawlânâ. The fact that not only Shams al-Dîn al-Mardînî but also many other scholars (mudarris, physician, qâdî, faqîh, etc.) who lived in Anatolia in the 13th-century are the subject of Sufi sources, especially manâqibnâmahs, shows how intensive the relations between Sufis and scholars were. For this reason, manâqibnâmahs, the leading source type we use in our article, have been subjected to content analysis on the axis of other contemporary records. In terms of the relations between the qâdîs and faqîhs and the Sufis, it is concluded that Qâdî 'Izz al-Dîn and Shams al-Dîn al-Mardînî were moderate and measured in their opposition to Sufism.



Keywords

Faqīh, Manāqibnāmah, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī

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Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî'nin Kadı İzzeddin-i Râzî ve Şemseddin-i Mardînî ile İlişkileri

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Öz

Büyük sufi şair Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî'nin (öl. 672/1273) tasavvufi ve fikri çevresi, Selçuklu Anadolu'sunun kültürel yapısı ve bilimsel yaşamıyla ilgilenen araştırmacılar için önemli bir referans noktasıdır. Zira gerek ilmî ve irfanî birikimi gerekse ömrünün en bereketli yıllarını geçirdiği Selçuklu Konya'sının siyasi ve sosyokültürel ortamı, Mevlânâ'nın toplumun pek çok kesimiyle (âlim, sufi, ahi, hafız, ressam, mimar, hekim, tacir, emîr, hükümdar, hatun, edip, şair, rahip vb.) çeşitli ve çok yönlü ilişkiler geliştirmesine zemin hazırlamıştır. Bu bakış açısıyla hazırlanan makalemiz, Selçuklu Anadolu'sunun dinî ve ilmî hayatını, dönemin temel şahsiyetleri arasındaki ilişkiler üzerinden anlamaya mütevacı bir katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çerçevede makalemizde biri kadı/vezir diğeri fakih/müderres iki hukuk insanının biyografisi oluşturulmuş ve onların Mevlânâ ile kurduğu ilişkilerin mahiyeti ve derecesi mercek altına alınmıştır. Kadı İzzeddin-i Râzî (öl. 654/1256) Türkiye Selçukluları bürokrasisinde kritik görevler (elçi, atabey, vezir) üstlenmiş Rey asıllı mühim bir şahsiyettir. Dindarlığı ve hayırseverliğiyle de tanınan, ulemaya ve ilim meclislerine teveccüh gösteren Kadı İzzeddin ile Mevlânâ arasında samimi bir ilişki söz konusudur. Şemseddin-i Mardînî (öl. 656/1258'ten sonra) ise 13. yüzyıl Selçuklu Konya'sının mühim Hanefi fakihlerinden biridir. Bununla birlikte kendisi hakkındaki bilgileri neredeyse tamamen ilk Mevlevî kaynaklarına —özellikle menâkıbnâmelere— borçluyuz. Dolayısıyla o, Mevlânâ ile geliştirdiği samimi ilişkiler dolayısıyla araştırmacıların görüş alanına girebilmiş kişilere örnek teşkil etmektedir. Sadece Şemseddin-i Mardînî'nin değil, 13. yüzyılda Anadolu'da yaşamış pek çok âlimin (müderres, hekim, kadı, fakih vb.), başta menâkıbnâmeler olmak üzere tasavvufi kaynaklara konu olması, sufilerle ulema arasındaki ilişkilerin ne kadar yoğun olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle makalemizde kullandığımız ana kaynak türü olan menâkıbnâmeler, sair muasır kayıtlar ekseninde muhteva analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Kadı ve fakihlerle sufiler arası ilişkiler açısından bakıldığında, Kadı İzzeddin ve Şemseddin-i Mardînî'nin tasavvufa ılımlı ve ölçülü muhalefet yaptıkları sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Fakih, Menâkıbnâme, Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî, Kadı İzzeddin-i Râzî, Şemseddin-i Mardîni

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Introduction

A qādī (judge) is a person appointed by the competent authorities to resolve disputes and lawsuits arising between people in states where Islamic law is in force according to sharʿī provisions (Bilmen, 2016, p. 117). A faqīh (jurist), on the other hand, is a person who knows/declares all the practical judgements of Islam, such as religious, moral, social, political, legal, etc., together with their sharʿī evidence (Bilmen, 2016, p. 74). Interestingly, Awhad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 635/1238), who was himself a Sufi of madrasah origin, thought that the lowest degree of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) education, which was one of the sought-after sciences of the period, was jurisprudence, the middle degree was mudarriship (the study of fiqh), and the highest degree was qādī (Bayram, 2008, p. 138). The feature that places the position of qādī at the top of this hierarchical structure is the appointment of qādī by the political authority. The mudarris of fiqh received both fiqh education and the licence to give opinions and fatwās (legal opinions) on fiqh issues. However, these qualifications did not entitle them to resolve legal cases and issue binding legal judgements like the qādī. However, qādīs could serve as mudarris in madrasahs (Lewis, 2000, p. 19).

This article aims to make a modest contribution to understanding the religious and scholarly life of Seljuk Anatolia through the relationships between the central figures of the period. In this framework, our article focuses on the biographies of two men of law, one a qādī/vizier and the other a faqīh/mudarris and their relationship with the great Sufi poet Mawlānā, who was also a Hanafī scholar. Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn is a multifaceted figure who appears in local chronicles, endowments, letters and legendary (manqabawī) records of the period due to his critical duties in the Seljuk bureaucracy. Manāqibnāmahs contain rich content about Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn's scholarly personality and the nature and degree of his relations with scholars and Sufis. As we shall see below, Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn has also been the subject of some modern studies regarding his patron personality. Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī was an important Hanafī faqīh of the period. However, we owe our knowledge of him almost entirely to the earliest Mawlawī sources, especially the manāqibnāmahs of Aflākī and Sipahsālār. Therefore, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī is an example of a person who was able to enter the field of view of researchers thanks to the relations he developed with Mawlānā. For this reason, we would like to briefly touch upon the nature of the ties between Sufis and qādīs and faqīhs in Seljuk Anatolia and the source value of the manāqibnāmahs, which are the primary references in this regard.

Some of the legends (manqabas) about the mystical communities operating in the important cultural centres of Seljuk Anatolia, such as Konya, Sivas, Kayseri, Kırşehir and Tokat enable us to understand where and why the scholars (mudarris, mutakallim, mufasssır, philosopher, physician, qādī, faqīh, etc.) who lived in this period came from, where they were educated, what kind of equipment they had, in which madrasahs they taught, which books they read or taught and by whom they were patronised. Thanks to this information, it is also possible to get an idea about the prominent scientific centres of the

Islamic world in the 13th-century and the connection between them, the mobility of the scholars, the scientific density of Anatolian cities and the services of the scholars towards the public (Ürkmez, 2018, pp. 280-281).

In the 13th-century, many scholars who lived in Anatolia were the subjects of the *manāqibnāmā*s of period, which shows how intense the relations between the mystical communities and the scholars were. As far as we can determine, there are three main reasons for this phenomenon. The first reason is that in Anatolia, as in the rest of the Islamic world, Sufism was vital during this period. Sufism influenced many segments of the society as well as the scholarly circles. The second reason is that some Sufis who left their mark on the period were learning or teaching the *zāhirī* (ostensible) sciences and sharing their knowledge with those around them before they embarked on the path of Sufism. They continued their relations with the scholarly circles after they decided on Sufism. We can think that this development contributed to the establishment of a healthy balance between *sharī'a* and *tariqa* or *zāhir-bātin* (exoteric-esoteric) in Sufi circles (Öngören, 2000, pp. 335, 340). This balance must have paved the way for scholarly circles to be interested and inclined towards Sufism. The third reason is the need of the Sufis to introduce and defend their profession and teachings, and the efforts of scholars, especially *faqīhs*, to understand and position them. This issue is illustrated by the tales of sometimes relentless tensions and struggles between the two sides, sometimes a distinct softening, and occasionally mutual understanding (Ürkmez, 2018, pp. 281, 305-331).

Through his poems, letters, and stories about him, Mawlānā combines the reasons we have mentioned in his person, for he was the child of a Sufi scholar who was known as the king of scholars (*sultān al-ʿulamā*) and migrated from Balkh to Konya. He also studied in Aleppo and Damascus, and after years of education in Konya, he decided on Sufism under the guidance of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn al-Tirmidhī (d. 639/1244 [?]) and Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrizī (d. 645/1247 [?]) and raised his successors in such a process and environment (Lewis, 2000, pp. 9-37; Ürkmez, 2020, pp. 162-196). Both his scholarly and intellectual background and the political and sociocultural environment of the Seljuk capital prepared the ground for Mawlānā to develop various and multifaceted relations with many segments of the society (*faqīh*, *qādī*, scholar, Sufi, *akhī*, *hāfiz*/memoriser, painter, architect, physician, merchant, statesman, ruler, *khātūn*, poet, priest, etc.). In this respect, Mawlānā's mystical and intellectual environment is an essential reference point for researchers interested in the cultural structure and scientific life of Seljuk Anatolia. In addition, Mawlānā contributed to shaping the religious-scholarly life of his period and his neighbourhood through guidance and writing, and his personality was shaped within this life. This perspective, which looks at the forest but never neglects the tree, will provide more accurate results in recognising and understanding a central figure like Mawlānā.

1. Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn al-Râzî

Qādîs, who were among the essential elements that shaped the religious and social life of Islamic society, were among the upper-level government officials due to the additional duties they undertook and played an active role in administrative structuring and political developments from the beginning (Atar, 2001, p. 67; Bligh-Abramski, 1992, pp. 40-71). Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn was a critical scholar who rose to the position of vizier and even ended his life on the battlefield during the period of decline and collapse when the Seljuks of Türkiye were subjected to Mongol domination (Akkuş, 2021, pp. 97-102; R. Turan, 1995, pp. 39, 42-46, 115, 119, 133, 142). Incidentally, it should be noted that in the Seljuk period of Türkiye, the vizierate was a position usually assigned to scholars (R. Turan, 1995, p. 87; Yinanç, 2014, Vol. 2, p. 211).

Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn's full name on the inscription of his sarcophagus is as follows: 'Izz al-Dîn Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Mahmūd b. Muhammad al-Râzî' (Konyalı, 1964, p. 417). The mosque foundation dated Rajab 652 (August-September 1254) also mentions Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn's father's name as Ahmad (Konyalı, 1964, p. 418). However, in Ibn Bîbî (2014, p. 560), one of the critical historians of the period, and in some waqf records published by O. Turan (1948, pp. 90, 109, 102, 122, 129, 139, 145, 149, 154, 129, 139, 145), his father's name is Mahmūd. While this clarifies his city nisba, it obscures his family information. In addition, although the local chronicles, endowments, letters and legendary records of the period, which we will analyse shortly, contain satisfactory information about Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn's personality, the administrative duties he undertook and his death, there is not much information about his education process and his life before judgeship. This is closely related to the fact that he was of Iranian Rayy origin and, like many of his contemporaries, was one of the immigrant scholars who came to Anatolia after studying in the important cultural centres of the Middle East and started to work here.

Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn's assumption of duties other than judgeship and his rise in the ranks of the state began with the coming to power of 'Izz al-Dîn Kaykâwus II. When we arrange the available data in chronological order, we see that Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn's first duty outside judgeship was the inspectorate of countries (mushrif-i mamâlik). Namely, in 644/1246, 'Izz al-Dîn II was invited to the ceremony to be held on Güyük Khan's ascension to the khanate throne. Still, he did not go himself and sent his brother Rukn al-Dîn Kilij Arslan IV instead. In this process, one of the senior executives in the delegation sent to Karakorum, the capital of the Mongol Empire, in Rukn al-Dîn IV's entourage was Mushrif-i mamâlik Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn (İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 529; O. Turan, 1998, pp. 459-462; Yinanç, 2014, Vol. 2, p. 196). Mushrif-i mamâlik was a general inspector assigned to supervise the affairs of the dîwân within the country. He came after the vizier in terms of rank (Küçükaşcı, 2006, p. 168; Uzunçarşılı, 1988, pp. 217-218). Therefore, this assignment and development show that Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn was recognised as competent and reliable with his administrative qualifications and experience.

Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn was appointed as the vizier (sāhib-i aʿzam) following the assassination of vizier Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, who ruled the Türkiye Seljuk State like a monarch on behalf of Batu Khan (A. R. 1227-1256), the founder and first ruler of the Golden Horde Khanate, on 8 Dhu al-Hijjah 646 (24 March 1249) (Anonim, 2014, p. 44; Bal, 2006, pp. 267-287; İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 551; O. Turan, 1998, pp. 466-467). In this process, due to the financial and administrative pressures and interventions of the Mongols on the one hand, and the conflicts between ʿIzz al-Dīn II and Rukn al-Dīn IV and the statesmen subject to them on the other, stability in the administration of the country could not be achieved and a centralised structure could not be established. Although Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn, who was in the faction of ʿIzz al-Dīn II and Jalāl al-Dīn Qaratay (d. 652/1254), was dismissed from the vizierate and appointed to other posts at short intervals, he was killed in a battle near Sultanhanı on 23 Ramadan 654 (14 October 1256) while fighting against Baiju Noyan's second invasion of Anatolia (İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 576)¹ he continued to serve as a vizier and tried to reduce their pressure on the country by following an anti-Mongol policy, to protect the reputation of the state and to prevent power conflicts between brother rulers (Aksarayî, 2000, pp. 31-32; Anonim, 2014, pp. 45-46; İbn Bibi, 2014, pp. 551-576; İbnü'l-İbrî, 2011, pp. 26-27).²

Let's look at the other duties undertaken by Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn besides the viziership. We can say the following: In 649 (1251-1252), ʿIzz al-Dīn II sent an envoy to Baghdad with Jalāl al-Dīn Qaratay, one of the mighty and capable statesmen of the period, to the last Abbasid caliph Mustaʿsim bi-llāh (A. R. 1242-1258) and returned with a letter of reply, dresses of honour (khilʿāt) and gifts for the ruler and his brothers (Anonim, 2014, p. 45; İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 561). Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn is also reported to have been appointed as an atabag (İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 560; Konyalı, 1964, p. 418; R. Turan, 1995, p. 42; Şahin, 2007, p. 105). The fact that he was near and close to ʿIzz al-Dīn II, who was enthroned as a child, may have led him to be referred to with such a title. We see that Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn was one of the people who assumed responsibility for the religious and moral education of the ruler mentioned above and for keeping him away from evil (İbn Bibi, 2014, p. 563; R. Turan, 1995, p. 142). Moreover, Mawlānā's (1999, p. 111) characterisation of ʿQādī ʿIzz al-Dīn as the advisor of the kings (salātīn and mulūk) also points to this point.

The last ten years (1246-1256) of the life of vizier Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn, who was in the service of the Seljuks for many years, were quite active. Although he had risen to the position of vizier in this period, from time to time he was removed from his vizier position and returned to the position of qādī. We can follow this situation from some foundation records. Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn wrote the foundation of the caravanserai of Jalāl al-Dīn Qaratay, with whom he worked for years in the administration of the country, in Kayseri, dated Rabi al-Awwal

1 Anonim (2014, pp. 45-46) states that this event took place on 24 Ramadan 654 (15 October 1256). Aksarayî (2000, pp. 31-32), on the other hand, erroneously gives the date 656/1258.

2 For a detailed analysis of the period in question, see. O. Turan, 1998, pp. 471-480; Yinanç, 2014, Vol. 2, pp. 201-224.

645 (July 1247) (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 39, 84, 90, 109, 117) and the addendum of the same foundation dated 14 Ramadan 645 (12 January 1248) (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 84, 102, 122, 127); the foundation dated Safar 646 (June 1248) made by his brother Jalâl al-Dîn Qaratay for statesman Kamâl al-Dîn Rumtash's masjid and zawiya in Konya (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 39, 89, 149, 154, 158) and the foundation dated 25 Jumada al-Awwal 651 (23 July 1253) of Jalâl al-Dîn Qaratay's madrasah in Konya (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 40, 129, 139, 143).

Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn is frequently referred to with the following common adjectives both in the inscription of his sarcophagus (Konyalı, 1964, pp. 417-418) and in some foundation records (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 98-99, 117-118, 135-136, 145-146): Mawlânâ;³ pioneer, leader, and guide (sadr, imâm); scholar (ʿālim), knowledgeable (ʿallāma); knowledgeable of the world (ʿallāma al-ʿālam); father of virtues (Abū al-mahāmid); proof of Islām (hujjat al-Islām); fair judge; judge of judges (qādī al-quḍāt); the muftī⁴ of the humankind (muftī al-anām); the great vizier (sadr al-sāhib, sadr al-muʿazzam, sāhib al-aʿzam); the king of viziers (malik al-wuzarā); the king of scholars and viziers (sultān al-ʿulamā wa-al-wuzarā); the king of qādī, vizier and scholars (malik al-ʿulamā wa-al-wuzarā wa-al-quḍāt); the heir of the prophets (wārith al-anbiyā wa-al-mursalīn); the reviver of the sunnah (muhyī al-sunnah); the crusher of innovation (qāmiʿ al-bidʿa). This shows that Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn was a distinguished figure with his knowledge, justice and virtue and was very sensitive to following the basic principles of religion. Notably, the combinations of two or three of his three main qualities (scholar, qādī, vizier) are remarkable.

Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn's body was brought to Konya after the battle near Sultanhanı and buried next to the masjid bearing his name, which he had built four years before his death (650/1252) (Akkuş, 2021, p. 102; Küçükdağ & Arabacı, 2016, p. 267).

2. Relations between Mawlânâ and Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn

Ibn Bîbî (2014, pp. 560-562), one of the local historians of the period, introduces Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn as a person who aroused respect around him with the greatness of his devotion, the perfection of his piety, and the superiority of his power of expression, and whose words and decisions were respected. According to him, Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn was extremely careful, dignified in judgement, and highly skilled in resolving complex issues. With his pious personality, he organised world affairs and ensured the people's peace. He was interested in scholars and scholarly assemblies. One of the scholars whom Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn favoured was Mawlânâ.

According to the records we have, we can say that there was a sincere relationship between Mawlânâ and Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn. In two letters addressed to Qādī 'Izz al-Dîn, Mawlânâ

3 This word, meaning 'our master, our owner', was used as an expression of respect at the beginning of the names of some great sheikhs and scholars. When used alone, it refers to Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn al-Rûmî, the founder of the Mawlawî order (Ayverdi, 2010, p. 814).

4 A scholar of fiqh who answers questions about religious matters and resolves issues by issuing fatwās (Atar, 1995, pp. 486-496).

described him as judge of judges; the great and bright scholar like the full moon; investigator (mudaqqiq); enquirer (muhaqqiq); the flag of specific knowledge or belief (yaqīn) and the right path (hudā); the source of piety (taqwā) and knowledge; the one who remained from the predecessors (salaf) ones and was the master of the successors (khalaf) ones; the honour of Muslims and Islam; the spreader of goodness and justice; the muftī of two factions (firqas); the imām of two sects (madhabs); the scholar whose composition (inshāʾ) is perfect; the great vizier. In these letters, Mawlānā mentions the inheritance problem that a student named Fakhr al-Dīn, who was studying fiqh, had with his relatives and asks Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn to find a solution to this problem by reminding him of his previous favours (Mevlānā, 1999, pp. 107-109, 111-112, 239). Notably, the adjectives mentioned here about Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn are similar and compatible with those in other sources of the period.

In *Fīhi mā fih*, a collection of Mawlānā's conversations, there is a record pointing to the intimate relations between him and Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn. Although this record does not mention any city nisba for Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn, he was probably the qādī of Konya, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Here, Mawlānā responds to the words 'Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn has greetings, he is always praising you' as follows: 'Whoever remembers us with goodness, may his name be remembered with goodness in the world. If someone says good things about another person, it is for himself. In reality, he is praising himself. If a person makes it a habit to say good things about people, he starts to say good things about someone. He becomes his beloved. When he remembers him, he remembers his beloved. The remembrance of the beloved is rose, rosery, fragrance, peace' (Mevlānā, 1959, p. 174).

Mawlawī author Aflākī introduces Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn with the city nisba 'Konawī' and in accordance with historical facts, he refers to him as the vizier of ʿIzz al-Dīn II and the late martyred qādī. Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn built a large masjid in Konya for Mawlānā, of whom he was a disciple. Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn, who was a generous and benevolent person, organised a gathering in gratitude for the completion of his masjid and donated money scholars, righteous people and memorisers. Mawlānā also gave a sermon here upon his request (Eflākī, 2006, pp. 136-138). Built in 650/1252, the present form of this masjid is new. It is not known precisely when the original form was demolished (Ergenç, 1995, p. 41; Küçükdağ & Arabacı, 2016, p. 267). Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn also built a madrasah, and a hospital called Māristān-ı Atik in Konya, which was demolished in 881/1476 and annexed to the masjid (Erdoğan, 2003, p. 149; Kahraman, 2009, p. 92; Konyalı, 1964, pp. 416-418; Şahin, 2007, pp. 105-107). However, it is not possible to determine with certainty that Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn Masjid was built for Mawlānā. We observe that Mawlānā visited this shrine from time to time. He once criticised a sermon he heard here, finding it exaggerated in content and style (Eflākī, 2006, p. 185).

Once, Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn came to meet Mawlānā with Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Amāsī and Qādī ʿIzz al-Dīn es-Sivāsī with him. During the conversation, they asked Mawlānā about his path what he did or how he did it as a Sufi. Mawlānā said, 'Say: This is my way; I invite to Allah with insight, I and those who follow me' (Qur'an 12: 108), and they became his disciples

(Eflâkî, 2006, p. 138). This situation exemplifies the fact that Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn visited Mawlânâ from time to time with his friends or colleagues. However, the fact that all three people in the narrative are qādî and the question they ask suggests that the visit may have been an inspection.

A conversation between Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn and Mawlânâ about the distinction between zâhir-bâtin draws our attention. In this conversation, Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn compares the ways of attaining knowledge between the people of madrasah in his person and the people of Sufism in Mawlânâ's person. Like Mawlânâ, Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn, had learnt the zâhirî sciences to the extent of his effort and ability by reading books and doing exercises. However, his mind could not reach the secrets that Mawlânâ knew and understood and could not grasp the meanings he expressed. Mawlânâ attributes this to the fact that he studied a leaf or two of the divine sciences, which were not available to Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 137).

This comparison made by Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn is frequently observed in narratives about the relations between Sufis and scholars (Ürkmez, 2018, pp. 310-317). For example, in a narration in Sipahsâlâr (1977, p. 120), one of the first Mawlawî authors, it is stated that Sufis are people who not only read the books, words and secrets of the sheikhs, but also pursue mujâhada (struggle with the ego, devil and the enemy) and 'amal (all kinds of worship, good deeds and services done for the sake of Allah). However, the noteworthy point in the above narrative is that Mawlânâ was also a person who was well-versed in the zâhirî sciences. The situation that Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn complains about must also be the case with other scholars, for Qādî Muhammad b. Alî b. al-Sarrâj al-Dimashqî (d. 747/1346), who was also a Rifâ'î sheikh, states the following in a somewhat heavy tone: The hearts of some envious jurists burn in the face of the favours Sufis receive. This is because they do not have the slightest trace of such things in them, even though they are engaged in the zâhirî sciences and extremely tired. For this reason, they issued fatwâs against the people of truth who are close to Allah. They began investigating and criticising their evils (es-Serrâc, 2015, p. 150).

It would be more accurate to read the presentation of Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn as a disciple of Mawlânâ in the legendary records we have analysed not as a disciple's initiation into a sheikh, but as a person's being inspired by and respecting a great religious scholar. As a matter of fact, like many of his contemporaries, Qādî 'Izz al-Dîn did not approve of the samâ' ritual at first and did not attend samâ' ceremonies; he gave up this idea in the face of Mawlânâ's personal virtues and insistent invitations (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 137).

3. Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni

It is known that the Middle East was one of the primary sources of nourishment for the Islamic civilisation that developed in Anatolia from the 13th-century onwards. The 13th-century career of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni, one of the most essential Hanafî faqîhs of Seljuk Konya, exemplifies this situation. Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni, who started to learn science

from an early age, read *al-Hidāya*,⁵ one of the most well-known and reliable texts of Hanafī fiqh, during his studies in Aleppo (Eflākī, 2006, pp. 284, 323; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, pp. 98-99), and later served in Qaratay and Atabakiya madrasahs in Konya, where he arrived later (Eflākī, 2006, pp. 205-206, 271; al-Sadrî, 2002, pp. 42-43; Mevlânâ, 1999, pp. 137-138).

The nature and curriculum of these madrasahs, which were built by two great statesmen who lived in the same period, are of great importance for our subject and give us some clues. According to the foundation charter dated 25 Jumada al-Awwal 651 (23 July 1253) of the Qaratay Madrasah,⁶ which Jalāl al-Dīn Qaratay built in 649/1251, the mudarris who will serve here must be from the Hanafī sect and must know the sciences of sharīʿa, hadīth, usūl, fūrūʿ, and khilāf (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 74, 77, 140-141). This detail sheds light on Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī's fields of study and expertise. According to the foundation charter of the Atabakiya Madrasah,⁷ built by the statesman Fakhr al-Dīn Arslandogmush, the mudarris who will work here must be from the Hanafī sect and fiqh must always be taught in the madrasah (Eflākī, 2006, p. 360).⁸ This detail is also compatible with Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī's being a Hanafī faqih.

According to the legend, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī dreamt that the Prophet turned away from him one night. He asked the reason for this, stating that he had suffered many troubles for years to reach his compassion and kindness, and that he had worked to understand the hadīths and solve the difficulties of religion. The Prophet warns him that denying⁹ the Sufis

5 For detailed information about this vital work by Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197), see. Kallek, 1998, pp. 471-473.

6 For extensive information on the aforementioned statesman and his madrasah, see. Kuran, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 51-53; Mülâyim, 2001, pp. 475-476; Ürkmez, 2018, pp. 468-471.

7 For extensive information on the aforementioned statesman and his madrasah, see. Aksarayî, 2000, p. 31; İbn Bibi, 2014, pp. 552-553, 562-563, 570-571, 577; Konyalı, 1964, pp. 785-788; O. Turan, 1998, pp. 468-483.

8 In the continuation of the manqaba, it is stated that Mawlānā did not find this situation right and that he thought that charity should be unconditional to gain the consent of Allah. Not the original or the first endowment of the Atabakiya Madrasah, but a copy of this endowment dated 28 Jumada al-Awwal 851 (11 August 1447) has survived. However, there is no sign of the special conditions mentioned by Aflākī in this copy (Konyalı, 1968, pp. 97, 99; O. Turan, 1948, p. 75). The sharing of an important detail of a foundation that has not survived to the present day increases the source value of Aflākī and the manāqibnāmahs.

9 Sufis believed that they had a unique knowledge that was different from the knowledge attained by non-Sufi scholars. They expressed this knowledge with their own terms such as maʿrifat, ʿirfān, yaqīn. Sometimes they also used the word ʿilm for this knowledge. However, when they used the term science in the sense of maʿrifat, they characterised it with some adjectives belonging to Sufi terminology and produced new terms such as the science of ladun, the science of bātin, and the science of state. With these terms, they meant the knowledge of divine secrets and truths, the qualities of the soul, the state of beings, and some matters of unseen nature, which they called maʿrifat. The Sufis, who believe that the beginning of maʿrifat is knowledge, maʿrifat without knowledge is dissent, and knowledge without maʿrifat is vandalism, are of the opinion that maʿrifat is a ladunni knowledge. The fine line between knowledge and maʿrifat becomes more apparent through their opposite meanings. For while the

in the person of Mawlânâ is a great sin. When Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni wakes up, he repents and becomes a disciple of Mawlânâ after observing other miracles (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 285; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, pp. 99-100). Whatever the context, this narration is vital in that it demonstrates the widespread opinion about the meaning and content of the works of a religious scholar or jurist in the person of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni.

The most remarkable figure among Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni's students at the Qaratay Madrasah was the Hanafî scholar ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Tokadî. He taught two crucial personage such as Aflâkî (d. 761/1360), one of the primary sources of this article, and Qādî Ahmad of Niğde (d. after 734/1333), who wrote works shedding light on Anatolia during the Seljuk and Principalities periods (Eflâkî, 2006, pp. 8, 433-434; Niğdeli Kadı Ahmed, 2015, Vol. 1, pp. 69, 335). It is also stated that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Tokadî organised several scientific meetings with the scholars of the city at the Parwâna Madrasah¹⁰ in Tokat (Eflâkî, 2006, pp. 433-434). These details reveal the contribution of both ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Tokadî and his teacher, Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni, to the scholarly life of the Seljuk period in Türkiye. At the post-sitting ceremony held on the occasion of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni's appointment as a mudarris at the Atabakiya Madrasah, high-ranking administrators such as Muʿîn al-Dîn Parwâna and Majd al-Dîn Atabag (d. 676/1277), as well as Mawlânâ, Sadr al-Dîn al-Qunawî (d. 673/1274), and Qādî Sirâj al-Dîn al-Urmawî (d. 682/1283) (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 271; al-Sadrî, 2002, pp. 42-43) shows the importance attached to Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni.

Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni is introduced and praised as follows in the manâqibnâmahs of the period: The muftî of humankind and the goblins; the most prominent of his century in giving fatwâ, in the science of exegesis (tafsîr) and in the sayings of Abû Hanîfa; Shurayh of the time and the second Nuʿmân;¹¹ Abû Hanîfa of fiqh; the one who does not fail to fulfil sunnah (practices of Prophet Muhammad) and fard (religious obligations); the sea of knowledge; the saint (walî) of Allah on earth; the king of the mudarris (Eflâkî, 2006, pp. 169, 205, 249; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, p. 98).

As mentioned above, Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni was able to enter the field of view of researchers thanks to the relations he developed with Mawlânâ and the Mawlawî milieu.

opposite of knowledge is ignorance, the opposite of maʿrifat is denial (Uludağ, 2003, p. 54). As a matter of fact, there are many examples in the manâqibnâmahs of the period that those who criticise the people of maʿrifat namely Sufis, and those who oppose Sufism are regarded as denier (Ürkmmez, 2018, p. 305). This is one of them.

10 For extensive information on this educational institution, which is thought to have been built as a medical school (dâr al-shifâ) by Muʿîn al-Dîn Parwâna (d. 676/1277), one of the mighty statesmen of the period, see. Kuran, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 96-99; Uzunçarşılı, 1927, pp. 56-57; Ünver, 1938, p. 23.

11 Shurayh was Abû Umayyah Shurayh b. Khâris al-Kûfî, the qādî of Kufa, one of the leading jurists of the Tâbiʿîn (the generation following the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad) period, who died in 80/699; Nuʿmân was the great mujtahid Abû Hanîfa Nuʿmân b. Thâbit, the imâm of the Hanafî sect, who died in 150/767 (Özel, 1990, pp. 11-16; Özen, 2001, p. 119).

Except for an obscure record in Ibn Bībī's work, we owe our information about him entirely to early Mawlawī sources.

When the Mongols defeated the Seljuk army under the command of Baiju Noyan in the battle near Sultanhanı on 23 Ramadan 654 (14 October 1256), ʿIzz al-Dīn II left Konya and took refuge in Byzantium. Thereupon, Rukn al-Dīn IV, who was in Borgulu (Uluborlu) Castle, was brought to Konya and enthroned on 16 Safar 655 (4 March 1257) (O. Turan, 1998, pp. 478-483). Ibn Bībī (2014, p. 577) states that a person named Qādī Shams al-Dīn served as vizier for about a month during this period and died suddenly due to an illness. Some researchers (O. Turan, 1948, p. 72; R. Turan, 1995, p. 131) believe that the Qādī Shams al-Dīn mentioned is Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī. However, since there is no reference to him being a vizier or even a qādī in the early Mawlawī sources, the accuracy of this interpretation is relatively low. There is also a legend that Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī was alive in 656/1258. Accordingly, Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kābī, who arrived in Konya on that date, met with some of his friends, including Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī, while he was preparing to return to his province of Dānishmandiya (Eflākī, 2006, pp. 186-187). Therefore, we can say that Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī died after 656/1258.

4. Relations between Mawlānā and Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī

As it is known, the concept of mushāhada in Sufism means seeing the manifestations of God (Uludağ, 2006, pp. 152-153). In addition, Sufis consider the idea of kashf (unveiling) discovery as knowing some unseen things because they are behind the veil and beyond the mind and watching the manifestations of God. This is because both situations result from lifting or parting the veil (Uludağ, 2002, pp. 315-317). In one of the legends, we will look at in line with this conceptual framework, Mawlānā said to Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī, who came to visit him, 'Come, come, it is good that you have come. Until today they were talking about God without seeing, and you were listening. From now on, listen directly from God!' (Eflākī, 2006, p. 169). Another legend in the same vein is as follows: One day a fervent samā^c ritual was being performed with the participation of dignitaries. So much so that Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī was disturbed by the sounds of enthusiasm that reached his madrasah. So, to disguise himself, he dressed in a simple outfit and went to where the samā^c ritual was performed. He retreated to a corner and engaged in reading the Qur'an. Whenever he reads a prostration verse, he observes with astonishment and admiration that Mawlānā prostrates himself. At this time, Mawlānā said to Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī, 'These prostrations are not the prostrations of ordinary people. These are the prostrations of the people of bliss. From now on, stop being a pedant and be one of those who see. It is forbidden to test the people of God any longer'. After this incident, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī left the place and returned with his family and students and became a disciple of Mawlānā (Eflākī, 2006, pp. 285-286; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, pp. 100-101). The common theme in both two legends is that Mawlānā evaluates the people of the madrasah as those who speak of God in absentia, that is, without seeing Him, and finds the zāhirī sciences inadequate and criticises them.

Interesting narrations point to Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni's view of Sufism, who is mentioned to have shown great sensitivity in obeying religious orders and prohibitions. For example, Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni denies the samâc and the miracles of the Sufis. A group of faqîhs, who had some knowledge of the states of the saints (walîs), praised Mawlânâ in the presence of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni, saying, 'Mawlânâ gives fatwâs in samâc without thinking, without looking at books, and so enchants the souls of philosophers and stops the minds of wise people that none of these great ones can say or breathe anything in his presence; the belts of the scholars of logic remain tied in his presence'. Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni silenced the jurists by saying, 'It is necessary to give up these corrupt dreams and continuously engage in religious sciences'. However, he realises the greatness of Mawlânâ after a dream (Eflâkî, 2006, pp. 205-206).

In some of his letters, Mawlânâ mentions that Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni behaved well towards the students who became his disciples and studied at the Qaratay Madrasah (Mevlânâ, 1999, p. 137). The attitude and approach of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni, who is described as a great scholar (sadr al-kabîr) and the master of the virtuous (ustâz al-fuzalâ) in these letters, constitutes a representative example of the moderate opposition that should be taken into consideration in the relations between scholars and Sufis. Mawlânâ's statement about Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni '...he is a wise man, but he does not know himself. Let us introduce him to himself. Some of the saints do not know their own sainthood, and some know their own sainthood but not others'. His comment and his assessment that Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni became 'a unique saint (walî) in the world' after becoming a disciple of one of God's friends (Mawlânâ refers to himself here) make sense within this framework (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 323). This moderate approach also manifests itself in the fact that Aflâkî had Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni issue interesting fatwâs about samâc and rabâb. Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni felt that Mawlânâ was placing a small tambourine on his head in the samâc ceremony, and he put forward the following opinion: 'Whoever says that this samâc is taboo (harâm) is a depraved (harâmzâda)' (Eflâkî, 2006, p. 207).

In a letter addressed to Akmal al-Dîn al-Nahjuwânî (d. after 701/1302), one of the famous physicians of the period, Mawlânâ requests that the Qaratay Madrasah be allocated to Afsah al-Dîn Mu'îd, the great scholar (sadr al-kabîr) and the pride of the mudarrises (fakhr al-mudarrisîn), upon the appointment of Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni to the Atabakiya Madrasah. The only reason why Mawlânâ considers Afsah al-Dîn Mu'îd competent for this job is not only his knowledge. He is both aware of the states of the Sufis and a person who approaches the Mawlawî students studying at Qaratay Madrasah with fatherly affection (Mevlânâ, 1999, p. 137). Mu'îd is a teaching staff that we can define as the assistant of the mudarris. He was chosen by the mudarris from among the senior students and repeated his lectures to the students (es-Sakkâr, 2003, pp. 86-87). Afsah al-Dîn Mu'îd, who was Shams al-Dîn al-Mardîni's assistant at the Qaratay Madrasah, is mentioned in some legendary stories that both point to this aspect and show that he established positive relations with Mawlawî circles. For example, Afsah al-Dîn Mu'îd gave up his denial of Mawlânâ upon a dream he

had and became a follower of Mawlānā along with nearly forty of his disciples (Eflākî, 2006, p. 207). The mudarris of the Qaratay Madrasah was required to be a member of the Hanafî sect and to know the sciences of sharî'a, hadîth, usûl, fîrûc and khilâf (O. Turan, 1948, pp. 74, 77, 140-141). This detail shows that Afsah al-Dīn Mu'îd's fields of study and specialisation were the same as his teacher. It is also stated that he was related (khîshâvend) to his teacher, and there was no difference between them; therefore, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī approved this appointment (Mevlânâ, 1999, p. 138).

There are many narratives enriched with miracles (Eflākî, 2006, pp. 208, 249, 258, 347-348, 434-435; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, pp. 100-101) about Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī's becoming a disciple of Mawlānā together with his disciples and developing intimate relations with him. However, it would be more accurate to read this situation not as a disciple's initiation into a sheikh, as in the relationship between Qādī 'Izz al-Dīn and Mawlānā, but as a person being inspired by and respecting a great religious scholar. In addition to his disciples, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī was instrumental in bringing some of the people around him closer to Mawlānā. One of the prominent figures of the period, Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kābî,¹² who served in the province of Dānishmandiya (Sivas, Tokat, Kastamonu, Sinop, Samsun), is an example of these people (Eflākî, 2006, pp. 186-187, 258). It is also mentioned that twenty stubborn scholars (dānishmands) became disciples after hearing that Mawlānā had helped Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī in solving a jurisprudential issue (Eflākî, 2006, pp. 347-348). The fact that a scholar referred his friends to Sufis shows that positive relations were established between the scholars and the Sufis, resulting in favour of Sufism.

Conclusion

When the relationships that Mawlānā established with Qādī 'Izz al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī are examined, it becomes evident that although both jurists initially maintained a certain distance from Sufi circles, they eventually acknowledged Mawlānā's spiritual authority through personal interactions and intellectual/mystical engagements. The evidence that Mawlānā, in his letters addressed to Qādī 'Izz al-Dīn, praised him with various titles and honorifics and appealed to his judgment in the resolution of certain juridical matters—together with Qādī 'Izz al-Dīn's supportive attitude toward Mawlānā—suggests that relations between Sufis and qādīs in this period could encompass both a supervisory distance and reciprocal cooperation. Similarly, Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī's initial criticism of samāc and miraculous phenomena (karāmât), followed by his rapprochement with Mawlānā through dreams and experiences of mystical witnessing (mushāhadah), and the reflection of this closeness upon his students and colleagues within the madrasa milieu, demonstrates that jurists did not merely oppose Sufism but could, over time, become actors who helped to legitimize it. When these two examples are considered together, the narratives found in the manāqibnāmahs clearly reveal that Sufi-‘ulamāc

12 Both Mawlānā and his son Sultan Walad (d. 712/1312) speak highly of this man who developed cordial relations with them (Mevlânâ, 1999, pp. 61-62, 243; Sultan Veled, 2016, p. 29).

relations in Seljuk Anatolia displayed a dynamic structure oscillating between tension and reconciliation, and that the contact between juridical/intellectual circles and Sufism was shaped largely through personal relationships and social networks.

The examples of Qādî 'Izz al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn al-Mardīnī, both of whom showed moderate opposition to Sufism, reveal that Mawlānā had a considerable circle among scholars of the status of qādī, faqīh, mudarris, etc. Considering his family, education, background and the fruitful relations he established with many segments and layers of society as a scholar, mudarris, jurist, preacher, Sufi and poet, this situation is quite normal. Therefore, the analysis of Mawlānā's relations with these two crucial figures contributes to our understanding of the nature and degree of the ties between Sufis and qādīs and faqīhs in Seljuk Anatolia. In this context, the following point is particularly noteworthy: In this period, some qādīs and faqīhs were seen as a jurisprudential shield against criticism of Sufism on the one hand, and as a mechanism to control some Sufi practices on the other.

We see that qādīs and faqīhs, who were in the public eye due to their administrative, legal and scholarly activities and were subjected to various criticisms, have a special place in the manāqibnāmahs of the period. In this way, we have valuable information about them that cannot be found in other tabaqāt books.

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