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An Introduction to Rumi's Prosopography

Prosopography, an important method of historical scholarship, aims to illuminate social, cultural, and political structures by systematically examining the collective biographies and networks of relationships of individuals within a specific period, group, or society. This approach brings together individual life stories to reveal a broader social fabric, analyzing elements such as family and kinship ties, networks of political and sectarian relationships, intellectual interactions, and power struggles through the dynamics of *assbiyat* and solidarity.

Rumi (1207-1273) was a central figure in the intellectual and mystical life of Konya, the capital of the 13th-century Anatolian Seljuk State. The prosopographic method we've discussed provides an ideal focal point for understanding Rumi's life, personality, and intellectual world, as well as the scholarly, mystical, social, and political atmosphere of Konya, the Seljuk capital, during the 13th century. His prosopography encompasses not only Rumi's individual biography but also the world of relationships within Konya, the Seljuk capital: it reveals Rumi and the world he inhabited within a network of relationships encompassing elements such as his family, teachers, disciples, sultans, viziers, scholars, Sufis, and opponents.

Rumi's lifetime was an era marked by Mongol invasions, political turmoil, and intense cultural interactions. The family legacy, which began with his father Bahaeddin Veled's work *Maarif* (Ma'arif), Rumi's arrival in Larende (Karaman), his relationship with enigmatic figures like Shams-i Tabrizi, and his influence on Seljuk sultans (e.g., Alaeddin Keykubad I), can be more clearly understood through a prosopographical study. This method illuminates the movements that shaped Rumi's thought—the tradition of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, Ibn Arabi's philosophy of unity of being, and Suhrawardi's metaphysics of light—and his relationships with women in his circle (e.g., the Seljuk queen Gürcü Hatun), merchants, and physicians (such as Ekmeleddin Mueyyed al-Nahjuvani). Furthermore, his relationships with non-Muslims, Ahi, Bektashi, and Qalandars reveal the multicultural nature of the period. This

prosopographic approach positions Rumi not merely as a poet or Sufi, but as a part of Seljuk intellectual life. For example, the symposium "Rumi's Seljuk World: A Prosopography of Rumi," organized by the Seljuk University Institute of Seljuk Studies in 2024, was a groundbreaking step in this field, comprehensively exploring Rumi's network of relationships. This study provides a fundamental framework for reinterpreting and reinterpreting Rumi's legacy within a historical context. By emphasizing the social dimension of Rumi's life, it illuminates both historical and contemporary scholarship.

Editor

Prof. Dr. Mustafa DEMİRCİ

Konya 2025

Seljuq Queens in the Neighbourhood of Mawlana Jalal Al-Din Al-Rumi and His Family

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Abstract

During the Seljuq period, Türkiye; thanks to its financial wealth and cultural environment, produced many valuable figures who distinguished themselves in various fields. One of the most important of these is Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, whose fame and influence have continued to increase over the centuries and have reached the present day. The teachings of Mawlana, who had a very serious influence in Seljuq Türkiye, especially in the capital Konya, spread over a very wide area in time. Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi established relations with many important people and communities in the Seljuq lands during his lifetime. Among the people with whom he established close relations were the Seljuq sultans of Türkiye, the wives of the sultans, the daughters of the sultans, state officials, and some of their family members. The closeness of the noble Seljuq queens to Mawlana and his family is particularly noteworthy. Moreover, there is quite a lot of information about some of them. The closest relative of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and his family, and the one about whom there are the most records is Gurju Khatun. These records clearly reveal her position in the eyes of the Mawlawis. In addition to Gurju Khatun, the sources contain information about the closeness of Mahbari Khatun, the mother of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, Seljuq Khatun, the daughter of Sultan Rukn al-din Kilij Arslan IV, his wives Gumaj Khatun and Fatma Khatun, and Gurju Khatun's daughters Khawandzadeh and Ayn al-Khayat Khatun, who were born to Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, with Mawlana and his family. Among them, Gurju Khatun and Gumaj Khatun were in such a position that Mawlana was called his disciple. Therefore, it is understood that many of the Seljuq dynasty had close relations with Mawlana and his family and supported them in every sense. This shows that the Seljuq court and the Mawlana dervish lodge were in a closer and more intricate relationship than previously thought, and that Mawlawis had influence within the state.



Keywords

Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, Mawlawiyya, Seljuqs of Türkiye, Seljuq Queens, Konya

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Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve Ailesinin Yakın Çevresindeki Selçuklu Melikeleri

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Öz

Selçuklular devrinde Türkiye sahip olduğu maddî zenginlik ve kültürel ortam sayesinde çeşitli sahalarda temayüz etmiş çok sayıda kıymetli şahsiyet yetiştirmiştir. Bunların en mühimlerinden birisi de ünü ve etkisi yüzyıllar boyunca artarak devam edip günümüze kadar ulaşan Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'dir. Selçuklu Türkiye'sinde özellikle de başkent Konya'da çok ciddi bir etkisi olan Mevlânâ'nın öğretileri zaman içerisinde çok geniş bir alana yayılmıştır. Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî, yaşadığı dönemde Selçuklu topraklarındaki pek çok mühim kişiyle ve toplulukla ilişkiler kurmuştur. Onun yakın ilişki kurduğu zümreler arasında Türkiye Selçuklu sultanları, sultan eşleri, sultan kızları, devlet erkânı ve bunların bazılarının aile bireyleri de bulunmaktadır. Özellikle soylu Selçuklu melikelerinin Mevlânâ ve ailesi ile olan yakınlıkları bilhassa dikkat çekicidir. Üstelik bunların bazıları hakkında oldukça fazla bilgi bulunmaktadır. Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ve ailesinin en yakını olan ve hakkında en fazla kayıt bulunan Selçuklu melikesi Gürcü Hatun'dur. Bu kayıtlar onun Mevlevîler nezdindeki konumunu açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Kaynaklarda Gürcü Hatun dışında Sultan II. Gıyâseddîn Keyhüsrev'in annesi Mahperi Hatun, Sultan Rükneddîn IV. Kılıç Arslan'ın kızı Selçuk Hatun, eşleri Gömeç Hatun ve Fatma Hatun ayrıca Gürcü Hatun'un II. Gıyâseddîn Keyhüsrev'den olma kızları Hâvendzâde ve Aynü'l-Hayat hatunların Mevlânâ ve ailesi ile yakınlıkları hakkında bilgiler bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan Gürcü Hatun ve Gömeç Hatun Mevlânâ'ya onun müridesi olarak anılacak kadar bir durumdadırlar. Dolayısıyla Selçuklu hanedanından çok sayıda melikenin Mevlânâ ve ailesi ile yakın ilişkiler kurduğu ve onları her anlamda destekledikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bu Selçuklu Sarayı ile Mevlânâ Dergâhı'nın düşünülenden daha yakın ve girift bir ilişki içerisinde olduğunu, ayrıca devlet içerisinde Mevlevîlerin bir ağırlığı olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî, Mevlevîlik, Türkiye Selçukluları, Selçuklu Melikeleri, Konya

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Introduction

Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi is a universal value that transcends the ages raised by the Seljuq World and Seljuq Konya. He is a historical figure who has been instrumental in the curiosity and study of Seljuq Anatolia and its capital Konya all over the world. He is a product of the Seljuq world, but his influence far exceeded the political, cultural and economic spheres of influence of the Seljuqs, reaching beyond mountains, deserts and oceans. As a matter of fact, Mahmud Karim al-din Aqsarayi, one of the source writers of Türkiye Seljuq, lists Mawlana among the Seljuq scholars of the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III. He also states that his fame spread to the world with his splendid poems. (Aksarayî, 2000, p. 69). Mawlawiyya, which is named after Mawlana's name, has spread to many parts of the world like him and has become a movement that touches people's hearts and enlightens and refreshes their inner worlds. Mawlana's and Mawlawi's understanding of religion and life, which appealed to all kinds of people and society, was also accepted by rulers and statesmen. In this respect, Mawlana was able to establish closer relations with statesmen and rulers than other dervish orders. Mawlawiyya, which attracted the close attention of the people and especially the intellectuals acting within the principles of belief of the Sunni Islamic world, was always seen by the sultans as an organisation that would support their power. This situation was maintained for centuries starting from the first periods of the emergence of Mawlawiyya, and donations were made to the Mawlawi lodge by statesmen. (Kayaoğlu, 2002, p. 35). As is well known, the Seljuq lands of Türkiye, where Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi lived, were a polyphonic and colourful geography that hosted many people of different faiths. The Seljuqs of Türkiye also acted with a very wide tolerance in terms of freedom of religion and sect in the lands they ruled. Thus, Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi had contact with men and women from many segments of society and developed very close human relations with some of them (Cilacı, 1988, p. 319). Women hold a separate and special place in Mawlana's teachings and the Mawlawi order. In particular, the fact that Mawlana's father Baha al-din Walad lost his own father when he was only two years old and that his mother encouraged him on the path of science and helped him to become a well-known person in the Islamic World was adopted as a family tradition. This situation led to women being given a special value within Mawlana's family. Mawlana also regarded women as one of the greatest manifestations of God in accordance with his worldview. As a result, women gained a privileged place in Mawlawiyya. Mawlana himself addressed all women from all segments of the society without discrimination and enlightened the society by frequently mentioning the relations between men and women in his works. Throughout his life, he also gave lectures to women and participated in events organised by them. He allowed women to organise samā ceremonies among themselves. Over time, his practices towards women became a tradition within Mawlawiyya, spreading throughout the country, even to the villages, and women were able to participate in samā ceremonies alongside men. In addition, in later periods,

there were even women who served as Mawlawiyya caliphs and sheikhs in centres such as Konya, Kütahya and Tokat (Çelebi, 1991, p. 105). Among the women with whom Mawlana had close contact, the most remarkable group were the Seljuq queens, the wives and daughters of the Seljuq sultans. Among them, Gurju Khatun and Gumaj Khatun are particularly prominent. This is because they both became Mawlana's disciples and were among his and his family's closest friends. Apart from them, other Seljuq queens such as Mahbari Khatun, Khawandzadeh Khatun, Ayn al-Khayat, Fatma Khatun and Seljuq Khatun were also part of Mawlana's close circle. They supported Mawlana and his family in every way. Within the scope of this study, after briefly introducing these Seljuq queens in order of importance, the details of their close relations with Mawlana and his family are discussed.

1. Gurju Khatun (Tamara)

The Seljuq queen who had the closest relationship with Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and his family was Gurju Khatun. There is a lot of information about her in the sources. Tamara, one of the most famous Seljuq queens, was known as Gurju Khatun in the Seljuq lands. She was the daughter of the Georgian Queen Rosudan, and her father was Malik Ghiyath al-din, the son of Mugith al-din Toghrilshah, the Seljuq ruler of Erzurum¹. According to some Islamic History sources, when the Georgian Queen Rosudan ascended the Georgian throne, the state officials searched for a ruler who would marry the queen and put her on the throne. Hearing this, Mugith al-din Toghrilshah, the Seljuq Malik of Erzurum, announced that he would send one of his sons to Georgian lands to marry Rosudan. When the Georgians stated that they would never accept a Muslim king, Mugith al-din Toghrilshah replied that his son could convert if necessary. Following this, Rosudan married Seljuq Malik Ghiyath al-din, who then converted and ascended the Georgian throne (El-Ömerî, 1971, XXVII, p. 160. Ayrıca bk. İbnü'l-Esîr, 1987, XII, p. 372-373; Subaşı, 2016, p. 385-386). Georgian Khatun Tamara was also born from this marriage.

Tamara's name is recorded in later histories, this time on an event related to the Seljuqs of Türkiye. According to Ibn Bibi, Ala al-din Kayqubad I, the Seljuq Sultan of Türkiye, suspected that the Georgian Queen Rosudan was leading the Mongols to the Seljuq lands and sent Seljuq forces under the command of Amir Kamal al-din Kamyar on an expedition to the Georgian lands. During this expedition, Georgian lands were plundered and Queen Rosudan asked for peace to prevent further destruction of her country. In order to make the peace lasting, she proposed that her daughter Tamara, whom she emphasised that she was a descendant of the Seljuqs and David, marry Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad I's son, Malik Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw. (İbn Bîbî, 1996, I, p. 423-425)². This marriage, which was decided

¹ Al-Umari records that Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana's wife Gurju Khatun was the daughter of Ghiyath al-din, the ruler of Erzurum. He writes that her mother was the Georgian Queen (ملكة الكرج). See: Al-Umari, 1971, III, p. 221. See also Kaymaz, 1970, p. 125 n. 106.

² A marriage issue related to Gurju Khatun is also found in the Anonymous Seljuqnama. According to this

during the reign of Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad I, took place in 1237 during the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II. Sultan married Gurju Khatun with a great wedding and pomp. The Sultan was deeply in love with Tamara, who was apparently very young at the time. (İbn Bîbî, 1996, II, p. 36-38; Subaşı, 2016, p. 387-389; Demir, 2022, p. 107-110). Malik Ala al-din Kayqubad was born from the marriage of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II and Gurju Khatun Tamara, and although he was the youngest son, he was declared heir apparent by his father (İbn Bibi, 1996, II, p. 153-154; Aksarayî, 2000, p. 27-28; Turan, 1971, p. 458; Subaşı, 2016, p. 389)³.

Gurju Khatun Tamara was married to Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II from 1237 until his death in early 1246. After her husband's death, Gurju Khatun seems to have lived as a widow for a while, before later marrying Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana, a Seljuq statesman. Although it is not known exactly when this marriage took place (Kaymaz, 1970, p. 125-126; Subaşı, 2016, p. 394; Cahen, 2002, p. 162), it was certainly during the period when Muin al-din Suleiman Parwana's influence in the state increased. The marriage of Gurju Khatun Tamara and Muin al-din Suleiman Parwana also had political consequences, and Muin al-din Suleiman Parwana gained great power in the administrative mechanism of the state. In fact, due to the influence of this power, an anonymous Georgian source recorded Muin al-din Suleiman Parwana as the Seljuq Sultan and his wife Gurju Khatun as the sultan's wife. (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2014, p. 369; Subaşı, 2016, p. 394). There is no detailed information about their married life. However, it is understood that while Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana gained political power, Gurju Khatun became very wealthy and devoted herself to charity. As a matter of fact, it is recorded that she willingly converted to Islam while she was still married to Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, and as a good Muslim (Cahen, 2002, p. 91), she established close relations with scholars, dervishes and especially Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi (Öngül, 2017, p. 214-215). There is not much information about the last years of Gurju Khatun's life. Only after the assassination of her husband Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana, it is understood that she lost all the political and material power she

record, during the period when the Khwarazmshahs took control of the Georgian lands, an agreement was made with the Georgian King Ivani, and it was decided to marry Tamara (تامار) to Jalal al-din Khwarazmshah. However, Jalal al-din Khwarazmshah's brother, Malik Ghiyath al-din, wanted to marry Tamara himself, and when the Khwarazmshah state officials did not approve of this, some internal disturbances occurred. For this reason, Tamara's marriage with Jalal al-din Khwarazmshah did not take place (Anonim, 1952, p. 20).

³ That Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II attached more importance to his youngest son Ala al-din Kayqubad than to his other sons is evident from the fact that he named him after his own father and declared him heir apparent. However, there is also contemporary information showing that he looked at him in a different way. According to the Dominican monk Simon De Saint Quentin, when Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II gave birth to Ala al-din Kayqubad, his younger son by Gurju Hatun, he announced everywhere that "*the son of the sun was born*". He also declared him his heir on the third day of his birth and ordered all statesmen to obey him (Saint Quentin, 2006, p. 51. See also Demir, 2022, p. 330-331).

had⁴. Al-Umari records that after the breakdown of relations between Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana and the Mongols, all his and his wife Gurju Khatun's property and riches were identified by the Mongols and confiscated on behalf of the new Seljuq Sultan of Türkiye, Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III. (El-Ömerî, 1971, III, p. 226)⁵. It is not known when and where Gurju Khatun, who apparently lived a long life, died. However, it is thought that she spent the last years of her life in Erzurum, the centre of her paternal ancestor Mugith al-din Toghrilshah, where she was buried in the same place with her son Ala al-din Kayqubad II (Subaşı, 2016, p. 397-398)⁶.

Known to be a benevolent, strong and determined woman, Gurju Khatun established very close relations with Mawlana and those around him, and this is reflected in Mawlawi sources. The records in these sources prove that Gurju Khatun was the most well-known Seljuq queen in Mawlana's close circle. As an indication of this, the Mawlawi writer Ahmad Aflaqi refers to Gurju Khatun as the “*Sultan of the Ladies of the World*”, “*The Queen of Time*”, “*The Lady of the World*”, “*The Lady of the Dynasty*”, “*The Patroness of the Dynasty*”, and “*The Disciple*”, and states that she always burned with the fire of Mawlana's enthusiasm. (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 243, 348. See also Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 413).

There are many narrations in Mawlawi sources that reveal the closeness between Mawlana and Gurju Khatun. The first of these chronologically should be the incident recorded by Dervish Mahmud al-Masnavikhan. According to Dervish Mahmud al-Masnavikhan, a preacher working in Aksaray at that time read a couplet from Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi from the pulpit and was under his influence. A danishmand who was present at the time reacted against the preacher and accused him of blasphemy. The preacher punched the danishmand and caused his death and left Aksaray and took refuge in Konya. Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, on the other hand, sent a letter to Alam al-din Qaysar to prepare the necessary ransom for the rescue of the preacher. Alam al-din Qaysar, who received the letter in the bazaar, sold everything he could sell at that moment, including the clothes he was wearing, and sent the fee to Mawlana. Upon hearing this, Gurju Khatun reproached Alam al-din Qaysar by asking why he had fallen into such a situation in public

⁴ Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana was killed on 1 Rabi al-awwal 676 (2 August 1272) in Aladagh, one of the summer centres of the Ilkhanids north of Lake Van, along with about thirty of his men by order of the Ilkhanid ruler Abaka Khan. See Aksarayî, 2000, p. 90; Turan, 1971, p. 552-553; Yinanç, 2014, II, p. 305.

⁵ Ibn Sheddad also mentions the riches that Gurju Khatun and Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana could not take with them when they left Kayseri. However, his information is different from al-Umari's. According to Ibn Sheddad, the riches that Gurju Khatun could not take with her were presented to the Mamluk Sultan Baybars, who was sitting on the Seljuq throne in Kayseri at the time. Bk. İbn Şeddâd, 1941, p. 88. The anonymous Georgian source records that Muin al-din Parwana's property was confiscated after he was killed (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2014, p. 369).

⁶ There is no definite information about the burial place of Gurju Khatun and her son Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad II. However, based on the finds from a kumbet excavation in Ezirmik Village of Pasinler District of Erzurum in 2019, it was claimed that this was the graves of Gurju Khatun and her son Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad II. (Arslan, 2019, p. 407-411).

and why he had not asked for help. Alam al-din Qaysar replied that he was afraid of causing a delay and jeopardising Mawlana's request. Gurju Khatun, on the other hand, liked his answer and took him into her personal service by giving him abundant favours. (Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2017, p. 50-51). The information suggesting that this event is the first chronological record of the close contact between Gurju Khatun and Mawlana is the fact that she is recorded as “*Khatun of the sultan of the time*”. As is well known, Gurju Hatun was first married to Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, and after his death she married Muin al-din Parwana, one of the Seljuq statesmen. It is understood that the narrations we have identified from the sources coincide with the time when Gurju Khatun was married to Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana. This is the only incident in which Gurju Khatun is recorded as the wife of a ruler. Therefore, it is highly probable that this event took place before the beginning of 1246 when Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II died.

A significant part of the information revealing the connection between Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and Gurju Khatun can be learnt from Ahmad Aflaqi's Manaqib al-Arifin. In the work, Gurju Khatun is recorded as the wife of the Seljuq amir Muin al-din Parwana and a disciple of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and many events between the two are mentioned. The work generally does not give dates for these events, a significant part of which are legendary. However, the first narration is about a gift given by Mawlana's wife Kira Khatun to Gurju Hatun. According to Aflaqi, while Mawlana and Shams al-Tabrizi were sitting alone in a room, a group of six people from the saints of India's Serendip (Ceylon Island) region miraculously came to their presence and gave Mawlana a bunch of roses from their homeland. Mawlana gave this bunch of roses to his wife Kira Khatun and told her to keep it and not to show it to people who were not intimate with them, because the saints of India had sent it to him to strengthen his mind and eyes. Kira Khatun kept those roses, which were good for eye disease, until her death, and with Mawlana's permission, she gave a few leaves only to Gurju Khatun (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 128-129; Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 414). Although the narration here is legendary, it is significant as it reveals that Gurju Khatun was very close and privileged to Mawlana and his family.

According to another legend narrated by Aflaqi, Mawlana and some of his disciples organised a samâ in the vineyard of Husam al-din Çelebi, and after the samâ, a stone that Mawlana picked up with his right hand turned into a ruby in his left hand and gave it to one of his disciples. His disciple took this ruby as a gift to Gurju Khatun, who priced it at 8,000,000 dirham and gave this money to the person who brought it to her. He sent many clothes to him and other disciples in the dervish lodge. He also donated a lot to the dervish lodge. (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 162-163). According to another record from Kira Khatun, Mawlana travelled to (tayy) Hijaz one night and brought Hijaz sand in his shoes. Kira Khatun put some of this sand in a paper and sent it to Gurju Khatun. When Gurju Khatun saw the sand and listened to the story, her belief in Mawlana increased even more and she sent money in an amount that could not be counted (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 243).

There are other records in *Manaqib al-Arifin* that reveal the contact between Mawlana and Gurju Khatun. One of these is the record that on a large *samā* ritual organised by Gurju Khatun at Mawlana's house, two large pans of *hotap* were sent for the guests to eat. (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 317). Another one is that Gurju Khatun decided to go to Kayseri, but when she realised that she could not bear the longing of Mawlana, she decided to have his picture painted. Gurju Khatun commissioned Ayn al-dawla al-Rumi, one of the most famous painters of the period, for this work. Upon Gurju Khatun's request, Mawlana also gave permission for his painting to be made. While the pictures were being drawn on paper, some of Mawlana's miracles were seen. When Gurju Khatun received the paintings, she was very happy and took them with her wherever she went (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 348-349; Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2007, p. 99; Lewis, 2010, p. 339; Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 414)⁷. According to another rumour, Gurju Khatun was hurt by Muin al-din Parwana, to whom she was married at the time, and despite the intervention of all the state elders, she did not reconcile with him and insisted that she wanted to divorce him. Muin al-din Parwana, who was in a difficult situation and could not find a solution, consulted Mawlana and asked for help. Mawlana showed him a way and prevented him from divorcing Gurju Khatun. (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 353; Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2007, p. 214; Lewis, 2010, p. 339; Paydaş, 2013, p. 466). This narration reveals that Mawlana Jalal al-Din al-Rumi was in close contact not only with Gurju Khatun but also with her husband Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana and was their family friend. Therefore, it would not be appropriate to see the connection between Gurju Khatun and Mawlana only as a sheikh-disciple relationship or a matter of patronage.

Gurju Khatun was kind and supportive not only to Parwana and his family, but also to their relatives who served them. One of them was Alam al-din Qaysar, one of the famous Seljuq amirs. As a matter of fact, Gurju Khatun rewarded Alam al-din Qaysar for some of his services and loyalty to Mawlana. She gave him 100,000 gold coins and special gifts and appointed him as her personal representative (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 369-370). This development was undoubtedly instrumental in the rise and strengthening of Alam al-din Qaysar within the Seljuq state mechanism. This development also constitutes one of the early examples of the importance of Mawlawis within the state. There are other examples of Gurju Khatun's affection for Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and those around him. According to Ahmad Aflaqi, Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi came to Mawlana Salah al-din, who was reading the *Masnawi* in his cell, and gave him his own shirt as a gift. Alam al-din Qaysar gave Mawlana Salah al-din 2,000 dirhams for this shirt and took the shirt to Gurju Khatun. She, in turn, gave Alam al-din Qaysar 2,000 dinars for the shirt (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 389). It is known that Gurju Khatun also met with Fatma Khatun, Mawlana's daughter-in-law, in assemblies and established a close relationship with her (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 541). Gurju Khatun also provided financial support for the marriage of Hadiya Khatun, the daughter of Salah al-din

⁷ For detailed information on Ayn al-Dawla al-Rumi's paintings of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, the fate of these paintings, and the paintings of Mawlana in many collections around the world, see. Arbaş, 2001, p. 53-63.

Zarqub, one of Mawlana's closest relatives, upon the request of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, and sent dresses, clothes, 20 ornate earrings, 20 precious rings, pearl necklaces, gold embroidered cones, precious face cloths, bracelets, carpets, prayer rugs, curtains, and all kinds of kitchen utensils for the bride's dowry (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 545-546; Lewis, 2010, p. 262; Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 416).

Gurju Khatun's affection and devotion to Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi continued even after his death. As a matter of fact, Gurju Khatun, who was known as the patron of artists in that period, donated 80,000 dirhams to the tomb of Mawlana after his death and became one of the most important figures who contributed to the construction of the tomb (Durukan, 2019, s. 29-30). His support for Mawlana's tomb was realised as follows. After the death of one of Mawlana's disciples, Alam al-din Qaysar decided to build an unprecedented tomb over his grave. However, since all his wealth was 30,000 dirhams, he was very sad that he could not realise his wish. Hearing about the matter, Gurju Khatun and her husband Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana felt sorry for Alam al-din Qaysar's situation and decided to do their best. Thus, they donated 80,000 dirhams to Alam al-din Qaysar for the construction of Mawlana's tomb. They also dressed him in precious khilats and allocated 50,000 dirhams from the revenues of the city of Kayseri. With this support, Alam al-din Qaysar embarked on the construction of the tomb and succeeded in completing it (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 589-590; Lewis, 2010, p. 339-340). According to M. Yusuf Akyurt, Mawlana's wooden sarcophagus, one of the masterpieces of Turkish-Islamic art, was made by the famous artist of the period, Selim son Abd al-wahid, by Gurju Khatun herself⁸.

Among the most important evidence of the close relationship between Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and Gurju Khatun are Mawlana's letters. As a matter of fact, two letters thought to have been written to Gurju Khatun have been identified among the letters⁹. The first of these is letter 46. The letter begins with a section containing praises about Gurju Khatun, which reads as follows:

“Veiled blessedness, state and honour of Khatun, who is the pride of the women, the most protected and chaste of them, good-natured, sublime in her wisdom, thinking of the end, spreading good deeds, having a good name, sultan-like nature, descendant of the master of masters, may Allah perpetuate her sublime, veiled blessedness, state, purity, and increase her succession; May Allah make the eyes of her friends brighten and the noses of her enemies fall to the ground; may she fulfil their religious and worldly needs and make

⁸ In addition to its artistic and historical significance, this cist also has a source value. It clearly records the date of Mawlana's death as 5 Jamazi al-awwal 672 (17 November 1273). The length of this walnut wood cist is 2 metres 91 centimetres, the head height is 2 metres 65 centimetres and the foot height is 2 metres 13 centimetres (Akyurt, 1936, p. 113-115).

⁹ Mürsel Öztürk, who evaluates the publications on Mawlana's letters, states that there are two letters written to Gurju Khatun among the letters. See Öztürk, 1986, p. 88-89.

them fulfil their wishes in both worlds; may she make her reach the blessedness of both worlds; for the sake of Muhammad and his progeny”.

In the continuation of the letter, Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi refers to Gurju Khatun as “*that one and only khatun*” and asks about her well-being, mentions that he prays for her a lot, and thanks for her support by saying “*No favour, no affection, no bestowal and kindness you have done like a sultan is forgotten*”. He also mentions that he asked everyone he saw about the condition of Gurju Khatun, but he could not come in person. In the remaining part of the letter, by saying “*There have been many steep and difficult events*”, he points out that there has been an event that has upset Gurju Khatun and says nice words to console and calm her. At the end of the letter, he expresses his longing for Gurju Khatun and sends his greetings. (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1963, letter 46, p. 69-70).

The other letter of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi to Gurju Khatun is letter number 128. This letter also begins with an extensive praise of Gurju Khatun, the text of which is as follows:

“May the one whose disposition is beautiful, who has the attributes of an angel, whose heart is alive and bright, who is the pride of the servants, the adornment of those who abstain, who knows God, who sees the end, who is the helper of the poor be in health and well-being; I ask from the worshipper who says, “Who heals me when I am sick”. May Allah perpetuate the honour of that lady, increase her greatness, and grant her the sherbet of healing, the medicine for the health of body, religion and heart from the pharmacy that has no end, from her treasury of mercy and donation that has no end. Because her saintly being is a friend to the poor and a refuge for the poor. She shows the right path to the travellers of the right path at every step, at every breath; she advises them as much as she can; she does good deeds and favours all the time; she is in servitude, in supplication to God in the world of solitude”.

In the rest of the letter, Mawlana praises Gurju Khatun's generosity and apologises for not writing more often. At the end of the letter, he prays for Gurju Khatun's health (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1963, letter 128, p. 190-191).

It is understood that Gurju Khatun established relations not only with Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi but also with his family and close circle. An example of this is the close relationship of Sultan Walad, Mawlana's son and successor, with Gurju Khatun. It seems that Gurju Khatun's affection for Mawlana's family continued even after the death of her sheikh. As a matter of fact, both Muin al-din Parwana and his wife Gurju Khatun continued to support the Mawlawis and Sultan Walad after the death of Mawlana (Mermer Ceviz, 2023, p. 51). Sultan Walad also praised Gurju Khatun for her support. Even in his divan, while praising the city of Kayseri, he also praises Gurju Khatun: “*The pride of Anatolia and Khorasan; That great sultan Gurju Khatun is also there*” (Şimşekler, 2022, p.179; Mermer Ceviz, 2023, p. 52).

2. Mahbari Hunad Khatun

Among the Seljuq queens with whom Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi appears to have established close ties, Gurju Khatun is not the only figure mentioned. The first name we would like to mention is Mahbari Khatun, the wife of Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad I and the mother of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II. She is also known as Hunad Khatun in the Seljuq lands. Mahbari Khatun was the daughter of Kyr Vart, the former ruler of Alaîyye, known as Kalonoros before the conquest. After the conquest, she married Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad I, and from this marriage, Malik Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw, the sultan's first son, was born. (Turan, 1971, p. 403; Demir, 2022, p. 322-323). Mahbari Khatun, who is thought to have remained a Christian during the reign of her husband Ala al-din Kayqubad I, converted to Islam later and intervened in political affairs, especially during the reign of her son Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II and his sons. Mahbari Khatun, who is understood to have been a very powerful Seljuq queen, especially from the works she built in different places in the Seljuq lands, is one of the greatest female builders of the Seljuqs of Türkiye. As a matter of fact, some of her buildings in Kayseri, Amasya, Tokat and Yozgat provinces, especially in Kayseri, have survived to the present day (Bekmez, 2016, p. 61-85; Kara, 2019, p. 114-134; Demir, 2022, p. 326). Although it is understood that Mahbari Khatun lived a long life, it is not known when she died. Her mausoleum is in the complex in Kayseri, which is named after her. (Demir, 2020, p. 303-304; Demir, 2022, p. 326-327). There is also a clue that Mahbari Khatun, a philanthropist who stood out among the Seljuq queens with both her political and material power, was in close contact with Mawlana. This clue is found through a letter in Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi's 'Letters'. It is not clearly recorded to whom the letter in question was written, but it is understood from the general style and address that it was addressed to a Seljuq dynasty member. The letter is quite short and its text is as follows: "May Allah perpetuate the greatness of the Queen of the Thunders, the lady of high honour, the lady with a large heart, the lady of kindness, the lady who longs to reach her Lord, the lady with great faith, the lady who thinks of the end of the work, the lady who fears God, the pious lady, the Fatima of the century, the Khadija of the age, the Maryam of the time, the revered harem, the lady of the pavilion of religion and state, may Allah perpetuate her greatness; may her greatness increase; may she be the Qibla for good deeds and the Ka'ba for worships. May she be protected from the catapult of the evil deeds of time, like the masjid of the spiritual ones and the fortress of those in the sky, as long as the worlds endure, as long as time marches, for the sake of Muhammad and his progeny" (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1963, letter 139, p. 209). What is noteworthy from the phrases in the letter is that the addressee is recorded as "Khadija of the Age" and "Maryam of the Time". These titles are among the titles used by Seljuq queens. However, Mahbari Khatun is the only Seljuq Queen that we have been able to identify who used both titles at the same time. On her sarcophagus in her tomb in Kayseri, she is referred to as the "Maryam of the Time" and the "Khadija of the Age", just as in Mawlana's letter¹⁰. Based on this information, it is

¹⁰ For detailed evaluations on the titles "Maryam of the Age" and "Hadije of the Time" in the Arabic

possible to conclude that Mahbari Khatun was the Seljuq queen whom Mawlana praised and prayed for in this letter. On the other hand, it is highly probable that Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi was in contact with such a mighty and benevolent Seljuq queen as Mahbari Khatun (Demir, 2022, p. 325-326). However, there is no other information about the contact between Mawlana and Mahbari Khatun in the historical sources.

3. Gumaj Khatun

Another Seljuq queen who had close contact with Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and his family was Gumaj Khatun, who is known to have personally met Mawlana and his family. Gumaj Khatun was the wife of Sultan Qilij Arslan IV and the mother of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III. It is recorded by the Mawlawi source writer Ahmad Aflaqi that she was from Tokat and was a disciple of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 188, 290). Gumaj Khatun, who came to the forefront with her political activities among the Seljuq queens, supported her grandsons' claim to the throne during the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Mas'ud II, who ascended the Seljuqs of Türkiye throne with Mongol support after the assassination of her husband Rukn al-din Qilij Arslan IV and her son Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III, but she was not successful. After the murder of his grandsons, he was made to reside in Sivrihisar (Turan, 1971, p. 589; Kesik, 2004, p. 342; Sayın, 2019, p. 244). Gumaj Khatun's tomb, where and under what conditions she spent the last years of her life is unknown, is in the Musalla Cemetery in Konya's Kalenderhane Neighbourhood. There is no inscription on this tomb, which is popularly known as the Kız Kulesi. Therefore, there is no information about the date of Gumaj Khatun's death (Altun, 1996, p. 149). A significant part of the limited information about Gumaj Khatun is learnt from Mawlawiyya sources. Among these sources, Gumaj Khatun is referred to and glorified as the "*Fortunate Queen*" in the work of Ahmad Aflaqî (Eflâkî, 2012, s. 290). Gumaj Khatun was among the relatives of Mawlana Jalal al-dîn al-Rumi and his family. Thus, there are many records about her in Mawlawiyya sources. In fact, one of them is about Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi and is narrated directly from Gumaj Khatun herself. According to Ahmad Aflaqi, Faridun bin Ahmad al-Sipahsalar and Dervish Mahmûd al-Masnavikhan, Gumaj Khatun and a large group of women were sitting in the sultan's palace when Mawlana suddenly came to the assembly and said: "*Quickly! Get out of the house*" and led the assembly away from the palace. Just as the crowd was leaving the palace, the arches of the room collapsed and collapsed on the ground where the crowd was sitting. Thus, the people there were saved from a great disaster thanks to Mawlana. Thereupon, Gumaj Khatun fell at the feet of Mawlana, distributed alms to the poor and sent 7,000 dirhams to the people around Mawlana as a gift of gratitude (Ahmed Eflâkî, 2012, p. 290; Ahmed-i Sipehsâlâr, 2011, p. 111; Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2017, p. 98)¹¹. On the other hand, according to the records of Ahmad Aflaqi, Gumaj Khatun had a close relationship with Fatima Khatun, the wife of Sultan Walad, the son of Mawlana. They came

inscription on the cover of Mahbari Khatun's tomb cist, see also. Demir, 2020, p. 303-311.

¹¹ See also Lewis, 2010, p. 302; Paydaş, 2013, p. 469-470; Sayın, 2019, p. 244-245; Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 418.

together with her in various assemblies and sema rites. In fact, Fatima Khatun showed some of her miracles to Gurju Khatun, Gumaj Khatun and Khawandzadeh Khatun when they were together in Tokat (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 540-541). Just like Gurju Khatun, Gumaj Khatun was in contact with Mawlana as well as his son Sultan Walad and continued to support him. As a proof of the affection between them, Sultan Walad wrote words of praise for Gumaj Khatun in his divan and conveyed them to Gumaj Khatun through Ibn Bibi's father, the Tarjuman Majd al-din Muhammad. The Tarjuman Majd al-din Muhammad first asked him to show respect to Gumaj Khatun and to convey his greetings and the following words of praise:

“You were a rose garden on earth; you became the moon in the sky. The beauties, who are slaves of your face, always walk around your neighbourhood saying, “O moon-faced one, there is nothing like your beauty in the world”. God gave you sultanate here. God gave you beauty like the moon there too; here He gave you the land of the body, there He gave you the land of the soul. You have become a leader in two worlds; you have become a sultan in the heart and soul. You became a pearl in the sea of truth; you became eternal with Allahu ta'âlâ. God gave you news, saved you from troubles and gave you peace. From now on your fortune will be favourable, from now on you will be happy. Because your beloved has become happy, your end has become blissful, your purpose has been fulfilled; these things will be revealed to you. God has shown me your future states without any veil. Come on, listen now and believe me; do not doubt after that. One day Walad will remind you of God's favour and goodness; then you will be happy and joyful, and you will tell me that everything you have said has happened” (Değirmençay, 2014, p. 146-147; Sayın, 2019, p. 245; Subaşı and Dayı, 2023, p. 418; Mermer Ceviz, 2023, p. 56).

From these laudatory words of Sultan Walad, the son of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, it is understood that Gumaj Khatun, like Gurju Khatun, remained in close contact with and continued to support the family of their sheikh after his death.

4. Khawandzadeh (Hundî) Khatun

Another Seljuq Queen who was close to Mawlana's family was Khawandzadeh Khatun (Hundî), one of the two daughters born from the marriage of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II and Gurju Khatun. (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 655; Subaşı, 2016, p. 398). Although Khawandzadeh Khatun was the daughter of Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, she is recorded as Muin al-din Parwana's daughter because her mother Gurju Khatun later married Muin al-din Parwana. However, she was actually Muin al-din Parwana's stepdaughter (Mermer Ceviz, 2023, p. 47). The available information on the life of Khawandzadeh Khatun is very limited and it is thought that she was the founder of the Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum (Gürbüz, 2004, p. 151-152). One of the available pieces of information about her life is that in 1262, under the influence of Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana, she married Majd al-din Mehmed al-Erzincânî, the Seljuq amir in charge of the financial affairs of the period (Mermer Ceviz, 2023, p. 58). Khawandzadeh Khatun is recorded by Ahmad Aflaqî on the

occasion of a story about Mawlana's grandson Ulu Arif Çelebi. It is understood from this record that she was one of the Seljuq queens who was a close member of Mawlana's family, participated in sema rites and supported the Mawlawis (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 655; Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2007, p. 287). According to the narration, Khawandzadeh Khatun, Gumaj Khatun and other women came together with Mawlana's grandson Ulu Arif Çelebi and his mother Kirake Khatun. They criticised his mother's excessive devotion and attention to Ulu Arif Çelebi. In response, Kirake Khatun said that the respect and love she showed to her son, Ulu Arif Çelebi, stemmed from her respect for Mawlana. She even stated that every time she saw her son, it was like seeing Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi. Thus, he explained that he regarded Ulu Arif Çelebi not only as his son but also as his shaykh. On another day, when the Seljuq queens were present at Ulu Arif Çelebi's sema', Çelebi addressed them with the following two rubais:

“We are invisible to the eye
We appear on the ground, but we are groundless
If we lift the veil from our faces,
We'll shut everyone's minds and hearts.
The yeast of love was in the spirit world!
The wet nurse of love was a gentle wind in eternity.
The one on whose head the shadow of love falls,
It becomes completely spirit like the sun”.

Upon Ulu Arif Çelebi's rubais, the Seljuq queens Gumaj Khatun, Khawandzadeh Khatun and other women repented and apologised to him and gave him many gifts (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 669; Mahmûd-ı Mesnevîhan, 2007, p. 287-288).

5. Ayn al-Khayat Khatun

Another woman who is recorded as the daughter of Gurju Khatun is Ayn al-Khayat, who lived in Erzurum. There is not much information about her life. Ayn al-Khayat Khatun, who seems to have established close relations with the Mawlawis like her mother, is referred to by Aflaqi as the “Queen of the World” and the “Lady of the World” and it is recorded that she was a follower of Ulu Arif Çelebi, the grandson of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 669; Subaşı, 2016, p. 398). In addition, a story between Ayn al-Khayat Khatun and Ulu Arif Çelebi, the grandson of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, has also been reported. According to this story, Ayn al-Khayat Khatun, who was in Erzurum, invited Ulu Arif Çelebi to her house and started to ask him about the situation of his father Sultan Walad, his shrine companions and his madrasah friends. At that moment, Mawlana Salah al-din, one of Ulu Arif Çelebi's relatives, interjected and answered all the questions on his behalf. Ayn al-Khayat Khatun reacted by stating that she wanted to hear this information from Ulu Arif Çelebi himself. Upon this, the Ulu Arif Çelebi said: “Arifs speak in khalwat. I hope it will be said”. Upon this reply, Ayn al-Khayat Khatun's devotion and affection for Ulu Arif Çelebi continued to increase. As Ahmad Aflaqi also emphasises, Ayn al-Khayat Khatun rendered

great services to Ulu Arif Çelebi after this incident and sang a couplet because of her love for him. This couplet is as follows: “It's nice for a madman to have a love in his head, but only if it's your love” (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 669).

6. Fatma Khatun

Another Seljuq queen who has been identified as having close relations with Mawlana and his family is Fatma Hatun, one of the wives of the Seljuq Sultan of Türkiye, Rukn al-din Qilij Arslan IV. There is not much information about her in the sources. It is only known that she was the wife of Rukn al-din Qilij Arslan IV and that a daughter named Seljuq Khatun was born from their marriage (Özcan, 2022, p. 214). Sultan Walad praises his mother Fatma Khatun in the same ode in which he praises Seljuq Khatun and prays for both at the end of the ode. The part of his ode directly addressing and praising Fatma Khatun is as follows: “Have you ever seen a sultan like Fatma Khatun or a moon-faced one like her? Because justice and charity reach people from both of them in the world. God created her soul before her body and made her a shah. In eternity, before the foundation of the world, she had become a shah in the knowledge of the Truth. She is the pure and original one, because her sultanate is from heb lî (هَب لِي). The sultanate from the God is permanent, eternal. Shahs have seen her morals and beauties have seen her beauty; both the small and the great have admired her patronage. In generosity, she is like the mine and the sea; in grace and beauty, her is like the Iram (garden). Both the people of the harem, the people and the dignitaries praise her in the same language. The rulers praise her like me; the people of the world admire her; men and women, old and young (everyone) talks about her morals and creation” (Değirmençay, 2014, p. 148).

7. Seljuq (Seljuqî) Khatun

The last Seljuq queen who seems to have established a close relationship with the family of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi was Seljuq (Seljuqî) Khatun. The Information about his life is quite limited. However, it is known that she was born from the marriage of Sultan Rukn al-din Qilij Arslan IV and Fatma Khatun (Özcan, 2022, p. 215). She is praised by Ibn Bibi as an angel of unique beauty both in terms of creation and temperament. She is also referred to with titles such as “The elite of her time”, “The favourite of her time”, “The example of the queens with her chastity and honour”, “The honour of believing women” and “Great Queen” (İbn Bibi, 1996, II, p. 179). On the other hand, Seljuq Khatun's name is recorded through a political marriage between the Mongols and the Seljuqs of Türkiye during the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III. According to Ibn Bibi, Abaka Khan, the Ilkhanid ruler of the period, wanted his son Argun Khan to marry Seljuq Khatun. His request was welcomed with joy by all Seljuq officials, especially Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III and Amir Muin al-din Sulaiman Parwana. After all the necessary preparations were completed, Seljuq Khatun was taken to the Ilkhanid palace by the Seljuq officials and

married to Argun Khan (İbn Bibi, 1996, II, p. 179-183)¹². Some of the information we have about Seljuq Khatun comes from her proximity to the family of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi. It is known that Sultan Walad wrote an ode of 17 couplets praising both Seljuq Khatun and her mother Fatma Khatun. It is noteworthy that in this ode he uses the same metaphors he used for lovers. In this long ode, Sultan Walad briefly compares Seljuq Khatun to his father in terms of physical characteristics. He also compares her to the spring and the moon in the sky, explaining that all people admired Seljuq Khatun, just as the women admired Prophet Yusuf. He states that the beauties of China, Hata, and Anatolia were slaves to her, that her beauty was known all over the world, and that her fame spread beyond Anatolia to China, Machin, Iraq, Talakan, and Damascus, earning her respect everywhere. In the continuation of the ode, he writes the following words revealing the affection between himself and Seljuq:

“O our sultan, O the only one in our time, who is both our trouble and our remedy, who is both the light and the life of our dynasty!

O soul! Look at us; stop travelling on horseback. O one whose lips are like sugar and whose cheeks are like rosebud!

You, with your eyebrows like a bow, shoot arrows from narcissus eyes; burn the souls like a lute with your fire, O cypress-length beauty!” (Değirmençay, 2014, p. 147-148).

It is important that Sultan Walad, the son of Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi, penned couplets full of praise for both Seljuq Khatun and her mother. This situation shows that they were also the queens who were closely associated with Mawlawis. In addition, this information is significant in terms of showing that the influence of Mawlana and Mawlawiyya in the Seljuq court continued at that time.

Conclusion

Mawlana Jalal al-din al-Rumi is a universal value and a historical figure raised by the Seljuq World. His universal message from 13th century Anatolia and Konya has reached and still reaches millions of people. Mawlana, who touched the hearts, souls and lives of many people all over the world, has a serious impact not only on Muslims but also on people of different religions and belief systems. When his life is analysed, it is seen that he established close and sincere ties with Seljuq rulers, wives of rulers, Seljuq state officials and their wives as well as with people from all segments of society. Due to these close ties, Mawlana himself and his family always received attention and interest. In addition, Mawlawiyya, which originated from his teachings, has always been an organisation supported by rulers and

¹² For an evaluation of Seljuq Khatun's Mongol marriage partner, see also. Kaymaz, 1970, p. 143-145; Turan, 1971, p. 537-358; Özcan, 2022, p. 215-216. İbn Sheddad also mentions this incident and records the bride as the sister of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III. He also writes that she was taken to the Ilkhanid palace in hijri 675 (1276/1277) by Muin al-din Parwana himself to be married to the Ilkhanid ruler Abaka Khan (İbn Şeddâd, 1941, p. 73).

statesmen. The closeness and support shown to Mawlana and his family by the Seljuq queens and women from different segments of society show that the sympathy for the Mawlawis did not remain only in the eyes of statesmen. The affection and support of the Seljuq sultans and Seljuq queens for Mawlana and his family while he was alive shows that Mawlawiyya had begun to be supported by the political authorities and elites of the period long before it turned into a sect movement. On the other hand, the affection and support for Mawlana and his family, especially by the Seljuq kings, also enabled the Mawlawis to gain an important influence and place within the Seljuq court.

As can be seen from the example of Gurju Khatun and her husband Muin al-din Parwana, Mawlana did not only influence the Seljuq elites as a Sufi sheikh but also became their family elder and life guide. He helped them overcome all kinds of problems brought about by daily life and enlightened and enriched their inner worlds. The special bond between the Seljuq queens and Mawlana and his family was very human and sincere. It would be a great deficiency to see this bond only as a sheikh-disciple or patronage relationship. Even the letters written to Gurju Khatun alone are sufficient to demonstrate that the relationship between Mawlana and the Seljuq queens was a sincere and humanitarian one. As a matter of fact, both Mawlana and his successors always praised, supported, motivated, guided and even occasionally consoled the Seljuq queens to solve their problems. Therefore, Mawlana and the Mawlawiyya movement, which is formed from his accumulation, is not only a movement that is seen as beneficial to be supported by the state in political and material terms, but also an impassioned movement that touches people's hearts and lives. On the other hand, Mawlana's affection for the Seljuq queens led the Seljuq queens to establish close relations with his family. Thus, Mawlana's family became a privileged caste that had close relations with the Seljuq queens and their families and was supported by the state in every sense. As a matter of fact, the available data show that devotion to Mawlana and his family became a deep-rooted tradition in the Seljuq court, especially with Mahbari Khatun and Gurju Khatun. Moreover, it is understood that this tradition continued until the collapse of the Seljuqs of Türkiye and then passed on to the principalities and the Ottoman world.

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Mawlana's Relationship with and Influence on the Seljuk Sultans

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Abstract

Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi was a Sufi scholar and mystic who engaged in Islamic education and teaching during the reigns of the Seljuks of Rum, namely Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II, Izz al-Din Kaykawus II, and Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV. After beginning his spiritual guidance activities, he communicated directly and indirectly with Seljuk state officials. In his conversations and letters, he admonished sultans and statesmen, advising them to base their actions on mercy, justice, and goodness, and to work for the benefit of the people and the state. This article aims to draw attention to research on Mawlana's relations with the Seljuk sultans, raise awareness, provide insights, and offer a new perspective on the subject. It is significant for highlighting some lesser-known aspects of Mawlana and for explaining how he interacted with Seljuk rulers. In addition to offering a fresh interpretation of previous studies, the article is original in its focus on the fundamental philosophy of Mawlana's relations with the Seljuk sultans and his influence on them. This study seeks to reveal how Mawlana's advice, warnings, and recommendations were reflected in the actions of the Seljuk rulers.



Keywords

Mawlana, Seljuk, Ruler, Izz al-Din Kaykawus II, Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV, Anatolia

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Mevlânâ'nın Selçuklu Sultanlarıyla İlişkisi ve Etkisi

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Öz

Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî, Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları II. Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev, II. İzzeddin Keykâvus ve IV. Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan dönemlerinde İslam eğitim ve öğretim faaliyetlerinde bulunmuş mutasavvıf âlim ve âriftir. İrşat faaliyetlerine başladıktan sonra Selçuklu devlet yöneticileri ile doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak muhatap olmuştur. Sohbetlerinde ve mektuplarında sultanlara ve devlet adamlarına uyarılarda bulunmuş, icraatlarında merhameti, adaleti ve iyiliği esas almalarını, halkın ve devletin menfaati için çalışmalarını öğütlemiştir. Bu makale ile Mevlânâ'nın Selçuklu sultanları ile ilişkileri hakkında yapılan araştırmalara dikkat çekmek, farkındalık oluşturarak konu ile ilgili fikir edinilmesini sağlamak ve yeni bir perspektif ortaya konulmak amaçlanmıştır. Makale, tarihi süreçte Mevlânâ'nın az bilinen bazı yönlerinin ifadesi ve Selçuklu devlet başkanları ile nasıl muhatap olduğunun ifadesi bakımından önemlidir. Makale daha önce yapılmış çalışmalara yeni bir bakış açısı ve yorum katacak olmasının yanında Mevlânâ'nın Selçuklu sultanları ile ilişkilerinin temel felsefesine ve onlar üzerindeki etkisine odaklanmış olması sebebiyle özgündür. Bu çalışmada Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî'nin Selçuklu sultanları ile ilişki, uyarı, tavsiye ve telkinlerinin icraatlarına olan yansımaları ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Mevlana, Selçuklu, Hükümdar, II. İzzeddin Keykavus, IV. Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan, Anadolu

Atıf Bilgisi

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Introduction

In Turkish history, contact and relationships between rulers and Sufis first appear during the Great Seljuk period. It is known that Tughrul Bey established ties with Baba Tahir-i Uryan-i Hamadani, a famous sheikh of the 11th century, and, together with his brother Chaghri Bey, with Sheikh Abu Sa'id Abu'l-Khayr, seeking to benefit from their support, power, and influence. It is believed that this connection stemmed not only from personal interest, affection, and respect, but also from the aim of gaining public acceptance through them and gaining political legitimacy by establishing a religious basis for their rule (Râvendî, 1999, I, 97; Köymen, 1976, 21; Ocak, 1996, 18).

As a Sufi and scholar who lived in 13th-century Anatolia, Mawlana developed his own syncretism by analyzing the political and social developments of his time. Mawlana was neither solely a poet nor merely a philosopher or thinker. He was certainly not an opportunist who relied on the Seljuk aristocracy or Mongol authorities. From his childhood, Mawlana studied under the most renowned scholars of his time, rising to the rank of professor (Ocak, 1989, 78-79), and used poetry as a tool to express his ideas. His father, Bahâ al-Din Walad, was the first person influential in the formation and development of his intellectual world. The Seljuk sultan and state officials also benefited from the spiritual guidance activities of Bahâ al-Din Walad, the Sultan of Scholars, who came to Konya upon the invitation of Ala al-Din Keykubâd I. After Bahâ al-Din Walad's death, following two years of teaching at the Konya Altınapa (Altun-aba) Madrasa, Mawlana became a student of Seyyid Burhaneddin Muhakkık-ı Tirmidhi his father's disciple (Şahinoğlu, 1991, 461; Öngören, 2004, 442; Küçük, 2007, 41; Ceyhan, 2010, 512).

After receiving instruction from Bahâ al-Din Walad and Burhan al-din Tirmidhi, Mawlana returned to Konya after further studying in Aleppo and Damascus, achieving a high level of scholarly and spiritual understanding (Sipehsâlâr, 1977, 83-84; Gölpınarlı, 1952, 44-45). Five years after Sayyid Burhan al-din's death (in 1246), Mawlana met Shams-i Tabrizi, also known as "the Kamil of Tabriz" or "Shams-i Perende" (Flying Shams), for a second time in Konya. Immersed in conversations about the divine knowledge of God (marifetullah), Mawlana neglected his lessons and spiritual guidance at the madrasa and began spending all his time with Shams. Mawlana's eldest son, Sultan Walad likens the relationship between Mawlana and Shams to that of Moses and Khidr. Sultan Walad states that just as Moses, despite being a prophet, sought Khidr, Mawlana, despite his exalted spiritual rank, sought Shams (Sultan Veled, 2014, 50).

Shams-i Tabrizi was a significant turning point in Mawlana's life. Before Shams, "his love was hidden in his piety," while after Shams, "his piety became hidden in his love." Shams-i Tabrizi virtually demolished the dam before the raging river and added his own, timeless Sufi understanding to it. During this period, the *Divan-i Kebir*, a collection of poems sung with a Sufi lyricism, was written as an expression of Mawlana's spiritual cries. During

the subsequent period of tranquility, the didactic *Masnavi* (*Masnavi-i Mevlevi* or *Masnavi-i Manevi* or *Masnavi-i Sharif*) was written with the aim of inculcating and disseminating the principles of Sufism. *Fîhi mâ Fih* was created by compiling Mawlana's conversations recorded during his lifetime after his death. Subsequently, *Mecâlis-i Seb'a*, consisting of Mawlana's speeches from his sermons and talks, and *Mektûbât*, consisting of Mawlana's letters, were written (Köprülü, 1980, 127; Ocak, 1989, 79; Öngören, 2004, 445-447; Özbek, 2001, 43). With the contribution of the works written by Mawlavi authors in later years, it is possible to learn about the people around Mawlana, his interlocutors his advice and his world of thought.

1. Research Conducted on the Subject

Mawlana Jalaluddin-i Rumi's relations with the Seljuk sultans and statesmen have been explored by various researchers at different times. In 1983, Ahmet Sevgi wrote an article titled "Mevlânâ'nın İdarecilere Tavsiyeleri". In 1993, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak presented a paper titled "Türkiye Tarihinde Merkezi İktidar ve Mevlevîler (XIII-XVIII. Yüzyıllar) Meselesine Kısa Bir Bakış". In 2002, Ahmet Aksit wrote an article titled "Eflaki'nin Alaeddin Keykubâd Hakkındaki Rivayetlerine Dair". In 2004, Murat Erten prepared a master's thesis titled "Mevlânâ'da Siyaset Felsefesi Problemleri". In 2006, Selim Kaya presented a paper titled "Mevlânâ'nın Siyasî Faaliyetleri (Mevlânâ'nın Selçuklu Devlet Erkânı Üzerindeki Etkisinin Siyasî Boyutları)". In 2007, Kazım Paydaş presented a paper titled "Mevlânâ Celâleddin'in Anadolu Selçukluları ile olan Münasebetleri". In 2007, Osman Nuri Küçük wrote a book titled "Mevlâna ve İktidar". In 2012, Ridvan Çolak prepared a master's thesis titled "Selçuklular Döneminde Mevlana Ailesinin Devlet Bürokratları ile İlişkileri". In 2013, Selim Kaya presented a paper titled "Mevlânâ'nın Selçuklu Devlet Erkânı ile İlişkilerin Siyasi ve Sosyal Boyutu". In 2013, A.C.S. Peacock wrote a book chapter titled "Sufis and the Seljuk Court: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalal al-Din Rumi and Sultan Walad". In 2014, Nimetullah Akay prepared a doctoral thesis titled "Başlangıcından XVIII. yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar Mevlevilik-Devlet İlişkisi." In 2014, Mehmet Ali Hacıgökmen wrote an article titled "Mevlâna Celaleddin-i Rumî'nin Selçuklu Sultanları ile İlişkileri". In 2014, Veyis Değirmençay wrote an article titled "Sultan Veled'in Anadolu Selçuklu Devlet Adamları ve Diğer İleri Gelenleri Methi." In 2015, Devriş Küçükyıldırım prepared a master's thesis titled "Mevlâna'nın Pervâne Mu'inü'd-Dîn Süleyman ile İlişkileri". In 2015, Nevzat Erdoğan and Ümit Işık presented a paper titled "Mevlâna'dan II. İzzeddin Keykâvûs'a Yönetme Öğütleri". In 2019, Sedat Sayın wrote an article titled "Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanı IV. Rükneddin Kılıçarslan ile Eşi Gumaç Hatun'un Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî ile Münasebeti". In 2019, Büşra Büyükbektaş prepared a master's thesis titled "Anadolu Selçukluları Döneminde Mevlevilerin Sultanlar, Devlet Adamları, Beylikler, Ahiler ve Diğer Zümrelerle Olan Münasebetleri". In 2023, Sinan Cereyan presented a paper titled "Mevlânâ'nın Mektubât Adlı Eserinde Devlet Büyüklerine Nasihatler". Apart from these, there are also studies on the influence of Mawlana on his era and the following eras, his influence on the Ottoman Empire or the effects of Mevlevism on state administrators after Mawlana. For example; In

2023, Tayfur Topal wrote a book chapter titled "Siyaset-Tarikat İlişkileri Bağlamında Mevlevilik". Furthermore, while the titles of some studies evoke the Seljuk period, they actually address the Ottoman period. For example, İsmet Kayaoğlu's paper, "Sultan-Mevlevî İlişkilerine Genel Bir Bakış", examined the Ottoman Sultans' policies toward the Mevlevîs. Such studies, with general titles but post-Seljuk content, were not considered because they were not relevant to the subject of our research.

2. The Impact of Bahâ al-Din Walad, the Father of Mawlana, on Sultan Ala al-Din Keykubâd I.

When Sultânü'l-Ulemâ Bahâ al-Din Walad came to Larende (Karaman) in 1221, Mawlana was a fourteen-year-old boy. Bahâ al-Din Walad taught at Emîr Musa Madrasah for seven years, preaching and advising the people. He married his son Mawlana, who was seventeen or eighteen years old, to Gevher Hatun, the daughter of Hodja Sheref al-Din Lâlâ-yı Samarkandî. Mawlana's sons Walad and Ala al-Din were born from this marriage (Abdurrahmân Câmî, 1995, 632; Fűrüzanfer, 1997, 111-112; Özbek, 2001, 43; Hacıgökmen, 2014, 119-120; Ürkmez, 2020, 165).

According to Sultan Walad (2014, 252) and Aflaki (1986, I, 27), Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I welcomed Bahâ al-Din Walad, who came to Konya upon his invitation, with a ceremony and became his disciple after listening to his advice. Ahmet Akşit (2002, 248) and M. Ali Hacıgökmen (2014, 120-121) believe that Baha al-din Walad's migration to Konya was not solely due to an invitation. Hacıgökmen believes that the conquest of Larende and the Ermenek region by Çaşniğir Mübârez al-din Çavlı and Mübârez al-din Ertokuş in 1228, and the beginning of the Karamanid settlement in the region, also influenced Bahâ al-Din Walad's migration to the safety of Konya, where he sought peace. However, could the change of ruler of Larende and the settlement of the Karamanids in the region have disturbed Baha al-din Walad, who aimed to spread Islamic Sufi life and guide the people? Wouldn't it have been a valuable service to provide Islamic education to the newly arrived Karamanids? Could Baha al-din Walad have wanted to leave Larende because of Emir Çavlı and Emir Ertokuş? Ibn Bibi (1996, I, 119, 319) describes Emir Çavlı as a "senior, respected, and special slave" and Emir Ertokuş as a "skilled, knowledgeable, and skillful special slave". It seems unlikely that these emirs, who were promoted due to their good qualities and earned the sultan's love and trust, or the Karamanids themselves, would have disturbed Baha al-din Walad. Therefore, we believe that it is unlikely that Baha al-din Walad was displeased with these emirs or the Karamanids due to his mission. However, Baha al-din Walad's departure for Konya may have been influenced by his hurt feelings at the hands of the Belhians and his resentment of Khwarazmshah, as well as by the hadith he recounted before his death: "People are of the religion of their rulers" (Sultan Veled, 2014, 251-253). If people follow the religion of their rulers, the ruler's Islamic life and adherence to religious rules and regulations are crucial. Therefore, he may have considered going to the capital to encourage the ruler to live a life consistent with Islam and to engage in charitable and beneficial activities. We believe that Baha al-din Walad, who deemed his residence in

Larende sufficient, accepted the invitation of Ala al-Din Keykubâd I and thought of encouraging the sultan and the umera to perform good deeds in accordance with Islamic rules and continuing his guidance activities in the capital. The sultan's invitation and Baha al-din Walad's aim and goal came together and thus the migration to Konya took place.

According to Aflākî, as was customary among the umaras and scholars of the time, Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I sent Bahâ al-din Walad a variety of gifts. However, Bahâ al-din Walad refused to accept the sultan's gifts, saying, "Your wealth is tainted with forbidden things and is suspect. I have enough clothing for myself, and I still have the wealth our ancestors acquired through holy war" His self-sufficiency and piety were admired by the sultan, the statesmen, and the people (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 26; Küçük, 2007, 40; Akay, 2014, 58).

Aflākî states that Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I, after stating that he valued Bahâ al-Din Walad very much, asked him to come and look at Konya Castle after its construction was completed. Bahâ al-din Walad, who saw the castle, said;

"You have built a strong and beautiful fortress to protect against floods and enemies, but what can you do against the arrows of prayer of the oppressed? Prayer pierces castle walls, bastions, and bodies. Therefore, work hard to build fortresses of justice and kindness and soldiers of good prayers. For these are more important to you than thousands of material fortresses, and they are the basis of the safety of the people and the security of the world" said (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 55; Küçük, 2007, 39).

Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I, deeply affected by this statement, strived to uphold justice and generosity in his actions, striving to receive prayers, not curses. Bahâ al-din Walad succinctly stated that justice was the foundation of the state, prayer was the expression of people's satisfaction with their rulers, and that material measures alone were insufficient for the state.

According to Aflākî, Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I saw in a dream one night that his head was made of gold, his chest was made of silver, his lower belly was made of bronze, his hips were made of lead, and his two feet were made of tin. Bahâ al-Din Walad interpreted this dream as follows:

"As long as you are in this world, people will live in comfort and purity and will be as precious as gold. In your son's time, they will be reduced to the level of silver, and in your son's (grandson's) time, they will be reduced to the level of bronze, and vile and greedy people will rule. When the sultanate reaches its third generation, chaos will reign everywhere, and honesty, loyalty, and compassion will disappear among the people. When it reaches its fourth and fifth generation, Anatolia will be completely devastated, and all countries will be filled with evil and cruel people. The Seljuk dynasty will decline, the world order will be disrupted, despicable people will occupy high positions, important affairs will be left in the hands of unqualified, lowly people, ... rebellions will break out, and the Mongol invasion will devastate the entire

world" he said (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 45-46; Küçük, 2007, 40). Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I was surprised and saddened by what he heard.

In his account of Bahâ al-din Walad's assistance to Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I before the Battle of Yassıçimen, Aflâkî recounts how the sultan and his men disguised themselves and went as close as the army of Khwarezmâh to obtain information and develop a strategy. When Jalaluddin Khwarezmâh, thinking that these men might be spies, acted in accordance with the saying, "Doubt is a precaution," Bahâ al-din Walad told Alâ al-Din Keykubâd in a dream that night, "Get up, mount your horse, is it time to sleep?" Alâ al-Din Keykubâd woke up and continued to sleep, striking him with his staff to wake him up, asking, "Why are you sleeping?" (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 138-139), thus saving him from a dangerous situation by forcing him to leave his position.

According to Aflâkî, Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I would go to Bahâ al-din Walad's tomb after his death and ask for his help whenever an important event occurred. He did so before the battle at Yassı Çimen (Yassıçemen) near Erzincan on August 10, 1230. After distributing gratuities before the battle, Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I told his soldiers, *"With God's help and Bahâ al-din Walad's help, we are stronger and will be victorious"* On the fifth day of the battle with the army under the command of Jalal al-din Khwarazmshah, *a wind of help and victory suddenly blew from the prayers of God's beloved servants. It lifted the dust from the Seljuk army into the air and scattered it over Jalal al-din Khwarazmshah's soldiers.* Thus, the Seljuk army won the battle (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 139).

From the accounts of Sultan Walad (death 1312) and Aflâkî (death 1360), it is clear that Mawlana's father, Bahâ al-Din Walad, had a significant influence on Sultan Alâ al-din Keykubâd I. Sultan Alâ al-din Keykubâd I heeded Bahâ al-Din Walad's warnings and advice and sought his guidance in important events in his life. This also greatly benefited the state policy of the Anatolian Seljuks.

The meeting of Bahâ al-din Walad and his son Mawlana with Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I took place through Emir Bedr al-din Gühertaş (death 1262) (Hacıgökmen, 2014, 122-123). Aflâkî stated that Bedr al-din Gühertaş, while the warden of Karahisar-ı Devle (Afyonkarahisar) Castle, circumcised Bahâ al-din Walad (Sultan Walad) and his brother Alâ al-Din in 1233. Sultan Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I also attended the circumcision ceremony and showed great respect and reverence to Mawlana (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 331; Hacıgökmen, 2011, 125).

However, Aydın Taneri's assessment of Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I's excessively kind behavior toward a sheikh and his attendance at Bahâ al-din Walad's sermons as a sign of his being a disciple carries the possibility that this is merely the product of the fantasies of contemporary hagiographic writers. The claim that Alâ al-Din Keykubâd I's love, respect, and reverence for a religious leader are indicators of his membership in the religious order should be viewed with caution (Taneri, 1978, 27-28).

3. Mawlana's View of the Relationship Between Statesmen (Umara) and Scholars (Ulama)

Mawlana begins his work, *Fihî Ma Fih*, with the following hadith from the Prophet Muhammad: "The worst of scholars (ulama) is the one who visits the statesmen (umara), and the best of the umara visits the ulama. But how good is the emîr who visits the poor, and how bad is the poor who visit the emîrs." According to Mawlana, people mistakenly interpret this hadith to mean that a scholar should avoid visiting the ruler to avoid becoming the worst of scholars. However, this is not the meaning of the hadith. The ruler is the one who acquires knowledge and wisdom. A true scholar is like the sun; he needs no other person to radiate warmth and light. Therefore, the true meaning of the hadith must be that the worst of scholars is the one who receives support from rulers. In other words, the worst of scholars is the one who gains power and strength by improving his situation through state administrators. If a scholar goes to visit a ruler, he is apparently in the position of a visitor, but in reality he is the one being visited (Mevlânâ, 1974, 3-4).

Mawlana interpreted the meaning of the hadith in a manner similar to that of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), one of the prominent Islamic political thinkers who lived about one hundred and sixty years earlier; A scholar who is greedy for worldly gain and does not act upon his knowledge is a bad scholar, and rulers should avoid these scholars, as the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) explained in a similar way: "He who goes to the ruler's door falls into discord" (Gazzâlî, 2002, I, 175-176; Gazzâlî, 2011, 31; Bağdatlı, 2016, 188). Based on this hadith, Mawlana states that scholars may visit the umara (public servants) not for worldly gain but to warn, counsel, and show them the right path. He clarifies the attitude a true scholar should adopt in relations with the umara. He expresses the fundamental philosophy of scholar-umara relationships and how and in what form they should be. When we examine Mawlana's life and works, we see that he lived in accordance with this stated meaning throughout his life.

In his work titled *Masnavi-i Ma'nevi*, Mawlana explains the reason sufis met with rulers by saying,

"If you remember, you must have heard this: Sultans had a custom: The brave men stand on their left side, because the heart is attached to the left. The treasurers and the scribes stand on their right side, because the knowledge of writing and recording belongs to the right hand. They give a seat to the Sufis opposite them, because they are the mirror of the soul, better than a mirror." (Mawlana, 2015, 145)

He stated that Sufis served as mirrors for the ruler, and that the mirror of the soul was more valuable and important than the mirror of the body. While a person can detect and remove dirt from the body themselves, it is very difficult to detect and remove dirt from the soul. For this reason, he said, rulers should meet with and benefit from Sufi masters. Therefore, Mawlana's contact with the Seljuk sultans should be evaluated in this context as well.

According to a narration recorded by Aflakî, one day, Muin al-din Süleyman Pervâne came to visit Mawlana with the leading emirs, but they could not find him and waited for a long time for him to come. Meanwhile, for the sake of Pervane, the just orders of the religious elders and the sheikhs of close knowledge

"Holding them dear and respected would be a life force and a source of help for them, and thanks to this, the emirs would find a way to guide the people and lead them to the right path. I wonder what was the reason for Rumi's avoidance of such emirs and kings? Yet, the sheikhs and scholars of the time longed for the favors of the emirs and were dying for it. As for Rumi, he thought to himself, "He is avoiding us like a paradise dweller fleeing from hell or a flying bird fleeing from a trap." At this point, Rumi suddenly left the meeting place of the madrasa and told the following story: One day, Sultan Mahmud Sebük Tegin (Mahmud-ı Ghaznavi) got up and went to visit Sheikh Abu'l Hasani'l Horkani. The viziers and the leading figures of the state ran ahead and informed the sheikh that the Sultan of Islam was coming to visit him. The sheikh paid no attention. The sultan and his men went to the garden of the hanigah. He came to his door. One of the disciples, Hasan-i Maymendi, came and said to the sheikh, "For the sake of God, the disciples' benefit, and the sultan's sake, take the trouble to come to the door so that the honor and dignity of the sultanate are not violated." The sheikh did not move. When the sultan arrived at the door of the sheikh's room, the vizier ran forward and said to the sheikh, "O people of religion, have you not read the verse in the Quran: Obey God, His Messenger, and those in authority among you?" Showing respect to those in authority and hosting them is among the obligatory duties. Especially for a ruler with such a saintly character, he said, "We have become so immersed in obedience to God that we have not even begun to obey His Messenger, let alone command those in authority." Thereupon, the sultan bowed his head and became a sincere disciple." (Eflaki, 1986, I, 275-277) says.

In this narration by Aflâkî, Mawlana illustrates the attitude that scholars and intellectuals should adopt when facing the ruler and high-ranking statesmen with an example. He not only answers the question that came to Muin al-din Süleyman Pervâne's mind but also concisely states that it is natural for those with authority to await knowledge.

In his work titled *Mesnevî-i Ma'nevî*, Mawlana says,

"The character of the heads of state settles in the people; the green sky makes the soil green. Think of the king as a pool, and his entourage as pipes. Water flows into the lakes through pipes. Since all of them come from a pristine pool, each one pours out a pleasant, sweet water. If the water in the pool is salty and dirty, the same water flows from each pipe. Because the pipe is connected to the pool. Think carefully about the meaning of this saying."

He also stated one of the reasons for his strong relationship with the Seljuk sultans with the words, Knowing that a ruler's temperament, morality, and behavior would have a direct impact on the people, he strived to maintain good relations with the Seljuk sultans and maintain good relations. He acted with the belief that positive guidance given to the ruler and encouragement of good and virtue would also be reflected in the people. This must have been one reason for his efforts to maintain this connection.

Mawlana also gave the following reason for working to ensure good relations between the umara and the scholars/mystics:

"If great people (saints) desire high ranks and positions (in this world), it is because these people do not have the eyes to see (they cannot comprehend) their greatness. Their aim is to prey on the people of this world with this material and worldly trap. They want this so that they can find the path to the afterlife. For example, Prophet Muhammad Mustafa did not conquer Mecca and other cities because he needed them; perhaps he conquered them to grant life to everyone and to enlighten everyone's hearts. As it is stated in the hadith, "This hand is accustomed to giving, not to taking," they (saints) deceive people in order to donate to the people, not to take anything from them" (Mevlana, 1974, 40-41).

These statements of Mawlana should not be seen as an attempt to justify the association of Sufi saints with administrators (Peacock, 2017, 177), but rather as an effort to ensure that administrators and the people are psychologically, sociologically and pedagogically good and do not become immersed in this world and forget the afterlife.

4. Relations Between Mawlana and Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II.

Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237–1246) is depicted as a man fond of worldly pleasures and entertainment, who spent his time with ignorant people, spoke carelessly, behaved childishly, and lacked the ability to rule (Akay, 2014, 65; Demir, 2022, 320). It is possible, but rare, that someone with this character would have established close relationships with, and participated in, conversations with, the scholars, spiritual guides, and Sufis of his time. However, such information is absent from the sources. Therefore, it seems impossible to believe that Kaykhusraw II met with Rumi (Akay, 2014, 65; Hacıgökmen, 2014, 126). However, his wife, Princess Thamara (Gürcü Hatun), the daughter of the Georgian Queen Rusudan, had a relationship with Rumi. It is not known exactly when this relationship began. Gürcü Hatun married Kaykhusraw II in 1238, a year after he became the Seljuk Sultan of Turkey in 1237. Rumi began to guide him after the death of his teacher, Seyyid Burhaneddin Muhakkık-ı Tirmidhi, in 1241. Meeting Shams-i Tabrizi in October-November 1244, Rumi began to spend all his time with Shams in order to better comprehend divine love, ecstasy, and truths. Although there was a brief separation, this relationship continued until Shams-i Tabrizi's death in 1247. Meanwhile, II Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw died in 1246, and his wife, Gürcü Hatun, married Muin al-din Süleyman Pervâne in 1247. Given such a high level of influence within both Gürcü Hatun's and

Mawlana's circles, it seems unlikely that they ever met. The contact and friendship between Gürcü Hatun and Mawlana likely occurred after 1247, which coincides with the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II., Ömer Subaşı's (2016, 399) statement that Gürcü Hatun became Muslim under the influence of Rumi, whom she met through her marriage to Pervâne, also supports our view. Kaykhusraw II, who had no personal interest in religion or scholarship, could not have guided his wife in this matter.

5. Relations Between Mawlana and Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II.

Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II (1246-1262) became acquainted with Rumi through the Vizier Shams al-din İsfahani (d. 1249). According to Aflaki, during the early years of his reign, Kaykawus II was unaware of Mawlana's knowledge, blinded by the pride of his throne. One day, he asked his vizier, who visited Mawlana at every opportunity, "Why do you constantly return to Mawlana's service? Why do you show him so much respect and love, yet turn away from other great figures? What qualities have you seen in him that are not found in contemporary sheikhs? What is his superiority over other learned and poor people?" Shams al-din İsfahani then described Mawlana's virtues and miracles, describing him as a great and important person. Under the influence of what he heard, Sultan Kaykawus II developed a love for Mawlana and wanted to visit him (Eflâkî, 1968, II, 123-124; Taneri, 1978, 26; Küçük, 2007, 68; Füzûzanfer, 1997, 339; Akay, 2014, 69-70; Kaya, 2015, 182).

Mawlana did not act in accordance with the wishes and desires of the Seljuk sultans and even closed his door to them from time to time and did not meet with them (Kaya, 2015, 183). One day, while Mawlana was walking in the hall of his madrasah, he told those around him, "Close the door of the madrasah thoroughly." Immediately afterwards, Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II came to visit Mawlana with his viziers, emirs and vice-regents. Ordering his disciples to reply, "They should not bother him," Mawlana went into a cell and hid, not meeting with the sultan and the state officials next to him (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 278; Küçük, 2007, 69; Hacıgökmen, 2014, 127). Mawlana, who had initially tried to establish a close relationship with the sultan but later distanced himself, must have acted this way to teach Kaykawus II a lesson and warn him.

On one occasion, Mawlana showed no interest, paid no compliments, and even ignored Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II, who had promised to give up his bad habits but broke his promise and indulged in alcohol and entertainment. In this incident, which probably took place after being defeated by the Mongols in the Battle of Sultanhanı (1256), Kaykawus II waited for a while and then said, "May Allah be pleased with him, give me some advice." Upon this, Mawlana, with a stern look and a frowning face, said to Sultan Kaykawus II, "What advice can I give you? They ordered you to be a shepherd, but you act like a wolf. They ordered you to be a watchman, but you steal. God made you a sultan, but you act according to the words of the devil." Shaken by the weight of the words he had heard, Sultan Kaykawus II, went out crying and promised to do good deeds from now on (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 480; Taneri, 1978, 26; Hacıgökmen, 2014, 127-128). Rumi's criticism of Kaykawus II

shows that he was not trying to get close to the sultans, but rather that the sultans were trying to get close to Mawlana (Kaya, 2015, 183).

There are nine letters that Mawlana sent to Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II (Mevlana 1963; Öztürk, 1986, 88; Erdoğan & Işık, 2016, 262). Two of the letters, addressed as "son", were letters of complaint. One of them was about the oppression committed by the Konya governor, the other was about the excessive taxes collected by the Sivas tax officer and requested that it be prevented. Two of the letters were letters of request. One of them requested that the crimes of two people be forgiven and that they be reinstated, the other requested that a man named Hüsameddin be reconciled with his men with whom he had problems. One of the letters congratulated the sultan on his attainment of the sultanate and his marriage, another expressed sadness for not being able to visit, and another expressed the pain of separation and longing for the sultan. Two letters of were written as a response to the sultan. In his letter of consolation to Sultan Izz al-din Kaykawus II, Mawlana likened the situation of himself and the sultan to that of the Prophet Jacob and the Prophet Joseph (Mevlana 1963; Öztürk, 1986, 89; Lewis, 2010, 333; Hacıgökmen, 2014, 129; Erdoğan & Işık, 2015, 262; Paydaş, 2007, 27).

Mawlana's eldest son, Sultan Walad (death 1312), wrote a poem addressed to Sultan Mesud II, noting that, through Mawlana's intercession, the sultan's father, Izz al-din Kaykawus II, had abolished taxes on some people (fourteen people who were Mawlana's devotees), and reminding them of the donations he had made, her urged them to be as generous as like his father.¹

Inspired by the letters, researcher Peacock views Mawlana as the pivot of the system, which granted his followers protection and privileged treatment from the political elite, even for worldly gains such as tax breaks and positions in the palace (Peacock, 2023, 113). However, this perspective is problematic. Mawlana's minor requests for some Mevlevi from the rulers of the period should not be interpreted as privileges or special treatment.

6. Relations Between Mawlana and Sultan Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV.

Mawlana did not send a letter to Sultan Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV (1249–1254 and 1257–1266). As Hacıgökmen (2014, 129) notes, the reason Rumi—who wrote to Izz al-Din

¹ Our wish and request of you is that you fulfill the promises made by your family.
It was decreed that your ancestors and fathers would grant us donations; it befits such a son to multiply them a hundredfold.
And fourteen of Mawlana's devotees were exempt and privileged thanks to that exceedingly generous king.
Oh Sultan! It must be so in your time, too, that each one may fully benefit from your generosity.
.....
Samagar (Noyan) especially wrote a decree regarding this need and cleared his heart of the rust.
For his sake and for your own father's sake, grant us back the (tax) taken from us.
(Sultan Veled Divani, 2016, 526; Peacock, 2017, 174–175; Peacock, 2023, 113).

Kaykawus II, located far from the Seljuk heartland—did not correspond with Kilij Arslan IV is that Muinüddin Süleyman Pervâne effectively controlled the state. Kilij Arslan IV held the title of sultan but lacked real authority, whereas Süleyman Pervâne, formally a vizier, exercised powers akin to a sovereign. Mawlana was fully aware of this political reality.

On one occasion, when Pervâne, to whom Mawlana had sent a letter with a request, remarked, "The matter concerns the Divan," Mawlana replied, "The state is under the rule of Süleyman Pervâne; Süleyman is not under the rule of the state." Pervâne was reportedly pleased with this acknowledgment (Taneri, 1978, 35–36). Recognizing that Pervâne was the de facto ruler during Kilij Arslan IV's reign, Mawlana met with him directly and sent a total of twenty-five letters (Mevlânâ, 1963; Öztürk, 1986, 88). The sheer number of letters is striking, highlighting both the nature of Seljuk administrative structures and the considerable influence Pervâne wielded in state affairs (Hacıgökmen, 2014, 129).

During the reign of Pervane, Mawlana did not neglect the sultan, but established a connection with him and maintained communication. Sultan Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV also tried to establish good relations with Mawlana and the Turkmen ancestors. According to Aflaki, one day Kilij Arslan IV sent five purses of "sim-i sultani." Hoca Mecidiyeddin took the money and brought it to Mawlana. However, Mawlana refused to accept the five purses of gold sent by the sultan, asking, "What is a dead dog doing in al-Aqsa Mosque?" and shouted to the person who brought it, "Throw it away, let whoever wants take it." The bags filled with gifts from the Seljuk sultan were thrown outside, but no one took them, and finally Mawlana ordered that the bags be thrown into the castle moat, which was carried out (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 420–421; Taneri, 1978, 29; Akay, 2014, 72).

During the reign of Sultan Rukn al-din Kilij Arslan IV, he was initially attached to Mawlana, but after a while, he separated from him and took other sheikhs besides Mawlana. Kilij Arslan IV, who gave banquets and organized conversations in his palace, once said that he had "taken the Turkmen sheikh Baba Merendi (Buzağı Baba) as a father" for himself; Mawlana also said; He left there saying, "If you have found a father for yourself, we will find a child for you" and thus a coldness arose between them (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 157–158; Füzûzanfer, 1997, 339–340; Turan, 1993, 531; Turan, 1990, 516; Paydaş, 2007, 27; Kaya, 2015, 183–184; Sayın, 2019, 243). Kilij Arslan IV, was very upset by this situation and fell into a psychological void, did not know what to do and could not escape the trap prepared by his enemies.

Sultan Rukn al-din Kilij Arslan IV apologized for the deterioration of his relations with Mawlana through his vizier, Muin al-din Suleiman Pervâne. Shortly thereafter, both Mawlana and one of his leading disciples, Hüsam al-din Sultan, saw Kilij Arslan IV headless on the throne. Coming to Mawlaan, Kilij Arslan IV said, "The emirs invited us, they showed an alliance, they summoned us to Aksaray to consult on ending the Mongol domination." Mawlana, however, did not approve of his going and replied, "It would be better if you do not go." However, as news of the invitations arrived one after another, Kilij Arslan IV felt

compelled to go. When he arrived in Aksaray, he was ambushed and killed (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 158; Fürüzanfer, 1997, 340; Kaya, 2015, 184). Mawlana, who was performing the sema at that time, sang the following ghazal;

"He said, "Didn't I tell you not to go there, as you know me? I am the fountain of life in this mirage of nothingness. Didn't I tell you not to go there, they will bring you trouble? They are very long-handed strong people, they will tie your feet" (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 158-159; Fürüzanfer, 1997, 341; Akay, 2014, 73; Sayın, 2019, 242-243).

After the sema ended, Mawlana said, "Let's perform the funeral prayer," and recited the takbir. Those present submitted to Mawlana. After the funeral prayer in absentia, Mawlana said, "They strangled poor Rukn al-din. This was God's will, and this is what happened." He then added, "But Rukn al-din will be in a better position in the afterlife" (Eflaki, 1986, I, 159). By stating that the reason for Kilij Arslan IV's death was Mawlana's turning away from him, Aflaki implies that the continuation of his life and reign was possible through prayer and spiritual support (Kaya, 2015, 184). However, it is understood from the narrations that although Mawlana was upset with the sultan from time to time, he prayed for him and advised him to be in a good mood and to do good deeds as a ruler, and he never severed his spiritual bond with him.

Just as Pervâne had previously dethroned Izz al-din Kaykawus II, he also orchestrated the same fate for his brother, Rukn al-din Kilij Arslan IV. He convinced the Mongols that Kilij Arslan IV was preparing for a rebellion by collaborating with the Mamluks and obtained permission for his execution. Invited to Aksaray under the pretext of discussing the Mongols' new rule, Kilij Arslan IV, unaware of the trap set for him, was first poisoned and then executed with a bowstring (İbn Bîbî, 1996, II, 169; Aksarayî, 2000, 64-65; Cahen, 1979, 277; Yılmaz, 2024, 100).

Mawlana took care of and established good relations not only with Sultan Rukn al-din Kilij Arslan IV but also with his family members. Eflâkî also mentions Gumaç Hatun, the wife of Kilij Arslan IV, as one of Mawlana's disciples (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 369; Sayın, 2019, 244-245; Öngören, 2004, 445). Mawlana maintained his contact with women in the ruling circle mostly through Fatıma Hatun, the wife of his eldest son, Sultan Walad. Fatıma Hatun played an active role in guiding the daughters of Gürcü Hatun, Gumaç Hatun, and Pervâne from the families of the rulers and ensured that they were in contact with her father-in-law Mawlana (Eflaki, 1986, II, 136; Ürkmez, 2020, 200).

One day, while Gumaç Hatun was chatting with her female relatives and friends in an old palace, Mawlana suddenly entered and told them to leave immediately. After everyone ran out, the arch of the hall collapsed (Eflâkî, 1986, I, 369). This incident is also an important indicator of Mawlana's spiritual bond with Gumaç Hatun.

With his qualities as a spiritual guide and leader, Mawlana influenced the society's thought and philosophy of life. He not only earned the love and respect of the people but

also of the Seljuk sultans and high-ranking officials, influencing their thinking and lifestyle. Avoiding political conflicts and rivalries between would-be rulers and state officials, he maintained an even-handed and impartial attitude towards all, advising them to avoid wrong decisions as much as possible and encouraging them to pursue good deeds. He worked to ensure that the people were loyal to their state and that administrators pursued policies that prioritized the people. This position made him a virtual ombudsman in relations between the people and public administration. However, it is understood from Mevlevi sources that Mawlana met with Seljuk sultans and rulers less than other scholars and sheikhs of the period, and that the sultans and rulers visited other Sufis more than Mawlana (Küçük, 2007, 41; Küçük, 2016, 57; Ergül, 2015, 183; Öngören, 2004, 445).

Aflakî, who extensively covers the relations between the Seljuk Sultans of Anatolia and Mawlana in his work, seems to have attempted to portray almost all sultans and high-ranking officials, especially Izz al-din Keykavus II and Kilij Arslan IV, and even Sultan Mahmud of the Ghaznavid State (997-1030), as members of the order (Taneri, 1978, 23). This may be true, or it may simply reflect the expectations and assumptions of the order's members.

Mawlana sometimes criticized the Seljuk sultans and sometimes expressed their good and bad qualities through examples and analogies. With his words, "Its name is beylik, viziership, sultanate, but secretly it is death, affliction, and the giving of life. Be a servant, walk freely on earth like a horse; do not be like a corpse carried on shoulders" (Rumi, 2015, 786; Sevgi, 1983, 159), he satirized those who lacked any value or merit, who lived off the people, and especially rulers and administrators who were a burden to the people, portraying them as the living dead.

In his *Masnavi-i Ma'nevi*, Rumi recalls the reign of Prophet Solomon, saying, "He saw hundreds of dangers in his reign. He saw that worldly sovereignty was, even by an iota, a fear for the head. Fear of the head, along with fear of secrets and religion. There is no test like this for us." He then added, "Despite all the power and might he possessed, the wave of that sovereignty took his breath away. When the dust of this sorrow settled on him, he felt sorry for all the sultans in the world" (Rumi, 2015, 126; Sevgi, 1983, 160). He stated that rulership was very difficult, and that the burden of sultanate sometimes took the breath away even from a prophet like Prophet Solomon, thus practically advising against such a difficult task.

Conclusion

The extraordinary political, military, economic, and social developments experienced in Anatolia in the 13th century were a significant factor in the turning of the public, rulers, and state officials to Mawlana. Adopting a simpler understanding of "People's Islam" beyond the high Islamic framework of a madrasa education, Mawlana worked to preserve political unity and social harmony, influencing and enlightening both the Seljuk sultans, state administrators, and the public with his ideas.

Working to maintain Turkish sovereignty in Anatolia and preserve Islam by purifying it of heterodox currents, Mawlana did not share the same intellectual stance with the Seljuk sultans. While Mawlana was neither too close to the Seljuk sultans nor too distant from them, he maintained a certain level of relationship. This was because Mawlana, as a spiritual guide, had the duty to guide the rulers toward goodness and beauty and ensure that the people's demands reached them.

Mawlana acted with the awareness that a ruler's morality would be reflected in his actions, and that actions would be reflected in his actions on the people. Believing that positive guidance and encouragement of good and beauty would also be reflected in the people, he established connections and met with the Seljuk sultans of Turkiye to warn and counsel them to prioritize the public interest in their actions. Taking into account the political, military, economic, and social developments of the country, Mawlana engaged with the Seljuk sultans and state officials with a mission that prioritized the state's survival and the public's well-being. Mawlana's relationship with the Seljuk sultans should be considered and evaluated as part of his mission to encourage rulers to prioritize the interests of the state and the nation in their actions and to contribute to peace and tranquility.

He did not completely isolate himself from the Seljuk sultans, so as to be able to offer them warnings, cautions, and advice. Nor did he make any effort to maintain closeness to the rulers or exert influence over them. Depending on the time and place, his relationship with the Seljuk sultans was sometimes "father-son," sometimes "sheikh-disciple," sometimes "teacher-student," and sometimes "friendship." His relationship with the Seljuk sultans was based on admonishing, counseling, and guidance for the establishment of justice, the establishment of merit, the survival of the state, and the welfare of the nation. In fact, Mawlana's relationship with the Seljuk sultans was a requirement of his historical mission.

Mawlana maintained the dignity of knowledge while meeting with the Seljuk sultans of Mawana. He never sought to please the rulers or gain personal advantage from them, nor did he seek financial support. He did not gain power or influence by improving his position through state officials. However, he occasionally made requests from the Seljuk sultans for the resolution and elimination of a problem, all for the benefit of society. Nevertheless, he always expressed the truth in all clarity, upholding God's precedence. His response to Sultan Izz al-din Keykâvus II, who sought his advice, was, "They ordered you to be a guard, but you are stealing. God made you a sultan, but you are acting on the devil's words," and his criticism of him for "not guarding, but stealing" and "acting on the devil's words," clearly demonstrates that he did not act with the intention of gaining closeness to the sultans.

Mawlana did not act according to the Seljuk sultans' wishes and desires, sometimes keeping them waiting for long periods and sometimes closing his door to them, refusing to

meet with them. Although the Seljuk sultans were sometimes irritated by Mawlaan's warnings and criticisms, and sometimes disregarded his advice or heeded his advice, they showed him respect and reverence, striving to be close to Mawlana.

In his relations with the Seljuk sultans, Mawlana laid out the fundamental philosophy of the relationship between scholars and Sufis and the umara. He demonstrated in practice how and what form a relationship should be between individuals who work for religion and the worldly, possessing both spiritual influence and material power. The fundamental philosophy of Mawlana's relationship with the Seljuk sultans was to ensure that they uphold the rights of God and the people. He stated that true scholars radiate warmth and light like the sun, and that Sufis are the mirrors of the soul to rulers. He emphasized that scholars and Sufis should interact with rulers and statesmen not to gain material power, influence, or advantage from them, but to give them something, visiting and meeting with them to remove the impurity in their inner worlds. Thus, he clarified the attitude of a true scholar and Sufi in their relations with the umara. He laid out the fundamental philosophy of relationships between scholars and umerā, and how they should be. When we examine Mawlana's life and works, we see that he lived by this philosophy throughout his life.

Mawlana advised the Seljuk sultans to prioritize qualifications and merit when appointing umara, to be merciful and forgiving, to prioritize goodness, justice, and the state's interests, and to work for the welfare of the people. He used his spiritual influence to guide those with material power (political, administrative, economic and military) toward good and virtue. For all these reasons, it can be said that, despite the mistakes and missteps of the Seljuk sultan and state officials, Mawlana played a significant role in delaying the collapse of the Türkiye Seljuk State and in maintaining the people's loyalty to the Seljuk dynasty.

Mawlana was one of the most important and influential factors in the Seljuk sultans' commitment to a policy that prioritized the people. As a spiritual guide and leader, he influenced the people's philosophies of life, as well as the Seljuk sultans' thinking, mission, vision, and actions.

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Mawlânâ and Muin al-din Parwana in the Shadow of the Mongol Invasion

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Abstract

The two most frequently mentioned figures during the Mongol Invasion, Vizier Muin al-din Parwana and Rumi, were not just two figures whose paths intersected in history. They were also close friends with a shared bond of affection. The close friendship between Rumi, whose actions shaped the course of the Mongol invasion and became a haven for the people of Anatolia, and Vizier Muin al-din Parwana, whose active political activities aimed to protect the interests of peace and tranquility in Anatolia, were among the key factors that shaped the course of the invasion. Vizier Muin al-din Suleiman Parwana, about whom the anonymous Seljuqname described the Mongols as "like a ring on his finger," is among the most important figures of the Mongol invasion period. According to information provided by Aksarâyî, Parwana, who came from a well-established family, was an intelligent and politically savvy figure. His father was Muhezzib al-Din Ali, a prominent vizier of the Seljuq state. Ali began serving the state during the reign of Ala al-din Kayqubad and was appointed vizier during the reign Ghiyath al-din Muhezzib al-Din Ali Ali, who was also in a critical situation during the Battle of Köseadağ, a turning point in Seljuq history, warned the sultan before the battle that abandoning the army's position would result in disaster. However, Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw II, a young and inexperienced ruler, acted on the advice of similarly inexperienced and adventurous commanders, resulting in a major defeat. To prevent the defeated state from falling into even worse straits and the nation from being subjected to oppression, Muhezzib al-Din Ali appeared before the powerful Mongol governor Baycu Noyan and signed a treaty. Muhezzib al-Din Ali took his son Parwana with him on this expedition. From an early age, Parwana learned the finer points of politics and state sensitivity from his father, who was dedicated to the well-being of the state. This legacy was inherited from his father, and in later years, he was appointed to government positions.



Despite fulfilling important roles within the Seljuq state apparatus during a highly turbulent era, Parwana devoted all his time to the well-being of the state and the nation, falling victim to the forces of the chaotic political environment and paying the price for these efforts with his life. Parwana not only suffered from the chaotic environment of his time but also suffered the wrath of contemporary historiography. Many historians, when evaluating the relations that unfolded in this chaotic environment, place all the blame on Parwana, perhaps as a result of their attempt to whitewash the dynasty's members, thus portraying a negative image of the vizier. Rumi, who intimately felt the Mongol suffering and inscribed this discomfort in almost every verse, not only suffered the Mongols' cruelty, but also, like Parwana, suffered the cruelty of historians throughout history, becoming portrayed as aligned with the Mongols, whom he was deeply opposed to. While a disciple of Fakhr al-Din al-Irâkî, Vizier Parwana, who had close ties with Rumi, a respected guest at Rumi's lodge, is among the most frequently mentioned figures in *Manâqib al-ʿĀrifîn* Due to his close contacts with Rumi, Parwana is considered a significant figure in Seljuk history as well as in the Mevlevi order. This study will examine Parwana, a prominent figure in late-period Seljuk politics, in terms of his relations with the Mongols, his closeness to Rumi, and the impact of these relations on statecraft. His closeness to Rumi, their relations with Rumi, his influence on him, and their shared stance during the Mongol invasion will be discussed in light of information provided by relevant sources.

Keywords

Muin al-din Parwana Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, Mongols, Seljuqs of Türkiye.

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Moğol İstilası Gölgesinde Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rumî ve Muînüddîn Pervâne

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Öz

Moğol İstilası sürecinde adından en çokça zikredilen iki isim vezir Muînüddîn Pervâne ve Hz. Mevlânâ sadece tarihin yollarını kesiştirdiği iki isim değildi. Onlar aynı zamanda aralarında gönül bağı olan yakın dostlardı. Moğol istilasını döneminde tavırları ile istilanın seyrine yön veren ve Anadolu insanının adeta sığınağı haline gelen Celâleddin Rumî ile Bu süreçte aktif siyaseti ile Anadolu insanının huzur menfaatlerini korumayı amaç edinen Vezir Parwana'nın yakın dostluğu ve Mevlânâ'nın sürekli uyarak Pervâne'ye yönelik ikazları da istila sürecinin seyrini belirleyen önemli parametreler arasında yer almaktaydı. Anonim Selçuknâme'nin Moğollar onun parmağındaki yüzük gibiydi dediği vezir Muînüddin Süleyman Pervâne Moğol istilasını döneminin önemli şahsiyetleri arasında gelmektedir. Aksarâyî'nin verdiği bilgiye göre köklü bir aileden gelen Pervâne'nin, akıllı ve çok iyi siyaset bilen bir şahsiyet olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Babası da Selçuklu devletinin önemli vezirlerinden olan Mühezzibiddin Ali'dir. Alâeddîn Keykubâd döneminde devlete hizmet etmeye başlayan Ali, Gıyâseddin döneminde vezirlik görevine getirdi. Selçuklu tarihinin kırılma noktasını oluşturan Köseadağ Savaşı'nda da kritik bir durumda olan Mühezzibiddin Ali, savaş öncesinde sultanı uyarak ordunun mevzisinden ayrılmasının felaket ile sonuçlanacağını ifade etmişti. Fakat genç ve tecrübesiz bir hükümdar olan Sultan II. Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev kendi gibi tecrübesiz ve macera peşindeki komutanların sözüne uyarak hareket etmiş neticesinde de büyük bir hezimet yaşanmıştı. Mühezzibiddin Ali, yenilgi yaşayan devletin daha da kötü bir duruma düşmemesi ve milletin zulme maruz kalmaması için Moğolların kudretli valisi Baycu Noyan'ın huzuruna çıkarak antlaşma imzalamıştır. Mühezzibiddin Ali bu sefere oğlu Pervâne'yi de götürmüştü. Daha küçük yaşta devletin selameti için uğraşan babasından ince siyaseti ve devlet hassasiyetini öğrenen Parwana, babasından aldığı bu miras ile ileriki yıllarda devlet görevine getirildi. Oldukça karışık bir devirde Selçuklu devlet mekanizmasında önemli görevler ifâ eden Pervâne bütün mesaisini devlet ve milletin selameti için harcamış olmasına rağmen kaotik siyasi ortamın gergeflüğünün kurbanı olmuş bu gayretlerinin neticesini hayatı ile ödemiştir. Muînüddin Süleyman Pervâne sadece devrinin karmaşık ortamının müzdaribi olmamış günümüz tarihçiliğinin de gadrine uğramıştır. Pek çok tarihçi, bu kargaşa ortamında yaşanan ilişkileri değerlendirirken hanedan mensuplarına temize çekme gayretinin sonucu olsa gerek bütün vebali Pervâne'ye yıkarak olumsuz bir vezir imajı çizmektedir. Moğol Izdırabını yakından hisseden ve bundan duyduğu rahatsızlığı neredeyse her beyitine nakşeden Mevlânâ, sadece moğolların gadrine uğramamış o da tarihin akışı içinde tıpkı Pervâne gibi tarihçilerin de gadrine uğrayarak zerrelere kadar karşında olduğu Moğollarla aynı safta gösterilir hale

gelmiştir. Fahreddin Irâkî'nin müridi olmasına karşın Mevlânâ dergahının hatırı sayılır konuklarından olan Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rumî ile çok yakın temasları bulunan Vezir Pervâne Menâkıbû'l-Ârîfîn'de adı en çok zikredilen şahıslar arasında yer almaktadır. Pervâne, Mevlânâ ile yakın temaslarından dolayı Selçuklu tarihinin olduğu kadar Mevlevîlîğin de önemli şahsiyetlerinden biri olarak anılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada son dönem Selçuklu siyasetinin önemli şahsiyetlerinden Muînüddin Pervâne'nin gerek Moğollar ile ilişkileri gerekse Mevlânâ ile yakınlığı ve bu ilişkilerinin devlet yönetimine etkileri Mevlânâ'ya olan yakınlığı aralarında münasebetler Mevlânâ'nın onun üzerindeki etkileri Moğol istilasını süreceinde ortak takındıkları tavır kaynakların verdiği bilgiler ışığında ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Muînüddin Pervâne, Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rumî, Moğollar, Türkiye Selçukluları

Atıf Bilgisi

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Introduction

Baycu Noyan, who won a victory over the Seljuq army, began to advance towards the inner parts of Konya in a dignified manner when he heard that the Seljuq Dynasty had abandoned the capital. In the meantime, the people who were left without a sultan began to collect all their property. Nizam al-din Ali, the only Seljuq commander in the city, organized this rally. During the Friday prayer, the preacher gave an impressive sermon explaining the situation to the people and that the only way out was to give up their property. Thereupon, all the people brought all their wealth and gave it to Nizam-al-din Ali had assigned Imam Efendi to deliver the collected money. The Imam took four mules' loads of gold to Baycu Noyan in return for the city's pardon. However, when he arrived at Baycu's tent, Baycu was not there. According to the narrative, Baycu's wife welcomed the Imam and offered him food, which included wine. When the Imam refused to drink the wine, she asked why. The Imam replied, "Allah has forbidden it." Baycu's wife responded, "But we drink it." The Imam answered, "You are infidels; that is why you drink it." She then asked, "Are you more acceptable in the sight of Allah, or are we?" The Imam said, "Of course, we are." Baycu's wife challenged him again: "Then why did Allah grant us victory and not you?" The Imam replied, "Because we did not obey His commands. We strayed from His path. As a punishment, He supported you against us." The Imam's response in this exchange reflects the broader perception held by a significant portion of the Islamic world toward the Mongols during that period. In the Islamic world, where things had not been going as they should for a long time, the arrival of the Mongols was perceived as a punishment inflicted upon them. The fact that the Mongols rose from the interior of Asia and became the rulers of the largest land empire in world history in a short time was a significant development that profoundly affected the Muslim world. Muslims had lost almost all of their political power to the Mongols. The Muslim world, which fell into political disarray with the destruction of the Muslim states in the east, the submission of the Seljuq to Mongol rule, and finally, the brutal murder of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad by Hulagu, began to experience significant trauma. Within this traumatic environment, very different attitudes towards the Mongols developed in the Islamic world. When the movement caused by the Mongol invasion was added, although it was a period of displacement, a vivacious intellectual environment was formed among Muslims during the Mongol period. This environment, which also involved confusion, was the reason for the emergence of many innovations. Western Asia's intellectual and literary climate took a completely different course after the Mongols. If the course of intellectual development in this geography is to be categorized, the turning point must be the Mongol invasion. With their arrival, the Mongols prepared the ground for a completely different environment from which there was no return. Under these conditions, it has become a generally accepted view in society that Mawlana and his followers established good relations with all administrators and those of Mongol origin. It is important to understand the context in which Mawlana's relations with the Mongols are evaluated since he does not seem to have had very hostile relations.

In this context, it is also seen that almost all of the accusations that cause severe intellectual pollution in minds are not interpretations that are fully aware of the event. One of the most frequently repeated claims is that Mawlana encouraged local bureaucrats, instrumental in the Mongol administration, to serve the Mongols. In this context, Tac-al-din Mu'taz, appointed as a vizier to Anatolia by Hulagu Khan based on Fi-hi-ma-Fih, was responsible for collecting the taxes belonging to the Mongols. In a letter he wrote to Mawlana, he said: "I cannot find time to visit you because of the Mongols' busy schedule and the fact that I serve them." Mawlana also told him that it was right for him to serve the Mongols, that the Mongols provided security and trust to the Muslims. He said, "You are easing the hearts of the Mongols and ensuring that the Muslims serve in peace." It was claimed that Mu'taz supported the Mongols by supporting this work. (Bayram, 2012, p. 237) When we look at FihîmâFih, first of all, the person who made the statement in question is not Tac-al-ddin Mu'taz but Vezir Parwana. (Fî-Hî-Mâ-Fîh, 1993, p. 13) Even if we do not focus too much on this detail, it would be a more reasonable interpretation to think that the emphasis here is on preventing further harm to the people by a wise person who will competently and safely collect the taxes that will already be applied as a result of an incident, rather than supporting cooperation with the Mongol administration. (Turan, 2010, p. 554) Moreover, the historical course has also shown that the efforts and strategies of both Tac-al-din Mu'taz, who was an important factor in the taxation process after 1256, and Emir Parwana, who was an important vizier of the period, (Kaymaz, 1970, p. 62) clearly reflected in the historical records that the people of Anatolia experienced financial prosperity and security during this period, when Mongol domination—though at its harshest—was least felt by them, while after 1277, with the death of both statesmen, the order established in Anatolia was disrupted, the governors appointed from Iran caused great oppression and the Mongol domination was felt much more harshly. (Ersan, 2010, p. 55).

This situation reveals the meaning Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî intended in his response above, and how profound a spiritual figure he was. Moreover, if we pay attention to Mawlana's style here, we see that he does not use any complimentary or positive expressions about the Mongols; on the contrary, he describes them as impure. (Önder, 1987, p. 25) In this context, it is known that Mawlana wrote nine letters to Tâceddin Mu'taz. In his letters, Mawlana addresses Tac-al-din Mu'taz with titles such as "Sahib-i A'zam," "Nizam al-Mulk of the Age," "Padishah of Viziers," "Padishah of Emirs," "Owner of two states." He often praised Tac-al-din Mu'taz, whom he referred to as just, trustworthy, and generous, for his work. (Kurt, 2010, p. 101) Among these viziers, Muin al-din Parwana undoubtedly had a special place. The vizier Muin al-din Parwana, about whom the anonymous Selçukname said, "The Mongols were like a ring on his finger" (Selçuknâme, 2014, p. 47), is among the important figures of the Mongol invasion period. According to the information provided by Aksarayî, it is understood that Parwana, who came from a well-established family, was intelligent and had excellent political knowledge. (Aksarayî, 2000, p. 31) His father was Mühezzibiddin Ali, an important vizier of the Seljuq state. Ali, who began serving

the state during the reign of Ala al-din Kayqubad, was appointed vizier during the reign of Ghiyath al-din. (Turan, 2010, p. 434) Mühezzibiddin Ali, who was in a critical situation in the Battle of Köseadağ, the turning point in Seljuq history, warned the sultan before the battle that the army leaving its position would result in disaster. (İbn Bîbî, 1996, p. 499) However, Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw, II, a young and inexperienced ruler, acted on the advice of equally inexperienced and adventurous commanders like himself, and as a result, a great defeat was experienced.

Parwana's politics

Mühezzibiddin Ali, in order to prevent the state from falling into an even worse situation after the defeat and to protect the people from oppression, went before the powerful Mongol governor Baycu Noyan and signed a treaty. (Selçuknâme, 2014, p. 42) Muhezzib al-Din Ali took his son Parwana with him on this expedition. Parwana, who learned refined political skills and a sense of state responsibility from his father—who was struggling for the state's safety—was later appointed to official duties, inheriting this legacy from him. (Kaymaz, 1965, p. 95) In a very chaotic period, Parwana, who held important positions within the Seljuq administrative structure, devoted all his efforts to the welfare of the state and the people. However, he fell victim to the chaotic political environment and paid for these efforts with his life. Muin al-din Parwana was not only a victim of the chaotic environment of his time but has also suffered from the harsh judgments of modern historiography. Osman Turan, the doyen of Seljuq historiography in particular (Turan, 2010, p. 438), while evaluating the relations experienced in this chaotic environment, probably as a result of his efforts to give a clean bill of health to the members of the dynasty, places all the blame on Parwana and portrays the vizier in a negative light. Muin al-din Parwana who was appointed to the position of Parwana as part of the new assignments made by Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan IV, rose to the position of vizier in a short time as a result of a few moves he made as a result of his intelligence and ambition. (Turan, 1958, p. 148) Parwana, who rose to second in command after the sultan, even overshadowed him with his political genius and took control of the administrative apparatus. His experience and politics enabled Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan to establish a strong administration. (İbn Bîbî, p. 577) Muin al-din Parwana, a highly influential figure in the state apparatus, was also a sincere disciple of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî. (Aksarâyî, 2000, p. 34)

It has even been suggested that Sultan Rukn al-Din (Aksarâyî, 2000, p. 577), acting on his closeness to Mawlana, disregarded Parwana's administrative experience and the progress he had made in the state since his father's time, and that he was brought to this position through Mawlana's mediation. (Bayram, 2012, p. 239–240) Parwana was so close to Mawlana that he is the most frequently mentioned statesman in Manâqib al-ʿArifîn. According to Aflaki, Parwana was constantly in Mawlana's company and organized many spiritual gatherings. Similarly, Parwana's name is mentioned frequently in Mawlana's work Fîhi Mâ Fîh.

For example, Emir Parwana said to me: "The foundation is worship." I said: "Show me the worshippers—those who truly seek worship—so that I can show them what worship is." Now you want words. You have given your ear and want to hear something—you will be upset if I say nothing. Ask for worship so that I can show you what worship is. We are looking for someone to whom we can show what worship truly is. We cannot find a seeker of worship; we find seekers of words and become distracted by them. Since you do not worship, what do you know about worship? Worship can be learned through worship; knowledge can be understood through knowledge. Form is learned through form, meaning through meaning. We are on the road—we have set out to worship. But what does it matter? Who can see us? There is no traveller; the road is deserted. After all, this worship is not merely prayer or fasting—those are just forms. True worship lies in authenticity and essential meaning. (Turan, 1996, p. 252)

In the time of Adam—may God have mercy and grant him peace—until the time of Muhammad, prayer and fasting were not as they are now, but worship still existed. So, this is the form of worship, and worship is the meaning of man. You ask which medicine has an effect; there is no form of effect—only the meaning exists. They say, "This man is a tax collector in such-and-such a city," but they cannot see the form of the official duty. They call him a tax collector because of the affairs related to him. So, worship is different from what people commonly understand. They think worship lies in its visible form. But if a hypocrite—whose inner and outer selves do not align—performs such worship, it brings him no benefit, because there is no reality or faith within it. (Müneccimbaşı, 2001, p. 101-102)

The foundation of everything is speech—speech. You are unaware of speech, and that is why you despise it. Speech is the fruit of the tree of worship because worship is also born from speech. The Almighty God created the universe with speech; He said, "Be, and it is." Faith is in the heart; it is useless if you do not express it with words. Prayer is a duty, but it is not valid if you do not read the Quran. Even when you say that words have no value, you still express this worthlessness through words; how can words have no value? We hear you say words have no value; you also say this with words. It is clear that he had sincere and deep conversations with Parwana. (Spehsâlâr, 1977, p. 25)

In Anatolia, under the shadow of Mongol domination, there were never any throne struggles among the members of the dynasty. After Parwana, Rukn al-Din, and Izzeddin, who intervened as influential figures in the state, divided the country between themselves and appealed to the Mongols to ensure Rukn al-Din's superiority, Izz-al-din fled to Istanbul. Rukn al-Din wanted to eliminate Muin al-din, who had taken over all state affairs, but Parwana, who was on the side of the Mongols, took action against the sultan's intention and had Rukn al-Din killed in 1265, instead enthroning his son, Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III, who was two and a half or six years old. (Turan, 2010, p. 526) This attitude deeply upset Mawlana, who loved Rukn al-Din very much. Mawlana was not only upset that an attack was made on a person he loved, but he was also very angry with the method of the action.

He himself narrates this incident in Fî-hî-Mâ-fih as follows: Abbas said, “Come on, tell me whatever proof you want.” Mustafa said, “If you have become a Muslim and want the good of Islam, donate some of the property that is left with you to the Muslim army so that Islam will be strengthened.” Abbas said, “O Messenger of God, what have I left? They plundered it all; they didn’t even leave an old mat.” May God have mercy on him, Mustafa said, “Did you see? You are not real; you haven’t turned back from the path you have followed. How much property you have, where did you hide it, who did you entrust it to, where did you bury it, hide it? Should I tell you?” Abbas said, “God forbid.” Mustafa said, “Didn’t you give all this property to your mother? Didn’t you bury it under such and such a wall? Didn’t you make a detailed will, saying, ‘If I return, you will give it to me; if I do not return in peace, you will spend so much on so and so, you will give so much to so and so, and this much will be yours?’” When Abbas heard this, he raised his hand and believed with complete truth. He said, “O true prophet, I thought that just as the heavens had been kind to previous sultans like Haman, Shaddad, and others, you had also been kind to them and given them good fortune. But since you commanded this, I knew and understood that this state is from that side, from God.” Mustafa said, “You spoke the truth this time; the rope of doubt in you was broken, I heard it; its voice reached my ear. I have a secret ear in the very depths of my soul; whoever breaks the belt of doubt and infidelity, I hear that breaking sound with that secret ear, and it reaches my soul’s ear. Now you spoke the truth, he believed.” I told this interpretation to Emir Parwana for the following reason; I said: “First, you became a shield for Islam. Let me sacrifice myself. You said, ‘Let me use my mind and precautions so that Islam remains and Muslims increase, so that Islam will not disappear.’ You trusted your own opinion. You did not see God; you did not know that everything comes from God. Therefore, the Almighty God caused that reason, that work, to harm Islam. Because you have united with the Tatars, you are helping the people of Damascus and the Egyptians to destroy them, to destroy the country of Islam. God made the precaution that caused the disappearance of Islam a cause of harm to Islam. Therefore, turn to God, because this is a fearful situation. Give alms so that He can save you from this fear, which is a bad situation. Do not lose hope in Him. He led you from such an act of worship to such a crime; but you saw that act of worship as coming from yourself, and that is why you fell into crime. Now do not lose hope in crime either; begging and pleading, the one who created a crime from that worship is also able to create an act of worship from that crime. It will make you regret it, it will give you reasons, and you will try to increase the number of Muslims and strengthen Islam. Do not lose hope, ‘No one loses hope in the mercy of Allah except the unbelieving community.’ This was my purpose; I said, let him understand this and give alms in this state, let him beg and plead; because he fell from a very exalted state to a low state; but he should have hope in this state.” (Fî-hî-Mâ-fih, 1993, p. 9)

Parwana's closeness to Rumi

Muîn al-din Parwana clearly holds a special place among the figures Rumi valued. Many parts of Fi-Hi-Ma-Fih, one of Rumi's most important works, appear to be addressed to

Parwana. (bkz. Fî-Hî-Mâ-Fîh, 1993) Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and Parwana was among the important patrons of the Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî lodge. Records in the Manâqib al-‘Ârifîn clearly show that he provided financial support to the lodge on several occasions, and that Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, without even knowing the amount, distributed this money to his disciples through the knowledge of Hüsâmeddin Çelebi. (Menâkib’ül-‘Ârifîn, 1973, C. I, p. 281-282)

Another story related by Aflaki through Vizier Pervane reveals Rumi's assessment of the Mongols. According to Aflaki, when Vizier Parwana asked Rumi when the Mongols would end, Rumi explained that his father, Baha-al-din Valad, who had left Balkh, had cursed the Khwarezmshahs who had acted contrary to the Sharia, and continued as follows: "For God is a saint possessing vengeance." (K., 3, V, 96). Thereupon, God brought forth the boundless Mongol army from the East. They devastated the thrones of Balkh and Khorasan. This story is long." They brought the following divine hadith as witness: God revealed to Muhammad, "I have some soldiers. I settled them in the East and called them Turks. I created them in the midst of anger and wrath." "If any servant, any nation, does not obey my command, I will impose these upon them and take vengeance upon them through them," he declared. The state of that group will decline when they mistreat our children, our children's children, and our grandchildren, when they torment and torture them, when they show disrespect, when they do not host our generation properly because of their tyranny and arrogance, and when they do not receive them as they deserve because of their tyranny and arrogance. The verse, "The oppressors have no helpers" (K., II, p. 273; II, p. 189; V, 76), will be recited about them. Everyone will see how the oppressors are punished. Then he recited the following poem: The oppression of the oppressors is a dark well. All the scholars have said so. The more oppressor a person is, the more terrible is his well. Justice says that the worst is worse. You are an elephant that frightens your enemies, but behold, the birds of Ababil have come (to you) as a punishment. If the earth If a weak, oppressed person were to say, "Oh, oh!" in his face, an uproar would rise among the inhabitants of heaven. He expressed his belief that the Mongols, who rose as a punishment and decree of God after the Muslim rulers had gone astray, would also be humiliated because of their oppression and that there would be no continuation of their oppression. He expressed his belief that justice was the basis of governance and that the true ruler was the Creator, who governed everything. (Menâkib’ül-‘Ârifîn, 1973, C. II, p. 331-335)

A significant sign of Parwana's love for Mawlana is that, after his death, Parwana and Gurju Khatun commissioned the construction of a modest mausoleum in accordance with his will. However, the respect and love for Mawlana later led to the creation of his current tomb. Later, Ilkhanate governors made partial additions. The original green-domed mausoleum, known as the Qubbat al-Khadra, was a work of the Karamanids. The magnificent mosque surrounding it was built much later by the Ottomans. Hazrat Pir's tomb, like his life, is a structure that combines diverse elements. (Sevâkib-ıl Menâkib, 2007, p. 31)

The End of the Parwana

With these expressions, Mawlana reveals his approach to the Mongols and expresses his anger towards Parwana because of his actions. Bad days for Muin al-din Parwana, a skilled statesman and sincere Mevlevi, began with the Hatiroğlu Rebellion. When Abâkâ Khan wanted to marry his son Arghûn Khan to the daughter of Sultan Rukn al-Din Kilij Arslan, Muin al-din Parwana and Fakhr al-Din ‘Ali were tasked with escorting the bride to Arghûn. (Camî’û’t-Tevârih, 1957, p. 144) The marriage of a Muslim girl to a non-Muslim prince caused unrest in Anatolia. Fakhr al-Din Ali and Parwana, who also had religious sensitivities, could not take the initiative and opposed this act, which was never religiously permissible, so they proceeded very slowly with the journey. (İbn Bîbî, 1996, p. 605) Meanwhile, when the bridal procession arrived before the Mongols, Hatiroğlu had already started a major rebellion. The governor of Tokat, Tac-al-din, failed to stop it, and the rebellion grew even larger. The reason the Hatiroğlu Rebellion quickly gained widespread support was the false news that Mamluk Sultan Baybars had come to Anatolia. Trusting this false news, Hatiroğlu relaxed his precautions and was subsequently captured and executed by Mongol soldiers. The most critical point here is that Hatiroğlu, during his trial before execution, stated that Parwana had led him to this rebellion. (Kaymaz, 2020, p. 31, 92) Indeed, it is evident that Parwana was involved in such an initiative; furthermore, he was in contact with the Mamluks and was seeking ways to free Anatolia from Mongol domination. Although he had good relations with the Mongols, Parwana was also searching for ways to eliminate them. His question to Rûmî about when the Mongols would end shows his sincerity in this effort. (Fürûzanfer, 1997, p. 71) Some contemporary sources claim that he carried out these actions quietly, despite his reluctance to send Rukneddin’s daughter to Arghûn, so that his connections with the Mamluks would not be exposed. Considering that he was already delaying the bridal procession while simultaneously supporting Hatiroğlu, it can be said that he was trying to prevent this plan. (Tarîh-î Muhtâsârüddüvel, 1941, p. 50) After this incident, Parwana, whose connections were revealed and who had lost trust in the eyes of the Mongols, now decided to play his cards openly, and by taking with him some statesmen who were in the same situation as him, they went to Baybars and convinced him to organize an expedition to Anatolia. (Ebul-Ferec, C. II, 1993, p. 597) Baybars, who had previously organized expeditions to Anatolia, now headed to Anatolia with a much larger organization under the pressure of Parwana. It is understood that Baybars had expanded his goals, entered Anatolia in 1277, and reached the Elbistan Plain. (Aksarayî, 2000, p. 40; Tarih-i Baybars, 2000, p. 80) The Mongol headquarters in Anatolia were headed by Toku and Tudavun Noyan. (Müstevfî, 1339, p. 382) Pervane headed the Secuklu army. As a result of the heated battles between Baybars and the Mongol army, the Mongol army was defeated, and the Mongol commanders Toku and Tudavun Noyan were killed. (Spüller, 2011, p. 84) Historical chronicles state that the defeat of the Mongols was the end of the policy pursued by Pervane. (Amitai, 1995, p. 157)

After these developments, Sahib Fakhr al-Din and Muin al-din Parwana went to the presence of Sultan Ghiyath al-din Kaykhusraw III and informed him about the events. After consultations, it was decided that it would be more appropriate to retreat to Tokat for security reasons, and they set off. Baybars, who had won the victory, went to Kayseri, the other capital city of the Seljuqs, and sat on the Seljuq throne there. (Selçuknâme, 2014, p. 48) However, Parwana, who had fervently called him to Anatolia, was not present. Baybars was very angry about this situation. Meanwhile, Parwana had formed an embassy team to convey what had happened with the Mongol army in Anatolia and sent it to the presence of Abâkâ Khan.

Hearing what had happened, Abaka immediately set out on an expedition to Anatolia with his army. Abaka Khan became even more enraged when he came to Elbistan and encountered the corpses of the Mongol army. That was precisely what Mu'inuddin Parwana wanted; he wanted to bring Abaka, whom he had summoned but who had ignored him and whom he knew was angry with him, and whom he had defeated by abandoning his army and leaving Baybars in the lurch, against him in Anatolia. It can be clearly understood from the historical events that Parwana had planned this from the beginning. However, things did not go as he had hoped, and Baybars, who could not find the support and interest he had expected in Anatolia, left Kayseri on 7 Muharram 676 (10 June 1277) and returned to Damascus. Parwana, who could not succeed with his plan, paid a heavy price for this attempt. Abaqa Khan, who attributed the defeat to the betrayal of the Seljuq army, especially Parwana, took Mu'inüddin Süleyman with him when he went from Elbistan to Aladağ, where the Mongol headquarters was located, and had him executed there. (İbn Bîbî, 1996, p. 615)

When we look at Rumi's evaluation of this incident, his attitude towards the Mongols becomes clearly apparent: Rumi said: I told this commentary to Emir Pervane for this reason; I said, 'First you became a shield for Islam. Let me sacrifice myself. You said, 'I will use my reason and my measures so that Islam remains and Muslims increase, so that Islam will disappear.' You relied on your own opinions. You did not see God, you did not know everything is from God. As such, the Almighty God caused that reason, that work, to cause the harm of Islam. Because you have joined forces with the Tatars and are helping them destroy the Damascus and the Egyptians, and destroy the land of Islam. God made the measure that caused the disappearance of Islam a cause for harm to Islam. Therefore, turn to God, for this is a fearful situation. Give alms so that He can save you from this evil state of fear. Do not lose hope in him. He forced you from such an act of worship into such a crime; but you saw that worship from yourself, and that's why you fell into sin. Now, don't despair of him in the crime; you beg and plead; the one who created the crime from that worship is able to create an act of worship from that crime. He will make you regret it and present reasons before you, so you can work to increase the number of Muslims and strengthen Islam. Don't despair that "No one despairs of Allah's mercy except the disbelieving community." That was my intention. I said, so that he understands this and

gives alms in this state, begs and pleads; for he has fallen from a very exalted state; but even in this state, he must have hope. Almighty God deceives; He shows beautiful forms, within which there are evil forms, so that people won't be deceived by saying, "A good provision has been made possible for me, a good work has appeared, and he has shown his face." If everything were as it appears, would the Prophet, with his sharp, clear, and illuminating vision, still say, "Show me everything as it is"? You make it seem beautiful, but in reality it is ugly. You make it seem ugly, but in reality it is beautiful, the essence. Therefore, show us everything as it is, so that we don't fall into a trap, so that we don't wander endlessly. Even if your measures are good and enlightened for now, they can't be better than his; that's what he used to say. Now, don't trust every apparent plan; beg, plead, and fear. That was my intention. However, he interpreted this verse, this interpretation, according to his own intention, as if we were to draw up armies, not to rely on them, and even if we were defeated, we should still not lose hope in them in that state of fear and helplessness; he understood the words according to his own desire. My purpose was to convey what I said. (Fî-Hî-Mâ-Fîh, p. 9)

Another story related in Aflakî through the Vizier Parwana reveals Rumi's assessment of the Mongols. According to Aflakî, when Vizier Parwana asked Rumi when the end of the Mongols would come, Rumi continued as follows: "Because God is a saint who possesses vengeance." (K., 3; V, 96). Thereupon, God brought forth the boundless Mongol army from the East. They devastated the throne of Balkh and Khorasan. This story is long." And they brought the following divine hadith as witness: God revealed to Muhammad, "I have some soldiers. I settled them in the East and called them Turks. I created them in the midst of anger and wrath." "If any servant, any nation, does not obey my command, I will impose these upon them and take vengeance upon them through them," he declared. The state of that group will decline when they mistreat our children, our children's children, and our grandchildren, when they torment and torture them, when they show disrespect, when they do not host our generation properly because of their tyranny and arrogance, and when they do not receive them as they deserve because of their tyranny and arrogance. The verse, "The oppressors have no helpers" (K., II, 273; II, 1 89; V, 76), will be recited about them. Everyone will see how the oppressors are punished. Then he recited the following poem: The oppression of the oppressors is a dark well. All the scholars have said so. The more oppressor a person is, the more terrible is his well. Justice says that the worst is worse. You are an elephant that frightens your enemies, but behold, the birds of Ababil have come (to you) as a punishment. If the earth If a weak or oppressed person says "Oh my God!" in his face, an uproar will rise among the inhabitants of the sky. (Menâkib'ul-Ârifin, 1973, V. II, p. 331-333) He believes that the Mongols, who rose as a punishment and decree of Allah after the Muslim rulers went astray, will be humiliated because of their oppression and that they will not continue to be humiliated, that the basis of government is justice and that the true ruler is the Creator and that He rules everything.

Conclusion

The era of Muin al-din Parwana, who played an active role in the Seljuq state for a long time, also ended. Parwana, who lost his life for this cause after the plan he established during his time was ruined, has gained an unjust reputation thanks to today's historians. In order to exonerate the sultan, both Osman Turan's various comments made assessments that put Parwana under suspicion. Nejat Kaymaz's independent work, which made accusations that would amount to treason, paved the way for later historians, and in almost all studies, Parwana was evaluated negatively. However, Parwana, an intelligent and promising politician, worked for the safety of the state and the nation and succeeded to a certain extent. Parwana, who took office in an environment where the Seljuq dynasty had become a shadow dynasty in the early years of Mongol domination, provided both material prosperity and ensured public order with the policies he implemented despite this chaotic environment. Parwana, who also had a scholarly and dervish temperament, was a person inspired by the Sufis of the period, especially Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and Fakhr al-Din al-Irâkî, and never failed to show them respect. So much so that the Anonymous Selçukname says about him: "There was a time during Parwana's time when the wolf and the lamb would drink water and graze together. Parwana would converse with scholars. The people were safe." The fact that after the successive deaths of both Parwana and his close friend Tac-al-din Mu'taz, public order and social order in Anatolia were disrupted, and Mongol pressure was directly felt much more severely is clear evidence that the delicate politics pursued by Parwana was far beyond the two-faced opportunism he was accused of, but rather a delicate politics distilled from experiences pursued for the sake of the survival of the state and the security of the nation.

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Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumî's Relations with the Seljuk Emirs

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Abstract

Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumî, one of the most influential figures of Anatolia in the 13th century, held a respected position in the capital city of Konya during his lifetime. He and his father, Sultan al-Ulama Baha al-din Walad, began establishing political ties from the moment they entered the borders of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm. Although Mawlana did not found a specific mystical order during his own era, he garnered a large following of people who were sincerely devoted to him. While the majority of his disciples hailed from the common populace, people from all walks of life, including artisans, attended his assemblies. He had disciples and friends not only among the subjects but also within the circles of sultans, their consorts, emirs, and statesmen of various ranks. He generally maintained his relations with the rulers through counsel and was careful not to become entangled in the political rivalries and struggles that existed among them. Among the statesmen he interacted with were figures such as Jalal al-din Karatay, Qadi Izz al-din of Konya, Emir Badr al-din Gawhartash, Rukn al-din Kılıj Arslan IV, Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana, Majd al-din Atabeg, Amin al-din Mikail, Taj al-din Mu'tazz, Sahib Ata Fakhr al-din Ali, Alam al-din Kayser, Jalal al-din Mustawfi, Atabeg Arslandoğmuş, the Governor of Kırşehir Jajaoglu Nur al-din, and his physician Reis al-atibba Akmal al-din al-Nakhjuwani. Furthermore, Gürcü Khatun, the wife of Muin al-din Parwana, and Gömeç Khatun, the wife of Kılıj Arslan IV, were also counted among his disciples.

Keywords

Mawlana, Rumî, Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana, Seljuk Statesmen, Emirs

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Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî'nin Selçuklu Emirleri ile İlişkileri

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Öz

XIII. yüzyıl Anadolu'suna damgasını vurmuş isimlerden biri olan Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, yaşadığı dönemde başkent Konya'da saygın bir kişiliğe sahipti. Babası Sultanü'l-Ulema Bahâeddin Veled ile birlikte Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti sınırları içerisine girdiği andan itibaren siyasi ilişkiler kurmaya başlamışlardır. Mevlânâ'nın kendi döneminde herhangi bir tarikat kurmamış olsa da kendisine gönülden bağlanan pek çok insan olmuştur. Müritlerinin çoğunun halktan olmasının yanı sıra zanaatkârlardan ve her meslekten insan onun meclislerine katılırdı. Tebaadan olduğu kadar sultanlar, sultan eşleri, emirler ve değişik kademedeki devlet adamları nezdinde de müritleri ve dostları mevcuttu. Yöneticilerle olan ilişkilerini genellikle nasihat çerçevesinde sürdürmüş, onların arasında bulunan siyasi çekişme ve mücadelelerin içine girmemeye özen göstermiştir. Onun temasta bulunduğu devlet adamları arasında Celâleddin Karatay, Konyalı Kadı İzzeddin, Emîr Bedreddin Gevhertaş, IV. Rükneddin Kılıçarslan, Muînüddin Süleyman Pervâne, Mecdüddin Atabeg, Emînüddin Mîkâil, Tâceddin Mu'tez, Sâhib Ata Fahreddin Ali, Alâmeddin Kayser, Celâleddin Müstevfî, Atabeg Arslandoğmuş, Kırşehir Hâkimi Cacaoğlu Nûreddin, doktoru Reîsü'l etıbbâ Ekmeleddin en-Nahcuvânî gibi isimler mevcuttu. Öte yandan Muînüddin Pervâne'nin eşi Gürcü Hatun ile IV. Kılıçarslan'ın eşi Gömeç Hatun'un da onun müritleri arasında yer almaktaydı.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Mevlânâ, Rûmî, Muînüddin Süleyman Pervâne, Selçuklu Devlet Adamları, Emirler

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Introduction

Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumî, along with his father Baha al-din Walad and his family, departed from Balkh and, following a long route, settled in Karaman (Larende). After residing there for approximately seven years, Jalal al-din and his family moved to Konya in 1228, upon the repeated and insistent invitations of the Sultan of the Seljuks of Rûm, Ala al-din Kayqubad I (Köprülü, 1976, p. 217; Paydaş, 2007, p. 24). For the purposes of this topic, the period of Mawlana's residence not only in Konya but also in Karaman is of importance. This is because Mawlana, who was known to be 14 years old when he arrived in Karaman, began his initial contacts with Seljuk statesmen through his father, Baha al-din Walad. Baha al-din Walad, known as Sultan al-Ulama, began his relations with the Seljuk emirs during his residence in Karaman. Emir Musa¹, the *subashi* (governor) of Larende under Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad, became a disciple of Sultan al-Ulama Baha al-din Walad, showed special consideration to Mawlana and his family, and commissioned the construction of a *madrasa* where they could reside in Larende. Baha al-din Walad taught at the *madrasa* built by Emir Musa for seven years, and Jalal al-din Muhammad received his education there (Önder, 1998, pp. 17-21; Öngören, 2004, p. 442; Hacıgökmen, 2014, p. 119).

Annemarie Schimmel recounts that until the 1230s–1240s, Mawlana led an ordinary life as a religious scholar, teaching and contemplating, but that after those dates, he attempted to use his influence to help people (Schimmel, 1996, pp. 15-16). Following the onset of Mongol domination, the influence of many mystics and scholars increased due to the spread of Sufism in Anatolia. Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumî was one of the foremost figures who calmed and guided the populace suffering under Mongol oppression and tyranny, acquiring a large number of disciples in this tumultuous environment. During this period, not only the general populace but also some of the Seljuk sultans, notably Izz al-din Kaykawus II and Rukn al-din Kılıj Arslan IV, who traditionally showed respect for scholars, religious figures, and tariqa sheikhs, also revered him and attended his discourses and sama assemblies. This relationship was not limited to the sultans; many Seljuk emirs and viziers inclined towards Sufism and respectful of religious figures also became either disciples or supporters of Mawlana. Mawlana, in turn, made various requests to the contemporary authorities concerning the remission of tax burdens, requests for aid, and the payment of debts for those who approached him seeking assistance (Schimmel, 1980, p. 30; Küçük, 2015, pp. 509-510; Küçük, 2016, p. 88).

Ahi Badr al-din Gawhartash

The first ruler with whom Mawlana is noted to have established a close relationship after arriving in the capital Konya was Badr al-din Gawhartash, who was also his father's disciple and one of the important emirs of the Seljuk Sultanate. The relationships of both

¹ For discussions regarding the identity of Emir Musa, see (Fürüzanfer, 2005, p. 67; Hacıgökmen, 2014, p. 119).

Sultan al-Ulama Baha al-din Walad and Mawlana Jalal al-din with Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad were established through this emir. Badr al-din Gawhartash, who served as the *Atabeg* (mentor) to Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad, is presumed to have had a close relationship with the aforementioned Emir Musa. For this reason, he played an influential role in the Mawlana family's arrival in Konya, was present with them during their residence at the Altunaba (İplikçi) madrasa upon their arrival, and was the one who commissioned the madrasa in which they stayed in Konya. The madrasa he constructed² was located on the northeast side of the Ala al-din Hill, near the Sultan's Pavilion, and does not stand today. The *waqfiyya* (endowment deed) of this madrasa, which stipulated that its professorship be reserved for descendants of Mawlana, reveals that it was an educational center managed by the Mawlawis. The Gawhartash Madrasa (Molla-i Atik), which Mawlana greatly valued, stating, "This madrasa of ours is the dwelling of the saints," was his home and his madrasa. It is significant, in fact, because a large part of his works was written or dictated there, and the events between Shams-i Tabrizi, Mawlana, and Kimya Khatun took place there (Önder, 1983, p. 44; Konyalı, 2007, pp. 524, 526; Hacıgökmen, 2011, p. 125; Uz, 2012, p. 32; Küçük, 2016, p. 111).

Emir Badr al-din did not only build a madrasa for Mawlana and his family but also endowed an estate in the village of Qaraarslan to them. Gawhartash, whom Mawlana Jalal al-din described as a "father's friend," saying, "The reality of fathers is the cause of the sons' proximity; love is inherited, and so is hatred," personally circumcised Mawlana's sons, Sultan Walad and Ala al-din, while he was serving as *dizdar* (castellan) of Afyon fortress, to which he had been appointed by Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad. Sultan Ala al-din and all the statesmen were present at this circumcision feast. However, there is a particular issue concerning Badr al-din Gawhartash. Gawhartash, who was also a member of the *Ahi* brotherhood, is thought to have been among those who murdered Shams-i Tabrizi. The reason for this possibility arises from the accounts in which the well into which Shams was thrown was located in a garden belonging to him (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, p. 214; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 38-39, 314; Lewis, 2000, p. 189; Hacıgökmen, 2011, pp. 124-125, 129-130; 2014, pp. 121-123; Küçük, 2016, p. 112; Çolak, 2012, p. 148; Fotoohi, 1392, pp. 55-56).

Vizier Shams al-din Isfahani

One of the figures with whom Mawlana was in contact from his youth was Shams al-din Isfahani. Shams al-din Isfahani, who was a friend and disciple of Mawlana's teacher, Sayyid Burhan al-din Tirmidhi, wished to host Mawlana Jalal al-din in his court while he was the Emir of Kayseri, upon the latter's return from Aleppo and Damascus³. Their bond of

² For detailed information on the Gawhartash Madrasa (Molla-i Atik) commissioned by Emir Badr al-din Gawhartash, see (Önder, 1983).

³ When Mawlana Jalal al-din arrived in Kayseri upon his return from Aleppo and Damascus, the city's dignitaries came out to welcome him. Although Shams al-din Isfahani wished to host him at his mansion, Sayyid Burhan al-din did not permit it, saying, "The tradition of the Great Mawlana Baha al-din Walad is to stay at the *madrasa*" (Lewis, 2000, p. 114; Füzüzanfer, 2005, p. 87).

affection, which began during the time of his teacher Sayyid Burhan al-din, continued during Shams al-din Isfahani's term as *nâ'ib* (deputy) and vizier, lasting until Isfahani's death (Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 160; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, p. 119; Hacıgökmen, 2014, p. 124). According to information found in Aflakî, Mawlana Jalal al-din's introduction to Sultan Izz al-din II was brokered by Shams al-din Isfahani (Eflâkî, 1973, II, p. 143; Hacıgökmen, 2014, p. 127).

The Most Important Figure of His Peiroad: Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana

Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana is likely the most important figure among Sulayman Mawlana's friends and disciples. According to Ibn Bibi, Parwana Muin al-din always strove to increase his religious knowledge and engage in discourse with sheikhs and ascetics during the time he had remaining from state affairs (Ibn Bibi, 2020, p. 627; Kaymaz, 1970, p. 185). Aflakî, in one of his anecdotes, recounted that Parwana stated that "*emirs needed sheikhs and religious men, and religious men did their best to approach the emirs.*" Based on this, it was reported that Muin al-din Parwana showed respect to many Sufi masters, including Mawlana (Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 58, 212; Paydaş, 2007, p. 29).

In his letters (approximately twenty-five) written to him, Mawlana would address him with titles such as "Ulugh-Parwana," "Parwana-i Azam," "Qutlug Ulugh Parwana," and "Muin al-din Parwana Beg," and requested aid for scholars, students, and dervishes. In one of the letters, he sought assistance for his son, Emir Alim Çelebi, while in another, he conveyed his and the subjects' appreciation for the compassion he showed towards the poor and needy. Mawlana sources also noted the presence of numerous encomiums and anecdotes concerning Parwana Muin al-din (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 48, 49, 251-253; Turan, 2016, p. 542; Lewis, 2000, p. 122; Paydaş, 2007, pp. 27-28; Hacıgökmen, 2014, p. 129; Fotoohi, 1392, p. 54).

Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana, the most prominent figure of his era, wished, in light of their friendship, to build a high-domed tomb over the grave of Sultan al-Ulama Baha al-din Walad, whom Sultan Ala al-din Kayqubad had brought to Konya with great reverence. However, sources relate that Mawlana politely refused this offer, saying, "*Since the dome you will build will not be more beautiful than the dome of the heavens, let his grave remain with this celestial dome*" (Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 499; Paydaş, 2007, p. 28; Küçük, 2016, p. 89). Moreover, a demonstration of Mawlana and Parwana's close friendship was Mawlana's assumption of the role of an intermediary for the populace to reach Parwana. Some members of the populace applied to Mawlana, informed him of their problems, and Mawlana undertook certain initiatives for their resolution. Mawlana wrote a letter requesting the pardon of a person named Nizam al-din for his crime, and the relatives of an emir named Sayf al-din came to him to convey their gratitude to Parwana for the emir's pardon. Furthermore, the best example of Mawlana's amicable relationship with Parwana is his direct dedication of his work entitled *Fîhi mâ fîh* to the emir (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 28, 224; Köprülü, 1976, p. 230; Kaymaz, 1970, pp. 23-24, 186; Paydaş, 2007, p. 29; Dülgeroğlu, 2023, IX, p. 188). Nevertheless, there were also occasions when Mawlana and Parwana criticized each other.

In light of their friendship, Mawlana did not hold back from censuring Parwana. He criticized him by asserting that he was helping the Mongols destroy the people of Damascus and Egypt and ruin the Islamic countries⁴ (*Fîhi mâ fîh*, 2006, p. 6; Kaymaz, 1970, p. 138; Schimmel, 1996, p. 25; Lewis, 2000, p. 281; Paydaş, 2007, p. 29). Muin al-din Parwana, like some other statesmen, criticized Mawlana because of the "vulgar" disciples surrounding him (Küçük, 2016, p. 63).

As is evident, the friendship and affection between these two individuals, which was founded on love and respect, was conducted through both letters and banquets and sama assemblies. In the assemblies where they met, Parwana would ask Mawlana the questions to which he could not find answers. Furthermore, the *Khan-ı yağma* (feast of plunder), which is often seen in Turkish customs and traditions, was practiced at one of these assemblies, and valuable objects were plundered after the meal as a requisite of these banquets. Sultan Rukn al-din Kılıj Arslan IV, who attended these assemblies, also became one of Mawlana's disciples (Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 187; Turan, 2014, p. 30; Kaymaz, 1970, p. 184; Paydaş, 2007, pp. 28-29; Dülgeroğlu, 2023, IX, p. 187).

Parwana's respect for Mawlana continued even after Mawlana's death; he contributed significantly to the costs of his tomb, ensuring its prompt construction. Moreover, a group, taking advantage of Mawlana's death, came before Parwana to accuse him of introducing heresy due to his practice of listening to the *rabâb* (rebec) and *nay* (reed flute) and performing sama, demanding the immediate abolition of these practices as they corrupted religion. The Emir not only rejected their demands but continued to organize sama assemblies in his own mansion (Eflâkî, 1973, II, p. 51; Küçük, 2016, pp. 89-90).

Sahib Ata Fakhr al-din Ali

Mawlana also had contact with Sahib Fakhr al-din Ali, one of the Seljuk viziers. Addressing Sahib Fakhr al-din Ali as the "Great, pious, good-tempered, God-fearing, helper of the oppressed, great emir close to the sultans," and as "our brother," Mawlana requested the re-abolition of the *baj* and *kharaj* taxes and the exemption of a group affiliated with him from these taxes, stating that although these taxes had not been collected from the group at one time with the emir's help, they later began to be collected from all but a few members. Furthermore, in one of the letters he wrote, he requested the emir to grant the *tekke* (lodge) of Ahi Gawhartash (Gühertaş) to a person named Sheikh Jamal al-din. In another letter, he asked that a *tekke* vacated by Sheikh Sadr al-din be given to Çelebi Husam al-din (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 53-54, 116-117, 164-165, 228; Paydaş, 2007, p. 32).

Mawlana Jalal al-din also wrote a letter to Fakhr al-din Ali during his time as *Atabeg*, advising the emir, who wished to marry the daughter of *Beylerbeyi* Shams al-din Yavtash to his son, not to pay attention to rumors, asserting that the comments stemmed from envy,

⁴ Nejat Kaymaz draws attention to the fact that Mawlana criticized Parwana Muin al-din on this matter but did not make any suggestion for him to change the policy he pursued (Kaymaz, 1970, p. 138).

and informing him that Çelebi Husam al-din had personally come to him to resolve the matter (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 199-201).

Sahib Ata, who preferred to converse more with other sheikhs than with Mawlana, was one of the primary critics, despite appreciating Mawlana's prestige and spiritual eminence, on the grounds that his disciples belonged to the lower strata of society. Mawlana, in turn, criticized him, sometimes wittily and sometimes openly, for his lack of effort to comprehend the world of Sufi meaning and for his failure to act upon his advice. Nevertheless, Sahib Fakhr al-din Ali did not withhold his assistance in the construction of Mawlana's tomb after his death, as a display of the reverence he felt for him (Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 192-193, 453-454; Küçük, 2016, pp. 102-104).

A Humble Statesman: Jalal al-din Karatay

Mawlana held great respect for Jalal al-din Karatay, who is encountered in Seljuk history as a benevolent, helpful, and humble statesman, and addressed him as "our Karatay." He also sent requests for aid to Karatay, similar to the letters he dispatched to other emirs. In one of the three letters he sent, he requested Jalal al-din Karatay to personally lend 500 *dirhams*, the unpaid portion of a vineyard purchased by the relatives of the goldsmith Salah al-din (Salah al-din Zarkub). In his second letter, he requested the transfer of the Ziya al-din *Khanqah* (Sufi lodge) to Çelebi Husam al-din, and in the third, he wrote a letter of recommendation for Nizam al-din (most likely Çelebi Husam al-din's son-in-law) (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 39-40, 124-125, 137-138, 226; Lewis, 2000, p. 279; Paydaş, 2007, pp. 30-31; Fotoohi, 1392, p. 55).

According to information in Aflaki, Mawlana, who attended the opening ceremony of the *madrasa* founded by Jalal al-din Karatay in 1251, visited the site many times after the opening, occasionally performed the morning prayer there, and offered prayers for the emir after his death. Views exist suggesting that Mawlana Jalal al-din, who took a close interest in the students there and engaged in legal (*fiqhi*) and Sufi (*tasawwufi*) discussions with them, influenced the students of the *madrasa* known as *faqih*s (jurists) on the subject of Sufism. Furthermore, the pool located in this *madrasa* was important to Mawlana and the Mawlawis as it was sometimes used to make sherbet for the Mawlana Dervish Lodge (Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 187, 227, 254; Okumuşlar, 2020, pp. 386, 418-419).

Emir Taj al-din Mu'tazz

Another significant figure of the period was Taj al-din Mu'tazz, who was originally from Khwarazm. He was also one of the emirs bound to Mawlana by a tie of friendship. Taj al-din Mu'tazz, who was sent to Anatolia by Hülâgü Khan with the titles of emir and vizier, was tasked with collecting the debts and taxes taken by the Seljuk sultans and Sahib Shams al-din. Mawlana, who addressed Emir Taj al-din as a "compatriot" owing to both of them being from Khorasan—and whose authority was permanently established by Kılıj Arslan IV—would give him counsel by speaking of Sufi truths. Emir Taj al-din Mu'tazz was quite pleased

with this situation and occasionally sent money to Mawlana to meet the needs of his disciples. Mawlana would then send this money to Çelebi Husam al-din, asking him to distribute it to the disciples. Taj al-din Mu'tazz even wished to construct a large *küllîye* (complex) for Mawlana and his disciples, but this wish was not accepted by Mawlana. However, later, through the mediation of Sultan Walad, he had several simple dervish cells built next to the *madrasa*. Nine letters written to Taj al-din Mu'tazz are present among Mawlana's correspondence. In most of these letters, Mawlana addressed him as “*vezir-i azam*” (grand vizier) and requested that the difficulties of some people who applied to him be resolved (İbn Bibi, 2020, p. 585; Aksarayî, 2023, pp. 49, 55; Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 261-262; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 54, 269, 271; II, p. 175; Lewis, 2000, pp. 125, 283; Küçük, 2016, pp. 98-101; Fotoohi, 1392, p. 55).

A Faithful Disciple Jajaoglu Nur al-din

Another significant contemporary figure with whom Mawlana Jalal al-din Rumî had relations was Jajaoglu Nur al-din. The period when Emir Nur al-din, described as an uneducated, mercenary Turkish soldier, rose to prominence was the reign of Kılıj Arslan IV. Thanks to the support of Parwana, Jajaoglu Nur al-din was able to assume posts in the state hierarchy and was appointed as *subashi* of Kırşehir (Küçük, 2016, p. 104). While being a disciple of Hacı Bektash-ı Veli in Kırşehir, he also established good relations with Mawlana, attending his presence and serving him many times. In the two letters Mawlana wrote to Emir Nur al-din⁵, he requested that the fault of Nizam al-din, the son-in-law of Çelebi Husam al-din, be forgiven and that he be assisted (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 42-43, 80-81; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 450-451; Önder, 1998, p. 138; Kucur, 1992, pp. 541-542).

Mawlana's Disciple Majd al-din Atabeg

Another emir with whom Mawlana maintained relations was Majd al-din Atabeg. Majd al-din, who was the son-in-law of Parwana Muin al-din, served as *Mustawfi* (minister of finance) during the reign of Kılıj Arslan IV, later became vizier in place of Sahib Ata Fakhr al-din Ali, and was promoted to *Atabeg* upon the return of Fakhr al-din Ali to his post. Aflaki states that he was one of the Seljuk rulers who respected and loved Mawlana and expressed this at every opportunity, even desiring to perform *chilla* (spiritual retreat) in his *dargah*, being influenced by Mawlana's spiritual charisma. Mawlana, who was not particularly receptive to such requests from administrators, accepted Majd al-din Atabeg's wish, unable

⁵ Nevertheless, there is a further issue regarding these two individuals, which is that, according to the accounts of Mikail Bayram, the Turkmen and the Ahis, who were dissatisfied with the appointments made under Mongol pressure after Kılıj Arslan IV was enthroned, revolted in 1261. Emir Nur al-din was assigned by the Seljuk sultan and the Mongols to suppress the revolt and was appointed commander of the Mongol army. Although the revolt was suppressed bloodily, Mawlana's son Ala al-din, who had left Konya and settled in Kırşehir after Shams-i Tabrizi's murder, was among those who were killed (Bayram, 2012, p. 213). However, the fact that Eflâkî (1973, I, p. 127) records that Ala al-din Çelebi died after contracting malaria requires one to approach this idea with caution.

to resist his insistence. *Manaqib al-Arifin* records that Majd al-din Atabeg, who began the *chilla* in Mawlana's *khanqah*⁶, could not cope with hunger due to the comfortable lifestyle he was accustomed to, secretly left the *chilla-khana* (retreat cell), ate at a friend's house, and then returned to his cell, thus failing in his dervish duty. Six letters written by Mawlana to Majd al-din Atabeg exist. In these letters, Mawlana addressed Majd al-din as grand vizier, just, angelic-tempered, and the crown of men of letters. It is also known that Majd al-din Atabeg wrote letters to Mawlana (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, p. 244; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 58, 333-334; Sipehsalar, 1977, p. 101; Lewis, 2000, p. 282; Küçük, 2016, pp. 106-107). One of the anecdotes in Aflaki relates that he went as an inviter to Mawlana's presence during a banquet hosted by his father-in-law, Parwana, and brought him to the assembly (Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 185).

Emir Hatiroğlu Sharaf al-din

Hatiroğlu Sharaf al-din was one of the emirs who felt affection for Mawlana. Hatiroğlu Sharaf al-din, who served as *munshi* (secretary) alongside Parwana with his brother Ziya al-din, was appointed as *beylerbeyi* (governor-general) of the center and *serleşker* (military commander) of Niğde after Kılıj Arslan IV was enthroned. Appointed to the position of *beylerbeyi* during the reign of Gıyas al-din Kaykhusraw III, Sharaf al-din revolted against Parwana, taking advantage of Parwana's decision to send Seljuk Khatun as a bride to the Buddhist Prince Arghun, after their relationship deteriorated over the issue of confronting the Mongols. Hatiroğlu Sharaf al-din, who was always by the side of Muin al-din Sulayman Parwana throughout his term of office, attended *sama* assemblies organized by Parwana and other statesmen many times and engaged with the guests attending the ceremony (İbn Bibi, 2020, p. 594; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 69, 414; Küçük, 2016, pp. 108-109; Dülgeroğlu, 2023, I, pp. 353-354). It is understood that Mawlana and Hatiroğlu Sharaf al-din had contact by gathering at organized invitations, albeit not on an advanced level. Aside from these contacts which continued until Mawlana's death, there is no letter written directly by Mawlana to this emir (Çolak, 2012, p. 161; Hacıgökmen & Dülgeroğlu, 2024, p. 29).

The Pride of Sons: Alam al-din Kayser

Another figure who was sincerely devoted to Mawlana was Alam al-din Kayser, the *nā'ib* of Gürcü Khatun. Kayser, who was one of the Seljuk emirs, was essentially the person who facilitated Gürcü Khatun's introduction to Mawlana and her becoming one of his devoted female disciples. The emir, who came to the fore by achieving outstanding success, especially in the Jimri incident, made sure to immediately fulfill any request Mawlana might have of him. *Manaqib al-Arifin* narrates many different stories to convey his love and devotion to Mawlana. The common theme of these stories is that he would gladly spend his wealth for Mawlana. Two letters written by Mawlana addressed to Alam al-din Kayser exist.

⁶ Majd al-din Atabeg entered the Gawhartash *Madrassa*, which was also known as Mawlana's residence, to perform *chilla* (Konyalı, 2007, p. 524). (İ. Hakkı Konyalı records the person who entered this *madrassa* to perform *chilla* as "Taj al-din, the son-in-law of Parwana").

In one of these letters, he refers to the emir as the “*pride of sons*.” Furthermore, it is known that Mawlana’s tomb was constructed under the leadership of Alam al-din Kayser. He was a friend of Badr al-din of Tabriz, one of the tomb’s architects (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 186, 221; Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 64-65, 375, 423-424, 445; II, pp. 202-203; Önder, 1998, p. 153; Lewis, 2000, p. 283; Küçük, 2016, pp. 110-111).

Mustawfi Jalal al-din Mahmud

Emir Jalal al-din Mahmud, who was one of Parwana’s close associates, traveled to Kayseri with Sultan Gıyas al-din Kaykhusraw III in 1276 while Seljuk Khatun was being taken to Abaqa Khan’s son, and sought to suppress the Hatioğlu rebellion that began at that time. However, he was captured along with the sultan by Hatioğlu. Emir Muin al-din Parwana, who returned after delivering his daughter-in-law to Arghun Khan, learned of the situation and rescued them with the aid of the reinforcement troops he requested from the Mongols. Later, he became the regent of the sultanate through an *yarligh* (edict) received from the Mongols, always invited Mawlana to the meetings he organized, and also paid him visits himself (Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 48-49; Küçük, 2016, p. 112).

Mawlana Jalal al-din, who is known to have attended the feasts organized by Mustawfi, requested from Mustawfi Jalal al-din that the money demanded from a person named Nizam al-din be pardoned, and it is stated that Mustawfi covered this debt from his own money (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 39-40; Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 498).

Atabeg Fakhr al-din Arslandoğmuş

Atabeg Arslandoğmuş was another one of the Seljuk emirs who respected Mawlana and heeded his counsel. Fakhr al-din Arslandoğmuş stipulated in the *waqfiyya* of the large *madrasa* he constructed that the professors to be appointed must be Hanafi and Sufi, but not Shafi’i. However, Mawlana expressed his sensitivity on this matter, stating that a charity bound by a condition was not a complete charity. Upon Mawlana’s advice and request, the Emir then removed this condition (Eflâkî, 1973, I, pp. 413-414; Paydaş, 2007, p. 31; Küçük, 2016, p. 113).

Moreover, in one of the letters Mawlana wrote to Fakhr al-din Arslandoğmuş, he requested the emir to appoint Afsah al-din (Afsah al-din-i Muid) to the professorship of the Karatay *Madrasa*, which would be vacated by Shams al-din Mardini, whom he was transferring to the professorship of the Atabakiyya *Madrasa* that he had built (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 137-138, 224, 229).

The Vizier Qadi Izz al-din

Among the Seljuk emirs, one of those who showed closeness to Mawlana was Qadi Izz al-din. Qadi Izz al-din, who was appointed as vizier during the period when Izz al-din Kaykawus II was enthroned against his brothers, initially opposed Mawlana, but later became his disciple and commissioned the construction of a mosque in his name, known

today as the Qadi Izz al-din Mosque in Konya. He also spoke words of praise for Mawlana in many assemblies. When this was reported to Mawlana, he expressed their closeness by saying, “*May the name of whoever remembers us kindly be remembered kindly in the world.*” Mawlana sent a letter to Qadi Izz al-din requesting the resolution of a matter between a person named Fakhr al-din, who had applied to him for help, and his relatives, and the issue was resolved (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 107-109, 239; Eflâkî, 1973, I, p. 174; Lewis, 2000, p. 278; Paydaş, 2007, p. 31; *Fîhi mâ fîh*, 2006, pp. 157-158, 198).

His Relationships with other Emirs

Apart from the figures mentioned above, Mawlana's correspondence with emirs such as Amin al-din Mikail, Malik al-Sawahil Baha al-din, Najm al-din ibn Khurram, Emir Shams al-din, and Emir Ziya al-din is an indicator of their mutual relationship. In the letters Mawlana sent to these emirs, just as he did to others, he made certain requests based on their positions, seeking intercession for his acquaintances and the remission of debts or taxes (Paydaş, 2007, p. 30). For example, in one of his letters to Malik al-Sawahil Baha al-din, he expressed gratitude for the assistance given to Emir Alim Çelebi. He also requested assistance from the *Nā'ib* Amin al-din Mikail for the facilitation of a student named Taj al-din's education (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 91-93, 168-169).

Mawlana also had correspondence with Shams al-din Ganja'i, the *nā'ib* of Taj al-din Mu'tazz, and wrote a letter concerning a merchant named Taj al-din, requesting that payment not be delayed if his goods were taken. Mawlana's reply to Shams al-din Ganja'i, who was inclined towards Sufism and used endearing terms in his letter to Mawlana, indicates the warmth of their relationship (Mevlânâ Celâleddîn, 1962, pp. 165, 185, 259; Çolak, 2012, p. 159).

Conclusion

In conclusion, Mawlana's relationships with the Seljuk emirs constitute an important example demonstrating the influence of Sufism within the political and social structure of the period in which he lived. From the moment he settled in Konya, the capital of the Seljuks, Mawlana, owing to both the influence of his father Baha al-din Walad and his own spiritual authority, maintained contact with the leading statesmen of the era. These contacts established a groundwork based not only on mystical devotion but also on mutual respect and interaction among the scholarly, cultural, and administrative circles of the time. His letters addressed particularly to emirs such as Badr al-din Gawhartash, Muin al-din Parwana, Sahib Ata Fakhr al-din Ali, and Jalal al-din Karatay are direct sources documenting his interaction with the upper strata of society.

It is known that the political, social, and economic turmoil, particularly during the years when the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm was under Mongol domination, strongly inclined the Seljuk populace towards Sufism. During this process, like other religious scholars, Mawlana maintained a certain distance from politics. However, when necessary, he offered counsel

to the rulers in line with the principles of justice, mercy, and equity, and assumed an intermediary role between the subjects and the rulers. Most of the emirs acknowledged Mawlana's spiritual authority and revered him, demonstrating this both through their attitudes towards him and their material support. It must be noted, however, that Parwana Muin al-din Sulayman holds singular importance among these emirs due to the frequency of his visits and letters, and the dedication of *Fîhi mâ fîh* to him.

Mawlana did not take sides in political disputes; however, by making requests to the emirs that would contribute to the establishment of social peace, he indirectly served to strengthen the public order. The requests and counsels he expressed in his letters ensured that his prestige increased among both the public and the rulers. Consequently, he gained many disciples from the common subjects, as well as supporters and disciples among the sultans, the sultans' consorts, and the emirs.

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Mawlana's Relations with the Akhīs

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Abstract

It is known that there were akhīs in Konya before Bahā al-Din Walad's arrival in Anatolia with his family after 1220 and his decision to settle in Konya. This Akhī structure was influenced by the Arab futuwwa and Persian chivalry, synthesized with the Turkish national culture and transformed into its own unique form. The legendary architect of this transformation is Akhī Evrān. Organized exclusively among tradesmen, the Akhīs came from various social strata and belonged to various orders representing all branches and tendencies of Sufism in Anatolia, especially Mawlawism and Bektashism. Therefore, they had a very significant role in the harmonization of the religious life of Anatolian settlements. There is asceticism that we see in the Hanafi tradition on the basis of this social role. Bahā al-Din Walad and his son Jalal al-Din Rūmī, who were disciples of N. Kubrā, had a more independent Sufi life, partly in line with the madrasa tradition. After his father's death, Jalal al-Dīn, who had been under the edify of Sayyid Burhan al-Dīn Tirmidhī, experienced a real change when he met Shams al-Tabrizī in 1244. Leaving aside the troubles of Shams' comings and goings and Damascus journeys, Mawlānā transforms into a person who spends his time in samā and dawrān, singing with a Sufi understanding based on love. In this process, it is quite normal for Mawlānā Jalal al-Dīn to have relations with the akhīs, especially those living in Konya. When we take into account the information in the sources, it is possible to say that these relations were often friendly and sometimes controversial, depending on the course of events. As a matter of fact, one of his two closest disciples, Najm al-Dīn Zarqūb, was a goldsmith, while Husam al-Din Chalabi who was nicknamed Akhī Turkoglu because of his father, was someone who grew up and lived within the akhī tradition. However, we can say that the akhīs were in favor of a regular religious life based on reason with the understanding of asceticism they adopted, and that they distanced themselves from Sufism's dhikr forms, especially sama and dawran. On the other hand, during the war of succession between the sons of Kaykhusraw II, the akhīs and Mawlānā were on opposite sides. While the akhīs supported 'Izz ad-Din Kaykaus in cooperation with the Turkmens against the Mongol invasion, Mawlānā supported Kilij Arslan IV, who was proclaimed Sultan in Konya with Mongol support. This political stance sometimes made the relations between the parties contentious and controversial. In this paper, Mawlānā's relations with the akhīs will be discussed within the framework of political and social developments in the 13th century.



Keywords

Mawlānā, akhīs, asceticism, mysticism, politics

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Mevlânâ'nın Ahîlerle İlişkileri

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Öz

Bahâeddin Veled'in ailesiyle birlikte 1220'den sonra Anadolu'ya gelişi ve daha sonra Konya'da karar kılmasından önce Konya'da Ahîlerin varlığı bilinmektedir. Bu Ahîlik yapısı Arap fütüvvetinden ve Acem civanmertliğinden etkilenecek, bunları Türk millî kültürüyle sentezleyip nev'i şahsına münhasır hale dönüşür. Bu dönüşümün efsanevî mimarı ise Ahî Evran'dır. Münhasıran esnaf arasında örgütlenen Ahîler, çeşitli sosyal tabakalardan gelip, başta Mevlevilik ve Bektaşilik olmak üzere, Anadolu'daki tasavvufun tüm kol ve eğilimlerini temsilen değişik tarikatlara bağlıdırlar. Dolayısıyla, Anadolu yerleşim merkezlerinin dini hayatının ahenkleşmesinde son derece anlamlı bir role sahiptirler. Bu sosyal rolün temelinde Hanefi gelenekte gördüğümüz zühd anlayışı vardır. N. Kübra'nın müridi olan Bahâeddin Veled ve oğlu Celâleddin Rumî ise medrese geleneğine bağlı olarak kısmen daha bağımız bir sufiyane yaşayıp sahiptiler. Babasının vefatından sonra Seyyid Burhaneddin Tirmizî'nin terbiyesine devam eden Celâleddin, asıl değişimi 1244'de Şems-i Tebrizî ile karşılaştığında yaşar. Şems'in geliş gidişleri ve Şam yolculuklarının sıkıntılarını bir kenara bırakırsak, artık Mevlânâ aşk temelli sufiyâne bir anlayışla terennümlerde bulunan zamanını semâ ve devrân ile geçiren bir kişiliğe dönüşür. Bu süreçte Mevlânâ Celaleddin'in özellikle Konya'da yaşayan Ahîlerle ilişki içerisinde bulunmasını son derece normaldir. Kaynaklardaki malumatı dikkate aldığımızda bu ilişkilerin olayların gidişine göre çoğu kere dostane kimi zaman da ihtilaflı olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Nitekim onun kendi yerine bıraktığı en yakın iki müridinden Necmeddin Zerkûb kuyumcu esnafıdır, Hüsameddin Çelebi ise babasından dolayı Ahî Türkoğlu lâkabına sahip akhîlik geleneği içinde yetişen ve yaşayan birisidir. Bununla birlikte akhîlerin benimsedikleri zühd anlayışıyla, akıl temelli düzenli bir dini hayattan yana olduklarını sûfiliğin başta sema ve devran olmak üzere nafiye formundaki zikir çeşitlerine mesafeli durduklarını söyleyebiliriz. Öte yandan II. Keyhusrev'in oğulları arasındaki veraset savaşı zamanında ahîler ile Mevlânâ zıt taraflarda bulunmuşlardır. Ahîler Moğol işgaline karşı, Türkmenlerle işbirliği yaparak İzzeddin Keykavus'u desteklerken Mevlânâ Moğol destekli Konya'da Sultan ilan edilen IV. Kılıçarslan'ı destekler. Bu siyasi tavır tarafların ilişkilerini kimi zaman çekişmeli ve ihtilaflı hale getirmiştir. Makalede konu, Mevlânâ'nın Ahîlerle ilişkileri 13. yüzyıldaki siyasi ve sosyal gelişmeler çerçevesinde ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Mevlânâ, Ahîler, zühd, tasavvuf, siyaset

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Introduction

Born in Balkh in 1207, Mawlānā's full name was Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Husayn al-Balhī and his nickname was Jalāl al-Dīn. He is called *Mevlānā* to glorify him. Mevlānā, who left Balkh with his family and came to Anatolia, completed his education in Larende with his father and got married. Receiving his first Sufi upbringing from his father Bahāal-Dīn Veled, a follower of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā,* as well as his madrasah education, Jalāl al-Dīn came to Konya after his father's death (d. 628/1231) at the invitation of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muhaqqiq al-Tirmidhī (d. 639/1241)** and grew up under his edify for nine years. His transformation in Sufism begins with his encounter with Shams al-Tabrizī. After Shams' complete disappearance/murder in 645/1247, his maturity in Sufism begins. The appearance of the *Mathnawī* was encouraged by Husām al-Dīn Chalabi. With this encouragement, the *Mathnawī* was written over a long period in the 1260s. Mawlānā died in 672/1273 (Öngören, 2004, Vol. 24, p. 441-443).

Bahā al-Dīn Waled resided in the madrasas during his travels and in Karaman and Konya, which were his last residences. Following his father's death, Jalāl al-Dīn also worked in the madrasah. If we take this into consideration, it is understood that he turned to the love-centered Sufi understanding after his encounter with Shams-i Tabrizi and organized mass sema rituals. Considering Mawlānā's life, it is known that the formation process of Mawlavism started after him and the institutionalization was completed with his grandson Ulu Arif Chalabi (Önder, 1998, p. 161-178; Kayaoğlu, 2005). Again, depending on the process of writing the *Mathnawī*, it can be said that the reading of the *Mathnawī* was limited to Konya and its vicinity during Mawlānā's lifetime.

The network of political and social relations that Mawlānā, who has a prominent place in the Turkish Sufi tradition with his Sufi understanding, entered into with different people and communities in his time, often attracted the attention of researchers. Controversial interpretations are made on the subject. One of the communities he had relations with, was the akhīs. The akhī order was a civilian social structure that gathered different professional groups in most of the cities in 13th century Anatolia. Considering the relevant data on the subject, it is understood that the akhīs had a strong structure and social solidarity in Konya, where Mawlānā spent most of his life. This study will try to reveal Mawlānā's relations with the akhīs based on the akhīs who were dealt with Mawlānā himself. In addition, some narratives about the relations before Mawlānā and some narratives about his son and

* Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221): He is the founder of the Kübreviyye, one of the three major orders originating from Central Asia. He determined the principles of his order in his work called Uşūl-u 'Ashara.

** Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muhaqqiq al-Tirmidhī (d. 639/1241): He is the sheikh of Mawlānā. He has a work called Ma'ārif, which is a record of his Sufi conversations, in which the subjects of voyage and knowledge of Allah are explained with concise words.

grandson after Mawlânâ will also be utilized. An effort will be made to determine the situation by avoiding the current debates in recent history on this subject.

Historical sources of the period such as Ibn Bîbî (1996), K. Aksarayî (2000) and Anonymous *Seljuknâme* (2014) provide first-hand data on the subject. In addition, Aflakî's *Manağib al-'Arefîn* (1989), Mawlânâ's *Letters* (1963), his son Sultan Walad's *Divân* and other Mawlawî sources are our main reference works. In the recent period, Thaeschner (1964), Gölpınarlı (1999), Barın (1991), Bayram (1991), Değirmençay (2012), Demirtaş (2016), Ürkmez (2018), Moghaddam (2019), Haykıran (2022), Hacıgökmen (2011) are among the studies on the subject.

1. Mawlânâ and Akhî Badr al-Dîn Guhartash/Gawhartash

Badr al-Dîn Guhartash/Gawhartash, who seems to have been one of the akhîs of Konya (Hacıgökmen, 2011, p. 126-128), is one of the emirs in the close circle of Sultan Alâ al-Dîn. He seems to have been in good relations with Bahâ al-Dîn Walad, the father of Mawlânâ. In fact, when Bahâ al-Dîn was teaching at the Altun-Âbâ madrasah in Konya, he asked him to build a madrasah for his sons (Eflākî, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 44). Badr al-Dîn Guhartash built a madrasah to the north-east of the Alâ al-Dîn hill, later known as *the Madrasa-i Mevlânâ, or Madrasa-i Celâliye*. It is known that Jalâl ad-Dîn Rûmî stayed in this madrasa with his children until his death. After his death, although the Mawlawî lodge was moved to the location of the tomb, the activities of this madrasah continued until the 19th century (Hacıgökmen, 2011, p. 125-126). Again, Badr al-Dîn Guhartash, while he was the castellan in Karahisâr-i Sâhib, personally circumcised Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's sons Walad and Alâ al-Dîn and organized a big wedding (Eflākî, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 331). This shows that Badr al-Dîn maintained good relations with Mawlânâ and his family until the end of his life.

2. Mawlânâ and Chalabi Husâm ad-Dîn

Perhaps the most vivid example of Mawlânâ's relationship with the akhîs is one of his closest disciples, Chalabi Husâm al-Dîn, who was addressed as "Come, my religion, come, my soul, come, my sultan. You are the sultan of truth" (Eflākî, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 106). Again, Mawlânâ praises Chalabi Husâm al-Dîn at the beginning of the sixth book of the *Mathnawî* (Mevlânâ, 2013, Vol 6, p. 691).

A gönle hayat veren Hüsameddin, altıncı bölüme isteğin coştukça coşuyor.

Hüsâmî-nâme senin gibi bir allâmenin cezbesiyle dünyada dolaşır oldu.

Ey manevî [er]. Mesnevî'yi tamamlamak üzere altıncı bölümü sana armağan olarak sunuyorum.

O Husâm al-Dîn, who gives life to the heart, your desire for the sixth chapter becomes more and more intense.

Hüsâmî-nâme became wandering in the world with the lure of an allâme like you.

O spiritual [er]. I present the sixth chapter as a gift to you to complete the Mathnavî.

His name is mentioned in the introduction of the *Mathnawī* as "Akhī Turkoglu", Husām al-Haq ve al-Dīn Hasan b. Muhammed b. Hasan, and in *Manaqib al-‘Arefīn* as Hasan b. Muhammad b. el-Hasan b. Akhī Turk (Mevlānā, 2013, Vol. 1, p. 18). Eflākī (1989, Vol. 2, p. 342) says that all of Anatolia's most respected akhīs were disciples of Akhī Turk and Akhī Bashara's grandfathers and that they were honored by them. Mawlawī sources state that Akhī Turk was a member of the great sheikh who said, "I went to bed as a Kurd and got up as an Arab" (Mevlānā, 2013, Vol. 1, p. 18; Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 2, p. 323; Sipehsâlâr, 2020, p. 123). Despite Golpınarlı's (1999, p. 38-29, 115) different opinion, A. Moghaddam (2017, p. 100), in his evaluations, determines that this saying belongs to Tāj al-‘Arefīn Abu al-Wafā (d. 501/1107). Although Bayram (1991, p. 95; 2012, p. 241) accepts Ahī Turk as Husam al-Dīn's father, the statements in Mawlawī sources do not support this. Salih Ahmed Dede (2011, p. 107) states that Ahī Turk was the son of Abu al-Wafa, born when he was about seventy years old. Thus, Chalabi Husam al-Dīn's family has been associated with the akhī for four generations and has a respected place in Konya. This information is noteworthy when we take into account the presence in Anatolia of Wafāi dervishes such as Dede Kargın, Baba Ilyas and his descendants, and Sheikh Edebalı.

Accordingly, we are able to trace our knowledge of the akhīsm back to the early 12th century. Although Moghaddam (2017, p. 101) states that Akhī Natur, one of the disciples of Mawlānā's father Bahā al-Dīn Waled, was working in the Kurkculer bathhouse at the age of 110 at the time of Mawlānā, and that he would have been born at least in 560/1160, it seems possible to take this date back further. As a matter of fact, Hasan al-Jafarī, a member of the Futuwwa, who resided in the city of Khoy according to the genealogy of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn and whom the Arabs called Akhī 'Ali Bessak, the seventh generation grandfather of Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn, comes to Anatolia after 550/1155 upon the invitation of Kilij Arslan I (d. 588/1192). In addition to these known names, Ibn Bībī (1996, Vol. 1, p. 52-53) mentions the akhīs and braves who defended Sultan Gıyās al-Dīn in the incident (595/1196) when Rūkn al-Dīn Süleyman Shah besieged Konya, deposed his brother Gıyās al-Dīn Kaykhusraw and seized power after a four-month siege. He also mentions that when ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāus came to Konya to ascend to the throne, the ahīs were among those who welcomed him (Ibn Bībī, 1996, Vol. 1, p. 140). Ibn al-Asīr, (1987, Vol. 12, p. 228; Moghaddam, 2017, p. 102) on the other hand, reports on the powerful position of the Ahlat fityān in the city and some of their actions based on this.

After all these, it is understood that the existence of the akhīsm was confirmed in the 12th century. Therefore, we can say that tradesmen were among the elements that make up the city in urban culture, that they formed an association and that certain rules were probably applied among them. Although Baykara (1985, p. 98-106) states that the tradesmen before the 13th century were represented by the *iğdiş*'lik organization formed by the merchants and the *iğdişs*, when we take into account the title of *akhī* identified above and the frequently used terms such as *fetā*, *fityān*, *rind*, *rünûd* in the sources, it seems likely that the tradesmen and merchants acted together around certain rules. Based on the fact

that those who attained the rank of mastery in trades and craftsmanship were called *akhî* in the later Futuwwatnâmes, it is understood that they were called *akhîs* (Razavî, v. 16b; Cahen, 1986). Sultan Izz ad-Din Kaykaus I's entry into the futuwwa organization led by al-Nâsir by wearing a futuwwa robe through Majd al-Din Ishaq and the reinforcement of the futuwwa activities with the arrival of Sh. Suhrawardî in Anatolia is a new process. One of the most important features of this process is the inclusion of the military class, which would later be known as *Gâziyân-ı Rûm*, into futuwwa, and even their acceptance as natural members of futuwwa (Köprülü, 1991, p. 84-88). It seems that the *akhîs* with the titles of *dizdar*, *shahne*, and *emîr* in 13th century sources are related to this. In this process, we can say that *akhîsm* and futuwwa became intertwined, and their rituals became written and widespread. In this development, the title of the founder of the Ahi organization in Anatolia is given to *Akhî Evran*, who is largely a mythological hero for the time being. Thus, *akhîsm* was influenced by Arab futuwwa and Persian chivalry, synthesizing them with Turkish national culture and transforming into its own unique form. Although some researchers consider *Akhîsm* to be a order organization, it has a different organization from the classical order structure and gives its followers from various social strata the opportunity to enter different orders (Munteanu, 1993, p. 373).

We see an example of this again in the person of Chalabi Husam al-Dîn. His father was an *akhî* in Konya and had spiritual influence over the entire population and therefore owns property and assets. He was probably the sheikh of the Hangâh-i Ziyâ'a built by the Vizier Ziyâ al-Dîn Karaarslan. After the death of his father, Chalabi Husam al-Dîn seems to have hesitated in the face of proposals for him to become the head of the *ahîs* and chose to serve Mawlânâ with all his men. Chalabi Husâm al-Dîn had a great affection for Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî. He even wanted to leave Shafi'ism and convert to Hanafism, which was Rûmî's sect, but Mawlânâ did not allow him to do so (Eflākî, Vol. 2, p. 347). Considering that fame, position and wealth do not bring anything to a person, he wants each of his men to be busy with their own earnings and to make a living with the income from their own properties, and he gives way to his servants and fetas. Husâm al-Dîn donated everything he had to J. Rûmî and had nothing left (Eflakî, Vol. 2, p.324; Gölpınarlı, 1999, p. 115-116; Demirtaş, 2021, p. 20-21)

This information will contribute to a more accurate understanding of the events and debates around Hangâh-i Ziyâ and Hangâh-i Lâlâ, of which Chalabi Husâm al-Dîn was the subject. In the event that seems to have taken place after 659/1260, according to Eflākî, the sheikh of Hangâh-i Ziyâ, which probably belonged to the *akhîs*, died. Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (1963, 115, 262) wrote a letter to the Mongol-appointed vizier Tâc al-Dîn Mu'tez, requesting that the sheikhship of the hangâh be given to Husam al-Dîn. At Tâc al-Dîn Mu'tez's initiative, Chalabi Husam al-Dîn was appointed as the sheikh of the hangâh with the approval of Rukn al-Dîn Kilij Arslan IV. Aflakî states that Ahî Aḥmad did not accept the appointment of Husam al-Dîn as sheikh due to the hatred and animosity of bigotry in his nature. For the sheikhdом, a great ceremony of sitting on a high office is performed (Eflakî, Vol. 2, p. 342-345; Gölpınarlı, 1999, p. 117-118; Ürkmez 2017, p. 253-254; Demirtaş, 2021, p. 20; Kurt, 2021,

p. 103-104). J. Rūmī carries the prayer rug of the sheikhdōm. As the prayer rug is laid out, Akhī Ahmad suddenly gets up from his seat, picks up the prayer rug and hands it to someone and says: "I do not accept this man as a sheikh in this region". All hell breaks loose and Akhī Muhammad Sebzvārī, Akhī Kayser, Akhī Choban and others from the Akhīs of Konya take up their knives and swords, and the emirs among the followers advance on to kill the insolent rishis. A riot breaks out. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī then leaves the ceremony. Although he was apologized to, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī rejects Ahmad, saying, "He is not of our kind."

It can be assumed that the ceremony described here is the ceremony of elevation of an akhī to the position of sheikh in the akhī-futuwwa organization. In other words, it is the elevation of a master who has reached perfection in his profession to the leadership of his own professional group. It is understood from Eflākī's narrations that Hangāh-ı Ziyā was in opposition to his deceased sheikh Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. It seems that Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, taking advantage of this death and using his power in the eyes of the political authority, wants to put his disciple Akhī Turkoglu on the prayer rug. In this case, either Akhī Turkoglu continued his relationship with the ahids or he had the right to become the sheikh of the hangāh based on the influence of his family. However, due to the question marks that arose in his service to the ahīs, Akhī Ahmad, the leader of the Konya ahīs, intervened in the ceremony by using his leadership authority. This situation brings confusion during the ceremony. It would be an ambitious argument to see this event as Mawlānā's attempt to take over the hangāh (Bayram, 1991, p. 95; 2012, p. 241). It is understood that Aflakī's statements that Akhī Aḥmad's attempt to be punished with death after this incident was prevented by Mawlānā's intervention and that he was no longer admitted to important meetings are related to the zealousness of the order. Again, we can date what he narrated about Akhī Aḥmad's death to before 673/1274 if we take another narrative into account. In the following narrative, it is possible that he is the same person as Akhī Aḥmad, whom Eflākī (1989, C. 2. 415) says died later in a narrative in which Sultan Walad and Shaykh Sadral-Dīn got involved in. Eflaqī's report that after the death of Akhī Aḥmad, most of the Akhī youth became followers of Mawlānā, and that his son Akhī ʿAli became a disciple of Sultan Walad, however, will come much later in the hangah debates. On the other hand, as will be discussed below, Akhī Aḥmad, who intervened with Akhī Aḥmad Shah in a civil disturbance in Konya in 684/1285, seems to have had a say in the administration of the city. If Aflaqī's statements of his death are exaggerated, it seems that the same Akhī Aḥmad retained his influence until his death. Or, considering these and other similar rumours, it can be said that more than one Akhī Aḥmad lived in Konya during this period.

3. The Difference of the Temperament between Mawlānā and the Akhīs

Another issue that needs to be evaluated in relation to this incident is that the worldview of the akhīs is relatively different from the worldview presented by Sufism and the general perspective, and the difference in the way of living religious life. Aside from the interpretations based on the relationship between the Ahīsm and Sufism within the

framework of the concept of futuwwa, the Akhîsm are the practical example of the Hanafi understanding of asceticism. In some studies, the efforts to understand the akhîs as rationalists, the Mawlawis as intuitionists and explorers, the akhîs as practitioners, the Mawlawis as mystical theorists, and the ahîs as exemplary people in their behavior and the Mawlawis as people who try to convince are also related to this phenomenon (Taeschner, 1964, Gölpınarlı, 1983, p. 304-305; Bayram, 1991, p. 89-91; Munteanu, 1993). We can explain the phenomenon we conceptualize as *Hanafi asceticism* as an attitude that is continuous in worship and piety, accepts one's own bread, individual responsibilities, sees one's work as a religious obligation, earns halal and eats one's labor, keeps out of harams, is solidaristic and socially sharing in terms of earnings and expenditures, produces information about current problems by staying away from the controversies of daily politics, and takes a correct stance. The characteristics that distinguish this attitude from similar Sufi thoughts and movements are the rejection of the knowledge obtained through discovery, inspiration and intuition, which are the main sources of knowledge in Sufi thought and the rejection of the charismatic leader culture created and produced around those who claim to have this knowledge, and the distance from rituals practiced with the congregation outside of basic worship such as nafilah. However, it should be noted that we cannot generalize that this attitude of asceticism was adopted and practiced at the same level by all akhîs or the akhî organization. As a matter of fact, as we have stated above, akhîsm, which is not exclusively an order, gives its adherents the opportunity to belong to different orders. Thus, we can speak of akhîs who belonged to Qadîrî, Rifâî, Bektashi, and Khalwatî sects, as well as akhîs who adhered to Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî from the time he was alive and adopted Mawlawism after the formation of the order. Again, we should not ignore the direct influence of Malâmism, from which the Turkish Sufi tradition was nourished by the Khorasan culture. Accordingly, we can state that the akhîs, who adopted halal earning, eating their own bread, not being dependent on others and generosity as their motto, adopted or opposed Sufism according to their temperament.

In fact, this phenomenon of differentiation is not directly between akhîs and Sufis. It is obvious that there were different Sufi orientations among the Sufis from the early period. As a matter of fact, Rûmî's relations with the environment to which he belonged brought some troubles after his encounter with Shams al-Tabrizî and probably resulted in Shams' death. After this, his mystical state is characterized in a later source as *âşıklık*. According to the narrative, when Sari Saltuq, who visited Anatolia, could not see Mawlânâ and Mahmud Hayrânî among the saints, he asked why. Ahmad Faqîh replies, 'one of them is an lover and one of them is a fan, that is why they did not come to the assembly of reason'. This answer of Ahmad Faqîh points to the three schools of thought in the Turkish Sufi tradition. The Yassawî-based understanding that places reason at the center, the Qubrawî-based understanding which was based on the love represented by Mawlânâ, which was transformed with Shamsi Tabrizî, is the understanding of abdâlism, which means the continuation of the state of constant ecstasy (vacd and istigraq) adopted by some Rifâ'îs

and different Sufi groups in the person of Mahmūd Hayrānī (Yıldırım, 2011, p. 606; Ürkmez, 2018, p. 97). A narrative between Mawlānā and Sadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī points to this differentiation. According to the narrative, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was having a conversation in a gathering of sheikhs, ākābir and distinguished emirs. When it was time to pray, they asked him to serve as imam and Rūmī said, "We are from the abdal. We sit and stay wherever we can. Sufis and steadfast people are suitable for imamate", he points to Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn for imamate and follows him and says, "Whoever prays behind a God-fearing man is like praying behind the prophet". There upon the Sheikh humbly and excitedly submits (Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 606).

It is possible to see traces of this difference in the attitudes and expressions of some of the akhīs Aflakī reports, especially Akhī Ahmad. In one narration, Akhī Aḥmad, one of the most respected figures of the period, addressed 'Alā al-Dīn, describing samā as a bid'ah and stating that he had neither read nor heard of any record that semā was permissible (Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 303). In another narration, a parent who lost a son during the reign of Sultan Walad asks for the presence of ghūyendes and kavyāl (hymnist) at the funeral and for ghazals to be recited in front of the dead. Probably the same Akhī Ahmad objected and reacted against this because it was bid'ah and not permissible. Sultan Walad states that the foundations of this custom were laid by a great person like Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and that it will continue among the lovers until the Day of Judgment. Akhī Ahmad had to remain silent. When the matter is presented to Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn, who is present in the same assembly, he agrees with Sultan Walad (Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 2, p. 414-415). Eflākī reports that Akhī Aḥmad died seven days later with the news of Sultan Walad.

A similar attitude to Akhī Ahmad is shown by a man named Akhī Mustafa during the time of Sultan Walad. According to Eflākī's narration (1989, Vol. 2, p. 431-433), a man named Mustafa, who was named by Rūmī at the request of his father, Akhī Siddiq, became an Akhī at a later age and joined the elite, but he disobeyed and became a rebel and intimidated the people of Konya. When the situation became a matter of complaint before Sultan Walad, Sultan Veled advised him. Akhī Mustafa: "We know the precautions of this matter better than our Master. Do not interfere in these matters, your realm of wisdom is one thing, ours is another." Again, after a long samā ritual, Akhī Mustafa says that the Mawlawīs are taking too long. When his attitude comes to Chalabi Arif he whirled sama with hymnist and he enters Akhī Mustafa's threshold, grabs the nozzle of the fountain, turns the carpet in the room upside down, and pours the oil from the oil lamp. No one can make a sound. Then he says "Mawlawīs have no business in this house" and leaves. After this, no semā is performed in Akhī Mustafa's house, and those around him disperse. If Aflakī's report that he was among the akhīs killed in Yahshi Khan's raid on Konya four days later is correct, it is understood that this event took place in 712/1312.

Gordlevski (1998, p. 199) interprets this situation as "The older generation of the akhīs were generally respectful of Mawlawism, but after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, they began to look down on it". However, this interpretation should be viewed with caution, as

both the developmental process of Mawlawism and the existence of akhîs who remained loyal to Mawlânâ and his sons after his death do not confirm this interpretation. As a matter of fact, there are akhîs such as Akhî Sad al-Dîn, Akhî Yusuf, Akhî Muhammad Seydaveri, Akhî Muhammad Shah, Akhî Amir Ahmad of Bayburtlu and Akhî Amir Haj(i) whom Sultan Walad praises in his *Divan* (Şeker, 2011, p. 61-67; Değirmençay, 2012, p. 55-56). On the other hand, when the information given in al-Burgâzî and Ibn Battûtâ about samâ is taken into account, it is seen that Akhî Ahmad's objections to the permissibility of samâ are individual. Al-Burgâzî (2023, 121-125) cites the words of the past sages about samâ and lists the evidence from the Prophet on the permissibility of semâ'. This narrative constitutes a more rational first example of the narrative that would later constitute the Alawite and Bektashî acceptance of the majlis of the Kırklar (Forties). The mention of the same acceptance in Razawî (v. 62b) shows that samâ was known and practiced among the akhîs and continued for centuries.

4. Mawlânâ and Akhî Amir Ahmad Bayburtî (d. after 715/1315)

Another Akhî Ahmad mentioned by Aflakî is Akhî Amir Ahmad Bayburtî (d. after 715/1315). Jalâl al-Dîn Arif, who traveled to the Eastern provinces upon the will of his father Sultan Waled, "Do not neglect Herbende Sultan (Olcaytu)," met Akhî Emir Aḥmad in Bayburt, and his relationship with Mawlânâ is narrated through the mouth of Akhî Amir Aḥmad. Accordingly, Ahmad, who wanted to meet Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî in his youth due to Rûmî's reputation, could not go to Konya because his parents did not allow him to do so. However, he prayed the wishing prayer with great aspiration, recited Surah al-An'am forty times and fell asleep. In his sleep, Jalâl al-Dîn Rumi visited their house, cut a piece of Ahmed's hair with scissors and said, "May God bless you, this is the sheikh of *Mathnawî*." When Ahmad woke up, he found his cut hair on the pillow and after wandering around like a madman for a few days, he took his seat with a great ceremony and began to recite *the Mathnawî* (Eflakî, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 421-423).

The event mentioned here must have occurred just before Mawlânâ's death, probably in the 672/1270s. Considering the writing of the *Mathnawî* and the development of Mawlawîsm, this seems unlikely. However, as will be pointed out below, if Akhî Amir Ahmad was present in Konya, his recitation of the *Masnawî* can be dated to the time of Sultan Walad. This narrative probably takes place during the journey of Ulu Arif Chalabi in 715/1315, and Akhî Amir Ahmad pledged allegiance to Arif Chalabi and participated in his journey. It is understood that Akhî Amir Ahmad, who is described as *Zekiyyüddin* and *Zekiyyü'l-Kavvâl* in some other texts, was also a disciple of Sultan Walad and met him. There are couplets praising him in Sultan Walad's *Divan* (Değirmençay, 2012, p. 64). There is a mausoleum in Bayburt in the name of Akhî Amir Ahmad Zanjanî and a zawiya that was active until the 19th century (Yurttaş, 2014, p. 77-78; Eravcı, 2014, p. 78). However, although he was from Bayburt, there is also a mausoleum, outbuildings and a waqf in Sivas in the name of Akhî Amir Ahmad (Barın, 1991, p. 37-82; Yıldız, 2014, p. 76). Considering that the waqf is dated 733/1332-33, it can be said that Akhî Amir Ahmad lived until these dates if he was the same

person. Or there may be a second Akhī Amir Ahmad. For now, with our current knowledge, it remains unclear how Akhī Amir Ahmad was connected to Sivas.

The Anonymous *Seljuknāme* (2014, p. 67-68) mentions a person named Akhī Amir Ahmed who lived in Konya. According to the narration, this person fell ill. Akhī Ahmad Shah has twelve thousand sultanī debt from this person. When he heard that he was ill, he went to visit him with the elders of the city. When Akhī Amir Ahmad sees him, he gets sicker and worries "what will he say?". Akhī Ahmad Shah sits by his bedside and says that he forgives his debt of twelve thousand sultanīs, citing those present as witnesses. Those present, the Akhī's children and household are happy and pray. It is possible that the person mentioned here is Akhī Amir Ahmad, whom we have discussed above. Because we know that he had a desire to go to Konya in his youth. Therefore, it can be considered natural for him to be in Konya for a while, when he gets old.

5. Mawlānā and Akhī Ahmad Shah (d. 697/1298)

Akhī Ahmad Shah, whom Aflākī (1989, Vol. 2, p. 184-185) introduces as *Malik al-fityān* and *Nādiret al-zamān*, is another Ahmad. He was the leader of the akhīs of Konya and a wealthy man with several thousand rites and warriors under his command. During the Cimri/Stingy incident (677/1278), the akhīs, under the leadership of Ahī Ahmad Shah, contributed to the defense of the city (*Seljuknāme*, 2014, p. 50-51; Ibn Bībī, 1996, p. 210-213, Turan, 1993, p. 566-567). In 684/1285, the conflict between Sahib Ata and the mother of Gıyās al-Dīn Keyhūsrev II and Akhī Ahmad Shah, Akhī Ahmad and the qadi of Konya intervened and calmed the conflict (*Seljuknāme*, 2014, p. 53). In 691/1292, the Ilkhanid Han Geyhatu came to Konya with an army of fifty thousand people, but when Mawlānā, whom he saw in his dream, prevented him from attacking the city, he visited the city with a force of two-three thousand people. The notables of the city, especially Akhī Ahmad Shah, brought valuable gifts and presented them to the prince. Geyhatu wanted to meet Akhī Ahmad Shah alone. During the meeting, he addressed him as "Akhī Ata" and said that he had chosen him as his *father*. Although they met alone, when Geyhatu described the person standing next to him and asked him who he was, Akhī Ahmad Shah realized with his intelligence that he was talking about Mawlānā and said, "O sultan of the world! Only the blessed eye of the khan can see him. He is Jalaluddin, the son of Bahā al-Dīn of Balkh, who is buried in this land." Geyhatu said that he had seen him in his dreams and that he would not harm Konya for his sake. Together they visit Sultan Walad and have a conversation with him (Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 2, p. 185-186; Turan, 1993, p. 588-589).

Another narration that shows that Akhī Ahmad Shah was a capable person in the administration of the city is as follows: Upon the death of Sāhib Fakhr al-Dīn Ali, Fakhr al-Dīn Qazvinī was appointed as Sahib. His arrival in Konya and initiation of new practices caused disturbances in Konya (689/1290). Akhī Ahmad Shah came with the city's chamberlains and fatas to the Sultan and voiced his complaints. Sahib Qazvinī responded to Akhī Ahmad Shah with harsh words and left. When al-Sāhib's actions were exposed, he

was dismissed and executed. According to the narrations, Sâhib Qazvinî who is understood to have served for two years, stays in Konya for twenty-four days. However, this was longer than twenty-four years for the dervishes of Konya (*Seljuknâme*, 2014, p. 57-59; Turan, 1993, p. 593-594).

When Akhî Ahmad Shah's brother died in 694/1294, no one opened their shops in Konya for forty days and fifteen thousand people stayed with their heads uncovered at the funeral. No such mourning is done for anyone (*Seljuknâme* 2014, p. 68). The anonymous *Seljuknâme* (2014, p. 69) also states that in 696/1296 Ahî Ahmad Shah expelled the envoy of Ghazan Khan who committed atrocities in Konya. However, Sharab-Sâlâr, probably to curry favor with Ghazan Khan, killed Akhî Ahmad Shah (697/1298). Turan (1993, p. 619) states that he must have been buried with a similar funeral and mourning with considering the mourning at his brother's funeral. A few months later (698/1298), on the orders of the new sultan Ala al-Dîn Ferâmurz, Akhî Caruq, probably the ameer of Nigde, killed Akhî Ahmad Shah's murderer (Moghaddam, 2017, 73, p. 152).

In another narration, Aflakî (1989, Vol. 2, p. 490) states that when he and Ulu Arif Chalabi arrived in Tabriz, a great feast was held at the house of Akhî Kazzâz Ahmad Shah, one of the city's notables, and a sama majlis was organized. Since Ulu Arif Chalabi's journey took place in 715/1315, it seems that this Ahmad Shah was different from the Ahmad Shah of Konya mentioned above.

6. Political Attitudes of the Akhîs

Although they did not have an official role in the state mechanism, akhîs participated in the official ceremonies of the sultans such as the julus, allegiance, welcome, celebration and condolences alongside civilian and military officials (Ibn Bibî, 1996, Vol.1, p. 52-53, 140; Moghaddam, 2017, p. 146-151). This is an indication of their place in the social structure of cities as well as their loyalty to political authority. Considering that the tradesmen were one of the main elements of the city, this situation should be considered natural. As a matter of fact, Ibn al-Asîr (1987, Vol. 12, p. 228; Moghaddam, 2017, p. 102), while talking about the events of 604/1207, informs that the Ahlat fityân controlled the city, that they deposed one sultan and brought in another, that they had disputes among themselves and caused trouble to the people. From the events mentioned above, it is understood that the akhîs of Konya had an important place in the politics of the city. The relations of some of them with the Wafâids and the Babaî rebellion in the context of their loyalty to Chalabi Husam al-Dîn's ancestors are ambiguous.

The best known information about the political attitudes of the akhîs is their effective struggle in the defense of cities, especially Kayseri, during the Mongol invasion and their stance against the Mongol invasion (Ibn Bibî, Vol. 2, p. 75-77; Turan, 1993, p. 440-441). In the struggle for the throne after the death of Gıyâs al-Dîn II, the akhîs of Konya preferred to remain neutral in the disputes between the viziers and said, "We do not interfere in the struggle among you and we do not rebel against the sultan and commit blasphemy" (Turan,

1993, p. 466). However, the fact that they were against a Mongol-backed sultan changed their decision not to take sides in this struggle and they started to fight against the Mongols together with the Turkmens gathered around 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykaus court (Demirtaş, 2021, p. 55-57).

It is known that after Gıyās al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, Mawlānā, from the beginning, sided with the Mongols in order to eliminate the damage to the city, and in this regard, he supported Rukn al-Dīn Kilij arslan, who was appointed by the Mongols. When we take into account Mawlānā's relations with the akhīs during his lifetime, it should be stated that it is not very accurate to reflect this politically different fronts as an enmity between Mawlānā and the akhīs. Moreover, as we have seen in the example of Akhī Ahmad Shah, the akhīs of Konya also fulfilled their duties regarding the protection of Konya. From the information in the sources, it is understood that the akhīs, who often acted jointly with the official authority, and their fityān/youth and runūdun were sometimes used in the rivalries between the state bureaucracy (*Seljuknāme*, 2014, 50, 54, 58, 60; Eflākī, 1989, Vol. 2, p.246, 303)

It does not seem possible with the available data to reflect the events in the 13th century during the Mongol invasion, as an Akhī Evran-Mawlānā struggle as Bayram (2012) claims. Since a comprehensive response to Bayram's claims on this subject has already been given, we will not repeat them (Kaplan, 2021). For now, it should be stated that Akhī Evran remains a mythological figure in the context of the relationship between akhīsm and futuwwa, even though he has the title of founder. In a manuscript about him in the Mawlānā Museum in Konya, it is reported that Akhī Evran Sultan is counted as a tomb along with Sheikh Ewhā al-Dīn Kirmānī among the virtuous people lying in Konya (Şeker, 2011, p. 48-49). Sheikh Ewhād al-Dīn's tomb is located in Konya, while Akhī Evran's tomb is in Kırşehir. There is a mausoleum for Akhī Evren Sultan in Kutahya. Although 15th century sources report Akhī Evran's acquaintance with Sadral-Dīn Qonawī, his residence in Denizli, Konya, Kayseri and Kırşehir, and the fact that he had a large zawiyya, information about him is limited to manaqıbs (Moghaddam, 2017, p. 144-145; Sarıkaya, 2021). Therefore, what he did during his stay in Konya remains unknown for now.

Conclusion

Gölpınarlı's (1983, p. 305) comments on Mawlānā's akhī circles seem to be accurate and correctly identify the phenomenon. Accordingly, referring to the relationship between Mawlānā and Husam al-Dīn Chalabi, he states that in the early days Mawlānā and his companions socialized with the people of futuwwa. However, although there were some akhīs who could not tolerate Mawlānā's enthusiasm and condemned him, the akhī youth loved him and considered him as one of their own. This fusion continues during the reigns of Sultan Walad and Ulu Arif Chalabi, and both of them have disciples and caliphs with the title of ahi. Expert comments on the subject are in this vein.

When we consider 13th century Konya, it is seen that the akhîs, who controlled an important social class in the city, made efforts together with other notables in order for the city to overcome the events with minimal damage both in the development of political events and during the Mongol invasion. Although the akhîs of Konya endeavored to stay away from the conflicts within the palace bureaucracy, it is understood that the youth and runud were sometimes used in these events. On the other hand, the opposition to the Mongols that began in Kayseri in defense of the country led the akhîs together with the Turkmens to side with 'Izz ad-Din Kaykaus II. In this situation, a confrontation with those who sided with the other prince became inevitable. Despite the controversial interpretations about him, Akhî Evran's place among the akhîs of Konya remains unclear among the mythical/mythological data for now.

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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 qâdis 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 mudarrishship (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 ʿIzz 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, imām); 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 (qāmic al-bidʿa). This shows that Qādī ʿIzz 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 ʿIzz 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 ʿIzz al-Dîn

Ibn Bîbî (2014, pp. 560-562), one of the local historians of the period, introduces Qādī ʿIzz 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 ʿIzz 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 ʿIzz al-Dîn favoured was Mawlânâ.

According to the records we have, we can say that there was a sincere relationship between Mawlânâ and Qādī ʿIzz al-Dîn. In two letters addressed to Qādī ʿIzz 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 (madhhabs); 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 fatwās 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-Muʿmin 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-Muʿmin 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-Muʿmin 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), 'Izz 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 ʿIzz 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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The Merchant Disciples of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî

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Abstract

During the Seljuk period in Anatolia, thanks to the economic policies developed by the sultans and statesmen themselves, commercial activities reached their peak in Anatolia and became an important part of daily life. As a result of increasing commercial activities, it is understood that the local and foreign merchants living in Konya, which became a cosmopolitan city, had intense relations with the sultan, emirs, and notables as well as the Sufis living in the city. The nature of the relationship between Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's, who was known to have disciples and friends from among the merchants who frequently traveled to and from the city, and these people, who represented the most distinguished group of the period, was generally shaped within the framework of the mentor-disciple relationship. In addition, it is striking that while other scholars and Sufis living in Seljuk Konya had friends from the Maghreb, that is, from the Western world, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's had merchant friends from Eastern regions such as Khorasan, Iraq, and India. This situation undoubtedly stands out as a development related to the lands where Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî was born and his family ties. On the other hand, while Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's relationship with merchants was shaped by the Sufi tradition, his relations with the city's notables blossomed with the dynamics of political and social life. These include details that allow us to learn the names of merchants living in Konya during the Seljuk period, some of whom traveled overseas, the jobs they did, and even the countries they visited. Thus, it is aimed to reveal both sections of the Seljuk trade life of the period and the ties that Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî established with the merchants. Original information was obtained from Mevlevi and Anatolian sources and interpreted using a prosopographic approach. Arguments that Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî had a network of relations with merchants, generally developing within the framework of mentor-disciple, were identified. Thus, conclusions were reached about the kind of contributions of merchant groups and city notables to the rich cultural atmosphere of the Seljuk world of Turkey in the context of their examples of devotion to a distinguished Sufi.



Keywords

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Konya, Merchant

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Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî'nin Tüccar Müritleri

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Öz

Türkiye Selçukluları zamanında bizzat sultanlar ve devlet adamları tarafından geliştirilen iktisadi politikalar sayesinde Anadolu'da ticari faaliyetler zirveye ulaşmış, gündelik hayatın önemli bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Artan ticari faaliyetler neticesinde kozmopolit bir şehir dönüşen Konya'da yaşayan yerli ve yabancı tüccarların sultan, emir ve eşrafın yanı sıra şehirde meskûn mutasavvıflarla da yoğun ilişki içerisinde bulundukları anlaşılmaktadır. Şehre gelip giden tacirlerden mürit ve dostları olduğu bilinen Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin dönemin en seçkin zümresini temsil eden bu kişiler ile münasebetinin mahiyeti genellikle mürşit-mürit ilişkisi çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir. Ayrıca Selçuklu Konya'sında yaşayan diğer âlim ve sufilerin Mağrip'ten yani Batı dünyasından dostları varken Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin Horasan, Irak, Hindistan gibi Doğu bölgelerinden tacir dostları olması dikkat çekicidir. Şüphesiz bu durum, Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin doğduğu topraklar ve aile bağları ile ilgili bir gelişme olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Diğer yandan Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin tüccarlar ile ilişkisi tasavvufi gelenek üzerinden şekillenirken, şehir eşrafı ile münasebetleri siyasi ve sosyal yaşamın dinamikleri ile gelişmiştir. Tüm bunlar, Selçuklular döneminde Konya'da yaşayan ve bir kısmı deniz aşırı yolculuklar yapan tüccarların isimlerini, yaptıkları işleri, hatta gidip geldikleri ülkeleri öğrenmemizi sağlayacak detayları içermektedir. Böylece hem dönemin Selçuklu ticareti hayatından kesitlerin hem de Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin tüccarlar ile kurduğu bağların ortaya konulması amaçlanmaktadır. Çalışmada Mevlevi kaynakları ile Anadolu'nun yerli kaynakları üzerinden hareket ile özgün bilgiler elde edilmiş ve bunlar prosopografik yaklaşım ile yorumlanmıştır. Mevlânâ Celâleddîn-i Rûmî'nin tüccarlar ile genellikle mürşit-mürit çerçevesinde gelişen bir ilişkiler ağı olduğuna dair argümanlar tespit edilmiştir. Böylece tüccar zümrelerin ve şehir eşrafının, seçkin bir mutasavvıfa olan bağlılık örnekleri bağlamında Türkiye Selçuklu dünyasının zengin kültürel atmosferine yönelik ne tür katkı sağladıklarına dair sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî, Konya, Tüccar

Atıf Bilgisi

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Introduction

Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's (d. 672/1273) relations with merchants cannot be considered independently of the Seljuk economic system; more precisely, they cannot be separated from the commercial activities of the Mongols in Anatolia. Contrary to the prevailing view, and borrowing a concept from the historian of civilization André Miquel, the phenomenon referred to as an "internal conquest" — marked by the dynamism the Mongols brought to trade routes and the mobility of merchants — triggered the rise of a new commercial network in Anatolia. (Miquel, 1991, Vol. 1, p. 292). For instance, cities such as Erzurum, Sivas, and Trabzon acquired new commercial potential, while the Yabanlu Bazaar established in Kayseri attained the status of an international fair (Kazvinî, 1848, p. 357; Sümer, 1985, p. 15–16). Accordingly, during this very period, trade not only influenced the social diversity of the Seljuk capital, Konya, but also came to occupy a significant place in the daily lives of prominent figures such as Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and Şadr al-Dîn Qûnawî (d. 673/1274). Indeed, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî makes reference to the Yabanlu Bazaar in several verses of his renowned *Mathnawî* (Sümer, 1985, p. 11). Particularly, merchants of Jewish, Armenian, Venetian, Genoese, Cypriot, and North African origin settled in Konya, constructing houses and establishing neighborhoods (İbn Baţţûta, 2018, p. 282–283). For instance, the "Ermen-hans" located in and around Konya evoke the presence of Armenian merchants (Baykara, 1985, p. 67). It is also worth noting that in Seljuk Anatolia, the term used for merchants was *khwājagān* (hâcegân). Undoubtedly, this designation did not merely serve as a technical term, but rather denoted individuals of high social standing. In fact, the *khwājagān* were counted among the most influential figures of the city and were regarded in social life as important sources of information.

Merchants from Konya also undertook international journeys and were known by the nisba "al-Kûnawî al-tājir" (the merchant from Konya). For example, al-Ĥâjj Yûsuf b. Sawtagîn al-Kûnawî al-tājir, mentioned in the endowment deed of Altun-Apa, along with Arıtmış b. Toghhan al-Kûnawî and İbn Ghâzî al-Kûnawî al-Ĥaydarî, was among such individuals (Aflākî, 2012, p. 185).

1. Merchants in the Circle of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî

Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî attached great importance to commerce and to those engaged in trade. He encouraged his companions to engage in commerce rather than to seek assistance from others, and he had many merchant-disciples who supported him (Schimmel, 1980, p. 30; Paydaş, 2007, p. 32; Küçük, 2015, p. 509–510; Küçük, 2016, p. 88). This attitude appears to be closely related to both the economic structure of the region his family originated from and the social identities of those in his immediate circle. The city of Samarqand, where his father had migrated and temporarily settled, stood out as the most prominent commercial center of the Māwarāʾal-Nahr (Transoxiana) region; while Termidh, the birthplace of his teacher Sayyid Burhân al-Dîn Muḥaqqiq al-Tirmidhî, served as a

gateway from Māwarāʾal-Nahr to Khurāsān (Lewis, 2012, p. 81). Perhaps for this reason, merchants from Balkh and Nishapur held a significant place in Rūmī's recollections (Aflākī, 2012, p. 185). His father, Sulṭān al-ʿUlāmāʾ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (d. 628/1231), likened his departure from his homeland with his family to that of merchants—leaving everything behind in a spiritual exile (Lewis, 2012, p. 126).

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's earliest experience as a teacher was also associated with the mercantile community. The *Madrasah of Penbefurūshān*, where he taught as a young scholar in Konya during the 1240s, is believed to have been endowed by the cotton merchants' guild (Lewis, 2010, p. 50). Thus, from his early years, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī established close ties with Konya's elite merchants and artisans. Aflākī, who provides detailed accounts of nearly every aspect of Mevlevī circles of the time, emphasizes that after Rūmī's death, the great merchants also seemed to have reached the end of their days:

Less than a year had passed since the death of the noble Mawlānā, when all the world's rulers, leading religious figures, elders, and great merchants departed for the hereafter, one after another. The land of Rūm was left orphaned and without leadership, and, as he had foretold, the world was turned upside down: all signs of order, harmony, and peace vanished from the face of the earth (Aflākī, 2012, p. 140).

In the following section, the dimension of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's relationships with merchants—based on real events—as well as his approach, predominantly shaped by the culture of manāqib (anecdotal hagiography centered on advice and moral teachings), will be analyzed.

a. Shams al-Dīn of Tabriz

One of the most striking aspects of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's closest friend and confidant, the architect of his intellectual framework, Shams al-Dīn of Tabriz, is the mention of his mercantile background in the *Maqālāt*. Shams al-Dīn's father was a cloth merchant who migrated from Khurāsān to Tabriz for trade purposes and settled there (Ceyhan, 2010, p. 511). The strongest evidence for Shams al-Dīn having been a merchant, or at the very least possessing a deep understanding of commerce, is seen clearly in the story of his arrival in Anatolia. According to the classical account, he embarked on his journey to Rūm, his first stop being Tabriz after leaving Damascus. He then stayed at a caravanserai in Konya, the *Shakarfurūshān Khān*, where merchant groups, particularly those from Tabriz, typically lodged. In fact, in an effort either to conceal his identity or to avoid standing out as a foreigner in the city, he took measures to be perceived as a merchant. Shams al-Dīn had previously traveled on his journeys, mostly in the capacity of a merchant (Baykara, 1985, p. 64). One of the most important authors of Mevlevī literature, Aḥmad Aflākī (d. 761/1360), recounted the process of Shams al-Dīn's arrival in Konya as follows:

He was inspired with the words, "Go to the land of Rūm to reach your true purpose and what you seek." Upon this, Shams fastened the belt of sincerity and set off for

the land of Rûm with complete truthfulness and great love. Some say that he came from Damascus to Rûm, while others claim he went to Tabriz first and then traveled to Rûm. Upon reaching the city of Konya, he famously descended at the Shakarfurûshân Khân. He rented a small room and, to ensure that people would perceive him as a wealthy merchant, he placed a rare lock worth two or three dinars on the door of the room. He tied the key to the end of a valuable scarf and draped it over his shoulder. However, inside the room, the only belongings he had were an old mat, a broken jug, and a brick pillow. Once every ten to fifteen days, he would dip a piece of dry bread into broth to make a stew and eat it (Aflākî, 2012, p. 125, 360–361).

According to this important account, Shams al-Dîn Tabrizî's journey from Damascus to Tabriz was no mere coincidence. During this period, as a result of Mongol rule, trade routes had shifted, and especially Tabriz's commercial potential had increased. The Tabriz route, operating along the Erzurum-Konya-Antalya line in Anatolia, was generally a preferred path for merchants (Burgu, 2023, p. 266). Shams al-Dîn Tabrizî's arrival in Anatolia and his choice of a merchant caravanserai over a Sufi lodge facilitates the conclusion that he was indeed a merchant. As previously mentioned, he was not someone unfamiliar with trade and economics. In his youth, he had been a disciple of the Sufi artisan Abu Bakr al-Selâbâf al-Tabrizî, who wove baskets and mats in Tabriz (Aflākî, 2012, p. 125). According to another narration, individuals with the *Tabrizî* nisba in Konya were known as merchants, and the Tabrizî merchants, mentioned in the Waqfiye of Altunapa, were prominent figures known for conducting Eastern trade in Anatolia (Baykara, 1985, p. 130).

b. Shihâb al-Dîn of Konevî

Shihâb al-Dîn Konevî (Rugânî-yî Karamîd), a merchant known for his stinginess among the disciples and within the family circle of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (Aflākî, 2012, p. 283), was one of Rûmî's sons-in-law, a member of his family. Shihâb al-Dîn Konevî married Efendipula Melike Hatun, the daughter of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and his wife Kira Hatun, in Konya, and likely remained married to her until his own death, which occurred after 1303. Rûmî wrote several famous letters, some of which were addressed to his son-in-law, Shihâb al-Dîn Konevî, in order to assist him with his commercial affairs, and most of these letters were sent to high-ranking officials. One such letter was addressed to Shihâb al-Dîn Konevî, who was facing difficulties due to the *bâc* (a type of customs tax) while conducting trade in Sivas. This letter was translated and published by one of the leading Mevlevî scholars of the late period, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (d. 1982).

May God grant a good end, the pride of merchants, our noble son, the faithful Shihâb al-Dîn, will elevate our letter to your highness. He is among those who pray for the prosperity of your state and for its success. He has dedicated himself to the righteous deeds that God loves and wishes to devote himself to this path. However, due to the large number of his children, he has been distracted by trade and was compelled to travel as far as Sivas.

Yet, because of the customs officers and their persistent troubles, he has been unable to continue his trade for some time. The blessings of the Sultan, the Emperor of the World, extend throughout the entire earth. He hopes that, with your blessed command, he will be freed from the customs officers and the tax, and will present this letter as proof, boasting about it to his peers (Mevlānā, 1963, p. 43-44; Lewis, 2010, p. 165).

The recipient of this letter was the powerful statesman of the time, Pervâne Mu'in al-Dīn Süleyman (d. 676/1277). In the letter, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī requests that his son-in-law be exempted from the high commercial taxes and other levies (Mevlānā, 1963, p. 260). Additionally, Rūmī had made it a regular practice to gather with his friends at his son-in-law's house to spend time together (Aflākī, 2012, p. 368). It is likely that Shihāb al-Dīn Konevī took care of the guests' needs, such as food and drink, during these gatherings.

c. Sheref al-Dīn al-Hindī

One of the merchants who played a significant role in the cultural world that nourished Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's Konya, coming from ancient civilization centers or residing and operating in the city, was Sheref al-Dīn al-Hindī. This merchant frequently traveled to India, bringing back goods that were especially sought after by individuals with refined tastes and those in search of rare items. It is noted that Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's wife, Kira Hatun, symbolically referred to a spiritual atmosphere when she presented a bouquet of roses to the wife of a man from the city. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was curious about these roses, which he had never seen before, and inquired with the city's perfumers to learn more about them. The perfumers of Konya, unable to identify the roses, were told by Sheref al-Dīn al-Hindī, "This rose is from India, specifically from the Serendip region. What is it doing here in the Rum climate? I need to understand how this came about and how it reached Rum." It is also recorded that Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī was somewhat disturbed when the roses were taken out and shown to foreign people (Aflākī, 2012, p. 125). As seen, in Konya, merchants and artisans, whom Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī would define as *namāhram* (those who are not of close kinship), also resided. However, the indirect interaction between his wife and this merchant suggests the existence of a more complex relationship.

d. al-Hajj Tāj al-Dīn

al-Hajj Tāj al-Dīn, also known as al-Hajj Kāshī in Aflākī's accounts, was one of the prominent merchants of the period, who acted as a messenger for scientific figures of the Seljuk era such as Sadreddin Konevī and Ahi Evren (d. 661/1262). In addition to carrying letters for these notable individuals, he also delivered letters from Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī to the Emir of Kırşehir, Seyfeddin Tuğrul, urging Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's son, Alaeddin Çelebi (d. 661/1262), to return to Konya, to his paternal home (Bayram, 2012, 67-68, 69). According to one view, the work *Tuhfetü's-Şekūr*, attributed to Ahi Evren or, according to Zehebi (d. 748/1348), to Sadreddin Konevī, was written for this merchant, al-Hajj Tāj al-Dīn (Bayram, 2012, p. 90-91). It is highly likely that this merchant, al-Hajj Kāshī,

was associated with the Kaşınhanı, located south of Konya. Over time, the name of Kāshī's inn seems to have evolved in local usage. al-Hajj Tāj al-Dīn was responsible for delivering three letters written by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī to his son, Alaeddin Çelebi, as well as a letter to Seyfeddin Tuğrul. As demonstrated by this situation, the merchants surrounding Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī led an active life, gathering significant news and ensuring that various letters reached their intended recipients.

e. Merchant Tâceddîn

From the letters sent by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī to the prominent Seljuk vizier Sahib Şemseddin İsfahânî (d. 1249), it is understood that a merchant named Tâceddîn was not only the messenger but also a highly praised and revered figure by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. According to the contents of the letter, Tâceddîn was engaged in the timber trade and embarked on long journeys to sell various bronze tools. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī requested that Sahib Şemseddin İsfahânî ensure prompt payment for the goods sold by Tâceddîn and expressed hopes for his safe return (Mevlânâ, 1963, p. 185).

f. Merchant Shamseddin al-Attâr

The merchant mentioned in a letter sent to Sultan II. İzzeddin Keykavus (d. 677/1278–79) —a letter in which Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī complains about the governor of the non-Muslim community in Sivas (referred to as the iğdişbaş) —is of particular interest. In this letter, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī requests that certain merchants, particularly Shamseddin al-Attâr, a merchant mentioned among his entourage, be exempt from taxes. Shamseddin al-Attâr appears to be regarded as a highly esteemed merchant by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, as evidenced by the following passage in the letter: “There exists a filial bond between us. He has always regarded service to the dervishes as a sacred duty.” Moreover, it is notable that the merchant himself personally delivered this letter, and the following lines were written by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī:

The one who brought our letter, our true son, the pride of merchants, Shamseddin, shares the bond of 'sonship' with us; he always considers serving the dervishes as a sacred duty. The Bey of the Sivas İğdişler, who has been asking for money and taxes from them and their relatives, has gone too far in his demands. We request that something be written to the Bey of İğdişler from you, so that he may know he is one of your servants; thus, by seeking refuge in your sultanhip and generosity, he will be released from all his troubles and will pray for the continuation of your state and its blessings.

The aforementioned merchant was entrusted with the task of delivering Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's letters to the vizier of the Seljuk state, Sahib Şemseddin İsfahânî, on various occasions (Mevlânâ, 1963, p. 178).

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's relationship with merchants was not limited to Anatolia and Konya. Merchants engaged in the textile trade from Egypt were among his most esteemed merchant friends. They would bring him gifts of Alexandria fabrics and Utabî

textiles during each of their visits. Indeed, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī had a fondness for Egyptian garments.

2. Unknown Merchants

In classical Mevlevī sources, unknown merchants are generally mentioned in the context of miracles. They often serve as central figures in the unfolding of one of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's miracles. These narrative-driven events are primarily recorded in the form of moral advice or cautionary tales. As a result, merchants who disregarded Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's warnings had to endure the difficulties that befell them.

a. Merchant from Tabriz

A merchant who had come from Tabriz and stayed at the Şekerfürûş Khan in Konya inquired about the pious, revered, and knowledgeable individuals of the city and expressed a desire to meet them. The merchant was taken to Sheikh Sadreddin (Sadreddin Konevî), and upon seeing that he had servants, attendants, chamberlains, and slaves, he reacted by saying, 'I have come to the house of a prince, not a poor man.' (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 132). Disappointed by the Sheikh's affluent lifestyle, the merchant begged to be taken elsewhere, and eventually, he was brought to the madrasa of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Here, it was revealed by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī that the cause of the merchant's misfortunes and miseries was his ill-treatment of a dervish in the land of the Franks. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī connected him spiritually to the Frankish dervish from the unseen realm, and after the merchant sought forgiveness and returned to Konya, he became a sincere disciple of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 132).

It should also be noted that Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī received donations from merchants in various ways. For example, he took 50 dinars from the merchant from Tabriz mentioned earlier." (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 132)

b. Selahaddin-i Zerkub's Merchant Friend

Selahaddin-i Zerkub, a well-known artisan and merchant, was among the sincere friends of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and was part of the circle that included many prominent figures of Konya. In fact, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī had a significant influence on figures such as Ahi Hüsameddin, one of the city's notables (Lewis, 2012, p. 168). Selahaddin-i Zerkub (d. 657/1258), who was a close friend of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, had a merchant associate who, likely wishing to engage in commercial activities in Istanbul, sought permission from Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī for this purpose. When the merchant set off for Istanbul, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī instructed him to visit a monastery in a town and deliver his greetings to the monk there. Upon reaching Istanbul, the merchant followed this instruction and entered the monastery, where he experienced certain spiritual sensations. The monk, recognizing the merchant as his friend, wrote a letter to the local lord requesting that he be protected and spared from any difficulties along his journey. After completing his business, the merchant returned to Konya and conveyed the monk's

greetings to Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 158-159; Sipehsâlâr, 1977, p. 105-106).

As it is understood, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî facilitated communication between his friends in distant lands through his merchant disciples. This was possible because merchants, due to the nature of their work, had the opportunity to enter various places and environments. Furthermore, Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî noted that in the city of Konya, merchants resided in larger and more magnificent houses compared to artisans (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 224).

c. The Merchant on the Pilgrimage

One of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's merchant disciples went on a pilgrimage to the Kaaba. His wife prepared halva to distribute among the poor, orphans, and neighbors, and she also brought a portion of it on a tray to Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's disciples. The halva was greatly enjoyed by the disciples, and surprisingly, the tray never diminished. Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî took the tray, went up to the roof of the madrasa, and returned without it. When others inquired, he replied, 'I took the tray so that the pilgrim might also partake of it.' Later, when the merchant returned from the pilgrimage, he immediately visited Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî. After returning home, the tray of halva appeared among his belongings, and his wife, surprised, asked why the tray was with him. The merchant explained that while at Arafat, a hand reached out to him with the tray, which revealed that this event was a miracle of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 180-181).

d. The Merchant in the Desert

A young merchant, who had been separated from his caravan in the Syrian desert, was saved from perishing in the desert due to hunger and thirst through the intercession of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî. He safely returned to Konya. After this event, the merchant became a disciple of Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and offered various gifts in gratitude (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 243-244).

e. Merchants at Sea

Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî intervened spiritually when merchants traveling from Alexandria to Antalya were caught in a storm and faced the danger of sinking. This event was narrated by a member of the elite of Konya, named Tûrbedar Kadî-i Kürd. While each of the merchants sought help from their own pir and sheikh, Kadî-i Kürd invoked Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, and it was through his intervention that the ships were saved from sinking. Upon witnessing this, the merchants came to Konya to visit Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and presented various gifts. Among these, they gave him a robe made of Alexandria and Utabi fabrics, as well as two garments—one woolen and the other fabric—made of Egyptian cloth. They apologized for their delay in coming to him, as they had initially been delayed in saving their ships from disaster (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 378-379).

f. The Merchant Who Was a Disciple of Evhad al-Dīn Khoyī

A prominent merchant among the disciples of Sheikh Evhad al-Dīn Khoyī, who held deep affection for Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, had a son who persistently urged his father to allow him to become a disciple of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. However, the father refused to grant his request. During a gathering, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī performed a miraculous act that allowed the child to become a disciple. As a result, the merchant and his family became sincere disciples of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 430-431).

g. The Young Merchant Who Wanted to Go to Egypt

A young merchant residing in Konya and counted among the disciples of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī decided to travel to Egypt. His friends tried to dissuade him from this venture, and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī himself did not approve of the journey, expressing a desire for the young disciple to abandon his intentions. However, ignoring all advice and admonitions, the young merchant set out on the road to Damascus and boarded a ship in Antioch, only to be captured by Frankish pirates. He was imprisoned in a pit for forty days, repeatedly lamenting that the misfortune had befallen him for disregarding his master Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's counsel. On the fortieth day, he had a dream in which Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī instructed him to respond, "*I know whatever the Franks ask,*" to any inquiry they might make. When the Franks approached and asked whether he knew medicine, he replied affirmatively. They then informed him that their commander was ill. Through Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's spiritual support, the merchant managed to treat the illness and, as a reward, was granted his freedom and allowed to return to Konya. Upon his return, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī advised the young merchant to pursue lawful earnings and contentment (Eflâkî, 2012, p. 154–155).

The late Franklin Lewis made a significant claim that the spread of the Mevlevi order can be traced back to its mercantile roots (Lewis, 2012, p. 473). This assertion aligns well with the urban foundation of the Mevlevi tradition. For many years, the Mevlevi Order maintained its presence under the patronage of the urban elite, stretching from Iran to the Balkans.

Conclusion

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī took active steps to protect and support the merchants who were among his disciples and close companions. He communicated with the statesmen of his time through letters to advocate on behalf of these individuals. In return, prominent merchants and members of the local elite offered him their sincere support.

According to information derived from the chronicles of the period and the literature specific to the Mevlevi order, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī not only encouraged commercial activity but also maintained direct relationships with figures engaged in trade.

From the institutionalization of the Mevlevi order onward—shaped by Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's teachings and evolving after his time—the movement came to reflect characteristics typical of urban culture, especially when compared to other Sufi orders active in Anatolia. This urban character of the Mevlevi Order is undoubtedly a result of its close connection with artisans and merchants, a relationship that continues to shape its role in modern urban life.

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