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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library (London)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris)
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Istanbul)
İÜK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
SK	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi
TSK	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul)
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Istanbul)

ActOrHung	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ArchOtt	*Archivum Ottomanicum*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EB	*Études Balkaniques*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
IJTS	*International Journal of Turkish Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JOTSA	*Journal of Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*
JTS	*Journal of Turkish Studies*
OA	*Osmanlı Araştırmaları – The Journal of Ottoman Studies*
RMMM	*Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*
ROMM	*Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*
SF	*Südost-Forschungen*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
TED	*Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*
THR	*Turkish Historical Review*
TSAB	*The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*
TSAJ	*The Turkish Studies Association Journal*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

EI	E.J. Brill's *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913–1936*
EI^2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1960–2002)
EI^3	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (Leiden, 2007–)
İA	*İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1940–1979)
TDVİA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1988–)

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Studying Ottoman views of the supernatural: the state-of-the-art and a research agenda

Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno)

This is the first issue of "*Aca'ib*: Occasional Papers on the Ottoman Perceptions of the Supernatural", so a couple of words on its context and scope may be not entirely out of place. This journal forms part of a five-year research project, GHOST, that is to say "Geographies and Histories of the Ottoman Supernatural Tradition: Exploring Magic, the Marvelous, and the Strange in Ottoman Mentalities", funded by the European Research Council under the program Consolidator Grant 2017. The research team consists of Marinos Sariyannis (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH, Rethymno, Greece), as Principal Investigator, Zeynep Aydoğan (Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH, Rethymno, Greece), Feray Coşkun (Özyegin University, Istanbul, Turkey), Güneş Işıksel (Medeniyet University, Istanbul, Turkey), Bekir Harun Küçük (University of Pennsylvania, USA), Ethan Menchinger (Manchester University, UK), Aslı Niyazioğlu (Oxford University, UK), and

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Ahmet Tunç Şen (Columbia University, USA). We should also mention two Ph.D. candidates (Dimitris Giagtzoglou, Markos Litinas), some MA students and our technical staff who help keep things running. The project began in 2018; the present scientific publication aims at keeping the community informed of our activities, presenting some sources and literature surveys, but also serving as a forum for the many colleagues interested in such topics. Thus, over the next few pages we will try to describe what the subject and goals of our project are.

Notions and belief systems concerning nature and the supernatural constitute a little-explored aspect of Ottoman culture. As far as it concerns other Islamicate cultures and especially in medieval times, the last decades have witnessed several scholarly studies on issues such as magic, occult sciences or marvelous geography. Books and articles on various aspects of these issues had appeared long ago (one may just mention the names of Armand Abel, Georges-Henri Bousquet, Paul Kraus or Julius Ruska, or Toufic Fahd, Henry Corbin or Pierre Lory from a younger generation); but it was during the very last decade that a real eruption of studies in the Islamic occult was witnessed, from a bunch of authors still producing exquisite works: Emilie Savage-Smith on various forms of divination, Jean-Charles Coulon and Noah Gardiner on al-Buni's magical universe, Matthew Melvin-Koushki on lettrism and the expansion of occultism in late medieval Central Asia, Liana Saif on the Ikhwan-i Safa and medieval Islamic esotericism.

This kind of research is thriving, as attested by a number of colloquia and workshops established during the last five years. However, little work has been conducted in Ottoman studies, although they indeed show the greatest potential in terms of surviving narrative, archival, and visual documents. Apart from a few pioneering studies, we still know very little on the concepts and practices connected with magic or the supernatural in an Ottoman context. One should note especially Cornell Fleischer's pioneering articles on prophetic beliefs and prognostications in sixteenth-century Ottoman politics; Aslı Niyazioğlu's work on aspects of the Ottoman sheikhs' relationship with the notion of Hereafter, especially through dreams; Özgen Felek's work on Ottoman interpretation of dreams; as well as three or four recent Ph.D. theses on various branches of Ottoman occult sciences (alchemy – Tuna Artun, astrology – Ahmet Tunç Şen, physiognomy – Emin Lelić). Thus, there is a significant corpus of studies which is bound to increase in the coming years.

But what exactly is our subject here? We now refer to as supernatural these phenomena that escape (or, rather, that a given culture takes as escaping) the natural laws, being difficult or even impossible to be explained in rational terms. Still, the very notion of nature is not neutral and ahistorical: for the mental category of "supernatural" to have any meaning, one needs to have an understanding of "nature" as a field of explicable phenomena, which are repeated in an ordinary fashion and can be understood by observation and theoretical thinking. In their modern sense, the notions of both nature and the supernatural were developed by medieval Christian theologians and philosophers such as Peter Lombard (Petrus Lombardus) and Thomas Aquinas in the twelfth and thirteenth century, in the course of debates on the canonization process and the question of how could one distinguish real miracles from extraordinary yet natural phenomena.[1] These thinkers connected the "supernatural" with God: God has the power to produce miracles, i.e. events that exceed all nature, that is all orderly repetition of things through intelligible reasons. This "order of natural causes", as termed by scholastic philosophy, is what we conceive as natural and ordinary, even if we don't really understand it. Aside from nature and the supernatural, thus, another notion found its place: the "preternatural", exceptional and strange phenomena that are not miracles, just the product of causes natural but concealed for the human intellect. These are the marvels, the medieval *mirabilia*, the wonders that produce awe but are not necessarily miraculous; a more modern rendition would be "the paranormal activity".

Classical Ottoman language has no word for the "supernatural" (now *doğaüstü*, a word-for-word rendition of the European term). Nevertheless, Islamic thought had produced a very similar set of notions, and almost two centuries earlier than Thomas Aquinas to boot. It was the famous early twelfth-century philosopher al-Ghazali who had already spoken of the ordinary or "custom" (*'ada*, Turkish *adet*), meaning the chain of causes and results to which the human intellect is accustomed. In addition, anything extraordinary is *khâriq ul-'âda*, "what tears the custom" (of God), a term that passed onto modern Turkish as *harikulâde* with the meaning "extraordinary, wonderful". To further follow al-Ghazali's theology, there is the "divine custom" (*'ada ilahiyya*) which is the usual but not necessary causality created by the consistency of God's acts. What is really torn is not God's but the creatures' custom or order of

1 See R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2008).

things. This term is mostly used to interpret and denote miracles: God grants to Prophets or saints such cases that contradict the usual course of things, in the case of the Prophets in order to demonstrate their sincerity and truth of mission (these miracles are the *mu̱djiza*), in the case of saints as a personal distinction or favour (*karâma*).

Yet, the same problem Christian theologians confronted concerning canonization was also present in Islamic thought: "breaking the custom". Although this could not of course occur without God's permission, it could also be at least very similar to human actions that were not divine miracles. In other words, as al-Ghazali himself was forced to admit, a false prophet might perform deeds identical with miracles. How was theology to deal with this fact? Al-Ghazali maintained that even prophetical miracles were simply marvels, i.e. "seemingly wondrous events that, if all factors are taken into consideration, can be explained as effects of natural causes[, only] witnessed rarely"[2]—in other words, he placed the miracles of the prophets in the "preternatural" category rather than the "supernatural". The great fourteenth-century historian, Ibn Khaldūn (who is highly critical of any use of magic), provides less space to this possibility, stressing the fraudulent or demoniac character of "miraculous" deeds: while speaking of *sīmiyā'* or the science of the secret power of letters, he notes that although this science could be considered a licit study for the pious, there were some Sufis that professed the ability to control the material world through it. These Sufis claimed the power to invade this world's order (*khawāriq al-ʿāda*). Ibn Khaldūn argues that, although such control of the material world is indeed possible, this can only be conducted through divine grace in the saints' miracles. Without divine grace, whoever tries to exert the same control is comparable to talismanic magicians, and equally contemptible. Furthermore, according to Ibn Khaldūn such results (the saints' miracles apart) may in fact be procured only by the power of will and spirit of certain persons, rather than by their knowledge of any science. Following a long tradition of disbelief or rather skepticism against an all-too-easy canonization of Sufi sheikhs, the Ottoman prince Korkud (d. 1513) also writes that whoever commits acts that "tear the custom" is not necessarily performing miracles: if he does not adhere to the Sharia, these acts may simply be the result of

2 F. Griffel, *Al- Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford 2009), 157, 195–196.

magic or tricks.[3] The debate on the reality of present-day miracles, following a tradition already from the ninth and tenth centuries, continued up to the late eighteenth, as those opposing the influence of Sufi sheikhs emphasized that their purported miracles might well be acts of magic or satanic deception. Sufi literature itself was somehow influenced by this opposition: whereas early stories of fourteenth or fifteenth-century saints abound in miraculous resurrections, for instance, an early eighteenth-century collection of lives of Sufi sheikhs in Istanbul, albeit full of miracles (including apparitions of dead sheikhs), contains only one story of resurrection: not of a human, but of a weasel (an animal nevertheless often connected with the human soul, as in a story related by Evliya Çelebi about Sultan Bayezid's soul jumping out of his mouth to break the Ramadan fast).[4]

To sum up, just as in Christian scholasticism, there is a field of phenomena considered miraculous, and these are the acts of God breaking the custom of things—the *khariq al-'ada*—and there is also another array of extraordinary events whose causes cannot be understood, at least not by the intellect of a common person. In the Islamicate vocabulary, this field (what Aquinas would call preternatural) is referred to as the *ghayb*, i.e. the "hidden" or "concealed". Magic, astrology and other forms of occult divination draw from this space of causes and hierarchies, which does not exclude supernatural beings as actors—angels, jinn and demons, as well as the famous "properties" of things, the incomprehensible (in their cause) homologies of the astral, the mineral, the vegetal and the human world, established through correspondences of numbers and letters. As established by the recent studies of Matthew Melvin-Koushki and Liana Saif (corroborating somehow the remarks by earlier scholarship of a "retreat in scientific thought"), the significance of the *ghayb* rose considerably from the thirteenth century onwards: not only more and more natural procedures (for instance, medical conditions and cures) were explained by recourse to this hidden world, but also the *ghayb* itself began to contain spiritual powers (the *ruhaniyyat*), now interpreted as supernatural

3 N. al-Tikriti, "Şehzade Korkud (ca. 1468–1513) and the articulation of early 16th century Ottoman religious identity", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2004, 230–231.

4 O. Ş. Gökyay (ed.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul 1996), 140; S. A. Kahraman and Y. Dağlı (eds), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 3 (Istanbul 1999), 206.

entities, rather than properties based on a rational connection with astrology.[5] Thus the *ghayb* became a contested domain, a field for the legitimate control of which occultists, sorcerers, lettrist scholars, on the one hand, Sufi sheikhs and orthodox scholars, on the other, struggled.

Now, what are the kinds of sources which can help us explore this promising topic? A major source for the understanding of what was conceived as "marvelous" is the so-called *aja'ib* literature, i.e. cosmographies depicting (among others) the strange and extraordinary items of nature and civilization. *Aja'ib* ("marvel"), in general, refers to the marvels of antiquity and any kind of extraordinary, but not to the rationally inexplicable, natural phenomenon or man-made monument. Author of a very well-known cosmography of the late thirteenth century, Zakariyya al-Qazwini carefully defines his subject material: there are "marvels" or *'ajâ'ib*, that is those phenomena that "lead men to perplexity and bafflement, because their causes are difficult to be recognized and understood... with the mind that is implanted to them by nature"; and there are also "wonders" (*gharâ'ib*), which are extraordinary phenomena that conflict with man's familiar experience, since they are incited either by "strong souls" and spirits or by (at any rate) God's omnipotence. In the first category, Qazwīnī cites natural wonders such as the production of honey by bees or impressive meteorological phenomena; the second includes the miracles of Prophets and saints, as well as: divinations of soothsayers, the evil eye, the prognostic powers of certain people, extraordinary celestial or meteorological phenomena such as comets or the falling of snow during the summer, and the appearance of strange creatures. Qazwīnī notes that according to philosophers, these strange phenomena fall into three separate categories: those emanating from the soul without the mediation of physical force, either by the force of the faith (concerning Prophets and saints) or by magic (concerning evil spirits); those emanating of both heavenly forces and earthly elements with the use of magic incantations; and those emanating by physical forces, such as the properties of the magnet. Thus, one may speak of "ordinary marvels" (*'ajâ'ib*) and "extraordinary" ones (*gharâ'ib*), the latter being for the most unrepeatable

5 M. Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 5 (2017), 127–199; L. Saif, "Between Medicine and Magic: Spiritual Aetiology and Therapeutics in Medieval Islam", in S. Bhayro and C. Rider (eds), *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period* (Leiden 2017), 313–338.

and singular ones. However, this subtle conceptual differentiation does not seem in my view to have persisted among Qazwini's successors. A cursory reading of similar cosmographies of the fourteenth century demonstrates that "ordinary" and "extraordinary" marvels, *aja'ib* and *gara'ib*, were put together somehow haphazardly.

As for Ottoman literature, it did not produce many "marvelous geographies" of its own, although translations of Qazwini's and other similar works circulated widely, more often than not with significant additions and alterations. There were, however, some famous original specimens: a few early works show signs of originality, but their relation to the known tradition has yet to be explored, and a conceptual history of these terms through them is fairly promising. One might remark that the few original specimens of *aja'ib* entries in Ottoman cosmographical description differ markedly from the earlier literature in that they are no more situated in far and unreachable places. Instead, we read of *ajaib* phenomena in the very heart of the imperial territories, described as events recorded by eye-witnesses "here and now", one might say. Thus, Mahmud al-Hatib, a preacher who adapted a medieval cosmography into Ottoman Turkish in ca. 1562/3, added descriptions of a monster in Herzegovina, a miraculous source in Bosnia or the apparition of two dragons in the sky of Drama (also noting the date in the latter case).[6] A few decades later, in 1590, the poet Cinani included a series of *mirabilia* in a highly interesting collection of stories: supported by chains of transmission through reliable witnesses, these strange phenomena are situated in Gallipoli, Bulgaria, Western Anatolia or Egypt.[7] The same remark can be said concerning the travelogue by Evliya Çelebi, almost one century later: Evliya nonchalantly records every type of wonder that he witnessed during his travels, although we can never be sure whether he intends for the audience to believe him or to simply be entertained.

Aside from geographical works, other sources include extensive and remarkably rich material for the study of the "marvelous" and the "supernatural". To works of (mainly) fiction such as Cinani's collection or Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, one could add some sections of *falname*s (albums of large-scale

6 F. Coşkun, "An Ottoman Preacher's Perception of a Medieval Cosmography: Mahmûd al-Hatîb's Translation of *Kharîdat al-'Âjâ'ib wa Farîdat al-Gharâ'ib*", *Al-Masāq*, 23:1 (2011), 53–66 at 64-65; cf. also her research report in this issue.

7 O. Ünlü (ed.), *Cinânî: Bedâyiü'l-âsâr*, 2 vols (Harvard 2009), 329–337.

images made for prognostication through bibliomancy), which often contain sections on "wonders", together with chapters on demons, talismans and spells, and so forth, and even collections of administrative documents and especially *fetva*s (religious jurisprudence) mentioning ghost apparitions, magical practices and "abominable" traditions. Moreover, these sources present us with another feature of the "supernatural", namely ghost stories and other traditions concerning violations of the natural course of life and death. Among them, the few instances of vampire traditions recorded in Ottoman sources are clearly related to the Balkan folklore and have gained a certain visibility in modern research, albeit limited. These sources consist mainly of a series of fetvas, issued by the chief mufti Ebussuud in the mid-sixteenth century, which answer to some cases of corpses "becoming alive in the grave". Ebussuud answers that

> If this is true, it is caused by God's sacred will. There is a saying that "the wicked souls attach themselves to the corpses of those who while living were connected to them in their morals and practice, using [these corpses] as instruments for evil actions". This is not improbable for the divine power.

In another *fetva*, referring specifically to a Christian vampire near Salonica, the mufti suggests that its head should be cut off and thrown near its feet; or else, the corpse must be exhumed and cremated. It is interesting to note that these fetvas must have been quite famous, since their content is reproduced in a similar case in Thrace in 1701, whereas also Cinani uses it in narrating a ghost story.[8]

Ghost stories, on the other hand, are a rather neglected and even unstudied genre of Ottoman literature. For one thing, dead saints' apparitions were quite often described, as previously mentioned, but usually in quasi-unreal visions or in dreams. For the latter, there was an elaborate theology describing the various spiritual worlds (corporeal or *alem-i mulk*), spiritual (*alem-i ceberut*), the world of images (*alem-i misal*) where one travels while sleeping, and the incorporeal

8 On these cases see M. Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts, Vampires and Sorcerers: An Old Discussion Disinterred", *ArchOtt*, 30 (2013), 191–216 at 194–203; S. F. Kirgi, *Osmanlı vampirleri: söylenceler, etkiler, tepkiler* (Istanbul 2018).

world (*alem-i melekut*) where one goes after death.[9] This theology, which is evident in several variations in Ottoman Sufi literature, helped to explain apparitions of dead saints in one's dreams in a way that did not offend the principles of faith. But there were some traditions about the souls of deceased persons coming to life, which were believed and thus required explanation. Let us turn once again to Cinani: among the series of *mirabilia* he records, there is a last part consisting of a handful of ghost stories, again recorded with their chain of transmission and carefully dated and located in areas such as the Peloponnese or Albania. For instance, in one story souls of the dead enter the bodies of people about to die and are able to speak with the sick person's voice; in another, a maid is raped by her deceased master; a scholar ambushes and attacks the ghost, but the maid consequently dies ten days later. Some of these stories are explained through jinn, others through Ebussuud fetvas on "wicked souls"; apart from the dogmatic issues revolving around the soul after death, an approach toward interpreting this material should also analyze the respective narrative techniques, in order to seek the ways in their authors reflected the entertainment value of these texts as opposed to their "factual" components. If geographical and other "marvels" consist of the "preternatural", then this field delves more strictly into the "supernatural" and touches directly upon the degree of direct divine intervention.

We should note here that, although some of the cases studied above reveal a more ambiguous attitude toward death, the usual reaction of the Ottomans to such apparitions was to attribute them to the jinn. It is important to bear in mind that the belief in the existence of jinn or spirits, being an essential part of Quranic cosmology, was universally accepted not only in folklore tales and traditions, but also in the more educated and even skepticist circles of Istanbul. Whereas traditional Muslim angelology gave specific tasks to the angels, such as praising God, communicating God's message to prophets, recording human deeds or guiding human souls after death, it seems that, through the reception of al-Suhrawardi's (d. 1191) illuminationist philosophy, angels were more and more present in the Ottoman perception of the world. In Marlene Kurz's words, in this process the cosmos was populated with a host of holy and perfect

9 On the history of the "world of images", a theory al-Shahrazuri elaborated after an idea of al-Suhrawardi, see L. W. Cornelis van Lit, *The World of Image in Islamic Philosophy: Ibn Sīnā, Suhrawardī, Shahrazūrī, and Beyond* (Edinburgh 2017).

entities who "competed with the prophets with regard to their supreme role as intermediaries between God and man".[10] Recourse to these beliefs could, and was indeed used to, explain every phenomenon or tradition that would nowadays be deemed "irrational" or "supernatural".

A third pillar for understanding the Ottoman conceptions of "supernatural", together with geographic *mirabilia* and stories about death and revenants, is the vast literature on different magical and occult practices. Occult practices of divination such as astrology, bibliomancy or the interpretation of dreams were widely used, and encyclopedists such as Taşköprüzâde (d. 1561) or Kâtib Çelebi described magic and divination as branches of science, following older taxonomies of knowledge. The Ottoman interpretations were based on the one hand on conjuring and commanding of jinn and demons, and on the other hand on knowing the secret hierarchy and relationship dominating all nature, from human beings to the metals, plants and stars. A major factor in this understanding of the world was what modern scholars call lettrism, a parallel to the Jewish and Christian Rennaissance Cabbala: the idea that Arabic letters, together with numbers, being a creation of God and forming the text of the Quran, itself not a creation but a property of God, had intrinsic significance and meaning and that their combinations could connect and control the astral and the sublunar world. This theory, expressed in great detail by the great thirteenth-century mysticist Ibn Arabi, is at the root of so-called talismanic science, conceived as a means of using combinations of letters to bend planetary influences for earthly aims.

In this, Ottoman magical literature follows the developments in Islamic occultism: throughout the late Middle Ages, the older magic of incantations and demonical summoning gave place to a more "organized" magic, based on astral and lettrist hierarchies. With works such as the *Ghayat al-hakim*, better known in the West under its Latin name *Picatrix*, and even more with the *corpus bunianum*, attributed to the famous al-Buni (d. 1225), even from the fourteenth century a belief in hierarchies and homologies connecting the different realms of nature was commonplace for erudite observers of the universe. This idea seems to have gained momentum in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in tandem with European Renaissance occultism that

10 M. Kurz, *Ways to Heaven, Gates to Hell: Faẓlīzāde 'Alī's Struggle with the Diversity of Ottoman Islam* (Berlin 2011), 67–70.

had also stressed this approach. The study of these theories is still nascent, but Kâtib Çelebi's description is telling:

> The divination by the divine properties (*ilm al-havass*) is a science that concerns the properties that can be obtained by reading God's names and the books He made descend; there are properties peculiar to each of these names and prayers... I say, however, that the properties of things are established and that their causes are secret. Although we know that a magnet draws iron, we do not know why. All properties are thus; only the causes of some of them may be understood by the human mind, while others stay unknown. Now, these properties are divided into several categories: properties of the names that fall under the section on onomancy, properties of the letters that make up those names, properties of the charms that are used in magic, and properties of the Holy Quran... There are also [such] properties of the stars and of the signs of the zodiac, properties of the minerals, of the herbs, of the animals, of the climates and the cities, and so forth, as well as properties of habits, talismans and elixirs.

And this is how the same scholar speaks of magic (*ilm al-sihr*):

> This science has secret causes, and it is difficult for most minds. As for its real truth: men submit to it with tricks, and they are inclined to listen to the movements and the words of the magician. This way, the science [of magic] speaks of celestial changes and positions of the stars, of their special connection to earthly events, as well as to minerals, animals and plants, and of the existence of strange deeds and secrets emanating from this connection and blending, while the cause of all these remains unknown. So, the magician displays strange acts and wonderful situations, coupling some minerals, plants and animals at special times, according to the positions and movements of the stars and other heavenly bodies. Though such acts can be seen, their causes remain secret, and thus even the smartest human minds stay surprised and totally unable to explain their secrets.[11]

The amazing growth of lettrist, geomantic or oneiromantic methods in order to foretell the future or to influence natural phenomena might be associated with the general trend of the Islamicate world toward occultist interpretations, beginning with al-Buni's work in the thirteenth century; in Ottoman culture,

11 Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Ş. Yaltkaya and K. R. Bilge, 2 vols (n.l. [Istanbul] 1943; repr. Ankara 2014), I:725 (*ilmü'l-havass*), II:980 (*ilmü's-sihr*).

this trend was enhanced by the tremendous influence of Abdürrahman al-Bistami's (d. ca. 1455) works. A very illuminating example is a treatise on talismans, probably composed by the prominent historian and jurist (also *şeyhülislam*) Ibn Kemal or Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534), which presents a whole theory of such terrestrial and celestial interdependencies before proceeding to a more specific discussion of using talismans against plague; characteristically, the author considers talismanic a branch of natural philosophy.[12] Still, in the Ottoman case we do not detect a transition to another view, in which occult sciences belonged to the mathematical rather than natural sciences; this view, which implies an emphasis of their celestial, rather than terrestrial aspects, seems to have risen in the context of the growing status of occultism in Arabic and Iranian courts from the thirteenth century onwards. Almost all Ottoman encyclopaedias, however, with some important exceptions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, adhere to the Aristotelian and Avicennian taxonomy, although they always accept the power and validity of occult knowledge (but not always their legitimacy). The science that attracts most of their criticism is astrology, due to the problems it posed for free will and predestination. Magic as such was usually considered illicit, but this did not extend to the science of letters, the invocation of divine names, the construction of talismans and so forth.

On the other hand, we must note that no "witch-hunting" seems to have ever occurred in the Ottoman lands. However, there is a couple of early eighteenth-century fetvas forbidding some forms of sorcery, especially those implying a desecration of the Holy Book:

> Zeyd the magician (*sahir*), maliciously puts the papers where the Quranic verses are written under the millstone and if it is certain by recourse to the Sharia that he is accustomed to grinding the grand verses under the millstone saying that "I wrenched one's head to this direction and I turned another's heart to that direction" and if he is apprehended before repentance, is it legitimate to execute Zeyd by *siyaset*? Answer: It is legitimate.[13]

12 A. T. Şen, "Practicing Astral Magic in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul: A Treatise on Talismans Attributed to Ibn Kemāl", *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 12:1 (2017), 66–88.

13 E. E. Tuşalp, "Treating Outlaws and Registering Miscreants in Early Modern Ottoman Society: A Study on the Legal Diagnosis of Deviance in *Şeyhülislam* Fatwas", unpublished M.A. thesis, Sabancı University, 2005, 71–72.

It is important to note, as always in history, that all these remarks must not be taken as meaning that Ottoman perceptions of the supernatural and the occult remained unaltered through time. For one thing, as we saw previously, these perceptions varied even in the same period, as Sufis (or, better put, some of the Sufis) had different perceptions than the jurisprudents (ulema) or, perhaps, the artisanal classes. On the other hand, there are signs of a retreat of occult explanations after the mid-seventeenth century; it seems that the relevant debates were alive in Ottoman society as far as the end of the eighteenth century at least, but more study is necessary to elucidate this trend. For instance, we see a tendency towards more rationalistic interpretations of illnesses and cures in Ottoman medicine, culminating in Abbas Vesim's (d. 1767) almost materialistic views; it also appears that "deistic" and even materialist trends were present among Ottoman scholars, especially from the late seventeenth century onwards: there are several testimonies, both Western and Ottoman, of thinkers who suggested that human beings are born and die upon earth just as plants do and that "nature" governed all reality.[14]

Thus, the intertwining of popular beliefs with Sufi culture and with ulema and independent/artisanal scholarship made specific phenomena being 'pushed' in different categories according to social groups and historical periods; it is exactly this procedure that may prove to be a very fertile target of research. On a more general level, the themes of rationality and irrationality may be studied under the light of the Weberian idea on the "disenchantment of the world" brought about in Western Europe by the Reformation and the intellectual and political developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is a lively discussion of the character or even the existence of this process, but very little research has been done so far on the Ottoman counterpart. Conversely, another debate has been underway since the early 1990s, on Reinhard Schulze's thesis of an eighteenth-century "Islamic Enlightenment" (*islamische Aufklärung*). In this context, one might argue that even "revivalist" (or "pietistic") movements such as the seventeenth-century Ottoman Kadızâdelis were characterized by a rationalist trend in various aspects and even played the part of a primary agent in a process of a "disenchantment of the world" (to use the controversial

14 M. Sariyannis, "The Limits of Going Global: The Case of 'Ottoman Enlightenment(s)'", *History Compass*, 5 (2020) 18:e12623 https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12623

term coined by Max Weber).[15] Over the course of their acute debate with some Sufi fraternities, who were in turn attempting to assume the role of privileged interlocutors with the supernatural, the Kadızadeli preachers denied them this access by rebutting a series of supernatural apparitions in everyday life, such as the miracles by sheikhs or the visitation of saints' graves. Thus, the Kadızadelis confined the supernatural to a specific zone, distant in both space and time: namely, God's acts and the era of the prophets. One may see this process as a conflict between a Sufi culture, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth century seems to have considered everyday life more enchanted than ever, and a "puritan Islam", which by placing emphasis on the individual and thus attacking belief in miracles contributes to "disenchantment", whereas an artisanal and mercantile culture was using increasingly scientific tools.

To sum up, the major **objectives** of the research could be set as follows:

(**a**) to explore the meaning and content of what the Ottomans (or, more accurately, different social and cultural groups) meant by "marvelous", "strange" or "extraordinary", and, vice versa, the correspondent notions that covered what we now describe as "supernatural/preternatural" and "irrational";

(**b**) to specify the Ottoman attitude(s) against beliefs in such phenomena or practice of such methods, both holy (e.g. miracles of dervishes) and suspect (magic, witchcraft);

(**c**) to localize these beliefs in the Ottoman *Weltanschauung*; or rather, in the various Ottoman systems of thought: for instance, to show how different authors might attribute such phenomena to actions by the jinn or, alternatively, to a secret interaction of the cosmic elements;

(**d**) to analyze the various ways that changes took place from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Namely, to seek answers to questions such as: were certain phenomena being pushed from the field of "inexplicable" to the field of "marvelous" (or, to the field of "mythical")? Can one speak of a trend to "rationalize" the image of the world, and in what terms? Can the Weberian notion of "disenchantment" be applied in an Ottoman context?

15 Sariyannis, "The Limits of Going Global".

(e) to associate these changes with emerging or declining layers of culture and specific social groups (ulema, Sufi brotherhoods, emerging urban strata), in connection with the social changes and especially with the emergence of new levels and forms of a self-conscious artisanal and urban stratum throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The research programme we envisage, thus, would first study the terminology used, by tracing the history and the semantic shifts in terms denoting nature (*tabi'at, ghayb*), miracles (and the *kharik al-ada*), the preternatural (*aja'ib / ghara'ib*), and of course magic (*sihr, rukya, simya*...). Then, one should examine what now we would call the "supernatural" field: miracles, of both prophets and saints, from the point of view of theological thought, of Sufism, of the Kadızadeli thought or of Kâtib Çelebi's rationality; the relationship of the dead and the living, through dreams, the world of souls and the various intermediate worlds envisaged by Sufi thought (*melekut, jabarut* etc). A special place should be reserved for a study of various world visions: of the science of letters, of the role of stars, of the homologies and hierarchies of the microcosm and the macrocosm. In the same vein, we should conduct research on the "preternatural" field: i.e., marvels and their explanation, the role of Hermeticism and esotericism, theories on "strong souls" and the jinn; and, last but not least, the possible (one cannot yet be certain) gradual expansion of the natural sciences as a legitimate means by which to interpret more and more phenomena of nature, which were thus moved from the sphere of inexplicable to the explicable and perhaps controllable.

All of this concerns the conceptualization of phenomena conceived as beyond the regular and the explicable. A second direction of research should study efforts and techniques designed in order to establish human control over such phenomena. We should then examine Ottoman occult sciences: divination, magic, astrology, alchemy and so forth; their epistemology, their place in the taxonomy of knowledge and the rationale beyond their foundation and use: the limits of possible human influence, the relationship with vernacular practices and so forth. Debates on the illicitness or the reliability of occult sciences (for instance, critics of astrology) are of course highly relevant to the subject. Also, one could focus in the relations between the technological knowledge and what has been called the "occult mentality": for instance, views on the utility of practical knowledge, the role of occult technology (e.g. the construction of talismans) as a motive for accurate observations and vice versa,

the possible emergence of a new imagery of the world through technological metaphors (such as clockwork).

One would hope that such a research agenda would bring forth great steps in our knowledge of Ottoman mentalities and cultural history in general.

B. PAPERS

*Gāzī*s and *cādū*s at the margins: conversion at the point of sword and enchantment

Zeynep Aydoğan (Rethymno)*

The management of public perceptions, much as it is today, constituted an essential part of medieval warfare. Warriors from various ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds were infused with an image of the enemy that was purely evil and alien. The "infidels" in the Turkish warrior epics are reduced

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to stereotypes with a long list of negative qualities attributed to them.[1] It is interesting to note that the characteristics attributed to the "Saracens"[2] in the literature of the "other side", who are portrayed as arrogant, cowardly, self-indulgent, treacherous, foolish pagans who worship idols, match almost exactly how the Christians are portrayed in the Turkish warrior epics.[3] In addition to these wicked qualities, the opponent is also accused of being the masters of devil's art. In the case of the Turkish epics, it is not however the Christian enemy who are worthy of such accusation. It is more frequently the Muslims who self-impose the term *cādū*, 'sorcerer', through the voice of the enemy, or at least through a refracted imagination of it. Such accusations can be better

1 I have previously discussed this topic in my article, Z. Aydoğan, "Creating an Ideal Self: Representations of Infidels in the Late Medieval Anatolian Frontier Narratives", *Other Places: Ottomans Traveling, Seeing, Writing, Drawing the World* – A special issue of the *OA* [in honor of Thomas D. Goodrich] 38 (2012), 101–119.

2 The French name *Sarrasins* originally derived from the classic Latin name of an Arab tribe "Sarraceni" which meant, in medieval French epic songs, any people whose religion was other than Christianity. W. W. Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 55:3 (1940), 629–630. For the origin of the word and how it came to be applied to Muslims, see J. Tolan, ""The Geographers" World: From Arabia Felix to the Balad al Ifranc (Land of the Franks)", in J. Tolan, G. Veinstein and H. Laurens (eds), *Europe and the Islamic World: A History* (Princeton – New Jersey 2012), 12–13.

3 There are a number of studies that tackle the issue of perception and representation using examples from the Byzantine literature, Spanish poems, and the *chansons de geste*. However, only a few works have dealt with the Muslim perception of Byzantium and other Christian domains, while the Turkish perspective from the late medieval Turco–Byzantine frontiers remains understudied. For an excellent survey of the studies on the representation of Muslims in western literature, see D. R. Blanks, "Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches", in D. R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (eds), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other* (New York 1999), 11–55. For some pioneering studies on cultural perception in cross-cultural encounters, see N. M. El-Cheikh, "Byzantium through the Islamic Prism from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Century", in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, (Washington D.C. 2001), 53–69; T. Abdullah, "Arab Views of Northern Europeans in Medieval History and Geography", in D. Blanks (ed.), *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700* (Cairo 1996), 73–80; W. M. Watt, *Muslim–Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions* (London – New York 1991); A. Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes*, trans. J. Rothschild (New York c1984). Also see B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York c1982); F. Gabrieli (ed.), *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley 1969).

understood in the historical setting of medieval Anatolia that witnessed a complete upheaval of political and cultural institutions as a result of continuous warfare, and gradual religious conversion, which eventually led the Muslim minority to become the majority of the population. A logical explanation in the sources for such transformation seems to be through "enchantment" where the Christians willingly or forcefully accepted conversion under the spell of mighty sorcerers: the Muslims.

Aside from Muslims being labeled as *cādū*s as part of their religious identity, there are actual *cādū* figures against whom the Muslims engage in continuous *gazā* warfare.[4] Although similar epithets such as "soothsayer", "magician" or "enchanter" are attributed to the Saracens in western literature,[5] the emphasis on the *cādū* element in the Turkish warrior epics needs to be considered from the perspective of Turkish folklore: influences from ancient Turkic demonology found their way into the oral traditions of the frontier warriors. *Cādū* figures such as Hilāl Cādū and Ra'd Cādū are only a few of the many fantastic elements transferred from one epic to another. Just as with infidels, these figures are presented in the narratives as the sworn enemies of the Muslims with similar physical and moral attributes.

Supernatural imagery can be sought in popular tradition and folklore, however, because such diffusion of narratives occurs largely through oral transmission it is difficult to trace how certain motifs and themes were adapted and orally transmitted from one tradition to another before they became crystallized in literature. Despite this limitation, we are at the same time fortunate enough to have written versions of possibly earlier layers of this orally transmitted lore embodied in a set of Turkish warrior epics originating from the frontier zones of medieval Anatolia. The sources can, therefore, be treated as possible carriers of rich supernatural imagery that drew on Turkic lore and local Arab–byzantine frontier traditions interwoven around themes and motifs drawn from Persian epic romances.

Medieval narratives of the supernatural tend to be taken for granted as a ubiquitous feature of pre-modern societies. However, the potential for

4 I rely on Cemal Kafadar's definition of *gazā*, according to which the term "implied irregular raiding activity whose ultimate goal was (or at least the warriors and their supporters could imagine that it was) the expansion of the power of Islam". C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley 1995), 80.

5 Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens", 652.

approaching the supernatural imagery from a more historicized perspective, by seeking to look beyond folkloric patterns, can extend our understanding of historical identities and their dynamic nature. Against the background of the cultural transformation that occurred in Anatolia between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, I will examine the *cādū* element as a marker of difference during this period of formation (at the same time confusion) of distinct cultural identities. By analyzing the vocabulary of motifs correlated with various *cādū* figures I aim to provide an understanding of the strategies of inclusion (or exclusion) that the sources might have offered to non-Muslims or new converts.

Sources: an overview

The three warrior epics being studied, namely the *Battālnāme*, the *Dānişmendnāme*, and the *Saltuknāme*, constitute the early examples of Anatolian Turkish literature.[6] The sources are based on the existing Arab–

6 The *Battālnāme* is the Book of Seyyid Battāl, the legendary Arab warrior from the late Umayyad period. Although the oral roots of the *Battālnāme* can be traced back to the late eleventh century, the text was first patronized by the Seljukid ruler 'Alā'eddīn Keykubād (r. 1220–37). The earliest manuscript that we know of today is dated 1436–37. Yorgos Dedes has edited a critical edition of the *Battālnāme* including an introduction, English translation, Turkish transcription and commentary along with the facsimile: *Battālnāme*, facsimile edited by Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin with an introduction, English translation, Turkish transcription and commentary by Yorgos Dedes (Cambridge 1996).

The *Dānişmendnāme* is the heroic epic devoted to the founder of the Danişmendid dynasty, Melik Dānişmend. Based on an earlier composition (now lost) for the Sultan 'İzzeddīn (Keykāvus II, d. 1279) by a certain Mevlānā ibn 'Alā (*c.* 1244–45), the manuscript that has survived today is the copy of another version by 'Ārif 'Alī, the governor of Tokat. According to his own account, 'Ārif 'Alī discovered the text in 1360–61 and adorned it with verses. There are two editions of the *Dānişmendnāme* consulted in this study. Along with the French edition by Irène Mélikoff, the main edition used is a more recent publication of Necati Demir, which also includes the facsimile. I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend: Étude critique du Dānişmendnāme*, 2 t. (Paris 1960); N. Demir (ed.), *Dānişmend-nāme*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 2002).

The third of the warrior epics, the *Saltuknāme*, the legendary account of the life and deeds of the thirteenth-century dervish-warrior Sarı Saltuk, is a collection of legends that were in circulation among the gāzī-dervish circles of Rumelia since at least the late thirteenth century. While guarding the Balkan frontiers in Edirne Prince Cem became interested in the well-known stories about Sarı Saltuk in the area and asked Ebū'l-Hayr-i

Byzantine frontier traditions and the orally transmitted Turkic lore, and bear chronological and thematic continuity. The historical backgrounds of both the *Dānişmendnāme* and the *Saltuknāme* follow chronologically the period in which the *Battālnāme* is set. As with Dānişmend Gāzī, Sarı Saltuk (whose original name is Şerîf) is a descendant of Seyyid Battāl and both are modeled after their ancestor. All three have perfect knowledge of the rival's language and religion. Disguised as Christians, they can easily deceive the enemy and break into its castles. No one can outmatch the protagonists in physical beauty, wisdom or martial skills.

All three works share the same subject matter: *gazā*s against the "infidels".[7] The opening story is an account of the earlier achievements of the most prominent *gāzī*s of the Muslim world followed by a plethora of descriptions of the land of Rūm, i.e. the Byzantine Empire, whose entire conquest is the overarching goal. The three works share a variety of themes and motifs. In all three, for example, the future achievements of the respective hero are prophesied before or soon after his birth. The hero always has a companion, a former "infidel" whom he converts and to whom he gives a new Muslim name; that is a new identity. Beautiful Byzantine princesses or handsome and brave warriors to whom the author/narrator has aroused interest ultimately convert to Islam. The *gazā* activities are always sanctioned by the Caliph who showers the warriors with gifts for their successful military ventures. Dream apparitions of the Prophet of Islam or in the *Dānişmendnāme* and the *Saltuknāme* of Seyyid Battāl himself are very common. While Melik Dānişmend appears mostly as a military leader, Seyyid Battāl and Sarı Saltuk are also venerated as important religious leaders. Fantastic elements abound in the narratives devoted to these latter two, where the historical accounts of the warriors coexist with reports of their miraculous deeds and encounters with the marvelous.

The *gazā* activities are not only directed towards the Christians. Aside from the "infidels", the hero fights relentlessly against various *dīv*s 'demons',

Rūmī, a member of his court, to compile them into a book. Ebū'l-Hayr-i Rūmī traveled in the Balkans for seven years to collect the stories from oral tradition and completed the text ca. 1480. Ebū'l-Hayr-i Rūmī, *Saltuknāme*, ed. F. İz (Cambridge 1986). Akalın's edition is published in three volumes; the text is transcribed into Latin alphabet. Ebü'l Hayr-i Rûmî, *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Ş. H. Akalın, 3 vols. (Ankara 1990).

7 For an overview of the common features shared by these three epics, see Yorgos Dedes' discussion in the Introduction to the first volume of the *Battālnāme*, especially pp. 48–51.

*cādū*s 'sorcerers', *cānvars* 'beasts', *ejderhā*s 'dragons', and *cinnī*s 'jinns' (of course the non-Muslim ones). Like the sharp distinctions between the believer and infidel, the world of *cādū*s and *dīv*s also belongs to the evil unless they accept to convert to Islam. The binary division of the world between "Muslims and the rest" is not restricted to humans but also pervades the world of these fantastic creatures, and as will be shown, this even applies to the wild and the "uncivilized". The Muslim hero's primary mission is to bring the light of Islam to those in the dark or in disbelief (*kufr*) and correct the wrongdoings of the "ignorant infidels" by showing them the right path.

By overcoming a mighty enemy, be it a two-headed dragon or a powerful Christian adversary is how the hero proves his supremacy (and the supremacy of Islam) and attracts more adherents to his retinue (or to Islam). However, even the power of a hero blessed by divine glory has its limitations. The hero may find himself in inextricable situations, which compels him to invoke God, and some Muslim genies who are servants of the Prophet Khidr arrive to help him.[8] Through these examples, it is repeatedly, and probably consciously, underlined that the hero is humbled before God's omnipotence, and he can perform miracles only after seeking God's help through an intermediary force.

Irène Mélikoff who examined these sources in terms of intertextuality underlined various motifs and themes that were borrowed from Persian epic romances. Aside from the *Şāhnāme*-inspired romances and its various imitations such as the *Dārābnāme*, the books of *Abū Muslim*, *Kahramān-i Kātil*, *Kirān-i Habeşī*, and *Cāmasb* seem to be quite popular among Turco-Muslim audiences, which is evidenced by the extant Persian manuscripts preserved in various libraries as well as their numerous translations into Turkish.[9] The popularity of certain themes is also demonstrated by their transmission from one epic to another, such as the *cādū* figures Ra'd Cādū or Hilāl Cādū, the son

8 Al-Khaḍr (or al-Khiḍr) has a disputed status amongst scholars: some say he is a saint while for others he is a Prophet of Islam. He is assumed to be referred to in the Qu'ran, in sura Al-Kahf (18:66), specifically in an encounter with Moses. In the Turkish tradition, the name symbolizes the renewal of vegetation in spring. It is also believed that he comes to aid beings in distress and danger. *EI²*, s.v. "al-Khiḍr" (A. J. Wensinck). For a comprehensive study on Khiḍr, see P. Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut 2000).

9 The Persian influence to the genre is so extensive that Irène Mélikoff calls it "le conte épique turco-iranien", I. Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim, le "porte hache" du Khorassan: dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne* (Paris 1962), 29–30.

of Güzendü Cādū in the *Battālnāme*.[10] However, these figures acquired new characteristics and a new outlook in the Turkish adaptations of the stories. The extensive travels of both Seyyid Battāl and Sarı Saltuk in the regions inhabited by demons and *cādū*s, their flying over the Mount of Kāf or descent into the inner core of the earth, their combats along the frontiers with various *cādū* figures aided by "good" spirits such as Tāmūs-i Perī are some of the themes which Mélikoff classified as the Turkish contribution to the stories.[11]

*Cādū*s as markers of difference

Certain skills are required in order to be considered a "cādū". These skills that also constitute the basis of their occult powers are, to say the least, ominous and evil from an Islamic point of view. The most distinctive feature of the *cādū*s is that they can fly by riding big earthenware jugs, but not exclusively. In some examples, they mount marvelous creatures such as "winged lions" and dragons, and also wild animals such as tigers, bats, elephants, pigs, and rhinoceroses. By using snakes as their whip, the *cādū*s are capable of bestriding (both literally and metaphorically) animals, which are at all times at their disposal.

Evliyā Çelebi's famous account on the battle of the *oburs* (a term that stands for '*cādū*s' as explained by Evliyā himself) of the Circassian and the Abkhazian tribes riding all manner of household utensils, mats, and horse corpses has been previously brought to scholarly attention.[12] Marinos Sariyannis has questioned whether such descriptions of the *cādū*s can bolster

10 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T348b–352a; *Saltuk-nâme*, Akalın (ed.), Vol. II, 164–169; Dedes (ed.), *Battālnāme*, A352. All quotations from the *Battālnāme* are from Dedes' translation unless stated otherwise.

11 For Battāl's first encounter with Tāmūs-i Perī see *Battālnāme*, A396. A comparative study focusing on the origins of these elements is not the primary concern of the present paper not only for the reductionist nature of such an undertaking but also because the main objective is to locate the *cādū* element in a historical perspective where it functioned more than just a literary motif. For more on a comparison between the Persian or Turkish origins of some of the themes and motifs in the epics see Mélikoff, *La geste*, 44–45.

12 Z. Aycibin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Cadılar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi,* 24 (2008), 55–70; M. Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts, Vampires and Sorcerers: An Old Discussion Disinterred", *ArchOtt*, 30 (2013), 195–220; cf. Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman and R. Dankoff (eds), *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 7 (Istanbul 2003), 279–280.

Carlo Ginzburg's controversial thesis on the shamanistic origins of the witches' Sabbath.[13] According to the (now) widely accepted scholarly view, the records of the witch trials rather than reflecting the existing folkloric rituals were fabricated by the persecutors of the Inquisition.[14] However, it is possible to speculate that the existence of similar descriptions in the Turkish warrior epics can in fact point to a common background of these folkloric elements. The fact that the compiler of the *Saltuknāme* collected the stories from oral tradition while traipsing around the Balkans might provide some clues as to how such transference may have taken place between these cultures (or at least about its whereabouts).[15]

What is even more interesting to note is that the *cādū*s in the epics are not necessarily gendered. Most of them are male characters presented to us as mighty warriors confronting the Muslim heroes: Ra'd Cādū, Hilāl Cādū, Güzendü Cādū, Rağdūş Cādū, Hırmās Cādū and Hādūs Cādū can be cited as examples. There are of course female *cādū*s. The most curious example is Şemāsīl Cādū who is a woman of power, an unwedded ruler picking up lovers. In this sense, she might function like the witches in Europe represented especially by women beyond child-bearing age.[16] One does wonder if there is such a thing as too much coincidence as Şemāsīl is also portrayed as a ruler in the Lātīn country (*Lātīn diyārı*) or if the compiler/author/later copyists of the

13 After conducting extensive research on the European witch trials beginning in the sixteenth-century Friuli region, Ginzburg argued for a common folkloric and shamanistic background of the flying witches and battling over fertility, which was shared across different cultures extending from Europe to Siberia. See C. Ginzburg, *Les batailles nocturnes* (Paris 2010); and more comprehensively Idem, *Ecstasies* (London 1990); Idem, "Deciphering the Sabbath", in B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford 1990), 121-137; Idem, "Les origines du sabbat", in N. Jacques-Chaquin et M. Préaud (éds), *Le sabbat des sorciers, XV–XVIIIe siècles* (Grenoble 1993), 17–21; all cited in Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts", 197, fn. 14.

14 Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts", 197, fn. 14.

15 See note 6 above. For the compiler's own account on how he collected the stories see *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T617a–b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. III, 365–366.

16 I will return to this figure further down. For Şemāsīl, "bir 'avrat beği var karıdır/bir karı 'avrat pādişāh olmışdur", see *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T61b; *Saltuk-nâme* ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 98; Another female figure, Cādū Karı is portrayed having a more settled lifestyle with two children although each from a different cādū. *Battālnāme*, A352.

text had knowledge of the fear of witches that was in place beginning from the fourteenth century onwards and spread throughout Europe gradually.[17]

In addition to flying there are other ways in which the *cādū*s challenge the laws of nature. They are fire-resistant, able to stand on water, and lead miraculously long lives. The oldest among them, the ancestor of all *cādū*s, who taught magic to those that followed, is 987 years old, "older than the Prophet" as further explained in the text in a somewhat reverential manner.[18] This brings us to another characteristic of the *cādū*s: they do not die easily. It requires a great deal of courage, physical strength, knowledge of many prayers and even magical weapons to kill them. The following is an example of the hero's encounter with a powerful *cādū* figure, equally exciting as extended fighting scenes from an action movie:

> To the right of the Caesar [the Byzantine emperor] was Güzendü Cādū and his two sons, each with the appearance of a monster. The rest of the army of *cādū*s were busy, each with a different magic. Güzendü Cādū, that disgusting infidel, entered the battlefield. He was forty cubits tall, and he rode a rhinoceros wearing a black rag... The eyes of this cursed wretch became bloodshot and he reached and pulled a stone with burning flames out of his chest, recited some charms and threw it at Seyyid. Flames covered him and dragons appeared from among the flames and attacked him. Seyyid recited the prayer of the prophet Khidr and he witchcraft was canceled out... Seyyid took out one of the arrows [Khidr gave him], held his bow and threw the arrow in the air. Divine power made the arrow land on the right eye of Güzendü and come out of the back of his head. The cursed wretch screamed and came over to lift Seyyid from his belt but Seyyid hit another arrow in his left eye that also came out of the back of his head.[19]

All of this was insufficient to kill Güzendü Cādū. Battāl had to cut him into two pieces with the sword of Dahhāk.[20]

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17 The Lātīn country comprises the countries of Gedlān (Catalans), Firānçe (France), Milān, Cīnevis (Genoa), Fırankāl (the country of the Franks) and Espān (Spain). *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T54b–55a, 61b–62a; *Saltuk-nâme* ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 88, 99.

18 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T178b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 299.

19 *Battālnāme*, A328–329.

20 In Turkish epic tradition Dahhāk is one of the four sons of Eslem or Keyümers, the son of Adam and ancestor of all sovereigns of the world. While Keyümers' older sons are ancestor kings of Arabia, Persia and Rūm, Dahhāk is the ancestor of all Turkic sovereigns. Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 43.

The *cādū*s are also gifted shapeshifters; they can physically change in form and transform others too. Shapeshifting is one of the oldest tropes that appears commonly in various myths and also in epic poems such as the epic of Gilgamish and the Iliad and is still being used in modern fiction as can be seen from various adaptations of television series featuring werewolves.[21] Shapeshifting and putting people (and animals) under their spell are considered the most important supernatural powers that distinguish the *cādū*s as masters of the devil's art (as not all of the supernatural powers are labeled as ominous in the texts). Through these qualities, the *cādū*s are able to interfere in and change the course of events. Such ambitious attempts to exercise control over nature, needless to say, must be prevented at all costs as it is overt defiance to God's omnipotence.

Paradoxically, the supernatural power of the hero are (also) tested by his ability to communicate with animals, from real or imaginary realms (although there is hardly such distinction in the sources), and to tame them. Battāl is able to talk to animals as in the case of the hospitable lion, whichs offers him mountain berries on a tray that he carries on his head (an important detail as he will not be using his hands). As a result of this amicable encounter Battāl even entrusts him with his horse, the most precious ʿAşkar.[22] In the *Saltuknāme*, Kara Dāvūd who is one of Sarı Saltuk's *abdāl*s (wandering dervishes) combines his forces with a *hınzır*, 'pig', to wage *gazā* in the Crimea and with this collaboration he is able to defeat an otherwise insurmountable dragon.[23] While the saintly character of the heroes and their wondrous deeds are beyond the scope of the present study and should be examined separately, suffice it to say that the phenomena of communicating with animals and transforming into animal forms is recorded in several *menākıbnāme*s (hagiographies). According to some scholars, this is a topos deriving from pre-Islamic Turkic

21 While Bram Stoker's Dracula or Mary Shelley's Frankenstein can be cited as early examples of what came to be known as Gothic literature, the roots of this horror and fantasy fiction can be traced back to the publication of the novel, *the Castle of Otranto* by Horace Walpole in the eighteenth century. "The Castle of Otranto: The Creepy Tale that Launched Gothic Fiction", https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-30313775 (last accessed on 3rd June 2020).

22 *Battālnāme*, A103–104. ʿAşkar is the horse of Hamza, the uncle of Muhammad. The stories of Hamza were very popular among Turks in Anatolia as elsewhere in the region. The protagonists of both the *Battālnāme* and the *Saltuknāme* rode ʿAşkar. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 63.

23 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T100b–101b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 162–163.

beliefs.[24] The testimonies on Barak Baba's exposure to such inquiry (two times) where he must prove his occult powers by taming animals demonstrates that this was not only a motif specific to the genre but also that such demonstration of skills was occasionally demanded of the saintly figures.[25] In the sources, the hero is able to perform miracles only after seeking divine help and is repeatedly reminded of his humble existence before God's omnipotence.[26] There is a thin line but this is also what distinguishes the hero from *cādū*s.

In classical Ottoman poetry, the *cādū*s are described in a manner similar to those in the epics; they mount earthenware jugs, stand on water and are fire-resistant.[27] This demonstrates that at least these three characteristics remained popular until the sixteenth century. Another usage of the term *cādū* in Ottoman poetry, and even more frequently, is as a metaphor that corresponds to distinct physical features of the beloved. Beauty spots, hair, and eyes are personified as *cādū*s invoking enchantment in the lover.[28]

Having said that, there are evil, infidel temptresses determined to bring about the demise of the hero. Unsurprisingly these are referred to as *cādū*s. In the *Battālnāme*, Bayda, a daughter of the vizier Akratīs (a derivative from the Greek word Akrites, i.e. frontier warrior), is a *cādū* who is by the Byzantine emperor commissioned to kill Seyyid Battāl.[29] Such portrayal is in line with the archetypal motif of the woman as the temptress[30] and such temptation is used synonymously with magic. In another example, the companion of the Prophet, 'Abdü'l-Vehhāb, who miraculously lived long enough to gift Battāl

24 A. Y. Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler: Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım*, (Ankara 1997), 70–93.

25 A heretic dervish with a controversial appearance Barak Baba is a disciple of Sarı Saltuk who gave him the honorific "barak" meaning 'hairless dog'. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. "Barāk Bābā" (H. Algar).

26 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T408b–409a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. III, 56–57.

27 H. Nayir, "Divan Şiirinde Cadı", *Prof. Dr. Mine Mengi Adına Türkoloji Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 20–22 Ekim 2011* (Adana 2012), 165. For more examples see Necātī's Dīvān completed in 1500, "standing on water" p441/4; "being non-flammable" p443/2. The electronic OTAP text based on Tarlan's edition of 1963 is available online at http://courses.washington.edu/otap/archive/data/arch_txt/texts/a_necati1.html (last accessed on 18th May 2020).

28 H. Nayir, "Divan Şiirinde Cadı", 166–168.

29 *Battālnāme*, A89.

30 J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, (Princeton – Oxford 2004), 111–116.

the Prophet's relics, falls madly in love with the daughter of the Byzantine emperor. In the below quoted passage, falling in love is described as a painful struggle between 'Abdü'l-Vehhāb's conscience (his faith) and bitter arrows of love that overburden it with unavoidable and crushing effects:

> Now, this girl was so pretty and she was so playful that 'Abdü'l-Vehhāb got out of control and however much he tried not to lose his heart to her, it was to no avail. The poor old man could not help it and was seized by the fire of love. He held his chest out against the arrows of fiery love, but they came and sank deep inside, but he still patiently held out. For forty nights she came and displayed such magic tricks and sent 'Abdü'l-Vehhāb completely beyond himself making him fall madly in love.[31]

Losing yourself because of love is considered to be the work of the dark arts as love pushes the limits of the "normal". Such is also the case with Sarı Saltuk who, having drunk the love potion prepared by a Jewish physician, falls madly in love with the son of a shepherd and the Muslim community loses him for several years, during which he goes after his beloved, unfortunately, more as a stalker than a lover, much to his later regret.[32]

The *cādū* element is not simply a literary motif adding a fantastic flavor to the stories. It has another function. Similarly to the "infidels", the *cādū*s also serve as markers of difference in religious identities. For instance, the infidels' defeat and their inferior status to the Muslims, in addition to many other shortcomings, result from their corrupt and immoral ways. These are produced in the texts by examples of their excessive indulgence in worldly pleasure. Lustfulness, greed, gluttony, and excessive alcohol consumption are some of the most repeated clichés attributed to Christians. The *cādū* figures are portrayed similarly, except that they are even more perverse. While some are described as partaking in drunken orgies with as many as 80 participants,[33]

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31 *Battālnāme*, A337. The passage echoes exactly the account of Abdürrezzak's apostasy, the Shaykh of Sanʿān, in Gülşehri's Turkish adaptation of ʿAṭṭār's famous mathnawi *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr,* 'Conference of the Birds' or 'Speech of the Birds'. For more see S. N. Yıldız, "Battling *Kufr* (Unbelief) in the Land of Infidels: Gülşehri's Turkish Adaptation of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*", in A.C.S. Peacock, B. de Nicola and S. N. Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, (Burlington 2015), 329–347.

32 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T26b–31b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 44–51

33 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T195b–196a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 329–330.

others are able to sleep with anyone they desire by assuming the appearance of their target's marital partner.[34] Various female as well as warrior *cādū* figures such as Hilāl Cādū have an insatiable sexual appetite, especially for younger boys and girls.[35]

The more the object of their desire is beautiful the more repulsive their physical appearance becomes, probably in an effort to create feelings of disgust in the audience. The sources ensure that graphic detail of their ugliness is provided: their faces are often covered with excessive hair as in the case of Şebşās Cādū "whose eyebrows drop like a curtain covering his entire face and beard hang like a donkey's tail, and whose wicked, shriveled existence never once disappointed the devil."[36]

By assigning "different" physical features (or animals to mount) the sources try to give an impression of the *cādū*s as distinct figures with particularities, each governing a different realm. This is perhaps a narrative prop that serves to underline (and counterpoise) the power they hold by purporting to give a more individualized account of each *cādū* figure and its specialization of skills to the degree of merit proper to their wickedness.

I believe that these descriptions are not accidental when we think of the effort of the authors/narrators of the stories for demonizing the "other" and likening the enemy to bestial creatures. In this sense, hair is an important denominator that separates humans from animals. It is interesting to note that in the *Dānişmendnāme*, the only epic that does not contain the "actual" *cādū* figures, the members of the opposing religious group, the monks, are described similarly to the *cādū*s in their physical appearance:

> His hands never touched water in his whole life, his moustache covered his mouth, his beard was dense and interwoven and so long that it was hanging like a dog's tail. With his hideous figure he was so dreadful that he looked like a monster and even the devil could model himself after him.[37]

34 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T326b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. II, 133.

35 *Battālnāme*, A337; *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T196a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 330.

36 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, 357b–358a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. II, 178–179.

37 "'*Ömrüñde eline su degürmemiş, bıyıgı agzını örtmiş, sakalı it kuyrugı gibi kapagulanmış gāyet uzamış. Bir şekl-i kabīh ve bir heybet idi kim şöyle kim bir dīve beñzerdi ve şeytān sūretin düzmege andan sebak alurdı*". *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 114a.

Another description of the *cādū*s involves their ritualistic gatherings, in some of which they sacrifice and eat humans, preferably made of young flesh.[38] Although it may come as shocking, the Christians are also depicted in the sources as cannibals. However, this distinction only exists for the *Firenk*s, "Frankish warriors".[39] A similar reference can also be found in the popular imagination of the medieval Christian world, where Saracens are depicted as the embodiment of all evil who even eat their prisoners.[40]

Aside from the *cādū*s there are references to a tribe in Africa called the *merdüm-hor*s, *anthropophagi* or 'cannibals'. In the *Saltuknāme* along with the *merdüm-hor*s there are other marvelous creatures borrowed from Qazwīnī's *Ajā'ib al-mahlūqāt* and other *acā'ib*-style cosmographies, such as for instance the *nīm-ten*s 'half-men', *kelīm-gūş* 'large-eared men' or Gog and Magog.[41] The *merdüm-hor*s are described as having "enormous lips that each look like a fist. They are so ugly and dreadful that they had no other white spot than their teeth". Sarı Saltuk's astonishment before these creatures and his difficulty to categorize them either as humans or as beasts is disclosed by his reaction where he forcefully asks whether they reside in the cities or the wilderness (*siz şehirde mi yabanda mı olursız, toğrı haber virün*).[42] It is worthwhile to note that such distinction between the urban (or "civilized") and the wild only exists when Sarı Saltuk travels to faraway lands such as Africa and India. In this sense, cannibalism must be the ultimate limit that establishes the boundary between being a human and a monster.

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38 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, 179a–180a; T195b; T357b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 300–301; 328; Vol. II, 178.

39 See, for instance, the people of Tūrhāl (*Tūrhāl kavmi*) in the *Dānişmendnāme* who prefer to "eat Muslim flesh (*kamumuz müsülmānlar eti yirüz*)" and who are "not loyal to Şattāt or Nestor" meaning that they are not under Byzantine rule. *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 82b; also see Mélikoff's note on cannibalism in Turkish epic literature. Mélikoff, *La geste*, pp. 136. I have argued in my dissertation that the ascription of cannibalism in the Turkish epics is not just a literary device but in fact can be linked to the cannibalistic acts committed (or not committed) by the Crusaders during the First Crusade and the remnants of these events preserved in the oral tradition.

40 J. A. H. M. Cruz, "Popular Attitudes towards Islam in Medieval Europe", in D. Blanks and M. Frassetto (eds), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York 1999), 56–58.

41 M. Sariyannis, "Ajā'ib ve gharā'ib: Ottoman Collections of Mirabilia and Perceptions of the Supernatural", *Der Islam*, 92:2 (2015), 458.

42 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T149a–150a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 250–251.

As evident in the bulk of these examples, some of the darkest fears and fantasies, and taboo thoughts can be expressed around the *cādū* figure or the supernatural in general. On the other hand, the portrayals of the opponent as savages who even eat human flesh most certainly served to justify the use of extreme violence against the enemy and encouraged the warriors to undertake such violent actions without hesitation. In one particular example, Şattāt, the Byzantine ruler of Amasya (Amaseia), refusing to convert, is hanged from his feet "like a dog carcass" (*it leşi gibi*). Şattāt's own daughter Efromiya shoots the first arrow and "the Muslims then shoot so many arrows that his skin turns into a hedgehog, or even cribriform" (*şol kadar ok urdılar ki teni kirpiye döndi dahi kalbur gibi delik delik oldı*).[43] In some other examples, hit by mace the infidel's brain "sprinkles like a raw egg",[44] or decapitated by a single sword blow his head rolls like a ball hit by *çevgān* (polo-stick).[45]

Not only do infidels (and by extension *cādū*s) deserve to die in the most horrific ways, but the detailing of such scenes with comic undertones demonstrates that their suffering evokes amusement and mockery, and to add insult to injury their lamentations are described being akin to animals:

> 'Atūş [the Frank warrior] was informed that Melik killed his brother Kibriyanos. Upon hearing this 'Atūş plunged into the Muslim army like a crazy monster, screamed like a bear, brayed like a donkey, squealed like a pig.[46]

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43 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 214b. The same phrase is also found in the *Saltuknāme*: "*şol kadar ok urdılar kim gövdesi görinmez oldı, kirpüye döndi*". *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T91b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 145–146.

44 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 207a.

45 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 102a. *Çevgān* or *çöğen/çevken* is a war game played on horseback using a stick and a ball with the objective to score goals. Although its origins are a point of contention among scholars, it was very popular in medieval Central Asia and Iran, and also in Anatolia as can be detected from this example. In many sources of the era, *çevgān* is confused with *cirit* (jereed). However, it should be pointed out that the former was training for mastering the use of lance on horseback while the latter of the sword. For more details, see T. Karabey, "Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde Gûy u Çevgân Oyunu", *Turkish Studies*, 7:1 (2012), 81–86.

46 "*'Atūş'a haber kıldı ki 'Kardaşun Kibriyānōs, Melik elinde helāk oldı' dedi. 'Atūş la'īn çün anı işitdi bir delürmis dīv gibi İslām çerisinün arasında düşdi; ayu gibi bagırdı, eşek gibi agırdı, toñuz gibi hortladı.*" *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 145a–b. For more on how similar examples that ridicule the enemy were used to trigger certain emotions among the audiences, see S. Yılmaz Önder, "Vengeance in the Chronicles Written in Old Anatolian Turkish", *Acta Turcica*, 1:2 (2011), 173–211.

'Bewitched': conversion under the spell of Muslims

While the sources normalize the use of extreme violence by demonizing the enemy and likening them to animals, it is rather the Muslims who are persistently referred to as *cādū*s 'sorcerers' whenever the infidels are given a voice. Accordingly, Islam is referred to as the religion of *cādū*s.[47] In the *Dānişmendnāme* in the absence of "real" *cādū* figures, Muslims are almost exclusively and repeatedly called *cādū* by the infidels as a counterpoint to their religious identity.[48] When accused of being a *cādū*, Melik Dānişmend responds with an immediate definition of his religious creed: "*Hāşā ki cādū olam, müslimānam* ('God forbid I am sorcerer! I am Muslim')".[49]

The Muslim warriors are referred to as *cādūlar çerisi*, 'army of wizards'.[50] The term is positively connoted here and there is a sense of pride concealed behind being labeled as *cādū*. Exaggeration of the enemy forces is an important motif in the epics. To give one example, the Byzantine emperor in the *Battālnāme* who raised a massive army against the Muslims had to be seated on horseback for seven days to greet the armies setting out on a campaign and passing in front of him.[51] The numerical advantage of the enemy is of course offset by the superior bravery of the Muslims, which makes the enemy think that a supernatural force must have been at play. This is also what earns the Muslim warriors the title of *cādūlar çerisi*. The victory, which is achieved against all odds, is a sign that they have God on their side.

A major occurrence that characterizes well the cultural transformation that took place in Anatolia between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries was conversion, which came along with conquest. In the Turkish warrior epics, conversion takes place through various means. While in most cases Christians become Muslim under threat of death, the conversion could also occur through persuasion, though backed by some incentive or compulsion. In this respect, dream apparitions of the Prophet Muhammad or some of the most prominent *gāzī*s of the past, miracles or rescue missions of a kidnapped Christian maiden,

47 *Battālnāme*, A134.
48 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 53a, 54b, 87b, 191b, 203b, 245b.
49 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 13a.
50 *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 20A.
51 *Battālnāme*, A170.

which also adds a romantic flavor to the narratives, are some of the most repeated topoi that result in the conversion of even the most ardent Christians against their own will.[52] In addition to his miraculous deeds, the wisdom of the Muslim hero, his warrior skills, and physical appearance are also efficient reasons for the conversion of a Christian adversary to Islam.

In most cases, when an infidel is treated in an appreciative manner it means that his conversion is close at hand. The same is also true in the *chansons de geste*, for which Comfort notes: "The conventional outcome for a Saracen hero in whom the poet has aroused interest is to become converted."[53]

The "aesthetic" aspect of conversion seems to be an important one that must be taken into account before the hero embraces any infidel. The Muslim hero will not kill the beautiful or the brave. Tools that do not require the use of force will instead be put to use for their incorporation into the Muslim community, either to respect God's creation[54] or perhaps to produce a beautiful blend.[55] From the viewpoint of the Muslim storyteller, the same applies to the infidels who in the end spare the lives of "*hūb sūretlü*" Muslims – "lovely faces" or

52 Examples of conversion as a result of dream visions of the Prophet of Islam, see *Battālnāme*, A59, A99, A107, A143; and *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 18a, 152a. Irène Mélikoff draws an interesting parallel between the apparition of Muhammad in dreams and the depiction of Christ in Byzantine mosaics teaching the newly converted the dogmas of their new religion, almost like in a Communion. Mélikoff, *La geste*, 141. To cite only a few examples for conversion as a result of a miracle, see *Battālnāme* A118–119; *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T22b–23b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 36–37. In the *Dānişmendnāme*, there are only very few examples of conversion after the Muslim hero performs a miracle. *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 225b–227b. For the kidnapping of the future wife of Melik Dānişmend, Gülnūş Bānū, and her much-negotiated conversion story, see *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 168a–b, 195b–196a.

53 Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens", 645.

54 For appreciating God through the beauty of His creation, see S. Kuru, "The Literature of Rum: the Making of a Literary Tradition (1450–1600)", in S. N. Faroqhi and K. Fleet (eds), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge 2013), 579.

55 It is especially the people of Bosnia who are worthy of such compliments in the *Saltuknāme*: "Then the Bosnian soldiers came.... They have beautiful men with hair shining like red gold. There is no other *tā'ifa* more pure-hearted and clean within the peoples of Rūm. 'I wish this folk would become Muslim!', said Seyyid... Şerīf had no intention to kill them for no reason." *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T48b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 78. In another example, Melik Dānişmend spares the life of an infidel who convinces him that he would bring his handsome son under Melik's command. *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 27a.

"moon-faced angels" used interchangeably regardless of gender – for whom they instantly develop affection.[56]

All these qualities (and fear of the sword) convince even the most ardent members of the rival religion to embrace Islam as their new faith. A new phrase is invented for the occasion: *cādūlamak*. The term is used synonymously for 'conversion to Islam'.[57] In the *Saltuknāme*, the Muslims are famous for being experts in the dark arts (*Muhammedīler sihrde kāmil olmuşlar*).[58] Given the multitude of Sarı Saltuk's miraculous deeds, this conviction does not seem surprising. When Sarı Saltuk converts Alyon-ı Rūmī, an ardent Christian who will become his future companion-in-arms, the only possible way for this to happen seems to be through casting a spell upon him.[59]

Of course, even in this idealized picture, there is room for some deviation. There are new converts who become renegades and spies who work for both sides. The underlining suspicion and identity confusion that characterize this transformative period is well reflected in the sources through numerous examples about spying activities and deception through the disguise, and reports of distrust shown to a stranger.

In the following example, Seyyid Battāl, disguised as a Christian, encounters a passer-by. It is important to note that even when a common man is suspected of being a spy, it is hard to tell which side he works for. The example also provides insights into the ways of approaching a stranger and the reactions that stem from them:

> After one day or two days, just before noon, he saw a person going along with a broom in one hand and a grain sieve in the other. As he was going, he turned off

56 "*Beglerile çıka geldiler gördiler bir mahbūb oğlan aya benzer taht üstinde yatur* [He, i.e. Mihriyāyīl, came with his *beg*s and found a lovely young handsome boy, beautiful as the moon, lying on the throne]." *Battālnāme*, A11. "*Sunnīler bunun gibi kadd ü kāmet ki gördiler hayrān oldılar* [The Sunnis were amazed when they saw how handsome and tall he (Sercāyil) was]." *Battālnāme*, A52. The same phrase also exists in the *Dānişmendnāme*, but this time the infidel warrior Serhāyil is amazed by Melik Dānişmend's physical appearance. *Dānişmendnāme*, ed. Demir, 52b. For more on the concept of *mahbūb*, see W. G. Andrews and M. Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham 2005), especially 38–43.

57 *Battālnāme*, D[28b].

58 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T6a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 7.

59 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T12b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 19.

> the road. Seyyid rushed in his direction, reached him, and said, "You are nothing but a Muhammedan and a spy, isn't it?" That person answered, "God forbid, I am not what you just said, I am just a villager from around here. I am on my way to get some grain."[60]

Seyyid Battāl does not believe the man's words and just as he is about to slay him, the man confesses that he is a spy for the Byzantine emperor on his way to deliver a letter to 'Ukbā, the treacherous and evil *kādī* (Muslim judge) of the *Battālnāme* who secretly acts on behalf of the infidels. Indeed, in the period following the first Arab incursions into Anatolia, which was marked by a high degree of mobility and "identity confusion", the fear of spies reached paranoid levels on the part of the Byzantine authorities who mistook many people for spies.[61]

In the sources, monk or priest is not the only disguise used by a Muslim hero to outsmart the enemy. Sometimes heroes push the limits of imagination to come up with a new appearance. The most extreme example in this respect is when Seyyid Battāl takes the skin of an infidel ruler off and literally wears it in order to claim his identity.[62] The fact that this ruler is the king of the *kıl-barak*s or *kyno-kephaloi*, dog-headed people, brings another dimension to the story. The disguise of the hero hence appeals to another fantasy, which can be linked to the notion of shapeshifting.

The underlying theme of distrust in the epics is also personified in the *cādū* figures. By hiding their "real" identities the *cādū*s lead a double-life. A good example is Şemāsīl Cādū, who kidnaps the son of the Pope (leaving aside the fact that the Pope has a son, which is itself absurd). At night Şemāsīl takes her snake whip, jumps on her jug, and travels to her secret palace in the Mount of Kāf. She meets her abusive demon lover who first beats her and then takes her to bed after they consume a great deal of alcohol. Sarı Saltuk who hides in the room takes the underwear of Şemāsīl with him. At first glance, this might seem like a strange detail but it is of paramount importance since this

60 *Battālnāme*, A228–229.

61 N. Koutrakou, "Diplomacy and Espionage: Their Role in the Byzantine Foreign Relations, 8th–10th Centuries", *Graaeco–Arabica*, VI (1995), 131–132.

62 "*Ol gice bunun dahı derisin çıkardı tabbāğlık eyledi irtesi geydi daşra cıkdı* [that evening Seyyid flayed the skin of this one as well and hung it to dry. The following day he put it on and came out]." *Battālnāme*, A384.

is how Sarı Saltuk will expose the whole truth about Şemāsīl's true identity and the underwear (which is at the same time her most intimate apparel) will provide the hard evidence.[63] Considering that Şemāsīl is also the ruler of a Latin country,[64] this whole example brings to mind the idea of the witch as the "enemy within" in anthropological studies. As put forward by Michael Meeker: "the witch is associated with the sickening idea that something dreadful and horrible is at work in the central body of the community."[65] And because she is an insider trusted by the members of the community, the identity of the witch becomes especially difficult to determine.

In addition to *cādū*s who appear in human forms there are other creatures referred to as *dīv*s; demons of great proportions and hybrid nature. Cengāl Dīv is for instance an extremely ugly and monstrous creature with the head of a pig, the claws of a lion, the body of a human, and the feet of a demon ("like an ox", the author further explains probably referring to cloven hooves).[66] Another *dīv* figure, Karıdīv is similar to Cengāl Dīv except that she also has elephant ears and a dragon tail.[67] In order to kill *dīv*s one has to decapitate them but only with a single sword blow as a second blow creates a reverse effect.[68] *Dīv*s are also extremely sensitive to the sounds. High volumes have a devastating effect making *dīv*s lose their mind and collapse to the ground, or even worse accept the hero's invitation to join the faith in order to make him stop yelling.[69]

There is a third category of beings, namely the *perī*s, which are neither humans nor jinn but are categorized as the *şād-kāmil*s, perfect creatures. Unlike the *perī*s in classical Ottoman poetry which represent female lovers only, the *perī*s in the epics are of both sexes.[70] *Cinnī*s on the other hand, also in line with

63 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T83a–88b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 132–139.

64 See footnote 17 above.

65 Michael Meeker in an H-Net discussion list, http://www.h-net.org/logsearch/ with keyword "Ottoman witchcraft", quoted in Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts, Vampires and Sorcerers", 192.

66 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T175a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 294.

67 *Battālnāme*, A259–A260.

68 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T175b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 294. The same element also exists in the *Battālnāme* where Battāl, very wisely, does not listen to the infernal voice, which tells him to wield a second blow to Karıdīv. *Battālnāme*, A260.

69 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T69b–T70a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 112.

70 *Battālnāme*, A264; *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T145b–146b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 244–246.

the Islamic concept of jinn, are not demons as opposed to angels. They are a third category of beings that live in their own parallel worlds and underworlds. Like humans they are rational beings with the capacity to judge. As opposed to the *cādū*s and *dīv*s who are inherently evil, the *cinnī*s are treated as having more potential for choosing the right path that is Islam.[71] *Cādū*s are the children of the demons (*iblīs*) who work under the service of the devil (şeyt*ān*).[72] The fact that *perī*s, *cādū*s and *dīv*s are sometimes used interchangeably, probably caused by their treatment under the general category of jinn, creates even more confusion.

Identifying these beings in different categories seems to be an issue also for the authors/narrators/compilers of the stories. In one example from the *Saltuknāme* Sarı Saltuk is perplexed about the true nature of a person who has been living in disbelief (with infidels) for more than seven hundred years but at the same time presents himself as Safhāyīl, "the head of all celestial spirits (*re'īs-i rūhāniyā*)": "What if this person is the devil (*şeytān*) himself", he asks himself. In order to identify this creature as *şeytān*, jinn or *cādū* Sarı Saltuk goes on to recite a number of prayers, but to no avail. Only after the person pulls wings out of his robe is Sarı Saltuk finally convinced that he is an angel.[73]

Fighting superstition and disbelief

As previously mentioned, in the sources, the Christians constantly accuse Muslims of being *cādū*s.[74] The sources provide "logical" explanations for such accusations in their own way. In the following example, the hero demonstrates

71 There are some exceptions to this as there is mention of a Muslim *dīv* with the head of a lion and of another female *dīv* with white hair whom Sarı Saltuk calls mother. *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T69a, T77a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 111, 123.

72 There seems to be some ambiguity concerning the use of the term *iblīs*. "Iblīs" is often identified with the devil (Shaitan) in Islamic traditions. However, in the *Saltuknāme* there are many *iblīs* figures who work as subordinates to *Şeytān* standing more for demon-like creatures but who are higher in hierarchy than *dīv*s. As with God the hero does not get to see or hear *Şeytān* directly. For Rağdüş Cādū kissing the *iblīs* named Sarsar's hand and calling him father. *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T513b–T514b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. III, 219–220.

73 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T220a–220b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 370.

74 "*Türkler sihr bilürler oda yanmazlar* (Turks are fire-resistant as they practice sorcery)." *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T21b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 34.

all of the skills attributed to *cādū*s; he flies in the sky, escapes death by burning and transforms his shape. All of these however result from a collaboration where Sarı Saltuk joins forces with the mythological bird Sīmurg. According to the story, Sarı Saltuk saves Sīmurg's newborns from being eaten by a dragon.[75] Sīmurg who speaks "human language fluently (*fasīh ādem dilini bilürdi*)" receives Sarı Saltuk with great hospitality.[76] These sections have been subject to previous research and have been analyzed in terms of their close ties to some of the symbols and motifs embedded in ancient mythologies of the Near East, which astonishingly found their way into the *Saltuknāme*.[77] Sīmurg offering her wing to canopy Sarı Saltuk from the sun's burning rays when she sees him lying asleep under the plain sun and their setting out for Şu'ā Mountain—which is described as a 'burning mountain', *oddan yanar tağdur*—have been interpreted as a journey to the home of the sun with reference to the myth of Solomon, the sovereign of the skies and the sun.[78] During this journey, Sarı Saltuk slays another mythological creature, s*emender,* in order to wear his skin, which is fire-resistant. Described as a monster with the appearance of a winged horse, this must be the legendary salamander; a common topos in various traditions, which is usually ascribed an affinity with fire. Wrapped in the salamander's skin, Sīmurg is able to carry Sarı Saltuk to great heights in the sky without being burned by the Sun. Imagining such great heights Sarı Saltuk cheerfully declares: "the world looks like a kernel (*gördi kim bu dünyā gözine bir harman kadarı göründi*)".[79]

Either through divine intervention, or as a result of a chain of incredibly lucky events, or due to a simple misunderstanding, the hero is able to overcome

75 A rapprochement with the supernatural is at hand in these parts of the text. Sarı Saltuk is taken to the residence of Sīmurg by a family of *dīv*s who want to make it up to Sarı Saltuk for having eaten his horse. Afraid of being killed by Sarı Saltuk, the *dīv*s apologize to him and ask to become his blood brothers ("*dünyā ve āhiret kardaşumuz ol*"). *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T77b–T78a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 124.

76 *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 126. In the Topkapı manuscript the phrase is put slightly differently: "the bird spoke like a human (*kuş ādem gibi söyleridi*)". *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T79a.

77 S. Kocaer, "Sîmurg'un Gölgesinde", in O. Kolbaş and O. Üçer (eds), *Âb-ı Hayât'ı Aramak: Gönül Tekin'e Armağan* (Istanbul 2018), 555–564.

78 Kocaer, "Sîmurg'un Gölgesinde", 560; cf. G. Tekin, "Yakın Doğu Mitolojisinde Kartal ve Güneş", *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları/Journal of Turkish Studies*, 28:II (2004), 85–111.

79 *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 128; *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T80b.

the threat of impending death and vanquish the infidels on many impossible occasions as in this example. All of these victories are attributed by the 'foolish' infidels to the hero's excellent 'sorcery' skills, which by the conclusion win their appreciation too. Even in cases when the victory is purely coincidental, the sources make the infidels admit the superiority of the Muslim hero, and by extension of Islam. The infidel warrior Gebriyānos expresses his exasperation towards Battāl's invincibility as follows:

> O Battāl, are you a sort of wheat bud? What is the story with you? They kill you and you are resurrected, they arrest you and put you to prison and you get out again. God, you must be quite an experienced witch.[80]

In one example, Battāl fell for a Byzantine princess, Ketāyūn. While Battāl is an ideal *gāzī* in many aspects he has one major defect that sometimes puts him at great difficulty: He is a womanizer who knows no boundaries when it comes to love (except the religion barrier, which can be easily overcome by conversion). But Battāl's falling for Ketāyūn is especially complicated because Ketāyūn is at the same time the sister of one of his wives, Meh-Pīrūz who is another daughter of the *Kayser*, the Byzantine emperor. Battāl had met Meh-Pīrūz while on a rescue mission for his other wife Zeynep who was kidnapped by the Byzantines to lure Battāl into the palace and kill him there. Going back to Ketāyūn's story, Battāl is unable to win Ketāyūn's heart. In fact, due to her deception, Battāl is taken prisoner. In this difficult situation he invokes God:

> 'Listen God, I am not worried about my own death, I am only concerned lest the Muslims are trampled under the foot of the infidel.' Just as he was saying that a snake that looked like a flag staff came down from the treetop. Candles were burning and the pots were up to the top with food and those dogs were lying around drunk. Seyyid noticed that the snake ate a little from those pots, then dipped its head in one of them and went back to its place.[81]

This divine intervention remains unnoticed among the infidels who at some point resume the feast. Before an hour had passed, the infidel lords begin to tremble and all 72 of them who attended the feast die that night (*şişdi çatladı*

80 *Battālnāme*, A147. For more similar examples, see *Battālnāme*, A208, A211, A312; *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T251a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. II, 32.

81 *Battālnāme*, A292–293.

öldi). Having no clue on how this happened the infidels accuse Battāl of having bewitched them (*Yā Battāl veyā Kattāl heb uşbu işleri sen itdüñ bunları cāduladüñ tiz eyitkim bunlara neyledüñ?*), which given the situation seems to be a reasonable reaction.[82]

All these accusations about the Muslim hero being a *cādū* as he saves himself from impossible situations by using his 'sorcerer' skills are taken as preposterous (and ridiculous) claims that the sources link to the ignorance of the enemy and superstitious beliefs inherent in their religion and culture. For instance, in the *Battālnāme*, the infidels are afraid to spill the blood of Battāl on the earth as: "it will mix with it and a plant shall grow. Then a lamb shall eat this plant and whoever eats from that lamb will be overcome by lust and from this lust Battāl will come forth again."[83]

In another example from the *Saltuknāme*, Sarı Saltuk manages to outrival the two leaders of the rival religion in intelligence.[84] After he is saved from burning by the "Sunnite" jinn Minū-çihr,[85] Sarı Saltuk goes to meet the Tekūr

82 *Battālnāme*, P[139b].

83 *Battālnāme*, A294–295.

84 The leader of the infidels of Rūm is *Tekūr* (*tekfūr*, the Byzantine emperor) with his throne in Konstantiniyye (Constantinople). The head of all the infidel countries in the *Firengistān* is *Filyon Firenk*, a term used interchangeably with *Pāp* ('Pope') whose seat is in Aromāy (probably referring to Rome). *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T11b–12a, T88a, T57b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 16–18, 92, 138–139.

According to Ahmet Karamustafa, while the text employs *filyon* for patriarch, the term *filyon firenk* is used to refer to a Frankish king. Against Karamustafa's proposal, the term probably derives from "Filioque", one of the most important denominators of the divide between western and eastern Christianity, which recognized or did not recognize the supremacy of the Pope. As stated several times in the text, the term is indeed used to refer to the Pope. A. Karamustafa, "Islamization through the Lens of the Saltuk-name", in A.C.S. Peacock, B. De Nicola and S. N. Yıldız (eds), *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia* (Burlington 2015), 355 fn. 19, 359. For "Fillioque", see C. Imber, *The Crusade of Varna: 1443-45* (Aldershot 2006), p.8; cf. H. Jedin and J. Dolan (eds), *History of the Church*, Vol. IV (London 1980), 474–484.

85 Earlier in the text, Minū-çihr, who was on his way to visit Hızır (Khidr), ran into Sarı Saltuk in the sky as he was cast into a firebrand by a catapult, and saved him. This was Sarı Saltuk's first encounter with Minū-çihr, who taught Sarı Saltuk a prayer to summon him whenever he needed help. *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T20b–T21a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 32–33. Minū-çihr of the *Saltuknāme* is probably inspired from the Persian mythological King Manūchihr, the grandson of Farīdūn in the *Shahnāma*. V. S. Curtis, *Persian Myths* (Austin 1993), 36.

(the Byzantine emperor) and Pāp (the Pope) and introduces himself as the son of a Serbian priest. As he goes up to the pulpit and reads from the Bible, all the clergymen including the Tekūr and Pāp burst into tears:

> Şerīf descended from the pulpit [*minber*], kissed the hands of the Tekūr and Pāp and said: "One of you is the Caesar of Rūm and the other is the Filyon of all the Firenks. Once you are devout [*kā'im*] the livers of all the Turks will be smashed." He prayed and continued: "O rulers! Know that last night the Messiah [*Mesīh*] appeared in my dream and told me: 'Kick my people [*ümmet*] with the foot of my donkey and slap their nape. Those you hit stronger will go to heaven in advance.' It turned out that the donkey's foot was hung within a coffer made of ebony in the great church of that city. They brought the coffer to Şerīf. Şerīf slapped his hands and they took out the donkey's foot; which was covered with silver on the back. He [Sarı Saltuk] recited the Bible with his beautiful voice and cried. And all the infidels [*kāfir*s] there shed tears. Şerīf said: "O people [*iy kavm*]! I am going up to the sky to meet Jesus [*Hazret-i 'Īsā*]. If you do not believe me watch that: With the blessing of this foot I will fly up to the dome of this church." Then he read out the prayer that Minū-çihr had taught him. And the genie [*perī*] arrived right away. Şerīf said: "Take me to the dome." The *kāfir*s watched Şerīf fly and hover in the sky. Then he landed back and said: "Do you believe me now?" All the *kāfir*s prayed[86] and said: "We believe you, O you the supreme of religion [*dīn ulusı*]! You are the sanctioned companion of the Messiah. Be gracious and beg the Messiah to forgive our sins." Sarı Saltuk replied: "From now on I will not serve you [*hürmet itmezem*]. Just give me one gold coin per person and I will hand them to *Hazret-i 'Īsā*." These foolish and uncomprehending people ['*akılsız ve idrāksız kavm*] came en masse, man and woman. Şerīf hit their nape with the donkey's foot so harshly that blood came out from their nose and mouth, and most of them lost their mind.[87]

Sarı Saltuk creates a profitable business by fooling the infidels. It is also worthwhile to note that the passage combines two religious traditions in one example. It first refers to the "Messiah's Donkey" of the Old Testament, upon which the Messiah was believed to arrive one day. Secondly, through the trope of disguise, it also refers to the false Messiah in the Islamic tradition where it

86 The ancient Turkic term *baş açmak* is translated as "to pray". For more information, see H. Develi, "Dua ve Yas Motifi Olarak 'baş aç-' Tabiri", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 20 (1997), 85–111.

87 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T22a–T23a; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 36–37.

was rather "the Impostor", *al-Dajjāl*, who came by donkey, not the Messiah.[88] Sarı Saltuk acted the part attributed to the imposter while also playing with the concept of "Messiah's donkey".

As is evident in the bulk of these examples, the infidels are portrayed as a bunch of ingenious fools who need to be taught the right path; that is Islam. The hero has thus one overarching mission: to spread Islam by gaining as many adherents as possible. No one can escape from the hero's wrath in this endeavor. Every single creature is within the scope of his mission where even the *cādū*s and various demons and beasts are invited to join the fold of Islam one by one. When the new converts lapse back to their previous faith and become renegades "they lapse back to ignorance (*girü cāhil oldılar*)".[89] The term must be related to the Quranic use of the word *jāhilīyah*, which was originally used in connection with Arabian culture prior to the advent of Islam for referring mostly to nomadic tribes in the Arabian peninsula. However, its meaning extended in time to include all the non-Muslims in general, and in the case of the Turkish warrior epics, the nomadic Turcomans who must have constituted the target audience of the epics in addition to the local ex-Christians.

The sources provide many examples where the wise and the literate constantly affirm the superiority of Islam. Even the Pope once confesses to Sarı Saltuk that he has always had an inner desire to become Muslim; but has feared the reaction of 'the infidels': "They performed noon prayer together. Şerīf led the prayer. They recited the Quran and when they finished they sat. Şerīf asked the Pope: If you believe in this faith why do not you raise to the rank of becoming Muslim?"[90] After the Pope explains Sarı Saltuk his responsibilities as the leader of the rival religion, he quotes Ali in Arabic and tells Sarı Saltuk about the popes and Byzantine emperors who had been secret adherents of Islam for centuries, including the emperor Herakleios.[91] This narrative element can be directly traced back to the earliest Islamic tradition recorded in ibn Ishaq's *Life of Muhammad*. According to this account, Muhammad writes a letter to the Byzantine emperor of his day, Herakleios (r. 610–641). The emperor expresses

88 B. Catlos, *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors: Faith, Power, and Violence in the Age of Crusade and Jihad* (New York 2015), 209.

89 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T174b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 293.

90 *Saltuknāme*, ed. İz, T60b; *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Akalın, Vol. I, 97.

91 Ibid.

his desire to become a follower of Islam because of a dream vision he had. However, the great men of his court prevent him from acting on it.[92] Another similar tale also exists in an account of the correspondence between the caliph Umar II (r. 717–720) and the emperor Leo III (r. 717–741).[93]

Conclusion

Various *cādū* figures with graphic details about their distinct physical and moral attributes reveal a rich supernatural imagery reflecting diversity and heterogeneity proper to frontier zones of Anatolia and the Balkans. The frontiers provided refuge for culturally and ethnically diverse people, including local Christian peasants, warriors in search of booty and adventure, and nomadic Turcomans. Marginal groups, political dissidents and religious heretics could also find shelter in these areas. This was a period during which the Muslims were once more a minority. The Quranic verses and hadiths calling on the believers to gain as many converts as possible were derived from more pressing, but at the same time, practical needs. The 'cultural' range of new adherents and the spectrum of their 'species' is only more extensive in the Anatolian context and also includes the natural and supernatural realms, although the distinction between the two was not so clear; infidels of all faiths and creeds (even those having cannibalistic tendencies), wild beasts, savages, jinns, *cādū*s and *dīv*s. The Muslim hero patiently and tirelessly invites each of these creatures to join the fold of Islam, which demonstrates the inclusion that the sources offered to the Christian enemy upon conversion.

Aside from the "real" *cādū*s the Muslims are also referred as *cādū*s and the term *cādūlamak* is used synonymously for 'conversion to Islam'. Given the multitude of the hero's miraculous deeds this conviction does not seem surprising. Is he a magician casting spells on Christians, a friend of God (*velī*) performing miracles or a false prophet? Is he a trickster (*'ayyār*), a master of cunning? What sets the limits between these labels, between being a human

92 Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation Ishāq's Sīrat Resūl Allāh with Introduction and Notes by A. Guillaume* (Pakistan 1967), trans. 1560–67, 652–656.

93 R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton – New Jersey 1997), 490–501; quoted from G. Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley 2004), 211.

or a monster or between the human, preternatural and natural worlds and underworlds? These questions are repeatedly raised by the sources themselves, which also illustrates the fluid and rapidly shifting nature of identities in frontier regions, where around the supernatural and the wondrous there is room for the suspension of rules and limitations of religious identities.

Knowledge and control of the future in Ottoman thought

Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno)*

What is not nature, i.e. what is inexplicable and uncontrollable, is often described in Islamicate thought as *ghayb*, "hidden"; and if something is hidden, even from our modern point of view, it is the future. Yet, perhaps the most ancient and perennial from among the branches of occult knowledge is the foretelling of the future: divination, soothsaying, visionary practices. All of these have the main aim of predicting the future, be it with scientific methods or with the assistance of supernatural entities. One may speak of two aspects of the "future", one that can be predicted in the short term and another, in the long term, which belongs to God's plan on humanity and can be known only

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by revelation. Yet, while Christian philosophy has dealt with this distinction,[1] Muslim authors did less so, although the issue of causality and its role for predestination and free will was debated in detail.[2] The present paper will seek to make a survey of the ways Ottomans tried to predict future events; of the discussions on whether this is possible for ordinary human beings; and, finally, of the techniques developed to have a certain degree of control over them.

Early Ottoman literature had not one, but several visions of the future; there was the belief in a divinely ordained mission to expand *dar al-Islam*, evident in the last sections of fifteenth and early sixteenth century historians; a noteworthy example is a treatise of a Halveti sheikh, Ibrahim al-Kırımî (d. 1593), in which a series of circles of "ascent" and "descent" (the latter with no sense of decline whatsoever), concerning the divine enlightenment of the individual, are also used to interpret universal history.[3] On the other hand, an opposition against Mehmed the Conqueror's imperial and universalist vision seems to have promoted a gloomy vision of the future, where the appropriation of the Byzantine imperial tradition by the Ottomans was bound to end in disaster: some legendary histories of pre-Ottoman Constantinople, which circulated widely in the late fifteenth and again in the mid-sixteenth century, concentrate on tales of corruption and immorality that brought about the city's eventual destruction. In this way, they were implying that the Ottomans should never

1 See S. Schmolinsky, "The Production of the Future. Chronotope and Agency in the Middle Ages", *Historical Social Research*, 38/3 (2013), 93–104.

2 On these debates see F. Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford 2009), 123ff; H. K. Altun, "Osmanlı müelliflerince yazılan kazâ-kader risâleleri ve Taşköprüzâde'nin *Risâle fi'l-Kazâ ve'l-Kader* adlı eseri", unpublished MA thesis, Marmara University, 2010; Ph. Bruckmayr, "The Particular Will (*al-irâdât al-juziyya*): Excavations Regarding a Latecomer in Kalâm Terminology on Human Agency and its Position in Naqshbandi Discourse", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 13 (2011), online in http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/4601; M. F. Kılıç, "An Analysis of the Section on Causality in Khojazāda's *Tahafūt*", *Nazariyat: Journal for the History of Islamic Philosophy and Sciences*, 3:1 (2016), 43-76; E. L. Menchinger, "Freewill, Predestination, and the Fate of the Ottoman Empire", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 77:3 (2016), 445–466.

3 M. M. Yakubovych, "A Neglected Ottoman Sufi Treatise from 16th Century: *Mawāhib al-Raḥman fi bayān Marātib al-Akwān* by Ibrāhīm al-Qirīmī", *OA*, 45 (2015), 137–160. On al-Kırımî see also D. Terzioğlu, "Power, Patronage, and Confessionalism: Ottoman Politics Through the Eyes of a Crimean Sufi, 1580-1593", in M. Sariyannis (ed.), *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire* (Rethymno 2019), 149–186.

make that city the seat of their empire.[4] Written in all probability shortly after 1453, *Dürr-i meknûn* ("Hidden Pearls"), a synopsis of Islamic cosmology and mythology commonly (but, most probably, wrongly) attributed to Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican (d. after 1466),[5] constantly implies (mostly while describing societies distant in both time and place, such as Khwarezm or mythical lands) that the end of the world is near due to imminent corruption. The author notes a hadith, according to which the Prophet had stated that the signs of the End of Days would begin to appear after the 900th year of the Hegira, i.e. 1494/95. This does not necessarily mean that the end was imminent; it may have been a warning for people to mend their ways, all the more since these signs are not peculiar to the Ottoman fifteenth century, belonging to a long eschatological tradition in Islam.[6] Such predictability was, in a paradoxical pre-modern way, based on what was conceived as historical experience; eschatological tradition was part of the apocalyptic religion and, as such, part and parcel of the given context in which the world was to be understood.

Yet, apart from eschatological themes, Ottoman historians and scholars also sought a more "secular" way to expand the view of history toward the future; applying the axiom of *historia magistra vitae*, they explored the possibility of short- and middle-term predictions through a deep knowledge of past events. Christopher Markiewicz demonstrated recently that, at the beginning of the Ottoman period, the discipline of history had only newly gained an elevated status among other sciences;[7] although still considered a branch of the literary sciences (*adab*), by the early fifteenth century there had already been explicit references to its usefulness for finding "the appropriate course of future

4 S. Yérasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Paris 1990), esp. 84-85, 154-59, 194ff., 201ff. Some of these legends continued to circulate during subsequent centuries as well, but we should not necessarily seek anti-imperial attitudes in the authors who incorporated them into their chronicles.

5 L. Kaptein, *Ahmed Bican*, *Dürr-i Meknun: kritische Edition mit Kommentar* (Asch 2007), 45-47 (on the authorship); C. Grenier, "Reassessing the Authorship of the *Dürr-i Meknūn*", *ArchOtt*, 35 (2018), 193–211.

6 Cf. Yérasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople*, 195-196.

7 C. Markiewicz, "History as Science: The Fifteenth-Century Debate in Arabic and Persian", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 21 (2017), 216–240.

action".[8] By the late sixteenth century, the apocalyptic climate of the year 1000 of Hijra, but more importantly the socio-economic crisis, led to authors such as Mustafa Ali (d. 1600) favouring a "dynastic cyclism": this attitude is particularly evident in his *Füsûl-i hall ü akd ve usûl-i harc ü nakd* ("The seasons of sovereignty on the principles of critical expenditure"), a short history of the Islamic world from 622 to 1592,[9] where, as shown by Cornell Fleischer, dynasties follow a steady pattern of rise and fall.[10] Ali, however, does not use the notion of laws of history that would inevitably lead to the fall of every dynasty or state; he maintains that the aim of his work was to demonstrate how a dynasty can be corrupted and how its fall can be prevented.[11]

> It is written in a number of histories... that because there is no permanency in the highest heaven and decay and transience fixed in the constellations of the crystalline sphere... there is no culture that violent fate does not repeatedly destroy and ruin.[12]

For Ali, dynasties may have a time-span allotted to them, dependent on their corruption and injustice; the Ottoman dynasty, however, has special graces bestowed by God and can be perpetuated provided the Sultans keep their lands under justice and good order.[13]

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8 Markiewicz, "History as Science", 231. This assertion, by the Timurid historian Hâfız-i Abrû, seems to have been an exception to more conservative understandings of history prevailing up to the late sixteenth century (see e.g. ibid., 234–235 on İdris-i Bitlisî).

9 Ali, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, Füsûl-i hall ü akd ve usûl-i harc ü nakd (İslam devletleri tarihi, 622-1599)*, ed. M. Demir (Istanbul 2006); cf. C. H. Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and "Ibn Khaldûnism" in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters", *Journal of Asian and African studies*, 18:3–4 (1983), 198–220, at 177–178 and 301ff.; M. Şeker, "Political view of 'Âlî: Evaluation of the work of 'Âlî so-called 'Fusul-i harj u naqd'", in D. Panzac (ed.), *Histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie (1326–1960). Actes du sixième congrès international tenu à Aix-en-Provence du 1er au 4 juillet 1992* (Paris 1995), 855–864.

10 Fleischer, "Royal Authority", esp. 206-216; J. Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A Study of Mustafâ 'Âlî of Gallipoli's* Künhü'l-ahbâr (Leiden 1991), 144–151.

11 *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, Füsûl-i hall ü akd*, ed. Demir, 60; M. Sariyannis, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Leiden 2019), 160–161.

12 Quoted in Schmidt, *Pure Water*, 145.

13 On this "exceptionalism under conditions" see Fleischer, "Royal Authority", 178; B. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge – New York 2010), 57; Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 163–165.

It was not until the mid-seventeenth century that a sense of historical laws making the future somehow predictable by historians appeared in Ottoman letters: and it was again Kâtib Çelebi who made this step, by adopting Ibn Khaldun's theory of history and presenting it in two different versions of his work. In his political tract *Düstürü'l-amel li ıslahi'l-halel* ("Course of measures to redress the situation") and more extensively in *Takvîmü't-tevârîh* ("Chronicle of histories"), a world history chronicle compiled in 1648, Kâtib Çelebi identified Ibn Khaldun's dynasty (*dawla*) with not just state but society at large; using a complex medical simile, he then adapted Ibn Khaldun's conception of stages into an anthropomorphic vision, where a society would inevitably grow and decay and where this decay could only be delayed by a wise statesman who would apply appropriate measures just as a doctor administers appropriate medicine for each human age.[14] Perhaps influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought, Kâtib Çelebi also put forth a number of "laws of history", which can safely be applied to future developments. For instance, a patricidal ruler never survived more than a year in power; viziers or chieftains who opened a ruler's way to the throne very often found their death at the latter's hands; and the sixth ruler in every dynasty lost his throne (which in the Ottoman case would relate to Murad II's abdication in favor of his son, Mehmed II).[15] Under the influence of Kâtib Çelebi, Ibn Khaldunist conception of the state stages became a commonplace in many works that followed, especially after the much more analytical exposition of Ibn Khaldun's theory by Na'ima (d. 1714).

> Let it be known that the divine custom and God's will have ordained that the situation of every state and community is always settled in a uniform manner; it does not stay perpetually on one path, but instead moves through several periods (from one situation) to a renewed one... Thus, the different periods of a state cannot usually exceed five stages.[16]

14 Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 287–295; Idem, "Ottoman Ibn Khaldunism Revisited: the Pre-Tanzimat Reception of the *Muqaddima*, from Kınalızade to Şanizade", in M. Sariyannis (ed.), *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete IX: A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 9–11 January 2015* (Rethymno 2019), 251–286, at 259–261.

15 Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 289; Idem, "Ottoman Ibn Khaldunism Revisited", 261.

16 Na'ima, *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsati ahbâri'l-hâfikayn)*, ed. M. İpşirli (Ankara 2007), 1:26.

Arguably this emphasis on historical laws may have contributed to a new thrust, throughout the eighteenth century, of theological debates on the limits of causality and the role of individual will.[17] Of course, although establishing a partial predictability of the future through history seems to have been a common denominator of Ottoman thought from the late seventeenth century on, the exceptionalism prevailing meant that there were problems in foretelling a future fall of the dynasty. Various authors responded in different ways to this problem: Ibn Khaldun's translator, the *şeyhülislam* Pirizade Mehmed Sahib Efendi (d. 1749), remarked that the Ottoman state is "eternal" and had by then already exceeded by far the time-span of 120 years set by Ibn Khaldun; others preferred to place the Ottomans in an intermediate rather than a final stage, while Kâtib Çelebi or Na'ima saw hope in administering the right measures (e.g. an interval of peace, for the latter) in order to prolong the time span ordained by historical law.[18]

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Other visions of the future were less informed by historical experience, as they drew on a privileged contact with the supernatural; and these were usually more optimistic, although sometimes containing sharp criticism of their contemporary realities. There were a number of ways in which one could claim access to the supernatural world and, therefore, to knowledge of future events. One could categorize these ways, roughly, into three large categories: there were predictions based on a direct contact with the *ghayb*, through dreams or visions or, at any rate, miraculous epiphanies; predictions based on occult sciences connecting the Written Word, the Qur'an, with the world, namely the science of letters; and predictions based on a more materialistic (yet occult) perception of universal hierarchies, namely an astrological conception of the world.[19]

17 Menchinger, "Freewill, Predestination". Cf. also M. Kurz, *Ways to heaven, gates to hell. Fazlîzâde 'Alî's struggle with the diversity of Ottoman Islam* (Berlin 2011), 160ff., 193–194; Bruckmayr, "The Particular Will".

18 Sariyannis, "Ottoman Ibn Khaldunism Revisited", 273, 285.

19 On pre-Ottoman ways of foretelling future political events see A. Mazor, "The *Topos* of Predicting the Future in Early Mamluk Historiography", in S. Conermann (ed.), *Mamluk Historiography Revisited – Narratological Perspectives* (Göttingen 2018), 103–119.

The first category, visionary knowledge, was the most popular one; it required no special training or technical vocabulary, although it could also be based on an elaborate and complex philosophical background. I am referring mainly to dream interpretation, a practice completely legitimate in Islamic theology.[20] Indeed, oneiromancy was perhaps the most "democratic" of all occult sciences, since (the existence of elaborate handbooks notwithstanding) everybody could interpret a dream without claiming either any specialized erudition or supernatural (recte: prophetic) powers. The well-known motto, that "dreams constitute the one forty-sixth of prophecy", gave dream interpretation a status of pious science. Moreover, one could provoke a divinatory dream; this was the practice known as *istihâre*, asking God to select and decide between two or more courses by a dream or omen. We see Mustafa Ali relating how he "went to bed with the *istihare* of such-and-such question (*... deyu istihâre ile yatdım*)"; the answer comes "in the world of dreams" (*'âlem-i rü'yâda*).[21] The most well-known case of *istihare*, of course, is Evliya Çelebi's dream of advice, when he reportedly asked the Prophet for "travels" (*seyahat*) instead of "mediation" (*sefahat*).[22] Divinatory dreams abound in Ottoman literature, especially in saints' and scholars' biographies.[23] Those who could successfully interpret a dream were not necessarily saintly figures: Evliya claims a whole series of such interpretations made by himself, especially in dreams of his patron Melek Ahmed Pasha.[24] As for Mustafa Ali, again, he narrates with pride how he interpreted a dream

20 The literature is quite extensive. See e.g. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe : études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'islam* (Leiden 1966), 247–367; P. Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris 2003); Ö. Felek and A. Knysh (eds), *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies* (New York 2012). On Ottoman oneiromancy, see C. Kafadar, *Asiye Hatun: Rüya mektupları* (Istanbul 1994); A. Niyazioğlu, "Rüyaların söyledikleri", in H. Aynur and A. Niyazioğlu (eds), *Aşık Çelebi ve şairler tezkiresi üzerine yazılar* (Istanbul 2010); Ö. Felek, "(Re)creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III's Self-Fashioning", in Felek and Knysh, *Dreams and Visions*.

21 Ali, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve* Künhü'l-ahbâr*'inda II. Selim, III. Murad ve III. Mehmet devirleri*, ed. F. Çerçi, 3 vols (Kayseri 2000), II:146.

22 Kafadar, *Asiye Hatun*, 37-38.

23 Niyazioğlu, "Rüyaların söyledikleri"; Idem, *Dreams and Lives in Ottoman Istanbul: A Seventeenth-Century Biographer's Perspective* (London – New York 2019).

24 R. Dankoff (with a historical introduction by R. Murphey), *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662) as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's* Book of Travels (*Seyahat-name*) (New York 1991), 16–17, 69–70, 100–101, 143–146 etc.

seen by some "magnates and notables" foretelling Murad III's death.[25] On the other hand, not all dreams were considered divinatory, nor were all dreamers equally prone to have such capabilities. All oneiromancy manuals stressed the fact that dreams might come from God, from Satan or just from bodily causes.[26] As Akhisarî (or Saruhanî) Şeyh Mecdüddin İsa (d. 1531), a prominent Anatolian Bayrami dervish, explains, most of the common people (*avamm*) see phantasies (*hayal*); only dreams of attained Sufis can be trusted.[27] Similar categorizations are evident in the letters of Mahmud Hüdayî (d. 1628), who interpreted a number of dreams seen by sultans of his era.[28] In a combination bringing to mind geomancy, dreams were often interpreted through complex systems of transformations, where the name of a person seen in a dream would be translated to a numerical value, which then (often after a series of successive subtractions) would correspond to a certain clue to the future.[29]

Thanks to the work undertaken by scholars such as Cemal Kafadar, Aslı Niyazioğlu or Özgen Felek, dream interpretation constitutes perhaps the most densely studied Ottoman occult practice. Among the many Ottoman manuals, mostly following Artemidorus' and Ibn Sirin's tradition, few if any have been published (al-Nabulusi's late seventeenth-century treatise being one of them);[30] on the other hand, editions and studies of actual dream collections abound, ranging from anonymous scribes and women with Sufi tendencies to

25 *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve* Künhü'l-ahbâr*'ında*, ed. Çerçi, III: 622.

26 This distinction comes from the Hellenistic Artemidorus, who speaks of *enhypnion*, significant of things in the present, and *oneiros*, which is significant of the future, as well as of dreams coming from the body or from the soul. Artemidorus, *Artemidorus'* Oneirocritica. *Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. D. E. Harris-McCoy (Oxford 2012), 47–49.

27 İlyas b. İsa Akhisarî Saruhanî, *Şeyh İsa menâkıbnâmesi (XVI. Yüzyıl)*, ed. R. Muslu and S. Küçük (Akhisar 2010), 75-77. In another instance, he explains that dreams of opium-eaters cannot be trusted: *Şeyh İsa menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Muslu and Küçük, 224–225.

28 M. S. Güven, "Çeşitli yönleriyle Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin mektupları", unpublished MA thesis, Marmara University, 1992, 129–130 and annex p. 61–62.

29 J. Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences and their Importance in Ottoman Culture; Evidence from Turkish Manuscripts in Dutch Public Collections", *OA*, 23 (2003), 219–254 at 246; F. Turan, "Eski bir Türkçe tabirnâmede *ebced* hesabı", *Bir: Türk Dünyasi Incelemeleri Dergisi*, 9:10 (1998), 671–684.

30 'Abdel-Ghani al-Nâboulsî, *Merveilles de l'interprétation des rêves*, ed. A. Haridi (Paris 2012).

no less than Sultan Murad III himself.[31] The studies mentioned highlighted the fluidity of states of mind between sleep and wakefulness: a whole series of terms (*rüya*, *vakı'a*, *ilham*), meaning "vision" or "epiphany", covered various states of conscience which now would be described as half-asleep or half-awake. For instance, most of Mahmud Hüdayî's dreams were experienced while he was dozing off.[32] Apart from dreams complete, voices could be heard, glimpses could be seen, and presences could be sensed. Murad III often heard God's voice praising him; most often, it was dead people that appeared giving advice or a taste of the Hereafter.[33] One century later, the Damascene sheikh al-Nabulusi had to warn against taking *ilham* (but also dreams) as something more than a strictly personal revelation, especially against their use as binding argument for legal rulings;[34] such debates seem to have been recurring in the early eighteenth century as well.[35]

If one was to seek a rational explanation of how such apparitions, visions and dreams connected the soul with the supernatural, there were less or more elaborate theories. Perhaps the most refined one, originating in al-Suhrawardi and Ibn Arabi's philosophy, postulated that beside the corporeal world of physical entities (*âlem-i mulk*) there is a spiritual world (*âlem-i ceberût*), a world of images (*âlem-i misâl*), where one finds oneself while dreaming, and an incorporeal world (*âlem-i melekût*), the world of God and of angels, where

31 C. H. Fleischer, "Secretaries' Dreams: Augury and Angst in Ottoman Scribal Service", in I. Baldauf and S. Faroqhi (eds), *Armağan -Festschrift für Andreas Tietze* (Praha 1994), 77–88; Kafadar, *Asiye Hatun*; Ö. Felek, *Kitâbü'l-menâmât: Sultan III. Murad'ın rüya mektupları* (Istanbul 2012).

32 Güven, "Çeşitli yönleriyle Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin mektupları", 131 and annex p. 14, 28.

33 Niyazioğlu, *Dreams and Lives*, 91ff.; *Şeyh İsa menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Muslu and Küçük, 177-179.

34 J. P. Allen, "Reading Mehmed Birgivî with ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī: Contested Interpretations of Birgivî's al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadīya in the 17th-18th Century Ottoman Empire", in L. Demiri and S. Pagani (eds), *Early Modern Trends in Islamic Theology: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and his Network of Scholarship* (Tübingen forthcoming).

35 M. Gel, "Debating Sufi Knowledge in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Thought: An Analysis of the Saçaḳlīzāde-ʿAlamī Debate on Divine Inspiration (*ʿilm al-ladunn*)", *Nazariyat*, 4:3 (2018), 119–168.

one goes after death.[36] Ottoman versions of this theory were often simpler or differed, sometimes lacking the world of images. According to Şükrullah Efendi, for instance, there are three spheres: the world of *ceberût*, the world of *melekût* and the world of angels. The first world is the divine sphere, the essence of the Creator of Existence (*vacibü'l-vücûd*), inaccessible to human knowledge; only with great effort can the intellect and the soul have a glimpse of the properties of God. The world of *melekût* has been called "world of truth", "world of reality", "world of meaning", but also "world of the occult" (*gayb*). The essence of this world is the emanation (*feyz*) of the world of *ceberût*. Finally, the world of angels is in fact the visible and created world: its essence is the world of the bodies and of the senses. Now man's nature combines the two latter worlds: the soul, the intellect and the spirit belong to the world of meaning (the *melekût*), whereas the body belongs to the world of forms (the angel world).[37] The human spirit (its component tending toward the good and the divine, that is), though, may be informed of the world of *ceberût*.[38] The world of images, identified with the more ambiguous term of *barzakh* or intermediary sphere, is also seen as the origin of dreams and the place the souls of the just resided after death in Niyazi-i Mısri's (d. 1694) work.[39]

In addition to dreams and dream-like visions, recourse to instant divine inspiration may also be considered a form of visionary divination. I refer to practices such as bibliomancy, various forms of divination and even geomancy; the latter is arguably the most "scientific" of these practices, however it was also based on attaining a status of inspiration at the moment one drew the initial signs, which then would be explained after a series of specific trans-

36 *EI*², s.v. "'Alam" (L. Gardet); F. Rahman, "Dream, Imagination and *'Ālām al-mit<u>h</u>āl*", *Islamic Studies*, 3 (1964), 167–180; H. Corbin, « Le songe visionnaire en spiritualité islamique », dans R. Caillois and C. E. Grunebaum (éds), *Le Rêve et les sociétés humaines* (Paris 1967), pp. 380–406.

37 Şükrullah Efendi, *Behcetü't-tevârîh: tarihin aydınlığında*, ed. H. Almaz (Istanbul 2010), 87.

38 *Behcetü't-tevârîh*, ed. Almaz, 91. See also e.g. Güven, "Çeşitli yönleriyle Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin mektupları", annex 139 and 13–14.

39 D. Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi Misri (1618-1694)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1999, 377, 386; Kurz, *Ways to Heaven*, 117. Cf. Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*, ed. M. Koç (Istanbul 2007), 91: "*berzah âleminde... âlem-i misâlden müstemeddir*". On the identification of barzakh with the "world of images" by Ibn Arabî see *EI*³, s.v. "Barzakh, Ṣūfī understanding" (S. Bashier).

formations.[40] Ibn Khaldun describes divination as the lowest echelon of prophetic practice, being a divine gift granted to privileged individuals. According to al-Qazwini, among the human souls some possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits: these souls are those of prophets and saints, of physiognomists, and of soothsayers, who "receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations". The point that underlies beneath all these methods is (in Maria Mavroudi's words) "to allow divine providence, in the form of chance, to intervene in order to help humans predict the future or reach a decision".[41] Even in this aspect, however, the main problem caused by all divinatory practices in Islam—and, for that matter, in all monotheistic religions as well as in other philosophical systems—is that by foreseeing the future they challenge man's moral freedom, be it for sin or for salvation.[42]

Even Quranic bibliomancy, i.e. divination through the holy text of Islam, was regarded as illicit, although there had been numerous attempts of putting forth "licit" methods. One of them, *istikẖara*, was based on the idea of submitting to God's will for guidance on a choice; but even then, according to some scholars, divination (*tafa'ul*) or seeking an insight into the future was strongly condemned, since knowledge of the future was an exclusive privilege of God's. But, as Serpil Bağcı and Massumeh Farhad note, at least by the fifteenth century "the line between consulting the Koran for divine guidance and making a choice (*istikhāra*) or for an augury (*tafa'ul*) were blurred at best".[43] Published *falname*s (some of which employed an elaborate system of choosing a prophet and then having an augury according to this choice) often seem

40 See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 196–204; E. Savage-Smith and M. B. Smith, "Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device: Another Look", in E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot 2004), 211–276; M. Melvin-Koushki, "Persianate Geomancy from Tusi to the Millenium: A Preliminary Survey", in N. El-Bizri and E. Orthmann (eds), *Occult Sciences in Premodern Islamic Culture* (Beirut 2018), 151–199.

41 M. Mavroudi, "Islamic Divination in the Context of Its 'Eastern' and 'Western' Counterparts", in M. Farhad and S. Bağcı (eds), *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington 2009), 222–229 at 225.

42 Mavroudi, "Islamic Divination", 229.

43 S. Bağcı and M. Farhad, "The Art of Bibliomancy", in Farhad and Bağcı (eds), *Falnama*, 20–25, at 20.

to be oriented to divination rather than guidance.[44] Geomancy functioned in a similar way, both because its initial set of forms was acquired through inspiration and because it was mostly used for augury and choices rather than complete prognostications.[45] On the other hand, bibliomancy through other texts, such as the poems of Hafiz or Rumi, though quite common does not seem to have had any theological basis at all. Instead, their function was based loosely on the cosmological concepts of microcosm and macrocosm: this is implied by the instructions for using *falname*s or divination manuals, where one can see a correspondence between letters, planets or astrological mansions, animals and plants, and religious figures.[46] Another interpretation underscored the relation of the pictures used for augury with the past, rather than the future, implying that prognostication would be based on historical analogies. In the preface of a *Falname* prepared for Ahmed I by the Grand Vizier-to-be Kalender Pasha (d. 1616), we read:[47]

> When in ancient times mankind first stepped into the expanse of the world and looked upon the situation of the world as an example, mystics and ecstatics who fully understand and comprehend the external form of the world have confirmed that the history of the past nations is a manual for people and that it is appropriate to learn a lesson in any and every affair from those who have preceded. It is especially right for mighty rulers... to look upon the tales of prophets and saints and the adventures of past rulers, to contemplate their beginnings and ends, and to comprehend the final end of their affairs from them. To that end they have filled pages with indications and allusions to the physical shapes of events that happened to past rulers... so that, by means of augury from whichever of those pages is opened, the seeker of the augury can apply to his own situation whatever

44 See e.g. Ö. Şenödeyici, "Tradition of Fortune Telling with the Name of the Prophet and Three Written Works about it", *Gazi Türkiyat*, 14 (2014), 67–104; Ö. Şenödeyici and H. S. Kosik, "En muteber kaynaktan gaybı öğrenmek: bir Kuran falı manzumesi", *Littera Turca. Journal of Turkish Language and Literature*, 1:1 (2015), 71–96; H. S. Kosik, "Müellifi bilinmeyen manzum bir Kur'ân falı", *Littera Turca. Journal of Turkish Language and Literature*, 3:4 (2017), 127-141; Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences", 237–240.

45 See Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences", 240-244 for a series of manuscripts dated up to the early 1900s.

46 See Bağcı and Farhad, "The Art of Bibliomancy".

47 Farhad and Bağcı (eds), *Falnama*, 296 and cf. S. Bağcı, "The Falnama of Ahmad I (TSM H.1703)", in ibid., 75. This careful phrasing, though, might be attributed to the Sultan's hostile attitude to pictorial representation (ibid.).

> is depicted of the history of the prophets and rulers on that page, make an analogy from those situations with his own desire, and act accordingly. If you wish power and glory to increase for you, let your gaze always be upon past events.

Instances of visionary foresight abound in Ottoman sources. In the words of Akhisari Isa, "the saints (*evliya*) have access to the hidden world (*gayb*) through dreams and inspirations (*rüya ve ilham*)".[48] But other ways were also possible: a special category of *falname*s, the *ihtilâc-nâme*s, interpreted involuntary movements of the parts of one's body as signs for the future.[49] Mustafa Ali relates that "according to the experience of the wise, whenever a Sultan is enthroned they wait diligently and they take an omen, good or bad (*tefe'ül ü tatayyur kılurlar*), from the first words that come out of his mouth. They have found with many ways that such words emerge truly wise (*li-hikmet idüğini*)." In the example he cites, Murad III's first words after his inauguration were "I am hungry", and indeed there was great dearth and scarcity of provisions during his reign.[50]

A rare and fascinating example of visionary knowledge of future events is the so-called *Papasnâme* ("The priest's book"), written by Derviş Mehmed, a Christian priest turned Muslim. Its manuscripts are all dated after 1651,[51] but some internal evidence suggests that its initial version must have been compiled at the end of the sixteenth century.[52] The author relates how he was wondering about the grim prospects of the Ottoman dynasty, when a sheikh, named Abdurrahman, explained that "angels, prophets and saints can have knowledge of the hidden future" (*gayb olacağın bilseler*), because God has told them with various visions (*vâkı'a*, *düş*). The reality of such visions depends on the dreamer; a vision does not make the saint but the saint gets (prophetic)

48 *Şeyh İsa menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Muslu and Küçük, 194.

49 S. Özyaşamış Şakar, "Bir Türk fal kitabı: ihtilâc-nâme", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 22 (2010), 213–228.

50 *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve* Künhü'l-ahbâr*'ında*, ed. Çerçi, II: 240.

51 See T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford 2011), 116–118. Here I use the MSS of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS Mixt 689 (1651) and Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Saliha Hatun 112/2 (1685/6). The text is to be published by Günhan Börekçi and Tijana Krstić; I wish to thank them both for their permission and help. A very short synopsis in Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 177–179.

52 On this dating, see Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 177fn60.

visions (*düş evliya etmez amma evliya düş uyur*). After a long discussion on the need to distinguish between rightly-guided and ignorant mystics (*ulema* is the word used), the sheikh brings as an example the dream of Osman Gazi and claims that he also had such knowledge granted by God (*Hakk... bana bildürmişdür*). He explains at length the divine plan for humanity and urges the author to ritually prepare, *abdest* and all, so that he may see the signs (*bu 'alâmetleri sana gösterem*). Indeed, after preparing himself, the author stands near the sheikh and the vision begins:

> I prayed and went near the sheikh; he held my right hand with his left hand and said to me: "close your eyes". I closed my eyes and then he said: "Open your eyes". I opened my eyes and found ourselves at the small wall at the west of Ayasofya, opposite the gate of the palace. I saw a great tumult coming from the gate and became afraid; when I gathered my mind I saw Sultan Mehmed coming out of the gate.[53]

All the future seventy sultans of the Ottoman dynasty up to the End of Days appear in succession with various symbolic forms (ships, lions etc.), which the sheikh interprets to the author. Thus, the sultans to come (bearing the already used Ottoman royal names but also other Muslim names, such as Hasan or Edhem) are prophesied to take not only the cities and territories of traditional enemies (Moscow, Vienna or Rome) but also Spain, Germany, France, England, China and the Americas. Setbacks are also predicted, due either to infidel rebellions or to corrupt or tyrannical sultans, but eventually the whole world is to succumb to the warriors of faith. Along with the story of conquests and battles, there are also reforms and measures of interior policy: a massacre of the Jews of Istanbul (they are to return some generations later), prohibitions of wine, drugs or idle life, obligatory freeing of slaves after seven years of service and so on.

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A second category of ways through which to foresee the future was again related with the supernatural, but in a more rational manner—or, in Edgar W. Francis' words, using "mechanical rather than spiritual methods" (but still in a

53 SK, Saliha Hatun 112/2, fol. 10a-b.

spiritual vision of the world).[54] Largely due to the immensely influential figure of Abdürrahman al-Bistami (d. 1454),[55] the beginning of the Ottoman imperial age coincided with the great blooming of the "science of letters", meaning a set of ideas and concepts ascribing divine meaning to the letters of the Arabic alphabet and inventing techniques of using them as symbols and markers of the divine plans and works. With deep roots in Islamic theology (but also in the Jabirean alchemy, which claimed that every metal has a certain proportion of qualities, reflected in the letters of its Arabic name),[56] this theory received its first full exposition in Ibn Arabi's works. Since the Qur'an was considered (universally after the end of the ninth-century debate with the Mu'tazilites) as *written* in the heavens (*umm al-kitab*), i.e. as an uncreated property (not just the word) of God, co-eternal with Him, each letter of each *sura* would be part of this property, and thus incorporated in the hierarchies and correspondences of heaven and earth. As philosophical systems based on the emanation of intelligence through angels (al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Suhrawardi) had already emerged, angels were identified with letters (for Ibn Arabi) and with *sura*s of the Qur'an (al-Buni).[57] Abu l-Abbas Ahmad b. Ali l-Buni (d. 1225?), with the *Corpus Bunianum*[58] ascribed to his name, and first and foremost with "The great sun of knowledge" (*Shams al-ma'arif al-kubrā*), was the main exponent of the lettrist interpretation:

54 E. W. Francis, "Magic and Divination in the Medieval Islamic Middle East", *History Compass*, 9:8 (2011), 622–633 at 624 (citing Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 524–526, who does not use these terms).

55 D. Grill, «Esotérisme contre hérésie: 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Bistâmî, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle», in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle). Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001* (Paris – Louvain 2005), 183–195; C. H. Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries", in Farhad and Bağcı (eds), *Falnama*, 231–244; J.-Ch. Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam au Moyen Âge* (Paris 2017), 229–232; Idem, "Building al-Buni's Legend: The Figure of al-Buni through Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami's *Shams al-afaq*", *Journal of Sufi Studies*, 5:1 (2016), 1–26.

56 Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam*, 113–119; P. Lory, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam* (Paris 1989), 130-150.

57 P. Lory, *La science des lettres en Islam* (Paris 2017), 30–31.

58 On this corpus see Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam*, 219–229; N. Gardiner, "Esotericist Reading Communities and the Early Circulation of the Sufi Occultist Ahmad al-Buni's Works", *Arabica*, 64 (2017), 405–441.

> Know that the secrets of God and the objects of His science... the realities of the upper (*al-ulwiyyat*), the lower (*al-sufliyyat*) and the intermediary angelic worlds (*al-malakutiyyat*) are of two categories: numbers and letters... The numbers, being the realities of the upper world, correspond to the spiritual entities (*al-ruhaniyyat*), whereas the letters show the material and intermediate realities.

For al-Buni, the spirit of the letter corresponds to the world of archetypal images (*'alam al-jabarut*), the pronounced letter to the world of subtle entities (*'alam al-malakut*), and the written letter to the world of dense bodies (matter).[59] Al-Buni's theory of magic, based on the use of magical squares (*vafk*) and the correspondences between letters, numbers, and elements of nature exerted tremendous influence in the Islamicate world for the next three or four centuries. Popularized by al-Bistami, the *Corpus Bunianum* and the lettrist interpretations of the world had become a very popular way of predicting the future by the early sixteenth century. The influence of Hurufism in Ottoman culture, sectarian as it may be, must have enhanced these tendencies.[60] Techniques such as talismanic were developed in order to use this knowledge to influence the future. A very illuminating example is a treatise on talismans, probably composed by the prominent historian and jurist (also *şeyhülislam*) Ibn Kemal or Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534), which presents an entire theory of such terrestrial and celestial interdependencies before proceeding to a more specific discussion of using talismans against plague; characteristically, the author considers talismanic a branch of natural philosophy.[61] References to prognostications based on letters and numbers abound in Ottoman literature:[62]

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59 Lory, *La science des lettres*, 42-43.

60 S. Karahüseyin, "Bektaşîlik geleneğine Hurufî bir dokunuş: Nesîmî örneği", *IV. Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmaları Kongresi – Bildiriler Kitabı IV* (Istanbul 2015), 233–252; Ö. Şenodeyici and A. Akdağ, "Hurufilikte ebced hesabının kullanımına dair bir risale", *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities*, IV:2 (2014), 227–237.

61 A. T. Şen, "Practicing Astral Magic in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul: A Treatise on Talismans Attributed to Ibn Kemāl (d. 1534)", *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 12:1 (2017), 66-88.

62 Ö. Şenödeyici, "Ehl-i Beyt'in gizemli mirası cifir ve Türkçe cifir metinlerinden örnekler", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, 87 (2018), 219-236, with an interesting collection of samples of Ottoman lettrist literature. Another rich collection of *cifr* literature can be found in Kâtip Çelebi's bibliographical encyclopedia: Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Ş. Yaltkaya and K. R. Bilge, 2 vols (n.l. [Istanbul] 1943; repr. Ankara 2014), 591–611

prognosticating the outcome of military campaigns or internal strife on the basis of not only the Quran but also poems, and all the more so Ottoman ones, was routine in the early sixteenth century,[63] and the method of predicting the outcome of a battle by subsequently subtracting numbers from the names of the combatants was already mentioned in an early-fifteenth-century treatise on arithmetic, with an interesting reference to ancient tradition:[64]

> It is said that, when confronting an enemy, Alexander the Great calculated [thus] the names of himself and of his enemy; if his enemy was found to be prevailing, he would choose from among his soldiers someone whose name would prevail [over his opponent's] and make him chief of his troops. Thus he could win the battle.

A rich collection of *cifr* (i.e. lettrist) literature is to be found in the library of the eighteenth-century scholar Veliyüddin Carullah Efendi (d. 1738).[65] A complex system of techniques was used to produce numbers out of words and letters out of numbers, in order to associate them with natural elements and psychological qualities.[66] Such divinatory or foretelling practices were not necessarily based on elaborate hierarchies and rules: the *melhame* genre, with several specimens up to at least the mid-seventeenth century, consisted of abstract predictions on natural phenomena as well as on political events; these predictions were based on the days a month started, comets, eclipses and other events. Authors seldom cared to interpret these interrelations, pointing to the authority of ancient wisdom; when they did offer some interpretation,

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and 650–662; Kâtip Çelebi, *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. R. Balcı (Istanbul 2007–2009), 498–514 and 543–554.

63 Şen, "Practicing Astral Magic", 68.

64 Ş. Kalafat, "Anadolu (Osmanlı) sahasında yazılmış en eski tarihli Türkçe matematik risâlesi: Mahmūd bin Kādī-i Manyās'ın *A'cebü'l-'üccāb*'ı –Hesap bölümü–", *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 12:30 (2017), 243–298 at 256 and 268.

65 F. Usluer, "Cârullah Efendi'nin cifir ve tıp ilimlerine dair kitapları", in B. Açıl (ed.), *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü:* Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi *ve Derkenar Notları* (Ankara 2015), 297–312.

66 See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 219-245; *EI*^{2}, "Djafr" (T. Fahd) and "Ḥurūf ('Ilm al-)" (T. Fahd); Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam*, 301, 304–305 (s.v. "bast"); for a list of Hurufi terms and methods see e.g. Karahüseyin, "Bektaşîlik geleneğine Hurufî bir dokunuş", 236–238.

it would be an association of days and months with planets and stars, as well as their numerical values.[67]

Apart from future events, the letters making up one's name defined his or her character, just as with one's horoscope, in the same way they defined the properties of minerals in Jabirean alchemy. A striking Ottoman example is Mustafa Ali's attempt to explain Murad III's refusal to join the imperial campaigns in person and more generally to travel, as his only journey was from Manisa to Istanbul for his inauguration:[68]

> According to the present author's opinion, the Sultan's personal inclination toward tranquility[69] was inevitable, and that is why there was no chance of his going to campaign: because I analyzed the name "Murad" and found that the letters *mim* and *elif* pertain to fire, while *ra* and *dal* to water. There is no letter of the air, so as to cause motion and movement. And such [a name] necessitates the desire for moving toward the earth element. Two fire and one water letter indicate sudden outbursts of anger, and two water letters indicate amazement and capricious change: just as water and fire dislike each other, likewise the late Sultan's behavior was always changing.

A similar description of Ahmed I's character based on the letters of his name can be found in a letter to the sultan by Mahmud Hüdayî (d. 1628).[70]

The use of lettrist methods to make long-term prognostications had begun much earlier in Shi'ite contexts where tradition had the Prophet revealing future of Muslim rulers to Ali. Ali allegedly wrote these revelations in symbols on a camel's skin (*cifr* in Arabic).[71] Al-Bistami expanded on this subject, and his prognostications were popularized in the late-fifteenth century *Dürr-i meknûn*, attributed as we saw to Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican. The relevant chapter, drawing

67 See extensive samples in F. Turan, "Halk Osmanlıcası I. Melhameler ve bir on yedinci yüzyıl melhamesi", *Bir: Türk Dünyasi Incelemeleri Dergisi*, 9–10 (1998), 685–709; R. Demir, "Melhameler ve bir onyedinci yüzyıl Osmanlı âlim ve edîbi Cevrî Çelebi'nin *Melhame*'si", in G. Eren, K. Çiçek and C. Oğuz (eds), *Osmanlı* v. 8: *Bilim* (Ankara 1999), 431–441.

68 *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve* Künhü'l-ahbâr*'ında*, ed. Çerçi, II:239–240.

69 *sükûn*. The editor of the text prefers the reading *sükût*, "silence, reticence".

70 M. S. Güven, "Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin metkupları üzerine bir değerlendirme", *KSÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 19 (2012), 105–142 at 130; Idem, "Çeşitli yönleriyle Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyî'nin mektupları", annex p. 139.

71 *EI*^{2}, "Djafr" (T. Fahd); Şenödeyici, "Ehl-i Beyt'in gizemli mirası", 225–226.

explicitly from al-Bistami's work (but also the Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), describes in some detail both the method (a combination of numerical and alphabetical transformations of the verses producing names of rulers and the duration of their rule) and its results, with a strong eschatological flavor.[72]

The most complete example of a lettrist foretelling of future history is *Rumûz-ı künûz* ("Treasures of ciphers"), composed in 1557 by İlyas b. İsa Saruhani (d. 1559).[73] Ibn Isa was the son of the Bayrami sheikh Akhisari Mecdüddin Isa, whom we also saw above. Akhisari Isa was himself a master of the science of letters; he had learnt it from a certain Baba Hamdi in Baghdad.[74] His biography, written by his son İlyas Saruhani, details two cases predicting future sultans: each verse of the first *sura* of the Quran corresponds to one or more rulers, and the world will not end until sultans (of the Ottoman line) corresponding to the letters of the remaining verses reign.[75]

İlyas b. İsa Saruhani was an accomplished lettrist scholar himself; according to a short biography annexed to the one he wrote for his father, "at his times, he had no peer in the science of letters (*ilm-i cifr*) and of magic squares".[76] His *Rumûz-ı künûz* draws on the logic and results of his father's predictions but in a much more detailed way, as it contains a series of predictions concerning sultans, viziers, other high officials, judges and sheikhs, as well as events to come

72 *Dürr-i meknûn*, ed. Kaptein, 294–308 and 546–556. Cf. Grenier, "Reassessing the Authorship", 201.

73 A. Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz' adlı eserin transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirilmesi", unpublished MA thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2004; cf. I. Tamdoğan-Abel, "Le futur dans le *Rumuz-i kunuz* de Mejdeddin Ibn Isa: une utopie, une prophétie, un livre à mystères", in N. Clayer, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone (eds), *Melâmis – Bayrâmis: Etudes sur trois mouvements mystiques musulmans* (Istanbul 1998), 145-152; Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 158–159 (to the ten MSS cited in Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz'", 25–26, one can add at least three more from European libraries: Tamdoğan-Abel, "Le futur dans le *Rumuz-i kunuz*", 145 fn. 3). The date is given at the beginning and end of the manuscripts (cf. Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz'", 72: "the present sultan Selim [II]").

74 *Şeyh İsa menâkıbnâmesi*, ed. Muslu and Küçük, 236, 238 (on Baba Hamdi). In ibid., 236 fn. there is an interesting marginal note explaining with remarkable clarity the function of lettrist analysis.

75 Ibid., 191–193 and 197–198.

76 Ibid., 260.

until the Hijri year 3000.[77] The names of the sultans are predicted following the method of Saruhani's father, i.e. according to the letters of the words in the different verses of the first Quranic *sura*. Furthermore, letters are associated to the four elements and to their numerical values to produce qualities and events of the sultans to come. The author does not always explain his method (not after showing letters of the names in the words of the *sura*); sometimes he is not certain of having a safe result:

> Afterwards, there will be a great sultan. *Dal* will be the final letter of his name; his viziers or children will be one or two; or the final letters of his name will be *nun* and *elif*, for instance Osman, Nu'man, Orhan, Suleyman, Imran.[78]

The names of other figures, such as viziers, are based not on Quranic verses but on other quotations, for instance the mysterious praise of Ali *kerremallahü veche*, or that of imam Ca'fer *radıyallahu 'anh*.[79] At times Saruhani is at pains to explain his method:

> This illustrious knowledge is contained in these quotations, and it was discovered from them... Every great city in land and sea, in the seven climates, has one of the letters pertaining to earth; if one subtracts two each time [successively] from the number of this letter, the result will show the life-span of the city's ruler. If a letter of fire is redundant in a ruler's chart (*cedvel*), the ruler will be wrathful; if a letter of earth, he will be mean; if a letter of air, he will be constantly on the move...
>
> When the author of this book had just begun writing it, he went to Istanbul; the agha of the janissaries denied this truth... His name was Ferhad; now "Ferhad" has five letters and, according to the words of sheikh Muhammed Endülüsî, the letters *fa*, *alif*, *ha* are letters of fire, whereas *dal* and *ra* are letters of earth. The number of the letters of fire is 86; if we subtract nine successively, the remainder is five, which is letter *ha*...[80]

Interestingly, the method of subtracting the required multiple of a number from the numerical value of a name is referred to as Saruhani's invention (or,

77 This includes a description of half-human tribes of the far Eastern lands: Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz'", 75–76.

78 Ibid., 53.

79 Ibid., 54, 57. Both personalities were considered authors of pivotal treatises in the lettrist tradition: Şenödeyici, "Ehl-i Beyt'in gizemli mirası".

80 Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz'", 56–57.

at least, he is credited with having explained it) in an early nineteenth-century manual associating names with stars, which then are used to establish omens (of course it is attested much earlier)[81]; the same method was used in some oneiromancy texts, combining dreams, numbers and letters.[82] In Saruhani's text, the details on each person's activity are not justified; presumably Saruhani inserted his own opinions and advice under the authority of the science of letters, which he explained only as far as it concerns names.[83] At times he refers to the mythical *cifr*, the camel's skin where Ali wrote his revelations. Saruhani's text was so popular that at least some manuscripts (the first dated copy comes from 1655) contain "predictions" that had already been fulfilled, in order to strengthen the prophetic power of the author. A large section "predicts" the introduction of coffee and tobacco and the repercussions that ensued, as well as the appearance of Kadızade Mehmed, the famous revivalist preacher:

> In the year 940 of the Hijra there will appear a black water named coffee; it will be considered alternatively sinful or not, until it will be deemed lawful with a *fetva* in the year 980. After the year 1000 there will also appear a smoke (*bir duhan*); the people of the world will become addicted; a Sultan will prohibit it and execute lots of people, but as it will prove impossible to extinguish it a mufti will declare it lawful after the year 1060 [1652]... A preacher by the name of Kadızade will make the Sultan prohibit [such luxuries]; however this prohibition will not be respected...[84]

As Işık Tamdoğan has remarked, the space of the future in this work does not differ from the space of the present: all battles and wars are essentially the

81 E.g. in Manyasoğlu's early fifteenth-century encyclopaedia: Kalafat, "Anadolu (Osmanlı) sahasında yazılmış", 268.

82 Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences", 236, 246; Turan, "Eski bir Türkçe tabirnâmede *ebced* hesabı"; A. Esen, "An Ottoman Miscellany Compiled in the Eighteenth Century (Textual Analysis, Transcription and Comparative Text)", unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2019, 267–268 (f. 75a).

83 A detailed study might show that Saruhani copies in fact some of al-Bistami's predictions; cf. the short passage from an Ottoman Turkish translation of Bistami in Şenödeyici, "Ehl-i Beyt'in gizemli mirası", 226.

84 Özgül, "İlyas b. Îsâ-yı Saruhânî'nin 'Rumûzü'l-künûz'", 74; see also ibid., 81 (on Kadızade's feud with the Sufi fraternities).

same, against the same opponents and in the same terrain as in the sixteenth century.[85]

The fictional character of such texts bears a lot of similarities with other "alternative histories", such as the famous popular "history" of Mahmud Pasha Angelović, which like Saruhani's or Derviş Mehmed's texts was largely copied and read in the seventeenth century.[86] We can thus deduce that "prophetic" literature belongs as well to a vernacular tendency in Ottoman letters, which tended to be more and more visible after the mid-seventeenth century;[87] however, the success of occult methods of predicting the future in the highest court circles (Rammal Haydar foretelling universal dominion through geomancy in Suleyman's times, Sheikh Şücâ explaining Murad III's dreams),[88] as well as the still unexplored state of occultist studies, leave wide open the possibility of the existence of similar texts written in a higher register. In general, it seems that such predictions, lettrist or visionary, were mostly practiced by authors with strong ties to Sufism. One of the latest examples I am aware of is the diary Niyazi-i Mısrî (d. 1694) kept while in exile in Lemnos: among passionate attacks against the Ottoman sultans and entries which reveal an almost paranoid fear of persecution, Niyazi is constantly emerged in calculations of letters and numbers in order to make various prognostications. Nevertheless, most of his calculations (based on the names of God or on Quranic and other quotations) refer to the number of days passed since his

85 Tamdoğan-Abel, "Le futur dans le *Rumuz-i kunuz*", pp. 147.

86 Th. Stavridis, *The Sultan of Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)* (Leiden 2001), 356–396; H. Reindl-Kiel, "Fromme Helden, Wunder, Träume: Populäre Geschichtsauffassung im Osmanischen Reich des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts", *Journal for Turkish Studies*, 26:II (2002) [Essays in Honour of Barbara Flemming, II], 175–181; Eadem, "The Tragedy of Power: The Fate of Grand Vezirs According to the *Menakıbname-i Mahmud Paşa-i Veli*", *Turcica*, 35 (2003), 247–256.

87 See N. Hanna, "Literacy and the 'Great Divide' in the Islamic World, 1300–1800", *Journal of Global History*, 2 (2007), 175-193; Eadem, "Literacy among Artisans and Tradesmen in Ottoman Cairo", in Ch. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London 2012), 319–331; D. Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford 2013); M. Kökrek, "Müstensih Yeniçeriler", *Türk Dünyası Tarih-Kültür Dergisi*, 349 (2016), 22–24.

88 Felek, *Kitâbü'l-menâmât*.

imprisonment, the birth of his son and so forth.[89] It is worth noting that Niyazi claims to have acquired his lettrist skills through revelation rather than study (he also records visions and revelations).[90] When he did attempt to use lettrist methods to justify major theological claims (namely, that Hasan and Husayn were actually the last prophets), Niyazi did not use the term *cifr* (term associated with the science of letters, which he had been using earlier in his diary) but talked of the "knowledge of divine names" instead.[91]

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What is common to the practices and techniques described so far is their straight connection with the supernatural: visionary or dream prognostications are the result of direct communication with the *ghayb*, presumably through divine grace or angelic intervention, whereas lettrist science presupposes a divine plan for everybody, in which Arabic letters are the signs corresponding to an unseen structure of the world (and as al-Buni had written, "the secret of letters... can be reached only through vision and with the aid of a divine intervention").[92] Another common feature of these approaches was the fact that their practice was usually associated with Sufi circles. Indeed, although a cursory reading of copybooks (*mecmua*s) would show that such beliefs must have been common to a wide range of social and cultural groups throughout the Ottoman times,[93] those who claimed authority in interpreting visions and other signs were mostly prominent Bayrami (like Saruhani İsa and his son), Halveti (like Hüdayî or Niyazi) or other fraternities' sheikhs. A nice and early example of this struggle on privileged mediation to knowledge and the supernatural is the letter of an anonymous sheikh to Bayezid I (r. 1481–1512), discovered by Ahmet Tunç Şen, in which the sheikh attempts to discourage the sultan from studying astrology, at least not until he attains the spiritual

89 Almost every two or three pages of Niyazi's diary contain such a calculation; see Niyazî, *Niyazî-i Mısrî'nin hatıraları*, ed. H. Çeçen (Istanbul 2006) and cf. D. Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-ı Mıṣrī (1618-94)", *Studia Islamica*, 94 (2002), 139–165.

90 Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God", 156–157; *Niyazî-i Mısrî'nin hatıraları*, ed. Çeçen, 63-64.

91 Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident", 437–438.

92 Quoted in *EI*^{2}, "Ḥurūf ('Ilm al-)" (T. Fahd).

93 See Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences".

stage needed at the hands of the sheikh's disciple.[94] It seems that such circles were claiming enhanced access to the supernatural, partly as a result of the growing strength and range of Sufi networks: with each fraternity or even each particular sheikh struggling to demonstrate a special knowledge of the Hereafter, miraculous acts only too naturally multiplied in their life stories, making the world more enchanted than ever, to use Derin Terzioğlu's words.[95] Knowledge of the future was the strongest among these acts.

There was yet another way to predict the future, and this was to have recourse to a system of interdependencies which left little room for supernatural intervention. Visionary practices used spiritual methods to serve a spiritual vision of the world; the lettrist approach used mechanical methods to serve the same vision; a mechanical vision of the universe was yet to come.[96] But if lettrist interpretations of the world had strong overtones of divine interference (since the value of Arabic letters was founded on the quality of the Quran as a divine property), astrological theories linked the heavenly bodies with human lives in a deterministic way that often defied the understanding of the world by the ulema and Sufi scholars. Still, it was such common wisdom that even the latter were accepting this fact, although they usually denied human ability to comprehend these links. For the erudite circles at least it was a self-evident fact that there was a connection between the macrocosm, the universe with its heavenly bodies and relations thereof, with the microcosm, the realms of the natural world on earth and the human body, and astrological interpretations of history (and all the more, of sacred history) were current already in the ninth or tenth centuries.[97] The influence of the celestial movements on earthly affairs was a well-entrenched belief in the Ptolemaic tradition of astronomy, and a commonplace in every geographical account. We saw above how Şükrullah Efendi linked human history with the heavenly bodies, with each thousand-

94 A. T. Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bāyezīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) and his Celestial Interests", *Arabica*, 64 (2017), 557-608 at 597-598. On the enmity of several Sufis towards astrologers see also Idem, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2016, 98–102.

95 Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God", 165.

96 Cf. M. Sariyannis, "'Temporal Modernization' in the Ottoman pre-Tanzimat Context", *Etudes Balkaniques*, 53 (2017), 230–262 at 251–252.

97 See E. S. Kennedy et al., "Al-Battānī's Astrological History of the Prophet and the Early Caliphate", *Suhayl*, 9 (2009–2010), 13–148.

year epoch governed by a particular planet; he also explained such influences in a neo-Platonic vision, which was quite fashionable in the Islamic world:

> Know that God the most High created the stars from light. He created them from the light of divinity, which influences the minds and souls, and He gave each star a peculiar feature... It is said that each of these seven planets... has an intelligence and a soul, and each one directs and governs a climate; each one makes its climate to perpetuate and be empowered. According to the influence of the house of each planet, whenever this planet becomes weak, so become the inhabitants of this climate.[98]

This series of emanations could explain every trait and feature of the realms of the natural world. Again in Şükrullah's words, on God's order the intellect was born; from the intellect the spirit (*nefs*); from the spirit, the heavenly spheres and the stars; from the spheres, the natures (hot, humid etc.) and the matter; from the natures, the elements and principles (*rükn*). Struggling to dominate one another, the four elements under the influence of the spheres resulted in the creation of the seven main metals (gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, and mercury). When the natures of these metals were found to be equipoise, the power of vegetative growth emerged and the realm of the flora was born. Then, as soon as the natures of trees and flowers and their respective power grew, the vegetative power found its perfection and created vegetables such as the mandrake or the *Waqwaq* tree; in fact, the animal power emerged and the four humours were created. At this moment, the road was open for the creation of the three realms of nature, all combined in the animal kingdom: the bones in the degree of metals, the nerves and meat in the degree of plants, and the soul and (animal) movement in the degree of animal power. The completion of these animals, the last of which was the monkey, was man, where another power, the human power and the speech were also born.[99]

Thus, even from the fourteenth century, a belief in hierarchies and homologies connecting the different realms of nature was commonplace for erudite observers of the universe. A treatise on talismans, composed

98 *Behcetü't-tevârîh*, ed. Almaz, 78. For another reference to the dependence of the characteristics of the people in each climate on the respective stars and planets, see ibid., 109.

99 Ibid., 83–85.

probably by the *şeyhülislam* Kemalpaşazade (also known as Ibn Kemal, d. 1534), describes the world as a system of interrelated celestial and terrestrial forces, in an extent incomprehensible to man, where the impact of heavenly bodies on the sublunary world is beyond doubt; although the author does not speak straightforwardly of foretelling the future, he insists on the possibility of controlling it through the production of talismans, carefully designed on the basis of astrological data, which could influence a child's fate.[100] Such ideas seem to have gained weight in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (in fact bringing back theories prevailing in the Islamic world up to the early thirteenth century),[101] in tandem with European Renaissance occultism that also had stressed this approach. The study of these theories is still nascent, but Kâtib Çelebi's description is telling:

> The divination by the divine properties (*'ilm al-havāss*) is a science that concerns the properties that can be obtained by reading God's names and the books He made descend; there are properties peculiar to each of these names and prayers. In his *Miftah al-saada*, Mevlana Taşköprüzade writes: "Know that, a man may be indulged to prayer, reciting the holy books and God's names, and thus direct himself to God and stay away from everything that could distract him from thinking God... This way, he may attain light and [miraculous] works according to his disposition. Whoever asks God for help and gets it through the properties of prayers may seem as practicing magic".
>
> I say, however, that the properties of things are established and that their causes are secret. Although we know that a magnet draws iron, we do not know why. All properties are thus; only the causes of some of them may be understood by the human mind, while others stay unknown. Now, these properties are divided into several categories: properties of the names that fall under the section on onomancy, properties of the letters that make up those names, properties of the charms that are used in magic, and properties of the Holy Quran... There are

100 Şen, "Practicing Astral Magic", 75–78.

101 See e.g. M. Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 5:1 (2017), 127–199; L. Saif, "From *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* to *Šams al-maʿārif wa laṭā'if al-ʿawārif*: Ways of Knowing and Paths of Power", *Arabica*, 64 (2017), 297–345; H. Obuchi, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Occult Science as Philosophy: An Aspect of the Philosophical Theology of Islam at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century", *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, 34 (2018), 1–33.

> also [such] properties of the stars and of the signs of the zodiac, properties of the minerals, of the herbs, of the animals, of the climates and the cities, and so forth, as well as properties of habits, talismans and elixirs.[102]

It is significant to note that Kâtib Çelebi speaks of geomancy in the same terms, although, as discussed, this science was based on an initial state of revelatory inspiration (when the geomancer casts his patterns): he stresses the similarities and analogies of the forms with the zodiac signs, with the cautionary remark that their interpretation is up to a degree hypothetical and inaccurate.[103] Similarly, when describing at length the *za'irja* astrological device he emphasizes its mathematical nature.[104]

The situation was somehow different as far as it concerned astrology and, more specifically, the idea that one's horoscope might predestinate one's life. The idea that an astrologer could make safe predictions of the future by studying the movements of the stars had always been highly debatable, since it contradicted the theological principle of man's free will. Refuted vehemently by al-Hatîb al-Bağdadî in the eleventh century on the grounds of its uncertainty and even its being based on arbitrary conventions (such as the division of the Zodiac or the coordination of the mansions with the planets) rather than sound reason,[105] astrology was as often as not distinguished from both astronomy and theologically sound knowledge. The debate on astrology had a long history, and the arguments from both sides bear significant similarities with the similar debate in Western Europe.[106] A popular encyclopedia composed by the poet

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102 *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Yaltkaya and Bilge, I:725; *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. Balcı, 601–602. Cf. Taşköprüzade, *Miftâh as-Sa'âdah wa misbâh as-siyâdah fi mawdu'ât al-ulûm, by Ahmad b. Mustafa (Tashkupri-zadah)*, eds K. K. Bakry and A. Abu'l-Nur (Cairo 1968), I, 365–366.

103 *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Yaltkaya and Bilge, 912; *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. Balcı, 740.

104 *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Yaltkaya and Bilge, 948; *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. Balcı, 764–765. On *za'irja* see *EI*^{2}, "Zā'irdja" (T. Fahd and A. Regourd); D. Link, "Scrambling T-R-U-T-H: Rotating Letters as a Material Form of Thought", in S. Zielinski and E. Fürlus (eds), *Variantology 4. On Deep Time Relations of Arts, Sciences and Technologies in the Arabic-Islamic World* (Cologne 2010), 215–266.

105 A. M. Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology. A Study of as-Suyûtî's* al-Hay'a as-sanîya fî l-hay'a as-sunnîya *With Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Beyrut 1982), 29–34.

106 Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire", 79–103; cf. J.-P. Boudet, *Entre science et* nigromance*: astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe-Xve siècle)* (Paris 2006), 68–74 and 205–239 (on European astrology).

Nev'i (d. 1599) summarizes the debate from the part of the opponents of astrology:

> ...those who believe that the order of the stars is completely independent and not subordinate to the Divine order are infidels... According to the usual practice it is possible that certain events cause other ones. Thus, it has been established through the senses that fire is the cause of blaze. But there is no evidence that stars are the causes of good fortune or are reasons for misfortune, neither on the basis of the senses, nor from rational evidence, nor from oral tradition... Just as they say that the heavenly bodies are a fifth element and do not consist of the four basic elements, then they established a nature for each star, such as cold and dry for Saturn, and hot and humid for Jupiter: this is a contradiction in itself.... So, they say that the burning of the stars in their own celestial sphere is because they approach the sun for one degree and one second. They say this has a bad influence, too. And this too is something attributed: it is not true, because in the place where the stars are located nothing is burning, so how could [all this] have an influence?...
>
> There are three reasons for the prohibition [of astrology by the religious law]. The first reason is this: In the soul of someone who ties his heart to the rules of the stars grows a veneration for the stars and he believes in the influence of the stars... Such a belief is contrary to the belief in one God and leads to the emergence of polytheism. The second reason is this: The above-mentioned science is pure ignorance... The reasons and conditions for this science are beyond the boundaries man can reach... There are 1029 fixed stars that are set up in the sky of the constellations. According to the astrologers each of them has its rules, just like the rules of the planets... To understand the above-mentioned numerous conditions is beyond the limited human power... When at a star's rise an astrologer takes an astrolabe in his hands and sets it well and right, and in the sweet moment when he thinks he set it right, the sun meanwhile has moved some thousand parasangs...
>
> The third [reason] is this: There is no use in knowledge of the occurrence of certain events in advance, because the Prophet said, "There is no use of warnings of what has already been destined".[107]

Nev'i seems to deny the stars' influence to the microcosm wholesale. The same outright rejection can be seen in Kâtib Çelebi's work:

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107 Nev'î, *"The Yield of the Disciplines and the Merits of the Texts": Nev'î Efendi's Encyclopaedıa Netâyic el-Fünûn*, ed. G. Procházka-Eisl and H. Çelik [*Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times*, vol. II] (Harvard 2015), 120–122.

> If one asks how is possible that some celestial bodies can be the cause of worldly events: a sagacious astrologer can infer some events before they happen from the position of the stars, their courses and their passing from sign to sign, just as the doctor can infer the imminent coming of an illness out of the pulse movements... It is possible that some events are the cause of some others, but nobody has ever heard any proof, either from his senses or from his mind, as to whether the stars can be the cause of happiness or misfortune. That there is no sensorial proof is self-evident, as most of the things predicted by the astrologers do not come true... As for the nonexistence of logical proofs, the causes shown by astrologers and their methods contradict each other: for instance, they claim that the heavenly bodies are not composed by the four elements, but are instead of a fifth natural quality; and then they talk of the coldness and dryness of Saturn, the heat and wetness of Jupiter, and so forth for the stars. From the point of view of the Holy Law, it is blameworthy and even prohibited.[108]

Still, these arguments never prevailed as the belief in the power of astrology continued to be almost self-evident. And indeed, astrological prognostication was an indispensable part of Ottoman science and played a significant role in politics ever since Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) showed a keen interest in patronizing and maintaining astrologers in his court.[109] The office of the chief astrologer or *müneccimbaşı* was maintained in the palace up to the end of the Empire.[110] The connection of celestial bodies and movements to the microcosm and the fate of men and states could also have a theological explanation. Namely, this could occur through the identification of God's cosmic tablet and stylus

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108 *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Yaltkaya and Bilge, II: 1930; *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. Balcı, 1545. Cf. the much shorter section in Taşköprüzade's encyclopaedia: *Miftâh as-Sa'âdah*, eds Bakry and Abu'l-Nur, I, 337.

109 Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court". On the marked presence of occultist literature in Bayezid's library see now G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar and C. H. Fleischer (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols (Leiden 2019) and esp. the chapters by G. Burak ("The Section on Prayers, Invocations, Unique Qualities of the Qur'an, and Magic Squares in the Palace Library Inventory", I, 341-366), N. Gardiner ("Books on Occult Sciences", I, 735-765) and A. T. Şen and C. H. Fleischer ("Books on Astrology, Astronomical Tables, and Almanacs in the Library Inventory of Bayezid II", I, 767–822).

110 S. Aydüz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde müneccimbaşılık müessesesi", *Belleten*, 70:257 (2006), 167–264; Idem, "Muwaqqit and the Munajjimbashi, Office of The", in I. Kalin, S. Ayduz and C. Dagli (eds), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Science and Technology in Islam* (Oxford 2014), II, 64–68.

with cosmological entities, including the sky or the area near the Zodiac.[111] Somehow inversely, the scientific basis of astrological prognostications is eminent when we read of infidels making true forecasts: for example, when the fifteenth century historian Yazıcızâde Ali and his seventeenth-century colleague Müneccimbaşı assert that the monks of a Greek monastery in Serres, near Salonica, had foreseen the rise of the House of Osman on the basis of their astrological observations.[112] As for the specific arguments against the principles of astrological influence, they were refuted in their turn by various scholars. Attempting to explain why a baby born in the seventh or the ninth month survives, while in the eight month dies, Sükrullah first mentions the opinion that each month the embryo is under the influence of a planet, and the eighth month is influenced by Saturn, which, its nature being dry and cold, brings misfortune. Then he argues that this opinion must be false, since in this case the embryo would be under Saturn's influence from the beginning and thus should never be formed in the womb. Şükrullah suggests instead that it is the number eight that is unfortunate.[113] Responding to a similar objection, namely the problem of twins with different fates, the scholar and Bayezid II's advisor Mü'eyyedzade Abdurrahman (d. 1516) argues that it is really the time of conception that matters (presumably different for each twin) and that even a slight change in the celestial degrees can produce radical change in the terrestrial world.[114] The great *şeyhülislam*s of the sixteenth century were rather benevolent toward the possibility of divination: Ibn Kemal/Kemalpaşazade, a protégé of Mü'eyyedzade's, accepts the possibility of knowledge of the *ghayb* provided one admits that such knowledge is conjectural and speculating;[115] as for Ebussuud, he denies the use of the Quran for bibliomancy but seems indifferent towards geomancy (although the question which he answers quotes a verse stating that "only God knows the *ghayb*").[116]

111 Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, 81–85.

112 M. Balivet, *Autour des Ottomans: Français, Mameluks, Grecs (XIVe – XIXe siècles)* (Istanbul 2011), 28–29.

113 *Behcetü't-tevârîh*, ed. Almaz, 99–100.

114 Şen, "Practicing Astral Magic", 87–88.

115 Ibid., 86.

116 M. E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk hayatı* (Istanbul 1983), 199.

Even Kâtib Çelebi, who so ardently minimized the importance of astrology in theoretical terms, did not refrain from using celestial signs as an explanation for Osman II's death at the hands of the rebels:

> Everything in the world of causes has virtual causes (*esbâb-ı ma'neviyye*, meaning that the "true" ones are none else than God's will). Apart from the aforementioned sultan's having an unfortunate ascendant (horoscopus), he had been enthroned in a firmly inauspicious day at an hour of difficulty.[117]

A follower of Kâtib Çelebi in many respects, including his commitment to Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history, Na'ima did not agree on the futility of astrology in principle either. An astrologer himself, he considered this science one of the seven conditions to write history:

> Historians, provided that they understand the science of planetary influences, should record the influences which conjunctions had upon affairs, the changes of years, eclipses, and the other ascendants, scientifically. If they are able to search out the visible effects which—as people assert—the great, active astral bodies, those bodies which release the angels who are charged with the execution of God's decrees, have exerted upon the tribes of the past, if they are able to search out conditions which these forces manifest in the social order of the state and then insert concrete proofs in their account of events, then they will have displayed their authority as experts in astrology.[118]

Na'ima uses in fact his astrological knowledge to explain or illustrate historical events;[119] a few decades later Abdi Efendi begins his account of the 1730 rebellion with a number of meteorological and astronomical phenomena, naming them "terrestrial and celestial signs".[120]

Still, it seems that the belief in astrology waned throughout the eighteenth century. The poet Nabi (d. 1712) warns against the use of astrology and

117 Z. Aycibin, "Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*. Tahlil ve metin", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Mimar Sinan University, 2007, 688.

118 Quoted in L. V. Thomas, *A Study of Na'ima*, ed. N. Itzkowitz (New York 1972), 114.

119 See also G. Şen, "Das Ereignis von Edirne (1703). Astrologie als Strategie zur Herrschaftlegitimation und Kontingenzbewältigung", *Das Mittelalter*, 20:1 (2015), 115–138.

120 Abdi, *1730 Patrona ihtilâli hakkında bir eser: Abdi tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat (Ankara 1999), 5–6.

geomancy (although he admits that the latter used to be a real science), urging the reader to "forget the thought of the future" (*âtiye fikrin unut*); his imitator Vehbi (d. 1809) is even harsher, claiming that all the proofs of astrology are hypothetical (*anın cümle delîli zannî*).[121] A major historian, Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi (d. 1779), not only rejected the sinister prognostications of astrologers on the occasion of an eclipse, but he had the nerve to attack no less a predecessor than Na'ima:

> As he was familiar with the science of astrology, Na'ima applies *post facto* prognostications on some events and maintains that historians must be familiar with astrology. Although he was a real pioneer [as a historiographer], his belief in the sinister signs of astrology discredits him, and thus he did not attain such glory as the ones that followed. What is necessary for historians is to distinguish good from evil and narrate the past with a right eye, not [pretending to] know the invisible.[122]

One decade later, Abdullah Halim Efendi, author of a sui generis political treatise named *Seyfü'l-izzet* ("Sword of glory") composed in 1791, rejects astrology on the grounds that astrologers do not have access to the invisible (*gayb*); they use their experience (*tecrübe*) instead, but "experience does not produce knowledge; it is not a sign, only an indication" (*tecrübe, esbâb-ı ilmden değildir. Tecrübe, alâmet dahi olmaz, olsa emâre olur*).[123] By this time, even the Sultans Abdulhamid I (r. 1774–1789) and Selim III (r. 1789–1807) were reluctant to listen to their chief astrologers, although they felt compelled to for the sake of tradition.[124] And half a century later, in 1848, even a professional astrologer would express his doubts regarding his science as he had seen no

121 Nâbî, *Hayriyye*, ed. İ. Pala (Istanbul 1989), 106 (v. 647); Sünbülzâde Vehbî, *Lutfiyye-i Vehbî*, ed. G. Tanıdır Alıcı (Kahramanmaraş 2011), 60 (v. 121).

122 Şem'danizade, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi târihi: Mür'i't*-tevârîh, ed. M. M. Aktepe (Istanbul 1978), II, 40. Cemal Kafadar pointed out this passage in an interview in the journal *Kılavuz*, 48 (April 2008), 69.

123 A. Şahin, "Abdullah Halim Efendi'nin *Seyfü'l-izzet ila hazreti sahibi'd-devlet* adlı kitabının çevirim yazısı ve değerlendirilmesi", unpublished MA thesis, Istanbul, Marmara University, 2009, 188; cf. Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 366–368.

124 Aydüz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde müneccimbaşılık müessesesi", 180.

benefit from applying it to his everyday life.[125] Most likely, the state-of-the-art is not insufficient to allow us to reach a safe conclusion with these few sources; and moreover, even if there was indeed a retreat of belief in astrology from the second half of the eighteenth century on, we cannot at this moment know if it is to be attributed to an influence of more pious, Sunna-oriented explanations, a supposed "disenchantment of the world", or both.

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In the end of his pioneering survey of Ottoman occult manuscripts, Jan Schmidt states that

> The scrapbooks in particular seem to indicate that literary Ottoman culture as it was absorbed and passed on by such varying figures... from, say 1680 to 1835, and perhaps even as late as 1900, was still to a large extent of a mediaeval nature... There is no development or change in the texts encountered in our manuscripts, nor do they disappear, and identical letter-tables or magic squares can be found in volumes produced in the seventeenth or the nineteenth century. Magic and the belief in divination were part and parcel of a closed, some would even say claustrophobic, world picture...[126]

This statement may arguably be valid for the Ottoman vernacular culture; and one may wonder whether the methods and principles of learned divination changed through time, a question that cannot be answered without meticulous study of such texts. Yet, as far as it concerns knowledge and control of the future, one might argue that the belief in historical laws, initiated as we saw with Kâtib Çelebi's endorsement of Ibn Khaldun's theories and infiltrated in wide intellectual circles throughout the eighteenth century, led to a shift of "foretelling" theories and practices from a supernatural to a natural, historical and markedly secular sphere. We saw above both Kâtib Çelebi and Abdi Efendi adding celestial signs to their narration of such major events as the revolts of 1622 and 1730. On the other hand, however, we should note that, while Kâtib Çelebi cites some astrological signs prognosticating Osman II's death,

125 G. Tunalı, "An Ottoman Astrologer at Work: Sadullah el-Ankaravî and the Everyday Practice of *İlm-i nücûm*", in F. Georgeon and F. Hitzel (eds), *Les Ottomans et le temps* (Leiden 2012), 39–59.

126 Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences", 253.

he only gives "human agency" reasons for the 1622 rebellion as such; and the same can be said with Abdi's narrative on the 1730 revolt. This rejection of any links between natural phenomena and historical events seems to have prevailed by the second half of the eighteenth century.[127] In a sort of exception, Ahmed Resmi Efendi speaks in 1772 of historical laws which prevent states of waging perpetual warfare, noting that some exceptions (Suleyman's wars and the Russian attacks since 1768) are a paradox (literally an "error of nature", *galat-ı tabi'at*) to be attributed to the astrological conjecture.[128] One may wonder whether the important thing here is the influence of these conjectures or their ephemeral nature. In the beginnings of the nineteenth century, one of the pieces Sünbülzade Vehbi added to his *Lutfiyye*, the imitation of Nabi's *Hayriyye* one century earlier, concerns the benefits of studying history:

> By reading the experiences of the cities, you will discover and understand their secrets... When you will be aware of the [different] stages of the states (*vâkıf-ı etvâr-ı düvel*), you will know their secrets... And by understanding the good and bad aspects of the ancestors, you will be informed of the descendants as well (*fehm idüp nîk ü bed-i eslâfı / andan âgâh idesin ahlâfı*).[129]

In fact, this development (if indeed it is one) may have begun even earlier. Whereas, as we saw, he does not deny the reality of magic and prognostication), Taşköprüzade's description of fortune-telling (*'arāfa*), copied verbatim by Kâtib Çelebi, is quite impressive in its rationalistic outlook:

> This science deducts some future events from present ones (*al-istidlāl bi-ba'z al-hawādis al-hāliyya 'ila al-hawādis al-ātiyya*), through the hidden affinities and similarities (*bi l-munāsaba wa l-mushābaha al-khafiyya*) between them, and through the associations and bonds connecting cause and effect. Because these links are concealed, they are known only to a few people, who can take a guess either by experiments (*tajārib*) or by a state consigned to them by the Prophet.[130]

127 See Menchinger, "Free Will, Predestination", 461–462.

128 See Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought*, 404.

129 *Lutfiyye-i Vehbî*, ed. Tanıdır Alıcı, 92-95 (v. 279–290).

130 *Miftâh as-Sa'âdah*, eds Bakry and Abu'l-Nur, I, 357; *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds Yaltkaya and Bilge, 1131; *Keşfü'z-zunûn*, trans. Balcı, 904.

Some of this rationale may be evidence of the influence of Ibn Khaldun's thought, whose *Muqaddima* Kâtib Çelebi uses in his encyclopedia.[131] Attempting to elaborate his theory on prophecy, based on the special qualities of some souls, the Tunisian scholar had argued that the world "shows nexuses between causes and things caused, combinations of some parts of creation with others, and transformations of some existent things into others" and that some people are provided "with knowledge of the measurements and positions of the spheres, and also with knowledge of the existence of the essences beyond, the influence of which is noticeable in the spheres". Still, Ibn Khaldun's theory on soothsaying (*kahāna*) was based on the particular qualities of soothsayers' souls, which could be endowed with unusual powers of perception and intuition, rather than their rational deduction of future results from present causes, as Taşköprüzade and Kâtib Çelebi imply.[132]

The resurgence of the theological discussions concerning human agency in the same period, of which I talked in the beginning, is telling: as shown by Ethan Menchinger and others, Kâtib Çelebi's preoccupation on causes paved the way for a new understanding of causality where human agency had a strong role to play. The introduction of the concept of "particular will", which is under human control, seems to have been connected with the Nakşbendi order.[133] The role of Nakşbendi thought in Ottoman intellectual history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has only recently begun to be highlighted.[134] Their emphasis on sobriety and their affinities with the

131 On Ibn Khaldun's influence upon Kâtib Çelebi's work, see Sariyannis, "Ottoman Ibn Khaldunism Revisited", 259–261.

132 Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqqadimah: An Introduction to History. The Classic Islamic History of the World*, trans. and intr. F. Rosenthal, abridged by N. J. Dawood (Princeton 2005), 74–75, 79–80.

133 Bruckmayr, "The Particular Will".

134 B. Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early Nineteenth Century", *Welt des Islams* 22:1 (1982), 1–36; M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone (éds), *Naqshbandis. Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman* (Istanbul – Paris 1990); D. Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700* (New York 2005); Bruckmayr, "The Particular Will". Of equal importance, although to a different direction, must have been the intrusion of al-Suhrawardi's Illuminationist thought: see Kurz, *Ways to Heaven*, 206–215; M. Arıcı, "Is it Possible to Speak of an Illuminationist Circle in the Ottoman Scholarly World? An Analysis of the Ottoman Scholarly Conception of Illuminationism", *Nazariyat*, 4:3 (2018), 1–48.

Kadızadeli movement (it should be noted here that Vehbi presents himself extremely favorable toward both the Kadızadelis and the Nakşbendi),[135] as well as their role in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century reforms, made them pivotal agents for what may be referred to as an Enlightenment of sorts or perhaps a "disenchantment of the world", together with the Kadızadelis who rebutted the (Halveti) Sufis' claim of a marked presence of the supernatural in everyday life.[136] At the same time, there is seeming evidence of materialist or even atheistic trends among Ottoman intellectuals from the late seventeenth century on.[137] Given this prevailing climate, it is only natural to discover that belief in the predictability of the future had become more rational and scientific and less informed by supernatural or occult powers.

135 *Lutfiyye-i Vehbî*, ed. Tanıdır Alıcı, 78–81 and 84–85 (v. 211-213 and 234–235).

136 See M. Sariyannis, "The Limits of Going Global: the Case of 'Ottoman Enlightenment(s)'", *History Compass*, 5 (2020) 18:e12623 https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12623; B. Tezcan, "The Portrait of the Preacher as a Young Man: Two Autobiographical Letters by Kadızade Mehmed from the Early Seventeenth Century", in Sariyannis (ed.), *Political Thought and Practice*, 187–250 at 229–241.

137 See M. Sariyannis, *Perceptions ottomanes du surnaturel. Aspects de l'histoire intellectuelle d'une culture islamique à l'époque moderne* (Paris 2019), 97–100.

C. RESEARCH REPORTS

Working paper: *ʿAjāʾib wa gharāʾib* in the early Ottoman cosmographies

Feray Coşkun (Istanbul)

"Pes bu dünyā ʿaceb dünyādur. ʿAcāʾibi çokdur."
Dürr-i Meknūn

The earliest examples of Ottoman cosmographical/geographical literature were significantly influenced by medieval Islamic cosmographies. Members of Ottoman literati made either partial, full or free translations of those works into Turkish or composed synthetical works in similar spirit.*

Among the most famous examples of Islamic cosmography which Ottoman authors made use of, one can refer to three cosmographies. The first two bear the same title *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence) written by Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d.1283) and Muḥammed b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad at-Ṭūsī. The third

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is the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa Farīḍaṭ al-Gharā'ib* (The Pearl of Wonders and the Uniqueness of Things Strange) attributed to Ibn al-Wardī (d.1457).[1]

At-Ṭūsī presented his cosmography to the Seljukid Sultan Ṭugrul b. Arslan (r.1176-1194) in Persian sometime between 1176 and 1194.[2] Although written later, *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* of al-Qazwīnī is more famous. As pointed out by Persis Berlekamp, depending on the concerns and interests of each milieu, there are different Arabic versions of this cosmography.[3] Later versions even included additional chapters taken from Persian translations.[4] Its translation is also available in European languages.[5]

1 Rudolf Sellheim refers to the author as Pseudo-al-Wardī since none of the contemporary biographers confirm al-Wardī as the author of the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib.* On the other hand, Francesca Bellino argues that it is very likely that he was the author, because al-Wardī's name appears in the oldest extant copies dated 1479 and 1487. See, R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften: Materialien Zur Arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden 1976), 176–186; F. Bellino, "Siraj al-Dīn ibn al-Wardī and the Ḫarīdat al-'ajā'ib: Authority and Plagiarism in a Fifteenth-century Arabic Cosmography", *Eurasian Studies,* 12 (2014), 257–296.

2 In his edition of the work, Manuchehr Sotude claims that the work must be completed sometime between A.H. 556/1176–573/1194. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad-e Ṭūsī, *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. M. Sotude (Tahran 1966), 15.

3 The earliest extant copy dated 1280 is stored in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (BSB Cod. Arab cod. 464). It is also known as the Wasit (Iraq) copy since it was copied there. The manuscript is available online at https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00045957/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=en.

4 The most known edition is made by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. It included parts from different editions of the same work (written in different time-frames) and even some sections from other works. In Berlekamp's words, it is a "conflation of various different manuscript versions". P. Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven – London 2011), 6–8. For the edition see F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie, Kitab 'Ağā'ib al-Maḫlūqāt*, *Die Wunder der Schöpfung* (Göttingen 1849). Repr. F. Sezgin (ed.), (Frankfurt 1994).

5 For German translations see *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmûd el-Kazwîni's Kosmographie*: *Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, trans. H. Ethé (Leipzig 1868); Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Die Wunder des Himmels und der Erde*, trans. A. Giese (München 1988). For Italian see F. Bellino, *Le Meraviglie del creato e le Stranezze degli esseri* (Milano 2008). For partial English translation see S. Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation: A Study of the Ilkhanid London Qazwini* (Edinburg 2015).

Table 1. Content of the three cosmographies in general lines.

***'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* of at-Ṭūsī**	***'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* of al-Qazwīnī**	***Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Wardī**
Heavenly bodies (planets, stars)	Four prefaces (on the meanings of wonder, creation, strange, existence)	Mountain Qāf and its beyond
Angels, spiritual beings	Heavenly bodies, angels	The Encircling Ocean
Four elements	Time, months	Climes, regions, countries
Meteorological phenomena	Earth, creation, four elements	Seas, islands
Seas, rivers, fountains, wells	Meteorological phenomena	Rivers, springs, wells
Climes, mountains, cities	Oceans, seas	Mountains
Masjids, churchs	Earth, the shape of earth, seven climes	Stones
Earthquakes, trees	Earthquakes, eclipse	Minerals
Talismans	Mountains, rivers, fountains, wells	Plants, fruits, seeds
Wonders of prophets' shrines	Minerals and precious metals, stones	Birds
Human characteristics	Plants, animals	Pre-Adamic history of the earth
Nations	Human characteristics	Apocalyptical and eschatological matters
Miracles	Nations (Arabs, Persian, Romans, Turks, Indians etc.)	
Alchemy, science of nature	Occupations	
Peculiarities of food	Poetry, music, medicine	
Rare medicine	Astronomy, numbers	
Destiny	Talismans, magic	
Wondrous dreams	Science of alchemy, engineering	
Wonders of death	Djinns, demons	
Apocalyptical matters	Wild animals, birds, insects, animals with wondrous forms	
Wonders of jinn, satans, demons		
Wild animals, snakes		

While the first two describe heavenly phenomena, the layers of the heavens, the planets, stars, angels, demons, as well as Paradise and Hell in great detail, the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* is more concerned with terrestrial space.[6]

6 For translations in Latin see C. J. Tornberg (ed.), *Fragmentum libri Margarita miribilium auctore Ibn el-Verdi*, (Uppsala 1835); A. Haylender (ed.), *Operis cosmographici Ibn Vardi caput primum de regionibus* (Lundae 1823). For a partial translation in French see J. de Guignes, "Perles de Merveilles", in F. Sezgin (ed.), *Studies on al-Wat Wat (d. 1318), Ad-Dımasqi (d. 1327) Ibn al-Wardi (d. c. 1446) and al-Bakuwi (15 th. Century)* (Frankfurt 1994), 147–187.

Describing both invisible and visible phenomena in the heavenly and terrestrial realms, they dwell on wondrous and strange phenomena (*'ajā'ib wa gharā'ib*) to highlight God's omnipotence and wisdom behind His creation. Their emphasis on *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* of the cosmos function to "awe at God's divinely ordered cosmos".[7] Narrative stories pertaining to the prophets, saints, ancient rulers and nations are also integrated to convey theological and moralistic messages for their audience. In this regard, they remind one the *Kutub al-'aẓama* (the Books of greatness), a genre describing cosmic phenomena to illustrate the magnificence of God.[8]

Many copies, translations and adaptations of those works became an integral part of the Ottoman literature from the fourteenth century onwards and inspired Ottoman individuals to write down similar works. When we speak of translation in this context, we refer to a broader concept of "translation" where Ottoman translators had certain editorial roles in which they took liberties to make additions and omissions. In this paper, I will be mostly referring to the translations/adaptations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The earliest Ottoman translation belongs to 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-raḥmān. It is a compilation of three cosmographies mentioned above together with some other sources. He also seems to have put forward additional information about Ottoman cities such as Edirne and Bursa.[9] His reference to Edirne as the Ottoman capital[10] reveals that he composed it sometime between 1364–1398.[11]

7 Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos*, 22.

8 Inspired by various Qur'ānic verses encouraging believers to reflect (*tafakkur*) on the creation, *Kutub al-'aẓama* did not deal with the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model of the cosmos, but concentrated on the cosmological content in the Qur'ān and *isrā'īliyyāt*. The earliest works of this genre appeared in the ninth century. For information see A. Heinen, "Tafakkur and Muslim Science", *JTS*, 18 (1994), 103–110.

9 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-raḥmān, *'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, A.H. 1099/1687. It has only one copy extant in Istanbul University Library of Rare Manuscripts, TY 524. Available online at http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/ekos/TY/nekty00524.pdf

10 For his reference to Edirne see fol. 138b.

11 G. Kut, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât Tercümeleri", *Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi Tebliğleri* (Istanbul 1985), 186-187; E. İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi (OCLT); History of Geographical Literature during the Ottoman Period*, Vol.1 (Istanbul 2000), 3.

At the beginning of his work, he claims that what he narrated in his work is a compilation of his readings, observations and personal experiences.[12]

The second one is an abridged translation of at-Ṭūsī's cosmography ascribed to Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed.[13] He completed the translation upon the request of Sultan Çelebi Meḥmed (r. 1413-1421).[14] The third one belongs to Aḥmed-i Bīcān (Yazıcızāde/Yazıcıoğlu), a fifteenth century Ottoman scholar and a mystic from Gallipoli.[15] At the beginning of his work, he asserts that he compiled his work upon the request of Ḥācı Bayrām Velī in 1453.[16] His translation is one of the most widespread Ottoman cosmographies.[17] It is an abridged version of al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*.

The fourth is the *Dürr-i Meknūn*, the most copied Ottoman cosmographical work with more than fifty extant copies.[18] For a long time it had been attributed to Aḥmed-i Bīcān; however, both Laban Kaptein and Carlos Granier drew attention to the fact that there is no convincing evidence to assume that he was the author.[19] Acclaimed to be the first synthetic cosmography in Turkish, the *Dürr-i Meknūn,* although not a voluminous work, deals with various topics under eighteen chapters on different aspects of cosmos and its wonders. What is striking is that the author, unlike others, allocated chapters for certain figures such as Solomon, the Queen of Sheba (*Balqīs*) and the Phoenix (*ʿAnqā'*).

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12 ʿAlī b. ʿAbdu'r-raḥmān, *Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, fol. 2b.

13 There is no detailed information about the translator. While Kut argues that Arabic phrase 'rukn ad-dīn' (Rükne'd-dīn in Turkish rendition) should be taken as part of the prayer rather than the name of the translator, Engin Yılmaz maintains that it might also indicate the identity of the translator. Kut, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât", 188; E. Yılmaz, "Aca'ibül-mahlukat: Imla ve ses bilgisi-metin transkripsiyonu", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Sakarya University, 1998, 12, 289.

14 B. Sarıkaya, "Rükneddin Ahmed'in Acaibü'l-Mahlukat Tercümesi (Giriş-Metin-Sözlük)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara University, 2010, 58.

15 He was given the sobriquet "Bīcān" meaning 'lifeless', because of his ascetic way of life. For information, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Ahmed Bicân" (Â. Çelebioğlu).

16 Aḥmed Bīcān, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Sadberk Hanım Museum Library no. 481–1, fol. 1a.

17 This work has around fifty copies in different libraries of Turkey and the world (e.g.Vatican, Vienna, Berlin, British Museum, Sarajevo, Cairo). See, İhsanoğlu (ed.), *OCLT*, Vol. 1, 4–7.

18 For its editions see Ahmet Bîcan Yazıcıoğlu, *Dürr-i Meknûn: Saklı İnciler*, trans. N. Sakaoğlu (Istanbul 1999); idem, *Dürr-i Meknun, Kritische Edition mit Kommentar*, ed. L. Kaptein (Asch 2007); idem, *Dürr-i Meknun*, ed. A. Demirtaş (Istanbul 2010).

19 *Dürr-i Meknûn*, ed. Kaptein, 45–47; C. Grenier, "Reassessing the Authorship of the Dürr-i Meknūn", *ArchOtt*, 35 (2018), 193–212.

The fifth is a translation of the *Kharīdat al-ʿAjā'ib* made by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed el-Ḫatib at the request of Emīr ʿOs̱mān b. İskender Paşa in 1562-63 (A.H. 970) to familiarize people with Ibn al-Wardī's work.[20] This translation is known under various titles such as *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib*, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫluḳāt-ı Türkī* and *Nevādirü'l-Garā'ib ve Mevāridü'l-ʿAcā'ib.* Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed's translation stuck fairly closely to the Arabic original, yet he made some additions (e.g. his eye-witness accounts, hearsay and poems) and omissions, as well.[21]

There are of course many other translations, adaptations and synthetical works[22] but in this paper, I focus on these first examples of Ottoman cosmography for a preliminary analysis about how they dealt with wondrous and strange phenomena (*ʿajā'ib wa gharā'ib*). In the next steps of my research, I will deepen my analysis by integrating other Ottoman cosmographies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

On *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib*

ʿAjā'ib is the plural form of *ʿajībah*[23] which literally refers to an object or situation that causes astonishment.[24] Into English, *ʿajībah* is either translated as

20 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib*, Esad Efendi 2051, fol. 3b.

21 On this work see F. Coşkun, "A Medieval Islamic Cosmography in an Ottoman Context: A Study of Maḥmūd el-Ḫatib's Translation of the *Kharīdat al-ʿAjā'ib*", unpublished M.A. thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007.

22 To have some idea on the Ottoman translations, one can consult to the following articles: Kut, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât", 183–193; *TDVİA,* "Acaibü'l Mahlukat" (idem); idem (ed.), "Giriş", *Acâyibü'l-Mahlûkât ve Garâyibü'l-Mevcûdât (İnceleme-Tıpkıbasım), Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi Nuri Arlases Koleksiyonu No.128'deki Nüshanın Tıpkıbasımı* (Istanbul 2012), 9–16; M. Ak, "Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 4:2 (2004), 163–211; M. Sariyannis, "Ajā'ib ve gharā'ib: Ottoman Collections of Mirabilia and Perception of the Supernatural", *Der Islam*, 92:2 (2015), 442–467; F. Coşkun, "Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü ve 'Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât Janrı' ", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 33:17 (2019), 269–286.

23 Since there is no grammatical gender in Persian and Turkish like in Arabic, hereafter *ʿajīb* will be preferred instead of *ʿajībah* in Persian and Turkish contexts. Likewise, *gharīb* will be used instead of *gharībah*. I thank Dr. Uğur Köroğlu for his suggestion to formulate my rendering in this direction.

24 *EI*^{2}, s.v. "'Adj̲ā'ib" (C. E. Dubler).

marvel (originating from the Latin word *mirabilis* (pl. *mirabilia*)) or wonder.[25] The term *gharīb* (pl. *gharā'ib*) on the other hand, corresponds to strange and rare entities or oddities.[26] *Gharīb* is regarded as a subset of wonders.[27]

Both European and Islamic literature on wonders and oddities share a common typology of classical heritage as can be observed in the *Historia* by Herodotus, the treatise by Ctesias from Knidos or *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny.[28] Both in the medieval European and Islamic worlds, they were regarded as signs for the portrayal of the omnipotence and the will of God. Some of them were also interpreted as the signs of His wrath or warnings for divine punishment.[29]

In Islamic cosmographical/geographical literature, the derivatives of both *ʿajībah* and *gharībah* denote astonishing, admirable and strange aspects of existence both man-made and natural. Among them one can account for buildings of Antiquity (e.g. Pyramids, Pharos of Alexandria), topographical features of nature (i.e. interesting mountains, deserts, lakes, rocks and caves), rare peculiarities of people, minerals, animals and plants.[30] In a similar fashion, various texts produced in Islamic world referred *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* in their titles and contents. *ʿAjā'ib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahrīyār (tenth century), *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa nukhbat al-ʿajā'ib* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d.1169-70), *Nukhbat al-dahr fi ʿajā'ib al-barr wa'l-baḥr* by al-Dimashqī (d.1327) are only some of them.

In the first part of his *ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, al-Qazwīnī defines *ʿajab* as a kind of astonishment stemming from one's incapability to understand the cause of something. He relates that each creation has a wondrous aspect, but people lose their curiosity and amazement after their acquaintance with

25 R. P. Mottahedeh, "*Ajā'ib* in The Thousand and One Nights", in R. G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society* (Cambridge 1997), 29; Dubler, s.v. "'Adjā'ib"; J. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (*l'imaginaire médiéval*), trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago – London 1992), 27; K. Park and L. Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York 2001), 21.

26 *EI*[2], s.v. "Gharīb" (S.A. Bonebakker).

27 Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos*, 18.

28 A good read on the wonders in the European literature is Park and Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*.

29 Park and Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 40–51.

30 *EI*[2], s.v. "'Adjā'ib".

objects or events, except in cases where they meet with the unfamiliar.[31] As regards *gharīb*, he defined it as a strange thing or incident that occasionally transpired either through the intervention of God or of eminent figures such as prophets, saints and sages to whom God granted such ability. Among *gharā'ib*, he provides accounts of miracles or spiritual effects of prophets, saints and sages, climatic and geological events (i.e. comets, eclipses, earthquakes), plants, animals and minerals with bizarre peculiarities and talismans.[32]

In the Qur'ān, *'ajībah* relates to the astonishment of both believers and unbelievers at the deeds of God, with which they are unfamiliar or human ignorance with regard to the scale of God's capability and might.[33] In other words, astonishment comes to the fore as a state of mind resulting from alarm at events beyond the realm of experience or predictive human knowledge.

In modern scholarly literature, those geographical and cosmological works referring to *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* are categorized as a genre of "classical Islamic literature" so called genre of *'ajā'ib* or *'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*.[34] Syrinx von Hees has problematized this classification arguing that it reduced the meaning of '*ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* to encompass only fantastic entities[35] and associated the so-called genre with the Islamic "decadence" of scientific activity which is considered to have commenced in the twelfth century.[36] As a challenge to this kind of conceptualization, she argued that both terms were in fact used mostly to denote real phenomena, rather than fantastic or fictional.[37] Moreover von Hees pointed out '*ajā'ib*'s incentive role to make further quests about diversity

31 See the earliest extant copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich under BSB Cod. Arab cod. 464 (pdf page no. 9). Cf. Al-Qazwini, *Die Wunder des Himmels und der Erde*, 26.

32 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich under BSB Cod. Arab cod. 464 (pdf page no. 17).

33 See Qur'ānic verses 11:72–73; 37:12–14; 38:4; 50:2; 53:55.

34 *EI*[2], s.v. "'Adjā'ib"; T. Fahd, «Le merveilleux dans la faune, la flore et les minéraux», dans M. Arkoun (éd.), *L'étrange et le merveilleux dans l'Islam médiéval* (Paris 1978), p. 119; *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* s.v. "Aja'eb al-Makhluqat" (C.E. Bosworth).

35 S. von Hees, "The Astonishing: A Critique and Re-reading of 'Ağā'ib Literature", *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 8:2 (2005), 101–120.

36 Von Hess, "The Astonishing", 105.

37 Von Hees showed that when the authors of those texts wanted to refer to something unbelievable or implausible, they use terms such as *khurāfa* (Ar. "superstition") or *dorūgh* (Per. "lie"). It is rarely that *'ajā'ib or gharā'ib* are used for unreal phenomena and that is mostly for rhetorical purposes. Ibid., "The Astonishing", 111. Travis Zadeh's article is also quite illuminating on this matter. See T. Zadeh, "The Wiles of Creation: Philosophy, Fiction and the 'Acā'ib Tradition", *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 13 (2010), 21–48.

of nature[38] and the cosmography of al-Qazwīnī is in fact an encyclopedia of natural history with a philosophical and scientific outlook.[39] Although not in line with von Hees' remarks on the "genre",[40] Berlekamp supported her argument that *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* phenomena mostly correspond to what was considered to be "real" and thus not to be reduced to imaginary or fantastic. She furthermore underlined the fact it would be misleading to elaborate wonders through polarities (e.g. religious vs. scientific; fantastic vs. real).[41] This approach supports Sariyannis's remark that wonders in the Ottoman world were not imagined contrary to nature but conceived more like preternatural, i.e. obeying to natural laws as set by God but in ways unknown to the human intellect.[42] In his "Wonder in early modern Ottoman society", Ido Ben Ami with a reference to Barbara H. Rosenwein's notion of "emotional communities" remarked that Ottoman authors although living in different time periods, were using a common vocabulary for wonders because they were part of the same emotional community.[43] Scrutinizing the wondrous and strange world of

38 Von Hees, "The Astonishing", 105-106.

39 Idem, *Enzyklopädie als Spiegel des Weltbildes: Qazwīnīs Wunder der Schöpfung – eine Naturkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 2002); idem, "Al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt: An Encyclopaedia of Natural History?", in G. Endress (ed.), *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World* (Leiden – Boston 2006), 171–186.

40 "But when it comes to whether or not there is any justification in speaking of a medieval Islamic *'ajā'ib* genre, it is crucially important to recognize that the criteria by which we now decide whether or not something is wondrous, are not the same as the criteria used by medieval Islamic authors." Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos*, 25.

41 "Today, we define wonder and wonders through post-Enlightenment polarities such as religious-scientific, fantastical-real, and legendary-historical. These polarities are basic to our thought, because they are also the polarities through which we define reality. But these polarities were not always used to define either wonder or reality, in the Islamic world or elsewhere. For this reason, the historical investigation of wonder and wonders in general has the potential to help us break through the historicity of our own concepts of reality. And indeed, even though this may sound like an elusive goal, this is one of the pressing problems that scholars of culture face today. Having rejected single, positivist history based on a modern, empiricist concept of reality, scholars of culture now face a new problem. We need to define historically specific alternatives to the old model in constructive rather than in deconstructive terms." Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos*, 8.

42 Sariyannis, "Ajā'ib ve gharā'ib", 442–467.

43 I. Ben-Ami, "Wonder in early modern Ottoman society", *History Compass*, 17:7 (2019), 1–12.

Evliya Çelebi, Yeliz Ö. Diniz analyzed how Evliyā's famous travelogue reflected the "episteme" of the seventeenth century Ottoman world. While she dwelled on Evliya's various skills of story-telling, she aptly expresses how his *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* pertain to astonishment felt at the face of admiring situations and events of reality.[44] Her analysis is successful in elaborating how even in a single work, it is difficult to determine the meaning and scope of *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* and there is much work to be done in this direction. Keeping this fact in mind, what do Ottoman examples tell us about the *ʿajā'ib* phenomena? If we take the first Ottoman cosmographies (whether abridged/ free or full translations /adaptations or synthetical work) into account, what can we infer from them concerning what was *ʿajīb* and *gharīb* for Ottoman audience? Below are my preliminary remarks for the early examples of Ottoman cosmography/ geographical literature.

ʿAjā'ib and *gharā'ib* in the early examples of Ottoman geographical literature

One comes across various Ottoman manuscripts having *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* in their titles. Among them are the works of exegesis,[45] history,[46] mysticism,[47] and literature.[48] Yet, more than others, Arabic/Persian copies and Turkish translations of the cosmographies of at-Ṭūsī, al-Qazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī are substantial. What can we say for the motivations of the Ottoman authors/ translators to learn about *ʿajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* of the world? Passages in the aforementioned Turkish examples provide some hints.

In Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed's *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫluḳāt*, it is expressed that all wonders of existence were compiled so whoever read or hear about them would contemplate (*tafakkur*) about God and revere (*taʿẓīm*) Him. Contemplation

44 "...Evliyâ Çelebi'nin 'acayip' and 'garip' terimlerini kullanmasının sebebi 'olağanüstülük' karşısındaki 'şaşkınlık' etkisini yaratmak değil, tam aksine gerçeklik düzlemindeki 'hayranlık duyulacak' durumlar ya da olaylar karşısında duyulan 'şaşkınlık' etkisini yaratmaktır." Y. Özay Diniz, *Evliya Çelebi'nin Acayip ve Garip Dünyası* (Istanbul 2017), 27.

45 Tāj al- Ḳurrāʾ Maḥmud b. Ḥamza al-Kirmānī, *ʿAjā'ib al-Garā'ib fī Tafsīri'l-Ḳurʾān*.

46 Shihāb ad-dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalebī ibn Arab-shāh, *ʿAjā'ib al-Maḳdūr fī Navāib-i Tīmur*. This work dwells on the reign of Tamerlane and the rivalry between his successors.

47 Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh al-Kisāī, *ʿAjā'ib al-Malakūt.*

48 Aḥmad b. Hamdam, Suhaylī, *ʿAjā'ib al-Maāsir wa Garā'ib an-Navādir.*

about God's creation is even defined as a more pious act than one's praying to Allah.[49] Fear of God is also intended to be invoked in readers' hearts[50] and people are advised to have faith (*iʿtiḳād*) in the existence of '*ajā'ib* since Allāh is omnipotent and he do as he wishes.[51] The text suggests that '*ajā'ib* is beyond human comprehension.[52] If one were to examine for oneself, one would see a thousand kinds of '*ajā'ib,* so the unity and might of God would be self-evident.[53] Both *Dürr-i Meknūn*[54] and Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed's translation convey similar remarks.[55] Below are my observations concerning the form and content of the first examples of (so-called) '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqat* genre in Turkish.

a) Form

The Ottoman texts in question are full of plural forms of '*ajībah* and *gharībah*: So, '*acā'ib*, '*acā'ibāt*/'*acā'ibler* (double plural) or *garā'ib* in Turkish. A very common phrase all along the texts is "... '*acā'ibindendir*" , one of its '*ajā'ib* (similar to "*min al-ʿajā'ib*" in Arabic). In some works, tales of wondrous and strange phenomena are recounted in the form of subsections titled '*ucūbe*, *hikāyet-i garībe* and *hikāyet-i ʿacībe*.[56] The term *ʿacā'ibraḳ* is also used for more astonishing objects or situations. For example, in *Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt* of

49 Rükne'd-dīn, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T.897, fols. 3b, 5a, 8b.

50 "Denizün 'acā'ibleri çokdur, vaṣfa gelmez biz dahī bu denizleri şundan ötürü yazduk ki Ḥaḳ Teʿāla'nun 'aẓameti ve celāli korkusı anun gönlinde ziyāde ola." Ibid., fols. 56b-57a.

51 Idem, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T.897, fol. 13b. Along the text, one might find our similar remarks in this direction: "Allahu Teʿāla'nun ḳudretinden 'acīb degüldür" or "Ḥaḳ Teʿāla'nın ḳudreṭine 'acīb değildir...". Ibid., fols 28a–b.

52 Ibid., fol. 220a.

53 "Kendi özine naẓar itsün ta hezār dürlü 'acā'ibler göre. Allāhu Teʿāla'nun birligini ve 'aẓametini bile." Ibid., fol. 83b.

54 "Pes yaratdı 'arşı ve kürsi ve gökleri ve yirleri ve bunlaruñ içinde olan 'acāyibi ve ferişṭehleri ve uçmaġı ve ṭamuyı ve yirdeki 'acāyibi ve deñizleri ve rubʿ-ı meskūnı ve ṭagları ve aḳarṣuları ve şecerātı ve emlāki ve cinni ve insi tā kim ḥālıḳuñ ḳudretin ve 'aẓametin bileler, zikr ideler, aña 'ibādet ideler." *Dürr-i Meknūn*, Demirtaş (ed.), 89. For the quotations from this edition, henceforth *DM*.

55 "Allāh'ın kendi ṣan'at-ı 'acībesine ve ḳudret-i garībesine tefekkür eyleyüb 'ibret almakda bize ve size tevfīḳ eylesin", meaning "May God make us successful to reflect on His wondrous art and unique might and draw lessons from them". Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib*, Nuruosmaniye 2999, fol. 143b.

56 This is especially apparent in *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt* of Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed.

Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, the Moon and the Sun are depicted as more wondrous than other things and since people got used to see them all the time, they became unwary of their wondrous nature.[57]

1. Use of *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* in pairs:

It is striking that *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* are sometimes employed in the same phrase as pairs, mostly likely to bestow a sense of ryhme. For example, while discussing his sources, 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-raḥmān claims that he compiled his '*Acā'ibü'l-Maḫluḳāt* from strange news and sections on wondrous (*ḫaberlerün garā'ibinden, faṣılların 'acā'ibinden...*).[58]

The use of *'ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* in conjunction seems to be especially prominent in the description of ancient cities. Here are some examples:

- '*acā'ib'den ve garā'ibden binālar* (for ancient buildings)
- *teṣāvir-i garībe*, *temāsil-i 'acībe* (for ancient pictures, images or statues)
- *'acā'ib-i dehr, garā'ib-i 'aṣr* (for the antiquity)
- *āṯār-ı 'acībe ṣanā'i-i garībe* (for mostly for buildings in ancient cities)
- *heyākil-i 'acībe ve teṣāvir-i garībe* (for ancient statues or images, depictions)
- *āṯār-ı 'acībe ve garībeler* (for the remains of ancient cities)
- *āṯār-ı garā'ibler ve teṣāvīr-i 'acā'ibler* (for ancient buildings or depictions)

2. Company of eulogical phrases:

Occasionally astonishing, admirable and terrifying aspects of existence qualified as wondrous or strange are accompanied by phrases praising God such as "*Allāhu Akbar*", "*fa-subḥān-allāh al-Ḳādir al-Khallāḳ*", "*Wa'llāhu 'alam*", "*Allāh'ın dediği olur*" or by the Qur'ānic verses about the utmost capacity of God. They seem to be integrated into the text to denote how '*ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* are illustrative of God's omnipotence.

57 "Bilmek gerek ki aydan ve güneşden 'acā'ibraḳ 'ālemde nesne yokdur, ammā ādemī anları dāim görmegisin 'acā'ibliğinden gāfil olur." Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, *'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T.897, fol. 30b.

58 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-raḥmān, *'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, fol. 2a.

b) Meaning

There is no fixed use of '*ajīb* and *gharīb* in the Ottoman examples of cosmographical/geographical content. Both terms are used interchangebly for wondrous, miraculous, rare and strange. In other words, their usage is not strictly drawn, rather its scope is inclusive of one another. For example, *gharīb* does not necessarily mean something that occurs through the intervention of a divine power or influence (in al-Qazwīnī's words) but it can also be a man-made or natural wonder or simply an astonishing or interesting thing that deserves admiration. It is frequently coupled with *ṣanʿat* (artisanship). For example, the term *ṣanʿat-ı garībe* is used for a special textile production; or animals like elephants and giraffes in China were also defined as *gharīb*. Here are dichotomic categories to keep in mind while we think about the phenomena.

close/central/local/	**vs.**	far/periphery/fringe/liminal/frontier
familiar/known/civilized	**vs.**	unfamiliar/exotic/ barbarous/uncivilized/foreign
comprehensible	**vs.**	incomprehensible/hidden/secret

One could also play with these categories to determine how they work for descriptions of wonder in the Ottoman texts, e.g. close vs. exotic; comprehensible vs. unfamiliar. So, it is best not to define them strictly in contrast to each other.

1. Inaccessibility, beyond human reach:

Since the whole cosmos is perceived as the reflection of God's omnipotence and wisdom, wondrous aspects of His creation are noted in every realm of existence: The heavens and the earth; close and distant geographies; visible or invisible; accessible or inaccesible. Some wondrous and strange things are described to be beyond human reach (e.g. the heavenly realms, Mt. Qāf and Water of Life).

It might be surprising but in the descriptions of the heavens, with their gigantic cosmic entities such as the Throne of God (*al-ʿarsh*), the Tablet (*al-lawḥ*), the Footstool (*al-kursī*), there is less use of *ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* than in those describing earthly entities. Although they are much grandeur in appearence and more "extraordinary", one would not observe very explicit usage of '*ajīb* and *gharīb* in their descriptions. This does not mean that they are not astonishing or admiring. Surely they are. But they are not especially characterized with the derivaties of '*ajībah* and *gharībah*. But the case of Paradise seems to be

different. It is noted for its wondrous mountains, trees, rivers and palaces.[59] Among them are a wine that flows in the direction of people's movement[60]or a kind of wine called *tesnīm* that refills itself by its own nature.[61] The Sun and Moon are also counted amongst the *'ajā'ib*, with specially stress placed on the function of the Sun for nature and human survival.[62]

Only some legendary/mythical/religious figures such as Jesus, Khiḍr, Alexander, and Muḥammad (mostly in reference to his *mi'rāj*, ascension to Heavens) set foot in the realms beyond ordinary human reach. They are treated as the "constant travelers" who witnessed the wonders of the universe.[63] The *'ajā'ib* of inaccessible realms are verified through their experiences. In other words, the veracity of wonders is authenticated via their observations or experiences. This provides the impression that only extraordinary figures are privy to extraordinary phenomena. And perhaps implicit within this is the relevance of the composition of "wonder-books." Because they talk about things that not everyone can easily gain access to. For example, in the *Dürr-i Meknūn*, Alexander encounters the angel (*ferişte*) who is the custodian of the legendary Mt. Qāf, the greatest of all mountains which surrounds the Encircling Ocean and the inhabited world (*rub'-ı meskūn*). As a globe-trotter, Alexander asks the angel about her duties. As the angel begins narrating, the reader learns how earthquakes occur. The angel declares that the roots of all mountains are connected to Mt. Qāf and under its control. Whenever God desires for an earthquake to occur in a specific region, the mountain pulls the root connected to that area and the earthquake rattles that specific location.[64]

59 *DM*, 139.

60 *DM*, 98.

61 "Anuñ 'acāyibi bu kim bir ḳadeḥ içseñ boş olduḳda havādan cezb ider yine ṭopṭolu olur." *DM*, 101. This reminds one the Qur'ānic verse referring to *Tasnīm* as a spring in the Paradise drunken by those close to God. See 83: 27–28.

62 "Göklerüñ 'acāyibinden biri bu güneşdür ki 'āleme żiyā virür. Ṣoñra nebātāta ve fevākihe terbiyyet viren bu güneşdür. Allāhu ta'ālānuñ emriyile yirden ṣuyı cezb ider, yaġmurlar yaġdurur. Allāhu ta'ālā aña bu ḫāṣıyyeti virmişdür." *DM*, 105.

63 Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, *'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T. 897, fol. 4a; *DM*, 150.

64 *DM*, 130, 135.

2. Wonders of the earth

As regards the earth, various aspects of its flora, fauna and inhabitants are also characterized among *ʿajāʾib* and *gharāʾib*. For example, China is noted to be a place of wonders with its cities filled with strange animals such as elephants, giraffes and rhinoceros.[65] In the entry for Umman, when a snake called *sekrān* is caught and made captive it becomes invisible and no one knows where it disappears.[66] An interesting apple, half sweet, half sour is attributed to Istakhr in Iran.[67] In one of the copies of Aḥmed-i Bīcān's abridged translation, one comes across with a marginal note. It is an example how contemporary readers might contribute to the collection of *ʿajāʾib* from their own milieu. The main text, having discussed the springs in Jurjan, makes mention of a fountain known as the Waters of Starling (Tr. Sığırcık) between Isfahan and Shiraz. It is said that starlings like the water there and wherever one spills water, starlings arrive and feed on any locusts in the vicinity. The marginal note, (handwriting different than the scribe) claims that Kastamonu also collected some water from there and brought it to his hometown of İskilib (*kātibü'l-ḥurūf*). According to the note, in this town, starlings flew to the water to drink it and when they stayed in the town, the locusts disappeared.[68]

3. The self and the other in the faraway and exotic

Wonders are everywhere. Yet, the most wondrous and strange entities seem to be found on the islands of the Encircling Ocean (*Baḥr-ı Muḥīṭ cezīreleri*). The entities found here consist of hybrid creatures, djinns, demons and plants, animals and minerals with bizarre peculiarities. For example, a specific fish,

65 Alī b. ʿAbdu'r-raḥmān, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, fol. 103a.

66 "Ve ānda [ʿUmmān] bir nevʿ yılān olur sekrān dirler. Lākin ziyān itmez eğer bu yılānı bir bardağa ve yāhūd bir gayri zarfa koyub dahī azgın muhkem bağlasalar ve bu zarfı dahī bir āhar kaba koysalar ol vilāyetten çıktıkları gibi bu yılān ol kāb içinden nā-bedīd olur. Kande gitdüğün kimse bilmez ve bu hikmet gāyet ʿacā'ibdendir." Maḥmūd b. Ḫatib, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib*, Esad Efendi 2051, fols. 51a–51b.

67 "... ve İṣṭaḫr'da bir dürlü elma var ki dünyānun ʿacā'ibindendür. Bir yanı ekşi olur begāyet ve bir yanı tatludur." ʿAlī b. ʿAbdu'r-raḥmān,*ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, fol. 84b.

68 "Vilāyet-i Rūm'da Kastamonu sancağına tabi Ers (?) nahiyesinde dahı vardır. Sığırcık suyu Kātibü'l-Hurūf kendü mevlid olan İskilib'e getürdiler. Sığırcıklar geldüler çekirgeleri def ettiler, gördük deyü rivāyet eder. Zikrolunan suyu Iskilib'de Camī'-i Kebir'e asmışlardır. Hala durur." Aḥmed-i Bīcān, *Terceme-i ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Hacı Beşir Ağa 656, fol. 6a.

namely *saḳanḳur* is reported to have rejuvenating effect over those touch it.[69] A wondrous rabbit-like animal (*'acīb cānevār*) yellow in colour with a dark horn is also mentioned as a scary animal making all predators and wild animals run away. It appears as one of the wondrous presents and strange rarities (*hedāyā-yı 'acībe ve tuḥfe-i garībe*) given to Alexander by the people of the island Müstekīn (?) when he saved them from a dragon.[70]

In addition, their inhabitants are also characterized by strange forms, in some cases they are hybrids (e.g. cynocephali, boneless and slip-footed nations and flying people) or have undesirable features such as being savage, aggressive, nude, cannibal, licentious, irreligious and non-compliant. The description of the isles in the *Dürr-i Meknūn* deserves special consideration because it reveals a lot about the various island communities who were ignorant to the ideas of the oneness of God, chastity, mourning, respect for one's relatives and the elderly.[71] In the translation of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, the Island of Zanj is said to be inhabited by people who fly like birds from one tree to another,[72] the Island of Caye by people whose faces are on their chests,[73] the Island of Saḳsar by dog-headed and slip-footed creatures.[74] In the *Dürr-i Meknūn*, the beautiful women of Ẕatü'l-Iṭlāḳ, a city close to India are portrayed as being liberated enough to be able to approach foreign men without any problems from their own men who are described as ugly.[75] On the Island of Women (*Cezīretü'n-nisā*) women become pregnant either by the wind or by eating the fruit of a certain tree. This description is followed by an incantation: "I seek shelter in God, the way of the birth and the intercourse is marvelous and how it is done is strange.[76]" and two Quranic verses (22:6 and 22:70) on the omnipotence of God.[77] Such descriptions in the far-off places can tell about the imagining of

69 *DM*, 182.

70 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-'Acā'ib*, Esad Efendi 2051, fols 79a–79b.

71 See especially *DM*, 142-144.

72 "... anun ḫalḳı ağaçdan ağaca ḳuş gibi uçarlar, bu 'aceb-i ḥikmet ve sırr-ı ḳudretdir." Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-'Acā'ib*, Bratislava copy 429, fol. 128v.

73 Ibid., fol. 145r.

74 Ibid., fols. 171r.–174r.

75 *DM*, 150.

76 "Fe-subḥān-allāhu'l-'aẕīm ẕukūr-ile muḳārenet olmadın tevālüd ve tenāsül olduğu emr-i 'acīb ve fi'l-i garībdir." Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-'Acā'ib*, Esad Efendi 2051, fols. 74a–74b.

77 Ibid.

the self and others. When astonishment is invoked for bizarre traits of others, the audience might be expected to be grateful for its own conditions, i.e. living in Islamdom, not being part of those communities who had extraordinary customs, and conditions. But on the other hand, one might also feel a kind of "envy" or "desire" for certain wonders such as the wondrous rejuvenating effect of *saḳanḳur* or beautiful islander women who are easily able to engage in intercourse with strangers.

4. Capacity of the bygone civilizations

The bygone prosperity of ancient civilizations, especially the ornamented and elaborate buildings of antiquity, (i.e. towers, temples, bridges or statues) are also counted among the wonders and oddities. These are mostly man-made rather than natural wonders. Egypt, Babylon, Constantinople,[78] Alexandria[79] are especially noted with regard to their ancient monuments and talismans. For example, the Pyramids are described as mysterious artifacts filled with wonders and oddities such as carved models of the stars that show all things that happened in the past and will happen in the future; or stone coffins on which prophecies of fortune tellers are imprinted.[80] One of the most striking wonders is the tower (*mināre*) of Alexandria, the portion of which was covered by one thousand and one mirrors (*āyine-i cihān-nümā*) that could burn enemy ships through its reflection of sunlight.[81] In the *Dürr-i Meknūn*, this tower appears in Constantinople.[82]

The *Dürr-i Meknūn* referred to the Temple of Solomon (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) as the most wondrous place of worship, a perfect temple in every respect. In a biblical story featuring David and Solomon, the temple is presented as

78 As the capital of Byzantine Empire, the city is mentioned with regard to its protective talismans, columns, hippodrome, the imperial palace and Hagia Sophia. Cf. Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, Ali Emiri T. 897, fol. 126b; cf. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-raḥmān, '*Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, fols. 137b–138b; *DM*, 154.

79 Alexandria for example is noted for its grid plan. "...*Ve bu şehrün evleri ve bāzārları 'acā'ib hendeseyle yapmışdur İskender rik'a-ı saṭranc miṣāl üzerine..*" Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, *'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T. 897, fol. 63b.

80 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-'Acā'ib*, Nuruosmaniye 2999, fols 24b–25a.

81 Ibid., fol. 20b.

82 *DM*, 154. For Yerasimos's remarks on this point see S. Yerasimos, *Légendes d'Empire: La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Paris 1990).

having been built not only with man-power but also by djinns, demons and fairies who carried beautiful marbles, columns, gold, silver and diamonds for it from all over the world. The reign of Solomon is noted for its many wonders. Through the seal of universal rulership brought down for him from Paradise, Solomon is depicted as having an extraordinary capacity to rule over animals, fairies, djinns and demons. He had a wondrous throne carried by the winds and with the ability to travel at great speed.[83]

Similar cities of antiquity, medieval Muslim cities such as Cordoba or Baghdad are also mentioned in admiring terms. For example, the architectural aspects of a monastery in Andalusia are described as "*ṣavma'a-ı ʿacībe ve ḫacer-i garībe*" whereas a bridge in Cordoba as "*bir ʿacīb ve ṭavrı garīb köprü*".[84]

5. Miracles

Many prophetic and saintly miracles (e.g. God's resurrection of the dead upon Abraham's special request for it) are counted among the *ʿajā'ib*.[85] Yet, unlike al-Qazwīnī's definition of *ġarīb*, not every divine intervention or prophetic/saintly miracles are defined as *ġarīb*. They are mostly referred to as *ʿajā'ib* or simply referred to be miracles. The Prophet Muḥammad's alleged splitting of the Moon is an example.[86] The miraculous story of the Seven Sleepers is also accounted among *ʿajā'ib*.[87] But perhaps it is because it is referred to in this way in the Qur'ān (18:9): "Or dost thou think the Men of the Cave and Er-Rakeem were among Our signs, a wonder?"[88]

c) Wonderment

Wonderment is expressed through different phrases. The most frequent ones are as follows: "*taʿaccüb etmek*"[89], *ʿacebe ḳalıb müteḥayyir olmaḳ*, *naẓar edip*

83 *DM*, 157-158; 164, 166.

84 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib*, Nuruosmaniye 2999, fol. 13b.

85 Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T. 897, fol. 4a.

86 "Tā ḥaddī ki bu ʿalāmeti Çīn ü Māçīn'de ve Hindūstān'da gördiler ki ay iki pāre oldı, ana vardılar, tārīḫ ḳodılar, sonra muʿcizāt-ı Muḥammed imiş bildiler." Rükne'd-dīn Aḥmed, *ʿAcā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt*, Ali Emiri T. 897, fols 32a; Cf. *DM,* 107.

87 *DM*, 201.

88 A. Arberry, *The Koran interpreted* (London 1955), Vol. 1, 316.

89 When Nimrod witnesses the fire transformed into a rose garden instead of burning Abraham. "Ve daḫı Nemrūd-ı la'īn İbrāhim ʿaleyhi's-selāmı oda atıcaḳ, od aña gülistān oldı.

ḫayrān ḳalmak, '*aceb temāşā ḳılmaḳ*". To exemplify this, people were claimed to have been astonished when a global earthquake occurred on the day Prophet Muḥammad was born and the domes of the Christian churches collapsed and the fires of the Zoroastrians were miraculously extinguished.[90] Another anectode concerns Caliph al-Ma'mūn and his attempt to demolish the greatest pyramid which incurred a high expense for him. As recounted in the story, he discovers a large hoard of gold among the ruins of the demolished(!) pyramid. When the value of the treasure was estimated, it emerged that it matched exactly what he had spent on the destruction of the pyramid, and this rendered him astonished (*taʿaccüb itdi*).[91] The story implicitly depicts the Caliph's act of destruction as one of piety. His discovery of the gold is representative of a re-payment by God in return for his pious acts. It functions as an illustration of God repaying the value of one's effort for something, a common motif in the Qur'ān.

Concluding remarks

Examination of '*ajīb* and *gharīb* in early modern Ottoman texts provides exciting new frontiers for exploration, i.e. to investigate how the cosmos was envisioned by past generations, how typologies of wonder are traced back to ancient times, how ancient arts and architecture were met with astonishment or admiration, and how prophetic tales ensure God's justice. The cosmos and most of its aspects are undeniably wondrous; but those aspects beyond the realm of one's immediate access seem especially more wondrous. All those wondrous hybrid creatures, or nations with strange customs generally appear to be located in distant geographies. It may not be a coincidence that this manifests linguistically and that the words 'outlandish' and 'far-out' are also synonyms for 'bizarre'. This does not imply that there are no wonders in the

Nemrūd anı gördi taʿaccüb eyledi." *DM*, 177.

90 "Ḳaçan kim Ḥazret-i Rasūlu'llāh 'am dünyāya gelicek şeyṭān-ı laʿīni ḥabs itdiler. 'Ālemde zelzele oldı. Kilīsalaruñ ḳubbeleri aşaġa yire geçdi. Putları ser-nügūn oldı. Ol od kim Mecūsīler aña ṭaparlardı, gice ve gündüz yanardı. Şeyṭān 'aleyhi ʾl-laʿne od içine girüp ḫazīn āvāz-ile kāfirlere ivā iderdi. Ol gice sögündi. Ṭāḳ-ı kisrīyile 'Acem şāhınuñ dīvān-ḫānesi çatlayup niçesinüñ 'aḳlı başından gitdi... Ol gice bir 'alāmet oldı ki ḫalḳ-ı 'ālem taʿaccübe ḳalup müteḫayyir oldılar." *DM*, 127.

91 Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed, *Terceme-i Ḫarīdetü'l-ʿAcā'ib,* Nuruosmaniye 2999, fol. 25a.

nearby geographies. The half-sour, half-sweet apples of Istahr or the wondrous talismans of Constantinople are evidence of this. But the "distant nature of wonders" is far more striking. When I speak of distance, I do not necessarily mean only distant in terms of space but also in time and culture. The ancient wonders of the Mediterranean or wonders of Byzantine Constantinople for example; they are distant in time and culture. Or should I say distinctive? What is distant in space, time and culture seem to be treated distinctive, dissimilar, distinguishable, therefore more worthy of direct one's attention to. So, the audience may feel perplexed and astonished in the face of God's omnipotence and magnificence. As the reader contemplates these wonders, they can realize how diverse His creation is, how unexpected, and how interesting it is. And in some cases, the reader is confronted with how wonders are beyond the scope of their physical and mental "access." When the audience learns about them through the cosmographical texts, in their religious imagination, God becomes even more praiseworthy, more admirable and more magnificent. This seems to be an essential function of '*ajā'ib* and *gharā'ib* in these texts.

Yet, wonders are also about "enchanting" one's own environment. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed integrated various examples into his translation based on his hearsay and personal experiences.[92] Sariyannis examined a similar case also for other Ottoman figures such as Cinānī. Just to add one more example; the aforementioned marginal note in Aḥmed-i Bīcān's *Terceme-i 'Acā'ibü'l-Maḫlūḳāt* demonstrates that some wonders are even transmittable from one place to another, along with their wondrous functions. Such examples reveal that the wonders noted for "distant" geographies, time frames and cultures may also manifest in the "here" and "now". This is not a far-fetched possibility. Because everything is possible in God's realm. This assertion would convince the audience that wonders are also a part of their daily reality.

What I have shared above are merely some preliminary explorations of the current state of my research. Surely, the analysis will be broadened in the subsequent steps when more texts from later periods are elaborated.

92 F. Coşkun, "An Ottoman preacher's perception of a medieval cosmography: Maḥmūd al-Ḫaṭīb's translation of the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa Farīḍat al-Gharā'ib*", *Al-Masaq: Islam and Mediterranean*, 23 (2011), 53–66.

International workshop "Nature and the supernatural in Ottoman culture" (Istanbul, December 14-15, 2019): a report

Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno)

The international workshop "Nature and the supernatural in Ottoman culture", the first of a series to be organized in the context of the research project "GHOST: Geographies and Histories of the Ottoman Supernatural Tradition: Exploring Magic, the Marvelous, and the Strange in Ottoman Mentalities" (funded by the European Research Council, CoGr2017 no. 771766), took place in Istanbul on December 14-15, 2019, at the hospitable premises of Columbia Global Centers | Istanbul (https://globalcenters.columbia.edu/istanbul).[1]

From the point of view of cultural history, reality can be described as a continuum, ranging from tangible objects to natural phenomena, from

1 See https://globalcenters.columbia.edu/news/nature-and-supernatural-ottoman-culture-workshop

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matters of everyday experience, to things felt but unseen, as well as to things (commonly) unfelt and unseen but, nevertheless, considered to exist. Each of these categories are divided by most human cultures into different spheres, some explicable, some ordinary, but with causes unattainable for the human intellect, and some completely inexplicable as pertaining solely to the will and actions of a supreme being. We name these spheres, whose borders and extent shift in history (e.g. through a "disenchantment" process) or even within a given culture at a given moment, as nature, the preternatural and the supernatural; and Islamicate cultures have seen the world through similar categories (*aja'ib, ghara'ib, al-ghayb, kharik al-'ada* and so forth). Furthermore, diverse cultures throughout history have developed technologies aiming to exercise some control over things considered beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind (magic, divination and other occult sciences).

European as well as non-Ottoman (and especially pre-Ottoman) Islamicate perceptions and techniques dealing with the supernatural have been the object of intense study for more than a century. However, very little work has been undertaken with respect to Ottoman culture. No more than a handful of scholars have touched upon questions related to perceptions on what is supernatural and what is not, what can be explained and controlled and what is dependable only on God's will, to what extent everyday reality is intermingled with supernatural elements. Nor do we have more than very few studies of Ottoman occult sciences; while it is true that historians of Islamic magic often reach as far as Taşköprüzade and Kâtib Çelebi, they only do so through their works in Arabic and without examining their historical context.

The workshop sought to explore this research potential, gathering together scholars interested in the topic with the aim of future collaboration. Fifteen scholars from all over the world, representing Ottomanists, Arabists, and Neohellenists, explored topics related to wonders, the supernatural, and occult practices in the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman world.

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The first session was devoted to wonders and marvels. In his paper, entitled "Bewitched and bewildered: wonder in early modern Ottoman society", **Ido Ben-Ami** (Tel Aviv University, Israel) addressed Barbara H. Rosenwein's notion of "emotional communities", in order to discuss how the early modern Ottoman elite society of Istanbul formed a community, whose members were encouraged

to practice a unique sense of bewilderment at both natural and supernatural phenomena. Such bewilderment (*hayrat*/*hayret*) was understood by the Ottomans as wonder. A theory dealing with this emotion was first introduced to this emotional community in various medieval Islamic cosmographies, written on the Wonders-of-Creation. Readers were expected to experience this feeling when they were unable to understand the cause of a thing or how it was supposed to influence them when they witnessed it for the first time. As such, cosmographies encouraged their potential readers to turn sights of aesthetics experiences into an insightful experience of bewilderment/wonder. Analyzing various textual and pictorial sources, Ben-Ami highlighted how this group encouraged the occurrence of wonder, further illustrating how individuals (such as Evliya Çelebi, for instance, attempted to introduce themselves as having had such experiences. Therefore, he argued that for the early modern Ottoman elite, the scientific importance of cosmographies lay within the social function they conveyed, and not necessarily with the veracity of their content. Nevertheless, this mentality did not persist beyond the seventeenth century, as from then on, with the influence of modern geographical studies, members of the elite (e.g. Kâtib Çelebi) abandoned the cosmographic theory of wonder and thus the need to contemplate God in the beauty of nature.

The paper by **Feray Coşkun** (Özyeğin University, Turkey), "Wondrous and strange in fifteenth century Ottoman cosmographies" took up the same category of cosmographical texts, focusing on a corpus of early specimens, all dated before the sixteenth century: namely, Ali b. Abdurrahman's late fourteenth-century *Acaibü'l-Mahlukat*, Rükneddin Ahmed's text of the same title, and the famous *Dürr-i Meknun*, attributed to Ahmed Bican. After discussing the main theories and taxonomies concerning this genre (or even its very existence, as in the case of Syrinx von Hees), Coşkun examined each text focusing on the use of terminology and concepts, as well as with the motivation each author provides for embarking on the composition of his work. As she demonstrated, the theme of personal, sensory experience was a strong focus of this literature, which also stresses the fact that wonders such as the ones described are not to be denied, as they constitute a specimen of God's omnipotence. Although the terms *aca'ib* and *ghara'ib* are not used consistently according to al-Qazwini's classification (on whose work, nevertheless, all these texts were based), the places filled with such marvels and wonders are univocally located in certain more or less mythical places, such as Mount Qaf or the islands of the Encircling

Ocean. Moreover, Coşkun highlighted some exemplary passages in these works concerning emotional reactions to such phenomena (e.g. terror, fear, admiration, curiosity, excitement, disgust, astonishment, delight), in order to demonstrate situations in which each of those reactions appear and how they are all associated with divine omnipotence.

The paper by **Güneş Işıksel** (Medeniyet University, Turkey), "Ḥamza in the realms beyond the mountain Ḳaf. Marvellous, magic and some minor chronotopes", dealt with a particular kind of the Ottoman romance genre (*destân*, *ḳiṣṣa* or *ḥikâye*), the *Ḥamzanâme*s. The written and oral romances performed by *meddâḥ*s represented an enchanted world populated by sorcerers, demons, jinns, fairies as well as other marvelous beings, supported by worldviews in which divine power was omnipresent, and "occult" practices and the supernatural phenomena were ubiquitous. Just as in the other popular romances, *Ḥamzanâme* consists of a great mass of episodes, loosely or closely connected and interrelated to various degrees. The main hero is Ḥamza b. ʿAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib, paternal uncle of the Prophet Muḥammed; however, action takes place during the reign of Sasanian shah Ḫusrev I Anuşirvân (r. 531-579), but more or less, in a dominantly Islamicate cultural context. In the end, Hamza not only conquered almost all of the inhabited quarters of the Earth (*rûbʿ-ı meskûn*) but he also subdued the non-human inhabitants of magic realms. In his paper, Işıksel analyzed *Hamza's Adventures in* the *Land of the Fairies at Mount Qaf*. The mountain is full of strange species, monsters and demons, with their realms, kings and queens, which are described in detail. Işıksel analyzed this fascinating story using the Bakhtinian concept of chronotope, explaining how the alienation of the hero from his surroundings provided a vehicle via which to describe a world full of wonders. In turn, this rendered his alienation more tangible to the audience. Thus, in these texts the *mirabilia* functioned as an mark of authentication, the specific task of which was to create plausibility and to imbue the narrated stories with realistic credibility.

Moving to a more scientific period of Ottoman geography, **Kaan Üçsu** (Istanbul University, Turkey) dealt in his paper with "*Ajā'ib* in Abu Bakr al-Dimashqî's geography". When Joan Blaeu's (d. 1673) *Atlas Maior* was presented to Mehmed IV as a gift by the Dutch ambassador to Istanbul in 1668, Abu Bakr al-Dimashqî (d. 1691), mudarris and geographer, embarked upon its translation by favour of Grand Vizir Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (1661-1676). This ten-year endeavour resulted in an eleven-volume book called *Nusrat al-*

Islam va'l Surûr fî Tahrîr Atlas Mayor. Upon its completion, al-Dimashqî also prepared an amended version of the translation in two volumes, *Mukhtasar Nusrat al-Islam*. Even the eleven-volume work, however, was not a word-for-word translation. Abu Bakr abridged and altered some parts of *Atlas Maior*. His alterations, predictably, were for the most part based upon Islamic sources and especially his predecessors Katib Çelebi's and Aşık Mehmed's works. In his paper, Üçsu sought to answer whether Abu Bakr differs in approaching *ajā'ib* phenomena from his predecessors; whether he included different motifs of *Ajā'ib* and if so, what his sources were; whether he added any supernatural motifs from Blaeu's atlas to the Ottoman corpus and so on. Üçsu's analysis showed that, as it so often happens with Ottoman sources, Abu Bakr's approach to wondrous and marvelous narratives does not adhere to a pattern: sometimes he disregards Kâtib Çelebi's skeptical comments, at others he seems to return to the Islamic tradition of *aja'ib* cosmographies or inserts information from unidentified sources.

Turning now from distant or even mythical places to the very heart of the Ottoman realm, what was the place of the occult in the early modern Istanbul? **Aslı Niyazioğlu**'s (Oxford University, United Kingdom) paper on "Urban talismans and early modern Istanbul" addressed this question by exploring what Ottoman cosmographers, geographers and historians wanted to tell about Istanbul's talismans from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. Early modern Ottomans often described ancient sculptures and columns of Istanbul as talismans. Following medieval Islamic and Byzantine traditions, they wrote how these monuments warded off danger and brought prosperity. Some of their stories are well-known and much repeated in the current scholarship. Yet, there has not been any in-depth analytical study of the occult's place in the city. Stories about the talismanic properties of ancient monuments have often been regarded as curious folkloric beliefs, tales of entertainment, or mere superstition and not viewed as legitimate subjects of "history." Many Ottoman writers, however, paid special attention to Istanbul's monuments. When presenting stories about urban talismans, they frequently urged the reader to approach the subject with utmost care. For them, stories of talismans offered a unique perspective on the city's past and the future. Through a study of five selected stories from cosmologies, chronicles and treatises on talismans produced in Ottoman Turkish from the late fourteenth to late seventeenth-centuries, Niyazioğlu explored the changing meanings of

the occult and its place in early modern Istanbul. As she demonstrated, while in texts composed in the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries we often encounter stories about statues mostly as a warning about the transitory nature of power, in the late fifteenth century texts we find Istanbul's monuments teeming with occult power. These stories suggest the spread of the interest in lettrism in this period. By the mid-sixteenth century, however, stories about the lettrist talismans wane and the depictions of talismans which unite celestial and terrestrial forces emerge in treatises on talismans and universal histories. Still, as Niyazioğlu remarked, different stories do not necessarily replace each other. On the contrary, diverse accounts of Istanbul's talismans circulated together in the late sixteenth-century geographical works.

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The second session turned to Ottoman visions of the world, focusing in the relation with the Hereafter in its various forms. **Aslıhan Aksoy-Sheridan** (TED University, Turkey), in her paper on "Taming the *nefs*: metempsychosis (*tenāsüh*) as recorded in a 17th-century *mecmūʿa*", studied a late-seventeenth-century miscellany (*mecmu'a*) of the collection of the University of Michigan, containing a variety of texts ranging from poetry to stories and from lists to prayers. Among these texts, a particular story (based on a *hadith* tradition) describes twenty different animals and two stars, presented together with colourful anecdotes about how each of these beings had once been flawed humans before undergoing metempsychosis or *tenâsüh*—a belief that, while utterly contrary to Sunnite Islamic doctrine, had clearly taken deep enough root in popular belief systems as to survive and be recorded. In her analysis, Aksoy-Sheridan showed how this text, particularly when considered in conjunction with the compilation's other texts, can be seen as a mental exercise on the overarching theme of taming the *nefs* (the appetitive soul), guiding the *mecmu'a*'s owner, compiler, or reader in terms of how the appetitive instincts of the *nefs* may be controlled. Thus, the *mecmu'a* served as something akin to a mantra, transforming apparently diverse and quite unrelated texts into a kind of practical spiritual handbook, thereby reshaping it into a significant historical source for early modern Ottoman popular beliefs about the *nefs* and, more broadly, the supernatural.

The paper by **Side Emre** (Texas A&M University, USA), with the title "A preliminary study of mystical cosmologies in the early modern Ottoman

world: authorship, esoteric content and inspirations in quest for a new type of learning", follows a discussion of illustrative diagrams by Ahmet Karamustafa.[2] Emre argued that early modern Ottoman Sufi poets/authors—in particular, members of the Khalwatiyya and its offshoots—and their literature surprise us with an unexpected phenomenon: narratives with diagrams, letters, numbers, illustrations, and tables with esoteric content. Emre focused on the *Daire-i Cihannuma* by the sixteenth-century Khalwati poet Shaykh Bayezid, but, as she showed, similar diagrams are present in various Sufi works of the Ottoman period. As her research indicated, Ottoman Sufis drew diagrams to depict a knowledge that combined "science", as in the scientific study of letters and numerology, with that of Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*), as in the study of the Divine and "the sacred". Relying only in part on Ibn al-Arabi's influence, this eclectic methodology aimed to achieve a harmonious understanding of the mechanics of the Universe These Sufi authors prioritized drawing diagrams with esoteric content to prove their points: a novel and unstudied phenomenon, which we do not see in the mainstream Islamic religious literature of the period produced in the Ottoman domains. Investigating the mystical and visual cosmologies in historical and textual context, Emre's paper opened paths to exploring new formations of knowledge in the early modern Ottoman world, formations that harmonized Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian "scientific" knowledge with Islamic (and especially Akbarian) mysticism and Qur'anic teachings.

In his paper, **Irvin Cemil Schick** (EHESS, France) investigated "The legitimation of occult practices of dubious orthodoxy: a review of physiognomy, oneiromancy, and magic in Islam". The central question he sought to answer was the following: with a multitude of verses, the Qur'ān makes clear its opposition to the practice of occult sciences by ordinary mortals. And yet, they were practiced widely and not by any means as marginal traditions. Indeed, the caliph ʿUthmān and the imam Shāfiʿī were celebrated as expert physiognomists, and the prophet Muḥammad himself—let alone Yūsuf and Danyāl—was said to be a gifted oneirocrit. How can the *sharīʿah*'s distaste for divination be reconciled with the latter's widespread acceptance, from the dawn of Islam

2 A. Karamustafa, "Cosmographical Diagrams", in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago 1992), 71–89.

to the present day? Schick offered to answer this question by reviewing the various means in which such practices were legitimated throughout history, as they appear in extant treatises. That many such texts begin with lengthy lists of citations from the Qur'ān and the ḥadīths which can, often with some effort, be interpreted as sanctioning practices such as physiognomy and oneirocriticism suggests a path for the legitimation of occult practices; yet, according to Schick, this is only one of several ways in which they were historically justified. He suggested that a careful reading of treatises from the Middle Ages to the modern era reveals other, subtler means by which occult practices were legitimated. Occult sciences in Islam, Schick argued, are viewed basically as reading and writing practices: divination corresponds to a reading of divine signs (including features of the human body) or of supernatural entities such as the Preserved Tablet, whereas in the same way magic can be conceptualized as a writing practice. Thus, given the doctrinal centrality of reading and writing in Islam, many Muslims considered occult sciences as part of the theory and practice of Islamic faith.

Marinos Sariyannis (Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Greece) spoke on "Knowledge and control of the future in Ottoman thought". Sariyannis chose to focus on foretelling the future as a *par excellence* occult practice of knowing the *ghayb* or "hidden" and sought to conduct a survey of the ways by which Ottomans attempted to predict future events; of the discussions on whether this is possible for ordinary human beings. Although there were "secular" or "historical" interpretations that claimed to be able to predict future events on the basis of historical experience, most of such discussions emphasized the possibility of human access to knowledge of the supernatural or preternatural world. Sariyannis categorized these ways into three large categories: predictions based on a direct contact with the *ghayb*, through dreams or visions or, at any rate, miraculous epiphanies; predictions based on occult sciences connecting the Written Word, the Qur'an, with the world, namely the science of letters; and predictions based on a more materialistic (yet occult) perception of universal hierarchies, namely an astrological conception of the world. Sariyannis argued that belief in historical laws, which had permeated intellectual circles throughout the eighteenth century, led to a shift of "foretelling" theories and practices from a supernatural to a natural, historical and markedly secular sphere. This rejection of any links between natural phenomena and historical events appears to have prevailed by the second half of the eighteenth century.

Furthermore, as argued by Sariyannis, this shift may be connected both to the Kadızadelis who rebutted the (Halveti) Sufis' claim of a marked presence of the supernatural in everyday life, and to the Nakşbendis who with their emphasis on "particular will" and human agency seem to have been pivotal agents for what may be referred to as a "disenchantment of the world".[3]

Finally, **Guy Burak**'s paper (New York University, USA) concerned "Materiality and 'calligraphy' in the section on invocations, prayers and magic squares in the Palace library of Bayezid II". Using as source material the section of Bayezid's library dealing with invocations, qualities of the Quran and of the Names of God, prayers and magic squares, as described in the librarian Atufi's catalogue,[4] Burak pinpointed the librarian's interest in calligraphic styles and calligraphers, drawing attention to scripts and alphabets as a means of reaching the divine, but also to the materiality of talismanic objects using letters and alphabets. He highlighted the connection of calligraphy and scripts with al-Bistami's lettrism, and through it also to other talismanic practices. Indeed, al-Bistami's work, along with introducing Ibn Arabi's and al-Buni's earlier lettrist theories to the Ottoman world, included an elaborate theory on the writing process, with its various tools and stages corresponding to specific faculties of the soul and the mind, but also on the various historic alphabets and their secret attributes. Burak emphasized the compatibility of these alphabets to one another and to the Arabic, as well as the ethnographic aspect of al-Bistami's work, in the context of a long Islamicate tradition, whose most well-known work is Ibn Wahshiyya's treatise on alphabets. Talismanic qualities seem to have been attributed to certain types of alphabets, Burak suggested, especially to the kufic script, which was predominantly used in panels, pages in albums, and other objects. According to Burak, calligraphy, one of the major forms of artistic production in Ottoman culture, may be regarded from a different perspective, as the calligrapher was perhaps considered someone who could produce his own specific "alphabet" endowed with talismanic qualities.

3 See the extended version of the paper published in this issue.

4 G. Burak, "The Section on Prayers, Invocations, Unique Qualities of the Qur'an, and Magic Squares in the Palace Library Inventory", in G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar and C. H. Fleischer (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, 2 vols (Leiden 2019), 341–366.

The third session focused on occult practices and their place in politics and everyday life. **Jean-Charles Coulon** (IRHT-CNRS, France) opened this session with his paper "The occult response to the Black Death: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī's *Kitāb Waṣf al-dawā'*". Coulon examined the vocabulary relating to plagues (*ta'un* refers to disease in a general sense and that which corrupts bodies, whereas *waba'* refers to that which corrupts the air) as well as the typology of Islamicate medicine in this period (*tibb*, prophetic medicine—*tibb nabawi*—and spiritual medicine, *tibb ruhani*). Following this, Coulon presented a small treatise on the subject of plagues by al-Bistami, the early Ottoman occultist *par excellence*, who had evidently experienced some episodes of plague during his life. Coulon sought to put al-Bistami's treatise against both some predecessors, namely a treatise by al-Buni and other similar texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries containing invocations against plague, and some contemporaneous treatises. He illustrted that, whereas jinn as agents are important in al-Bistami's contemporaries (such as al-Shushtari), they are not present in the two treatises of al-Bistami on plague. Importantly, al-Bistami makes allusions to Prophets, philosophers like Plato and other figures like Hermes, linking the science of letters and magical squares to the ancient Delian problem (also connected with the plague in the Hermetic tradition); thus, as Coulon demonstrated, he aimed to reconcile the ancient (primarily Greek) tradition with the Islamic one.

Taking the lead in studying natural- and supernatural-minded responses to the plague, **Kostas Sarris** (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany) gave the workshop a glimpse of the Greek Orthodox world with his presentation on "Magical amulets, dried toads and confession: healing the plague between *iatrosophia* and Paracelsianism in the late 17th century Ottoman Ioannina". Sarris' focus was on a Greek text dated to the last quarter of the seventeenth century and originating from the region of Ioannina (Yanya). This *Brief Interpretation about the pestilence, that is the plague*, written by the "priest Michail" (later known as Meletios of Athens), contains information concerning the possible ways of contagion, as well as various advice regarding both precautions against the disease or even its cure. Although this short treatise seems, at first glance, to originate from the long-lasting, popular iatrosophic tradition of "medical wisdom", Sarris showed that its content has almost nothing to do either with that tradition or with its coeval medical practice in the peninsula. Instead, the *Brief Interpretation* introduces into the broader Ottoman medical knowledge

preternatural elements (magical amulets, miraculous medicaments and powders), which derive directly from the early European Paracelsianism and its occult medical science.

Ahmet Tunç Şen's (Columbia University, USA) paper was on "Manuscript fragments of everyday divination and tracing the Ottoman history of emotions". Şen's source material for this presentation consisted of various kinds of shorter or longer notes, varying from invocations to God for the help of the hidden saints to methods of predicting the duration of a judge's post and so forth, which can be found scattered in various collections of texts. As he demonstrated, such notes can be read as emotional outbursts of individuals and give us valuable glimpses on their authors' spiritual and actual worries and emotions. Furthermore, Şen presented a mid-sixteenth century miscellany with similar notes, authored by the scholar Za'ifi, and with a painstaking study of the author's life and career, as well as of the names mentioned in these divinatory texts, he tried to associate the texts to key moments of his life. Thus, Şen highlighted the fact that such texts can reveal the particular moment and anxiety which might have led an author to search and produce them, thus showing the potential of notes of this kind for a microhistorical study and especially one focusing on the history of emotions.

Harun Bekir Küçük (University of Pennsylvania, USA) spoke about "The power of prayer in early eighteenth-century Ottoman chronicles". Focusing on a case from the mid-seventeenth century recorded in Na'ima's work, where the power of prayer is juxtaposed with the pragmatic use of expenses, Küçük sought to trace the actual role and functionality of prayer in eighteenth-century Ottoman mentalities. Küçük's analysis questioned what is usually perceived as the dominant role of religion, as opposed to pragmatism; instances of *waqf* money used for military purposes, for instance, indicate that Ottoman administrators at the time were less inclined to be led by pious considerations than we usually tend to think. Furthermore, Küçük drew a distinction between general prayer (*hayr duası*) and *beddua* or "curse", the latter connected with tyranny (*zulm*) and seeming perhaps more effective for eighteenth-century chronicles. Küçük illustrated the importance of such cases for the current discussions on disenchantment and rationalism in the Ottoman culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Finally, **Ethan L. Menchinger** (University of Manchester, United Kingdom) presented a paper titled "The battle of Haçova/Mezőkeresztes (1596):

myth, miracle, and political theology in the Ottoman Empire". This particular battle was noted for its unexpected turn and final outcome, when the seemingly routed Ottoman forces rallied and won a total victory against the Habsburgs. Menchinger employed the concept of "political theology", i.e. of the use of theological concepts to interpret or legitimize political systems and actions, in studying the different representations of this battle, which had acquired miraculous dimensions from the very beginning. Contemporaneous and later chroniclers spoke of armies of angels, spirits or the "hidden ones" (*rical-ı gayb*), which helped drive back the enemy. What is perhaps more interesting is the presence of the Prophet's relics, carried onto the battlefield by the sultan; as Menchinger showed, these relics began to play a significant role in later narrations, when the personal role of the Sultan Mehmed III was highlighted. In eighteenth century histories, other ways of interpretation also appeared, connected with the current discussions on the role of "particular will" or Ottoman exceptionalism.

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As we stated in the beginning, the aim of the workshop was to map the field, to gauge how much the *problématique* raised by the GHOST project is relevant and present in the Ottomanist scholarship. Without doubt, the result was beyond expectation. Not only were all of the papers of extraordinary scholarly quality, but the organizers were forced to reject many more valuable contributions due to financial and time restraints. The workshop highlighted the dynamics of the field, and it is hoped that it marks the beginning of a renewed interest on Ottoman perceptions of nature, of occultism, of the role of the supernatural factor. Among the issues raised by the papers and the discussions that ensued, we must pinpoint the need to include various sociocultural strata (especially the underrepresented vernacular culture) and ethnolinguistic or religious groups to the study, as well as the importance of describing the expected audiences of the works studied and what they can show us for Ottoman society; in addition, the significance of locating—and explaining—parallels with developments in other cultural regions has also been evident. Thus, after a decade or so of more or less intensive studies of occultism and esotericism in Islamicate cultures from the Maghrib to Iran and Central Asia, the workshop seems to have opened a new path by highlighting the potential of such studies in the Ottoman context.

D. SOURCES

Excerpt from the *Saltuknāme*: On magic and worship in the four marvelous islands beyond the Indian Ocean

[T411a] ...The storytellers recount the tale of how Server[1] set sail and vanished in the Sea of Umman. They sailed for forty days. They saw many "marvels" (*ʿacā'ib*), each one of them was beyond description. They continued until they exited from the Indian Ocean in the direction of Khitay (*Hıtā*) and China (*Çīn*). They anchored off a city. Seyyid settled in a house. It perturbed him (*gāyet gamm ve gussa çekdi*) to be far away from the province of Umman. He began contemplating and became amazed with himself. Soon sleep took over him and he dreamt. While he was in this hypnagogic state (*vakı'ā ālemin*), a holy old man (*pīr*) appeared and said: "O Server! Do not be weary (*melālet çekme*), there is God's wisdom (*ḥikmet)* in all this. There shall not remain a single place which you will not set foot in, neither on the land nor in the sea. **[T411b]** God Almighty made you a traveller. The purpose of your expedition is to bring these four islands into the path of Islam and convert its people. Pull yourself

1 Server and Seyyid are used interchangeably to refer to Sarı Saltuk.

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together. You have been bestowed with power. Why have you desisted (*fāriğ*) from *gazā*?"

Server awoke, astonished. In the khan there was a merchant who came towards Seyyid and inquired after him. When Seyyid told him [about what he just dreamt] that person said: "Server! On this eastern side of the world there are four islands. They worship strange things (*ʿaceb nesne*). One of them is called *Ṣutāḳ*. Its people are sorcerers (*sāḥir*). They all worship a lion believing in the fact that the lion is magicproof. In another island they worship a hermaphrodite (*hüṣnā*). This [island] is named *ʿAcām*. In another one, they worship an effeminate boy [*kız oğlan*, literally 'a girl-boy']. This one is called *Gayrān*. Another one is named *Mīrāb* where they worship a lovely young handsome boy (*erkek maḥbūb oğlan*). They do this because "the Beautiful" is one of God's attributes and this boy who is bestowed by beauty must be God himself, so they think. As Server heard this he became wrathful and began donning his armor. However, as it had been a long time since he had done this, he was out of practice.

From there, Server got on a ship and headed towards the Mīrāb Island. When he set foot in their city, he saw that its people gathered and started walking. Server walked with them until they arrived in a desert. They erected a throne in the middle of the desert. A handsome, lovely and charming young man with the sun on his beautiful, sweet face ascended the throne. Like stars in the sky they orbited this sun and sat down around him. They ate and drank, and enjoyed themselves. **[T412a]** They showered this lovely young man with gifts of silver and gold. Then they lined up in front of him and, God forbid, kowtowed to him. Server did not bow. He was standing. As the people saw him they got to him in no time flat and said: "Why aren't you kowtowing to our beauty? Are you crazy (*delü*)?" Server replied: "You are the crazy ones! I am not." That people asked: "Why? What do you say?" Seyyid replied: "O stupid people! The one whom you worship is a boy of humankind, someone who is created as you are. God (*Tañrı*) is himself the Creator. A creature shall not worship another creature. Worship must be reserved for the *Hāliḳ* ('Creator')." Upon hearing these words, the people went to report this to their ruler (*beg*). The *beg* had Seyyid brought to him and said: "Why do you say such things?" Whereupon Seyyid proclaimed the Oneness of God, the prophethood of Muhammad, and to which religion and sect he [Sarı Saltuk] belonged. When the *beg* heard all of this he asked him: "From your words you sound like Saltuk-ı Rūmī." Server replied: "Yes you are right, I am he. I came to guide you towards the [path of] true religion and save you from disbelief and ignorance." The *beg* then said "welcome" and converted to Islam along with his entire retinue without resistance.

The people who worshiped the girl-boy heard that this group of people had become Muslim believers, and sent an envoy to them and asked: "Why did you abandon your

old religion and obey Saltık instead?" The messenger brought the message and the *beg* asked Seyyid how he would like to respond. Seyyid asked the *beg* to send him there to answer **[T412b]** this question in person. Then he bid farewell to the *beg* and its people and left with the envoy. He arrived at the place. The people of the island came [to the shore] to receive Seyyid. Server disembarked and greeted the people. They greeted Server in return and took him to the palace where he was received with honor (*ʿizzet*) and shown hospitality. Afterwards, the *beg* asked: "Why do you say that our religion is superstitious (*bāṭıl*)? Tell us so that we may learn." Server stood up and began explaining the Islamic religion. He described God Almighty, his attributes and power, the miracles of Muhammad (*Resūl*) and his prophecy, the rightfulness of the old Quran as it is the marker of right over superstition (*furkān-ı azīm*). As the people heard all of this they were filled with admiration. They declared: "Server! We are now your subordinates and accept your religion." They confessed to the faith and became Muslims. Seyyid taught them about the doctrine, the Islamic clergy and laws.

The people who worshipped the *hüsn̲ā* heard about this and came to raid and plunder the island. When Seyyid was informed about this he ordered an army to be raised. They embarked for the island by ship and went ashore. The people of the island rose up against them. No words can describe how great a battle it was. Later, Server took his sword and walked directly towards the enemy forces and slaying them one by one. The enemy fled, enfeebled and defeated. [Sarı Saltuk and his army] entered the citadel. The *hüsn̲ā* whom this people worshipped was named Meydāl. **[T413a]** Meydāl who saw that his/her army was defeated, girded on and came up against Server and said: "O Saltuk! Why did you come to this place?" You invite these people to [the path of] your invisible God (*Tañrı*). How do you want these people to find this God to request their needs and wishes?" "If you accept Him as your God, He will fulfill all your wishes and will not reject any. The reason why He is hidden is because of His brightness." Then Meydāl said: "O Server! I am a hermaphrodite. I wish that God Almighty makes me a man by eliminating my womanhood (*Ḥaḳ Teʿālā beni er eylesün avratlığum gidersün*). Then we will see if your religion is the rightful one. There is no need for us to fight." Upon this Server said: "*hüsn̲ā* counts as a woman. I will invoke God to make you a woman and to rid you of your manhood." They replied: No, thanks. I wish to be a man instead." Server agreed and invoked God. The person was instantly transformed to a woman. Meydāl saw this and started crying: "We had agreed that I was going to become a man!" "What first came out of my mouth was accepted in the House of God Almighty. Let us hope that your wish is accepted next," said Server Seyyid. He raised his hands and prayed. The people said "so be it (*āmīn*)" and saw that Meydāl started trembling. Then he shook himself off and became a man. When Meydāl realized what happened he threw himself at Server's feet and confessed

to the religion. The entire population became Muslim and joyfully learnt the rules of their new religion from Seyyid who was living among them.

One day while Server was sitting at home on the night of Wednesday ten chickens and one rooster **[T413b]** entered from the back door and came inside. They encircled Seyyid. The rooster flew at Seyyid and hit him on the eye just as he was wondering how all these chickens suddenly appeared. Seyyid kicked the rooster back and the rooster died immediately. The chickens started running away in various directions until they disappeared from sight. Seyyid took the rooster and tied it by its foot. He recited *āyete'l-kürsī*[2] and left on it (*üstine... oḳıdı ḳodı*). At dawn he saw that a human corpse was laying there tied at the foot. Server understood that this was because of magic (*sihr işidür*) and informed the others. They said: "These people come in many disguises with the sole purpose of harming us. They became enemy to us because we entered your religion." "I am now setting out for there. Immediately gird on weapons!", Seyyid ordered. They prepared the ships and landed on the island. And what do they see? A strange tribe was gathered on the shore, some of them were horses, some others lions, some were tigers, and some others leopards, cattle and mules. In the appearance of these various monsters they had the body of a human, feet of a camel, claws of a lion and tail of a horse. With arrows, axes, swords and spears in their hands they were getting ready [for war]. Amazed at the sight of these creatures, Seyyid understood immediately that they were experts in magic and deceit (*cāzūların kāmilleridür mekkārlardur*). "One cannot be too wary of them," he thought to himself and inscribed *esmā* [the ninety-nine names of God] and *havāṣṣ* [i.e., the magical properties of Koranic verses] on his entire body. He also had his people do the same and marched against them. The enemy could not overcome them and they fled.

Server entered the city and saw that **[T414a]** the people were ascribed various forms and appearances. Seyyid had an idea, so he ordered for the surah of *en'ām*[3] to be recited. [The Muslims] put them to the sword as, one by one, they assumed human form. Overpowered, the magicians changed their forms again and asked for mercy. "No mercy for you, unless you become Muslim!" proclaimed Server and marched against them. As [the sorcerers] cried out, one of them came forward and said: "O Seyyid! I am their chief (*beg*). Why are you killing us?" "You are infidel, deceitful sorcerers. Wherever we find you we kill you," Seyyid replied, and he took his sword

2 The 255th verse of the 2nd surah of the Quran (al-Baḳara), the so-called "throne verse" is usually recited to ward off the evil spirits.

3 *al-an'ām*, aka "the cattle" is the sixth surah of the Quran with 165 verses and addresses to various themes such as fighting polytheism and unbelief, the oneness of God, and also to the story of Ibrahim who calls people to stop worshipping celestial bodies.

and went forward. That *beg* insisted: Server, please show some patience and let us speak. You tell us to become Muslim, however if we join your religion, our magic will come undone (*sihrümüz bāṭıl olur*). If we cannot practice magic, then we can no longer dwell here, because once a year giant birds, the size of a camel, come to this island. They attack us from the sky and hunt us down like little chicks and slay us. But when we do our magic trick and shift shapes, they cannot come to us. It is because of the fear of these birds that we learn magic and practice it." "When is the next time the birds are coming?" Seyyid asked. "Forty-five days left," they replied. Server further said: "If I strike fear in these birds not to come near you, do you promise you stop practicing magic and become Muslim?" "So be it," they said unanimously.

Seyyid waited patiently until the birds arrived. The birds, which are called "*mürg-i dābbe*" came in a countless and **[T414b]** incomparable manner and landed on that island and that city, and started attacking its people. Server took out an arrow and shot it at the birds. The arrow hit one of them but did not penetrate its skin. Just when Seyyid was astonished at this, that bird came and grabbed him with its talon and took off. Seyyid fought back, but to no avail. Just when the bird almost killed him, he took out a dagger and stabbed the bird in the eye. The eye came out. The bird threw itself to the ground in pain and started screaming making all sorts of noises. The other birds took off in all directions until they got lost from the sight. A voice was heard from above the sky: "The birds took flight and fled. From now on they will not come to this place. O saint (*velī*) why do you want to bring salvation to this people?"

When the people and Seyyid heard this voice they became struck with admiration and wondered to whom it might have belonged. Seyyid, immersed in thought, looked up into the sky and noticed a silhouette. He drew an arrow and aimed at the silhouette. The silhouette descended from the sky twirling and hitting the ground. They saw that it was a demon (*dīv*) and that it had died from the arrow wound. The people applauded Server's bravery and prowess. Suddenly, bolts of lightning and flames blazed across the sky. The army of demons covered the sky like a black cloud and soon the battle began. Server fought with the *dīv*s for seven days and seven nights. **[T415a]** He knocked out three hundred *dīv*s. More *dīv*s descended from the sky, lined up and walked against Server. Seyyid ordered that everybody should throw bottles filled with naphtha (*neft*) and set the enemy on fire. While the *dīv*s were trying to fly away to escape being burned, the people started screaming. Just so you know, *dīv*s are scared of high volumes of noise: pain shoots through their heads, their brains slosh and they drop to the ground, face down. When this happened, the people rushed to them and slayed them one by one, while at the same time they kept playing *tabl* and *kūs* drums, and horns (*nefīr*). The *dīv*s fled the scene and dispersed because of all this noise.

"Server now that we know about their disposition we can overpower them," said the people to Seyyid. They confessed to the religion and became Muslim.

Source: Ebū'l-Hayr-i Rūmī, *Saltuknāme*, ed. F. İz (Cambridge 1986), T411a–T415a; Ebü'l Hayr-i Rûmî, *Saltuk-nâme*, ed. Ş. H. Akalın, 3 vols. (Ankara 1990), vol. III, 60–65.

Translation by Z. Aydoğan

Examples of translated materials for the study of Ottoman occultism I

A section "on properties" (*fi zikri'l-havâs*), part of the chapter on medicine, from *Tarjama-i ʿAcāib al-maḥlūḳāt*, an adaptation of Qazwīnī's and Muhammad Ṭūsī's Persian cosmographies composed in the first half of the fifteenth century:

> Know that God has put properties in every existing thing. These properties are of various sorts. Some work by touch, for instance if someone keeps a spider hot for three days he will be saved; some by seeing, for instance if someone sees a salamander die; some come with chance meetings, for instance if the shadow of a butterfly falls upon a hyena, it will go out of its mind; some work with hearing, e.g. if one hits bronze or silver utensils, animals will run away; some with smell, as when a donkey smells a lion and runs away; some work with consent (*muvâfakat*), for instance if a leopard raises its young the snake gives birth alongside it; and some work with writing: for instance if we scratch a circle [on the ground] with a branch of hazel tree and put a scorpion inside, it will not step outside of it.
>
> These properties, however, come from their accordance with a specific moment in the movement of heavens (*felek hareketinde bir sâ'ate muvâfık geldüginden ola*), so that if these instances happen in another hour the properties will not be present.

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> The rotation of the soul (*gönül dönmekligi*) resembles the rotation of a mill: if one puts some clay on its wheel and attempts to aim at it with another piece of clay with a bow, one will find the target once every hundred times. Now this sky also turns all the time; if an hour is auspicious and a person acts in accordance with it, he will think that this time will come again [and that he will be always lucky], but there is a time which will not [be auspicious]... We said again that the science of stars and zodiac signs is very important. Nobody knows its secrets but God. And we said this much about the knowledge of properties, because it comes out of experience (*mücerrebdür*) that yellow amber attracts the straw.

Source: B. Sarıkaya with G. Kut (ed.), *Tercüme-i Acâ'ibü'l-mahlûkât ve garâ'ibü'l-mevcûdât* (Istanbul 2019), 360.

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Excerpts on the jinn and ghouls from *Dürr-i meknûn*, the famous cosmology from the second half of the fifteenth century often attributed to Aḥmed Bīcān (d. after 1466): after the creation of Man, the jinn were exiled to islands, but

> now from time to time they remember their old abodes and return, settling in the roots of trees or near waters and sources. These places are called *ayazma* [sacred fountain, Gk. αγίασμα]... most unbelievers believe in these, saying that this or that source or tree is exalted (*ulu*).

A section about ghouls (*gûl*) from the same cosmology:

> Some say, they are also [another] creature. And some say, they are jinn. When this tribe of jinn wants to climb up to the sky, the angels that reside between earth and sky hit the jinn with the fire they have in their hands; as soon as they see the jinn, they throw the fire and hit them. The jinn fall [on the earth], they are forgiven and become ghouls, they say. At nights they appear in front of travellers in the mountains, taking a human form; the travellers think they are men and ask for the road, and thus they get lost; even if they find their way, they do so with great pains. Some have seen [ghouls] in the form of a hairy dervish (*saçlı derviş*) who rides stags and wanders in the mountains. When he is seen outside of the road, he disappears. The stupid, the ignorant, the light-headed see him and make stories, that a saint rides a stag in the mountain. Most of them are these irreligious (*bî-namaz*) dervishes (*ışık*) or these wanderers (*gurbetler*; *kurbet çingeneler* in Sakaoğlu's ms.) who go with a stag from door to door asking for alms, saying that the stag is the saint's horse... Hey stupid, ignorant ones! What kind of story is this, saints who ride a stag and wander in the mountains! This is the job of jinn and ghouls. Or [what about] those who arrive at *ayazma* sources, hoping to get some

cure? Wherever there is a source or a well, some jinn will come and settle. People come and... ask for their wishes. What kind of miracle (*keramet*) can be in water? They say there are saints here: the jinn are the saints of the ignorant...

Now it is evident that the jinn and the demons (*şeytan*) are enemies of mankind. They make people lose their way with a thousand ruses and tricks. The ignorant search for a reason to believe in vain things. Most of these [jinn and ghouls] are to be found in the Balkans (*Rum ili*), they do not live in other places...

These jinn and demons (*şeytân*) are [a sort of] creatures. But the *peri*s are a different kind of creature. Some say that *peri*s also are of this kind; [but] the *peri* is friendly to man and close to humans. It can be killed, whereas the jinn and the demons cannot. The Sultan of the *peri*s is Kâzeb. And they are also called Nîlûter. The *peri*s are abundant in the mountain of Akır, in Isfahan and in Mazenderan; they can also be found in Russia and Europe (*Frengistan*).

Source: L. Kaptein (ed.), *Dürr-i meknun. Kritische Edition mit Kommentar* (Asch 2007), 125/403 and 281–285/534–537; A. Demirtaş (ed.), *Dürr-i meknun (Tıpkı-basım – İnceleme – Çevriyazı – Dizin)* (Istanbul 2009), 122 and 201–203.

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Excerpts from Firdevsī-i Ṭavīl (Firdevsī-i Rūmī, Uzun Firdevsî, Türk Firdevsī; 1453–after 1517)'s *Daʿvet-nāme* ("Book of conjurations"), an essay on angels, jinn and the ways to invoke them, composed in 1487:

Apollonius (Belinās Ḥakīm) says that there are eight conditions for the science of conjuration. The first condition is that [the practitioner] must eat no meat and must make his passions (*nefs*) obedient to oneself. And to punish his passions, he must keep by all means his spiritual self (*nefs-i ruhânî*) in power. When his spiritual self is prevalent, then this person is close to the jinn (*ervâh*). He must eat vegetables and two pieces of bread every day, of a hundred dirhem each. And he must always walk in cleanliness and never stop praying... The second condition is that the conjurer needs to have seven bottles; and in every one of them there shall be [notes with?] the name, the figure, the seal, the incantation (*ʿazîmet*), the spy, the interpreter, the question and the answer of the angel appointed to each day of the week; because a conjurer must know all these. God willing, we will explain this later. The third condition is that, after learning the hours and the incense [of these angels], a conjurer must have seven chairs and seven incense burners and seven halters (*carîr*) and garments of seven kinds, each one in the colour of the seven planets; and he must know the seven sermons (*hutbe*) and the

seven handkerchiefs and praises of seven kinds and the names of the seven angels and of the seven highest of the jinn (*cinnî uluları*). God willing, we will explain this in the appendix. The fourth condition is that the conjurer should stand on a high place, or on a high hill, or in a high kiosk; or near running water, or near an old fountain, or near a well. And when he makes the conjuration, he must write on a paper or on the surface of the wall the forms of the 24 prophets, or at least their holy names... The fifth condition is that the conjurer shall not keep at home dogs, mules, roosters, monkeys, snakes and other similar animals, for the jinn get offended by them and do not answer the conjuring; the voice of a dog must not be heard from a neighbor either. And corrupt, irreligious (*bî-namaz*) or women must not be accepted in the house where the conjuring takes place. And he must not keep at home bows, swords, guns and other weapons; the jinn are afraid of these. The sixth condition is that when the conjurer travels, he must carry various handkerchiefs, and know incantations of seven sorts. And in every town he enters in order to make a conjuration, he must recite the *Ahd-name* of Suleyman and burn incense, so as for the appointed [jinn] of this town, which are to be conjured, get obedient to him and like him. Similarly, he must recite the *Ahd-name* of Suleyman and burn incense at the beginning of every month. If you ask what is this incense: aloeswood, sugar, labdanum, mastic, white hemp and gentian; incense is made from these six elements and burnt, while [the conjurer] recites the *Ahd-name* of Suleyman nine times. The seventh condition is the following: every month, that is every thirty days, the Sun passes from one sign of the zodiac... The conjurer must conjure the seven angels [appointed to each sign]... The eighth condition is that a conjurer must necessarily know the *Ahd-name* of Suleyman b. Davud. Without the *Ahd-name* it is impossible to make any deed...

Because if somebody wishes to conjure [jinn or angels] (*da'vet*) or to act through charms (*nâr-ı necât*; recte *narencat*) or talismans or magic squares and other ways, all these actions cannot be valid unless one knows the hours, the mansions, the auspicious and unlucky times of the moon, and also the situation of the six planets....

When the Sun arrives at the sign of Sagittarius, with God's order an angel descends from the highest stratum of the seventh heaven and becomes appointed to the Sun. Under his orders, there are 800,000 [times] 80,000 angels; under each one's orders, 200 times 22,000 angels; and under each one's orders, 125,000 jinn, which come to earth and influence it. And the name of this greatest angel is Kefhatayil. His form resembles that of a human; he has one head and two hands; he holds a javelin on one hand and a mirror on the other. This is his form: [illustration]

And this angel has his seal (*hâtem*) too. If someone has no familiarity with his woman [the woman he loves], he writes this seal upon a piece of paper with musk and saffron, and buries it inside this house [of hers]; and thus they love each other greatly. The seal is this: [illustration]

And also this angel has his praise to God (*tesbîh*), and with the power of this praise he becomes appointed to the Sun and reads [it; *âfitâba müvekkel olup okur*]. And whoever wishes to obtain authority and asceticism [? *zühd ü salâhiyyet üzere ola*], may repeat this praise at the first hour of Thursday. God the Highest will grant him success in all his deeds. And if you wish that everybody in the world talk about your kindness, write this talisman on a piece of paper and carry it inside your cap. The talisman is thus: [illustration]

And again for love you can write this tablet (*levh*) on a piece of tinfoil in the hour of Jupiter, together with the name of your beloved, and leave it in the treasury of the bathhouse; this person will instantly love you. This is the tablet: [illustration]

And his praise of God (*tesbîh*) is also the praise [told by] Jupiter. But in this place his praise was not written; we did not write it either. But his incarnation (*tekvîn*) has the features of Jupiter; he sits on a prayer rug and says the praise. This is his picture: [illustration] ...

There is a story that a certain Süleyman Mağribî, from among the masters of the Maghreb, was very competent in talismanic science. He was observing the skies and found a star of destiny (a conjunction? *bir tâli' buldı*), when the sun was in the sign of Aries [etc. etc.]. He called for a goldsmith and gave him some gold, asking him to make a golden box and a figure. The goldsmith indeed built a small golden box and a figure; he brought them and put them in front of Süleyman. Süleyman, at this [specific] hour, put the figure in the box and asked the goldsmith: "Can this box move by itself?" To which the goldsmith answered: "How can a soulless thing move?" Then Süleyman-i Mağribî put a golden coin beneath the box and the box immediately started to move by itself. As soon as he took the coin from beneath the box, it stopped.

The goldsmith asked in awe: "O master of the world! What is the essence of this figure that moves as soon as it sees the coin?" Süleyman-i Mağribî answered: "For thirty years now I was looking for this hour and this contiguity. I just reached it. And I was granted such a miracle (*ve bir kerâmete vâsıl oldum ki*) that now I can find a treasure, wherever it is hidden: as soon as I put this box upon it, it moves". The goldsmith remained in awe, and Süleyman left the city.

I put this story here so as to show what power people of knowledge (*erbâb-ı ma'ârif*) may attain, were they to wish it.

SOURCE: F. Büyükkarcı (ed.), *Firdevsī-i Ṭavīl and his Da'vet-nāme: Interpretation, Transcription, Index, Facsimile and Microfiche* (Cambridge 1995), 149–151 (instructions and the *Ahd-name*), 113 (need to know the celestial signs), 160–161 (the Sun on Sagittarius), 175 (story of Süleyman Mağribî).

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Notes on occult practices contained in miscellanies (*mecmua*):

Section on the knowledge of magic (*nârencât*): If you want to enchant (*teshîr idesin*) somebody, first you calculate [the *ebced* number of] his/her name and the name of his/her mother. [Then] you subtract by twelve. If the remainder is one, then Aries is his sign, Mars is his star, he is male, Tuesday is his day, Tuesday is his night, he is dependent upon fire (*oda müte'allıkdir*). If the remainder is two, Taurus is her sign, Venus is her star, she is female, Friday is her day, Tuesday is her night, she is dependent upon earth. If the remainder is three, Gemini is his sign, Mercury is his star, he is male, Wednesday is his day, Sunday is his night, he is dependent upon air. If the remainder is four, Cancer is her sign, Moon is her star, she is female, Monday is her day, Friday is her night, she is dependent upon water. If the remainder is five, Leo is his sign, Sun is his star, he is male, Sunday is his day, Thursday is his night, he is dependent upon fire. If the remainder is six, Virgo is her sign, Mercury is her star, she is female, her day is Wednesday, her night is Sunday, she is dependent upon earth. If the remainder is seven, Libra is his sign, Venus is his star, he is male, Fiday is his day, Tuesday is his night, he is dependent upon air. If the remainder is eight, Scorpio is his sign, Mars is his star, he is male, Tuesday is his day, Saturday is his night, he is dependent on water. If the remainder is nine, Sagittarius is his sign, Jupiter is his star, he is male, Thursday is his day, Wednesday is his night, he is dependent upon fire. If the remainder is ten, Capricornus is her sign, Saturn is her star, she is female, her day is Saturday, her night is Wednesday, she is dependent upon earth. If the remainder is eleven, Aquarius is his sign, Saturn is his star, he is male, Saturday is his day, Wednesday is his night, he is dependent upon air. If the remainder is twelve, Pisces is her sign, Jupiter is her star, she is female, her day is Thursday, her night is Monday, and she is dependent upon water.

The small calculation (*cümel-i sağîrdir*): *elif* 1, *be* 2, *cim* 3, *dal* 4, *he* 5, *vav* 6, *ze* 7, *ḥa* 8, *ṭı* 9, *ye* 10, *kāf* 8, *lam* 6, *mim* 4, *nun* 2, *sin* zero (*sâkıt*), *'ayn* 10, *fe* 8, *ṣad* 3, *ḳaf* 4, *rı* 8, *şın* zero, *te* 4, *s̱e* 8, *ḫı* zero, *z̲el* 4, *ḍad* 8, *ẓı* zero, *gayn* 4.[1] For instance, according

1 Actually, this is a version not of the "small calculation" (*cümel-i sağir*) but of the "smallest" one (*cümel-i asğar*); but there too, the values of the letters from *ṣad* onwards differ slightly: M. Mercanlıgil, *Ebced hesabı* (Ankara 1960), 25–26.

to the small calculation, if your beloved's (*matlûbun*) name is Muḥammed and his mother's name is 'Â'işe: *mim* 4, *ḥa* 8, *mim* 4, *dal* 4, *'ayn* 10, *elif* 1, *ye* 10, *şın* zero, *he* 5. We subtracted twelve from the total, 36 was gone, the remainder is nine [*sic*; in fact, it is 46–12–12–12=10, and it is according to this remainder that the following result is deduced]. We learnt that the beloved's ascendant is Capricornus, and his star is Saturn.

...Great subjugation (*teshîr-i azîm*): Take a hair from the beloved's (*matlûbun*) hair, read upon it this Quranic verse twenty-one times and throw it to fire; he will get conquered (*musahhar*); this is tested (*gayet mücerrebdir*): [Quran 44/10–11]

Subjugation of the heart (*teshîr-i kalb*): To conquer a heart, recite after the evening prayer the holy prayers seventy times, the Fatiha a hundred twenty-one times, the Duha [Q. 93] forty-one times, the holy prayers again another seventy times, the Ihlas [Q. 112] seven times, the verse of Kursi [Q2/2256] three times, and then pray. Recite this in prayer for eleven full days. If it does not work, then count another eleven nights. If it does not work again, count another eleven nights for a third time; he will be conquered for sure. If he is not, then it is not possible and he will die (*mümkin değildir helâk ola*). With God's permission, this is tested.

Source: A. Esen, "An Ottoman Miscellany Compiled in the Eighteenth Century (Textual Analysis, Transcription and Comparative Text)", unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2019, 267–268 (f. 75a) and 270–271 (f. 76a).

If someone for example cuts a garment on Sunday, he will suffer grief and sadness: it is not auspicious. On Mondays it is according to one tradition blessed, according to another there will be disturbance. When cut on Tuesdays, it will remain over, burnt in fire, or drowned in water: It will not be auspicious. When cut on Wednesdays, good fortune will come easily. When cut on Thursdays, a wise man's knowledge and an ignoramus' property will increase. When cut on Fridays, he'll have a long life and find dignity. When cut on Saturdays, someone will become ill; as long as he wears this garment the manifold pain in his body will not cease, unless he donates (something). For example, the rules of wearing clothes are like this. This should be known. Do not be careless about it...

Remedy (*fâ'ide*): Against toothache shave on Saturday, collect the hair, [burn it], fumigate the teeth, and take an oath. Do not shave again on that day. It is approved (*mücerrebdür*)...

Do not go eastwards Monday and Saturday, or westwards Sunday and Friday. O my most faithful friend, by no means go northwards on Tuesday and Wednesday! Do not plan to go southwards on Thursday: this is what Bū Alī [Ibn Sīna] advises...

This is the *Surḫubād* prayer:[2] One day [someone] came to the prophet Solomon and said, "I am one of the torments of God—may he be exalted!- My name is Surḫubād." The prophet Solomon asked, "What are you doing and where is your homeland?" He answered, "O messenger of God, my residence is in the human body, there I stay, and I flow in the same way that the blood flows in the 360 veins. First of all, I cause headache, then loss of hair, I make him bald [...]" When Solomon heard this he said, "Don't set him free, kill him!"—this he said, and Surḫubād said, "O Solomon, you cannot kill me." [...] And Solomon gave up. And as there came no prayer against Surḫubād from God the Almighty, no remedy was found against him.

[God sends a prayer to Muhammad in order to cure 'Umar from erysipelas/ Surḫubād]: In the name of God, the most gracious, the most merciful! In the name of God, come out, in the name of God, come out, in the name of God [...] come out! In honor of the Quran of the Prophet—peace be upon him—come out! Come out in honor of the hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, come out in honor of the three hundred messengers, come out in honor of Gabriel, Michael, Israfil and Azrail! Come out in honor of the Eight Paradises and in honor of the Seven Hells! Come out in honor of the sun and the moon! Come out in honor of Harut and Marut, come out in honor of the Seven Sleepers. Come out in honor of the saints of Syria and Khorasan, come out in honor of the saints of the land of Rum, come out in honor of the saints sleeping in Mecca and Medina! [...] *Ḥasanātin felekin, ḥasanātin felekin, ḥasanātin felekin! Şerr ber-aşīyen, şerr ber-aşīyen, şerr ber-aşīyen, qarqaraşīyen qarqaraşīyen qarqaraşīyen, bi-ḫuzzetin bi-ḫuzzetin, mülḥaqan mülḥaqan mülḥaqan, unṭafan unṭafan unṭafan, bihī bihī bihī*, keep silent, keep silent, keep silent! Come out by these words, come out by the six thousand six hundred and sixty-six verses and the three hundred and sixty tenths of the Quran! Come out, if you are a wind or a wolf, if you are a moving wind, if you are a white or a black wind, if you are a hemorrhoid or one of the fairies (*perī*) of Muhammad Mustafa, if you are one of the fairies behind the mountain Kaf, if you are from this world, come out! If you are at the top or the base of the well, if you are on the foot of a tree or under a roof, if you are near a tree or if you are one of the fairies who are near old houses, on the ground of fig-trees or on a strand, come out! If you are one of the fairies who are crossroads, mills, and in the dark, if you are the pain in the heart, if you are one who has come and mixed with the

2 "Red wind", a translation of the Arabic *rīḥ al-aḥmār*; the name of a demon but also erysipelas, the well-known skin disease. See Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times*, vol. I: *Hidden Treasures: Selected Texts from Ottoman Mecmū'as (Miscellanies)* (Cambridge 2015), 200–201.

red wind, if you are pain in the heart or pain in the back, the tyranny of the whole world, which is predestined [?] should get you if you don't leave!...

Excerpt from a treatise on geomancy, authored by Şemseddin (copied in the early seventeenth century):

This is the treatise about geomancy of Şemseddīn, may God have mercy upon him [...]. Because I found a treatise about geomancy now / I shall explain it to you entirely graciously. / The Prophet Daniel drew lots. / It is known that there are sixteen signs: / A skillful, understanding person saw it, / And made a book about it, you shall know. [...]

If there appear four dashes, / Know that this is the sign of *cemāʿat*, it is the apogee. / O man, your horoscope is Mercury. / I will tell you what your affair is: / Sometimes it is weak, sometimes it is strong. / This *cemāʿ*at-sign is a house of mixed quality. [?] / For an ill person there is fear and danger; / It is very good if you make a journey. [...]

First, speak aloud the intention (*niyyet eyleyüb*). Then recite the noble *iḫlāṣ* (the 112th *sūre* of the Quran) three times and set down four lines of dots on a paper, like this: [illustration] After this sign, proceed according to the rules.

Source: Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Hülya Çelik, *Texts on Popular Learning in Early Modern Ottoman Times*, vol. I: *Hidden Treasures: Selected Texts from Ottoman Mecmūʿas (Miscellanies)* (Cambridge 2015), 191, 193, 195, 201–203, 209–221 (translations by the authors).

Translations by M. Sariyannis, unless otherwise indicated.