

# “*Ve Mehdī’ye fakīhler dūşman olalar*”:<sup>1</sup> Envisioning the Mahdī in the Narratives of the Early Modern Ottomans

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“We live in the age of Apocalypse” states a Canadian professor of Italian origin and continues in the following page as such: “We live in the twenty-first century. We are heirs to the Enlightenment and the scientific, political, and social revolutions that it foaled, fostered, or furthered... Yet still the ancient apocalyptic mindset persists. And not just persists, but thrives.”<sup>3</sup> If this is true for ‘the modern Westerners’, then the mental maps of the Ottomans which were occupied with apocalyptic images before the Tanzimat period—broadly speaking, those who were not the ‘heirs’ to the Enlightenment—must have been almost beyond imagination. Parallel to this plenty of religious material keeps the expectations about the Mahdī and the lesser and greater signs of the Hour alive in the soci-

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1 *Mehdilik Hakkında Bir Risāle*, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, SK 1930/2: 207a.

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3 L. Di Tommazo, “Apocalypse Then and Now”, *AJS Perspectives* (Fall 2012):  
<http://perspectives.ajsnet.org/the-apocalypse-issue-fall-2012/apocalypse-then-and-now/>

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ety.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the Quran, the *ḥadīth* tradition contains a broad range of information about the portents of the hour.<sup>5</sup> In certain ways, these are like 'signs' in the apocalyptic Judeo-Christian texts. This fact is connected with the presence of *Isrā'īliyyāt* (Israelite lore)—a term that signifies the migration of the narratives from especially Judaism and Christianity in the *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* tradition.<sup>6</sup> In medieval times Muslim theologians have divided the apocalyptic signs into two clusters: the Lesser (*suğrā*) and the Greater (*kubrā*) Signs. As Ostřanský clearly depicts, “the Lesser Signs are mostly moral, religious, social, cultural, political, and even natural events, designed to warn humanity that the end is near and to bring people into a state of repentance (*tawba*).”<sup>7</sup> The Greater Signs of the Hour comprise a sequence of occurrences of ever-increasing seriousness that will precede the end of the globe. This dystopian scenario offers a tale of the conflicts between the powers of good and evil, explicitly represented by al-Mahdī, Īsā, al-Dajjāl and al-Sufyānī.<sup>8</sup> The Lesser Hour Signs have been mostly fulfilled according to the most modern Muslim apocalypticists, due to the overall corruption in the society, even though only God knows the Hour. Strikingly, the same thought is true also for Ibrāhīm ibn Bālī from the fifteenth century,<sup>9</sup> Zā'ifi from

4 On the lesser signs, a detailed listing in English is available with eighty four items: B. Ostřanský, “The Lesser Signs of the Hour: A Reconstruction of the Islamic Apocalyptic Overture”, *Oriental Archive*, 81 (2013), 235–284 at 242–280.

5 M. Cook, “Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions”, *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies*, 1 (1992), 23–47 and A. Görke, “Eschatology, History, and the Common Link: A Study in Methodology”, in H. Berg (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden 2003), 179–208.

6 For the conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) of the term, see R. Tottoli, “Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature”, *Arabica*, 46 (1999), 193–210.

7 Ostřanský, “The Lesser Signs of the Hour”, 235.

8 In general there are ten Greater signs of the hour: 1) Smoke covers the earth; 2) The Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*); 3) The Beast of the Earth (*al-Dābba*); 4) The rising of the sun in the west; 5) The return of Jesus (*Āsā*); 6) Gog and Magog; 7–9) A triple solar eclipse (in the East; in the West; in Arabia); 10) The fire before Doomsday: *Ibid.*, 280, ff.235.

9 “*Kaçan kim devr-i müddet âhir ola Niçe dürlü 'alâmet zâhir ola // Ki dirler anlara eşrât-ı sâât Olur bir bir yakın olsa kıyâmet // Emânet ref' ola evvel âsümâna Sadâkat kalmaya ehl-i zamâna // Benî âdemde az bulına insân Ki ola sâhib-vesfâ vü ehl-i peymân // Ataya anaya 'akk ola evlâd Tüzetmek hakkını bilmeye ehhâd // 'Amel itmege 'ilm-ile bilenler Rîyâ-y-ıla kıla tâ'at kulanlar // Melikler zulm ide iklim içinde Yıkıla memleketler bîm içinde // Zamâna fazla kula ehl-i fazl Cihânda câh ide her ehl-i cehli // Asâyil yirine giçe erâzil Erâzil görine göze asâyil // Ayaklar baş ola başlar ayak hem Yaramaz ola halka yahşi âdem // Erenler az ola çoğ ola zenler Tuta yir yüzünü ehl-i fitenler // Cihâna tola dört âfât yeksân Kılıç kozlug kırgun-ıla*

the sixteenth century<sup>10</sup> or Seyyid Nimetî (1610–1650).<sup>11</sup> They all warned that consequently mankind is inevitably nearing the end of history.

Messianic and apocalyptic scenarios have a vast literature in the Islamic world<sup>12</sup> as it is true for Jewish and Christian communities.<sup>13</sup> Studies on apocalypticism in Europe began in the field of theology from the nineteenth century with the writings of Friedrich Lücke in 1832.<sup>14</sup> Established in Göttingen, the *religions geschichtliche Schule*, or the History of Religions School, was founded on interpreting the emergence and historical development of Christianity in relation or opposition to other religions, philosophically and rationally, and this effort naturally included criticism and analysis of the scriptures.<sup>15</sup> While applying the hermeneutic principles to the sacred texts, scholars belonging to this school also touched subjects that had not been studied before in the field of theology. Eschatology and apocalypticism were among these topics. Until the 1970s with very few exceptions, the discussions about apocalypticism monopolized by Göttingen-centered theology have not attracted the attention of historians. Although he was also a theologian, Klaus Koch's work *Ratlos vor der Apokalypitik* brought criticism on the eschatological studies. Thus theologians

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kan // 'Adîm ehlîne iriŝe münâsib Virile erzelün-nâs'a merâtib." İbrahim ibn Bali, *Hikmet-name*, ed. A. Şeylan (Ankara 2010), 12483–12496. <https://ekitap.ktb.gov.tr/TR-194369/ibrahim-ibn-bali-hikmet-name.html>

10 "Âlemi dutdı sitem zulmeti rüşen itmege // Gelse âdil Mehdî vü İsi'bni Meryem kâşkî": İ. Gürbüz Atik, "Osmanlı Metinlerinde Mehdî Tasavvurları", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Araştırma Dergisi*, 89 (2019), 11–42 at 21.

11 "Nüzül itmez ise İsâ ümîdüñ kes bu devletten / Cihânda zulm ü âşübuñ ne haddi var ne pâyanı // İrüp Hak'dan hidâyet ger hurüc itmez ise Mehdî / Çıkar ehl-i zemîniñ âsumâna âh u ef-gâmi": Ibid., 21.

12 For an overview of the sources, see D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton 2002).

13 On the Judaic and Christian apocalyptic literature, see *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (New York 2014). For a detailed review of these sources including Islamic ones on the subject, see M. Green-Mercado, "Speaking the End Times: Early Modern Politics and Religion from Iberia to Central Asia", *JESHO*, 61 (2018), 1–17.

14 J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Michigan 2016 [3rd edition]), 2–3.

15 G. Lüdemann and M. Schröder, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen: eine Dokumentation* (Göttingen 1987) 13–24.

mostly focused on apocalyptic debates in the birth stages of Christianity and Judaism and turned their studies to the ancient Near East to find the origins.<sup>16</sup>

In 1968, Paul Alexander, a Byzantine historian, took a very important step in apocalyptic research and published his article examining the apocalyptic traditions in Byzantium. His importance comes from the fact that he began to use apocalypses as historical sources rather than for theological examination by asserting that, “the historian can learn much from such studies, yet their authors frequently concern themselves with historical matters only to the extent of explaining the historical allusions and prophecies *ex eventu* contained in these texts.”<sup>17</sup> *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, published by Norman Cohn in 1957, prior to Paul Alexander’s article, is also particularly crucial in terms of explaining how apocalyptic ideas have become the ideology of the oppressed in history. Norman Cohn’s text was seminal, inspiring all later works that examine how messianic ideas led to revolutions or mass popular movements.<sup>18</sup>

As for the Ottomanists, the first historian who drew our attention to the apocalyptic rhetoric of the Ottomans is Barbara Flemming.<sup>19</sup> After her, Cornell H. Fleisher has investigated the era of Süleyman the Lawgiver in terms of messianic beliefs.<sup>20</sup> Stéphane Yerasimos, Laban Kaptein, Feridun Emecen and Kaya Şahin,<sup>21</sup> have examined the apocalyptic speculations rumoured by the Ot-

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16 Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 1.

17 P.J. Alexander, “Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources”, *The American Historical Review*, 73 (1968), 997–1018 at 997.

18 J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth (eds), *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Colloquium* (Sheffield 1991).

19 B. Flemming, “Şāhibkīrān und Mahdī: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Suleymans”, in G. Kara (ed.), *Between the Danube and the Caucasus* (Budapest 1987), 43–62.

20 C. H. Fleischer, “The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Suleyman”, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps* (Paris 1992), 163–167.

21 B. Lellouch and S. Yerasimos (eds), *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople. Actes de la Table ronde d'Istanbul, 13–14 avril 1996* (Istanbul – Paris 1999); S. Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, trans. Ş. Tekeli (Istanbul 1993); K. Şahin, “Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour”, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 14 (2010), 317–54; L. Kaptein, *Apocalypse and the Antichrist Dajjal in Islam: Ahmed Bijan's Eschatology Revisited* (Asch 2011); F. Emecen, *Fetih ve Kıyamet: 1453 İstanbul'un Fethi ve Kıyamet Senaryoları* (Istanbul 2012). There

tomans before and after the time of the conquest, seeming to follow the steps of Suliman Bashaer<sup>22</sup> who claims that "major turning points, especially turning of centuries, and human and natural catastrophes provide fertile grounds for nourishing old apocalypses which are adjusted to address the new situations, as well as 'coining' new ones, in the sense of acquiring for them a sublime, prophetic level and authority."<sup>23</sup> Thus, Ottoman versions of 'malāḥim', 'eşrāt'ūs-sā'at' or the 'fitan' literature<sup>24</sup> which is based on ḥadīths and even the Quran itself, began to be studied parallel to these historiographic developments in the field of eschatological studies.<sup>25</sup>

## The sources

In this article I will try to catch the idea of Mahdī in the early Ottoman people's mentalities by exploring an anonymous *Risāle* from Süleymaniye Library. Before going deep into that narrative, it is proper to look at four sources which had a great impact in the mindset of the Ottomans: namely, *Dürr-i meknün*, *Aḥvāl-i kıyāmet*, *Tercüme-yi miftāḥul-cifri'l-cāmi'*, and *Eşrātu's-sā'at*. There are extensive and detailed records about the Mahdī in the texts of religious and historical sources, but these four key sources were highly influential for the apocalyptic expectations of people.

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are some works on the subject by Turkish theologians, see E. Baş, "Binyılcılık ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Hicrî Milenyum Kıyamet Beklentisi ile İlgili Bazı Veriler", *Dini Araştırmalar*, 7/ 21 (2004), 163-177.

22 S. Bashaer, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A review of Arabic sources", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1/2 (1991), 173-207.

23 Idem, "Muslim Apocalypses and The Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation", *Israel Oriental Studies*, 13 (1993), 75-99 at 98.

24 D. Cook, *The Syrian Muslim Apocalyptic Heritage: A Translation of Nu 'aym b. Hammad al-Marwazi's Book of Tribulations* (Edinburgh 2017).

25 For the late contributions on Islamic apocalypticism, see A. A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: the Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shi'ism* (Albany 1981); S. A. Arjomand, "Islamic Apocalypticism in the Classical Period", in B. M. McGinn (ed.), *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture. Vol. 2 of The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (New York 1998), 238-283; S. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions* (Columbia 2003); M. A. Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy and the End of Time in the 13th Century Eastern Mediterranean", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 2008; H. Yücesoy, *Messianic Beliefs and Imperial Politics in Medieval Islam. The Abbasid Caliphate in the Early Ninth Century* (Columbia 2009); J.P. Filiu, *Apocalypse in Islam*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Berkeley 2011).

1. *Dürr-i meknün*,<sup>26</sup> a very popular compilation from the fifteenth century that has been referred to as the first Ottoman encyclopaedia and contains eschatological materials in its very end, despite the fact that stories also abound throughout the cosmography.<sup>27</sup> The work's cosmographic structure not only illuminates Ottoman conceptions of the 'ajā'ib genre<sup>28</sup> inspired by Qazwīnī, but also emphasizes its significance in its author's (the work is traditionally attributed to Aḥmed Bīcān of Gelibolu, but this attribution has been disputed)<sup>29</sup> cosmographic world view, which concludes with the Resurrection. *Dürr-i meknün* consists of eighteen chapters in parallel to the creation of eighteen thousand universes (*on sekiz bin 'ālem*)<sup>30</sup>: 1. heavens and wonders in the heavens, angels, 'arş and kürsī, paradise, tūbā, moon, sun and the stars; 2. places and their wonders, hell; 3. the Earth; 4. science of geometry, climates, days and hours; 5. the wonders of mountains; 6. waters, island and seas; 7. cities and climates; 8. mosques and churches; 9. Prophet Solomon and his throne; 10. Queen of Sheba, her throne and her meeting with prophet Solomon; 11. predestination of the lives; 12. the places that were destroyed by the anger of God; 13. Herbs, fruits and stones; 14. pictures and sculptures and some places with their marvellous things; 15. the legend of Simurg, the mythical bird; 16. symbols of *jaf̄r*; 17. *eş-rā'ī's-sā'a*; 18. appealing to God and the general moral conditions of the begs and the people.<sup>31</sup>

26 TDVİA, s.v. "Ahmed Bican" (Â. Çelebioğlu). Ahmed Bīcān, *Dürr-i meknün: (inceleme – çevriyazı – dizin – tıpkıbasım)*, ed. A. Demirtaş (Istanbul 2009); L. Kaptein (ed.), *Dürr-i meknun*. Kritische Edition mit Kommentar (Asch 2007); Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i meknün*, transcription and notes by N. Sakaoglu (Istanbul 1999).

27 Although *Envārü'l-Âşiqîn* and *Müntehā* contain much more pages on apocalyptic issues, as *Dürr-i meknün* has an independent chapter on *jaf̄r*, I prefer to use it. Laban Kaptein (in *Apocalypse and the Antichrist*, p. xvi) and Sakaoglu (in *Dürr-i meknün*, 1–18) describe the work as a "cosmological encyclopedia".

28 M. Sariyannis, "Ajā'ib ve gharā'ib: Ottoman Collections of Mirabilia and Perceptions of the Supernatural", *Der Islam*, 92/2 (2015), 442–467.

29 Grenier claims that the author of the text cannot have been Aḥmed Bīcān. He asserts that Kātib Çelebi attributed the work to Aḥmed Bīcān and that this information has remained unchallenged to the present day: C. Grenier, "Reassessing the Authorship of the *Dürr-i meknün*", *ArchOtt*, 35 (2018), 193–212. Similar thoughts had already been expressed by Kaptein (ed.), *Dürr-i meknun*, 45–47.

30 S. Karaköse, "Klâsik Edebiyatımızda On Sekiz Bin Âlem Mefhumi", *Uluslararası Türkçe Edebiyat Kültür Eğitim Dergisi*, 5/2 (2016), 687–704.

31 A. Demirtaş, "Dürr-i meknün: (inceleme – çevriyazı – dizin – tıpkıbasım)", unpublished



According to Kaya Şahin, Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bîcân, the purported author of the signs of doomsday, experienced moral collapse in the society personally. Rulers became tyrants, judges took bribes, women wandered the streets and bazaar markets and the ulama did not speak out against what was happening.<sup>32</sup> For him, the Ottoman society in this state carries the characteristics of the ummah of the End Times mentioned in the *hadîths*, so Doomsday is near.<sup>33</sup> For Şahin, the conquest of Constantinople was more than a military victory for the upper echelons of Ottoman religious and political leaders in the fifteenth century. Establishing a link between the Doomsday discourses and the conquest of Istanbul is the legacy of Byzantium to the Ottomans.<sup>34</sup> In reality, for Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike, the conquest of Constantinople has been linked to the approaching End Time/Last Hour. Because in the Jewish tradition, as a condition of final purification from pre-apocalyptic sins, Constantinople replaced Babylon and Rome in the series of cursed imperial capitals that must be destroyed.<sup>35</sup> According to Şahin, for contemporary observers the conquest meant a message about the closeness of the End for Muslims, Christians and Jews alike.

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Ph.D. dissertation, Ondokuz Mayıs University, 2003, 3-4 from *Dürr-i Mekkûn*, SK Pertevniyal 456: 4b-5a.

32 "Mehdi hazretleri hurucunun ilm-i cifirde Resul hazretleri 'âlâmetlerin dedi amma, evvel bu halk içre çok türlü ahvâl-i kabayih belire. Mescidler çok amma namaz kılar kişi az ola ve kılanın dahi namazlarında huşu olmaya. Zira kisblerinde helâl ve haram fark olmaya. Zira mushafklar münakkaş ve müzehheb ola, amma okuyup amel etmeyeler. Oğlanlar emir gibi ola. Yüksek çardaklar yapalar. Halk dünyaya haris ola. Ehl-i marifete, ehl-i takvaya rağbet olmaya. Rağbet ehli dünyaya ola. Avretlerde hayâ kalmaya, avret avrete, er ere düşe. Yalancı şeybler çok ola. Beyler adl sûretinde zulüm edeler. Vüzera rind ve kalles olalar. Ulema fisk ede. Kadılar rüşvet-hôr olalar. Zina ve livata ve suci içmek aşikâre ola. Halkun şerlisi ümera ola. Erâzil başa çıka, ehl-i marifet ayakda kala. Kabrleri kargir bina ola. Ulema yüksek haneler yapup sanki tak-ı kısıri veya kayser padişahlarıdır. Yalan tanıklığı çok olup suleha suretinde fesadlar ideler. Avratlar pazarlarda gezeler, kesbler eyleyeler nâmahrem ile. Ulemâ mansıb korkusundan tınmayalar. Avratlar sığır alayı gibi sokaklarda gezeler. Kendülerini ere benzedeler. Yetim malı yiyeler. Zuafayı esirgemeyeler. Begler ulu işleri alçak kimseye ismarlayalar. Hayinlere emin diyeler ve erler harir giyeler ve avratlar hamr içeler. Fakrler matrud ola. Mazlumlar dinlenmeye. Hükkâm fâcir, ümerâ tâcir ola. Sofuluk tac ile hırkada kala. Ehl-i suk mizanda hile idüp dürlü dürlü narhlar ile satalar, ekabire tamam, fukaraya eksük vireler. Beynlerinde yalan söyleyeler. Tariki's-salat, mani'iz-zekat olalar. Zinete haris olalar..." Demirtaş, "Dürr-i meknûn", 244 from *Dürr-i meknûn*, SK Pertevniyal 456: fols 145a-146a.

33 Şahin, "Constantinople and the End Time", 339-341.

34 Emecen, *Fetih ve Kıyamet*, 40.

35 Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, 196.

Throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire, apocalypticism was a quite rich and very prominent cultural practice, and the collapse of the empire was closely connected with the end of the world. The political, military and economic problems faced during the last centuries of its history gave apocalypticism a special importance.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, Byzantine and Islamic apocalypticism inspired the author of *Dürr*. He also relied on books of divination (*jafr*). He also thought the conquest was a symbol of the Last Hour (*al-Sā'a*), but he also believed that in the last battles, Muslims and Ottomans had a major part to play.<sup>37</sup> The author mentions a book on *jafr* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)<sup>38</sup> in the sixteenth chapter of *Dürr-i meknün*. He states that this book was preserved in Egypt and discusses its contents. Additionally Abdürrahmanal-Biṣṭāmī, a “premier figure of the occult avant-garde of the fifteenth-century Ottoman lands”<sup>39</sup> is also described by the author of *Dürr* as “the most revered scholar who understands and analyzes God’s secrets,” with *Miftah* cited as a source.<sup>40</sup> His words on the issue might give an idea of his style:

Indeed, the countries and cities of Rüm and the lands of Crimea [will be ruined] on account of their tyranny, their oppression, their malice, their evil. The scholars will perish. The hearts of the exiles will be destroyed. So prepare... There will be battle and killing and war and punishment. The knowledgeable will flee, the ignorant will stay put. That date is the year of pleasure and joy and folly and [foolish] plans. Do not forget, that Sufi who is exalted goes away, that swindler who is abased [stays].... I was told: soon the ox will bellow, the ass will shirk his work, and the wolf will be happy, the fox will sing, the rabbit will cry out. Delight will be raised. May the righteous come to righteousness and greet it... If you have understood these symbols,

36 Şahin, “Constantinople and the End Time”, 322.

37 Ibid., 318.

38 According to Shiites the Mahdī inherits a number of books from his predecessor, including “(i) *al-Jami'a* (the Comprehensive), (ii) *Mushaf Fatima* (the Prophetic Scroll of Fatima), and (iii) *al-Jafr*”: Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, 21.

39 Grenier, “Reassessing the Authorship”, 202.

40 “Şeyhü'l-muhakkikin el-alimü yeğşifü esrarullahi ve ayatibi Şeyh Abdurrahman el-Bestâmi kuddise sırruhül-aziz sahibü'l-huruf hazretleri, ol vâridat-ı gaybiyyeden bazı hususla anı kabul eyledi. Hâl diliyle tâbir eyledi. Bu duâyı Türkî dille getirip kitabımıza yazdık. Her ilimden birer şemme tatırdık.”, Ahmet Demirtaş, ibid., p. 236 from *Dürr-i meknün*, SK Pertevniyal 456: fol. 139a.



then keep their secret concealed. Know that at the time of Resurrection the lamp will be extinguished, the wise men will hide, the boys will grow beards...<sup>41</sup>

2. *Ahvâl-i kıyâmet*. There are two different versions of *Ahvâl-i kıyâmet*. The first one was penned in verse in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the second one is a translation from al-Suyûtî (d. 1505). The first version was written in Anatolian Turkish by Şeyyad Hamza or Şeyyad İsâ, a thirteenth century mystical poet, and transformed into prose at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, with miniatures added to the copies.<sup>42</sup> The fact that there are different opinions about the text's author and the time period in which it was written indicates that there are, in fact, two distinct texts. According to Tavukçu, Şeyyad İsâ modified the text of 289 couplets written by Şeyyad Hamza in terms of vocabulary and added fifty-five couplets to it.<sup>43</sup> His work details the wars of the Mahdî, the emergence of the Antichrist, the descent of Jesus via the White Minaret in the city of Damascus accompanied by two angels and his fight with Dajjâl, the meeting of Jesus with the Aşhâb al-Kahf, the Gog and Magog, the emergence of the apocalyptic creature called Dâbbat al-Arḍ as well as social events. The second *Ahvâl-i kıyâmet* is written by the famous Egyptian polymath Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî (d. 1505),<sup>44</sup> and was translated into Turkish in a very short time possibly by Ibn Kemâl or Kemâl Paşazâde (d. 1534), who held numerous teaching and administrative positions during his career and wrote over two hundred books on a variety of subjects, including Arabic grammar, theology, jurisprudence and poetry.<sup>45</sup>

41 Grenier, "Reassessing the Authorship", 202.

42 B. Yaman, "Ahvâl-i Kıyâmet Yazmaları Resimlerinde Kıyâmet Sonrası Hayat", *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 24/2 (2007), 217-234 at 219-220.

43 O. K. Tavukçu, "Şeyyâd Hamza'nın Bilinmeyen Bir Şiiri Münasebetiyle", *International Journal of Central Asian Studies (Prof. Dr. Mustafa Canpolat Armağanı)*, 10/1 (2005), 181-195; C. Dilçin, "XIII. Yüzyıl Metinlerinden Yeni Bir Yapıt: Ahvâl-i Kıyâmet", in Ömer Asım Aksoy Armağanı (Ankara 1978), 49-86. M. Akar, "Şeyyad Hamza Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler I-II", *Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2 (1987), 1-22.

44 "We are now in the year of Hijri 896. At this time when neither Mahdi, Jesus, nor the signs of Doomsday appear, my only wish from Allah is to grant mujaddidship to this poor person at the beginning of the tenth century." Al-Suyûtî, *et-Taḥaddus*, p. 227 quoted in R. Aslan, "İmam Suyuti'ye Muasırları Tarafından Yöneltilen Eleştiriler", *İslam Düşüncesinde Eleştiri Kültürü ve Tahammül Ahlâkı*, III (2019), 451-465 at 453.

45 For an overview of his life and works, see *EP*, s.v. "Kemâl Paşazâde" (V. L. Ménage); Ö.

In the Islamic world of this period there was a widespread belief that the end of times was close, based on some narrations attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad. The basis of this belief is a *ḥadīth*, saying “the Prophet does not stay in his grave for a thousand years”. This rumor, the accuracy of which is not confirmed by reliable sources, meant that Doomsday would come a thousand years after the death of the Prophet. The work of Jalāleddin al-Suyūṭī and its translation was penned to meet this need. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) is an important figure who discussed apocalyptic issues for the first time in the Islamic world as clearly as possible. Tired of the endless questions of the people of his time and annoyed from the expectations that the Doomsday will come in 1000 Hijra, al-Suyūṭī began his treatise by stating that there is evidence that the life of this ummah would be more than 1000 years, “the end would not occur until 1450 AH”.<sup>46</sup> He states that the *ḥadīth* in question contradicts the other *ḥadīths*; moreover, he mentioned that no Doomsday alarms have occurred, and that even if there was an alarm, according to the *ḥadīths* there is a certain time period which has to elapse between each alarm.<sup>47</sup>

### 3. *Tercüme-yi miḥtāḥu'l-cifri'l-cāmi'*

It was written in Arabic by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 858/1454), the “occultist polymath”,<sup>48</sup> and describes the events that will occur in the lead up to the apocalypse. In Fleischer's words; “Al-Biṣṭāmī ultimately combined the works of apocalyptic prognostication that he either collected, edited, or composed to form the *Miḥtāḥ al-jafr al-jāmi'*, *The Key to the Comprehensive Prognostication*, a work that effectively codified all that al-Biṣṭāmī's generation did know, and that several subsequent generations would care to know, of apocalyptic prophecy.”<sup>49</sup>

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Şenödeyici, “Kemal Paşazade Tarafından Tercüme Edildiği Düşünülen bir Risale: Ahval-i Kıyamet”, *Türklik Bilim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 36 (2014), 291–319.

46 C. Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”, *JESHO*, 61 (2018), 18–90 at 50–51.

47 Şenödeyici, “Kemal Paşazade Tarafından”, 305–319.

48 Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse”, 47.

49 Ibid., 44–45. The most recent publication on al-Biṣṭāmī is N. Gardiner, “Lettrism and History in 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī's *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*”, in L. Saif, F. Leoni, M. Melvin-Koushki and F. Yahya (eds), *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice* (Leiden 2020), 230–266.

It was translated into Turkish by Şerif bin Muḥammad bin Burhan with the name of *Tercüme-i Miḫtâḫ al-caḫr al-câmi*.<sup>50</sup>

Mainly due to the influential personality of al-Biṣṭâmî or his travels from Balkans to Anatolia and Aleppo to Cairo,<sup>51</sup> lettrism or the science of letters (ideas and concepts that assigned divine meaning to the Arabic alphabet letters and invented techniques of using them as symbols and markers of the divine plans) thrived in the early Ottoman empire.<sup>52</sup> As the lettrist perception of the world was popularized through the works of al-Biṣṭâmî and the *Corpus Bunianum*,<sup>53</sup> it had become a very popular method of predicting the future by the early sixteenth century<sup>54</sup> and "the science of letters became an umbrella epistemology which subsumed all branches of the religious and non-religious sciences."<sup>55</sup>

The earliest work that we could identify using al-Biṣṭâmî as a source is the *Risâle fi Eṣrâî's-sâ'a* which was written in Iznik by Abdurrahim Karahisârî (d. 1483), one of the leading successors of Akşemseddin (d. 1459). It is the only work written by Karahisârî in Arabic and completed in 1458, five years after the conquest of Istanbul. Karahisârî, who begins his treatise by stating that he wrote down what he learned from Akşemseddin, states that he made use of his contemporary al-Biṣṭâmî's work named *Nazmü's-sulûk* in the introduction of the text.<sup>56</sup>

In the *Tercüme-i Miḫtâḫ al-caḫr al-câmi*' manuscript conserved at the Istanbul University Library (Rare Works Department no. 6624), besides the ceremonial

50 *Tercüme-i Miḫtâḫ al-caḫr al-câmi*'; Millet Kütüphanesi, Şeriyye 1284, 1b.

51 İ. E. Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din 'Alî Yazdî and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge 2016), 104.

52 M. Sariyannis, "Knowledge and the Control of Future in Ottoman Thought", *Aca'ib: Occasional papers on the Ottoman perceptions of the supernatural*, 1 (2020), 49–84 at 63; *El*, s.v. "Al-Biṣṭâmî, 'Abd Al-Rahman" (M. Smith); *Encyclopedia Iranica IV*, s.v. "Beṣṭâmî, 'abd-Al-Raḫmân" (H. Algar).

53 A set of works attributed to the Algerian born Cairene Sufi Abû'l-'Abbâs Aḫmad b. 'Alî b. Yûsuf al-Bûnî (d. 1225), a leading authority in magic and the science of letters. For the connection between al-Biṣṭâmî and al-Bûnî, see J.C. Coulon, "Building al-Bûnî's Legend: The Figure of al-Bûnî through 'Abd al-Raḫmân al-Biṣṭâmî's *Shams al-âfâq*", *Journal of Sufi Studies*, 5 (2016), 1–26.

54 Sariyannis, "Knowledge and the Control", 64.

55 Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 163.

56 A. T. Orhan, "Abdurrahim Karahisârî'nin tasavvufî görüşleri ve Münyetü'l-Ebrâr ve Gunyetü'l-Ahyâr isimli eseri (metin ve inceleme)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, 2019, 89–90. On Bistami's work see Gardiner, "Lettrism and History".

and war scenes, there are portraits of the sultans, in addition to depictions of cities with their buildings and walls (Istanbul, Medina-i Rumiye [Jerusalem], Akka, Damascus, Medina, Sedd-i Alexander, Alexandria and Nile River, Cairo). Natural and geographical landmarks are represented, including obelisks, dragon heads, a copper horse, the world map with the world's famous castles, cities, seas and rivers. In addition, there are portrayals of the appearance and wars of the Mahdī, the emergence of the Dajjāl and the events that he will cause, the descent of Jesus to the White Minaret in the city of Damascus in the company of two angels and his destruction of the Antichrist/Dajjāl, the meeting of the Prophet Jesus with the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf. Furthermore, Gog and Magog and the Great Wall of Alexander built to protect against them, the features of the wall, the emergence of the apocalyptic creature called Dābbat al-Arḍ, events and entertainment scenes involving social issues are described.<sup>57</sup>

As mentioned above, the main source of al-Biṣṭāmī is in fact al-Būnī.<sup>58</sup> Gardiner denotes that al-Biṣṭāmī “reports having read al-Būnī’s *al-Lum‘al-nūrāniyya fī awrād al-rabbāniyya* in Cairo in 807/1404–1405 under the supervision of ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ğamā‘a (d. 1416–1417), member of a well-known dynasty of scholar-Sufis.”<sup>59</sup>



#### 4. *Niyāzī Miṣrī, Eṣrāt-i sā‘at*

One of the most widely copied works on the signs of Doomsday in the Ottoman libraries is *Eṣrāt-i sā‘at* or *Mehdilik Risālesi* by the famous seventeenth-century mystic and poet Şeyh Muḥammad İbn al-Malātī al-Miṣrī al-Burşavī, better

57 H. Aksu, “Tercüme-i Cifr (Cefr) el- Cāmi’ Tasvirleri”, in M. B. Tanman and U. Tükel (eds), *Yıldız Demiriz’e Armağan* (İstanbul 2002), 19–23 at 20.

58 In addition to his al-Būnī relation, on the other hand Binbaş lists the books from which al-Biṣṭāmī’s gained the occult knowledge by studying “numerous ancient Greek and medieval Muslim, Jewish, Coptic, Syriac, and Chaldean authors”: Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 105.

59 N. D. Gardiner, “Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers Through the Mamlūk Period”, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014, 435 quoting al-Biṣṭāmī, *Šams al-āfāq fī ‘ilm al-ḥurūf wa-l-awfāq*, MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 5076, f. 16b.

known as Niyāzī-i Mısrî (1618–1694).<sup>60</sup> A well-known figure who voiced his opinion in the public discourse of the time, Niyāzī-i Mısrî was born in Malatya. He was educated in various madrasas and developed his knowledge of Sufism in different places such as Diyarbakır, Cairo and Baghdad. After returning to Anatolia, he came under the influence of Halvati sheikh Sinān-ı Ummī in Elmali, whom he followed until his death. He then sought to provide spiritual guidance to the public by giving sermons across the country. In Bursa, where he had many followers, he was recognized as a *ḳutb* (pole) which refers to the greatest *walī* (friend of God) who is the real secret sovereign of the cosmos.<sup>61</sup> He even gave a sermon at Hagia Sophia, with the Sultan among the congregants. After his criticism against Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685),<sup>62</sup> he was exiled first to the island of Rhodes and then to Limnos, where he lived a life of suffering for more than fifteen years. He was pardoned a year before his death and returned to Bursa. However, after the complaint of the local judge, he was once again sent to Limnos where he died. He produced more than ten volumes of Turkish and Arabic verse and prose.

In *Eşrâṭ-i sâ'at*, Niyāzī Mişrî handled these portents that we just mentioned with a different point of view. He sought to examine the aspects of the Doomsday signs by focusing on human beings, rather than on the universe. According to him, everything in the macrocosm also exists in man, who is the small uni-

60 D. Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mısrî (1618–94)", *SI*, 94 (2002), 139–165.

61 It was Ibn Arabi who systematized the term and provided detailed and comprehensive information on it. See A. Atlı, "Tasavvufta Ricâlul-Gayb", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ankara University, 2011.

62 Because of its ideological and social aspects, the Kadizadeli movement has been the topic of numerous studies: M. Zilfi, "The Kadizadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), 251–269; S. Çavuşoğlu, "The Kādizâdeli Movement: An Attempt of Şer'at-Minded Reform in the Ottoman Empire", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1990; M. Aşkar, "Tariikat – Devlet İlişkisi, Kadızâdeli ve Meşâyih Tartışmaları Açısından Niyāzī-i Mısrî ve Döneme Etkileri", *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, 1/1 (1999), 49–80; M. Sariyannis, "The Kadizadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?", in A. Anastasopoulos, *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire* (Rhetymmo 2012), 263–291; İ. Kutluay, "Osmanlı Döneminde XVI ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Kurulan Dârülhadislerin Müfredatı, İlmî Seviyeleri ve Kadızâdeliler Hareketinin Dârülhadislerin Çoğalmasındaki Rolü", *Mizânul-Hak: İslami İlimler Dergisi = Journal of Islamic Studies*, 9 (2019), 13–49.

verse or microcosm. This idea is not unique to Niyāzī Mişrī. Indeed, in many alchemical and astrological works, the microcosm-macrocosm analogy was a crucial feature and it was part of numerous Sufi writers' views of the world.<sup>63</sup> According to 'Azīz al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d.1282?), "man (*derwish*) is a small world (microcosm), while the Universe is the great world (macrocosm), and thus ... the Lord created the Universe as a sign of His Being in the form of a book and subsequently said that anyone who read this book would know Him."<sup>64</sup> Therefore, whatever event exists in the macrocosm reflects itself in the microcosm.<sup>65</sup>

According to Niyāzī Mişrī, the greater signs are the emergence of the sons of Asfar,<sup>66</sup> the appearance of Gog and Magog, Dajjāl, the descent of Christ, the appearance of the Mahdī, Dābbat al-Arḍ, the sun rising in the west, the closing door of repentance. The emergence of the Sons of Asfar consists of the emergence of animal character, because these are the bandits that blocked the path of the *sālik* ("the seeker") for the first time in the human world. The emergence of Gog and Magog is a sign of the emergence of the condemned character in a man completely. The emergence of the Dajjāl consists of the emergence of the attributes of the devil, which are domination, deception and trick. These come from the love of the world. Therefore, the right eye of a person becomes blind and he does not see the Hereafter. The emergence of Dābbat al-Arḍ consists of the appearance of *nafs-i lavvamah*, accusatory self in the heart. In other words, a window to the heavens opens in the heart of the follower of sufism and a tendency towards Allah appears in him. The descent of Jesus, his coming to life with his light, is a sign of man's turning to the Hereafter by giving up his tenden-

63 I. Nokso-Koivisto, "Microcosm-macrocosm analogy in Rasā'il Ikhwān aş-Şafā and Certain Related Texts", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2014, 13. Nokso-Koivisto divides sources of macro-microcosm analogy in Islamic tradition into major three groups: "mythological; philosophical, referring to the Greek tradition; and Judeo-Christian thought." *Ibid.*, 15.

64 V. Braginsky, "Universe – Man – Text; The Sufi concept of literature (with special reference to Malay Sufism)", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 149/2 (1993), 201–225 at 204.

65 H. İ. Şimşek, "Kıyâmet ve Alâmetlerinin Tasavvufî Tecrübe Açısından Yorumlanışı", *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, 19 (2007), 123–142; M. Şaşa, "Niyazi Mısıri'nin Perspektifinden Kıyamet Alametleri", in N. Akpolat, F. Karaman and M. Arslan, *Uluslararası Geçmişten Günümüze Malatyalı İlim ve Fikir İnsanları Sempozyumu. 17–19 Kasım 2017 Malatya* (Ankara 2018), I: 581–597.

66 For an evaluation of the term "sons of Asfar", see N. M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by The Arabs* (Cambridge 2004), 192.



cy to the world. When he emerges, the Dajjāl is slain. For the darkness of Hell dissipates with the appearance of the heavenly light.

The Mahdī will understand the purpose of his creation and act accordingly upon his emergence. "The sun rises from the west" is the rising of the sun of truth. According to another view, the rising of the sun from the place where it sets signifies the separation of the soul from the body. This is because the animal spirit within man is in the state of the sun in the world. When it enters the body, it sinks there. When it leaves the body, it is born from the place where it sank. "Closing the door of repentance" is a sign that a person has reached the end of his life. As for the width of this door for seventy years; this door does not close until the sun rises from the place where it sets. This door is therefore expansive, as wide as human life itself. When life ends and the sun rises from the place where it sets (that is, when the soul leaves the body), this door is closed.<sup>67</sup>

## The Mahdī

The focal point of immediate expectation is the arrival of the redeeming Mahdī, who combines the secret of divine wisdom with the sword of divine order. He is the Alexandrine World Conqueror (*Dhū'l-qarnayn*), the microcosm and the macrocosm (*al-insān al-saghīr wa'l-insān al-kabīr*), the neo-Platonic emanation corresponding to the sub-lunar world (*sūrat al-‘ālam al-dunyawī*), the Pole of Poles (*Quṭb al-aqṭāb*; the *quṭb* is the center or apex of the hidden saintly hierarchy in each age), and God's vicar in heaven and on earth (*khalīfat Allāh fi-l-arḍ wa-l-samā'*) who joins sanctity and divine mandate with earthly power.

His first enemies will be the clergy par excellence, the jurists, who will refuse to believe in him and order his death. He will defeat his enemies, annihilate all sectarian belief, institute the primal pure religion (*al-dīn al-khālīṣ*) after the abrogation of the established religious laws (*raf' al-sharā'i' wa-l-adyān*), and conquer the world from China to Constantinople, completing his eschatological function by following his capture of the second Rome with that of the first, where a king rules (i.e., the Pope) whose status among Christians is like that of the caliph among Muslims. As the ruler (*khalīfa*) of the last age, Muḥammad

67 Şaşa, "Niyazi Mısri'nin Perspektifinden", 593.

son of 'Abdullāh, of the line of the Prophet, he will fill the world with justice as it has been filled with injustice.<sup>68</sup>

The belief in the Mahdī in Sunnite Sufi and especially Imāmī Shī'ites circles has been widespread throughout the ages.<sup>69</sup> Following the beginning of Major Occultation (329/941 to the present), Shī'ites gathered the doctrines of the Imāms into manuals that soon began to spread relatively openly,<sup>70</sup> and the belief in the Hidden Imam circulated via both oral and written tools.<sup>71</sup> People referred to as *nakibs* were the assistants of the Mahdī.<sup>72</sup> It is not unusual for Sufi authors to believe that the members of Ahl al-bayt were the inheritors and transmitters of a secret and strong body of wisdom passed on to the prophets but left behind the general mass of the Muslims.<sup>73</sup> Ibn Turka in the fifteenth century also had the same thought. He noted that “indeed, the family of the Prophet, who are his glorious descendants, were entrusted with *jaf̄r*, which included the totality of meanings.”<sup>74</sup> Thus, as there is a deep historical relationship and exchange of ideas between Shī'ism and Sufism, the notion of the Hidden Imam was transferred onto the mindset of Sunni Sufis as esoteric knowledge.<sup>75</sup> At

68 Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse”, 46.

69 It is important to bear in mind that Imāmī Shī'ites and Qızılbaş Alevi have the same Mahdī doctrine.

70 Gardiner, “Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture”, 61.

71 M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. D. Streight (Albany 1994), 115–124.

72 Nuri İbrahim, *Fetih-nâme-i Bağdâd-ı Bihîşt-âbâd*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, nr. 1054, 53a: “*Bu tarafda gelen nakibler dahi mahkeme önüne geldiler. Şehir halkı bir tarafda durup nak[ibi]n biri ilerü geldi; “ey kavm-i şehri, bilin ve âgâh olun, Mehdî-i âhir-zamân hurûc eyledi. Biz anun tarafından risâlete geldik. Mehdîyyü-z-zamân hazretlerine bî'at idüp fermân-ber olun. Bu gün hutabâ-yı şehri hutbeyi Mehdî nâm-ı şerîfine okusun. Eger inâd idersenüz mâ-beynimizî kılıç aralar, siz bilürsüz. Âl-i Osmân devri gitdi, şimdi devr-i Mehdî'dir didi”*: M. F. Gökçek, “IV. Murâd'ın Bağdâd'ı fethine dair iki eser: Nuri İbrâhîm, Fetihnâme-i Bağdâd-Kâdî-zâde Ahmed Çelebi, Fetihnâme-i Bağdâd (transkripsiyon-değerlendirme)”, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University Institute of Turkic Studies, 2013, 90.

73 For several examples see H. Algar, “Imâm Mūsā al-Kāzım and Şüfî Tradition”, *Islamic Culture*, 64/1 (1990), 1–14; S. H. Nasr, “Shī'ism and Sufism: Their relationship in essence and in history”, *Religious studies*, 6 (1970), 229–242.

74 Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 162 quoting Turka, *Risala-yi shaqq-i qamar va sa'at*, pp. 111–12.

75 P. Lory, “Soufisme et sciences occultes”, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds), *Lesvoies d'Allah*:

the core of this tradition was the common trust in the heritage of Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet himself. It was believed that this knowledge allowed them to foretell the future and reveal the secrets of things that would come to the final days of history.<sup>76</sup> Masad gives the example of Ibn 'Aqab, a medieval *malāḥim* expert<sup>77</sup>, who has a legendary tale on how he got the knowledge that made him a *malāḥim* author. In the narrative, he is identified as *mu'allam al-Sibtayn*, that is, tutor of the twin grandsons, i.e. Ali's two sons and the Prophet's grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

And as for the tutor of the two grandsons, he was Ibn 'Aqab; and he is buried in Cairo, and his tomb is visited [as a shrine]. And it was said that Gabriel...had brought the Prophet[...], as he sat in the mosque, two apples from Paradise. Then [his grandsons] al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn came in and he gave one to al-Ḥasan and the other one to al-Ḥusayn. Then they brought the two apples to their tutor and he ate them and God granted him the knowledge of the unknowns. And the Prophet said to him, "O Ibn 'Aqab, make [dates] earlier and later [i.e., don't give the exact dates of future happenings]".<sup>78</sup>

The same is true for the Ottomans. As Vefa Erginbaş has clearly demonstrated, in Lāmi'ī Çelebi's (1472–1532) *Şevāhidü'n Nübüvve* ("Witnesses of Prophecy"):

the outstanding reverence for 'Alī in this work is unmistakable: he is depicted as the head of the 'arifin, those who have attained spiritual knowledge of God. He is said to have received nine-tenths of all knowledge and even to have a share in the remaining tenth.<sup>79</sup>

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*les ordres mystiques dans l'islam des origines à aujourd'hui* (Paris 1996), 186–89.

76 Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition", 97.

77 *Malāḥim* represents a specific type of *hadith* narrations about apocalyptic conflicts and battles.

78 The story is told by al-Bistami in *Miftah al-jafī*; Istanbul MS, Hafid Efendi 204, 26a (cf. Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition", 104); it is also mentioned in *Dürr-i meknün*, SK Pertevniyal 456: fols 138a–138b; Demirtaş, "Dürr-i meknün", 236.

79 V. Erginbaş, "Problematising Ottoman Sunnism: Appropriation of Islamic History and Ahl al-Baytism in Ottoman Literary and Historical Writing in the Sixteenth Century", *JESHO*, 60 (2017), 614–646 at 623. On the Sunni *ṭarīqa* connection via mystical genealogies to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib see R. S. Kazemi, *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imam Ali* (London 2006), 134.

This example is striking because the same person, Lāmi'ī Çelebi, mentions that the Mahdī would be a descendant of Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, not the twelfth Shi'ī Imam, just as in the treatise we will examine below. And the twelfth Imam has not been obscured, but has just passed away.<sup>80</sup> Erginbaş also gives the example of Muṣṭafā Cenābī, an influential sixteenth century historian; although Cenābī shows the pro-Alid approach and comments in his universal history book, *Cenābī Tarihi* or *Aylām al-ẓahīr*, “he concludes that the twelfth Shi'ī Imam is not the eschatological Mahdī.”<sup>81</sup> Thus, in Rıza Yıldırım's words, “there was no conscious alienation between Sunni and Shi'ite creeds, but rather clusters of faiths in which Sunni and Shi'ite elements intermingled.”<sup>82</sup>

The name Mahdī derives from the verbal root h-d-y and while the passive participle (Mahdī: “rightly guided”) does not appear in the Qurān, words derived from this root, which means ‘right guidance’, are prevalent<sup>83</sup> with connotations of delivering peace, equality, and eliminating injustice. His arrival was clearly predicted by many *ḥadīths*, both Sunni and Shi'ite, and Mahdī is an inseparable part of Muslim belief both yesterday and today. While predicted with minor differences, various communities of interpretations within Islam all accepted that this eschatological figure would be a man of the Muhammadan line.

Many medieval texts, for example, include long and incoherent lists of locations from which Mahdī and his followers would emerge.<sup>84</sup> Many of the most prominent Islamic scholars have commented in detail on the physical appearance of the Mahdī.<sup>85</sup> As the well-known and well-authenticated *ḥadīth* declared: “Allah will bring out from concealment al-Mahdi from my family and just before the day of Judgment; even if only one day were to remain in the life of the world, and he will spread on this earth justice and equity and will eradicate tyranny and oppression.”<sup>86</sup> The reign of Mahdī will also offer welfare

80 Erginbaş, “Problematizing Ottoman Sunnism”, 624.

81 Ibid., 634.

82 R. Yıldırım, “Sunni Orthodox vs. Shiite Heterodox?: A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia”, in A.C.S. Peacock et. al (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Mediaeval Anatolia* (London 2015), 277–307 at 306.

83 <https://corpus.quran.com/qurandictionary.jsp?q=hdy>

84 Ostránský, “The Lesser Signs of the Hour”, 278–280.

85 *EI*, s.v. “al-Mahdī” (W. Madelung).

86 Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, 1:99. <http://www.irshad.org/islam/prophecy/mahdi.htm>. “The Mahdī/Qā'im will rise at the End of Time and will fill the earth with justice just as before it overflowed with oppression and injustice (or “darkness”) (*sa-yaqūmu'l-Mahdī/al-qā'imfi*

for all facets of life. The archetypal battle between good and evil in almost every society or belief system, present and past, is represented with Mahdî and Dajjâl in Islamic literature. Moezzi states that after Mahdî, "the 'Enemies' and their supporters will finally be annihilated; justice will be restored in the world, and humanity will be revived by the light of knowledge."<sup>87</sup> In this sense, the eschatological battle of the Mahdî is the culmination of an 'endless cosmic war' that will mark the definitive triumph of Intelligence over Ignorance.<sup>88</sup> This dichotomy between knowledge (the Mahdî) and ignorance (Dajjâl) also appears in the *Divân* of a nineteenth century sheikh of the Sa'diyya Târîqa, Şeyh Hacı Mehmed Vehbi (d. 1885) as follows, "*Cebâlet mahv olur irfân tanılır / Âlemde hakikat ilmi okunur*".<sup>89</sup>

Muslims commonly believe that the Mahdî will, along with Jesus, confront the apocalyptic waves of Gog and Magog, allowing for the Rules of Justice, in accordance with the prophesied conversion of the Christians into Islam, to be founded for a short time. According to most commentators, the Mahdî will appear prior to the second coming of Jesus, but after the very end of a great battle with the Antichrist, which will result in the Muslim conquest of Constantinople. The Mahdî is the same figure as the hidden Imâm of the Shi'ite tradition, being the Lord of Time (*şâhib ez-zamân*). Lastly, the world must be conquered and therefore reunited under the rule of Islam. What is most noteworthy is the contrast between the empirical wording devoted to the majority of signs leading up to this great end, and the Mahdî's law of goodness and justice.

Though no specific time was ever set for his advent, it was generally believed that his revolt (*hurûj* and *zuhûr*) would occur at the turn of a millennium after his Occultation. The terms *hurûj* and *zuhûr* were often used in Islamic apocalyptic narratives to characterize the arrival of Mahdî. As the Lord of Time (*şâhib ez-zamân*) and the Riser (*Qā'im*) of the House of the Prophet, he will restore justice and equity to the world when it is filled with evil and oppression.<sup>90</sup> The term *Qā'im* appears only three times in the Quran (3:39; 11:100; 13:33). There-

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*âkhir al-zamân fa-yamla'ul-arḍ 'adlan kamā mali'at jawranwa zulman/zuluman*). M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam: Beliefs and Practices* (London 2011), 405.

87 Ibid., 411.

88 Ibid., 415.

89 This verse is from Vehbi Baba's long poem on Mahdi with the chorus of "*Muḥammad Ali'nin oğlu geliyor*": Selim Ağa Ktp., Haşim Paşa 76: 29b-30b.

90 A. Amanat, *Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shi'ism* (London 2009), 49.

fore, the *ḥadīth* literature provides a great deal of knowledge for the Islamic *Qā'im* definition that Muslim commentators over the ages have interpreted in a number of ways, depending on their theological or theological opinions.<sup>91</sup>

According to the Sunni tradition, the title of Mahdī—unlike the “expected imam” understanding in Shi'ite doctrine—<sup>92</sup> is not attributed to a specific person. There is no concrete information regarding who the Mahdī will be, when and where it will appear in the sources. However, over time, the concept of the Mahdī ceased to focus in a single person, but instead turned into a *mujaddid* (renewer of religion) idea: “God would ensure the good practice and vitality of Islam through a renewer, whom he would send at the beginning of every century”;<sup>93</sup> an idea based on a tradition from the *Kitāb al-Malāḥim* of Sijistāni. In fact, when Islamic historical sources are examined, it will be noticed that from the beginning, in Muslim societies, the expected arrival of the Mahdī is not envisaged in the distant future, but as an event that will take place in the near future or even during the present.<sup>94</sup>

There is an especially strong upsurge in this belief at the beginning of each Islamic century. During almost every period, we come across people in our sources who interpret the beginning of the century as the time for the emergence of

91 M. A. Amir-Moezzi, “Only the Man of God is Human: Theology and Mystical Anthropology According to Early Imāmī Exegesis”, in E. Kohlberg (ed.), *The Formation of the Classical World: Shi'ism* (Wiltshire 2003) 22.

92 For a study analysing Maḥdīsm in Ismā'īlī tradition see F. Daftary, “Hidden Imams and Mahdis in Ismaili History”, in B. D. Craig (ed.), *Ismaili and Fatimid Studies in Honour of Paul E. Walker* (Chicago 2010), 1–23.

93 Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 262.

94 The following *nefes* of Pîr Ali (16th century) is an example:

*Osmânlu yanına kalır mı sandım//Nice intikâmlar alınsa gerek  
Mehdî çıkar ise nic'olur bâlin//Heybetli küsleri çalınsa gerek  
Gâzî Mehdî bir gün Uruma çıkar//Yezîd kalesini hem burcun yıkar  
On iki imâmın sancağın çeker//Kırmızı tâc ile salınsa gerek  
Sanma ki Osmânlu yanına kalır//Tanrının arslanı Şah oğlu gelir  
Darb ile elinden tahtını alır//Harâbende erkân sürülse gerek  
Yezîd göze almış ol güzel Şâhı//Muhammed Ali'dir anın yardağı  
Alim dünyâya gelirse bir dahi//İşiden Yezîdler yerinse gerek  
Bir gün bu dünyânın sâhibi gelir//On iki imâmın hakkını alır  
Yezîdler aradan hep telef olur//Mü'minlerin hâli sorulsa gerek  
Pîr Ali der Mehdî ciğer yanığı//Kırmızıdır donu yeşil sancağı  
Düzelim koşalım bahçeyi bağı//Yezîdler aradan sürülse gerek.*

A. Gölpınarlı and P. N. Boratav, *Pir Sultan Abdal* (Istanbul 2010), 8.



Mahdî. The 100<sup>th</sup> year of Hijra was first envisaged as the date for the impending appearance of Mahdî; when a Mahdî did not appear, the 200<sup>th</sup> Hijri year was then written about as anticipated the date when Mahdî would emerge stronger; this pattern was repeated throughout the centuries.<sup>95</sup>

## Mahdî in the Ottoman Narratives

The interest in the occult and the apocalyptic was popular and intense enough spill over from the standard collections of *ḥadīth* and specialized occult and eschatological compilations into other kinds of Islamic writings. Full chapters or fragments of anecdotes on apocalypticism and related issues found their way into historical chronicles, literary treatises, polemical works, poetry collections, medicine books, war manuals, and other popular medieval genres such as *fada'il al-buldan*, travelogues, hagiographical works, and biographical dictionaries.<sup>96</sup>

The same is true for the Ottoman sources. For example, the letters of Bālî of Sofya (d. 1553), one of the most famous Ḥalvetî sheikhs of the Balkans, contain the traces of Mahdî faith of the Ottoman literati. What makes him important is his close relations with the Ottoman bureaucrats as well as his exegesis on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Arabî (d. 1240). In his letters Bālî Efendi attempts to separate the true Sufis from the imitators, those who are loyal to the Sultan and the false Mahdî who is prone to revolt.<sup>97</sup> In this context, the letters Bālî Efendi wrote to Rüstem Pasha to evaluate various Sufis are remarkable. The letter contains various claims regarding İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî, Sheikh Bedreddîn, Sheikh Üveys

95 E. Öztürk, "Âhir Zaman Beklentilerinin Mezhebî Aidiyetlere Yansımaları: Ali el-Kârî el-Herevî'nin "el-Meşrabu'l-Verdî fî Mezhebi'l-Mehdî" İsimli Risalesi Işığında Mehdî'nin ve Hz. İsa'nın Hanefîlikle İlişkisine Dair İddialar", in C. Çuhadar, M. Aykaç and Y. Koçak, *Uluslararası Şeyh Şâ'bân-ı Velî Sempozyumu -Hanefîlik-Mâturîdîlik-. 05-07 Mayıs 2017* (Kastamonu 2017), 2: 538-547 at 540.

96 Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition", 168.

97 This kind of messianic movements, which Ahmet Yaşar Ocak calls mystical Mahdism movements and where there is a Qutb with a charismatic personality in the center, turn into arrogance and pose great dangers for the Sultan, the source of political power. A. Y. Ocak, "Kutb ve İsyân: Osmanlı mehdici hareketlerinin ideolojik arka planı üzerine bazı düşünceler" *Toplum ve Bilim*, 83 (1999/2000), 48-57; idem, "Türkiye Tarihinde Mehdici Hareketlerin Toplu Tarihine Doğru [Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım]", in E. Akpınar, *Uluslararası Börklüce Mustafa Sempozyumu. 2-5 Haziran 2016* (İzmir 2016), 48-59.

and Şeyh Kara Dāvud.<sup>98</sup> Bālī Efendi, who was in the service of his sheikh Kasım Çelebi (d. 924/1518) in Istanbul at the time of the incident of Sheikh Üveys, conveys the reactions of the sheikhs with a sharp and constant language.<sup>99</sup> It is possible to ascertain the statements of the person who declared that he was the Mahdī from the details provided by Bālī of Sofia in this letter. According to this, the most important doctrine regarding the Mahdī is based on the *ḥadīth* stating that: “one who dies without knowing the imam of his time, dies upon the death of ignorance”. The person declaring their status as the Mahdī therefore harnesses this well-known *ḥadīth* to provide their claim with spiritual validation. This is because, according to this view, the *imām* of the time is himself the Mahdī.<sup>100</sup>

Apart from these, chronicles provide a great deal of information on the Mahdī beliefs among the common Ottoman people. As an example, let us see only the case of Sheikh İsa from the chronicle of Nūrī İbrahim from seventeenth century. The main indicator of the Mahdī is his revolt against the oppres-

98 O. Şahin, “Sofyalı Bālī'nin dört şeyhe dair istihbari mektubu”, *Hikmet – Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi*, 8 (2018), 37–64 at 47.

99 “*Bilmiş olasız bana keşfümde Peygamber Hazretleri göründi. Haber virdi. Çelebi Halîfe kutbudur. Öldi. Yine yirine Şeyh Üveys kutb oldu. Ol öldükden sonra ben kutb olurum. Benden sonra benim mürebberimden Hâmid-i Hindî nâm kimesne kutb olur. Ol kimesne Mehdiyi terbiyet ider. Anun zamânında Mehdi hurûc eyler. Ol kimesne Mehdiye vezîr olur. Bizüm müridlerimiz Mehdiye 'asker olurlar. İmdi elbettecümleünüz gelesiz Şeyh Üveysden tevbe vü telkîn alırsız icâzet alırsız ve illâ irşâdunuz sahib degüldür fâsiddür. Ölümünüz meyyit-i câbiliyye ölümü olur şöyle bilesiz. Bu hâdisede fakîr İstanbulda şeyh hıdmetinde olurudum. İstanbul şeyhleri cümlesi gazaba geldiler. Hâşâ ki peygamber sallâllâhu te'âlâ 'aleyhi ve sellem bunun gibi kelîmât itmez. Senün gibi câhile görünmez. Senün gibi ve Üveys gibi bâtil [u] câhil kutb olmaz ve kutbı Allâhdan gayrı kimse bilmez ve kutb olan ben kutbamdimez. Ve sizün gibi bâtil tâ'ife Mehdiyi terbiyet eylemez ve sizün gibi şeytânî tâ'ife Mehdiye 'asker olmaz. Mehdi bu yakında hurûc eylemez ve Mehdi'nün hurûcına dörtyüz yâ beş yüz yıl olmak gerekdür didiler. Ol senün gördüğün sencileyin bir şeytândur didiler. Bu i'tikâddan rücû' eylesen [114b] yohsa dînünüz îmânunuz gitdi kâfir oldunuz şöyle bilesiz didiler. Mektûbların pâre pâre eylediler. Gelen tâ'ifeyi kovdılar. Şeyh Üveyse âdem gönderdiler. Nasihatlar eylediler. Şerî'atı terk eyledünbâtil yola gîtün ol Şemsüddîn-i bâtilun keşfine uydun. Dînün îmânun harâb eyledün. Dâll ü mudill oldun. Şemsüddîn[i] reddyle. Sözüne uyma. Yohsa dünyâda ve âhıretde yüzün kara olur şöyle bilesiz didiler. Müyesser olmadı. Nasihat kâr eylemedi. Nasihat eyleyen süfleri itâle-yi lisân ile tesbîr eylediler. İstanbulda olan meşâyih cümlesi muztarib oldular”: Şahin, “Sofyalı Bālī”, 50.*

100 For the evaluation of the *ḥadīth*, see Abdulmajid Zehadet, “E'tebâr-e hadîs 'man mâta wa lam ya'raf imâm zamânihi' az dîdgâh-e fariqîn”, *Tulu'* 34 (1389), 119–134.

sion. Throughout the ages, this belief remains. For example, after the Kalender Çelebi incident in 1527, the most important Mahdist rebellion in Anatolia occurred during the reign of Murad IV: Sheikh İsa (Ahmed) rebelled in Sakarya against the Ottoman administration in 1638, claiming to be the Mahdî. His followers urged him to prove his identity, since he was identifying himself with the Mahdî: "İmam Muḥammad Mehdi benim dersin, niçün isbat-ı vücüd itmekde tekasül idersin?" After these types of critiques, Şeyh İsa went to the cave where he always retreated to rest. While he was in a dream, he was given the good news that he was the Mahdî and that all people would come under his command, that he would eliminate the oppressors who reign in the world, and that the time of revolt has come.<sup>101</sup>

The phenomenon of the Mahdî's arrival is also dealt with extensively in *Künhül-ahbâr*, the classic history-cum-cosmography of the famous Ottoman scholar Muṣṭafâ 'Âli (1541–1600). Muṣṭafâ 'Âli asserts that all reliable *ḥadîth* compilers announce the coming of the Mahdî. He recounts the qualities of Mahdî and the circumstances of his reappearance, based on these sources. By this, Muṣṭafâ 'Âli differs from the Ottoman historians who, however, deny the eschatological implications of the Twelfth Imam. He takes eschatological arguments for the Twelfth Imam as opposed to mainstream Sunni doctrine. He maintains that al-Mahdî, the Twelfth Imam, is indeed "the *Sāhibu'l-zamān*; *gālibu'l-Burbān* (the definitive evidence) and the proof of religion, *hucetu'l-dîn* (the true Mahdî, the subject of the proof)."<sup>102</sup> As Erginbaş further notes, *Künhül-ahbâr* contains a lengthy account of al-Mahdî's mother, Mālīka, a Byzantine convert to Islam who was said to be a descendant of both the Sasanian emperor and Sham'un, also known as Simon Peter, Jesus' apostle.<sup>103</sup> Mālīka

101 See Nuri İbrahim, *Fetih-nâme-i Bağdâd-ı Bihîşt-âbâd*, 78–81; Mehmet Fatih Gökçek, "XVII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Anadolu'da Sahte Bir Mehdi: Sakarya Şeyhi İsa (Ahmed)", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 115/227 (2017), 183–196 at 191. İdris Bidlîsî calls the revolt of Şahkulu as "This Shiite mob did bad deeds with *khurûc* claim": İdris-i Bidlîsî, *Heşt Bihîşt*, quoted in V. Genç, "Acem'den Rum'a: İdris-i Bidlîsî'nin hayatı, tarihçiliği ve Heşt Bihîşt'in II. Bayezid kısmı (1481–1512)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Istanbul University, 2017, 917.

102 Erginbaş, "Problematizing Ottoman Sunnism", 638.

103 It seems that Erginbaş or Muṣṭafâ 'Âli—it is not clear in the article—confuses Shahr Bānū with Narjis Khātūn (Mālīka). Shahr Bānū was narrated as the daughter of Yazdegerd III of Persia, from Sasanid lineage and the mother of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the Fourth Imam

converted to Islam after having a series of visions involving Jesus, Mary, the prophet Muhammad, and his daughter Fāṭima.<sup>104</sup>

Apart from this type of texts, signs of Doomsday and the expectation of the Mahdī might be detected in *tafsir* literature of the Ottomans.<sup>105</sup> Although usually neglected by Ottomanists, the *tafsir* genre reflects the horizons of the Islamic society and its history much more than many literary genres.<sup>106</sup> In the words of Mustafa Öztürk, the *tafsir* corpus contains “...much more than *tafsirs* themselves, history of culture and science...”<sup>107</sup> As the audience changes, the interpretation also changes both in terms of method and subject. Therefore, commentaries are not independent of the value judgments and ways of thinking of the age they belong; the Quran has been understood within the framework of every respective *Zeitgeist* throughout the ages. Thus, detecting the changing perspectives on the Doomsday signs by the means of *tafsir* corpus of the Ottomans would be the subject of another project.




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not the Twelfth Imam, Mahdī. In fact, there is no narration or information on the link between Sasanids and Narjis.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 639.

<sup>105</sup> On the first hand sources concerning Ottoman *tafsir* literature, see M. Abay, “Osmanlı Döneminde Yazılan Tefsir ile İlgili Eserler Bibliyografyası: Tefsirler, Haşiyeler, Sure Tefsirleri, Tercümeleler”, *Divân: İlmî Araştırmalar*, IV: 6/1 (1999), 249–303; A. Birişik and R. Arpa, “Osmanlı Dönemi Tefsir Çevirileri”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, IX/18 (2011), 191–232.

<sup>106</sup> N. Yavari, “Tafsir and the Mythology of Islamic Fundamentalism”, in A. Görke and J. Pink (eds), *Tafsir and Islamic intellectual history: exploring the boundaries of a Genre* (London 2014), 289–321 at 313. There are some articles by the theologians who mention the socio-political or cultural atmosphere of the era while studying on Ottoman *tafsir* narratives, see İ. Çalıřkan, “Tefsiri Mehmed Efendi’nin Tefsir-i Tibyan Adlı Eserinin Osmanlı Dönemi Tefsir Faaliyetindeki Yeri ve Dönemin Siyasi-Sosyal Yapısı İçin Anlamı”, in B. Gökür et al. (eds), *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kur’an Kültürü ve Tefsir Çalışmaları -I-* (Istanbul 2011), 215–240; E. Hacımuftuođlu, “Bađdat’ın Şia’dan Alınması Münasebetiyle 1639 Yılında Osmanlıca Te’lif Edilmiş el-’Ađiyât Sûresi Tefsiri”, *EKEV Akademi Dergisi – Sosyal Bilimler*, XX/65 (2016), 171–194.

<sup>107</sup> M. Öztürk, *Kur’an’ı Kendi Tarihinde Okumak: Anakronizme Ret Yazıları* (Ankara 2015), 43.

*Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle*

In addition to the above mentioned sources, there are unpublished *risâles* which contain ideas on Mahdî.<sup>108</sup> *Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle* is one of the treatises written about Mahdî in Turkish. We do not know for certain neither the author nor the title of the treatise, which is preserved with three copies in the Süleymaniye library. According to Eyüp Öztürk, the titles were probably given by the librarians.<sup>109</sup> *Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle*, the one we use here, comes from the collection Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1930/2. The second copy registered at Pertevnihal 417/3 bears the title of *Ahîr zamân, Deccâl ve Yecûc ve Me'cûc hakkında bir Risâle*; the same title is born by the third one, Zühdü Bey 96/2. There is no record of the date of transcription in any of the copies of the *Risâle*. However, according to Öztürk, in the copy in Zühdü Bey collection the date 1001 was added to the catalog by the library staff. If it is remembered that the year 1000 Hijri witnessed intense Mahdî expectations, the given date may be correct.<sup>110</sup>

The author explains the purpose of writing the treatise as to give information about the time when the signs of the apocalypse will appear from the appearance of Mahdî to the Gog and Magog.<sup>111</sup> We come across several names in the pages as the sources he used. His references are Hâlid bin Miqdâd(?), Dävüd-ı

108 E. Öztürk, "Osmanlı Mehdîlik Literatürü", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, XV/29 (2017), 375–407; Nu'aym b. Hammâd (d. 843): *el-Melâhim ve'l-Fiten*; Sadreddin el-Çon-evi (d.1274): *Risâletü'l-Mehdî* (657/1258–1259); Muḥammed Şafevî el-İcî (d. 1500): *Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle*; Suyûtî(d. 1505): *el-'Urful-verdîfi'l-Ahbârî'l-Mehdî*; Suyûtî (d. 1505): *el-Keşfü an Mucâvezeti'l-ummeti'l-elfi fi Hürüci'l Mehdi* (898/1492–1493); Suyûtî (d. 1505): *Risâle fi Mecii'l-Mehdî*; İbn Hacer el-Heytemî (d. 1566): *el-Kavlul-muhtaşar fi'alâmâti'l Mehdiyyi'l-Muntazar*; Ali el-Muttaḳî el-Hindî (d. 1567): *Kitâbu'l-burhân fi'alâmâti'l-Mehdî-iâhiri'z-zemân*; Ali el-Ḳârî (d. 1605): *el-Meşrebu'l-verdî fi'l-mezhebi'l-Mehdî*; Niyâz-î Mısırî (d. 1694): *Risâle-i Mehdiyye/Eşrât-ı Sâ'at Risâlesi*; Abdulhay b. Ahmed b. Muḥammed: *Risâle fieşrâti's-sâ'ati ve zuhûri'l-Mehdî*; *Risâle-i nüzul-i İsâ ve burûci'l-Mehdî*; *Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle* (1001?/ 1591–1593?).

109 Öztürk, "Osmanlı Mehdîlik Literatürü", 403.

110 Ibid., 404.

111 *Mehdîlik Hakkında Bir Risâle*, Hacı Mahmud Efendi: 1930/2, fols 20b–21a.

Sicistānī,<sup>112</sup> Mārinūs-i Hekīm,<sup>113</sup> Muḳātil,<sup>114</sup> Nevvās ibn Sem'ān,<sup>115</sup> Ebū 'Īsā-yı Tirmizī,<sup>116</sup> Danyal,<sup>117</sup> Ḳātāde,<sup>118</sup> Ḥuzeyfe-i Yemānī,<sup>119</sup> Ḳazvīnī,<sup>120</sup> Muḥammed bin Ḥāmid (?), Şeyḫ Necmü'l-'Avā-i Haḳḳānī (?). Additionally, he makes use of other books that he does not name. As we will see below, one of these is Ibn 'Arabī's *Al-Futūḫāt al-Makkiyyah*, and another is *Muḥammediye* by Aḥmed Bī-cān's brother, Meḫmed.

The text begins by alluding to the classical information found in the sources, namely that the world will be filled with darkness and persecution will spread all over the world before Mahdī's appearance. When he does emerge, the text continues, he will eliminate all of the irreligious things and evil deeds and will leave nothing against Sharia. On his flag it will be written that "Allegiance is only for Allah". Then the author lists the important events that will occur with the appearance of Mahdī as follows: he will take the Psalter out of the sea of Tiberia and the ark which Prophet Moses threw into the sea of Tiberia by the order of God, so that his tribe would not seek or find it. His staff is also in that ark. With the permission of God Almighty, he will even take that chest out of the sea. It is said that Mahdī will come out of the cave in the city of Antioch and seventy thousand descendants of Isaac, son of Abraham, will become his soldiers. What is emphasized in the text is the belief that Mahdī will fill the world, full of mischief and cruelty, with justice. The unknown author says that

112 Abū Dāwūd Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath al-Azdī al-Sidjīstānī (d.888), traditionalist, author of *Kitāb al-sunan*.

113 Μαρίνος ὁ Τύριος (AD. 130), founder of mathematical geography. Although his work is lost, Ptolemy used his treatise extensively in his classical *Geography*. And apart from Ptolemy, al-Mas'udi gives reference to him.

114 Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 767), traditionalist and commentor of the Ḳur'ān.

115 He is known for Dajjal *ḥadīth* in *Riyād aṣ-Ṣāliḫin* number 1812: <https://www.hadiskitaplari.com/riyazus-salihin/riyazus-salihin-1812-nolu-hadis>

116 al-Tirmidhī (d. 892), famous *ḥadīth* collector.

117 Biblical figure of Daniel and the well known reporter of Islamic apocalptic literature, *Malḥamāt Dānyāl*: D. Cook, "Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse", *Arabica*, 49 (2002), 55–96.

118 Qatāda b. Di'āma (d. 735), blind mufassir and traditionalist famous for his strong memory.

119 Another narrator who lived in the Prophet Muḥammad's time. He is known for Dajjal *ḥadīth* in *Riyād aṣ-Ṣāliḫin* number 1813: <https://www.hadiskitaplari.com/riyazus-salihin/riyazus-salihin-1813-nolu-hadis>

120 Author of famous cosmography book, *Nüzhetü'l-ḳulüb: El*, s.v. "al-Ḳazwīnī" (V. F. Büchner).



"*cevr ü bi'dat fisk u fücür ve zulm ü sitem çok ola 'âlem fesâd ile tola pes ol vaqt benüm evlâdumdan Hâk Te'âlâ bir halîfe göndere 'âlemi 'adl ile toldura ve emn ü emân içinde olalar*". As Sariyannis has demonstrated in his study of seventeenth century rebellions and riots, some of these words are widely used to characterise marginalized behaviour. As for the Mahdî texts, the same is valid for denoting the darkness of the period prior to the arrival of the Mahdî: the terms are the ones widely used by Ottoman authorities to mention public disorder. Among them, "*fisk u fücür*, meaning 'indulgence of the fleshy lusts, debauchery'; *fesad*, 'badness, fraud, depravity, intrigue, riot, disorder'; *fitne*, 'temptation, disorder, intrigue'; or *şürür*, 'evils, disputes, disturbances.'<sup>121</sup> Particularly, *cevr* and *zulm* mean the opposite of justice, established rights and equality. So, Imam Mahdî "will not only deliver the oppressed of the period but also avenge all the accumulated injustices over the ages."<sup>122</sup> He then continues with a discussion of the identity of the Mahdî. The author seems to employ a perfectly balanced amalgam of Sunni and Shi'ite beliefs by writing that Mahdî will be the descendant of Hâsan b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib (d. 670), his father's name will be Abdullah and his mother will be Nercis, from Abbasid or Christian origin.<sup>123</sup> As mentioned above, in the Shi'ite belief system the promised Mahdî is the Twelfth Imam, his father is the eleventh Imam, al-'Askari, and he is the descendent of the martyr of Karbala, Hûsain b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib (d. 680), not of his elder brother Hâsan. On the other hand, although the author mentions the possibility of Abbasid lineage alongside the Byzantium one, he refers to the figure of Nercis or Malîka, who is a slave girl from Byzantium in Shi'ite tradition.<sup>124</sup>

From the text, we are able to discern that the writer also employs Ibn 'Arabî's narrative on the Mahdî. The best sign of the reference to Ibn 'Arabî is the author's strong judgment on the jurists. He says that the greatest enemies of the Mahdî will be the jurists. Ibn 'Arabî claims the same in his *Al-Futûhât al-Makkiyyah* in depth. According to him, this is because the legislative method adop-

121 M. Sariyannis, "'Mob', 'Scamps' and Rebels in Seventeenth Century Istanbul: Some Remarks on Ottoman Social Vocabulary", *IJTS*, 11/1-2 (2005), 1-15 at 9-10.

122 Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam*, 406.

123 It is possible that the author of the *Risâle* confuses Narjis' death place, Samarra of the Abbasids, with her birthplace.

124 Şeyh Saduk, *Kemalü'd-din ve tamamü'n-nimeh: Dinin Kemali*, trans. A. Orak (Istanbul 2020), 481-492. From the mouth of Hakima, "daughter of Muhammad al-Jawad (the Ninth Imam) and paternal aunt of the Eleventh Imam al-'Askari," the hagiographic birth of the Mahdî by Narjis is told in detail: Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, 71.

ted by the jurists includes *qiyās*, analogy; after the Mahdī's state law and decrees, the jurists' presidency will not have legal validity and they will be inseparable from ordinary people. So they will lose their religious and legislative positions and their methods will become worthless. As with the existence of the Mahdī, differences of opinion regarding the decrees will be eliminated and a single legal order will be established. According to Ibn 'Arabī, "if the power, the sword, was not in the hands of Mahdī, the jurists would even give a fatwa to kill him."<sup>125</sup> The same sentence is copied without providing the name of the referee: "*eger Mehdī'nün kılıcı korkusu olmasa ol zemānun fakīhleri Mehdī'nün katline fetvā virürlerdi ve Mehdī'nün hıç fermānin tutmazlardı*".<sup>126</sup> Parallel to them, in his *Rumūzü'l-künūz fi'l-cifr*, İlyās b. İsā Saruhānī (d. 1554) states that in the time of the Mahdī and the Prophet Jesus, the institution of the *muftis* will disappear because both of them will make the decisions themselves.<sup>127</sup> Similarly, among the Shi'ites, we find the idea that the Mahdī's opponents in the final fight are not disbelievers, but rather misguided Muslims:

On the occasion of his Rising, our Qā'im will have to confront ignorance (*jaahl*) even greater than that of the ignorant ones faced by the Messenger of God during the Age of Ignorance [before Islam] (*jubbāl al-jābiliyya*)...For, at the time of the Prophet, the people worshipped stones, rocks, plants and wooden statues, but when our Qā'im will summon the people [to his Cause], they will interpret the entire Book of God [i.e. the Qur'an] against him and will argue against him and use the Book to fight him (*kulluhum yata'awwalū 'alayhi kitābi'llāh yahtajjū 'alayhi bihi wa yuqātilūnahu 'alayhi*).<sup>128</sup>

The other reference to Ibn 'Arabī comes from the sentence that provides information on the viziers who will attend the Mahdī. Ibn 'Arabī notes that the companions of the Mahdī will be 'Acem but they will speak Arabic.<sup>129</sup> The same is

125 Ö. Öztürk, "Tasavvuf Kültüründe Beklenen Kurtarıcı İnanıcı", in Y. Ş. Yavuz (ed.), *Beklenen Kurtarıcı İnanıcı* (İstanbul 2017), 221–261 at 246 quoting *Al-Futūḫāt al-Makkiyyah*, VI, p. 63.

126 *Mehdilik Hakkında Bir Risāle*, p. 207a.

127 A. Özgül, "İlyas bin İsâ-yı Saruhānī'nin "Rumūzü'l-Künūz" adlı eserin transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirmesi", unpublished M.A. thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2004, 64, 24a.

128 Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam*, 410 quoting Al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghayba* (tradition attributed to Imam Ja'far al-Şādiq).

129 Öztürk, "Tasavvuf Kültüründe", 249.

mentioned in the text: “*bunlar heb ‘Acemdür ammā (ğayrisi) söylerler*”, meaning that “whereas they are not from Arabic tribes (or: they are all Iranians), they do not speak Persian [they speak Arabic]”. The text mentions the seven viziers of the Mahdî with their names; Ibn ‘Arabî gives the same number, but he does not mention their names. Aside from these, it is written in the text that the Mahdî will emerge from between the *Rukn* and *Maqām*, two places in the Ka‘ba, and people would pay homage to him, which is also in line with the Shi‘ite view.<sup>130</sup> Besides these, Sufyānî is also mentioned in the text.<sup>131</sup> Muawiya II’s brother is said to have spread the rumours about an expected saviour of Sufyānî origin, similar to the narrative about an expected Mahdî originating from ‘Alî’s sons. As a result, the Sufyānî became an antagonist household name, diametrically opposed to the Mahdî.<sup>132</sup> Intriguingly, the author also states that when he emerges on Iran, the Sufyānî will slay a man named ‘Alî and a women called Fāṭima.

After detailing the Sufyānî’s travels to various places, such as Qom, the author turns to the narratives focusing on the Dajjāl. The Antichrist Dajjāl was not a particularly popular figure in the Muslim apocalyptic stories during the classical period. During the last century particularly, the figure of the Dajjāl has been increasingly at the forefront in religious discourse. Consequently, the Antichrist has become an attractive subject for Muslim writers and publishers.<sup>133</sup> The author first remarks the difference between Constantinople and Rome with reference to Marinos of Tyre.<sup>134</sup> He states that the Mahdî will conquer *Ḳoṣṭantîniyye-i ‘uzmā* with his soldiers of the sons of Prophet Isaac from the Kurds of Damascus: “*yetmiş biñ kimesne ola İṣḫāk peyğamber oğlânlarından ve bunlar Şām’uñ Kürdlerinden ola.*” He then begins to discuss the time periods

130 A. M. C. Horosani, *Alametleriyle Birlikte Beklenen Mehdi*, trans. M. Acar (Istanbul 2006), 369.

131 For an evaluation about the Sufyānî and different people who use this title, see Ö. Aras, “Halid b. Yezid (ve Ailesi): Siyasi ve Kültürel Etkinliği Üzerine Değerlendirmeler”, *İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, V (2017), 160–76 and W. Madelung, “The Sufyānî between Tradition and History”, *SI*, 63 (1986), 5–48.

132 Y. Okran, “Siyasi ve Mezhebî Olayların Ortaya Çıkardığı Süfyânî Rivayetleri”, *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXIV/3 (2020), 1135–1156.

133 R. Tottoli, “Hadiths and traditions in some recent books upon the Dağğāl”, *Oriente Moderno*, 21/82, no. 1 (2002), 55–75 at 56.

134 Constantinople was also included in the eschatological texts by Christians and Jews, and it was known as the New Jerusalem where the Messiah will take home: Yücesoy, *Messianic Beliefs and Imperial Politics*, 47.

between the occurrence of the Dajjāl and the conquests of *Rūmiyye-i Kübrā* and *Ḳoṣṭantiniyye-i 'uzmā*. He references Dāvūd-ı Sicistānī and states that seven years after the conquest of the two cities, the Dajjāl will emerge. However, he also provides the numbers of six months, seven months, eight months, and eighteen days. While he mentions the difference between Constantinople, built by Constantin who was a *Naẓrānī*, and Rome, built by “an emperor called Rūmīs” (*Rūmīs adlu bir pādīşāh*), he notes the name of *Mārinūs-i Hekīm*'s Geography book which “describes all the cities and mountains and seas of the earth” (*cemī'-i yiryüzün şehrleriyle ve tığları ve deñizleri birle anda tasvır eylemişdür*). It is also stated that the Prophet advised his ummah to read the first ten verses of surah of al-Kahf in order to be protected from the evilness of the Dajjāl.<sup>135</sup> A well-known detail regarding the Dajjāl relates to his eye. In our *Risāle*, his eye is compared to an exploded grape and it is written that most of his subjects will be of Turkish and Jewish origin. He travels astride a kind of donkey.<sup>136</sup> It is written that the width between the two ears of this very large donkey is forty cubits. The information regarding the donkey of Dajjāl is taken directly from *ḥadīth* narratives.<sup>137</sup> The Dajjāl will rule for forty days and will travel across the entire world except for Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Tarsus. He will meet Khidr and slay him. However, God will resurrect Khidr.

On the subsequent pages, some famous Muslim doomsday motifs are repeated. It is noted that the Prophet Īsā will return to earth from heaven (where he ascended without dying on the cross, according to the Quran) with his green turban on his head to lead the final fight against the Dajjāl.<sup>138</sup> He will descend over Damascus' Eastern Minaret,<sup>139</sup> and the (remaining) Christians will assemble around him. The Dajjāl will flee toward Jerusalem, but Jesus will slay him at the passage to the Dead Sea. Meanwhile, the Seven Sleepers will return to the world. The Torah, the Psalms, the Bible and the Quran will be joined. While the Prophet Īsā leads his followers to the Mount of aṭ-Ṭūr, now

135 Abu Dawud, *Malahim*, 14; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, 36/43; 45/508.

136 In an anonymous six pages long text, the donkey of Dajjāl is also mentioned: *Bazı Eşrāt-ı Sāat Ḥakkında Eser*, SK, Hacı Mahmud 4491: 5b.

137 Ahmad b. Hanbal, *al-Musnad*, 3/367; Al-Nishapuri, *al-Mustadrak*, 4/530.

138 The motif of Prophet Īsā is repeated in various texts, see SK, Kemankeş 391; Hacı Beşir Ağa 656; Hacı Mahmud 4491; Hacı Mahmud 1741; Hafid Efendi 139; Kemankeş 391; Yazma Bağışlar 6784; Yazma Bağışlar 7333.

139 Muslim, *Fitan*, Bab: 20, 110/2937; Abu Dawud, *ibid.*, Bab:14, 4321 IV/117.

Gog and Magog<sup>140</sup> will emerge from every hill, drinking all available water, even Lake Tiberias, until beaten and murdered. After the Prophet İsa offers a prayer, they will be destroyed by a worm which is found in the noses of camels and sheep.

At the very end of the text, the author mentions Dābbat al-Arḍ, the Beast of the Earth. According to Islamic eschatology, one of the signs of Doomsday is the emergence of Dābbat al-Arḍ. This creature is a hybrid, bearing elements of various animals, and unlike any living creature encountered in reality. It is envisioned as a creature that God will release from underground, and it will declare that people do not believe God's scriptures. This apocalyptic creature was depicted in different sources and miniatures in various ways.<sup>141</sup> However, the fact that the creature contains elements taken from various animals is seen as a common feature. According to the *Risāle*, Dābbat al-Arḍ is a four-legged beast whose ears are like an elephant's ear, its head is like a cattle's head, its eyes are like a pig's eyes, its horn is like a goat's horn, its breast is like a lion's breast, its shape is like a frog, its tail is like a sheep's tail. Its feet would be like a camel's feet, twelve cubits from its groin to its thigh, and ten cubits from its thigh to its toe.<sup>142</sup> This portrait in the treatise reveals a decidedly mythological appearance and, although this is not mentioned, it is sourced from Aḥmed Bīcān of Gelibolu's *Muḥammadiye*. Furthermore, it is written that Moses' scepter will shine on the faces of believers and that the Seal of Solomon will be stamped on the noses of the unbelievers.

## Conclusion

Thus, the growing corruption and destruction of our natural environment, so awesomely—if as yet only partially—demonstrated in our time, is here predicted as “an outcome of what men's hands have wrought”, i.e., of that self-destructive—because utterly materialistic- inventiveness and frenzied activity which now threatens mankind with previously unimaginable ecological disasters: an unbridled pollution of

140 E. van Donzel and A. Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall* (Leiden 2010).

141 M. And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslam Mitolojyası* (Istanbul 1998), 300–305.

142 Interestingly, centuries after the *Risāle*, another Ottoman author comments on the identity of Dābbat al-Arḍ and says that Dābbat al-Arḍ is Jesuit clergy: Haşim Veli, “Kiyâmet Alâmetleri”, ed. K. Çakın, *Dinî Araştırmalar*, VI/16 (2003), 183–198 at 193. In the same article, he identifies *Dajjāl* with Sultan Abdulhamid.

land, air and water through industrial and urban waste, a progressive poisoning of plant and marine life, all manner of genetic malformations in men's own bodies through an ever-widening use of drugs and seemingly "beneficial" chemicals, and the gradual extinction of many animal species essential to human well-being. To all this may be added the rapid deterioration and decomposition of man's social life, the all-round increase in sexual perversion, crime and violence, with, perhaps, nuclear annihilation as the ultimate stage: all of which is, in the last resort, an outcome of man's oblivion of God and, hence, of all absolute moral values, and their supersession by the belief that material "progress" is the one thing that matters.<sup>143</sup>

When Mohammad Asad (1900–1992) explains the Surah Rum/ 41 in his translation of the *Quran*, he uses the above-mentioned statements that resemble early modern Ottoman authors' ideas on Doomsday, except for environmental and nuclear disasters.<sup>144</sup> The tone is reminiscent of books that have been translated into Turkish or written for the expectation of "Doomsday" in recent years.<sup>145</sup> At the turn of the millennium in 2012 and with the Covid-19 *pandemic* of 2020, the expectations of the "last hour" and "the end of the world" have meant that there was an especially large market demand for cultural production— television series, movies, books, and internet content —with apocalyptic themes. Parallel to these, there is a literature on popular belief focused on doomsday that has arisen out of a "renewed interest in the traditional apocalyptic paradigm"<sup>146</sup> in the Islamic world. This cultural phenomenon combines popular belief based on the *ḥadīth* literature with modern interpretations and

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143 M. Asad, *The Message of the Quran* (Bristol 2003), 850.

144 It should be bear in mind that Mohammad Asad (Leopold Weiss) born in Lviv and converted from Judaism to Islam. His comments on this verse with strong Apocalyptic elements might stem from his background. Ironically, when I have looked at the contemporary Shiite *tafsīrs*, especially *Tafsīr al Mīzan* of famous scholar and gnostic Allamah Tabataba'i (1903–1981), I have not found any Apocalyptic explanation on the same verse.

145 There is a vast literature on the subject. To give an idea, see P. Davies, *Son Üç Dakika*, trans. S. Gül (Istanbul 1999); A. Bilgin, *Sona Doğru Geri Sayım: Armagedon Kıyamet* (Istanbul 2005); M. Karaca, *Evreni Bekleyen Büyük Son: Kıyamet* (Istanbul 2006); B. Taylan, *Kıyamet Asrında Hz. İsa'nın Duası: biyolojik savaşçı olarak dabbetü'l-arz ve negaf* (Istanbul 2015); E. Trükten, *Deccal Derin Devleti* (Istanbul 2019).

146 E. K. Rosen, *Apocalyptic Transformation: Apocalypse and the Postmodern Imagination* (Lanham 2008), xviii.



prevails across the Islamic world. However, according to the Quran, God proclaims that knowledge about the doomsday hour belongs to Him alone.<sup>147</sup>

The expectation of a saviour, a Mahdî who will save the society from the havoc that befalls Muslim societies in troubled times, such as when they are facing religious violence or when they are invaded by a foreign state, has become very popular. According to the definition of Jamāl-al-dīn Afġānī (d. 1897), this situation is compared to the "man who stumbles his way in a wide field in the dark night and waits impatiently for the emergence of a star that will guide him" in terms of society.<sup>148</sup> As stated above, in parallel with the social and political crises in specific periods of Ottoman history (fourteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth centuries), various remedies were produced for this popular anguish in the form of Mahdism. During these periods, it can be clearly observed that the idea of an eschatological saviour is vividly grounded. When people grew weary of the war and chaos, they began to seek out someone to rescue them from their predicament. He is the prophesied figure in the conscience of the common people upon which they pin their faith when they fall into despair and longed for peace and order, and their only hope for salvation in the end of times. For this reason, the subject of "Doomsday signs" is also of great importance for the early modern Ottoman world. The four treatises mentioned in the beginning of this article might give some idea on the sources of the doomsday expectations of the early modern Ottomans. These treatises were effective in the formation of the traditional Islamic understanding of Ottoman society and greatly affected their imaginations and the understanding of life. By the guidance of the Doomsday signs, they could freshen their hopes for the Godly oriented eschatological saviour.

Frank Kermode, one of the most important literary critics of the twentieth century, links fictional and historical apocalyptic discourses with the concept of "crisis". According to Kermode, crises are a kind of warning for people to perceive the world and time in a more holistic way, thus functioning as a bridge that connects the past and the future.<sup>149</sup> The present, perhaps more so than in

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147 Araf, 7/187.

148 BOA, Yıldız Esas Evrakı No: 34/76, v. 2 quoted in İ. Şık and T. Yürük, "Bir Osmanlı Arşiv Belgesi Işığında Cemaleddin Afgani'de Mehdilik Anlayışı", *Fırat Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XVII/1 (2012), 31-50.

149 F. Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in The Theory of Fiction* (New York 1967), 94-95.

past centuries, is a period in which “everything solid melts into air” and almost all existing socio-cultural and economic stability has been shaken. However, in times past the various sui generis problems and troubles were so prevalent that our predecessors felt the Doomsday alarms as strongly as we feel them today.

## APPENDIX

[201b]

### Bismillāhi'r-rahmāni'r-rahīm

Elhamdulillāhi Rabbi'l- 'Ālemīn ve's-salatu 'alāḥayri ḥalkihi Muḥammedin ve Ālihi Ecma'in. Fasl āḥir zemānda Mehdī'aleyhi's-selām ne resme ḥurūc ider ve Deccāl-i la'īn ne vakt ḥurūc ider ve Ye'cūc ve Me'cūc ne vakt gelürler ve Ḥazret-i 'İsā'aleyhi's-selām gökden ne vakt iner ve Koşantīniyye-i 'uzmā ve Rūmiyye-i kübra ne vakt feth olur ve daḥī bunlardan ḡayrı kıyāmet 'alāmetlerin beyān ider Ḥazret-i Resūl 'aleyhi's-selām eydür āḥir zemānda cevr ü bi'dat fisk ufucūr ve zulm ü sitem çok ola 'ālem fesādile tola pes ol vakt benüm evlādumdan Ḥak Te'ālā bir halīfe göndere 'ālemi 'adl ile toldura ve emn ü emān içinde olalar ol halīfenüñ adı Muḥammed bin 'Abdullah ola ol emīr'ül-mü'minīn Ḥasan bin Emīr'ül-müminīn 'Āli kerremallahu veche oḡlānlarından ola anası nesli 'Abbasīlerden ola ba'dılar eydür ḥavāriyyenden

[202a]

ola anası adı Nercis ola kaçanki zuhūr bula 'ālemdə ne kadar bid'at ve şerrü şūr var ise pāk ide ve muḥālif-i şer' hiç nesne komayave 'adedlerden ḡayrı 'ālemdə nesne olmaya ve anun sancāğında yazılmış ola ki 'El Bī'atü Lillah ve anun zemānında Ṭaberī Deñizi'nden Zebūr'ı çıkaralar ve ol sandūk ki Ḳavm-i Mūsā ve Harūn aramaya kim Allah emri birle Ṭaberī Deñizi'ne atmışlardı Mūsā peyḡamber 'aleyhi's-selām ve 'asāsı ol sandūkdadur Ḥak Te'ālā fermān birle ol sandūkı daḥī deryādan çıkaralar eydürler ki Anṭākiyye şehrindeki maḡāradan çıka İshāk bin İbrāhīm oḡlānlarından yetmiş biñ kişi anuñ leşkerinden ola Koşantīniyye-i 'uzmā ve Rūmiyye-i kübrayı ve Çin şehrlerini ve Deylem tığlarını fethideler ve kendü zemānında ḡālīs dīn-i Muḥammed 'aleyhi's-selām qala ḡayrı mezāhib götürile her yire ki ḳadem basa feth ü nusret yoldāşı

**[202b]**

ola ve cemî'-i 'âleme hüküm ide beş yıl veyâ yedi yıl veyâ tokuz yıl ba'dılar kırk yıl ba'dılar kırk gün dimişler saħîh degildür evvelki kavî esahdur dahî anuñ zamanında gökden yire hiç yağmür inmeye küffârî dîn-i ĥakka da'vet eyleyeler her ki qabûl eylemese evvel ĥarâc-ı şer'î Muħammedi vaz' eyleye eger aña dahî râzî olmasalar cenge meşgûl olub kâfirleri kıra ve anuñ zemânında ehl-i küfr ve ehl-i fesâd ĥâlî tebâh olub hemîşe ġamdan ve ġussadan ĥalâs olmayalar ve ehl-i İslâm ferâĥ ve şâd olalar Şâm abdâlları ve 'Irâk aşĥabı Tâlût mikdarı<sup>150</sup> ya'nî üç yüz on üç kişi Mekke-i Şerefhallahu tavâf idüb ve şerâ'it-i ĥâcc temâm itdükden soñra Ĥacer'ül-esved ile maĥâm-ı İbrâhîm arâsında Mehdi ile bî'at ideler ve dahî Mehdi'nüñ yedi vezîri ola cümlesinüñ adı Muħammed olaMuħammed-i Mısırî Muħammed-i Kûfî Muħammed Rûmî Muħammed Hindî Muħammed-i Mekkî

**[203a]**

Muħammed-i Dımışkî Muħammed-i Ĥalebî bunlar heb 'Acemdür ammâ (ġayri-si) söylerler Mehdi'nüñ Ĥurûcunuñ evvel 'alâmeti budur ki Ramazân ayınıñ on beşinde güneş tuĥıla ve dahî Ehl-i kenduk(?) 'ulemâsı vilâyet-i Ĥorâsân'a geleler ve dahî kullar efendilerine 'âsî olalar ve dahî altmış kişi ittifaĥla peygamberlik da'vâsın kılalalar ve bunlaruñ on ikisi Ebû Tâlib oġlanlarından olalar da'vâ-yı 'imâmet eyleyeler Ĥâlid bin Mikdâd eydür Tâĥarastâ adlu köy Şâmda yire geçmeye Mehdi ĥurûc eylemeye ve dahî Mehdi zemânında Süfyâniler peydâ olalar Dımışk ġuĥasında bir ağâcun katında pes andan yürüyüb Medîne'ye varalar ve üç gün Medîne'de karâr idüb Mekke'ye ĥast ideler kaçân Mekke beyâbânına irişeler cemî'-i leşker bile yire geçe Ĥâlid bin Mikdâd eydür Süfyâniler iki kerre cenk ideler ikisinde dahî sıyalar ve andan soñra helâk olalar ve dahî şol zemân-daki Zilhicce ayında ve Muħarrem ayında güneş tuĥıla

**[203b]**

Süfyâniler ĥurûc idecek vaĥtdür ve ol yılıñ Cemâzîye'l-evvelîsiyle Recebi arâsında fitneden ve Süfyânileruñ cenginden 'acâ'ibler zâĥir ola ve Mehdi'nüñ ĥurûcî Şevvâl ayında ola vallahu â'lem ve dahî eydürler ol günlerde bir kişi zâĥir ola Şâm Vilâyeti'nde 'İntebe(?) adlu ve 'Acemistân'a ĥast eyleye ve tâ

150 Talut (Saul) sets out to fight Jalut (Goliath) and tells his soldiers that Allah will test them in a river, so they should not drink more than a handful of water from the river. However, most of the soldiers drink from the water and lose their fighting power. Soldiers who obey Talut's instructions cross the river and collide with Jalut's army. According to some interpretations, the number of people who crossed this river is 4000 or 313 people. The "amount of Talut" expressed in the text stems from this event.

Ḳum Şehri'ne degin iriŝe ve her yere ki iriŝe ḥarāb eyleye ve çok kimesne katl ide ve andan soñra bir er ve bir 'avret öldürüb ve eyde ki bu er 'Ali'dür ve bu 'avret Fâtıma'dur ve bir kimesne dañı Cü'eyne'den çıka Mısır'a kaŝt eyleye ve ol zemānda ehl-i Mısır'uñ ve ehl-i Ŗām'uñ ve ehl-i Remle'nüñ bāŝına 'azım belālar iriŝe ve ol kimesne Ḳudüs'e varamaya ve elbette Mehdi Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmāyı feth itse gerekdür ve Mehdi'nüñ leŝkerinde yetmiş biñ kimesne ola İŝhāk peygamber oğlanlarından ve bunlar Ŗām'uñ Kürdlerinden ola ve andan soñra Deccāl-ı la'ın ḥurüc itse

#### [204a]

gerekdür ammā Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmānuñ fethinde bir niçe ḳavl vardır ba'dılar eydür feth-i Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmā bile ve Rūmiyye-i Kübrā ile ḥurüc-ı Deccāl ārālğı altı ay olsa gerekdür ve ba'dılar eydür sekiz ay olsa gerekdür ve ba'dılar eydür yedi ay olsa gerekdür sañıñ rivāyet oldur ki Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmā ve Rūmiyye-i Kübrā feth oldukdan yedi yıl sonradan Deccāl-ı la'ın peydā ola ve Dāvūd-ı Sicistāni eydür esañ ḳavl budur ammā ulemā-i ehl-i esrār eydür bu iki ŝehrūñ fethiyle Deccāl-ı la'ın ḥurücünün mā-beyni on sekiz gün ola ve Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmā Rūmiyye-i kübrānuñ gayridür Ḳoŝtañtiniyye-i 'uzmānuñ bir pādiŝāhı var idi. Ḳoŝtañtin adlu Nażrāniydi Ḳoŝtañtiniyye'yi ol binā eylemiŝdi ve Rūmiyye-i kübrāyı Rūmīs adlu bir pādiŝāh bina itmiŝdür ve Rūmiyelerūñ evvel pādiŝāhı oldur her kimesnenüñ kim bu söze gümanı ola Mārinüs-i Hekimūñ Cografiyā adlu kitābına nażar

#### [204b]

eyleye ki cemī'-i yiryüzün ŝehrleriyle ve tğları ve deñizleri birle anda tasvir eylemiŝdür girü Deccāl-ı la'ınüñ sözine gelem Hāzret-i Resül 'aleyhi's-selām Deccāl-ı la'ın çıkacak vaqt ol vaqtdür ki halā'ık Haḳ Te'āla'nuñ adın anmaḳda süstlik eyleyeler taḥḳik bilüb itmiŝler ki Deccāl-ı la'ın İsfahān'dan peydā ola ekser tābi' olan Türkler ve Yāhūdiler olalar ŝöyle ki yetmiş biñ Ṭaylasānlu Yāhūdī Deccāl ile bile ola ve Deccāl bir erdür orta boyluḳırı sepmiŝ sağ gözi kördür güyā kiṭāfiye benzer tāfiye diyü 'Arab ŝol üzümedür kim içi çürümüŝ ḳābı sağ ola ol la'ınüñ kör gözi ol asl üzüme benzeye ve iki gözünüñ ortasında yazılmıŝ ola küfrün ya'nī küfr la'anehullahu Deccāl-ı la'ın yir yüzünde kırık gün ola evvelki gün bir yıl ḳadar ola ve ikinci gün bir ay ḳadar ola ve üçüncü gün bir hafta ḳadar ola ve ḳalan günler bu

#### [205a]

günler kadar ola Hāzret-i Resül 'aleyhi's-selām'dan sordılar ki yā Resülullah ol üç gün ki Deccāl-ı la'ın ḥurüc idicek uzün ola anda namāzı girü beŝ ve ḳatı mı kılıruz eyitdi ḳıyās idüb gün ḥesābı üzre ḳılmaḳ gerekdür ŝöyle ki her gün

miqdârında beş vaqt namâz kılna ve Resül hazreti 'aleyhi's-selam buyurdi ki Deccâl-ı la'înuñ uçmâğı ve tāmüsü ola ammâ ol tāmü didügi ki kendüye i'tikâd idüb uymayanları aña koyar uçmâk ola ve ol uçmâk didügi ki kendüye uyanları aña koyar tāmü ola ve Deccâl-ı la'îni bir aq eşege bine ki ol eşegün iki kulâğı ārâsı altmış arşün ola ve her kulâğı kırk arşün ola ol eşegün iki kulâğınuñ gölgesinde yetmiş biñ kişi sığa ve dahî ne kadar rû-sâzende var ise anuñ eşegi önince piyâde yürüyüb tāvullar ve surnâlar ve defler ve zinceler(?) çalalar ve her kimesne kim ol sâzları işide anuñ ardına düşe meger şol kimesneler kim

### [205b]

hakkun 'inâyeti irmiş ola anlar Deccâl-ı la'înuñ sâzların işidicek iltifât itmeyüb tâbi'olmayalar Muqâtil eydür radiyallahu 'anh kıyâmetüñ evvel 'alâmeti hürüc-ı Deccâl ve âhir 'alâmeti güneş mağribden toğmak ola ve dahî Deccâl-i la'îni kırk günde cemî'-i vilâyetleri ve şehrleri ve köyleri geze ve cemî'-i diyâra irişe illâ dört maqâma varamaya Mekke şerrefehallahu ve Medîne şerrefehallahu ve Kudüs şerrefehallahu ve Tarsüs her harâbe ki irişe eyde ki sende gizlü olan mâli taşra çıkar hemân sâ'at yer altında ne kadar gizlü mâl var ise taşra çıkara altün ve gümüş ve cevâhir ol mel'ünüñ ardına bâl arısı gibi üşeler Deccâl-ı la'îni kaçan Bâbil vilâyetine irişe Hızır 'aleyhi's-selam ol mel'ünüñ önüne gele ve Hızır'a eyde ki ben Tengriyem Hızır ol mel'ünüñ sözün red eyledüğüçün ol mel'ün Hızır'ı vurub öldüre ve eyde eger bunun Tengrisi olaydı bunu ölmekten kurtaraydı

### [206a]

pes cebbâr-ı 'âlem girü Hızır'ı diri kıla andan soñra iş Mehdî'ye ve ashâb-ı Mehdî'ye düşe Mehdî ve ashâb-ı MehdîDeccâl-ı la'înuñ elinden kaçub Beytül-Makdis'e varalar Beytül-Makdis'ün kapuların bağlayalarDeccâl gelüb Beytül-Makdis'i hisâr ideve ol zemânda Hazret-i 'İsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm gökden yire ine Dımışk'ün şarkdan yakâsında Mehdüdîn ārâsında bir minâre vardur ki ol minâreye Beyzâ dirler ol minârenüñ yanunda yire ine iki ferişte dahî bile ineler Hazret-i 'İsâ'nuñ iki el ol iki feriştenüñ omuzında ola Beytül-makdis'den yana revân ola ve gökden bir âvâz işidile ki iyi Müselmânlar meded irişdi fi'l-hâl 'İsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm irişe başında yaşıl 'imâme ola ve ata binmiş ve kılnınc kuşanmış ola ve elinde harbesi ola Deccâl-ı la'îni Lüt dervâzesinde bulub öldüre ve bir rivâyetde budur ki Nevâs ibni Sem'ân eydür Hazret-i Resül

### [206b]

'aleyhi's-selâm huzûrunda Deccâl anıldı Hazret-i Resül 'aleyhi's-selâm buyurdi ki eger Deccâl çıkıcaq ben sizün arañuzda olursam aña cevâb virem eger ben sizün arañuzda olmazsam Hak Te'âlâ size yardım ide sizden her kanguñuz ki

hüruc-ı Deccāl'e irişe Süre-i Kehf'ün evvelinde on āyet okusun Hāk Te'ālā anuñ şerrinden emīn kıla eyitdiler yā Resūlullah yiryüzinde ne kadar gün tura eyitdi kırk gün tura diyüb yukaruda geçen nişānları ve miqdārı beyān eyledi el-kıssa çün 'İsā 'aleyhi's-selām Deccāl-ı la'īni öldürüb Mehdī'yi ve Müselmānları anuñ şerrinden emīn eyleye ve eline kılıc alub ne kadar ehl-i bid'at ve ehl-i tuğyān var ise öldürüb yiryüzün şerden ve ehl-i şerden pāk eyleye ve 'ālem emīn ü emān birle tola ve şöyle ola ki kırt koyun ile yüriye ve dahī yir yüzinde hiç fakīr qal-mayup cümle ganīler olalar ve Hāzret-i 'İsā'yla Tevrīt ve Zebūr

### [207a]

ve İncīl ve Furkān bile ola ve Hāk Sübhānehu ve Te'ālā ashāb-ı Kehfi diri kıla ve Mehdī'ye fakīhler düşmān olalar ve eger Mehdī'nünkılıcı kōrkusı olmasa ol zemānun fakīhleri Mehdī'nün katline fetvā virürlerdi ve Mehdī'nün hiç fermānın tıtmazlardıçün Deccāl-ı la'īnün cānı cehenneme gide ve dünyā fitneden ve şerden ve şür(ur)dan hāli ola Hāk Te'ālā 'İsā'ya vahī ide ki yā 'İsā benüm kullarımı Tūr'a ilet ki ğayrı kullarum gelse gerekdür ol kadaru çokdurlar ki hīç kimesne anlara tākāt getürmez ve anlar ile cenk idemez ve anlara ğālib olmaz pes Hāzret-i 'İsā kavmi Tūr'a iletandan soñra Ye'cüc ve Me'cüc çıka ol kadar çok olalar kigelüb deryā-yı Taberī'yi içüb dükedeler anlardan soñra kalan tāt'ife kimesne su bulmayub eydeler ki bir zemānda bunda su var imiş ve anlaruñ çok-luğundan kuşlar yir yüzinde maķām bulmayup başlarında yuva yapalar pes

### [207b]

Beytū'l-Maķdis'den yaña teveccüh ideler bunu maķsūd idineler ki Hāzret-i 'İsā'yı öldürevüz deyü çün Kudūs'e irişeler ok atalar bunlaruñ okundan yir ile gök ārası tola toptolu ola 'İsā 'aleyhi's-selām bunlaruñ helākı içün du'ā ideler Hāk Sübhānehu ve Te'ālā cinnīlerden bir tāt'ife emr ide kim anları helāk eyleye 'İsā 'aleyhi's-selām ve dahī 'İsā'ya tābī' olanlar cemī'-i Ye'cüc ve Me'cüc'ün şerrinden hālās olalar ve bir rivāyetde eydür çün Ye'cüc'ün ve Me'cüc'ün āheri Taberiyye Deñizi'ne irişeler su bulmayalar cümle yüzi Beytū'l-maķdis Tāġı'na dutub ol tarafa 'azm ideler ve eydeler cümle yir ehlin helāk eyledük şimden soñra gök ehliyle cenk idelüm diyüb göge oklar atalar Hāk Te'ālā anlaruñ okların kāna bulaşdurub yire göndere andan Tūr'a varalar Hāzret-i 'İsā'yı hisār ideler 'İsā kavmi içinde ol kadar qaht ola ki bir sığır

### [208a]

bāşı elli dinārdan artūğa ola 'İsā 'aleyhi's-selām anları helāk itmek içün du'ā ide Hāk Sübhānehu ve Te'ālā nafaķa buyura tā kim anları helāk eyleye nafaķa bir kırtcuġazdur ki devenüñ ve koyunuñ burnunda olur Ye'cüc'i ve Me'cüc'i Hāk Te'ālā ol kırtcuġaz ile helāk eyleyüb yoġ eyleye 'İsā 'aleyhi's-selām



cemî'-i tevâbi'yle Tûr'dan ineler yir yüzinde bir qarış miqdârı yer pāk bulmalar anlaruñ habîs bedeninden ve murdâr râyihâsından pes 'İsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm yüzün dergâh-ı Hakkâ dutub yir yüzünüñ pāk olmasın taleb eyleye Hâk Te'âlâ kuşlar göndere şol erkek gibi cemî'-i anlaruñ güdesin yir yüzünden pāk ideler ve âdem-i zâd yire varmaz atalar ve Müselmânlar yedi yıl Ye'cüc ve Me'cüc okın ve yâyin ve kalkânın yakalar hîç oduna muhtâc olmayalar andan soñra Hâk Subhânehu ve Te'âlâ bir 'azîm yağmür vire yir yüzün yuyub pāk eyleye yir yüzü

### [208b]

pāk u pākîze olub bir bāğçe gibi ola andan soñra Hâk Te'âlâ yire emr eyleye ki bereketüñ çıkar yir bereketin çıkarub ol kadar ni'met çok ola ki nihâyeti ve pâyânı olmaya hatta deve koyun ve sığır ol kadar sütlü ne kadar isterlerse sağalar hîç dükenmeye bir müddet 'âlem bu tavr üzre tura andan soñra Hâk Te'âlâ bir yumuşak ve hoş koçulu yıl göndere Müselmânlaruñ dimâğına irişe esânlığıyla cân teslîm ideler ve yir yüzünde müfsidler ve münâfıklardan gayrı kimesne qalmaya kıyâmet anlaruñ üzerine kopa Ebû 'İsâ-yı Tirmîzî ki Kütüb-i Sitte-i hadîsün bir mü'ellifi oldur eydür bu rivâyet ki zikr olundu hadîs-i nebevîdür hasendür ve garîbdür ve sañîhdür Dânyâl eydür çün Âdem 'aleyhi's-selâm zemânından yedi bin yıl geçüb ve sekiz yüz altmış dört yıl temâm ola Ye'cüc Me'cüc çıkacak vaktidür göz ve kulağ tuta tırmaq gerekdür Ye'cüc

### [209a]

ve Me'cüc Yâfes bin Nüh oğlanlarındandır Kâtâde eydür bunlar on on iki kabîledür Huzeyfe-i Yemânî eydür Ye'cüc bir tã'ifedür ve Me'cüc bir tã'ifedür her birisi bu tã'ifenün dört kerre yüz bin bölükdür ve Ye'cüc ve Me'cüc birisi olmaz kendü neslinden biñ âdem görmeyince ve anlar üç sınıfdur bir sınıfı gâyet uzundur ve enlidir eni ve uzunu yüz yigirmi arşun ola ve her arşun yigirmi dört barmaq ola ki enlülüğine qoyalar uzunluğuna qomayalar Ve bir sınıfı dahî yüz yigirmi arşundur ammâ eni ma'lûm degildir ve bir sınıfı dahî uyuduğı vaqt bir kulâğın döşek ve bir kulâğın yorgân idinür Qazvîni eydür bir sınıfı dahî vardur ki boyı beş qarışdur Muhammed bin Hâmid eydür 'İsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm gökden üç kerre ine evvel haqqı evliyâya göstere ve ikinci sulehâya göstere ve üçüncü hâssa-i 'âma göstere ve kırkı yıl yirde Tûr'a ve ba'dılar kırk beş dimişler evvelki kavli

### [209b]

sañîhdür ve 'Arab'dan bir 'avret alub evlene ve Hâzret-i Resûl 'aleyhi's-selâm şer'at(ı?) üzre ola ve dîn-i Muhammed'e nusret ide geçen kırk yıl temâm ola vefât ide Hâzret-i Resûl'ün kabrine qoyalar kaçanki Hâzret-i 'İsâ fevt ola ehli Habeş'e gelüb Mekke'yi yıkarlar andan soñra hâcc olmaya Kâtâde eydür tevbe

ka'bül olur tâ güneş mağribden ol vaqt toğa ki kıyâmet yüz yigirmi yıl kalmış olave kıyâmetüñ âhir 'alâmeti Dâbbat al-Arđ'dur Dâbbat al-Arđ Safâyla Merve ârâsında peydâ ola ve gökden yana gitse gerekdür ve cemî'-i pîr ehli anı göre ve Süleymân peygamberüñ yüzügi ve Mūsâ peygamberün 'asâsı anuñla ola ve kırk gün yir yüzinde turub andan soñra gide ve mañlûkât andan soñra yüz yıl azgünlik ve nâ-dânlık içinde olalar tâ bir mertebeye vara ki yir yüzinde lâ-ilâhe illa'l-lâh dir kimesne kalmaya kıyâmet anlaruñ üzerine çopa Şeyh Necmü'l-'Avâ-i Haqqânî eydür Hâzret-i Hızır 'aleyhi's-selâm Hak

### [210a]

Te'âlâ'dan dilemiş ki yâ rabbi ol vaqt kur'ân götürüle benüm cânımı alasin tâ kim anı görmeyem ve bir dahî rivâyet oldur ki Dâbbat al-Arđ üç kerre çıka evvel Mehdî zemânında ikinci 'İsâ zemânında ve üçüncü güneş mağribden toğduktan sonra Dâbbat al-Arđ bir cânavardur ki dört ayaklu kulâgi fil kulâgi gibi ola bâşı sığır bâşı gibi ola gözi toñüz gözi gibi ola boynûzı keçi boynûzı gibi ola gögsi arslân gögsi gibi ola hey'eti ya'nî şekilleri kurba gibi ola kuyrûgi koyun kuyrûgi gibi ola ayakları deve ayakları gibi ola kasûgından tâ uylûgına degin on iki arşün ola ve uylûgından tâ ayağı barmağına varınca on ki arşün ola Mūsâ'nun 'asâsı ve Süleymân yüzügi anunla bile ola [çün mü'mine]<sup>151</sup> irişe ol yüzikle alına basa mü'mîn yazıla yüzi [münevver ola kaçân] kâfire irişe ol yüzikle alına basa kâfir yazılıb [yüzi kab kara ola] Allahumme 'âfinâ ammâ kâfirün burnı sınık gibi ola [her gâh ki mü'minle kâfir buluşa]

### [210b]

birbirine buluşa mü'mîn kâfiri bile ve kâfir mü'mîni bile ve Dâbbat al-Arđ'uñ evvel sözi bu ola ki ehl-i Mekke Muḥammed Resûlullah'a inanmadılar ve kâfir oldılar ve her kimesneyi görse bile ve eyde ki cennetlik midür andan soñra bir bulût peydâ ola yeşil renklü ki karâya mâ'il ola garb tarafından her ki görse sana ki yağmür buludıdur kaçan ol bulût yakîn gele her kim anuñ gölgesinde ola cânı teninden ayrıla Allah izni birle Allahümme 'âfina min muḥsin el-kıyâme (...)  
temmet.

<sup>151</sup> There are erasures and tears in this folio of the ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1930/2. The sections in square brackets are filled according to mss. Pertevnihal 417/3 and Zühdü Bey 96/2.