

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 Menâkibû'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

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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 Aksarâyî, 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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