İLM-İ NÜCÛM AND ITS ROLE IN THE OTTOMAN COURT DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

İlm-i nücûm and Its Role in the Ottoman Court During the Eighteenth Century

This thesis examines *ilm-i nücûm* (astrology) and its practice in the context of Ottoman court dynamics, particularly focusing on the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). With roots in earlier Islamicate cultures, practice of *ilm-i nücûm* was an imperial tradition of service to the sultan and his close entourage in the Ottoman court. Firstly, the present study explains the transmission of astrological ideas to the Ottoman realm and investigates the reception of *ilm-i nücûm* by Ottoman scholars. It emphasizes that Ottoman astrological literature explicitly demonstrates that *ilm-i nücûm* was an integral component in the preoccupations of the *ilmiye* class. Secondly, this thesis, by investigating the *ahkâm* works of an eighteenth-century chief-*müneccim*, Halil Efendi, sheds light on the intertwined relationship between his narratives and prevailing conditions in and around court life. The politically subordinate nature of *ahkâm* texts provides another look into the vulnerabilities of courtly issues. Meanwhile, we attempted to reconstruct intellectual interests of an eighteenth-century *müneccim* investigating his estate in the registers.

Furthermore, we find that the neatly formatted framework of *ahkâm*s was in fact used in service of the construction of the imperial edifice in cosmological terms. Apart from its routine functions, political astrology, this study argues, has been especially influential during times of major change and uncertainty.

ÖZET

İlm-i nücûm ve Onsekizinci Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sarayındaki Rolü

Bu tez özellikle III. Mustafa saltanatına (1757-1774) odaklanarak *ilm-i nücûm*'u (astroloji) ve Osmanlı saray dinamikleri bağlamında *ilm-i nücûm* pratiğini irdelemektedir. Kökleri önceki islami kültürlerde yer alan *ilm-i nücûm* uygulaması Osmanlı sarayında sultana ve maiyetine hizmet veren imparatorluğa özgü bir gelenekti. Öncelikle, bu çalışma astrolojik fikirlerin Osmanlı dünyasına aktarımını açıklamakta ve *ilm-i nücûm*'un Osmanlı bilginlerince nasıl ele alındığını incelemektedir. Çalışma Osmanlı astroloji yazınının *ilm-i nücum*'un ilmiye sınıfı uğraşıları içerisinde bütünleyici bir kısım oluşturduğunu açık şekilde ortaya koyduğunu vurgulamaktadır. İkinci olarak, bu tez, onsekizinci yüzyıl müneccimbaşısı Halil Efendi'nin ahkâm çalışmalarını inceleyerek, müneccimbaşının anlatımları ile saray hayatı çevresinde gelişen şartlar arasındaki içiçe geçen ilişkiye ışık tutmaktadır. Ahkâmların siyasete tabi olan yapısı, saray meselelerindeki kırılganlığa bakmamıza imkan sağlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, Halil Efendi'nin tereke kayıtlarını inceleyerek, bir onsekizinci yüzyıl müneccîminin entelektüel ilgilerini ortaya koymaya çalıştık.

Bunun ötesinde, ahkâmların yapısının dikkatli biçimde bir düzene sokulmuş olmasında, aslında onların kozmolojik ifadelerle imparatorluk inşasında kullanıldığını anlamaktayız. Bu çalışma, politik astrolojinin, alışılmış görevlerinin dışında, özellikle büyük değişim ve belirsizlik zamanlarında daha etkin olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

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further enquiries at Kandilli Observatory. I would like to thank Oya Arıkan and Buket Köse, staff of History Department and Museum for their help and much support. I much appreciate the staff of Boğaziçi University, librarians of Topkapı Palace Archives, ISAM and Süleymaniye, that allowed me to access their collections.

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Sevgili annem Mübeccel'in aziz hatırasına

In memory of my beloved mother Mübeccel

"Bize sakın acıma" dedi Hicâz Kâhini Mesût. "Biz göklerdeki büyük bir hakikati görmüş adamlarız. İşte bu yüzden kör olduk. Kanûndur bu: Nihaî Hakikat'i bir kez görünce, kişi kör olur. Çünkü artık başka bir şeye bakmasına hâcet kalmaz."
Suskunlar, İhsan Oktay Anar

"Don't pity us" said Hidjaz Diviner Mesût. "We are the men who saw the great truth in the heavens. That is why we became blind. This is the Law: Once the person saw the ultimate truth, he becomes blind. As he will not need to look at something else."
Taciturns, İhsan Oktay Anar

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The basis for the spelling of Ottoman Turkish words in the text is Sir James Redhouse's *Turkish/Ottoman-English Dictionary* (Istanbul, 1968). Thus *sâl*, *ahkâm* but *ulema*. In the transliteration of Ottoman words basic diacritical marks are applied minimally, for instance *bârân*, *tefsîr*, *ahkâm-ı tâli'-i sâl*. Whenever possible, the Anglicized version of Ottoman Turkish words is used, as in the case of *madrasa*, *pasha* and *agha*. However, throughout the text, *ilm-i nücûm* is preferred to *ilm-i nudjum*, *müneccim* is preferred to *munajjim*.

In references to published works, I maintained the transliteration of the title and the name of the author as it appeared on the book.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the uses of astrology (*ilm-i nücûm)* in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court through a study of the yearly predictive epistles prepared by the chief court astrologer (*müneccim*) Fethiyeli Halil Efendi (1699-1773) during the reign of Mustafa III (1757-1774). The collection of yearly *ahkâm*s written by Fethiyeli Halil Efendi between 1758 and 1773 provides us with ample material to scrutinize how *ilm-i nücûm* was performed and used for various ends in the Ottoman court. Although *ilm-i nücûm* follows an established set of rules, it is especially the political functions of the chief-*müneccim*, a court player in the *birûn*, (the external section of the palace) that commands our attention.

Before discussing the aims and methods of this study further, it might be helpful to discuss how astrology has been approached as a topic of historical inquiry. It would not be wrong to say that a dismissive attitude towards astrology pervaded the works of the early contributors to the history of science, like George Sarton or later Keith Thomas and Brian Vickers. Sarton labeled astrology a "wretched subject," and dismissed it as "superstitious flotsam of the Near East."[1] Thomas discussed the decline of astrology as an inevitable consequence of the decline of magic and alchemy.[2] Vickers, parallel to Thomas, argued categorically that all

[1] Günter Oestmann, H. Darrel Rutkin, and Kocku von Stuckrad, *Horoscopes and Public Spheres, Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 2.

[2] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 335-458.

"occult sciences" share the common feature of being distinguished from the rational "scientific" mentality.[3]

However, more recent scholarship by historians of science in the Western world has moved beyond the positivist rejection of astrology as a pseudoscience. Some scholars such as Pamela H. Smith have argued that the modern concept of science fails to capture the broad continuum of scientific and scholarly activities in the early modern period, and that there was in fact a very close association between astronomy and astrology in that time period despite the fact that we today see only the former as a proper science and the other as an occult science at best.[4] Other scholars have investigated the place of astrology as a more integral part of the early modern sciences from mathematics to natural philosophy to medicine. Darrel Rutkin has shown that astrological explanations were applied in natural philosophy, cosmography and the geometrical-optical model of planetary influences based on Aristotle's views.[5] Monica Azzolini has emphasized the long-established link between medicine and astrology and the prominence of medical astrology, which was employed in the practical treatment of illness and in prognostication.[6] Anthony Grafton has presented a bird's-eye view of the differing approaches to astrology

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[3] Brian Vickers, *Occult Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1-56.

[4] Pamela H. Smith, "Science on the move: Recent Trends in the History of Early Modern Science," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62 (2009), 345-375.

[5] H. Darrel Rutkin, "Astrology," *The Cambridge History of Science, Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 542-546.

[6] Monica Azzolini, "Reading Health in the Stars, Politics and Medical Astrology in Renaissance Milan," in *Horoscopes and Public Spheres, Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 183-205.

amongst Renaissance scholars, arguing that efforts to treat it as a marginal phenomenon reflected not the superior rationality of the critical scholars and scientists, but their own marginal position within that broader culture.[7]

In comparison with astrology in the early modern European world, astrology in the Ottoman lands has been little studied. In most of the studies on the history of science in the Ottoman Empire, *ilm-i nücûm* has been discussed as a residual form of ancient knowledge. To give an example, when Adnan Adıvar, a pioneer of the history of science in the Ottoman world, discussed Kadızâde Rumi, he pointed out with praise that this fifteenth-century mathematician and astronomer never wrote a single sentence on *ilm-i nücûm*.[8] To a significant extent, positivistic attitudes continue to prevail also in many recent examples of scholarship. For instance, in his article on the "occult sciences," Jan Schmidt lumps astrology together with different types of divination, like geomancy (*reml*), bibliomancy (based on the *Qur'an*), rhapsodomancy (throwing dice) and oneiromancy (dream interpretation) without regard for the significant differences between these branches of knowledge.[9] In the nascent field of the history of science in the Ottoman world the connections between astrology and such sciences as astronomy and medicine have yet to be systematically examined. Still, the publication of a catalogue of Ottoman astrological works

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7 Anthony Grafton, "Starry Messengers: Recent Work in the History of Western Astrology," *Perspectives on Sciences* (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2000), 70-83.

8 Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1982), 20. See also Salih Zeki, *Asâr-ı Bâkiye* (Ankara: Babil Yayın Dağıtım), 119.

9 Jan Schmidt, "The Occult Sciences and Their Importance in Ottoman Culture; Evidence from Turkish Manuscripts in Dutch Public Collections," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies XXIII* (Istanbul: ISAM, 2004), 219-254.

represents an important step in this direction.[10] It is to be hoped that the new scholarship on Ottoman scientific activity by historians such as Miri Shefer-Mossensohn will open the way for a reappraisal of astrology in this context as well.[11]

Recent years have also seen a number of less judgmental, and more contextualizing studies on the institutional and cultural history of astrology and astrologers in the Ottoman world. One of these studies is an institutional history by Salim Aydüz on the establishment of court astrologers/astronomers in the Ottoman Empire, while another is a microhistorical study by Gülçin Tunalı Koç on the nineteenth-century Ottoman astrologer Sadullah el-Ankaravi.[12] In addition, in a series of publications, Cornell Fleischer has touched on the political use of astrology and its relation to millennial thought in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire.[13] Last

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[10] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu esteems Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525) as the foremost Ottoman astrologer, drawing attention to his *Mesail der Tesirât-ı Nücûm* which contains astrological issues in questions-answers format. See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi ve Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi Zeyli* (Istanbul: IRCICA 2011). Yûsuf b. Omar Al-Sâ'ati (d. later 1560), Veffâk Mehmed Uskudâri (circa 1618) and Mehmed Çelebi (d. 1631) were noteworthy authors and translators. Veffâk Mehmed Çelebi who was active in talismanic work, translated Fahruddin al-Râzi's *al-Sirr al-Maktûm fi Muhatabat al-Şams va'l Kamar va'l Nucûm*, a work on astrology and talismans, in dedication to Osman II.

[11] Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans, The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 164.

[12] Salim Aydüz, "Osmanlı Devletinde Müneccimbaşılık ve Müneccimbaşılar" (MA Thesis, Istanbul University, 1993). Aydüz's thesis, as a first attempt to explain *ilm-i nücûm*'s role in the court tradition, provides chronological and institutional content based on biographies of *müneccim*s and archive sources. Gülçin Tunalı Koç, "Sadullah el-Ankaravi: Daily concerns of an Ottoman Astrologer" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002). On the other hand, with its specific narrative, Koç's thesis sheds light on the life and daily concerns of an Ottoman *müneccim*, Müderriszâde Sadullah el-Ankaravi.

[13] Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).
"Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, eds. Serpil Bağcı and Massumeh Farhad, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2010), 231-244.

but not least, mention must be made of Azfar Moin's *The Millennial Sovereign*, which, though not focused on the Ottoman context, has successfully shown how millennial thought, sacrality and politics were closely intertwined subjects in two other major Muslim polities, the Mughals and the Safavids, in the sixteenth century.

1.1 The objectives, methods and sources of this study

This study follows in the footsteps of the abovementioned studies. In the wider historiography, I have been inspired particularly by the works of Anthony Grafton, Ann Geneva, Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum and Tamsyn Barton, whose works have shed light on astrology's role in political, social and cultural aspects of life in different historical periods.[14] In the field of Ottoman studies, the works of Cornell Fleischer, Salim Aydüz and Gülçin Tunalı Koç have provided major reference points. At the same time, however, I have come to this topic as a practicing astrologer of thirty years. My familiarity with the technical aspects of astrology has given me a particular advantage in this regard, enabling me to tackle a source base that has not been examined until now: namely, the yearly predictive epistles (*ahkâm*)

"The Lawgiver as the Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Suleyman," in *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 159-177.
"Seer to Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal and Sultan Suleyman," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. Jayne L. Warner (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001) , 290-299.
"Shadows and Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51-62.

[14] Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos, The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1999).
Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind, William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).
Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum "The Daimon in Hellenistic Astrology." (PhD Dissertation, London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 2009).
Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London: Routledge, 1994).

of the Ottoman astrologers. So far, I have been able to find only a single article by Orhan Fuad Köprülü examining the historical value of an epistle on *ilm-i nücûm*.[15]

Among the many yearly predictive epistles prepared by Ottoman court astrologers I have decided to focus on those of Fethiyeli Halil Efendi, as he served as chief court astrologer for the unusually long period of 26 years, from 1746 to 1772. In this capacity, he served three sultans in succession: Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754), Osman III (r.1754-1757) and Mustafa III (r.1757-1774). He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Mustafa III in particular. It seems that there was an increasing demand for astrological practices in this period, partly because of this sultan's personal interest, and partly because of the general climate of uncertainty and anxiety that prevailed after the onset of the Ottoman-Russian wars.

Most of Fethiyeli Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s (from 1747-1771) can be found at Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK) in Baghdad Pavilion Turkish manuscripts section with collection number 324.[16] *Ahkâm*s from 1772-1774 are at Kandilli Observatory with collection number 454. While the *ahkâms* in TSMK 324 are not embellished and several horoscopes are left blank, the *ahkâm*s at Kandilli Observatory are fully embellished.[17] Most probably, these copies were being embellished before being presented to the sultan.

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[15] Orhan F. Köprülü, "İlm-i Nücuma ait bir risalenin tarihi kaynak olarak ehemmiyeti," *Tarih Dergisi*, (Istanbul: 1950) 309-324.

[16] İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi,* 61.

[17] For a complete list of both his astronomical and astrological works, see Chapter 3. Tables of planetary co-ordinates, (*Seyyâratin Vazîfeleri Hesabi*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 204 (1766). Tables of astronomical phenomena (*Düstur ve Cedvel-i Neyyireyn ve Mutehayyire*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 390 (1753). Translation of judgements on natal judgements, (*Ahkâm-ı Mevâlîd Tercümesi*), Istanbul University, nr. 4846 (1748).Yearly judgements for 1756, (*Ahkâm-ı Sâl-i 1170*) Cairo University, nr.

In this study, I have read the *ahkâm* works of Halil Efendi, in conjunction with the major Ottoman chronicles and modern political histories covering this period in order to identify the events and conditions to which Halil Efendi may have been responding.[18] However, I have found that it is not always possible to identify the specific events and personages, since the *ahkâm* texts deliberately leave out all personal names and tend to refer to generic offices and collective groups instead. References to events are also framed in the more general terms of the astrological predictive tradition. It might be presumed that as a long-standing member of the Ottoman court, Halil Efendi also preferred to exercise caution when commenting on specific events and persons.[19]

5688. Yearly judgements between the years 1747 and 1771, (*Ahkam-Sâl min sene 1160-1184*), Topkapı Museum, Baghdad Pavilion, nr. 324. Yearly judgements for 1747, (*Ahkam-ı Sâl-i 1160*), Topkapı Museum, nr. 1641. Yearly judgements for 1750-1751, (*Ahkâm-ı Tali'i Sâl 1164-1165*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 537. Yearly judgements for 1772-73-74, (*Ahkâm-ı Tali'i Sâl 1186-87-88)*, Kandilli Observatory, nr. 454.

[18]Adnan Baycar, *Osmanlı Rus İlişkileri Tarihi, Ahmet Câvid Bey'in Müntehabâtı* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2004), Ahmet Öğreten, *İbretnümâ-yı Devlet, Mustafa Kesbî* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), Baron de Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlara Dair Hâtıralar* (Istanbul: Tercüman), Bekir Kütükoğlu, ed. *Çeşmi-zâde Tarihi, Çeşmi-zâde Mustafa Reşîd* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1993), Ethan Lewis Menchinger, "An Ottoman Historian in an Age of Reform: Ahmed Vasıf Efendi (ca. 1730-1805)." (PhD Dissertation, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2014), Hülya Macun, "III. Mustafa ve Zamanı (1757-1774)."(PhD Dissertation, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1996), İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi IV, (1703-1919)* (Istanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2011), İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi, IV., Karlofça Anlaşmasından XVIII. Yüzyılın Sonlarına Kadar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), Kemal Beydilli, "Mustafa III*"*, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Hereafter cited as *TDVİA*), Metin Kunt, et al., *Türkiye Tarihi III. Osmanlı Devleti, 1600-1908* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2011), Midhat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi, V.* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), Müçteba İlgürel, ed. *Mehâsinü'l- Âsâr ve Hakaikü'l-Ahbâr, Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), Münir Aktepe, ed. *Şem'dâni-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi, Mür 'i't-Tevârîh, I. II.* (Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976), Virginia Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı, Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997).

[19] For further examples of the political use of astrology, see Darin Hayton, "Astrology as Political Propaganda: Humanist Responses to the Turkish Threat in Early Sixteenth-Century Vienna," *Austrian History Yearbook* 38 (Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota 2007), 61-91, Hillary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster, Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), Michael Shank, "Academic Consulting in 15th-Century

1.2 Chapter summary

This thesis is comprised of three main chapters in addition to an Introduction and Conclusion. In Chapter Two, I will try to provide a more general picture of the practice of astrology in the early modern Ottoman world. By making use of a number of published Ottoman works on the classification of the sciences, I will discuss how Ottoman literati defined and discussed the various types of astrology and where they situated it in the wider learned tradition. Because astrology was an ancient science, this discussion will also reveal the Ottoman indebtedness to the earlier Islamic learned tradition as well as its Greek, Persian and Indian sources. I will also consider the religiously grounded objections to astrology and the pre-Ottoman textual sources for these objections. However, we shall see that despite these objections, Ottoman scholars continued to engage in astrology throughout the early modern period.

Chapter Three will introduce Fethiyeli Halil Efendi and try to draw his social and cultural portrait as an eighteenth-century Ottoman court astrologer. Unfortunately, biographical sources on late eighteenth-century Ottoman men of letters are very limited. However, I have been able to find the record of Halil

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Vienna: The Case of Astrology, Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science," in *Studies on the Occasion of John E. Murdoch's Seventieth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 245-70, Monica Azzolini, "Reading Health in the Stars: Politics and Medical Astrology in Renaissance Milan," in *Horoscopes and Public Spheres, Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 183-205; Monica Azzolini, "The Politics of Prognostication: Astrology, Political Conspiracy and Murder in Fifteenth-Century Milan,".*History of Universities* 22 (2008):6-34; Monica Azzolini, "The Political Uses of Astrology: Predicting Illness and Death of Princes, Kings and Popes in the Italian Reniassance," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41, no. 2 (2010), 135-45.

Efendi's estate that was drawn up after his death.[20] By analyzing the books listed in this inventory, I will try to reconstruct Halil Efendi's wide-ranging intellectual interests. Attention will also be paid to his household items to reconstruct his personal habits and domestic environment. A full list of his estate will be provided in Appendix A.

The second part of this chapter discusses works of *ilm-i nücûm* dedicated to the sultans and specifically focuses on the noteworthy production of astrological works during the reign of Mustafa III. Within the context of Ottoman realities in the eighteenth century, we find astrology as a means of last resort to make better strategic decisions, as well as a routinely consulted resource for decision-making in times of crises. This chapter looks more closely at the courtly functions of *müneccim*s and their status within the bureaucratic scheme. Their roles in finding auspicious times for almost every state matter, from girding ceremonies to wedding ceremonies and military campaigns, are well illustrated in the archives. It is not an exaggeration to say that *müneccim*s worked as time experts within the Ottoman administration and that their advice was sought not only by the sultan but also by other members of the ruling elite.

Chapter Four seeks to examine the *ahkâm* works more closely. As bureaucratic documents, *ahkâm*s display common features and seem to follow a well-established structure from the seventeenth century onwards. It should be noted that the astrological assignment of the planets to court players mimicked the structure

[20] Chief-*müneccim* Halil Efendi's estate in the registers, BOA. D.BŞM.MHF (Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Muhallefât Halifesi) 55/34.

of the Ottoman imperial edifice from the sultan (the Sun) down to the *reâyâ* (the Moon). This chapter discusses the members of the court with reference to their astrological symbolism and takes note of the prominent expressions that were regularly used in *ahkâm* texts. Various sections like the twelve-animal calendar, monthly predictions and further notes on eclipses were also noted as regular parts of *ahkâm*s. Later, a brief explanation of the astrological techniques employed by *müneccim*s is also given. The second part of this chapter looks more closely at *ahkâm* texts as reflections of political events and prevailing conditions in terms of the social dynamics of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century. In this part, attempts are made to read various events of the reign of Mustafa III from the viewpoint of chief-*müneccim* Halil Efendi. In this respect, *ahkâm*s, which critically expose certain sensibilities, remind us how the central administration positioned itself with respect to ongoing developments.

CHAPTER 2

ASTROLOGY AS A LEARNED TRADITION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

This chapter examines astrology as a learned tradition in the Ottoman Empire, while also paying attention to its intellectual and cultural roots, which go back through medieval Islamic societies to the diverse traditions of ancient Greece, Iran and India. The main aim of this exposition, however, is to clarify how early modern Ottomans, drawing on earlier traditions, defined astrology, as well as how they related it to other branches of learning.

2.1 The definition and practice of astrology in the Islamic learned tradition

Astrology can be defined differently depending on the historical context. In the diverse cultures that flourished around the Mediterranean and which appropriated the learned traditions of the ancient Greeks and Romans, astrology mainly denoted a system of thought predicating a causal link between celestial phenomena and earthly affairs within the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic model of the universe. This model envisages affinities and repulsions between objects or persons depending on their humoral natures.[21] Ancient astronomers observed celestial phenomena, such as planetary movements and the rising and setting of the stars and comets, provided mathematical explanations for these events (the science of the spheres) and hypothesized about the

[21] The theory of four humors was systemized by Greek thinkers as a part of their philosophy. Though Hippocrates is usually credited with applying this idea to medicine, the field in which it is most prominent, Galen emphasized the importance of these qualities. Four qualities, hot, cold, dry and wet, describe four astrological elements, each corresponding to a distinct humor. Fire (hot & dry), Earth (cold & dry), Air (hot & wet), Water (cold&wet) represent the four humors, which then correspond to choleric, melancholic, sanguine and phlegmatic temperaments, respectively.

celestial bodies' physical structures (the science of physics), in turn giving rise to a third division, the science of the configurations of the heavens. Medieval Muslim scholars, who inherited the Greek, Persian and Indian traditions through the translation movement of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, called these sciences *ilmü'l-felek*, *ilmü'l-tabi'at* and *ilmü'l-hey'et*, respectively. Thus, astrology (*ilm* or *sina'at ahkâmi'n-nücûm*) was seen as the science of interpretation and the prediction of worldly events based on astronomical calculations.

In the Islamic learned tradition, the same word was usually used to denote both astrologer and astronomer: *müneccim*, or less frequently *ahkâmî* (plur. *ahkâmiyyun, ashâb sina'at al ahkâm*). Apart from *ilm-i ahkâmi'n-nücûm*, *ilmü't-tencîm* could also mean astronomy as well as astrology, since an astrologer was supposed to make astronomical calculations before making predictions.

Claudius Ptolemy's (A.D. 2) *Tetrabiblos*, a treatise on astrology and a sequel to his astronomical work *Almagest*, is accepted as the foundational work for astrology in the Islamic learned tradition. The Greek mathematical astrological tradition, exemplified by Dorotheus' *Pentateuch* (A.D. 1), Hephaestio of Thebes' *Apotelesmatika* (A.D. 5) and the works of Rhetorius of Alexandria (A.D. 7), continued to be used in Greek and Syriac versions and became known in Arabic through the writings of Theophilus of Edessa (d.785), a Syriac Christian at the Abbasid court, and through the ninth-century translations of Ptolemy's work by Yahya b. al-Bitriq and Ibrahim b. Salt.[22] In this time period, Baghdad, as the seat of the Abbasid caliphate, emerged as the most important center of astrological

[22] Charles Burnett, "Astrology", *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

scholarship. This scientific tradition of astrology not only continued but also spread to other parts of the Islamic world after the political fragmentation of the Abbasid caliphate and the emergence of new centers of political power in the late ninth and tenth centuries.[23]

In a wider sense, astrology both in the ancient world and in medieval Islamdom was also associated with occult practices such as natural magic, alchemy and lettrism. Apart from the scientific definition of the age, astrology constituted part of a larger Hermetic culture, based on Platonic and Pythagorean philosophies, which purported to provide gnostic knowledge of the universe through divine correspondences.[24] Hermetic texts, which were written or collated by unknown authors in Egypt, but which were ascribed to the legendary figure Hermes

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[23] Ahmet T. Karamustafa argues that the meager cosmological content in the two major sources of Islamic thought, namely the *Qur'an* and the *hadiths*, was compensated by the infusion of several other intellectual traditions, including the Greek, Indian and Persian bodies of knowledge, into the nascent Islamic culture. This early phase gave way to an unprecedented translation into Arabic of scientific and philosophical texts. Hence, works of these diverse scholars allowed a substantial role for human reason as opposed to revelation in their establishment of *Falsafah*. In return, such openness to Ptolemaic cosmology eventually transformed itself into a milieu in which astrological thinking could flourish, as exemplified by such works as the ninth-century *Resâ'il* of *Ihvan al Safa* in which mathematics, geometry, astronomy and astrology were taken as pathways to the knowledge of God. See Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagrams," in *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3-89.

[24] In the Hellenistic world, Pre-socratic philosophers such as Parmenides, Pythagoras, Eudoxus and others had charted the celestial sphere in geometric terms. To them, the risings and settings of the stars and the planets, eclipses and retrograde motions of the planets were seen as a cosmic system in which bodies moved along regular, predictable geometric paths. Plato argued that the universe had been created by a rational power, which he called the *demiurge*, meaning "craftsman," in his *Timaeus*. According to Aristotle, the stars and the planets were divine beings whose regular motions were explicable only if they were impelled by will and intelligence. He argued that motion is the primary cause of change, and the elements of which the earthly realm was composed owed their existence to this motion. In the *Timaeus*, Plato wrote that the intelligence of the world-soul is synonymous with its revolution, that supreme outermost revolution of the same which affects all interior motions of the cosmos. In this view, the eternal transformation of the four elements into each other in the sub-lunar world reflects continuous creation and destruction in the universe. See Plato, *Timaeus* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 7-29.

Trisgemistus, date from sometime before the end of the third century A.D.[25] Van Bladel writes that all manner of Arabic works with allegedly "gnostic", "Neoplatonic", "Neopythagorean" or esoteric tendencies are used to refer to the beliefs of the Sabians of Harran, about whom very little is known.[26] According to Melvin-Koushki, between the tenth and sixteenth centuries, messianic Sufi groups also became active agents of occult philosophies, including astrology, dispensing millennial thoughts among Muslims.[27]

2.2 Branches of astrology

Since Antiquity, astrology as a body of knowledge had been divided into branches of application based on practical uses,[28] several of which were not fully esteemed or even disallowed due to their disapproval in Ptolemaic model of thinking in the Islamic learned tradition.[29]

The first practical division of astrology is the fundamental principles of astrology: the properties of the various celestial places (*buyût*, houses), different

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[25] Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes, From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11.

[26] Kevin van Bladel notes that Fuat Sezgin's bibliographical *Geshichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (GAS) provides the most complete inventory of the Arabic manuscripts ascribed to Hermes.

[27] Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Occult Challenge To Philosophy And Messianism In Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism As A Metaphysics," in *Unity in Diversity, Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 252.

[28] Holden indicates that in Babylon, astrology was a divinatory means for priests to ascertain the will of the gods. Natal astrology or genethlialogy in our present understanding was crystalized in the Hellenistic period, around the late second and early first century BCE. See James Herschel Holden, *A History of Horoscopic Astrology* (Arizona: AFA, 1996).

[29] Carlo Nallino,"Astrology Mohammadan", *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

divisions of the ecliptic (*burûc*, signs) and individual planets (*kevkeb*), determination of the ascending sign (*tal'î*), etc.

The second division covers prognostications of a universal character, *el ahkâm 'alâ umûr el-'âlem*. This corpus of predictive works concerns the rise and fall of dynasties and religions, the outbreak of wars and epidemics, and natural events like earthquakes and the weather as well as the price of goods and their abundance or scarcity. Arabs called this domain *tahvil sini al-'alem* (universal apotelesmatics, in Ptolemy), as such predictions were based on the moment of annual transit of the Sun into the first degree of the sign of Aries. As we shall see later, Ottoman *müneccims* employed the same methods in their yearly predictive works. The universal part of astrology is subdivided into three sections. These are predictions derived from the various conjunctions of the planets (*kıranat*), predictions based on the yearly revolutions of the Sun[30] and predictions based on lunar mansions (*menâzil*) and the heliacal rising of Sirius[31] for meteorological phenomena (*tagayyürü'l-havâ*). The pre-Islamic Arabs also inspected the sky to search for signs of rain; however, according to a *hadith* reported by Al-Bukhari, this practice was denounced by the Prophet Mohammad.[32] Apart from astrology, the art of drawing conclusions from

[30] In political or mundane astrology, special horoscopes constructed based on the Sun's ingress into the cardinal signs, namely Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn, are called "revolutions of the Sun."

[31] The ancient Egyptian calendar was based on the heliacal rising of the star Sirius. The river Nile's rising then coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius. To the Egyptians, the stars were deities and their patterns of rising had strong religious significance. The heliacal rising star is the one that appears on the horizon just before the sun rises.

[32] Toufic Fahd, "Ahkam al-Nudjum", *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

atmospheric conditions was called *Melheme*, which was widely attributed by medieval Muslims to the Prophet Daniel.[33]

The third division concerns individuals' horoscopes and is called *el-mevâlid*, genethlialogy. Although the pre-Islamic Arabs used to make predictions from signs and events observed at the time of birth; these were rather like reading omens relating to *fa'l* or to *cifr*[34] without reference to the stars. However, the practice of natal interpretations, *el-mevalid*, in a similar vein to that of the Greeks, began in earnest in the Abbasid period. The first Arab astrologer interested in genethlialogy was Masha'allah, a Jewish scholar from Basra. His *Kitab al-Mawalid*, which was translated twice into Latin, discusses many subjects such as knowledge concerning the beginning of the formation of the fetus, his/her status in life and longevity of life by means of *al-hilac*, a constituent astrological signifier for the measurement of

[33] *Melheme* books (*Melahim* pl.) constitute a special genre of predictive works. Often written in Syriac, these books contain prophetic verses in calendar format. Natural events, eclipses, certain atmospheric conditions, earthquakes and appearences of comets were often attributed to future events and expectations. The first Ottoman work on melhemes is the translation of Hubays al-Tiflisi's (1231) *Melhame-i Danyal* by Yazıcızâde Salahaddin (1408) See also İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, LV.

[34] According to Mohammad Ahmad Masad, *cifr* was perceived as a symbol of the universal intellect, a vision of the world on a supernatural and cosmic scale. See Mohammad Ahmad Masad, "The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy and the end of the time in the 13th century Eastern Mediterranean."(PhD Dissertation, Missouri:Washington University St. Louis, 2008), 103. Masad points out the connection between jafr and Ja'far al-Sadiq, referring to Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Adab al-kdtib*, as quoted by al-Damiri in his *Kitab al-hayawdn* (the book of animals). According to this information, "the *Djafr* is said to be a book by Dja'far b. Muhammad al-Sadik (the sixth Imam, (d. 784), written on the skin of a *Djafr*, a just weaned kid or lamb, for the information of the House of the Prophet, containing all that they needed to know and all that was to happen until the Last Day.", 133, in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Toufic Fahd describes jafr as a part of Shi'i esoteric knowledge. He provides the following definition: "An esoteric literature of apocalyptic character arose, created in order to bolster the hopes of the adepts, who were near to despair, and to sustain in the minds of the ruling Caliphs that quasi-religious respect which they felt they should owe to the descendants of the daughter of the Prophet. This literature appears in different forms, all grouped under the generic name of *djafr*, to which is often added the noun *djdmi 'a* or the adjective *djdmi"*. See Toufic Fahd, "Djafr", *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2:375-377).

life.[35] There are several other books with the same title but written by different astrologers, including Umar ibn al-Farrukhan al-Tabari, Abu ‘Ali al-Khayyat, Sahl ibn Bishr and Abu Bakr al-Hasan b. Al-Khasib.

Interrogations (*mesâ 'il*, horary astrology) constitute the fourth division of astrology. This was one of the disputed branches of astrology, as it does not refer to natural events but rather responds to specific questions such as “Shall I marry so-and-so?” In interrogations, a chart is cast based on the time and place when and where the astrologer was asked the question.[36] As interrogations were not directly related to the moment of one’s birth or a natural event, the horoscope would be set according to the moment of the question. This oracular side of astrology was not admitted by the majority of the followers of the tradition of Ptolemy, including most Muslim astrologers.

The fifth division, that of elections or *ihtiyârât* (hemerology), is the application of astrological methods in order to choose a propitious moment for embarking on a specific activity. This can be seen as the reverse application of interrogations, since a favorable moment is to be sought depending on the 28 lunar mansions or stations (*menâzil*), taking into account the aspects of the Moon and the applications and separations of the related planets. Predictably, astrologers who were in line with Ptolemy’s teachings did not follow this branch of application, since it was not built on natural causes. In the Islamic world, *ihtiyârât* came into prominence

[35] L. Thorndike, “The Latin Translations of astrological works by Messahala,” *Osiris* xii, (1956), 49-72.

[36] In question-based horary astrology, a horoscope is constructed based upon the time when astrologer was asked a specific question. If the querent and the astrologer were not at the same location and time, then horoscope is cast depending on the time and place of the astrologer’s own perception of the question.

in the Abbasid court, where emulation of ancient Sassanian royal practices was quite pronounced. Choosing auspicious dates for specific events was also among the practices most widely used by Ottoman *müneccims*. Electing a date and hour for launching a galley or circumcision festivities for princes, or even setting a date for military expeditions, became a customary task in state affairs.

2.3 The position of astrology in the Islamic classifications of the sciences

Medieval Muslim scholars commonly divided the sciences into two major categories: (1) Shar'i sciences ('*ulum-ü şer'i*), that is to say, sciences which deal with the interpretation of the principal sources of revelation, the *Qur'an* and *hadith*s, and (2) rational sciences ('*ulum-ü akli*), which were also called foreign sciences ('*ulumü'l acem*). Foreign sciences had already been divided by the later Greek peripatetics and by the expounders of Aristotle into three branches: Metaphysics (*hikmet-i ilahiye),* natural sciences (*hikmet-i tabiyye*) and mathematical sciences (*hikmet-i riyaziye*). Most Muslim scholars considered *ilm-i nücûm* to be one of the secondary branches of the natural sciences, along with medicine, physiognomy, oneirocriticism, alchemy and the science of talismans, according to the mode of classification found in Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's (d.1111) *The Incoherence of Philosophers* (*Tahafut al-falasifah*).[37]

Tensions began to develop between Islam and the transmitted ancient sciences ('*ulûm'ül-evâ'il*), since these sciences had bearings on metaphysical

[37] Carlo Nallino,"Sun, Moon, and Stars", *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

questions.[38] According to George Saliba, the main ground for the conflict between the religious and foreign sciences was in the field of astrology.[39] Astrology's assumptions about the world being without a beginning or end, as well as about free-will and predestination, made it a controversial discipline in direct competition with religion, as was also the case within Christianity. However, to judge by the vague criticisms of astrology in *hadith* collections, these attacks were not well articulated in Islam's early period.[40]

George Saliba indicates that after the eleventh century, Muslim astronomers tried to redefine the subject of their discipline as simply seeking to know the positions of the planets without making any comments that could suggest a resemblance to astrology.[41] Hence, they attempted to construct mathematical models of planetary movements, yet they fervently avoided the religious and astrological implications of Aristotelian philosophy. It was in this process that the new discipline of *ilm-i hey'et* emerged, which had no Greek equivalent. The divorcing of astronomy from astrology also meant that astronomy could flourish among the religious elite. Despite such formal differentiation of astronomy and astrology by Muslim astronomers, putative divinatory power astrology and widespread assumption of their

[38] Saliba indicates that al-Hajjaj ibn Matar, one of the well-known translators of Abbasid Court in the ninth century made corrections in the Almagest of Ptolemy as he was translating. See George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), 79.

[39] Saliba writes that religious attacks on astrology during the ninth and tenth centuries began to endanger the astronomers, whose profession had not been differentiated from astrology. George Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy, Planetary Theories During the Golden Age of Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 54 and 78.

[40] *Ibid*., 55.

[41] Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, 175.

binary status kept both areas of knowledge closely related as it was only in the nineteenth century that a clearer distinction began to be made between astrologer (*müneccim*) and astronomer (*falaki*) in Arabic.[42] While this distinction may have facilitated the social integration of astronomy in Muslim societies, astrology also continued to benefit from royal patronage in the courts.

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, the famous theologian and jurist whose writings would exercise great influence over the early modern Ottomans, asserted that astrology (*ahkâm*) in summary depends on induction (*istidlâl*) based on events through causes (*esbâb*), and likened it to the physician's induction from the pulse regarding the future development of a disease. In effect, it entailed knowledge of the unfolding of God's intention in regard to his creatures.[43]

Although al-Ghazali included astrology in his classification of the rational sciences, he was clearly worried about its status from the viewpoint of the shariah. He regarded judicial astrology or interrogations to be "blameworthy" like the science of magic and talismans, but considered mathematical astronomy to be permissible.[44] Al-Ghazali upheld the idea that "the sun, moon, and stars are themselves subject to the will of God", emphasizing that the attribution of influences to the stars is against the *sharia*. Secondly, he treated astrology as "pure guess-work" based not on knowledge but on ignorance. Interestingly, he purported that true knowledge of astrology had originally been possessed by the prophet Idris (Enoch), even though it

[42] C. A. Nallino,"Sun, Moon, and Stars", *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

[43] Al Ghazzali, *The Revival of Religious Sciences, Ihya 'ulum al-din* (Egypt, 1938), 29.

[44] Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam* (Chicago:Islamic Texts Society, 1998), 214.

had subsequently disappeared. Thirdly, he approached astrology as a trivial science, in which one's study results in doubt and weakening of faith. It is important to note that although al-Ghazali saw astrology as blameworthy, he also held it to be harmless, if practiced by people "who are well grounded in religious knowledge".[45]

Although al-Ghazali's classificatory scheme maintained some of the principles of the Aristotelian scheme, his classification of the sciences into the *fard 'ayn* and the *fard kifayah* categories was ethical in nature.[46] Bakar indicates that this division is based on the distinction between two types of religious obligation pertaining to its acquisition. The term *fard 'ayn* refers to a religious obligation that is binding on every Muslim, while the term *fard kifayah* refers to what is divinely ordained and binding for the Muslim community, but is not necessarily binding for each member. Astrology, in this scheme, was a sub-category of the non-religious sciences, which were *fard kifayah*. [47]

As we shall see further below, al-Ghazali's conceptualization of the sciences in a tripartite ethical division of knowledge, the praiseworthy (*mahmûd*), the blameworthy (*madhmum*) and the permissible (*mubâh*) had an over-arching influence over Ottoman scholars such as Taşköprülüzâde and Nev'i Efendi.[48] But before we examine the Ottoman views on astrology, we must first take a broader view of the

[45] *Ibid*., 216.

[46] *Ibid*., 206.

[47] Didar Ayşe Akbulut, "The Classification Of The Sciences in Nev'i Efendi's Netâyic'ül-Fünûn – An Attempt at Contextualization" (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2014), 53.

[48] Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Efendi, ed. Mümin Çelik, *Mevzuat'ül Ulûm* (Istanbul, Üç Dal Neşriyat, 1975), 271. Nev'i Efendi, ed. Ömer Tolgay, *Netâyic' ül-Fünûn* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995), 226.

Ottoman intellectual scene and the broader institutional and social framework in which astrology was practiced.

2.4 Astrology and the Ottoman intellectual climate: A general overview

To a significant extent, the Ottomans inherited the intellectual and scientific legacy of earlier Muslims. But the Ottoman appropriation of earlier Muslim religious, scientific and cultural ideas and attitudes had a complex history, and the complexities of this history also affected the Ottoman views on and practice of astrology and astronomy.

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu has argued that the early Ottoman madrasas aimed at spreading religious education in general and jurisprudence in particular. As a result, the philosophical, mathematical and natural sciences were taught outside the formal institutions of learning. According to İhsanoğlu, this situation changed in the time of Mehmed II, who was strongly interested in philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences and explicitly asked them to be taught in the madrasa he founded as well.[49]

At this point, it is hard to say to what extent astrology was incorporated into the Ottoman madrasa curriculum. What is certain, however, is that the Ottoman court provided an important venue of employment and patronage for scholars who produced works on astrology. Indeed, several key Ottoman scholars of the fifteenth century who pursued a strong interest in astrology were connected closely to the Ottoman court. Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (1380-1455), the author of *Miftah-ı cifrü'l-cami*' (Key to Esoteric Knowledge), served both Murad II (1404-1451) and

[49] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Institutionalization of Science in the Medreses of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Turkey," *Turkish Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, *vol. 244*, (2005), 275.

Mehmed II (1432-1481). Bistami was an influential scholar of the prophetic traditions and the occult, and his work was translated into Turkish and expanded upon by quotations from other divinatory texts, as well as the *Qur'an*, by mudarris Şerif b. Seyyid Mehmed b. El Şeyh Burhan, on an assignment by Gazanfer Agha, during the reign of Mehmet III (1595-1603).[50]

But the production of astronomical works truly peaked in the reign of Bayezid II. Indeed, of the 89 works known to have been produced in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 14 were dedicated specifically to Bayezid II.[51] Among the scholars who penned astrological works and who tutored *müneccim* trainees Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525) was a member of Bayezid's entourage.[52] Hatay-i Ceylani, Mehmed bin Katip Sinan, Abdurrahman, Mehmed bin Yusuf, Konyalı Muslihiddin Mustafa bin Vefa, Hitabi al-Hüseyni, Salman, Abdülkerim bin Mevlana Sinan and Hamza bin Abdülkerim were other well-known *müneccims* of this period.[53]

According to Salim Aydüz, it was also during the reign of Bayezid II that the first *müneccim*s were employed at the Ottoman court.[54] The introduction of established astrological activities in the Ottoman court, with increasing numbers of

[50] Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History At The Ottoman Court* (Indiana University Press, 2013), 246.

[51] İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, LXIV, LIX.

[52] Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Rasattan Takvime: XV/XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Dünyasında Astrolojinin Yeri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler,"*Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası* (Klasik, 2015), 239

[53] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık" , 23. See also F.E. Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, TSMK, 1961), 535-536, Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu (Istanbul, TSMK, 1961), 94-101.

[54] According to a state-roll in the Topkapı Palace archives, a record dated between 1537-1544 contains the names of three *müneccim*s in the list of recepients of monthly wages (*cemaat-ı müşahare-horan*). These names in the group of *müneccim*s (*cemaat-ı münecciman)* were listed as Seydi İbrahim bin Seyyid, Ishak and Sinan.

translations of astrological works in this period can be associated with the arrival of scholars from Iran due to the establishment of a Shi'i state under Shah Ismail in 1501.[55] Eventually, the style and format of yearly calendars and astrological judgments were regularized during the reign of Bayezid II.[56]

Astrology and the occult sciences also had an important place in the court of Süleyman (1520-1566) due to the messianic expectations of the period. Cornell Fleischer identifies the works of three important figures supporting a millenarian atmosphere in the court of Süleyman. The first was Abd al-Rahman Bistami's *Miftâhül-Cifr el-Câmi'*, mentioned above. Secondly, *Câmi'ül-Meknûnât* (*The Compendium of Hidden Things*) of Mevlana Isa also reflected the apocalyptic atmosphere of the time by examining the conditions surrounding Süleyman and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Thirdly, a geomancer and a refugee from the court of the Safavid Shah Ismail, Haydar Remmal, was a court *müneccim* and a trusted advisor to Süleyman, supporting his eschatological identity through his services.[57]

Süleyman's grandson Murad III (1574-1595) was also known for his interest in the occult sciences. He had numerous Ottoman Turkish translations made of treatises on astrology, fortune telling and demonology, such as *Metâli ' al-sa'âda va*

[55] Şükrullah Şirvani, Ataullah Acemi and Mirim Çelebi, who were well-versed in astronomy and astrology, were only a few of the figures who emigrated from Iran. See Tofiqh Heiderzadeh, "Immigration of the Iranian Scholars and the Transfer of Iranian Intellectual Traditions to the Ottoman Empire from the Early Timurid Period to the Late Safavid Period," *Studies in Ottoman Science, vol. 2,* (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 1998), 212-242.

[56] Aydüz, "Muneccimbaşılık", 23.

[57] See Fleischer,"Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: "Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,", 231-44.
"The Lawgiver as the Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Suleyman," 159-77.
"Seer to Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal and Sultan Suleyman,", 290-9.
"Shadows and Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul,", 51-62.

manâbi ' al-siyâda (The Ascension of Propitious Stars and Sources of Sovereignty) which he presented as a gift to his daughters, Ayşe Sultan and Fatma Sultan.[58] Emine Fetvacı points out that in the late sixteenth century, the library of Vizier Hadım Hasan Pasha contained books on esoteric divination such as *Ta'birname-i Cafer* (Book of Interpretations of Cafer-i Sadık), as well as the first chapter of *Resâ'il* of *Ihvan al Safa*, translated by the poet Lami'î.[59] *Resâ'il* of the Brethren of Purity (*Ihvan al Safa*), a loose association of philosophers, contains a synthesis of metaphysical and cosmological ideas in which astrology also plays a founding role.[60] As a natural consequence of their interest in occult matters as well as the divinatory aspect of *ilm-i nücûm*, *müneccim*s were able to secure their position in court life.

[58] Fetvacı, Picturing History At the Ottoman Court, 43.

[59] *Ibid*., 51.

[60] These 52 treatises are mostly eclectic and syncretic in their encyclopedic compilation and contain a mixture of principles of Neoplatonism, Aristotelianism and Pythagorean views of diverse topics including logic, mathematics, music, magic and theology in four main sections. These four parts cover episodes of mathematical and logical sciences, the natural sciences, the sciences of the intellect and the soul (psychological) and lastly theological (juridical) sciences. Their passionate inclination toward Pythagorean ideas shows close ties with Hermetic philosophies and doctrines of Harranians, as well as Quranic terminology of the pedestal (*kursi*) and throne (*'arsh*) and Islamic angelology. Their repetitive and sometimes self-contradictory features also reflect that these were written over a period of many years by different authors. However, the overall tone of these epistles advocates social and political reform, regarding the world as corrupt at all levels of society; hence, a critical discourse is apparent, but these thoughts never explicitly become proposals for social measures. These epistles see the succession of empires, rulers and even religions as a natural process of astrological ages. Indeed, Ibn Khaldun's concept of the rise and fall of dynasties, as well as Abu Mas'har's theory of astrological history, were well known and conversant ideas at that epoch.
Ahmet T. Karamustafa indicates that validity of the Ptolemaic universe, which was illustrated in the *Resâ'il*, was on the whole never questioned by Muslim scholars. The *Resâ'il*, which was in fact built on Ismaili Gnostic teachings with the addition of Neoplatonic ideas, led to the development of much more detailed cosmologies with strict hierarchical orderings of the universe and a symmetrical juxtaposition of the physical and spiritual worlds. In this respect, astrology finds a pivotal role in the metaphysical principles of *Resâ'il*. Without a clear distinction between astronomy and astrology, in their view, the combination of the these two was not a purely human form of knowledge but a science revealed to the prophet Idris or Hermes Trisgemistus, who supposedly journeyed to the sphere of Saturn in order to bring to earth the science of the heavens.

On the other hand, the intricate relationship between astrology and politics was also echoed in the foundation and eventual destruction of the imperial observatory run by the Taqi al-Dîn Muhammad ibn Ma'rûf (1585), who was chief-*müneccim* to Murad III. The observatory was founded on the premise that it would allow Taqî al Dîn to calculate better astronomical positions; and it received the support of Grand Vizier Sokollu Muhammad Pasha and the sultan's former tutor, Hoca Saadettin.[61] However, şeyhülislam Kadızade Şemsuddin Efendi, who had opposed the observatory from the outset, convinced the sultan to demolish it in two years, giving as reasons the outbreak of serious plague and the dangers of daring into the secrets of God via the use of astrology. Although on the surface it seemed to be an attack against astrology, the şeyhülislam was also the political rival of both the Grand Vizier and the sultan's tutor.[62] Baki Tezcan asserts that the destruction of the observatory was the result of the negative perception of "traditionalist" Ottoman scholar-jurists, who were the majority of *ilmiye* class, of the rational sciences. Tezcan, rather than interpreting this event as a conflict between "progressive science versus reactionary religion", argues that the unfortunate observatory project was an important claim of sultanic power which resulted in political confrontation with dominant faction among religious scholars.[63]

[61] Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 289.

[62] *Ibid*., 292.

[63] Baki Tezcan, "Some Thoughts on the Politics of Early Modern Ottoman Science", "Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and Middle Eastern/North African Studies, A tribute to Rif'at Abou-El-Haj," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, (Istanbul: ISAM, 2010), 135-156.

Until recently, it was widely maintained that because of a rise in religious conservatism starting in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans once again began to exclude these sciences from the madrasa curriculum and that interest in the rational sciences declined as a result.[64] More recently, however, a number of Ottomanists have challenged this view. Khaled el-Rouayheb, for instance, has shown that Ottoman scholarly interest in various rational sciences and most especially, *kelam*, philosophy and logic, continued unabated and even increased in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[65] Likewise, Marlene Kurz has argued that from the very outset, Ottoman intellectual life was the heir of the jurist-scientists as well as the philosopher-theologians. While she acknowledged that the traditionalist religious scholars' objections to the rational sciences became more vocal after the sixteenth century, she also pointed out that they never exclusively dominated the Ottoman intellectual scene.[66]

In line with the views of these revisionist scholars, bibliographical evidence also suggests that there was no long-term decline in the production of astrological

[64] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, 179-185 and Marshall Hodgson *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974), 123 and Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals:Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8 (1997), 151-184. For an alternative view, which downplays the importance of the exclusion of the rational sciences from the madrasa curriculum in the medieval context, see A. I. Sabra, "The Appropriation and Subsequent Naturalization of Greek Science in Medieval Islam:A Preliminary Statement," *History of Science*, *vol. 25*, 223-243.

[65] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century, Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[66] Marlene Kurz, *Ways to Heaven, Gates to Hell, Fazlızâde 'Alî's Struggle with The Diversity of Ottoman Islam* (Berlin: EBVerlag, 2011), 176-248.

works by Ottoman scholars after the sixteenth century. Table 1 below represents a breakdown of the numbers of books on *ilm-i nücûm* over time.[67]

Table 1. Breakdown of the number of books on *ilm-i nücûm* over time

Number of books on *ilm-î nücûm* by century	Authors known	Anonymous works	Total
15th century	11	8	19
16th century	40	30	70
17th century	47	14	61
18th century	86	112	198
19th century	61	134	195
20th century	51	15	66
Undated works	46	431	477
Total	342	744	1086

Extrapolating from the number of books of *ilm-i nücûm* dedicated to the ruling elite and particularly to sultans, the seventeenth century does not reflect a prominent rise but a steady rate, of which Sultan Mehmed IV accounts for a striking number. Such a high number must stem from his long years of reign. At the beginning of Mehmed IV's reign (1648-1687), chief-*müneccim* Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1650) was an influential figure. He had predicted the death of Murad IV in his *ahkâm* and amassed a considerable fortune through his dealings with ruling elite. However, he lost his long-standing reputation due to his miscalculations of a lunar eclipse for the year 1650, and his ciphered prediction of Mehmed IV's death cost him his life.[68] When gauging the cultural presence of an astrologer, it is notable that *chief-müneccim* Hüseyin Efendi, as a model Ottoman astrologer in the seventeenth

[67] The data in this table is taken from İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, LXIV.

[68] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık" , 126.

century, also received praise from Katip Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi.[69] Additionally, Naima's reflection's on Hüseyin Efendi's tendency toward corruption and intervention indicates the potency of the practice of *ilm-i nücûm* in state affairs.[70]

Ilm-i nücûm's courtly practice and its presence among the ruling elite reached another peak in the eighteenth century, particularly during the reign of Mustafa III. According to the list of dedicated works on *ilm-i nücûm*, Mustafa III received the second greatest number of dedications, 13, just one less than Bayezid II, which reveals the substantial amount of interest the sultan invested in the subject.[71] The Ottoman state archives display books on *ilm-i nücûm* among other topics such as religious dogmatics (*ilm-i akâid*) and commentaries (*tefsîr*), Islamic law (*fıkıh*), Sufism, mathematics, logic and medicine, endowed by Mahmud I, Osman III, Mustafa III, Abdulhamid I and Selim III, in Revan Kiosk.[72] Selim III's own library details also show books on *ilm-i nücûm* together with history, literature, lexicons, medicine, *hadiths* and *fiqh*.[73] As a striking example, state archives also contain an astrological interpretation requested by Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha for Hacı Salih Agha, a footman (*cukadar*) in the Palace in the late eighteenth century.[74]

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[69] In his *Fezleke*, Kâtip Çelebi speaks of Hüseyin Efendi as grateful, ardent for public work and knowledgeable and further writes that court-*müneccim*s share good fortune from both *ilm-i nücûm* and state opportunities. Evliya Çelebi, in his *Seyahatnâme II*, mentions Hüseyin Efendi as "fenn-i eflakte tekmil-i fünûn etmiş".

[70] Naima, *Tarih*, V, 27-28, 32.

[71] İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, LXXII.

[72] Archives of Topkapı Palace Museum, folder nr:500.

[73] Archives of Topkapı Palace Museum, folder nr:4161.

[74] Archives of Topkapı Palace Museum, folder nr:2306.

Avner Ben-Zaken draws attention to the fact that astronomy and astrology both possessed a utilitarian character in the Ottoman context.[75] Indeed, the late introduction of Copernican astronomy into the Ottoman realm occurred through the translation of planetary tables (*zics*) and geography books. The very first translation was of French astronomer Noel Durret's planetary tables, by Ibrahim al-Zigetvari, entitled *Secencelü'l Eflak fî Gayeti'l -idrak* (*Mirror of Sky and Aim of Apperception*) between 1660 and 1664. However, initially, this first mention of new astronomy and the Copernican system in particular was rejected by the chief-*müneccim* until he was convinced by al-Zigetvari that it would yield more correct planetary calculations. The gradual introduction of modern astronomical calculations continued into the late eighteenth century, exemplified by the late use of Cassini tables. In fact, these tables by Gian Domenico Cassini (1625-1712) had already been presented to Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi upon his first embassy to Louis XV of France in 1720. However, the tables were only used a half-century later after being translated by Kalfazâde İsmail Çinari, who was a time-keeper at Laleli Mosque during the reign of Mustafa III. Yavuz Unat stresses that translations of planetary tables (*zics*) rather than theoretical works on astronomy shows the predominantly utilitarian character of the Ottoman scientific establishment, as these tables were used for time-keeping and astrological purposes.

Ottoman scholars' and *müneccim*s*'* late recognition of heliocentric theory in the eighteenth century, their acknowledgement of the Enlightenment in the nineteenth century and a certain inertia in the advancement of science could be

[75]Avner Ben-Zaken, *Cross-Cultural Scientific Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1560-1660* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 159.

important factors keeping them within the boundaries of the old world conception. In this regard, the official practice of *ilm-i nücûm* at the court remained intact until the demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1923.[76] Yalçınkaya argues that the practice of casting horoscopes began to decline only after the 1830s.[77]

Before the transformations of the nineteenth century, the worldview of the eighteenth-century Ottoman scholars seems to have been more eclectic. This eclectic quality comes to light in the *Marifetname* of Ibrahim Hakkı Erzurumî (d. 1780). The association of medicine with the prophetic tradition (*tıbb-ı nebevî*) and the pairing of astronomy with religious concerns as in the case of *Marifetname* were products of this versatile approach. Shefer-Mossensohn uses two distinct eighteenth-century figures in Ottoman Cairo who were active in scientific and religious studies as examples.[78] One was Murtazâ al-Zabîdî (1732-1791) who penned an extensive Arabic lexicon (*Tâj al-'Arûs min Jawâhir al-Qâmûs*) and a commentary on al-Ghazali's *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* and who had close contacts with Sufi brotherhoods.[79] Shefer-Mossensohn indicates that Zabîdî wished to fuse disciplines and harmonize legal and religious studies with the natural sciences. The second figure, who was one of al-Zabîdî's students, was Abd al-Rahmân al-Jabartî (1753-1822). Al-Jabartî

[76] Even in the nineteenth century, Seyyid Ali Pasha, translator of *Mir'atü'l-'Âlem* of Ali Kuşçu of the late fifteenth century, wrote in his eulogy to Mahmud II that he possessed the greatness of the Sun, beauty of the Moon, truthfulness of Mercury, talents of Venus, affection of Mars, boldness of Jupiter and prestige of Saturn.

[77] M. Alper Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots, Debating Science, State, and Society in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 257.

[78] Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science Among the Ottomans, The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge*, 159-163.

[79] *Ibid*., 160.

studied science and technological change in his three separate histories of Egypt during and around the French conquest.[80] Similar mutual treatment of religious and rational sciences and widespread interests were also evident in the eclectic library of our eighteenth-century court *müneccim*, Halil Efendi.

2.5 *İlm-i nücûm* in the Ottoman classification of the sciences

But before we turn to Halil Efendi, let us also briefly discuss how Ottoman scholars at large viewed *ilm-i nücûm* and where they placed it in their classification of the sciences. Cevat İzgi's work, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim,* provides us with numerous cases indicating that *ilm-i nücûm* was an elective branch of knowledge, even if not included in the main curriculum of madrasa education.[81] *İlm-i nücûm* seems to have had an ambiguous place in the taxonomy of sciences by Ottoman scholars due to its unique status between mathematical (*riyazî*) and natural (*tabî'î*) sciences. In most of these classifications, Aristotle's Quadrivium, which is the second section of the seven liberal arts and consisting of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, was maintained conventionally in texts like Taşköprülüzâde's *Mevzû'âtü'l-Ulûm* and *Miftâhu's-Sa'âde* or Nev'i Efendi's (d. 1599) *Netâyic'ül-Fünûn*.

In his introduction to the "Judgment of Stars" (*Ahkâm-ı Nücûm*) in the *Mevzû'âtü'l-Ulûm*, Taşköprülüzâde distinguishes astrology from astronomy by indicating that astronomy is a branch of the mathematical sciences, while the latter

[80] *Ibid*., 161.

[81] Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim, Riyazi ilimler* (Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997).

deals with natural events. Although he defines five separate headings for this specific entry on *Ahkâm-ı Nücûm,* he counts only *ihtiyârât* (elections) within a class containing other, miscellaneous divinatory techniques such as geomancy (‘*ilm-i reml*), divination in general (‘*ilm-i fal*), bibliomancy (*‘ilm-i kur’a*) and ornithomancy (*‘ilm-i teyyare)*. Despite their widespread use, the absence of traditional categories of *ilm-i nücûm* such as genethlialogy, natural astrology and interrogations and his mention of *ihtiyârât* alone signify his utilitarian point of view.[82] Such a deliberate selection, disregarding essential elements of *ilm-i nücûm*, might also hint at Taşköprülüzâde’s concern to avoid legitimizing potentially dangerous and forbidden aspects of astrology.

However, four of the 27 sub-branches that were counted in the special section for astronomy in the same text also contained astrological content.[83] Firstly, the Science of Lunar Mansions (*‘ilmü menazili’l kamer*) was a well-known subject of Arabic astrology for electional purposes. This entry indicates the widespread use of the electional side of *ilm-i nücûm* in the Ottoman world. Nearly half of the yearly

[82] Taşköprülüzâde ends the *Ihtiyârât* entry by stating that everybody is aware of its benefits.

[83] The chapter assigned to astronomy (‘*ilm-i hey’e*) in Taşköprülüzâde’s *Mevzû’âtü’l-‘Ulûm* lists the following sub-branches (1) Science of Stars and Calendar (‘*ilmü’z-zicat ve’t takavim*), (2) Science of Organizing Calendars (‘*ilmü kitabeti’t takavim*), (3) Science of Calculation of Stars (‘*ilmü hisabi’n nücûm*), (4) Science of Observation of Motions (‘*ilmü keyfiyyeti’l ersad*), (5) Science of Tools of Observation (‘*ilmü’l-alati’r rasadiyye*), (6) Science of Times (‘*ilmü’l mevakit*), (7) Science of Tools of Shadows (‘*ilmü’l-alati’z-zilliye*), (8) Science of Spheres (‘*ilmü’l üker*), (9) Science of Moving Spheres (‘*ilmü’l-ükeri’l müteharrike*), (10) Science of Projection of Spheres (‘*ilmü tastihi’l-küre*), (11) Science of Figures of Stars (‘*ilmü suveri’l kevakib*), (12) Science of Distances of Stars (‘*ilmü mekadiri’l-‘ulviyyat*), (13) Science of Lunar Mansions (‘*ilmü menâzili’l kamer*), (14) Science of Cycles and Revolutions (‘*ilmü’l edvar ve’l ekvar*), (15) Science of Conjunctions (‘*ilmü’l-kıranat*), (16) Science of Battles (‘*ilmü’l melahim*), (17) Science of Seasons (‘*ilmü mevasimi’s-sene*), (18) Science of Prayer Times (‘*ilmü mevakiti’s salat*), (19) Science of Positioning of Astrolabe (‘*ilmü vaz’i’l-usturlab*), (20) Science of Use of Astrolabe (‘*ilmü ‘ameli’l-usturlab*), (21) Science of Positioning of Quadrant (‘*ilmü vaz’ı rub’i’d-da’ireti’l müceyyeb ve’l makantarat*), (22) Science of Quadrant (‘*ilmü rub’i’d-daire*), (23) Science of Tools of Clocks (‘*ilmü alati’s-sa’a*) The remaining four sub-branches belong to geography.

judgments (*ahkâms*) were penned in a standard fashion by court *müneccims* who were specifically assigned as advisors to the sultan and his entourage. Secondly, the Science of Cycles and Revolutions (*'ilmü'l edvar ve'l ekvar*) denotes the cycles of the Sun and the Moon and their astrological significations in mundane affairs. Taşköprülüzâde specifically indicates its astrological nature. Thirdly, the Science of Conjunctions (*'ilmü'l-kıranat*) is a well-known subject of astrological practice based on the conjunctions of the planets in certain signs. This special topic originates from the work of a Persian astrologer at the Abbasid court, Abu Ma'shar's *Kitab al-dalalat 'ala al-ittisalat wa-qiranat al-kawakib* (Book of the Indications of the Planetary Conjunctions). In their *ahkâms*, Ottoman court *müneccims* frequently consulted these astronomical phenomena in order to make predictions about political events and to assess conditions for military campaigns.[84] Fourthly, the Science of Battles (*'ilmü'l melahim*), indicates the times of wars and battles through *melhemes*. Taşköprülüzâde emphasizes that *ilm-i nücûm* is not free of uncertainty and mere guesswork, and one needs only to refer to *hadiths* to foresee great wars and events.

While Taşköprülüzâde discussed *ilm-i nücûm* in conjunction with *ilm-i hey'et*, in his encyclopedic work *Netâyic'ül-Fünûn* (The Essence of Sciences), which was dedicated to Sultan Murad III, Nev'i Efendi provides a separate entry for *ilm-i nücûm*.[85] Nev'i Efendi represents *ilm-i nücûm* as a respectable science practiced by

[84] See page 69 on chief-astrologer Fethiyeli Halil Efendi's separate predictive work for the year 1762, assesing conditions for a military campaign under the vizierate of Koca Ragıp Pasha.

[85] *Netâyic'ül-Fünûn* contains the following entries: History (*'ilm -i tarih*), Philosophy (*'ilm-i hikmet*), Astronomy (*'ilm-i hey'et*), Science of Discourse (*'ilm-i kelâm*), Islamic Law (*'ilm-i 'usul-i fıkh*), Science of Disputations (*'ilm-i hilaf*), Science of Interpretation (*'ilm-i tefsir*), Science of Mysticism (*'ilm-i tasavvuf*), Science of Interpretation of Dreams (*'ilm-i ta'bir-i ru'yâ*), Science of Spells (*'ilm-i*

foresighted and informed wise men, but divides it into three parts and assesses each part differently.[86] In this scheme, the first part consists of what is based on computations (*hisabiyyât*), which is free of suspicion and not religiously banned. The second part (*zanniyât*) deals with natural phenomena and is also not rejected; however, the third part (*vehmiyyât*), which comprises deductions of fortune and misfortune from the planetary relationships, is censured on religious grounds. Nev'i Efendi enumerates three reasons in his refutations about why astrology meets with religious prohibition: (1) there is the danger of blasphemy, as such a practice is essentially against the fundamental idea of the unity of God; (2) astrology thrives on pure ignorance, and (3) human intelligence is inadequate to understand astral influences. Nevertheless, contradictory attitudes are apparent when he recounts an anecdote regarding what happened to Seljukid ruler Toghrul Beg during a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn. Here he struggles to find a balance between the dominant religious view and the credibility of *ilm-i nücûm*, provided that it could be used to explain universal history; an idea which was also entertained by Ibn Khaldun.[87] In brief, Nev'i Efendi seems to favor natural astrology over its judicial (divinatory) aspects.[88]

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ruky-u efsun), Science of Medicine (*'ilm -i tıbb*), Science of Agriculture (*'ilm-i felahât*), Science of Astrology (*'ilm-i nücûm*) and Science of Fortune Telling and Invitation (*'ilm-i fal-u zecr*).

[86] Nev'i Efendi, *Netayic' ül-Fünûn*, ed. Ömer Tolgay (Istanbul: Insan Yayınları, 1995), 225.

[87] Azfar Moin, *The Millenial Sovereign, Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 26-28.

[88] One of the dilemmas of current approaches to astrology still lies in the fact that while the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic cosmological construction presumes certain causal principles, the archaic foundation of astrology rests on divinatory, omen-based practices which go beyond rationalistic explanations. Insertion of astrology into a scientific milieu and its forced application through the lens

Despite this well-established differentiation, the seventeenth-century Ottoman polymath Katip Çelebi's *Keşfü'z Zunûn* ranks *ilm-i nücûm* as an integral part of Ottoman scholarship, in line with prior opinions. Katip Çelebi repeats the aforementioned 27 sub-branches of astronomy (*ilm-i hey'et*) but does not supply further explanation.[89] In this respect, his text was deeply influenced by Taşköprülüzâde and previous scholars. In his classification, astrology is considered again as containing three sub-categories: Calculations (*hisabiyyât*), Nature (*tabi'iyyât*) and Conjectures (*vehmiyyât*). Such a classification explicitly reflects his cautionary attitude towards *ilm-i nücûm*. He expresses that the calculation of planetary positions and formation of judgments about the natural world are not religiously permissible; nevertheless, conjecturing about the sublunar world (*havâdisi's-süfliyye*) from these phenomena is unacceptable according to *şeri'a*. Akin to the thoughts of Imam Şaf`îi, Katip Çelebi agrees that the positions and movements of the stars would only serve and be subsumed under the justice of God. However, in the final analysis, his classification contains ambiguous and nebulous aspects, as both astronomy and astrology are represented in intertwining ways. Indeed, his definition of excellence in *müneccimhood* makes clear that he expected a practitioner to master both astronomical and astrological knowledge.

In Ishak b. Hasan et-Tokadi's tract of *Nazmu'l-ulûm*, which was written during the reign of Mehmed IV, geomancy (*reml)* was listed in the curriculum in order to increase his pupils' knowledge and experience. In this classification,

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of Aristotelian philosophy, which commenced in the Hellenistic period, represent its current deadlock status among the sciences.

[89] Bilal Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2009), 412.

geomancy (*reml*) was in the same list as astronomy (*hey'et*); use of the astrolabe (*usturlab*), quadrant (*rub'*), calendar (*takvîm*) and planetary table (*zic*) and chemistry (*kimyâ*). Nebi Efendi-zâde's (d. 1785-1786) *Kaside fi'l-Kütübi'l-Meşhure fi'l-'Ulum* in verse provides a testimony to *ilm-i nücûm*.[90]

Ahmed b. Hayruddin el-Guzelhisarî (d. 1708), also known as Ishak Hodja, expressed his repentance of *ilm-i nücûm* in his *Risâle fî 'Amel-i âlet-i Rub'-i Mukantara* when he was a *mudarris* in Bursa.[91]

Another classification, *Tertib' ül-'Ulum*, was written by the eighteenth-century Ottoman scholar Muhammed ibn Ebi Bekr el-Maraşi (also called Sacaklızâde) (d. 1732) and follows a line of thought similar to Al-Ghazali. In this work, the sciences are evaluated based on their usefulness as traditionally designated by Hocazâde Muslihiddin Mustafa, Taşköprülüzâde and Birgivi Mehmed Efendi. *İlm-i nücûm*, along with philosophy and magic, are placed in the harmful category.[92] His differentiation of astronomy into two branches (astronomy of philosophers and astronomy of scholars) is striking, as it evokes early arguments revolving around dangers of learning Greek astronomy based on Ptolemy. He especially distinguishes the astronomy of scholars as religiously permissible, "*el- Hey'et el-Islâmiyye*", purified from mistakes.[93]

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[90] He wrote as follows: *Kadı-zâde halledip şerhinde eyler ihtimam, Ilm-i zic içre Uluğ Bey okur unvanını, Gör nice Mirim Çelebi serdi der bürhanını, İlm-i mikattan oku rub'ıyla usturlab sen, Vakt bilmeklik içün Ilm-i Nücûm oldu hasen,..*

[91] İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim, Riyazi ilimler*, 358.

[92] Zekeriya Pak, M. Akif Özdoğan, (trans.) *Tertibü'l Ulum* (Istanbul: Ukde Kitaplığı, 2009), 148.

[93] See page 19 for Saliba's views on *ilm-i hey'et*.

The Ottoman ulema by and large approached the subject in the light of classifications of early Islamic philosophers mentioned above, combining Aristotelian philosophy with the doctrines of Sunni Islam. Upholding the notions of practicality and utility in their politics of knowledge, Unan asserts that Ottoman ulema and madrasa curricula closely followed Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's school of thought.[94] Meanwhile, Hocazâde Muslihiddin Mustafa (d. 1488), to whom Taşköprülüzâde also refers, gives another classification of sciences based on utilitarian questioning about whether they are communicable and documentable (*takrîr ve tahrîr*) in tangible terms. In this respect, *ilm-i nücûm* belongs to the second group (communicable but not documentable), which are essentially seen as useless conjectures (*vehmiyyat*) and polemics. Apart from the utility perspective, many scholars also followed al Ghazali's point of view that the danger posed by the conjectural sciences might border on the forbidden (*haram*).

Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi's (d. 1574) fatwas display apparently inoffensive tolerance towards the practice of various divinatory arts as long as practitioners do not go beyond the limits of the rules of *şeri'a*. We find two fatwas directly discussing *müneccims* and nativity (*tali'i- mevlûd*).[95] In the first fatwa, Ebussuud Efendi was asked, "If the direction of mihrabs and prayer rooms of a mosque in town were built in the western direction by the *müneccim*s, should an

[94] Unan indicates that the very first mudarris in Iznik, Davud-i Kayseri, belonged to Razi's school, as well as Alauiddin Esved, who before settling there had studied in Iran. Later mudarrises Molla Fenari, his disciple Molla Yegan, Molla Lütfi, Ibn Kemal, up to Ebussuud Efendi were influenced by the Razi school of thought, which posits a synthesis between Ash'ari theology and philosophy. See Fahri Unan, "Osmanlı Medrese Ulemâsı: İlim Anlayışı ve İlmi Verim," *Kırgızistan-Türkiye Manas Universitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (Bişkek: 2003), 14-33.

[95] M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları, Kanuni Devrinde Osmanlı Hayatı* (Gonca Yayınevi, 2009).

arrest be made?" His answer: Opposite direction of the mihrabs will be known by a correct tool, otherwise, prayers' salat should not be correct.[96] In the second fatwa, related to nativity, he was asked, "If an imam opens up a book of nativity (*tali'i-mevlûd*), would his imamate be licit?"[97] He answers that should a person be found who better follows *şeri'a*, the imamate would be better given to him.[98]

Through these fatwas, it can be seen that objections to *ilm-i nücûm* were concentrated on its judicial branch, which seeks divinatory omens from the positions of celestial bodies. However, in the accepted form of taxonomy of the sciences in the Ottoman mentality, as exemplified in Nev'i Efendi's classification, investigation of natural phenomena through celestial objects (*tabî'yyât*) was considered within the range of licit acts provided that it was not extended to include inquiries found objectionable under Islamic law. In Taşköprülüzâde's view, the aim of the sciences is to find eternal happiness through understanding God's mystery (*ma'rifetu'llah*).[99] In other words, while the whole spectrum of scientific activities was seen as subservient to religious and social mores, the legitimacy of science was encoded within the confines of religion. The reception and partial insertion of *ilm-i nücûm* was only viable within this scheme of its utility, properness and service to the political ends of the ruling elite.

[96] *Ibid*., 108.

[97] Books of nativity (*tali'i- mevlûd*) are astrological works having entries on different character features based on planetary positions.

[98] *Ibid*., 303.

[99] Taşköprülüzâde Ahmet Efendi, *Mevzû'âtü'l-'Ulûm* (Üçdal Neşriyat, 1975), 22-24.

The Ottoman ulema's standpoint leaned toward the practical side, reconciling the necessities of both daily and courtly life concerns within the sphere of the religious world. Astronomy and astrology were both deeply connected in the psyche of the early modern scientist, and were not isolated from one another in the learned culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the West or the East. The Ottoman ulema's eclectic and widely-ranging studies, despite restraints by certain interpretations of conservative orthodoxy, included a keen interest in studying occult sciences and *ilm-i nücûm*. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu's compilation of Ottoman astrological literature explicitly demonstrates many scientific figures who produced works in both fields. Within the limited scope of the eighteenth century here, several members of the Ottoman *ilmiye* class actively produced astrological works alongside astronomy. In these biographies we come across many figures from religious circles, jurists, judges, mudarrises, time-keepers, muftis and poets who were well-versed in *ilm-i nücûm* as well *ilm-i hey'et*.

For example, an astronomer from Bursa who was a trustee at Manisa Ulu Mosque, Hızır al-Mihalici (d. after 1729), translated and annotated Kuşyar b. Labban's *al-Madhal ila Ahkâm al-Nücûm* (GAS, VII, 182-183).[100] Mustafa Zeki al-İstanbuli, a judge and mudarris who was also appointed a second-*müneccim* and later chief-*müneccim* in 1722, prepared a work on *cifr*, horoscope making and amulets, *Mecmuâ-i Mustafa Zeki*, which was dedicated to Damad Ibrahim Pasha, as well as translations and annotations on astronomy. (*Tuhfat al-Vuzara fi Tarcamati Sullam al-Sama, Esrar-ı Felekkiye*). A mudarris and judge in Jerusalem, later mullah in Egypt,

[100] İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, 49.

and honor in Mecca and judge in Istanbul in 1730, Lâli-zâde Abdulbaki b. Muhammed Al-Hüseyni, a Bayrami Melami, prepared calendars and horoscopes for the ruling elite. Yearly predictions of time-keepers Ahmed Efendi b. Hüseyin (d. 1750) and Muhammed B. Ali Al-Hamidi (d. 1765) (who was also a *mufti*) are found in astrological literature. Abbas Vesim Efendi (d. 1760), a true Renaissance man, draws our attention with his extensive interests in medicine, astronomy, astrology, divan poetry and calligraphy. His most important work is his Turkish commentary on Ulugh Beg's astronomical tables (*zics*), which was originally written in Persian and was used as the main reference book by the chief-*müneccim*s. As precision in the planetary tables for astrological purposes was vital in calculations and in casting correct horoscopes, he was encouraged by historian and astronomer Ahmed Mısri. Entitled *Nahc ak-Bulug fi Şarhi Zici Ulug*, this work, which was presented to Mahmud I, also contains a separate chapter on *ilm-i nücûm*. His other work, *Cedvel-i Tevassut-i Keff al-Hazib*, enumerates the astrological influences of a star called "Keff al-Hazib."[101] He also wrote a work entitled *Risala al-vafk* dealing with prediction. [102] Divan poet and musician Omer Nuzhet (d. 1778) who was educated in the Office (*kalem*) and later became document bearer (*Harameyn kisedar*), translated Al-Cunabazi's (d. 1629) work under the title of *Terceme-i Tanbihat al-Munaccimin*, in dedication to Mustafa III.

[101] *Ibid*., 58.

[102] Thomas Hockey, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (Springer, 2007), 1

2.6 Conclusions

In the first part of this chapter, I primarily focused on the various aspects of astrology in the Islamic learned tradition. The contested nature of astrology and its status as a 'foreign science' caused much debate and opposition among Muslim scholars. Muslim astronomers tried to formulate a new version of knowledge, *ilm-i hey'et*, purified from astrological judgments in order to have support from religious elite.

However, the reasons for interest in astronomy and astrology were varied, and in practice, intricate relationship between them survived into the early modern period and even up to the nineteenth century in the Ottoman context. Despite its transmitted status, Islamic scholars saw astronomy as a way to understand creation, but more specifically took it as a practical tool for religious duties and calendar making. While astrology met with religious concern and fervent opposition, astronomy and astrology were like the flip sides of a coin.

Al-Ghazali's classification of sciences and his assigning astrology blameworthy status in particular was influential over the later Ottoman intellectual tradition. However, as it appears, practical and utilitarian purposes, along with astrology's advisory role, granted it widespread use both in public and court life. Taqi-al-Din's proposition to erect an observatory was not purely to obtain astronomical calculations. Demonstrably, he wanted to measure much sharper planetary positions in his astrological work. As we indicated above, there was not a clear boundary between astrology and astronomy in the early modern world.

Furthermore, despite the dominant declinist narrative in the history of Ottoman sciences, Ottoman scholars were actively involved in the discussion of

philosophical matters and especially enthusiastic in the field of logic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The number of works on *ilm-i nücûm* dedicated to sultans reflects considerable appetite for occult matters among the ruling elite. However, such interest in the Ottoman context was mainly utilitarian in character. As a matter of fact, translations of new planetary tables were to arrive at much closer calculations in order to make better predictions.

İlm-i nücûm in the Ottoman context had an ambiguous and confusing place in the taxonomy of sciences. Taşköprülüzâde's grouping of *ilm-i nücûm* together with other natural sciences like medicine, agriculture and botany in *Mevzû'âtü'l-'Ulûm* reflects the porous boundaries among the sciences. In the early modern mind, the intersection and mutual relationship between the natural sciences and astrology as well as alchemy and the occult created a lively intellectual ground, a boiling cauldron of ideas among scholars, scientists and philosophers. In the eyes of religious scholars, astrology was not rejected but seen as harmful and at the edge of blasphemy. The fatwas regarding making predictions based on the occult arts seem to leave a margin in which astrology could be practiced as long as religious sensitivities were not violated. However, for persons of religious puritanism, like Fazlızâde, discussed by Kurz, not only *ilm-i nücûm* or *cifr* but medicine and philosophy were also highly suspicious and related to deceit and illusions.

In addition to growing activity in and outside of madrasa education, astronomy/astrology firmly was established in the Ottoman court in the seventeenth century. The timing of religious holidays and prayer times was carried through *muvakkithane*s, where astrology was also taught in a secondary, external syllabus.

Some members of the Ottoman ulema, with their eclectic range of interests, showed considerable enthusiasm and attachment to *ilm-i nücûm* and produced calendars and horoscopes as well as amulets for various ends in their relationship with the ruling elite.

CHAPTER 3

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN COURT ASTROLOGER: FETHİYELİ HALİL EFENDİ

After having discussed the place of astrology in the Ottoman learned tradition in the previous chapter, we are now ready to embark on a discussion of the practice of *ilm-i nücûm* at the court of Mustafa III, focusing on the figure of Fethiyeli Halil Efendi (1699-1773), one of the longest-serving chief astrologers in Ottoman history. This chapter is comprised of two parts. First, I am going to investigate his social standing, material environment and areas of intellectual interests based on his *tereke* record and later his astronomical/astrological practices at the court.

3.1 The making of an Ottoman court astrologer

Chief-*müneccims* belonged to the outer (*birun*) circle of the Ottoman Palace.[103] At the same time, however, they were also members of the Ottoman learned establishment. Hence they could hold offices as professors (*müderris*) or as judges (*kadı*) or even chief physicians (*hekimbaşı*) prior to or after being appointed as court astrologers. There was no separate institution for the training of astrologers. However, Salim Aydüz states that *müneccim* nominees, after completing a basic madrasa education, had to receive special tuition from other chief-*müneccim*s and attend time-keeping houses (*muvakkithâne*). Finding the correct prayer times in Islam

[103] Mehmet Akif Terzi notes that the first group of *ulema* comprises of tutors of sultans, physicians, oculists, *müneccim*s and imams. This group was in service during daytime in the court and used to go back to their homes at night. See Mehmet Akif Terzi, *Türk Devlet Geleneğinde Bürokrasi* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015), 55.

necessitated the establishment of time-keeping houses where *müneccim*s acted as time-experts based on the principles of *ilm-i mîkâd,* which had origins in the works of Al-Harezmi (780-850) in Baghdad.[104] The time-keeping houses of Fatih, Yavuz Selim and Şehzâde mosques were well-known places to start working toward the post of *müneccim*ship.[105]

In addition to educational traits and degrees recommendation by the chief court physician, familial connections and tutor-pupil relationships were also important for attaining the post of chief court astrologer. Chief-*müneccims* were usually promoted from second-*müneccim* positions, and entry to court-*müneccim*hood was mainly through time-keeping offices.[106]

The *müneccim* who is the focus of this study, Fethiyeli Halil Efendi, was also a member of the Ottoman learned establishment. Interestingly, however, he entered the *ilmiyye* as an outsider. His father Mehmed was not a scholar, but the warden of the guild of goat-hair spinners (*muytablar kethüdası*).[107] Still, his father was able to provide him with madrasa education along with instruction in *ilm-i nücûm*. Halil Efendi also studied calligraphy under the supervision of Ebu'l Kasım Hoca Mehmed Rasim Efendi (b. 1688). Rasim Efendi, who was hailed as the head of calligraphers (*re'isü'l-hattâtin*), enjoyed great respect from Ahmed III and Mahmud I.[108] Possibly,

[104] G. J. Toomer, "Al-Khwarasmi, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mûsâ", *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*.

[105] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 32.

[106] *Ibid*., 37.

[107] *Ibid*., 145. Süleyman Sadettin Müstakimzade, *Tuhfe-i Hattatîn* (Istanbul:1928), 196.

[108] M. Uğur Derman, "Mehmed Rasim", *TDVİA*.

his calligraphy teacher's proximity to the court helped Halil Efendi acquire the post of Ottoman court astrologer as well.

Halil Efendi must have been a *şakird* (trainee) before being assigned as a second-*müneccim* during the reign of Ahmet III, as the earliest *takvim-i sâl* (yearly calendar) he made refers to the year 1715-16.[109] He was able to become chief-*müneccim*, replacing Ahmet b. Hüseyin Efendi, who was promoted to the position of *ser-ettibâ* (chief physician) at the same time in 1746. Halil Efendi would remain in this office for the next 26 years, serving during the reigns of Mahmut I, Osman III and Mustafa III until his death in 1773.[110] At the time he died, he was also a müderris at Süleymaniye according to Müstakimzade.[111]

3.2 A Portrait of Halil Efendi through his estate inventory

Despite his relatively modest origins, Halil Efendi's long tenure as chief-court astrologer as well as *müderris* clearly enabled him to earn a place among the Ottoman ruling elites as well as to build a substantial fortune. The inventory record that was drawn up after his death, shown in Appendix A, lists the total value of his

[109] Günay Kut, et al. *Kandilli Rasathanesi El Yazmaları, Türkçe Yazmalar, vol 1* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2007), 206.

[110] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 107.

[111] Süleyman Saadettin Müstakimzâde, *Tufhe-i Hattâtîn* (Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 196. See also Seyyid Mehmed Vefaî, *Tercüme-i Sırrı'l-mektum*, 99b, at Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye, 833. For his appointment to chief-astrologership and his death, see M. Münir Aktepe, (Ed.) *Şem'dani-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarih-i Mür'it'-Tevarih* (Edebiyat Fakültesi, İstanbul, 1976) folio. I, 122, 127, folio II. B, 89. Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i Osmanî* contains brief information on his date of appointment and death (Tarih Vakfı Yurtyayınları 30, 1996), *vol.2*, 574. M.Akif Efendi's *Tarih-i Cülus-u Mustafa Han* mentions his calendar presentations and imsakiye for the years 1758, 1759 and 1760. See M. Akif Efendi, *Tarih-i Cülüs-u Mustafa Han*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esat Efendi, nr. 2108, folio 62a.

estate as 1.682.488 aspers (*akçe*) or 14.020,5 piastres (*kuruş*).[112] It is possible that this sum underestimated the actual value of his estate, as no house or any other form of real estate is included in the list of his possessions. Still even allowing for underestimation, this sum would put him in the category of a wealthy person in that period.[113]

From Halil Efendi's inventory record we learn that his wife was Hatice Hatun daughter of Hamza Efendi, and that the couple had no children who were alive at the time of Halil Efendi's death. Even though the inventory record lists no house among Halil Efendi's possessions, he is known to have lived close to Fethiye Mosque (*Pammakaristos* monastery) in Tercüman Yunus quarter, which is now called Draman. It was also on account of his residence near that mosque that he was known as Fethiyeli.

As will be discussed in greater detail further below, books made up a substantial part of Halil Efendi's estate with their value estimated at 1.068,5 piastres which corresponds to 7,6% of his entire estate. The rest of the estate consisted of precious fabrics and household items. The most expensive personal item in the inventory was a sable coat with green drapery worth 19.105 aspers, but Halil Efendi also owned tunics, robes, cassocks, shalwars, and turbans as well as loincloths and

[112] From the records of his estate in *Bab-ı Defteri Baş Muhasebe Muhallefat Halifesi, 55/3,* D.BŞM:MHF. The calculation made in the entire *tereke* indicates 1 kuruş equals to 120 akçes.

[113] Bozkurt indicates that a person with middle-income in Istanbul in the year 1785 could have an estate with total value between 420-1.000 piastres, while someone with an estate worth more than 1.000 piastres would be considered wealthy. Fatih Bozkurt, "Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği.)"(PhD Dissertation, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2011), 101.

towels for the hammam. While he wore furs in winter, he must have been presented with caftans at the *nevruziyye* ceremony.

Probably for security reasons, Halil Efendi kept a rifle and bows and arrows at home. He also seems to have kept horses, judging by the fact that his estate included a gilded saddle and a stirrup. Among his personal items we find a pipe and tobacco pouch, which suggest that he was fond of smoking. Watches were among the major accessories of men's dressing at the time.[114] But Halil Efendi seems to have been excessively fond of watches. He owned three expensive silver *pandol* watches, a very expensive (14.520 aspers) gold chained watch, two silver watches, and a brocaded watch purse. A wall alarm clock was also present in the house. A pair of binoculars and a quadrant must have been used for astronomical reasons. Other items in his personal possession included two rosaries, two eyeglasses, a thermometer, an inkstand, a pencil and sharpener, papers, incense bowls and water.

Halil Efendi also owned four reed flutes. These flutes, along with a quilted turban and various texts by Mevlevi authors that were also in his possession, suggest an affiliation with the Mevlevi order, which was quite popular with Istanbul elites in this period.

The books contained in Halil Efendi's estate give us rich insights into his intellectual and literary interests, and thus must be discussed in some detail.[115] But

[114] Temel Öztürk, "1918 Numaralı Kadı Siciline Göre 18. Yüzyılda Trabzon'da Giyim-Kuşam Kültürü," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 2015 (18), 9-28.

[115] As his tereke gives only a shortened title of the books without further information, I investigated to identify the name of its author and the reproduction date (in parenthesis) through the collection of manuscripts at Turkey manuscripts at yazmalar.gov.tr, Islam Ansiklopedisi at www.islamansiklopedisi.info and İhsanoğlu's *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi ve Osmanlı*

before we look at the breakdown of his books, it is worth bearing in mind that the list provided in his inventory record probably did not contain all the books that Halil Efendi must have owned, let alone all the books that he would have read in person. Perhaps he endowed some of his books, or gave them away to his wife or students before his death. It is noticeable; for instance, that no copy of the Qur'an is mentioned among his books although it is unthinkable that he would not have owned any. In any case, he owned several Qur'anic exegeses, and interestingly, also a copy of the Bible in translation, but it is not indicated in which language this translation was.

As may be expected of a *müneccim* who was at the same time a *müderris,* nearly a quarter of Halil Efendi's books were on topics that would be placed under the broad category of the s*hari'* sciences and would be included in the Ottoman madrasa curriculum. In addition to the Qur'anic exegeses mentioned above, Halil Efendi owned a few collections of *hadiths*, several books on *siyer* (biographies of the Prophet Muhammad), various works on *kelâm* (theology) and Islamic dogmatics and last but not least, several major works of Islamic jurisprudence as seen in Appendix B. We can also include in this list the various dictionaries and books on Arabic grammar, as texts used in the teaching and study of Arabic would have been considered as essential to the auxiliary sciences taught in the lower levels of the madrasa.

Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the theological and juridical works that were in his possession were by Hanefi-Maturidi authors. Quite a few of them

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Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi Zeyli. Unidentified books in terms of their authors are also indicated below and all remaining works can be seen at the complete tereke record in the Appendix A.

represented the Hanefi-Maturidi tradition of Transoxania, while a few were Ottoman representatives of the same tradition such as İbrahim Halebi, Kemalpaşazade and Ebussuud. Interestingly, the only book Halil Efendi owned by the great Ashari theologian Abu Hamid Ghazali was his *Mişkatü'l-Envâr,* a work that is said to have been one of the inspirations behind the Illuminationist philosophy of Şihabeddin Suhreverdi (d.1191).[116]

However, a wide range of interest is also revealed from the other books, encompassing topics from medicine to *cifr*, from literature to geography. Books on astronomy and astrology comprised nearly one fifth of the contents of his library. In addition, he seems to have had a significant interest in Sufism and esotericism. Such diverse interests can be a reflection of a person whose curiosity extended to many areas of knowledge. This profile of a *müneccim* as polymath should not astonish us, as many members of the Ottoman ulema are also known to have shown interest in a wide range of scholarly pursuits.[117]

A second major category of works in Halil Efendi's library indicates that he had strong interest in Sufism and especially Sufi philosophy. It is interesting to find among his works a commentary on Şihabeddin Suhreverdi's Luminous Bodies (*Heyâkilü'l-nûr*). Suhreverdi's teachings had been attacked by one of the leading ulema in Istanbul, Ahmed el-Kazabadî (d.1750), in the first half of the eighteenth

[116] H. Bekir Karlığa, "Gazzali, Eserleri", *TDVIA*; İlhan Kutluer, "Sühreverdî, Maktûl", *TDVIA*.

[117] For example, Süleyman Sûdi Efendi (d. 1896) from a century later, who occupied several positions within the financial bureaucracy, wrote *Tabâkat-ı Müneccimin* (*Genealogy of Astronomers*), reflecting his remarkable interest in astronomy and astrology. His estate shows a larger number of books on *ilm-i nücûm* than any other topic. See Salim Aydüz, "Süleyman Sûdi Efendi'nin Kütüphanesi," in *Essays in honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Societies, Cultures, Sciences: A Collection of Articles* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 775-811.

century. Of course, Suhreverdi's teachings had not only detractors but also strong defenders in the Ottoman world, and one such defender and explicator was the Mevlevi writer İsmail Ankaravi (d. 1631), who had authored the commentary in Halil Efendi's possession. The commentary in question is titled Elucidation of Wisdom (*İzâh el-hikem*).[118]

A second major Sufi thinker whose imprint is clearly visible in the Sufi works in Halil Efendi's possession was the Andalusian Sufi thinker Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi (d. 1240). This great Sufi thinker whose name had become synonymous with the school of "unity of being" (*vahdetü'l-vücud*) was lovingly referred to as Sheikh Akbar (The Greatest Master) by his admirers but had also been labelled Sheikh Akfar (The Most Blasphemous Master) by his critics. A. Yaşar Ocak concludes that Ottoman Sufi tradition, being either heterodox or Sunna-minded, saw Ibn Arabi's *vahdetü'l-vücud* doctrine as a main axis of their origin and development.[119] It would not be wrong to say that the number of Ibn Arabi's admirers far outnumbered those of his detractors in the Ottoman world, but even his admirers cautioned ordinary readers against reading his works, which were thought to be quite complex and easy to misunderstand. Even seasoned readers were urged to study the works of Ibn Arabi through the commentaries written on them. In this respect, it was very much in

[118] Kurz, *Ways to Heaven, Gates to Hell*, 203, 207.

[119] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler, 15-17. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), 152.

keeping with this advice that Halil Efendi, too, possessed commentaries written on Ibn Arabi's *Fusûsü'l Hikem* rather than the original text itself.[120]

While the Ottoman Sufis whose books Halil Efendi possessed had a wide range of *tarikat* affiliations, Nakşbendis and Mevlevis, and to a lesser extent, Halvetis stand out among them. The Nakşbendi order, known for its sobriety and emphasis on the Sunna, had long been popular among the Ottoman ulema, and in the late seventeenth century an even more Sunna-conscious branch, the Nakşbendi-Müceddidi, had arrived in Istanbul from India and quickly attracted adherents among the Ottoman ruling elites. By all indications, however, Halil Efendi was more interested in the works of pre-Müceddidi Nakşbendis, and especially in the works of those early Iranian Nakşbendis who had been deeply immersed in the teachings of Ibn Arabi.[121] He owned, for instance, the commentary written by Abdurrahman Molla Câmî (1492) an Iranian Nakşbendi scholar and poet, on Ibn Arabi's *Fusûsü'l Hikem*.[122] He also owned various religious and literary works that had been composed by Cami's most famous popularizer in the Ottoman lands, the prolific Nakşbendi writer Lamiî Çelebi (d.1532).[123] It is not clear whether Halil Efendi's

[120] On the Ottoman reception of Ibn Arabi and his school, see Michel Chodkiewicz, "Ibn Arabi'nin Öğretisinin Osmanlı Dünyasında Karşılanışı," in *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 89-111. See also Timothy Winter, "Ibn Kemâl (d.940/1534) on Ibn 'Arabî's Hagiology," in *Sufism and Theology*, ed. Ayman Shihadeh (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 137-157, for Ibn Kemal's approach to Ibn Arabi from the Maturidi point of view.

[121] Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 124.

[122] Chodkiewicz, "Ibn Arabi'nin Öğretisinin Osmanlı Dünyasında Karşılanışı,", 98. Ömer Okumuş, "Abdurrahman Câmî", *TDVİA*.

[123] Günay Kut, "Lamiî Çelebi", *TDVİA*.

interest in Nakşbendism went beyond an admiration for the works of these early Nakşbendis, but the fact that his library included a translation of Reşehât of Fahreddin Ali Sâfî (d. 1532, son of Hüseyin Vâiz-i Kâşifî), which is a hagiography devoted to Nakşbendi sheikhs suggests that he may well have formed a lasting link with the pre-Müceddidi Nakşbendis.[124]

Another *tarikat* whose imprint is strong in the Sufi works owned by Halil Efendi was the Mevleviyye.[125] While the Mevlevis had come under attack in the seventeenth century for their use of music and dance in their elaborate *sema* ceremonies, by the eighteenth century, they had made their peace with the Ottoman ruling establishment and enjoyed many adherents among the Ottoman ruling elites and in the palace.[126] Judging by his possession of four *ney*s as well as various books by Mevlevi authors, it is quite possible that Halil Efendi himself had a connection with this order. He owned among other works Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî's *Fihi mâ Fîh,* but the Mevlevi writer who is most strongly represented in Halil Efendi's library was İsmail-i Ankaravi (d 1631). A Mevlevi sheikh at Galata, Ankaravi had not only become very well known as an influential expounder of Rumi's Mesnevi, but was also strongly influenced by the philosophy of Ibn Arabi. Halil Efendi owned among other works the latter's *Fütûhat-ı Ayniyye,* which treats the concept of unity of being moulding an amalgam of Sufi and Sunni teachings, his *Fâtih-i ebyât,* which is a

[124] Necdet Tosun, "Reşehât", *TDVİA*.

[125] *Fusûsü'l Hikem* comprised of 27 parts each allocated to 27 prophets among which Mohammed has been depicted as Perfect Man (*insan-ı kâmil*). See Mahmud Erol Kılıç, "Fusûsü'l Hikem", *TDVIA.* See also Chodkiewicz, "Ibn Arabi'nin Öğretisinin Osmanlı Dünyasında Karşılanışı,", 98, Ömer Okumuş, "Abdurrahman Câmî", *TDVİA*.

[126] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik* (İstanbul, Inkilâp Kitapevi, 2009). Ş. Barihüda Tanrıkorur, "Mevleviyye", *TDVİA*.

commentary on the first eighteen verses of Rumi's *Mesnevi,* his *Şerh-i Tâiyye,* which is a commentary on Ibnü'l Fârız's (1235) eulogy titled *Tâ'iyye* as well as his *Minhâcü'l-Fukarâ,* which covers the general concepts of Sufism.[127]

A third Sufi *tarikat* to which Halil Efendi related even if not to the same degree as the Nakşbendis and Mevlevis was the Halvetiyye. He not only owned a collective hagiography devoted to the Halveti order, *Silsile-i Halvetiyye,* but also two compilations of epistles penned by the Halveti sheikh Niyazî Mısrî (d. 1694). Like Ankaravi, Mısri was also deeply immersed in the school of Ibn Arabi, but he had gone further in his free-ranging interpretations of the latter's thought, and had gotten in trouble with the Ottoman authorities, spending most of the last twenty years of his life in exile.[128] Unfortunately, we do not know which epistles Mısri Halil Efendi had read, and whether they included those epistles that proclaimed the prophecy of Hasan and Husayn. What is certain, however, is that Halil Efendi's interest in Sufi texts was not limited by a narrow understanding of Sunni orthodoxy. Rather, he owned texts such as a commentary on the *Makalat* attributed to Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, and even more remarkably, *Kânûn-ı İlâhî*, a Quranic lexicography authored by the Hurufi writer, Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid b. Abdüllatif, (d.1500) alongside more mainstream examples of sober Sufi piety as seen in Appendix B.

Books on astronomy (*ilm-i hey'e*) and astrology comprised nearly one-fifths of Halil Efendi's library. The *ilm-i hey'e* books in his possession consisted of Ali

[127] Erhan Yetik, "İsmail Rusuhî Ankaravî", *TDVİA*. Fatma Gedik, "İsmâîl-i Ankaravî (v.1041/1631) ve "Fütûhât-ı Ayniyye" (MA Thesis, Selçuk Universitesi, 2005).

[128] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısrî (1618-94)." (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1999).

Kuşçu's *el-Fethiyye*, el-Çağmani's *el-Mulahhas fi'l-Hey'e*, Şemsüddin es-Semerkandi's *Eşkâlü't-Te'sîs* and *Kifaye fi'n Nücûm*, el-Hüseyni's *Tabsıra fi'l Hey'e*, and an anonymous work titled *Risâle fi'l Usturlâb*. These works were among the major works that were taught in the Ottoman madrasas according to İzgi.[129] He also owned *Zic-i Ulugh Bey* and *Zic-i li Ibn-i Şatır*, and el-Lazikî's *Netîcetü'l Efkâr,* which he must have used for time-keeping purposes and for calculating the planetary positions. *Tercüme-i Ziç-i Frengî* should be Noel Durret's planetary tables, which was translated by Tezkireci Köse İbrahim Efendi in 1664. The following list below shows his books on astronomy, mathematics, geometry and calendar making.

Astronomy

Mecmû'a-i Çağmananî, Ömer el-Çagmini el Hârezmî (d.1221)

Şerhü Çağmanî

Bürhânü'l-Kifaye, Alî b. Muhammed eş-Şerîf el-Bekrî el-Musulî (d.1272)

Şerh-i Tezkire fi'l-Heye, Seyyid Şerif Ali b. Muhammed b.Ali el-Curcanî (d.1413) (?)

Ziç-i Uluğ Bey, Alî Kuşcu, (d.1474)

Ali Kuşî fi'l-Hey'e, Alî Kuşcu

An unidentified book by Alî Kuşcu

An unidentified book by Mirim Çelebi (d.1525)

Şerhü Fethiyye, Mirim Çelebi, (1519)

Other unidentified works of astronomy: *Ziç-i li-İbn-i Şâtır, Mecmû'a-i Risale Küre, Tercüme-i Ziç-i Frengî, Dürri't-Tanzîm fi't-Tencîm, Risâle-i Usturlab, Ziç-i Güşyâr, Tabsıra fi'l-Hey'e, Suver-i Eflâk, Teshîlü'l-Kamer, Kânûn fi't-Tencîm, Cedvelü't-Teshîl*

Calendar Making

Netîcetü'l-Efkâr El-Bali, Ebû Bekr Kızılhisârî İskilibî ? (d.1787)

[129] İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, *Riyazi İlimler*, 365.

Takvîmü'l-Büldân, Ebû'l-Fidâ İsmâ'îl b. Mahmûd b. Şehinşah b. Eyüp İmâdeddîn el-Eyyübî ?

Other unidentified works of calendar making: *Tarîk-i Takvîm Risâlesi, İstihrâcü't-Takvîm mine'z-Ziç, İstihrâcü't-Takvîm, Tarîk-i Takvîm Risâlesi, Takvîm-i Atîk, Takvîm El-Bali, Ahkâm-ı Külliye fi't-Tekâvîm*

Geometry

Eşkâl-i Te'sis, Seyid Şemsüddin Semerkandî (d.1310)

Mathematics

Hacı Atmaca fi'l-Hesâb, Muhiddin bin Hacı Atmaca (1494)

Hayalî ale'l-Akâyid, Ismail Gelenbevî (d.1790)

Miftâhü'l-Hesâb, ?

His estate indicates more books of *ilm-i nücûm* then *ilm-i hey'e*. The former included such fundamental astrological texts as Al Biruni's *Tefhîm fi't Tencîm* (The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology), Abu Mas'har's *fi'n Nücum* and *Âhkâm-ı Ebu Ma'şer*, and thirteenth-century astrologer Buhari's *Eşcâr ü Esmâr*. Based on their titles, these unidentified books seem to cover various astrological activities such as natal astrology (*tali'-i mevlud*), interrogations (*mesail*) and electional astrology (*ihtiyârât*).

Through these books, shown in the following list, it is seen that Halil Efendi's astrology books covered a wide range from practical works to natal astrology and to judiciary astrology, the last of which had a particularly contested status in the eyes of shariah-minded scholars. Evidently, as an astrologer at the Ottoman court with considerable interests in occult matters, Halil Efendi did not feel bound by the strict norms of shari piety, but rather espoused a more investigative attitude towards the limits of knowledge. Indeed, several titles of his books leave no doubt about his

interest in occult knowledge. For example, *Şemsü'l-Maarif-i Suğra*, a book attributed to Hurufî writer Ahmed b. Ali el-Bûnî[130] is a book on letters and their secrets. According to el-Bûnî, letters' secrets are in numbers, and numbers' manifestations are through letters.[131] As we already touched on in the first chapter, astrology had a common ground with occult practices such as lettrism, alchemy and magic. In this regard, the books of *cifr* in his library can be seen to confirm this trend. Interestingly, through his books, it comes to our attention that Persian polymath Nasir al-Din al Tûsî had written an epistle on geomancy (*reml*).[132] We also find a book on dream interpretation, *Tabirname-i Farisi*, among his books.

According to Kurz, while magical practices could be directly categorized as prohibited under *shari'ah*, "white" magic was attempted by using magical squares and talismans, as in the case of el-Bûnî, whose book was among Halil Efendi's library.[133] In this context, Kurz draws attention to a book, *Tad'if al-Madbah* (*The Duplication of the Altar*), which combines the exact sciences with magic and was written by a well-known ulema, Molla Lütfi, who studied mathematical sciences under Ali Kuşçu. As we earlier noted, the boundaries between sciences were not clearly defined and were permeable in the early modern intellectual world.

Astrology

Ebî Ma'şer fi'n-Nücûm, Abu Mashar**,** (d.886)

[130] Semih Ceyhan, "Şemsü'l Maârif", *TDVIA*.

[131] Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik, İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (Istanbul: 2009, Kabalcı), 115.

[132] Kasım Baran, "İslam Felsefesinde Aile Ahlakı Nasîruddin Et Tûsî Örneği" (MA Thesis, Ankara, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2010), 6.

[133] Kurz, *Ways to Heaven, Gates to Hell*, 236.

Ahkâm-ı Ebû Ma'şer

Tefhîm fi't-Tencîm, Al Biruni (1029) (d.1048)

Eşcârü Esmâr, Ali Şah b. Muhammed b. Kasım Buhari (1301)

Tenbîhâtü'l-Müneccimîn, Müneccim Ebû Muzaffer Kâsım b. Muhammed (1752)

Tuhfetü'l-Müneccimîn, Celaleddin Mehmed Abdullah Yezdi

Other unidentified astrology works: *Tâli'-i Mevlûd, Feyzü't-Ta'mîm fi't-Tencîm, Câmi'ü Şâhî fi'n-Nücûm, Mesâil-i İhtiyârât, Reyhânetü'l-Burûc, Misbâh fi'n-Nücûm, Mecmû'a-i Nücûm, Ahkâm-ı Nücûm, Mecmû'a fi'n-Nücûm, Tâli'-i Mevlûd, Mecmû'a fi'n-Nücûm, Ahkâm-ı Nücûm, Gâyetü'l-Kemâl fi'n-Nücûm, Tâli' fi'n-Nücûm, Mecmû'a-i Nücûm, Mecmû'a fi'n-Nücûm, Muhtasar-ı Mesâil, Tâli'ü Mevlûd, Kifâye fi'n-Nücûm, İhtiyârât-ı Hukemâ, Tâli'-i Mevlûd, Yeşil Sandal derûnunda battâl ahkâm*

Cifr & Occult

Şemsü'l-Maarif-i Suğrâ, Ahmed b. Ali el-Bûnî, (d.1125)

Reml-i Nâsır Tûsî (d.1274)

Risâle-i Cifr, Hacı Hüseyin-i Akhisârî, (1724)

Cennetü'l-Esmâ, Mehmed b. Müsevvidzade, (1772)

Esrâr-ı Cifr, ?

Şerh-i Şecere-i Nu'mâniye, İbn Halîl es-Safadî (d.1363)

Oneiromancy

Tabîrnâme-i Fârisî, ?

Halil Efendi also owned numerous books on medicine and healing. This could be due to the fact that astrological learning was then seen as essential to the practice of medicine. Indeed as discussed above, it was not common for astrologers to be subsequently appointed as physicians and vice versa. It might be useful to remember at this point that Halil Efendi's predecessor and close friend Hüseyin

Efendi, too, had been chief court astrologer before being appointed as senior physician (*hassa hekim*) at the court. Finally, it could be speculated that young prince Mustafa's addiction to drugs due to his anxiety about poisoning could be another explanation for the abundant number of healing and medical books in the *müneccim*'s library.

Both astrology and medicine, which were classified under natural sciences[134], were seen in the mutual interaction under humoralism inherited from Greek antiquity. According to Shefer-Moosensohn Ottoman medicine had three different competing but also complementary medical theories.[135] These were folkloristic popular medicine, religious medicine (*tıbb-ı nebevî*) and mechanistic medicine based on humoralism. She states that although Muslim humoralism is theologically neutral in its attitude toward health and medicine, religious medicine, which originated from the *hadiths,* had an ethical and theological background.[136]

In the library of Halil Efendi, shown in the following list, we discover both a book titled *Tıbb-ı Nebevî* and also *Tercüme-i Tıbb-ı Cedîd*, a translated work of Paracelcus, a Renaissance philosopher, physician and astrologer.[137] In this regard, apart from ancient humoral and religious therapeutic currents of medicine, he must have been well aware of the empiricist approach based on logic and reasoning

[134] According to Bakar, al-Ghazali explicitly lists medicine under *fard kifayah* sub-category. See Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam*, 213.

[135] Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine, Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 21.

[136] *Ibid.,* 25.

[137] Talat Dinar, "Tıbb-ı Cedîd Yazmaları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler/Some Determinations About Tıbb-ı Jadid Manuscripts,"*Turkish Studies, International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Vol 7/4*, Fall, 2012, 1542.

originating from the works of Paracelcus, who saw the human body as a chemical entity.[138] Shefer-Mossensohn underlines the fact that such an empirical approach was already established in the Ottoman court in the seventeenth century, as Salih b. Nasrallah Ibn Sallûm, an Arab physician from Aleppo, who incorporated Paracelcian techniques in his own practice, was the chief-physician and intimate of Mehmed IV.[139]

Medicine

Muhtasar Tezkire-i Süveydî, Ibnü's Süveydi, (1302) (d.1291)

Edviye müferrede mine'l-Kânûn, Ishak bin Murad, (1387)

Yadigar-ı li-ibn-i Şerif, Ibn-i Şerif (1420)

Müfredât-ı İbn-i Baytar, Abdullah bin Ahmed el Malikî, (1511)

Tıbb-ı Nebevî, Ebûl-Kâsım el-Habîb en-Nişâbûrî, (1588)

Tercüme-i Tıbb-ı Cedîd, work of Paracelsus translated by Salih b. Nasrullah Ibn Sallûm (1665)

Hamse Hayatîzâde, Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi (d.1692)

Cerrâhnâme, Alî et-Tabîb el-Münşî Bursevî, (d.1747)

Other unidentified book on medicine: *Baytarnâme, İhtiyârât-ı Bedî'î fi't-Tıb, Muğnî fi'l-Edviye, Şerhü Kânunca fi't-Tıb, Tercüme-i Vikâye, Tıbbü'n-Nebî, Fisûnîzâde fi't-Tıb*

Finally, like all well-read Ottoman elites of his time, Halil Efendi also had many literary works in his library. One of them was *Bahrü'l Maârif* which was penned by Gelibolulu Musluhiddin Sürûri (d. 1561) who developed interest in esotericism and was also tutor to Prince Mustafa of Suleyman I. Sürûri had an

[138] Philip Ball, *The Devil's Doctor: Paracelsus and the World of Renaissance Magic and Science* (London: Arrow Books, 2007), 270.

[139] Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine, Healing and Medical Institutions,* 177.

unfinished book titled *Ahkâm-ı Nücûm*, too.[140] The presence of *Divan-ı Bâkî* and *Divan-ı Ragıp* of Koca Ragıp Pasha, which were popular works of eighteenth-century Ottoman literature, along with other works titled *Yusuf Züleyha*, *Şerhü Miftah*, *Şerhü Divan-ı Şâhi* and *Baharistan* of Şem'i, *Tercüme-i Gülistan*, *Tercüme-i Kaside-i Bürde* and several *dîvan*s among his book shelves, testify to an appetite for literary classics which was broadly customary for persons in the *ilmiye* class. The following list shows these works.

Literary works

Dîvân-ı Hâkânî, el-Hakanî, Efdalüddin İbrahim b. Ali eş-Şirvani, (d.1198)

Tercüme-i Gülistân, Sadi-i Şirazi ? (d.1292) (1776)

Tercüme-i Kaside-i Bürde, Abdurrahim Karahisari, (1457) Muhammad Ibn Said al Busiri (d.1294)

Şerh-i Dîvân-ı Hâfız li-Serverî, Şemseddin Mehmed al Hafız Şirazi, (1565)

Bahrü'l-Maarif, Gelibolulu Müslihiddin Sürûri, (1549) (d.1561)

Dîvân-ı Bâkî, Bâkî Abdülbâkî Mahmûd, (1599)

Şerhü Dîvân-ı Şâhî, Şemî Şemullâh Mustafâ Prizrînî, (1601) ?

Şerh-i Baharistân, Şemî Şemullâh Mustafâ Prizrînî ?

Nâme-i Veysî, Veysi, Üveys b. Muhammed el-Alaşehri, (1628)

Dîvân-ı Sâbit, Sâbit, (d.1712)

Menâhic-i Arif Efendi, Abdülbaki Arif Efendi, (1713) poet, calligrapher

Münşeât-ı Nâbî, Nâbî (1762)

Dîvân-ı Râğıb, Ragıp Paşa, (d.1763) (1836)

Other works: *Yusuf Züleyhâ, Tuhfetü'l-Edîb, Hall-i Rumûz, Ahmed Ruşdi Karaağaci, Aşık Paşa, Garibname?*

[140] İsmail Güleç, "Gelibolulu Musluhiddin Sürûri, Hayatı, Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Bahrü'l-Maârif isimli eseri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları: The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XXI (2001), 211–236.

In addition to books on literature, his library also hosted books on history, and geography, as well as biographies as seen in the following list.

History

Kıt'a min Târîh-i Taberî, Ebû Cafer Muhammed b. Cerîr et-Taberî, (d.923)

Tercüme-i Milel-i Nihâl, Ebûl-Feth Muhammed b. Abdülkerîm eş-Şehristanî (d.1153) (1716?)

Hindî ale'l-Kâfiye, Şahâbeddin b. Şemseddin İbn-i Ömer, (1616)

Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr, Kâtib Çelebî Mustafâ b. Abdullâh Hacı Halîfe, (d.1657) (1668)

Târîhü Hulefâ, Celâleddîn Abdurahmân b. Ebubekir es-Suyûtî, (d.1505) (1746)

Târîh-i li-ibn-i Şâtır

Geography

Muhtasar-ı Acâyib-i Mahlûkât, Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bîcân b. Sâlih Gelîbolulu, ? (1466?)

Cihânnüma, Katip Çelebi Mustafâ b. Abdullâh Hacı Halîfe, (d.1657) (1732)

Biographies

Şakâyik en-Nu'mâniyye, Taşköprüzade Ahmed b.Mustafa b.Halil, (d.1561) (1558)

Vefeyât-ı Şeyh Buhârî

In summary, the range of Halil Efendi's books exhibits the intellectual world of an eighteenth-century *müneccim* whose interests extended in diverse directions toward astrology, religion, sufism, morality and literary works. We might assume that Halil Efendi developed an identity as a polymath with extensive interests in astronomy, mysticism and morals. We come across with an *ilmiye* member in the court whose interests went beyond accustomed limits of madrasa education. His

great appetite in knowledge and widespread interests in the unknown might have helped him to forge closer associations with the members of ruling elite.

3.3 *Müneccim* and the Sultan

Biographical information about Mustafa III indicates that he led a rather precarious life as prince when Osman III was on the throne.[141] He was able to be enthroned only after his brother Mehmed was poisoned. Uzunçarşılı writes that he had an anxious and cautious disposition.[142] Presumably, Mustafa III's intense interest in *ilm-i nücûm* was at least in part the product of these experiences.

In this context, Halil Efendi who was eighteen years older than Mustafa III, was probably well situated to play the role of a trusted mentor. Bearing in mind the difficulty of remaining in the the sultan's good graces while at the same time maintaining a balance amongst the different factions of power in court life, Halil Efendi's twenty-six years of service can be explained by the sultan's deep interest in the subject, as well as the *müneccim*'s skilled navigation of the court since sultan's years of isolation during his princehood.

Halil Efendi's long tenure might have also been helped by the absence of war on both the Western and the Eastern fronts from the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 until the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russian war in 1763. He was able to keep his position during the short reign of Osman III, and he was still chief-*müneccim* upon Mustafa III's enthronement. During Mustafa III's long period of isolation as a prince, chief-

[141] Kemal Beydilli, "Mustafa III", *TDVİA*.

[142] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi, Karlofça Anlaşmasından XVIII. Yüzyılın Sonlarına Kadar, vol.4* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 341.

müneccim Halil Efendi and the prince could have developed a confidential relation due to the young prince's great interest in *ilm-i nücûm*. In fact, the prince's anxious disposition and fear of death by poisoning must have given rise to a motivation to foresee and control future events.

When considered from this point of view, Halil Efendi's companionship with Mustafa III resembles what the sixteenth-century historian Mustafa Ali had envisioned for his own bureaucratic career during the reign of Murad III. His *Counsel for Sultans* (*Nüshat üs-Selâtin*, 1581), which was addressed personally to Murat III as if the author were the sultan's personal confidant, sought to promote the orderly state of empire and nation against rising corruption and injustices. Anthony Black emphasizes that Mustafa Ali's counsel included advising the appointment of a companion with high mind and rank who severed from the ties of an office, and an expert in both jurisprudence and astronomy.[143] Fleischer especially remarks on the apocalyptic atmosphere in Mustafa Ali's works reflected in his constant reference to astrology, numerology and dreams.[144] In other words, Halil Efendi's *müneccim* identity must have fulfilled the features of such close companionship with the sultan, who had a keen interest in and need for the subject.

[143] Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 260.

[144] Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali, 154-1600*, 152.

3.3.1 His work and practices

As a chief-müneccim, Fethiyeli Halil Efendi was expected to make different types of calendars,[145] prepare Ramadan timetables (*imsâkiyye*) and find auspicious times (*eşref saati*) for special events,[146] like setting the first stone in a mosque's groundwork or commencing military campaigns.[147] The Catalogue of Kandilli Observatory lists works of yearly calendars (*takvim-i sâl*), judgements of yearly calendars (*ahkâm-ı tâli* '*-i sâl*), astronomical books and tables with predictive expressions on certain meteorological conditions (*gurre-nâme*, *rûz-nâme*), year-tables (*sinin cedvelleri*), twelve animal calendars (*sâl-i türkân*) and a collection of horoscopes (*Kıran ve zâyiçe mecmû'ası*), as well as works on mathematics and geography.[148] Court astrologers was responsible for submitting their yearly predictive works (*ahkâm-ı tâli* '*-i sâl*) to the Sultan and the ruling elite at every

[145] In addition to crafting Islamic calendar for determination of holy days and hours for prayer, *müneccim*s were also used to prepare Jelali, Julian, Alexandrian, Coptic and fiscal calendars for different purposes. See A. Necati Akgür, "Takvim*", TDVİA*.

[146] A memorandum of *müneccim* Halil Efendi's election of the date and hour for launching a galley can be found in A.E. Collection in the State Archives with number 3625 III. Mustafa. Halil Efendi writes that launching a galleon with three balls of steelyard would be favorable on the twenty-eighth day of Rebiulahir at 4:20 (January 9th 1758) or on the second day of Cemaziyelevvel at 05:05 (January 12th 1758), and that these blessed days are in the light of Allah's countenance. "*Kalyon nüzûlü için Müneccimbaşı efendi kulları tarafından gelen pusuladır. İnşaallahürrahman avn ve inâyet-i sübhân ile Rebiülahirin yirmi sekizinci isneyn günü saatin akrebi dördü yirmi dakîka murûrunda ve Cemaziyelevvelinin ikinci hamîs günü saatin akrebi beşi beş dakîka murûrunda üç kantarlı kalyonu rûy-ı deryâyâ ilkâya münâsib ve sa'd-i mübârek vakt-i şerîfler olmakla ihtiyâr olunup hâk-i pây-i devletlerine rûy-mâl kılınır. Nüzûlü fî 2 Ca sene [1]171*".

[147] Apart from their duties of making calendars, writing out yearly predictive works (*ahkam-ı tal'i sal*) and time-keeping, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı writes that *müneccim*s were to determine the auspicious times (*eşref saati*) for the ceremonies of accesion of the sultans, the births of sultan's sons, waging wars and the movement of the armies, concessions of the seals to the viziers, launching of the galleys, sultan's feats, weddings and etc. The sultans and the dignitaries were tending to and practising these special moments for their fortunes customarily. For this reason, the custom of astrology had been seen as an important practice in the state affairs. See İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 269.

[148] Kut, et al., *Kandilli Rasathanesi El Yazmaları, 1: Türkçe Yazmalar*.

Nevrûz. These practices will be investigated in detail in the next chapter. The Chief Physician (*hekîmbaşı*), Chief Surgeon (*cerrâhbaşı*), Chief Oculist (*kehhâlbaşı*) and Chief Astrologer (*müneccimbaşı*) together summoned the Grand Vizier at a ceremony called *Nevrûziye*.[149]

Halil Efendi prepared a calendar based on the Ulugh beg tables (in Turkish) and another table of astronomical phenomena (*Düstur ve Cedvel-i Neyyireyn ve Mutehayyire*) in 1753. He also compiled tables of planetary co-ordinates (*Seyyâratin Vazîfeleri Hesabi*) in 1766. Among his astrological works, a Turkish translation of judgements on natal configurations (*Ahkâm-ı Mevâlîd*) dates to 1748. The rest of his astrological works are yearly astrological judgements and calendars (*Ahkâm-ı Tali'i Sâl*) for the regnal years of Mahmud I, Osman III and Mustafa III.[150]

We also find separate pieces of his works and documents related to his *nevrûziyye* salaries in the BA archives. Records in C.SM[151], C.MF[152], and C.MF[153] show his yearly salary of 6.000 asper (*akçe*) for the years 1752, 1754, 1755 and 1760. The manuscript in A.E Mustafa III classification (nr. 3625) contains his special

[149] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 42.

[150] Tables of planetary co-ordinates, (*Seyyâratin Vazîfeleri Hesabi*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 204 (1766). Tables of astronomical phenomena (*Düstur ve Cedvel-i Neyyireyn ve Mutehayyire*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 390 (1753). Translation of judgements on natal judgements, (*Ahkâm-ı Mevâlîd Tercümesi*), Istanbul University, nr. 4846 (1748).Yearly judgements for 1756, (*Ahkâm-ı Sâl-i 1170*) Cairo University, nr. 5688. Yearly judgements between the years 1747 and 1771, (*Ahkam-Sâl min sene 1160-1184*), Topkapı Museum, Baghdad Pavilion, nr. 324. Yearly judgements for 1747, (*Ahkam-ı Sâl-i 1160*), Topkapı Museum, nr. 1641. Yearly judgements for 1750-1751, (*Ahkâm-ı Tali'i Sâl 1164-1165*), Kandilli Observatory, nr. 537. Yearly judgements for 1772-73-74, (*Ahkâm-ı Tali'i Sâl 1186-87-88)*, Kandilli Observatory, nr. 454.

[151] Cevdet Saray, 12/694.

[152] Cevdet Maarif, 5621.

[153] Cevdet Maarif, 6325.

script on an election (*ihtiyârât*) for the launch of a galleon in 1757. Additionally, C.MF[154] record includes a table of prayer times for 1744 and their astrological planetary rulers, along with a second table of stars, listing their names, planetary natures, constellations, and quantities.[155]

As stated above, court *müneccim*s were responsible to find auspicious dates for certain events, like the ceremony of accession to the throne, a sultan's girding with a sword, the laying of the foundation of a mosque or social complex, launching a galley or starting a military campaign. For example, according to the Halil Efendi's calculations, the date of Mustafa III's girding with a sword (November 4th, 1757)[156] coincided with the Moon being in the sign of Leo, a royal sign, along with Sun-Mars in mutual reception. Symbolically, the Sun stands for the sultan and Mars for the sword. The ceremony for service pay, *ulûfe* (November 8th, 1757),[157] was done just after the completion of an unlucky aspect between the Sun and Saturn in order to avoid its supposedly harmful nature. The foundation of Laleli mosque and social complex (April 5th, 1760)[158] was laid when the Moon was in the sign of Sagittarius. This sign has astrological associations with established religion, higher learning and piety. The opening date of Laleli mosque (March 5th, 1764)[159] was set

[154] Cevdet Maarif, 3801.

[155] On these pages, several questions and statements were also added, like "Will there be a campaign for our lord?", "Our lord should govern for 55 days", (year 1744) "Fancy news should be expected", "A road to the East is seen; however, it is auspicious." (year 1745).

[156] Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları* (İstanbul: Oğlak Bilimsel Kitaplar, 2012), 399.

[157] *Ibid*., 399.

[158] *Ibid*., 406.

[159] *Ibid*., 409.

after the completion of the retrograde movement of Mercury and when the Moon was waxing. Mustafa III's visit to Ayvat Dam occurred when the Moon was in Aquarius, a sign particularly associated with water.[160] The date of the ceremony marking the laying of the foundation of Fatih Mosque (July 30th, 1767)[161] must have been determined by Halil Efendi especially to coincide with the time when two beneficial bodies, Venus and Jupiter, were conjunct in the sign of Virgo, a sign of service, purity and morality. Before embarking on a war against Russia, the armies moved to Davudpaşa on the very date (March 27th, 1769)[162] when Mercury completed its retrograde movement, and the army left on campaign on the date when the Sun was at its degree of exaltation. Doubtless, such records reveal how Halil Efendi participated in administrative processes as a timing expert. It would not be wrong to say that his practices were demanded by the ruling elite, too. On his side, close associations with the ruling elite would produce alignment with certain political factions, and consequently he would be expected to maintain a fine balance amongst different competing interests.

For instance, we come across five separate manuscript pages inserted between the years 1761 and 1762 in the collection of yearly *ahkâms* of chief-*müneccim* Fethiyeli Halil Efendi.[163] These pages contain his assessment of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of Aries which occurred on March 18th 1762. As

[160] *Ibid*., 412.

[161] *Ibid*., 412.

[162] *Ibid*., 413.

[163] Topkapı Palace Museum, Baghdad Library, nr. 324.

Jupiter-Saturn conjunctions, which occur every twenty years, were assumed to have utmost importance in terms of political events and wars, Halil Efendi must have felt the necessity of interpreting this eminent astrological phenomenon, or perhaps he has been requested to write down his own judgement by some member of the ruling elite or the sultan himself. The time frame of this astrological judgement strikingly coincides with both the Seven Years' War and the later years of the tenure of Mustafa III's favourite Grand Vizier, Koca Ragıp Mehmed Pasha (1698-1763), who had served the Empire for decades as an administrator and diplomat in war and peace. According to the chronicler Şem'dani-zâde Fındıklılı Suleyman Efendi, Ragıp Pasha was a close mentor to the sultan and prevented him from rushing into unwise decisions.[164] Henning Sievert, referring to *Mür 'i't-Tevarih*, argues that the sultan had an impulsive character and was eager to participate in the Seven Years' War.[165] In this respect, this additional judgement on the conjunction by the *müneccim* might have influenced the sultan's decision to enter into the war. On the *müneccim*'s side, while his astrological judgements first imply a potential "yes" answer for a military campaign, he finally concludes in favour of a stay (*ikamet*), supporting his reading through an earlier interpretation expressed in Arabic.[166] His first remarks on the potential for a campaign could be seen as a justification of the Sultan's eagerness for

[164] M. Munir Aktepe, *Şem'dani-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi, Mür'i't-Tevarih*, II (Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1978), 43.

[165] Henning Sievert, "Favouritism at the Ottoman Court in the Eighteenth Century," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World, Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries* (Routledge, 2011), 282.

[166] Halil Efendi writes that the 10th house ruler (which denotes the sultan himself) is the current time-lord, which in this case is denoted by the Moon looks at Jupiter in square aspect, hence indicating a campaign. Astrologically the Moon usually signifies voyages and movement. However, as Saturn is conjunct with Jupiter in his own 10th house, it shows a hindrance.

a war; however, he immediately asserts that such a campaign had already been blocked by astrological reasons.[167] In fact, the chief-astrologer's attitude seems to be finely aligned with the position of the Grand Vizier, whose mentorship over the sultan was evident.

Baron de Tott, who was involved in the efforts to reform the military, recounts in his memoirs that the vizier had the *müneccim* elect the auspicious moment for laying down the first stone of a fortress. He further writes that the chief treasurer, with a clock and stone given to him by the *müneccim* in his hand, came to the place where the first stone was to be laid and plastered it prudently with prayers.[168] These rituals supported by astrological timing, whether they were fully admitted or not, were a part of state bureaucracy.

From a wider perspective, astrology's close connections with magic and its irresistible appeal was firmly established, especially in court circles, in both the East and the West. As for resorting to magic, the Topkapı Palace archives contain a decree of Mustafa III ordering magical items that were to be buried in places where Russian envoys were expected to come and cross during negotiations in Fokşani.[169] The rivalries and uncertainties of political life, as in the case of Mustafa III, produced a burning desire to foretell and control the future. Astrology's claim to fulfil this need highlights its strong appeal, as it was not only a system of divination but also covered an integrated set of beliefs about cosmology, natural events, health, disease

[167] "*Lâkin beyt-i aşirlerinde Zuhal'e mukârin olmakla sefere mâni*' olur."

[168] Baron de Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlara Dair Hatıralar* (Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser), 301.

[169] Midhat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi*, *vol. V* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011), 2591.

and destiny. Ahmet Resmi Efendi's *Hülâsatü'l – İ 'tibâr*, which was written as a chronicle of the Ottoman-Russian war that took place between 1768 and 1774, counts the astrological signification of conjunction of Mars and Saturn in the sign of Cancer as the tenth reason for the Ottoman defeat.[170] Bearing in mind that Copernican cosmology was not adopted until well into the nineteenth century in the Ottoman cultural and scientific realm, the use of *ilm-i nücûm* as a further explanation can be seen as an understandable feature, underlying the point-of-view of some of the eighteenth-century Ottoman ruling elite.

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, we tried to draw a portrait of the eighteenth century Ottoman court astrologer, Fethiyeli Halil Efendi by bringing together evidence from the biographical works and histories of the time with evidence from his inventory record. This exercise has yielded a rather colourful picture of Fethiyeli Halil Efendi as a polymath whose interests spanned from the standard subjects of the madrasa curriculum to Sufism and especially Sufi philosophy and from astronomy, astrology and medicine to the occult sciences as well as history and geography. To a certain extent, this kind of curiosity and openness to different branches of knowledge must have been more typical of those ulema who dabbled in astronomy and astrology and more broadly the natural sciences, but this was also an age where narrow specialization in a field of knowledge had not yet become the norm.

[170] Ahmed Resmi Efendi, *Hülâsatü'l – İ 'tibâr*, ed. Osman Köksal (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2011), 53.

It is reasonable to think that his wide-ranging interests would have served Halil Efendi well, as he carried out his routine duties as chief court astrologer. These duties would have included determining auspicious times and dates for important court events. I have suggested that Halil Efendi was also helped in these duties by the close relationship he forged with Mustafa III possibly from the latter's days as a prince. At the same time, however, a successful court astrologer would also have needed substantial skill in managing human relations, observing and adjusting to the changing balance of power between different factions at the court as well as to the changing dynamics within as well as outside the empire. In the next chapter, we shall examine how Halil Efendi put his expert knowledge of astrology as well as his political skills and senses to use when he penned yearly predictive works (*ahkâm*s) for his royal audience.

CHAPTER 4

*AHKÂM*S, YEARLY PREDICTIVE WORKS

After having reconstructed the social and intellectual world of Halil Efendi as a versatile man of letters and a bibliophile and the head of a prosperous Istanbul household as well as court astrologer, we are now ready to look more closely at how he actually worked in practice as the chief-müneccim of Mustafa III. Specifically, we shall be examining Halil Efendi's *ahkâm-ı tâli'-i sâl* or yearly astrological predictions with the aim of understanding how he used the ancient techniques of astrological prognostication to advise, reassure and sometimes soothe and console his royal audience.[171] A copy of his *ahkâm* for the year 1758 is provided in Appendix C.

4.1 An overview of the genre

While *ahkâm* is the plural of the word *hükm*, meaning judgment, in the astrological context it signified predictions or prognosis. In Ottoman astrological sources *ahkâm-ı tâli'-i sâl* customarily referred to prognostications about a specific year.[172] Besides preparing calendars in different formats (Jelali, Hijri, Coptic and Julian) and *imsakiye*s (timetables for Ramadan) based on planetary movements, *müneccim*s were expected to produce and submit yearly astrological epistles for the sultan and his

[171] The copy of collection of Halil Efendi's yearly predictions between the years 1743 and 1770 is found in the Library of Baghdad Pavillion (Topkapı Palace Museum) with archive nr. 324. See also Ihsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astroloji Literatürü Tarihi*, 61.

[172] Kut, et al., *Kandilli Rasathanesi El Yazmaları*, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, 30.

entourage at the beginning of every Spring (*Nevrûz*).[173] While Aydüz states that the date of the first written *ahkâm* epistle is not known, the earliest known *ahkâm* by an anonymous writer was produced for the years 1489-90 during the reign of Bayezid II.[174] According to the catalogue of manuscripts at the Kandilli Observatory, Yûsuf Ömer es-Sâ'ati was the first known author of *ahkâm,* which was prepared in 1560.[175]

The first and foremost audience of *ahkâm*s was the sultan himself; indeed, only his name and titles appear in the introductory lines of royal *ahkâm*s. However, judging by the personal requests of viziers for astrological advice in choosing the most propitious times for important events, we can safely presume that the members of the Imperial Council and courtiers would also have been among the broader audience of these *ahkâm*s.[176]

Aydüz has argued that Ottoman *ahkâm*s attained their distinctive form in the seventeenth century. According to him, it was only in this century that *ahkâm*s began to be written in Turkish rather than Persian. Other than the switch to Persian, Aydüz

[173] In calendar making, planetary tables (*zic*s) of Ulugh Bey were used until the nineteenth century. Although Noel Durret's (1590-1650) planetary tables were translated into Turkish by Tezkireci Köse Ibrahim Efendi by 1664, (*Secencel' ül-Eflak fi Gâyet el-İdrâk*) the chief astrologer Müneccimek Mehmed Efendi (d. 1668) continued to use Ulugh Beg's tables. Italian astronomer Giovanni Cassini's (1625-1712) tables, which were translated by Çinari Halifezâde İsmail Efendi (*Tuhfe-i Behic-i Rasini Tercüme-i Zic-i Kasini*) during the reign of Selim III, began to be employed for better calculations leaving behind Ulugh Bey's tables. Later, Jérome Lalande's (1732-1807) planetary tables were translated by Hüseyin Hüsni Efendi, first in Arabic in 1814 and later in Turkish before 1826. See Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 64.

[174] *Ibid*., 73.

[175] Kut, et al., *Kandilli El Yazmaları*, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, 282.

[176] Subscription to predestination and faith in predictions of astrologers at the Ottoman court have been treated in a separate section "*Sur L'Astrologie Judiciere, Les Divinations*," of Constantine d'Ohsson's Tableau General. Mouradgea d'Ohsson Ignatius, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman* (Paris: Impremier de monsieur Firmin Didot, 1788).

has drawn on Naima to argue that the chief-*müneccim* Mehmed Çelebi's work *Risâle-i ahkâm-ı nücûm* (1630) set the standards for *ahkâm* writing in the Ottoman court.[177] It can be said that the general features of Ottoman *ahkâm*s did not change much from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. When we compare the chief-*müneccim* Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s with those of the chief-*müneccim* Hüseyin Efendi (1631-1650), we observe an established pattern of writing and specialized use of astrological reasoning in both texts. Likewise, the *ahkâm*s of Halil Efendi and his predecessor Ahmed Efendi (1734-1746) also follow a similar layout.

In this context, it should be noted that although the Ottoman Empire was transformed from a conquest state ruled by a charismatic ruler into a bureaucratic state where power was more broadly diffused during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the astrological depiction of the imperial edifice which was laid out in the *ahkâm*s remained largely unchanged. Astrological reports were designed in a way that mirrored a timeless cosmic order.

The distinctive layout of *ahkâm*s closely followed the hierarchical stratification of the Ottoman imperial edifice with each member of that edifice being assigned a celestial body indicating his rank within the cosmological order. At the top of that hierarchy was the sultan, who was assigned the Sun as a celestial body. Within the astrological tradition the representation of the ruler as the Sun was a well-

[177] Aydüz, "Müneccimbaşılık", 73. The first part of this work deals with interpretation for the horoscope cast upon the hour when the Sun enters in Aries, the first sign of the Zodiac as well as making judgements for sultans and the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn (*kıran-ı ulviyyan*) and of Mars and Saturn (*kıran-ı nahseyn*) in twelve signs. The second part gives information on delving out omens from signs, planets, different astrological parts and their dignities and debilities. The presence of house rulers in different houses were also be listed in its entirety.

established convention, going back to Antiquity.[178] In more recent times, the solar cult with strong astral symbolism had been particularly emphasized in the Mughal court of Akbar.[179] Although the actual power of the Ottoman sultan had waned after the seventeenth century, he retained his central place in the idealized scheme of Ottoman courtly protocol as well as in the Ottoman political imagination.

The grand vizier and şeyhülislam were associated with Jupiter (*Muşteri*) the largest planet. In astrological terms, Jupiter which was associated with the law and lofty people was personified by the religious scholars and royalty. In antiquity, this planet had been specifically associated with Marduk, the cosmic king in Babylon.[180] In this respect, the representation of the grand vizier as Jupiter was apt given the planet's superior position, indicating power and responsibility. According to Moin, in the organizational scheme of Humayun's court according to the planets, Jupiter also stood for the Prophet's family, religious scholars and men of knowledge.[181] Astrologically, Jupiter is related with religion and faith, but *ahkâm*s associate the Jupiter first with the grand vizier and then with the şeyhülislam, who was not a permanent member of the Imperial Court. This planet could also stand for the other viziers and the upper echelons of the ulema class.

[178] Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology in the World's Religions* (NewYork: NewYork University Press, 2012), 126.

[179] Eva Orthmann, "Circular Motions, Private Pleasure and Public Prognostication in the Nativities of the Mughal Emperor Akbar," in *Horoscopes and Public Spheres, Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 112.

[180] Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology in the world's religions*, 128.

[181] Moin, *The Millenial Sovereign*, 116.

When writing about the ulema, the chief-*müneccim* usually mentions their capability or incapability, transfer, promotion on succession and dismissal as well as accusations of corruption and falsity in documents. The importance of the smooth functioning of the judicial system via a system of regular payments to the kadis can be gleaned from the *müneccim*'s interpretations which usually focus on a fixed schedule of fees for particular judicial services, in order to prevent corruption.

In the eighteenth century, the court was in need of collaborating with various powerful groups among the state corps, including among them the ulema. The şeyhülislam as the head of the ulema could play a particularly critical role alongside the grand vizier in times of critical decisions like waging war.[182]

Halil Efendi's *ahkâm* for 1766 appears to criticize those ulema who abstained from the positions which presented by the sultan. Halil Efendi, writing in reference to the conditions of şeyhülislam states that some ulema and judges who avoided going to the posts to which they had been appointed would face delays in their goals and requests, and find themselves in hesitation, confusion and regret.[183] Zilfi indicates that tenure in office shortened to a year even with a dismissal possibility before its due in the mid-seventeenth century. Furthermore, posts outside the urban areas were not preferred due to dangers of travel. On the other hand, Ahmed III (r. 1703-30) and Mustafa III's supportive attitude to *ilmiye* class members promoted great ulema

[182] For the Ottoman ulema class' regularization and settlement in the eigteenth century, See Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*, (Minneapolis: Bibliotecha Islamica, 1988).

[183] Halil Efendi writes "*...Ba'zı ulemâ ve kuzât ve hukkâm taraf-ı Devlet-i 'aliyyeden bi-hasebi't-tarîk ihsân ve in'âm olunan menâsıb-ı celileti'l-kadrden imtinâ' ve bu'dünden ictinâbı sebebiyle te'hîr-i merâm ve metâlib ve tereddüd ve tahayyür ve peşimân misillü ef'âlin zuhûruna...*" (Year 1766/folio 3).

families like Dürrizâde, Feyzullahzâde, Arabzâde and Pirizâde. She adds that eighteenth century realities, like negotiation and diplomatic bargaining gave an extra edge for the ulema.[184]

Uzunçarşılı writes that şeyhülislam Veliyyüddin Efendi sided with grand vizier Muhsin-zâde Mehmed Pasha on the perils of waging war promptly without fortification of fortresses and necessary arrangements.[185] However, the death of Veliyyüddin Efendi in 1768 and his replacement with Piri-zâde Sâhip Molla who was pro-war like Mustafa III, must have strengthened the pro-war faction in the court.

Following the şeyhülislam, the *müneccim* discussed the high-ranking military officers, cavalrymen and military commanders (*ümerâ-i kirâm ve sipâh ve silâhdârân*) under the sign of Mars (*Merih*) the planet of war. The governor-general of Rumeli, the Janissary Agha and the Chief Admiral, were members of the Imperial Court with the rank of vizier. Their main duty was especially underlined as the rapid protection of the country in allegiance.

Although the necessity of military reform and the defective conditions of the Janissaries were widely acknowledged in these years, Mustafa III was reluctant to make a major move against them. It is said that when the treasurer Hilmi Efendi voiced his concerns about the state of the Janissaries, Mustafa III even dismissed him

[184] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman Ulema," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol.3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 221-224.

[185] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi, vol. IV*, 367.

out of fears that news of this kind of talk could provoke unease and restlessness among the military.[186]

Halil Efendi often refers to the exhausted situation of the military forces in his *ahkâm*s. However, probably not to cause alarm among the soldiers, He writes that the soldiers would be rewarded by the sultan with gifts and promotions.[187] Widespread banditry, lawlessness and violence towards the reaya are frequently mentioned in the sections about the condition of the military forces. He predicts that instances of terror by the armed forces and by disreputable commanders would result in their punishment and disgrace.[188] Halil Efendi's predictions in his ahkâm of 1766 about the outbreak of banditry and lawlessness in the East can be seen as a response to the beginning of troubles in Damascus, which would culminate in the attempts of the military forces of Ebuzeeb Mehmed to seize power in that city five years later.[189] In fact, Ebuzeeb Mehmed was son-in-law and begh under commandment of Cin Ali Bey who was requested by Istanbul to recruit Egyptian soldiers to be mobilized for

[186] Kemal Beydilli, "Mustafa III", *TDVİA*.

[187] In his ahkâm for the year 1758 he writes that "*...ümerâ-yı nâmdâr ve sipâh ve âsâkir-i zafer şi'âr muhâfazat-ı memâlik ve emsâr ve sıyânet-i ra'iyyet ve sedd-i süğûr ve eşrâr ve nehb ü gâret-i memâlik-i a'dâ ve def'-i mazarrat-ı eşkiyâ için yerlerinden hareket ve ittifâk ve cem'iyyet ve 'acele ve sür'at ile fermân olunan mahallere 'azîmet edip harb u darb ve cenk ü cidâlden hâlî olmadıklarından şehriyâr-ı Bende perver ve şehenşâh-ı dâd küster hazretleri kıbelinden envâ'-ı nevâziş ve ikrâma mazhar olup...*" (Year 1758/folio 3).

[188] Halil Efendi in addressing to the military forces, writes that "*ve ümerâ ve ehl-i silâhdan zulm ve fesâd üzre olanların azl ve zevâllerine ve ba'zı serhad ve süğûr ve mevâzi'-i murûr ve ubûrda erbâb-ı esfâr ve tüccâra tecâvüz ve hasâret ve nehb ü gârete cesaretlerine ve i'ânet-i mukarrebîn ve mu'âvenet-imüdebbirîn ile ba'zı ma'zûl ve menfûrîn sâhib-i câh ve temkîn olmalarına ve ba'zılar adâvet-i vüzerâ ve ezdâd ve ta'addî-i ehl-i şerr ve fesâd sebebiyle mütezarrir ve mustaribü'l-ahvâl olmalarına…*" (Year 1766/folio 4).

[189] He writes that "*...burc-ı Ceddi'ye ve Merih'e mensûb şehirlerde ve üçüncü iklîmde ve cânib-i şarkda ya'nî Şiraz ve Bulgar ve Moskov ve Fâris ve Şam ve Haleb semtlerinde Havâric ve eşkiyâ beyninde şirret ve şekâvet ziyâde olup harb ve hasâret ve katl ve gâret misillü hâlât zuhûruna ...*" (Year 1766/folio 4).

war against Russia. However, Ali Bey allied with admiral Alexis Orloff against Ottomans in the Mediterranean Sea and consequently considered as a great traitor by the Ottomans.[190]

The *müneccim* discussed the condition of the treasurers (*defterdârân*), the scribes working for the Imperial Council (*ehl-i Dîvân*), and the other scribal services (*erbâb-ı aklâm*), tax-collectors (*muhassılân*), and 'men of gnosis (*ashâb-ı ma'rifet ve 'irfân*) under Mercury (*Utarid*), the planet of skills and intellect.[191] Within this group, we find men of the pen (*ehl-i kalem*),but also *müneccim*s themselves as the planet Mercury is closely related with messengers and carriers of knowledge, esoteric or visible.

It is surprising that this section of *ahkâm*s was relatively short despite the high prestige of the ulema and the growing significance of the scribal class, especially the chief scribe (*re'îsü'l küttâb*) who presided over the foreign affairs of the empire in the eighteenth century.[192] Rather than the ulema or the chief scribe, however, the main attention of the *müneccim* was directed towards the correct calculation of revenues, the reliability and accuracy of book-keeping and the prudence and loyalty of *divan* members. Such concern with the financial bureaucracy

[190] On the events in Damascus, See Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Şam", *TDVİA,* Ismail Hami Danişment, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi, vol. 4*, 1703-1919 (Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2011), 74.

[191] Findley illustrates the higher (*hacegân*) and lower levels of scribal bureaucracy (c.1789) which was organized under the chief scribe (*Re'îsü'l küttâb*). *Hacegân* consist of the office of the imperial divan (*Divan-ı Hümayûn Kalemi*), the office of the corresponding secretary (*Mektubî Sadr-ı Ali Kalemi*), the office of the receiver (*Amedî Kalemi*) and the translator of the imperial divan *(Divan-ı Hümâyûn Tercümanı*). The lower hierarchy includes Beylik section (*Beylik Kalemi*), section for assignment of benefices in land (*Tahvil Kalemi*) and appointment section (*Rüûs Kalemi*). See Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton: 1980), 73.

[192] Virginia Aksan, *Savaşta ve Barışta bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı, Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), 49.

was probably related to the crucial role of tax-farming and growing fiscal pressures in the eighteenth century.[193]

In his entries about the treasurers, bookkeepers, members of the Imperial Council and tax-collectors, Halil Efendi stresses the diligence, prudence, precaution and precision that would be expected from these office-holders. He often repeats that any laxity, discrepancy, failure and negligence they could show would result in their dismissal. As *müneccim* also included himself in this category, and occasionally mentioned the correctness of his calculations and accuracy of his predictions.[194] However, his remarks about anxiety and confusion in the *ahkâm* of 1770 shows a certain degree of self-reflexivity and pondering attitude about himself amid war against Russians.[195]

The conditions of members of the Harem (*sâkinân-ı Harem-i muhterem-i Sultânî ve agayân ve nedîmân*) were discussed in the section devoted to Venus (*Zuhre*), the planet of love. Since at least the reign of Suleyman I, the women of the imperial harem had been considerably active in exercising political power as well as in public rituals of imperial legitimation.[196] The *müneccim* frequently wrote about the

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[193] Carter Vaughn Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: 1980), 115. See also Linda T. Darling, "Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in The Ottoman Empire 1560-1660." in *The Ottoman Empire & Its Heritage, Politics, Society & Economy*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi & Halil İnalcık (Leiden, Brill, 1996).

[194] Halil Efendi writes that *"ahkâm-ı müneccimîn isâbete karîn olup mazhar-ı inâyet ve merhamet olunmalarına…"*(Year 1758/folio 4).

[195] In his ahkâm for 1770, Halil Efendi writes about himself: "*müneccimân-ı deverân endişe-i muhâl ile sergerdân olmaklarına…*" (Year 1770/folio 4).

[196] Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

happiness, health and fortune as well as jealousy and slander between members of the imperial harem.

Depiction of Sultan's harem and persons close to him (*mukarribân*) through the eyes of *müneccim* features a clear vantage point which oversees the interests of the sultan and the *âdâb* culture of the court life. Uluçay indicates that usually Sultans get in touch with their favourites at first via Black-eunuch, his companions or sisters and would take them into their Harem as concubine.[197] According to *müneccim*'s writings, desirable characteristics of the persons within Sultan's household are expectedly to be dignified, skilled, healthy, having good companionship and good-humored. Halil Efendi, depending on the astrological considerations of Venus' position, usually expresses that members of Harem who could stay away from sin, having good conversation skills and respect would be flattered and promoted by Sultan.

Repeatedly in many *ahkâm*s, he also warns that those who are bad-tempered, loose, defective, winking (*gamz*), unhealthy and weak would be expected to be discarded or transported to other places in order to have some air (*tebdîl-i havâ*). Deception, (*mekr*) revealing of secrets (*ifşâ-i esrâr*), gossip (*nemîmet*), chronic illness (*'illet-i fâside*) are expected to result in disqualification. Halil Efendi tend to mention useful things and charity works carried by those in Harem and eventually arrives in conclusion that these people would enjoy good reputation in return.

As prince Selim was born in December 1761, it would be interesting to glance at what was written on the conditions of Harem both for 1761 and 1762.

[197] Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1985), 22.

While Halil Efendi writes about compliments, happiness and promotion of power which would be envied in Harem for the winter section of 1761, he further indicates elevation and esteem for certain Harem members in the eye of Sultan in the spring section of 1762.[198] It can be argued that Halil Efendi's successful prediction of birth would stem from an educated guess due to his proximity to the sultan as well as his knowledge about its timing due to his role in advising probable days.

Finally, the conditions of the reaya were discussed in relation to the Moon (*Kamer*), the planet of passivity and receptivity. The Moon in Greek, Hindu and Persian astrological traditions had been associated with the populace as well as with femininity and changeability.[199] The *müneccim*s discussed merchants (*erbâb-ı sûk ve ticâret*) and travelers (*müsâfirîn*) also under the same category.[200]

It is not accidental that planets whose nature are feminine were assigned to the lowest ranks of this cosmological scheme. The following list below displays the gender of each planet illustrating the cosmological hierarchy, which was expectedly biased in favor of masculine qualities.

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[198] He writes for the winter of 1761 that "Mukarrebân *ve havâs sâye-i âtıfet-i şehriyârîde her biri sa'âdet ve ikbâl birle hemvâre hoş-hâl ve mesrûrü'l-bâl olup ba'zıları mezîd iltifât-ı pâdişâhî ile izdiyâd-ı 'uzlet ve devlet ve irtifâ'-ı kadr ve menzeletlerine ve iffet-i hâl ve i'ânet-i emsâl ile miyânlarından biri sâhib-i menzelet ve ikbâl ve takarrub-ı- şeyriyârî ile mahsûdü'l-emsâl olmalarına…*" (Year 1761/folio 5). Furthermore, he writes for the Spring of 1762 that "*Gâyet-i devlet ve nihâyet-i uluvv-i şân ve kudretlerinden kemâl-i behcet ve meserretlerine ve evzâ' ve ef'âlleri makbûl-ı Sultân-ı Cihân olanların husûl-i mâl ve âmâlleri ile 'izzet ve ikbâllerine ve merhamet ve himâyetleri ve terbiye ve şefâ'atleri ile ba'zı emekdârları vâsıl- rütbe ve menzelet kılmaklarına ve bahtiyârî felek devvâr ile biri sâhib-i makâm ve i'tibâr ola…*" (Year 1762/folio 5).

[199] Al Biruni, *The Book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology*, (Trans.) Robert Ramsay Wright (London: 1934), 242.

[200] *Müneccim* also refers to the astrological conditions of the Ascendant sign and its ruler in his judgements.

The Sun (masculine) sultan

Jupiter (masculine) both grand vizier and şeyhülislam

Mars (masculine) military officers

Mercury (neutral) treasurer and other dîvân members

Venus (feminine) harem

The Moon (feminine) reaya

The Moon as feminine power was also linked to Osman's dream (Osman I, 1258-1324) in which a moon had risen from the breast of Dervish Edebali and entered Osman's breast. As the story goes, when the latter had sought Edebali's interpretation, Edebali explained to him that the Moon was his own daughter, to whom Osman was later united in marriage. Peirce states that although women were not directly endowed with sovereignty, they were its custodians.[201] In the view of the eighteenth-century astrologer, these two feminine powers at the lowest level, would seem to provide a natural basis from which masculine power and sovereignty sprang.

After the affairs of the above mentioned groups, *ahkâm*s commented on the weather, the land, the produce of the *reâyâ*, commerce and wealth along with different atmospheric signs. In this eighth part, attention was drawn to the elemental natures (fire, earth, air and water) of specific planets in the horoscope. Words recurring in this section included lightning (*berk*), rains (*yağmurlar*), heat (*harâret*), wind (*bâd*), rain (*bârân*), thunder (*ra'd*), mild earthquake (*hareket-i cüz'iyye*), cloudiness (*kedûret*), disturbance of weather (*fesâd-ı ehviye*), cold (*burûdet*), grain (*hubûbât*).

[201] Pierce, *The Imperial Harem*, 17.

In a separate section, the *müneccim* made predictions about incidents of disorder, dissent, war and unrest. Usually this was the part in which places outside the Ottoman realms were mentioned. References were made here to the maleficent planets, Mars and Saturn (*nahseyn*), as well as to war and battle (*harb ü kıtâl*), malice (*fesâd*), bandits (*eşkiyâ*) and damage (*hasâret*).

A special section devoted to the "Chinese" calendar of twelve animals (*Ahkâm-ı Sâl-i Türkân*) and titled "*Hukemâ-i Hatâî ve Çin ve Hukemâ-i Deşt-i Kıpçak zemîn*" preceded the section on monthly predictions. The "Chinese" calendar had been used by Muslim astronomers since at least the time of the Mongol invasion.[202]

*Ahkâm*s also featured monthly predictions and elective prognosis (*ihtiyârât*) based on the lunar calendar. In this part, the planetary ingresses in signs, aspects between planets and their retrograde motions were used to give an overall prognosis on a monthly basis.

Lastly, *ahkâm*s noted the dates and hours of the solar eclipses and provided a brief interpretation in the end.

4.2 Astrological content

When the astrological tenets of yearly prognostications of *müneccim*s are examined, the significance of Abu Mashar's legacy becomes evident. An outline of world horoscopes (*ahkâm-ı sal-i 'âlem*) e.g. Aries ingress charts are outlined in his "Book

[202] Osman Turan, *Oniki Hayvanlı Türk Takvimi* (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2004), 23.

of the Thousands" (*Kitab al- ulûf*).[203] It is seen that Ottoman astrologers employed the same astrological technique on the assumption that the chart or horoscope (*zâyiçe*) cast for the very moment of Sun's entry to the first zodiacal sign, namely Aries, is crucial for predicting the mundane conditions of the year ahead.

Thus, the astrologer's work was to give interpretations based on the configurations of the Sun, the Moon and the planets in that horoscope in which each planetary condition would carry their own significance. As mentioned above, the *müneccim* would have treated each planet in the horoscope as a court player; for instance, the Sun stands for the sultan, Jupiter for the grand vizier and şeyhülislam, and Mars for the chief commander and army likewise. Hence, the fortitude or debility of the planets, depending on the sign and house positions, as well as their angular formations (aspects) would reflect the prevailing conditions of each player.[204] The *müneccim* also paid attention to the ascendant or rising sign on the Eastern horizon. Depending on the mode (cardinal, fixed, mutable) of the ascending sign, he would divide a year into four parts, or seasons, or in two halves, or would take it as a whole year. The direction of the planets, whether they were moving forward or retrograding, and their proximity to the Sun would also be influential over the *müneccim*'s judgments.

[203] Holden, *A History of Horoscopic Astrology*, 113.

[204] Astrological theory presupposes that each planet has its own rulership over certain signs. Planets have also various kinds of rulership (fortitude) such as exaltation, triplicity, term and decans in signs or in special intervals of Zodiac. Similarly, planets would be in detriment or in fall in certain signs or at several parts of the Zodiac.

Along with the planetary configurations, certain planetary points[205] like part of fortune (*sehmü's-sa'âde*), part of spirit (*sehmü'l-gayb*) seem to be a crucial part of their delineation. Although these parts also existed in Greek horoscopy, they were expanded by Muslim astrologers. *Ahkâm* texts contain various parts such as part of Jupiter (*sehmü'l-galebe*), part of Mars (*sehmü'l-harbi's-sânî*), part of Venus (*sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvel*), part of substance (*sehmü'l-fellâh*). The angular positions of these parts, i.e., their geometrical relation to planets or rulers of houses (*sâhib-i beyt*) would indicate the confirmation or denial of events.[206]

4.3 *Ahkâm* narratives as a reflection of specific events and conditions

Although they were written in quite a repetitive and formulaic manner, the content of *ahkâm*s can be studied in relation to the changing events and conditions in the empire. Even though *ahkâm*s were supposed to be extrapolations based on the observation of heavenly movements, while moulding astrological information into the relatively standardized format of *ahkâm*s, astrologers also had to take into account and respond to the expectations in the Ottoman court. In this respect, it would be significant to look at the context of the prevailing events before ahkâms were submitted to the sultan's gaze. Hence, in this part, *ahkâm*s will be examined in

[205] In astrological terminology, these points which derive from the numerical calculations of zodiacal positions of the Ascendant and related planets are called part or lot. One's lot is in fact one's share (*kısmet, sehm*) which befallen on him in life. *Sehm* (or *nasîb*) corresponds to such destiny, predestination in the course of life.

[206] *Müneccim*s usually adopt particular expressions for these relations. Such words include "*mukârin*" "*mukârenetde*"(closeby), "*bi'l-mevedde*" (in reciprocity), "*mukâbil*", "*mukâbeleten*" (in opposition), "*müteveccih*" (directed).

the light of specific events that might have been considered significant by the *müneccim,* other state dignitaries or the sultan himself.

4.3.1 Execution of the Chief Black Eunuch

Halil Efendi's first yearly *ahkâm* presented to Mustafa III begins in the year 1758 (1171 H.). This *ahkâm* was written a few months after Mustafa III acceded to the throne on October, 30, 1757. In this respect, this *ahkâm* emphasizes Mustafa III's position and attitude toward important members as well as new appointments in his court. Halil Efendi explains that he divided the year into four parts due to the nature of the ascendant sign, Libra on the horizon.[207] As might be expected, Halil Efendi commented on the sultan's power, emphasizing that it was increasing day by day and assured that the viziers, servants of Harem, ulema and members of divan were all in excellent condition. He further added that some of these prudent viziers and commanders would be promoted to new positions. However, in his predictions for the summer months which coincided with the pilgrimage season in 1758, the chief-*müneccim* made warnings about bandits (*eşkiyâ*) in several regions. His warning should be read in conjunction with the events that had occurred earlier during the pilgrimage season in the reign of Osman III.

According to Şem'danî-zâde, the influential *Dar-us-saade* Agha, Ebu-Kuf Ahmed Agha, who had been responsible for overseeing the *surre* processions had

[207] In the tradition of casting horoscopes for mundane purposes, the horoscope might be indicative of different time periods, depending on the modality (cardinal, fixed and mutable signs) of the ascendant sign. A cardinal sign (Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn) on the ascendant indicates four separate charts should be erected at the beginning of four seasons. Should a fixed sign (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius) rises, the spring chart shows the conditions for the entire year. If a mutable sign (Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces) rises, two separate horoscopes are erected at the spring and autumn equinoxes.

been in the habit of demanding bribes from Esad Pasha, governor of Damascus.[208] Upon his dismissal due to his objections to Ebu-Kuf Ahmed Agha, Esad Pasha had reportedly incited local bandits to rob the pilgrimage caravans on the route to Mecca. This incident of banditry, which had taken place during the reign of Osman III, was one of the first cases on the government's agenda after the enthronement of Mustafa III. Hence, Halil Efendi's warning about banditry could reflect ongoing concerns in the court that would eventually culminate in the execution of the chief black eunuch, who had already been dismissed and exiled.[209]

4.3.2 On a potential heir to the throne

Halil Efendi's first *ahkâm* presented to Mustafa III referred to the possible birth of a potential heir to the sultanate. Sultan Mahmud I and Sultan Osman III had failed to produce offspring for the throne. Hence people had long been waiting for the birth of a crown prince. Halil Efendi interpreted the alignment of the planets in the horoscope of the winter solstice to indicate an increasing chance of Mustafa III's progeny and expansion of his favorites (*ikbâl*). The chief-*müneccim*'s encouragement on this instance can be seen as a fulfillment of his advisory role in pursuit of the continuity of the sultanate.[210] The very first statement of his predictions for the winter

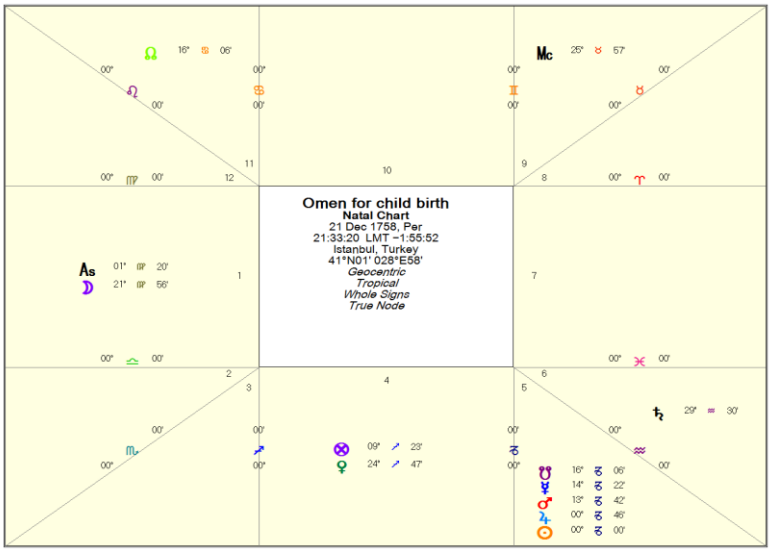
[208] Şem'danî-zâde, *Mür'it-Tevârîh*, *vol. 2*, 14.

[209] "*ve ba'zı memâlik ve bilâdda hasârete cesâretleri zuhûr eden a'dâ ve ezdâd ve eşkiyâ ve ehl-i fesâdın def' ve ref'ine fermân-ı kazâ ceryânları sudûruyla vükelâ ve hukkâm ve ümerâ-i kirâma tenbîh ve te'kîdler ve tevbîh ve tehdîdler buyurup hilâf-ı fermân-ı şehriyârî hareket eden ashâb-ı câh ve rütbenin azl ve 'ukûbetine…*" (Year 1758/folio 2).

[210] "*faṣl-ı şitâda neyyir-i a'zam beyt-i hâmisde sa'd-ı ekbere mukârin ve Sehmü'l-galebeye mücâsid ve neyyir-i asğar tâli'de sâhib-i âşire bi'l-mevedde nâzır bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te'âlâ a'lem.*

horoscope was supported by the accumulation of planets in the fifth house. Interestingly, Halil Efendi also played on the double meaning of the words "*ikbâl*" and "*isti'lâd*". *Ikbâl* could refer both to good luck and to a favorite concubine in the imperial harem. His use of the words *ikbâl* and *isti'lâd* (childbearing or spreading over) in the same sentence strongly suggests a potential for child birth but it could also mean an increase in good fortune or favorites. Later, Mustafa III's first daughter Hibetullah was born on March 14, 1759. The chart below at Fig. 1 is the horoscope for the related period designed in the conventional rectangular shape. This horoscope displays the planetary positions at the moment when the Sun arrived at the 0 degree of Capricorn for the winter of 1758 in İstanbul.

Fig. 1 A rectangular shaped horoscope produced by Solar Fire, an astrological software.



Sultân-ı süreyyâ mekân hazretlerinin fürû bahâları mâh-ı münîr âsâ-medâric-i a'lâya irtikâda ve kevkeb-i baht ve ikbâlleri sâ'at be-sâ'at âfîtâb misâl isti'lâda olmağın…" (Year 1758/folio 2).

4.3.3 On Ragıp Pasha

The chief-*müneccim* Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s about the grand vizier testify not only to the importance of that office, but also to the elevated position of Ragıp Paşa, who held that office from his appointment in 1757 until his death in 1763. Ragıp Paşa exemplified the "efendi-turned-pasha," who had risen up to the office of grand vizier after serving in the scribal service and distinguishing himself as chief secretary (*reîsü'l-küttâb*)[211] After Mustafa's accession, Ragıp Paşa was not only able to hold on to his office as grand vizier, but was also able to have his nemesis, the chief black eunuch Ebu Kuf Ahmed Agha dismissed. He also attained even greater proximity to the new sultan by marrying his widowed sister Saliha Sultan in March 1758.[212] This development is also reflected in Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s for the Spring 1758, when the latter predicted that the grand vizier would be enjoying greater proximity to the sultan as well as various kinds of happiness.[213] In the predictions for the succeeding seasons, he pointed out the favor of the sultan towards other viziers due to their victory, efforts and care to get rid of mischief and predicted the undertaking of some secret consultations at the court.[214]

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[211] Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica*, 16, (1962), 73-94.

[212] Mesut Aydıner, "Ragıp Paşa", *TDVİA*.

[213] Halil Efendi writes "*Vekîl-i muhtâr ve müşîr-i büzürkvâr hazretlerinin inân-ı irâdet ve ihtiyârları icrâ-yı evâmir-i aliyye-i Sultânîye ma'tûf ve zimâm-ı itâ'at ve ınkıyâdları tedbîr-i mühimmât ve müşkilât-ı Devlet-i pâdişâhîye masrûf olmağın mezîd takarrub ve ihtisâslarından envâr-ı suver-i sa'âdât âyîne-i murâdâtlarında nümâyân ola…*" (1758/folio 2-3).

[214] Chief-*müneccim* writes "*ve sâ'ir vüzerâ-yı devlet ve müdebbirîn-i saltanat tedbîr-i def'-i mazarrat ve tevfîr-i mühimmât-ı feth u nusret ve tahsîl-i esbâb-ı gâlibiyet ve sefer ve hareketden hâlî olmayıp ikdâm ve ihtimâmları zuhûruyla lâyık-ı âtıfet ve merhamet-i halîfe-i zamân olmalarına ve ahyânen mahfî müşâvere ve nihânî mükâleme ve a'mâl-i mestûre ve ef'âl-i ma'kûle sebebiyle ba'zıları muhassılü'l-merâm olmalarına…*" (1758/folio 2).

4.3.4 On Banditry and Reaya

Social unrest, banditry and local opposition to state officials find prominent emphasis in the *müneccim*'s prognoses. Halil Efendi often referred to the violence, and maliciousness of bandits and some reaya and villagers (*ba'zı re'âyâ ve ashâb-ı kurâ*) when he spotted related astrological configurations. In these cases, the chief court astrologer also commonly stressed the necessity of suppressing the unrest arising from such instances as shortages, poverty and unhealthy conditions. The concern with unrest is quite understandable in view of the fact that at several points in the eighteenth century popular unrest had played an important role in imperial politics. In tackling such upheavals, prevalent dynamics in the court politics would be expected to produce definitive and critical results for the stability of government. Hence, with a strong and firmly established grand vizier who was backed by the sultan, the influences of the crowd could be resisted and suppressed; however, when the grand vizier was weak and isolated, the ulema could join with the Janissary agha intervening for their own interests. Especially in the eighteenth century, the transformation of the Janissary corps into a semi-civilian body represented a check on the power of the central government and enabled them to sometimes act as agents of popular opinion.[215] Halil Efendi gives explicit warnings in regard to troubles

[215] On the transformation of the Janissary corps, see Cemal Kafadar, "Jannisaries and other riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels Without a Cause ?," *Int. J. Turkish Studies*, *vol. 13*, Nos. 1&2, 2007, 113-134; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire, Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 191-224. Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State, The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005) 49-50. See also: Carter Vaughn Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Port, 1789-1922* (Princeton: 1980), Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York:1983)
For social unrest and revolts in the eighteenth century see: Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch

caused by military forces especially in the *ahkâm* sections specified for military men.[216] In his *ahkâm*, Halil Efendi also makes reference to the sedition (*fesad-ı hal*) and exorbitant greed (*tam'-ı mal*) of the urban notables (*ayan*).[217] He also writes about the fleeing of the reaya as well as about incidents of theft and other improper behavior and illnesses such as hepatitis, fever and even miscarriage of women. [218] The references to the poor condition of the reaya echo similar statements found in various other sources of the time. The historian Şem'danî-zâde writes about an incident of famine, which culminated in the pillaging of a *dhimmi*'s rice storage by "shameless" women in April and May 1758.[219] Similar stories of hardship are told

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Instituut, 1984), Sabra Meservey, "Feyzullah Efendi: An Ottoman Şeyhülislam." (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1966), Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı 1730* (Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1958), Robert W. Olson, "The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics ?," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17: 3, (1974), 329-44, Robert W. Olson, "The Patrona Halil Rebellion and Ottoman-Persian Wars and Eighteenth Century Ottoman Historiography," in *Turkic Culture: Continuity and Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies Series, 1987), Virginia Aksan, "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman War," *War in History*, 5 I (1998), 23-36, Virginia Aksan, 'Mutiny and the Eighteenth Century-Ottoman Army,' *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22, I (1998), 116-25.

[216] In the related section for the summer months of 1758, the müneccim writes "*merihiyândan bazı erâzil ve eşrârın Şam ve Endülüs ve Kufe ve Musul semtlerinde fisk ü fücûrları aşikâr ve fitne ve fesâdları iştihâr bulmakla âkıbet-i mazhar-ı ukûbet olmalarına ve rüesâ-i askerden bazı cesur ve ashâb-ı şerr ve şûrun ta'addî ve tecâvüzleri zuhûr edip mazhar-ı kahr-ı şehriyâr olmalarına…*" (Year 1758/folio 4).

[217] Halil Efendi in adressing to grand vizier and other ruling elites in the ahkâm for 1758 autumn writes "ve *ba'zı a'yân ve meşâhîrde illet ve mezellet ve âfet ve mevt ve miyânlarında husûmet ve töhmet vukû'una ve fesâd-ı hâl ve tam'-ı mâl ve tedbîr-i umûrda âciz ve bî-mecâl olanların hâlleri azl ve melâl ve 'ukûbet ve zevâllerine…*" (Year 1758/folio 3).

[218] In his ahkâm for reaya's conditions in 1758's autumn months, Halil Efendi writes "*ve bazı zenân ve emrâdında illet ve sukût-ı ecinne ve bazılarının irtihallerine…*" (Year 1758/folio 5).

[219] Şem'danî-zâde, *Mür'it-Tevarih*, *vol. 2*, 16.

from the perspective of the "little people" of Damascus in the chronicle of the Damascene barber, Ibn Budayr.[220]

Halil Efendi's second yearly *ahkâm* submitted to Mustafa III particularly touches upon the social order. The *müneccim* predicts that the inspection of reaya's conditions, the investigation of the conditions of the poor and weak and the punishment of unruly people would be on the agenda of the Sultan. In the following section written for the grand vizier and other viziers, he further emphasizes that these measures which were taken by viziers would be well received by the populace, and would be complimented by the sultan himself.[221]

It is tempting to think that in making these predictions the chief-*müneccim* was acting as the spokesman of the sultan. Indeed, like his predecessors, Mustafa III often went incognito to visit mosques, marketplaces and other public domains, especially in the early years of his reign. Along the same lines, it was after the sultan issued an edict on the dressing code for *dhimmi*s, and banned yellow shoes, colorful dresses, and erminea fur in order to regulate social stratification and internal order[222] that Halil Efendi drew attention to women's improper behavior in his *ahkâm*. *The müneccim* seems to have been unable to desist from complaining about (women's)

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[220] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus, Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 16.

[221] In addressing the grand vizier and other viziers, Halil Efendi writes "*tanzîm-i esbâb-ı devlet ve tedbîr-i umûr-ı memleket bâbında ziyâde takayyüd buyurmalarına ve teftîş-i ahvâl-i ra'iyyet ve tafahhus-ı ahvâl-i zü'efâ ve fukarâ hakkında niçe sâkıb fikirler ve sâîb tedbîrler izhâr ve âşikâr kılmaklarına ve neyyirü'n-nevbe Kamer beyt-i tâli'den Karîha terbî'an nâzır ve beyt-i sâlisde ictimâ'-ı kevâkib ve ihtirâk-ı Utarid ve sâ'ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te'âlâ a'lem. Himmet-i hümâyûnları câdde-i itâ'atden inhirâf ve tarîk-i cesâret ve hasârete meyl ve in'itâf üzre hareket eden ehl-i küfr ve tuğyânın tedbîr-i def' ve ref'ine masrûf olup…*" (Year 1759/folio 1).

[222] Şem'danî-zâde, *Mür'it-Tevarih*, *vol. 2*, 35.

toilette, vulgarity and the increasing number of abortions as well as about the incidents of slander, trickery, secret intentions and drinking among the general public for the second half of 1759.[223]

Quataert draws attention to the sartorial restrictions brought under especially precarious political and economic conditions in order to reinforce the existing social markers in the eighteenth century. He underlines that although Mustafa III's reign began in peace, the weakness of the political center required careful negotiation and compromise with other power groups within as well as outside the state apparatus.[224] Zilfi underlines that Mustafa III's disciplinary actions toward Muslim, Jewish and Christian women sought clearer demarcation of communal boundaries as a public policy.[225]

4.3.5 On the unusual life of Halimi Pasha

Apart from openly advising the ruler, the chief-*müneccim* could voice certain rumors that were circulating in the court. Given that the chief-*müneccim* was close to the sultan as well as various other leading figures, it would be safe to assume that he also took part in factional politics and was affected by various political pressures and

[223] He further writes that "*Avâmm-ı nâssın kesb ü kârları fâ'ide-i zâideden hâlî olmayıp zînet ve şöhret ve tezvîc ve cem'iyyet ve îş ü işret ve şirret ve şekâvet ile iştiğâllerine ve kibârdan umûrlarında mu'âvenet ve merhamet ve pes pâye kimselerden ba'zıların ref'ine ve müsâfirân-ı deryânın şiddet ve rüzgârdan âfetine ve kuzât ve kasabât ile ehl-i kurâ miyânında nizâ' ve husûmet ve sûret-i şer' ve adlde zulm ve cevr ve şiddet ve nihânî 'ameller ve telbîs da'vâlar ve müzevvir kağıtlarda vefret ve erâcîf ve iskât-ı ecinnede kesret…*" (Year 1759/folio 5).

[224] Donald Quaetert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of MiddleEast Studies*, 29, (1997), 408. See also: Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the end of the Eighteenth Century, Between Crises and Order*, (Brill, 2014).

[225] Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of the Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 75.

manipulations. A good example for this would be the rumors about the chief treasurer (*defterdâr*) Halimi Pasha, which are echoed in Halil Efendi's yearly judgments, albeit without mentioning his name. It must be pointed out that it was standard practice in *ahkâm*s to avoid mentioning personal names, as this could have attracted the ire of powerful people and jeopardized the position of the court astrologer. Still, the *müneccim* was able to discretely put forward his concerns about the spreading rumors in the related sections of his *ahkâm*s for different members of the ruling elite. This is apparent in his comments about the chief treasurer in the year 1759.

According to Şem'danî-zâde the dissolute lifestyle of the treasurer Halimi Pasha and his fondness for boys were well known both among the wider public and in the court.[226] The chief-*müneccim* also points to the corrupted (*hâbit*) astrological position of Mercury.[227] Moreover rumors even reached Mustafa III that Halimi Pasha's chamberlain Vani Hüseyin Efendi's occupation with numerology (*'ilm-i cifr, ebced*) brought him great fortune. Halil Efendi's successive use of terms like distortion of the truth (*i'vicâc-ı hâl*), being the victim of God's wrath (*mağdûm*), being defeated (*makhûr*) and being notorious (*bed-nâm*) in relation to Mercury's corrupt position would suggest ongoing rumors around Halimi Pasha and his

[226] Şem'danî-zâde writes that "*hânesinde her nev' puştlar, ya'nî müslim ve rum ve ermeni evlâdının paşalı ve kalyoncu ve berberi ve kalpaklı ondan ziyâde taze ve kart ser-hoş puşları cem' ve i'lândan tehâşî etmez, kelbin kelâmına mağrûren sadr-ı a'zamdan çok müddet meksim var diyerek düyûndan tecennüb etmez olduğu ma'lûm-ı hümâyûn oldukda.. Şehzâde Câmi' avlusuna nâzır binâ ettiği sarayının mâbeyn dâiresin hâriciye ve dâhiliyesinden evsa' ve çifte hamâm vaz' edüp otuzdan mütecâviz cezzâb civânı mâbeyne iskân ve hamâmın bir nefsine ve biri mahbûblarının nüfûsuna mahsûs eylemiş…*".

[227] In terms of astrological symbology, Mercury also signifies young males and bachelors.

chamberlain Vani Hüseyin Efendi.[228] Halimi Pasha's estate was confiscated and was exiled to Lemnos while his chamberlain's estate was liquidated financing Halimi Pasha's debts in 1759.[229] Specific references to the role of the chief-treasurer were among the prevailing issues in *ahkâm*s texts due to Mustafa III's effort to increase state revenues through limiting court expenses. The abolishment of Halberdier corps (*Baltacı Ocağı*) and *hass* revenues of black eunuch and *silahdâr agha*s brought extra savings.[230] It can be said that the chief-*müneccim*'s lines cannot be taken as empty words but must have been uttered to support the sultan's action. Such indirect and disguised expressions discrediting specific figures could only be employed with the consent of the sultan and powerful court players.

4.3.6 On miscalculations

The practice of astrology to give advice to and guide the ruler was not unique to the Ottoman court. Monica Azzolini writes about how a Renaissance prince, future Duke of Milan Galeazzo Maria Sforza became a victim of his astrologer's speculations and negative prognostications. She further adds that the prince tried to exert as much control as possible over the circulation of this type of information for fear that it

[228] Halil Efendi writes as follows, "*lâkin Utarid hâbit ve mû-bel ve sâhib-i hâdî aşar Neyyirü'n-nevbenin terbî'an nazarında ve hadd-i ihtirâkda bulunmaları delâlet eder. Allâhü te'âlâ a'lem. Ba'zı küttâb ve ummâl ve muhassılân-ı emvâl hidemât-ı hâkâniyyede taksîr-i a'mâl ve sû-i tedbîr ve ihmâl ve töhmet ve tezvîr ve i'vicâc-ı hâl ve miyânlarında adâvet ve ihtilâl sebebiyle mütezarrir ve mütedaccirü'l-bâl olup ba'zılarda adâvet ve vüzerâ ve hukkâm sebebiyle mağdûb ve makhûr ve bed-nâm olmalarına…*" (Year 1759/folio 4).

[229] Şem'danî-zâde, *Mür'it-Tevarih, vol. 2*, 37.

[230] Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları, 36 Osmanlı Padişahı*, 400.

would undermine his authority and create social unrest.[231] Unlike Galeazzo's astrologer, Halil Efendi was under the watchful eyes of the sultan; however, he was still able to play with or bend planetary positions in response to the likes and concerns of the Sultan, especially when a Sultan himself had interest and some working knowledge of astrology. This was apparently what happened in the year when favorite grand vizier Koca Ragıp Pasha died in 1763.

Halil Efendi calculated that the horoscope for the vernal equinox in 1763 had the sign of Sagittarius on the eastern horizon, i.e. on the ascendant. In actual fact, when it is calculated properly, it is seen that the sign of Scorpio rises over the horizon of Istanbul. The sign of Scorpio is closely related with death, crisis and destruction which the chief-*müneccim* would usually refrain from mentioning in any context. Secondly, as it is known from the horoscope corpus (*Zâyiçe Mecmû'ası*), Mustafa III himself had the sign of Scorpio in the house of crises, namely the 8th place in his own horoscope.

If this was not a simple miscalculation, it is possible that Halil Efendi manipulated his astrological calculations so as to avoid terrifying the sultan and the grand vizier about the latter's ailing conditions.[232] In fact, in his first lines of judgment to the grand vizier, the chief-*müneccim* evaluates Ragıp Pasha's health conditions positively and writes about the robust conditions of his senses,

[231] Azzolini, *The Duke and the Stars, Astrology and Politics in Renaissance Milan*, 102.

[232] Halil Efendi states that Sagittarius is rising on the horizon, however when it is calculated, it gives 26 degree of Scorpio for Ascendant sign, thus resulting in at least 4 degrees, a minimum 20 minutes off the actual value.

deliverance, vitality and capacity of warding off things.[233] While making these comments, he must have been aware of the declining health conditions of the grand vizier. In this context, his miscalculation might have been deliberate and intended to raise the morale of the grand vizier and those close to him.

The miscalculation of horoscopes inadvertently or on purpose raises other questions. Due to the use of imperfect astronomical tables, the astrologers' calculations were often erroneous. Expectedly, most of the horoscope calculations of Halil Efendi gives inaccurate results due to imprecise astronomical tables.[234]

Assuming that the astrologer was not aware of the mistakes in his calculations, in every case, he was expected to interpret it based on the knowledge of the ongoing developments around him. In this sense, the act of interpretation gave the astrologer a wide range of possibilities when conveying his own thoughts regardless of the correctness of the horoscope itself. In such circumstances, we would expect Halil Efendi to be usually able to mix and match different parts of the horoscope in order to arrive at his own desired conclusions. Hence, these interpretative conclusions based on incorrect charts reflects the *müneccim*'s role as advisor. Either way, even in the assumption of a correct horoscope, the *müneccim* would be expected to be at ease while arriving at his own judgements on purpose. In

[233] "Vezîr-*i a'zam sütûde şiyem hazretlerinin vücûd-ı bîhud-ı pür-cûd ve zât-ı ferhunde simât ve mes'ûdları kemâl-i sıhhat ve âfiyetde mahzûz ve durû'-ı sâbığât-ı savn-i Yezdânî'de mahfûz olup havâss-ı bâtına ve zâhire ve kuvâ-yı kâbıza ve dâfi'a ve kâhirelerinin kemâl-i kuvvet ve selâmetlerine…*" (Year 1763/folio 2).

[234] When these horoscopes are calculated by astrological software, usually one hour deviation has been observed relative to actual hour.

all his yearly judgements, Halil Efendi notes this peculiar nature of foretelling future events in his introductory lines.[235]

4.3.7 On observing political decorum

Quite striking and surprising insights are revealed when comparing those sections of Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s that concern the grand vizier during the years 1758 and 1764. While the *ahkâm* for the year 1758 was written during Ragıp Pasha's vizierate, *ahkâm* for the year 1764 was written after his death, hence it was in relation to the new grand vizier Çorlulu Köse Bahir Mustafa Pasha, who came into this position in November 1763.[236] Although astrological logic was quite different in each year, it is striking that the chief-*müneccim* made almost identical interpretations using the same words for two different years. What made the chief-*müneccim* to copy and transfer same predictions ? The most probable reason for this occurrence in this case should be sought in the change in the court atmosphere and the power vacuum that had emerged after Ragıp Pasha's absence. Perhaps the chief-*müneccim* had used the same words for the new grand vizier as he had for Ragıp Paşa to assuage anxieties and to convey a sense of continuity.

[235] In his 1758 yearly judgement, he remarks that "*Ashâb-ı kemâl ve erbâb-ı 'irfâna 'iyândır ki 'ârifân-ı âsâr-ı sevâbit ve seyyâr ve âlimân-ı esrâr-ı felek devvâr teşekkülât-ı evzâ'-ı nücûmiyye ve tebeddülât-ı ecrâm-ı felekiyyeden bi'z-zan ve't-tahmîn lâ bi'l-ilmi ve'l-yakîn ihsâs eyledikleri âsâr-ı garîbeyi kable'l-vukû' îrâd ve isbât eylemek âdet-i ehl-i tencîm olmakla bende-i âsân gerdûn-ı iktidâr Reîsü'l-müneccimîn Halil bî-mikdâr çün…*" (Year 1758/folio 1).

[236] After Ragıp Pasha's death, Tevkii Hamza Hamit Pasha occupied Grand vizieate for a few months between April and November 1763.

4.3.8 On Ayans

The chief-*müneccim*'s *ahkâm*s, and especially those sections that deal with the months of harvesting, are full of warnings to the grand vizier about economic loss, the poor conditions of the land and the reaya. He also often blamed the reaya's suffering on the uprisings and misbehavior of *ayans* or the urban notables.[237] In the *ahkâm* of the year 1769 which he submitted just after the beginning of the Russian War, Halil Efendi especially emphasized the terror and hardships inflicted on the "people of the bazaar and the villagers by the "people of oppression".[238]

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the truly powerful among the *ayan* had been able to use their wealth and power to instill themselves as governor-generals in their area of influence, and the central government increasingly relied on the ability of these ayans-turned-governors to raise armies to fight battles as well as to restore law and order within the empire.[239] It is likely that the chief *müneccim* had

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[237] Halil Efendi writes that "*Avâmm-ı nâs ve re'âyânın şiddet ve şirret ve hukkâm ve kuzâta muhâlefetlerine ve tengi ma'işet ve tekâlif ve bid'atden ra'iyyetin perişanlıklarına…*" (Year 1758/folio 5).

[238] "*Ashâb-ı cibâl ve sahrâ ve erbâb-ı bâzâr ve ehl-i kurâda havf ve haşyet ve nakl ve hareket ve kesret-i tekâlîf ve kıllet-i ma'îşet ve müsâmaha ve tekâsül müstahfızândan ta'addî-i erbâb-ı hasâret ve zulm ve gadr ashâb-ı kibr ve dalâletden ıstırâb ve dacretleri zâhir olmağın…*" (Year 1769/folio 5).

[239] For ayans and their rise, See Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), Bruce Masters, "Power and Society in Allepo in the 18th and 19th centuries," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée vol.62, No:1*, 151-158, 1991, Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert, *vol.2*, 1600-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 637-758, Dina Rizk Houry, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire,(Mosul) 1540-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Halil İnalcık, "The Emergence of big farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords, and Tenants," in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum, 1985), M. L. Meriwether, "The Notable Families of Aleppo, 1770-1830: Networks and Social Structure."(unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1981), Nurhan Fatma Katırcıoğlu, "The Ottoman Ayan, 1550-1812: A Struggle for Legitimacy"(MA Thesis, The University

these ayans-turned-governors in mind when he wrote of "the notables and the famous ones." (*ba'zı a'yân ve meşâhîr*) or "of the people of oppression." Halil Efendi's negative remarks about the *ayan* not only reflected the prevalent social conditions and economic unrest of the time, but also demonstrated how *ayan* were perceived by the court. Still it must be remarked that his discussion of *ayan* was not wholly negative. Just as Halil Efendi predicted that those who were evil, greedy and imprudent among the ayan would be discarded and dismissed, he wrote that those who were prudent, victorious and striving for the sake of the people, would be honored by the sultan.[240] Such remarks indicate the degree to which *ayan* had come to be seen as an indispensable feature of the Ottoman military, social and political order by Halil Efendi's time.

4.3.9 On the emphasis of specific names and conditions of war

The names of countries, nations and locations are sporadically mentioned in *ahkâm* texts. The chief-*müneccim* usually brought up the names of cities and nations when he pointed to battles, conflicts and rebellions in several provinces like Hijaz,

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of Wisconsin, 1984), Suraiya Faroqhi, "The ruling elite between politics and "the economy," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert, *vol*.2, 1600-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 545-575, Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire,",*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *vol.11*, no:3, 258-281, 1969.

[240] An example of this expression takes place Halil Efendi's 1758 ahkâm addressing grand vizier's conditions. "..*ve ba'zı a'yân ve meşâhîrde' illet ve mezellet ve âfet ve mevt ve miyânlarında husûmet ve töhmet vukû'una ve fesâd-ı hâl ve tam'-ı mâl ve tedbîr-i umûrda âciz ve bî-mecâl olanların hâlleri 'azl ve melâl ve 'ukûbet ve zevâllerine ve tedbîr ve feth ve nusret ve hirâset-i mülk ve millet husûsunda sarf-ı kudretleri zuhûruyla vüzerâdan ba'zıları mazhar-ı merhamet-i şehânşâh-ı cihân olmalarına…*" (Year 1758/folio 3).

Baghdad, Damascus, Egypt, Bosnia or places beyond the Ottoman realm such as France, Moscow, Samarkand in his predictions.

In his 1766 *ahkâm*, two years preceding the Ottoman-Russian war of 1768-1774, Halil Efendi had already begun to write of the Russians as the Ottomans' enemy.[241] Russia had begun to pose as the protector of the Ottoman Empire's Orthodox population, and it might be in this connection that Halil Efendi had mentioned war like conditions and disruption in Bosnia and Morea in the *ahkâm* of 1764, two years previously.[242] After the death of Ragıp Pasha in 1763, the Ottoman foreign policy began to change and tended to be more assertive due to Mustafa III's given pro-war attitude. Halil Efendi's increasing mention of war in 1764 *ahkâm* can be understood from growing confrontations with Russia and emerging pro-war faction in the court. The Greek uprising in the Morea would be suppressed by Muhsin-zâde Mehmed Pasha in 1770. Bearing in mind that Mustafa III had already adopted a pro-war attitude before 1764, and especially after the death of the grand vizier Ragıp Pasha in 1763, it is tempting to think Halil Efendi was also lending

[241] "*Ezelî düşmanı olan büldânda ya'nî Bulgar ve Moskov ve Bosna semtlerinde ve serhadd-i Rum ve küffârda zuhûr-ı eşirrâ ve eşkiyâ ve harb ve kitâl ve şer ve âşub ve ihtilâl ve ba'zı a'dâ miyânında nizâ' ve cidâl ve meşhûrlarında nekbet ve zevâl ve kuttâ'ü't-tarîkde fesâd-ı hâl ve ebnâ-i sebîlde hasâret ve melâl vukû'una…*" (Year 1766/folio 6).

[242] In his predictions for 1764, Halil Efendi implies war like conditions in many parts of his ahkâm. For the sultan himself, he emphasizes promotion and compliments for the military forces, "*serdar ve serasker ve umerâ ve ashâb-ı sefer ve nefer envâ'-ı nevâziş ve istimâlet ve mertebelerine münâsib in'am ve ihsân ve merhametlerinden mesrûr ve mahbûr olmalarına…*"(Year 1764/folio 2) while he also writes "*vükelâ-yı devletden ba'zıları berren ve bahren muhâfazat-ı memleket ve ebrâr ve tahlîs-i kılâ' ve diyar için nakl ve hareketlerine…*"(Year 1764/folio 3) for the grand vizier. Moreover, he addresses critical conditions of the military forces writing that "*memâlik-i a'dâ için yerlerinden hareket ve ittifâk ve cem'iyyet ve acele ve sür'at ile fermân olunan mahallere azîmet edip harb ve nikâl ve cenk ve cidâlden hâli olmadıklarından…*"(Year 1764/folio 5). Finally, he mentions several names of places including Bosnia and Morae in the separate section for wars and violations writing "*ve Bosna ve Mora ve bâdiye-i Arab'da câ be-câ cem'iyyetler olup harb ve kitâlin vukû'una…*"(Year 1758/folio 6).

support to this pro-war attitude by stressing the troubles in these regions as well as the increasing tensions with Russia under Catherine II, who had assumed the throne after the toppling of Petro III in 1762.

It is seen that *müneccim* Halil Efendi was informed of military developments and dissents before and after war against the Russians. His *ahkâm* for 1764 briefly mentions Morea peninsula and furthermore in *ahkâm* for 1766, touches upon uprisings and banditry in Rumelia or around the western borders of the empire.[243] Russians were already active well before the war sending spies in order to evoke conflicts in the region.[244] Both of his *ahkâm*s for 1769 and 1770 frequently mention the role of naval forces and military activities in the Aegean Sea.

Halil Efendi's *ahkâm*s also give us insight into the Ottoman responses to the Russian victories in the course of the Ottoman-Russian war. His *ahkâm* for the year 1771, in particular, reflects the vehemence of the developments of the previous year, when the Russian fleet had unexpectedly assaulted and burnt down the majority of Ottoman ships in Çeşme harbor (6-7 July, 1770). The chief court astrologer appears to have been single mindedly preoccupied with the ongoing developments in the northwestern front (*cânib-i garb-ı şimâl*) and around the Black Sea (*bahr-i Siyah*), the Aegean (*bahr-i Rum*) and the Mediterranean Sea (*bahr-i Sefîd*). Concerns over the unsuccessful results in the ongoing war seem to have led Halil Efendi to pay

[243] Halil Efendi draws attetion writing that "*…serhadd-i Rum ve küffârda zuhûr-ı eşirrâ ve eşkiyâ ve harb ü kitâl ve şer ve âşub ve ihtilâl serhadd-i Rum ve küffârda zuhûr-ı eşirrâ ve eşkiyâ ve harb ü kitâl ve şer ve âşub ve ihtilâl…*" (Year 1766/folio 6).

[244] Uzunçarşılı indicates that Russians sought the ways to ignate dissentions among the followers of Greek Orthodox sect sending Papasoglu Mavrumihal for propaganda. While another propagandist Hacı Murad who well versed in Turkish, Arabic and Farsi worked as a Russian spy in Rumelia and around the islands in 1765. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi, vol. IV*, 391-392.

particular attention to the positions of Mars and Jupiter, which are symbols of war and victory, however he concluded that both of the planets were weak and mistaken in terms of their astrological fortitude.[245] He also tried to highlight the status of Sultan as a leader of Islam in *ahkâm*s starting from the year 1770.[246] He specifically referred to Venus as a planet representing the religion of Islam (*dîn-i İslâm olan Zühre-i Zehrâ*) and indicated that this planet was situated close to "the part of the sultan".[247] It is tempting to read in these remarks the increasing emphasis the Ottoman palace and the ulema at large were beginning to put on the Islamic credentials of the Ottoman sultan and his claim to the caliphate in the face of the invasion and later annexation of the Crimean Khanate by the Russian forces. The Ottomans insisted on Mustafa III's caliphate status in Crimea during the negotiations with Russians at Fokşani (in August 1772) and Bucharest (in November 1772).[248]

However, the last *ahkâm* of Halil Efendi (1773) does not reflect a strong sense of urgency or fervor; instead, he merely advises the expulsion of evildoers

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[245] Halil Efendi, in relation to the Sultan's condition writes "*Evâil-i sâlde cânib-i garb-ı şimâlde olan küffâr-ı bed-fi'âlin hilâf-ı rızâ-yı şehriyârî ra'iyyet-i memlekete ta'addî ve mazarratı ma'lûmları olmağın sefâyin-i bisyâr ve asâkir-i bî-şümâr ile vüzerâ ve ümerâdan mücerreb-i rüzgâr olanlardan ta'cîlen irsâl buyurmalarına…*" (Year 1771/folio 1).

For the grand vizier's conditions "*…Bahr-i Sefîd'de vilâyet-i küffârı nehb ü gâret ve teshîr olan memâlik ve ra'iyyet ve zabt ve muhâfazat ve bakiyye-i kılâ' ve hasînlerin feth ve muhâsarata fermân olunan serdar-ı nusret iştihâd ve seraskerân-ı zafer şi'âr ve sipah ve neferât-ı feth asâr inkıyâd ve itâ'at üzre mekânlarından hareket edip esbâb-ı feth ve zafer ve sefâyin-i nusret rehber ile mahall-i me'mûreye vâsıl olmaklarına…*" (Year 1771/folio 2).

[246] Especially in Islamic Astrology, different religions have been assigned to different planets, such as Saturn to Judaism, Christianity to Jupiter. Attribution of Venus to Islam might be related with Venus' association with Friday and the green colour. See Al Biruni, *Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*.

[247] As it is mentioned in the section of "Astrological Content", certain planetary points like "part of the sultan" is an astrological significator for specific interpretation.

[248] Kemal Beydilli, "Mustafa III", *TDVIA.*

(Russians) and the reparations of forts, the securing of borders and the protection of the populace.[249] He further predicts that the betrayal of some ayan and high and mighty would be punished, and that the offenders would be dismissed after being determined through secret consultations.[250]

As a further note of *ahkâm*s, we discovered absence of two successive *ahkâm*s in the collection of Topkapi library, the first (1767) of the period just after major earthquake occurred in 1766, and the second (1768) relating to the year when war declared to the Russians in 1768. The first dislocated *ahkâm* might be missing in the mayhem of earthquake or it might be just not written. The absence of the second *ahkâm* of 1768 seems to be more intriguing, if it had been found, we would have the opportunity of looking at the considerations just before the war broke out. An educated guess might also imply that *müneccim* himself had removed his own ahkâms by reason of enormity of events which were not successfully foreseen by himself.

4.4 Conclusions

*Ahkâm*s were highly formulaic works, in which the Ottoman imperial order was represented in the image of the cosmic order. In theory, an astrologer was expected

[249] In addressing to Mustafa III, Halil Efendi writes "*ve şehriyâr-ı zafer şi'âr hazretlerinin muhâfaza-i serhadd-i diyâr ve bilâd ve müdâfa'a-i eşrâr ve ehl-i fesâd husûsuna mezîd ihtimâm ve ictihâdları sudûr edip bazı mesâlik ve memâlikde cesâret ve hasâretleri zuhûr eden ehl-i hazelânın def' ve ref'ine…*" (Year 1773/folio 2).

[250] Halil Efendi writes to the grand vizier about some of the *ayan*: "*ba'zı ümerâ ve a'yân-ı devlet zulm-i re'âyâ ve tahrîb-i memleket ve hile ve hiyânetleri sebebiyle mazhar-ı itâb ve ikâb olup bazı a'yân ve meşâhirde illet ve mezellet ve tereddüd ve hayret ve âfet ve mevt ve meyânlarında husûmet ve töhmet vukû'una ve ahyânen mahfî müşâvere ve nihânî mükâleme ve a'mâl-i mestûre ve ef'âl-i ma'kûle sebebiyle ba'zıları muhassılü'l-meram olmalarına…*" (Year 1773/folio 3).

to derive his astrological predictions from a set of astronomical phenomena and without adding any of his own interpretations into his predictions. In practice, however, his deliberations represented an amalgam of his astrological reasoning and his politically-minded interpretations of future prospects featuring components of the Ottoman imperial edifice.

In this context, it is essential to keep in mind that the chief *müneccim* was not an independent astrologer but an official in the pay of the imperial state and in the intimate circles of the sultan. As such, he was bound to construct future scenarios taking into consideration the dynamics and prevailing tendencies in the court as well as, occasionally, his own judgment. In many cases, we find the *müneccim* playing the role of a messenger, raising issues that were already being discussed around the sultan and his officials. Insofar as Halil Efendi used his predictions to give advice to the ruler, he was of course fulfilling the time-honored role of an advice giver. But a closer examination of his *ahkâm* texts reveal that in many cases Halil Efendi chose to play safe, adding his voice to the position that had already found strong favor from the sultan and those around him. In this sense, his *ahkâm* also reflected the shifting outlook of imperial policies. His handling of words for different players of the court members and emphasis on different situations, like his expressions on grand vizier or harem can be seen kind reminders exposing prevailing issues in the court politics. In this context, Orhan F. Köprülü was right when he suggested that *ahkâm*s can be read as historical records alongside annals and chronicles. They are especially useful as sources that reflected not just what actually happened, but what members of the imperial court thought about what happened.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This study has been an attempt to answer the questions of how astrology found its place and how it was employed within Ottoman court culture in the eighteenth century. My attention has been particularly directed to the investigation of yearly epistles of judgements (*ahkâm-ı tal'i sal*), which were routinely submitted to the sultan and the ruling elite. Political advice through astrology was not a phenomenon particular to early modern period, but had been a court tradition in many cultures since antiquity. In the Ottoman court context, astrology was already an established practice in the seventeenth century, having its roots in earlier Islamicate cultures that had drawn from Persian Zoroastrian imperial ideology. Since timing of state affairs using astrological phenomena can be seen as validation of cosmic affirmation, it is not puzzling that Ottoman state archives contain plenty of memoranda relating to finding auspicious moments from groundbreaking ceremonies for mosques to routinely performed state events. The service of astrologers towards building this imperial edifice can be seen through their celestial interpretations, which were supposed to support the continuity and political legitimacy of the state.

This thesis argues that the relationship between political practice of astrology and Islamic scholars' perspective is not mutually exclusive, as it may appear to the dilettante, but more eclectic and often utilitarian in real practice. As a matter of fact, astrology and political propaganda have long been bedfellows, since rulers patronized astrologers for their advisory roles. In turn, *müneccim*s, as members of the

ilmiye class, were able to establish themselves in *birun* by functioning as time-keepers and calendar makers. Although astrology was singled out from astronomy in terms of religious concerns after the eleventh century, the practice of astrology did not cease to exist due to its presumed utility and wide-spread appeal among the ruling elite and Ottoman scholars in the early modern period. In fact, in the Ottoman context, *müneccim*hood establishment only became extinct with the passing of the last *müneccim*, Hüseyin Hilmi Efendi, in 1924.

Despite several instances of staunch disapproval from the top rank of Islamic officials, the Ottoman ulema's general stance toward astrology indicates a much more varied and inquiring outlook in different settings. The classifications of sciences according to Ottoman scholars such as Taşköprülüzâde and Nev'i Efendi preserved the traditional distinction between astronomy and astrology and the religious prohibition against astrology. However, contradictory and ambiguous attitudes were also present in their approach. Accordingly, astrological texts of *müneccim*s were discreetly loaded with expressions not transgressing the limits of religious sensibilities.

In a wider context, we come across many figures from various segments of Ottoman intellectual life who concerned themselves with astrology. Despite the decline paradigm in Ottoman historiography, which underlines the increasing aversion of orthodox ulema to reason, starting in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman scholars' pursuit of knowledge widely extended from rational sciences to philosophy (*hikmet*) including alchemy and magic, well into the eighteenth century. In this regard, chief-*müneccim* Halil Efendi's eclectic library, which covers diverse topics in

religious and rational sciences, as well as hurufism and medicine, explicitly exemplifies the wide-ranging curiosities of an Ottoman *ilmiye* member. His unorthodox wonder clearly comes to our attention through many books on Islamic mysticism related to various religious orders. We discover from his household items in his real estate that he might be in close contact with Mevlevi, Naksibendi and Halveti circles. These findings imply that his personal interests and habits circumscribed much larger space than established limits of *ilmiye* class.

Both in the west and the east, the boundaries between astrology, alchemy and proper sciences like astronomy and medicine were much more ambiguous and porous in the early modern period. Despite the high level of criticism by jurist-scientists, as coined by Abdelhamid I. Sabra, the practice of occult sciences had a certain following amongst Ottoman scholars. The daily concerns, fears and necessities of life made them think of more immediate help and satisfaction through occult practices like magic squares and the making of talismans rather than pious submission. By the same token, these practices, though not always proper and rational, were seen as beneficial and useful.

More specifically, this thesis investigated the contents of *ahkâm* texts produced by the longest serving *müneccim* in Ottoman court history. These texts reveal regular bureaucratic reporting and political intelligence in disguise. Although no specific names are used in these *ahkâm*s, they appear to be suggestive of political maneuvering with regard to sensitive issues developing in and around court life. Written once a year, *ahkâm* works were good opportunities to demonstrate *müneccim*s' predictive abilities. However, *ahkâm* texts generally did not display

specifically clear and ambitious predictions, and *müneccim*s rather humbly allowed for general remarks depending on the prevailing conditions in and around the court. In fact, their routine and highly structured frameworks mainly render them bureaucratically customized documents. However, a survey of salient issues in *ahkâm* texts might help us to understand intra-court priorities and sensibilities reflected from the central administration. Apart from the politically subordinate nature of *ahkâm* texts, they would be used as marginal historical sources for deciphering certain events in court life. Reading between the lines of *ahkâm*s might provide us with further clues and another look into the vulnerabilities and courtly issues that come to the fore. The nuances and emphases underlined by *müneccim*s would help us understand the agendas of emergent factions in the court.

Yet, as we found out, a specific memorandum of Halil Efendi amongst his *ahkâm*s regarding a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1762, *müneccim*s were often requested to answer specific concerns of the ruling elite and the sultan. Thus, *müneccim*s were continuously expected to provide answers for matters arising within court life.

*Müneccim*s, as members of the *birun* and sometimes having *musahip* status in relation the sultans, depending on the trust they cultivated, could be seen as silent advisors behind the scenes. Despite their low status, when critical conditions arise, their advice would be expected to promote a certain course of action, especially actions that favored dominant factions. However, without knowing a given *müneccim's* network of relations and his political affiliations, looking beyond the background of these texts is impossible. The apparent circumstances around Halil

Efendi in the court suggest that he was able to make use of his interpersonal skills and had the favor of Grand Vizier Ragıp Pasha. On the other hand, Halil Efendi appears to have shown shrewd judgements by copying and pasting almost the same text for consumption by the next Grand Vizier in his later *ahkâm*s. Reciprocally, for some of the members of ruling elite, consulting to the stars was meant to have a divine confirmation which they could propagate about their career lines or future prospects.

In the context of eighteenth-century dynamics, the relationship between the sultan and the *müneccim* was particularly critical. The reign of Mustafa III, who had the second-greatest number of astrological works dedicated to him, reflects a significant increase in astrological activities parallel to that which occurred in Bayezid II's court. However, this second period of high activity inversely coincides with the lessening power and deconsolidation of Ottoman imperial image. In this regard, we can assume that the political use of astrology has been much sought especially during times of major uncertainties and turmoil.

In the final analysis, this thesis aims at exhibiting *ilm-i nücum*'s status and role in the court matters as well as multifaceted intellectual scope of *müneccim*s, through an example of an eighteenth century *ser-müneccim* Fethiyeli Halil Efendi.

APPENDIX A

CHIEF COURT ASTROLOGER HALİL EFENDİ'S ESTATE

IN THE REGISTERS

BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul)

D.BŞM.MHF (Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Muhallefât Halifesi) 55/34

Hüve'l-mu'în

Mahmiye-i İslambol'da Fethiye Câmi'-i şerîfi kurbunda Tercümân Yunus Mahallesi'nde sâkin iken bundan akdem vedâ'-ı âlem-i fânî eden müderrisîn-i kirâmdan Müneccimbaşı merhûm Halil Efendi b. Mehmed'in zâhirde zevce-i menkûha-i metrûkesi Hatice Hâtun ibnete Hamza Efendi'den gayrı vâris-i ma'lûmu olmayıp terekesinin rub'u zevcesi mezbûreye ve sülüs-i erbâ'ı cânib-i Beytü'l-mâle âit olmakla merhûm-ı mezbûrun terekesini bâ-fermân-ı âlî kabza me'mûr olan hâlâ Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn Defterdârı umdetü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim müstecmi'ü'l-mehâsin ve'l-mekârim sa'âdetli Osman Efendi hazretleri taraflarından ta'yîn buyurulan hâlâ Rikâb-ı Hümâyûn Başbakı Kulu izzetli Ali Ağa ve bâ-fermân-ı âlî ta'yîn buyurulan mîrî kâtibi Ali Efendi ve Mehmed Arif Efendi ve zevce-i mezbûre hâzıra olduğu hâlde tahrîr ve bey' olunan tereke-i merhûm-ı mezbûrdur ki ber-vech-i âtî zikr olunur.

Fî gurre-i Muharremü'l-harâm li-sene seb'a ve semânîn ve mi'e ve elf min hicretin men lehü'l-izzü ve'ş-şeref.

Tefsîr-i Hüseyin Vâ'ız 1200 akçe	Vankulu cildeyn 3600 akçe	Cihânnüma 2640 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Bâri' 1800 akçe	Tenbîhâtü'l-Müneccimîn 1440 akçe
Eşcârü Esmâr 600 akçe	Zîç-i Uluğ Bey 2200 akçe	Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î 1200 akçe	Bürhânü'l-Kifâye 600 akçe	Müfredât-ı İbn-i Baytar 240 akçe
Tercüme-i Reşehât 1200 akçe	Divân-ı Hâfız 180 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Külliye fi't-Tekâvîm 1000 akçe	Muhtasar-ı Bâri' 600 akçe	Tâli'-i Mevlûd 480 akçe

Resâil-i Mısrî 480 akçe	Şakâyik-i Nu‘mâniyye 600 akçe	Baytarnâme 360 akçe	Şevâhidü'n-Nübüvve tercümesi kıt‘ası 400 akçe	Tasbîrnâme-i Fârisî 120 akçe
Tefsîr-i Hüseyin Vâız kıt‘ası 2 600 akçe	Muhtasar-ı Acâyib-i Mahlûkât 1000 akçe	Cennetü'l-Esmâ 60 akçe	Zîç li-İbn-i Şâtır 1200 akçe	İhtiyârât-ı Bedî‘î fî't-Tıb 150 akçe
Târîh-i Takvîm 200 akçe	Netâyic-i Fünûn 360	Kânûn fi't-Tencîm 200 akçe	Ebî Ma‘şer fi'n-Nücûm 250 akçe	Futûhât-ı ‘Ayniyye 300 akçe
Feyzü't-Ta‘mîm fi't-Tencîm 300 akçe	Def‘a Uluğ Bey 1200 akçe	Def‘a Târîh li-İbn-i Şâtır 600 akçe	Dîvân-ı Râğıb 400 akçe	Yusuf [u] Züleyha 300 akçe
Mîrim Çelebi 2000 akçe	Def‘a Resâil-i Mısrî 240 akçe	Tuhfetü'l-Müneccimîn 720 akçe	Câmi‘ü Şâhî fi'n-Nücûm 1800 akçe	Teshîlü'l-Kamer 4000 akçe
Tertîbü Zîbâ 300 akçe	Tuhfe-i Ebu'n-Nâfi‘ 240 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Risale-i Küre 480 akçe	Mesâil-i İhtiyârât 500 akçe	Reyhânetü'l-Burûc 300 akçe
Fütûhü'l-Gayb 300 akçe	Silsile-i Halvetiyye 240 akçe	İstihrâcü't-Takvîm mine'l-Zîc bi-hi 1 aded 500 akçe	Risâlet-i Te’lîf li-Alizâde 240 akçe	Dîvân-ı Bâkî 1 musavver 300 akçe
Muhtasar-ı Bâri‘ 600 akçe	Misbâh fi'n-Nücûm 300 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Latîfe 300 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Nücûm 300 akçe	Mirkât fi'l-Lugat 120 akçe
Tercüme-i Tıbb-ı Cedîd 240 akçe	Mîzânü’l-Hakk 120 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Nücûm 400 akçe	Şerh-i Seyafsal 150 akçe	Mecmû‘a fi'n-Nücûm 400 akçe
Tâli‘-i Mevlûd 120 akçe	Şerh-i Şecere-i Nu‘mâniye 120 akçe	Şecere-i Semere 120 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i İlâhiyyât 60 akçe	Fevâidü's-Salavât 120 akçe
İstihrâcü't-Takvîm 240 akçe	Dîvân-ı Sâbit 150 akçe	Nakdü'n-Nusûs 120 akçe	Tercüme-i Zîc-i Frengî 150 akçe	Akraba Dîn li-Salih Efendi 120 akçe
Nakş-ı Fusûs 120 akçe	Seyafsal 120 akçe	Tarîk-i Takvîm Risâlesi 120 akçe	Tercüme-i Kasarrânî 300 akçe	Risâle-i Abdülganî 120 akçe
Mecmû‘a fi'n-Nücûm 150 akçe	Cedvelü't-Teshîl 120 akçe	Kıt‘a min Târîh-i Taberî 120 akçe	Câmi‘ü's-Sağîr 400 akçe	Muhbitî 600 akçe
Tezkiyetü'n-Nüfûs li-İbni'l-Eşref 300 akçe	Behcetü'l-Fetâvî 4800 akçe	Şifâ-i Şerîf 2400 akçe	Eşkâl-i Te’sîs 360 akçe	Şerh-i Dîvân-ı Ali 480 akçe

Şerh-i Dîvân-ı Hâfız li-Sürûrî 2 cild 1200 akçe	Muğnî fi'l-Edviye 400 akçe	Sadru'ş-Şerî‘a 300 akçe	İbn-i Melik ‘ale'l-Menâr 600 akçe	Bir Cündî? 1200 akçe
Ferhengî cildeyn 2400 akçe	Şerh-i Tezkire fi'l-Hey’e 600 akçe	Islâh-ı İzâh 360 akçe	Nikâye 120 akçe	Fâtih-i ebyât 600 akçe
Telvîh 1800 akçe	Fîhi mâ Fîh 360 akçe	Fetâvâ-yı ‘Alî Efendi 1200 akçe	Takvîmü'l-Büldân 1000 akçe	Ahlâk-ı Nâsırî 150 akçe
Rızâ ‘ale'l-Kâfiye 720 akçe	Ravzatü'l-Ahbâb 600 akçe	Def‘a Muhbitî 1000 akçe	Tahrîr-i Muhbitî 500 akçe	Terşîhât 360 akçe
Münşeât-ı Nâbî 500 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Kavâ‘id 600 akçe	Muğni'l-Lebîb 1500 akçe	İzhâr Şerhi Adalı 600 akçe	Tuhfetü'l-Edîb 360 akçe
Dürrü’t-Tanzîm fi't-Tencîm 600 akçe	Şerhü Tuhfeti'l-Ahrâr 480 akçe	Tercüme-i Milel-i Nihel 300 akçe	Tercüme-i Kasîde-i Bürde 300 akçe	Mîrim Çelebi 600 akçe
Mekâsıd-ı Hasene 240 akçe	Şerhü Dîvân-ı Şâhî 150 akçe	Şerh-i Miftâh 180 akçe	İtkân fî Ulûmi'l-Kur’ân 1620 akçe	Tıbb-ı Nebevî 120 akçe
Ta‘rîfât-ı Seydi 150 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Beyhakî 400 akçe	Bostânü'l-Edeb 60 akçe	Durûb-ı Emsâl-i Fârisî 150 akçe	Şerhü'l-Kenz li-Molla Miskin 400 akçe
Cevâhirü'l-Fıkh 150 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Nücûm 120 akçe	Risâle-i Usturlab 200 akçe	Kânûn-ı İlâhî 1 cild 120 akçe	Silsilenâme 200 akçe
Vefeyât-ı Şeyh Buhârî 400 akçe	Resâil-i Kisi 120 akçe	Şerhü Burha 60 akçe	Seyyid ‘Ali el-Ferâ’iz 300 akçe	Zîç-i Güşyâr 300 akçe
Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr 150 akçe	Şerhü Menâr 400 akçe	Gâyetü'l-Kemâl fi'n-Nücûm 400 akçe	Menâkıb-i Mevlânâ 360 akçe	Hediyyetü'l-Mehdiyyîn 150 akçe
Şerhü Elfiye fi'n-Nahv 240 akçe	Tuhfe-i Şâhiye 120 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i İnşâ 150 akçe	Tâli‘ fi'n-Nücûm 150 akçe	Molla Câmi ale'l-Kifâye 300 akçe
Muhtasar-ı Me‘ânî 600 akçe	Câmi‘ü'l-Ehâdîs 120 akçe	Târîhü Âlî kıt‘ası 1200 akçe	Netâyicü Molla Lârî 200 akçe	Tercüme-i İncîl 480 akçe
Hacı Atmaca fi'l-Hesâb 150 akçe	Bahrü'l-Lâlî 300 akçe	Tuhfetü't-Tullâb 300 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Çağmananî 480 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Nücûm 60 akçe

Şerhü Fusûsi'l-Hikem 600 akçe	Mecâlis-i Fârisî 150 akçe	Sarf cümlesi 240 akçe	Mecmû‘a fi'n-Nücûm 150 akçe	Evveliyât-ı Ali Dede 240 akçe
Tahrîr-i Muhbitî 400 akçe	Muhtâr-ı Sıhâh 200 akçe	Şerhü Mu‘ammâ 120 akçe	Risâle-i Cifr 120 akçe	Garîbü'l-Kur’ân kıt‘ası 60 akçe
Meşkûtü'l-Envâr 120 akçe	Def‘a Nâme-i Veysî 120 akçe	Ahkâm-ı Ebû Ma‘şer 240 akçe	Şerhü Şüzûr li-İbn-i Hişâm 120 akçe	Risâle-i Usturlab 120 akçe
Muhtasar-ı Mesâ’il 120 akçe	Siyer-i İbn-i Hişam 500 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Kavâ‘id 300 akçe	Ali Kuşî fi'l-Hey’e 150 akçe	Şerhü Fıkh-ı Ekber 150 akçe
Ali Kuşî 120 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i İnşâ 120 akçe	Esrâr-ı Cifr 240 akçe	Tabsıra fi'l-Hey’e 120 akçe	Minhâcü'l-Fukarâ 480 akçe
Akâ’idü Nesefî 120 akçe	Şem‘î Baharistân 200 akçe	Hidâyetü's-Sâ’il 120 akçe	Hediyyetü'l-Mübtedî 200 akçe	Miftâh 150 akçe
Tâli‘ü Mevlûd 120 akçe	Tercüme-i Gülistân 240 akçe	Kifâye fi'n-Nücûm 150 akçe	Muhtasar Tezkire-i Süveydî 120 akçe	Tefsîrü'l-Asdâk kıt‘ası 600 akçe
Fevâyih-i Miksiye 400 akçe	İbret-nümâ-i Lâmi‘î 120 akçe	İhtiyârât-ı Hukemâ 120 akçe	Hısn-ı Hasîn 150 akçe	Şerhü Ercûze 360 akçe
Miftâhü'l-Hesâb 300 akçe	Şerhü Münferice 150 akçe	Şerhü Kanunçe fi't-Tıb 150 akçe	Mecmû‘a 4 600 akçe	Bahrü'l-Ma‘ârif 120 akçe
Mecmû‘â-i İlâhî 60 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Resâ’il 150 akçe	Suver-i Eflâk 120 akçe	Şerhü Ferâ’iz 300 akçe	Münessât-ı Abdülkerim ma‘a Reml ve Mecmû‘a-i Alabî 5 600 akçe
Tâli‘-i Mevlûd 300 akçe	Şerh-i Tâ’iyye 600 akçe	Reml-i Nâsır-ı Tûsî 400 akçe	Şem‘î ‘ale’l-Gülistân 400 akçe	Târîh-i Hulefâ 150 akçe
Cerrâhnâme 150 akçe	Hindî ‘ale'l-Kâfiye 120 akçe	Tefhîm fi't-Tencîm 300 akçe	Mecmû‘a-i Kânûnnâme 480 akçe	Şerhü Edebi'l-Kazâ 600 akçe
Talebetü't-Talebe 400 akçe	Tercüme-i Vikâye 480 akçe	Tercüme-i Zahîretü'l-Mülûk 300 akçe	Ta‘rîfât-ı Seydi 180 akçe	Muhtârâtü'n-Nevâzil 300 akçe

Ahkâmü Nâtıkî 300 akçe	Sûdî ale'l-Kâfiye 600 akçe	Siyer-i Enbiyâ-i İzâm 150 akçe	Siyer-i Veysî 600 akçe	Fetâvâ-yı ‘Adliye 480 akçe
Şerhü Müsâyere li-İbn-i Hümâm 500 akçe	Zübdetü'l-Kelâm 150 akçe	Tercüme-i Meşârık kıt‘ası 150 akçe	Receb-i Kırımî 150 akçe	Hall-i Rumûz 600 akçe
Gâyetü'l-İntifâ‘ 200 akçe	Hamse-i Hayatîzâde 240 akçe	Aşık Paşa 120 akçe	Dürretü'l-Gavvâs 300 akçe	Muhtasar Mekâsıd fi'l-Hadîs 150 akçe
Şemsü'l-Ma‘ârif-i Suğrâ 200 akçe	Şerhü Fethiyye 300 akçe	İsbât-ı Vâcib Mecmû‘ası 300 akçe	Tıbbü'n-Nebî 300 akçe	Dîvân-ı Hâkânî 240 akçe
Yâdigâr li-İbn-i Şerif 120 akçe	Matlûb 120 akçe	Mecma‘ü'l-Bahreyn 150 akçe	Şerhü Nikâye 120 akçe	Fisûnîzâde fi't-Tıb 300 akçe
Es’ile ve Ecvibe li-İbn-i Şahna 120 akçe	Elfâz-ı Muğarrebât 120 akçe	Hayalî ale'l-‘Akâ’id 300 akçe	Künûzü'l-Hak 300 akçe	Künûzü'l-Hakâ’ik 600 akçe
Fütûhü'l-Gayb 120 akçe	Tertîbü Mültekıt 240 akçe	Şerhü Seyafsal 150 akçe	Evveliyât-ı Suyûtî 120 akçe	Vankoz 120 akçe
Şerh-i Makâlât-ı Erba‘a 460 akçe	Şerhü Halâsiye 480 akçe	İhtihâc ‘alâ Ehli'l-Hicâc 400 akçe	Şerhü Çağmanî 300 akçe	Hâşiye ale'l-Mevâkıf 300 akçe
Menâhiz-i Arif Efendi 300 akçe	Şerhü Kenz kıt‘ası 240 akçe	Telhîs 120 akçe	Şerhü Heyâkil-i Nur 120 akçe	Serâciye El-Bâlî 300 akçe
Şerhü Ferâ’izi’l-Lâbî	Mukaddime-i Gazneviyyü'l-Lâbî 400 akçe	Kânûnçe El-Bâlî 600 akçe	Mecmû‘a el-Lâbî 360 akçe	Edviye-i müferrede mine'l-Kânûn 200 akçe
Mesud-ı Rûmî El-Bâlî 300 akçe	Netîcetü'l-Efkâr El-Bâlî 480 akçe	Tefsîr kıt‘ası 4 1000 akçe	Mülteka'l-Ebhür 1000 akçe	Şerhü Ashâb-ı Bedir 480 akçe
Sûdî kıt‘ası 1 400 akçe	Cedvel-i Sittîni El-Bâlî 600 akçe	Takvîmü'l-Bâlî 600 akçe	Râsim Efendi hattıyla murakka‘ 1000 akçe	Yeşil Sandal derûnunda battâl ahkâm 480 akçe
Takvîm-i Atîk 42 ‘aded 660 akçe	Takvîm El-Bâlî 16 adet 300 akçe			

Yekûn-ı kütüb 128270 akçe

1068, 5 kuruş, 50 akçe

Rub‘ tahta 5 Mu‘addel 2 Ustuc 1 1800 akçe	Samaki dest seng-i havan 1000 akçe	Evrâk-ı perişan kutu derûnunda 1000 akçe	Gül şerbeti rengi sincap nimten kürk 1650 akçe	Taraklı atlas zar 2600 akçe
Gömlek 650 akçe	Köhne çiçekli entari 585 akçe	Çuha çakşır uçkur meset 800 akçe	Köhne sarı çetari kaftan ve entari İstanbul şalisi 1155 akçe	Kaftan ve entari 1160 akçe
Dülbend örtüsü ve bohça 2 aded 330 akçe	Çiçekli top 2 1600 akçe	Kizi top ve barça 1500 akçe	Çit parçası 1400 akçe	Al telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 4000 akçe
Yeşil telli hatâ’î zirâ‘ 3800 akçe	Beyaz telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Mor telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 2500 akçe	Göz telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 2600 akçe	Yeşil telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 2620 akçe
Göz diba 10 zirâ‘ 3609 akçe	Beyaz telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Mavi telli hatâ’î 10 zirâ‘ 1566 akçe	Yeşil hatâ’î10 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Turuncu atlas 5 zirâ‘ 1040 akçe
Fıstıkî atlas 10 zirâ‘ 2022 akçe	Düz yekunu kutni top 900 akçe	Yeşil ve göz çiçekli top 2 1359 akçe	Al ve turuncu çiçekli top 2 1704	Sarı ve fıstıki çiçekli top 2 2000 akçe
Sarı ve sincabi ve penbe çiçekli top 3 2400 akçe	Kutnî top 2 1910 akçe	Kutnî top 2 2100 akçe	Keremsud top 3 1635 akçe	Kutnî 2 top 3400 akçe
Kutnî top 2 2100 akçe	Örenşahi ve alaca top 1 1430 akçe	Şali parça 2 2610 akçe	Şali parça 1 1200 akçe	Keremsud 3 top 2480 akçe
Kutnî 2 top 2060 akçe	Atlas 20 zirâ‘ 4800 akçe	Atlas 16 zirâ‘ 3500 akçe	Atlas 19 zirâ‘ 5050 akçe	Atlas 20 zirâ‘ 3000 akçe
Atlas 20 zirâ‘ 4000 akçe	Hatai 30 zirâ‘ sade 2200 akçe	Sade hatâ’î 30 zirâ‘ 2300 akçe	Sade hatâ’î 30 zira 2400 akçe	Sade hatai 30 zira 2200 akçe
Çiçekli ve parça 1200 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 5150 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 4005 akçe	Telli hatai 2 zirâ‘ 5250 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 4000 akçe
Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3700 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 2150 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 4920 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 5700 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 6000 akçe
Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 5700 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 5100 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 5450 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 4500 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3800 akçe

Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3050 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3200 akçe	Sandık 90 akçe	Telli hataî 16 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1700 akçe
Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 2105 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 2050 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1830 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1830 akçe
Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1760 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1850 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1800 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Sandık 120 akçe
Beyaz kutnî ve şehriye 2 top 2300 akçe	Telli hataî 2 zirâ‘ 3700 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3969 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 9000 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3650 akçe
Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 4000 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3060 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3000 akçe	Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 4000 akçe
Telli hataî 20 zirâ‘ 5010 akçe	Telli hatai 20 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 2050 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3850 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3800 akçe
Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3500 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 5300 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 3800 akçe	Sandık 120 akçe	Atlas 20 zirâ‘ 2100 akçe
Diba 20 zirâ‘ 6800 akçe	Diba 20 zirâ‘ 9000 akçe	Diba 20 zirâ‘ 7800 akçe	Diba 10 zirâ‘ 3700 akçe	Kutnî 4 top 2949 akçe
Kutnî 4 top 3500 akçe	Kutnî 4 top 3500 akçe	Kutnî 3 top 3000 akçe	Elvân gezi 4 top 8000 akçe	Elvân hârî 4 top 4000 akçe Elvân gezi 4 top 5000 akçe
Elvân Çetari 3 top 3600 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1800 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1800 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Çuha 8 zirâ‘ 1800 akçe
Elvân çuha parça 10 aded 9500 akçe	Parça çuha 400 akçe	Sandık 120 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Sade hataî 50 zirâ‘ 3350 akçe
Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3300 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe
Sade hatai 150 zirâ‘ 10200 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe	Sade hatai 5 zirâ‘ 3400 akçe	Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 3000 akçe	Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 6600 akçe
Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe	Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 5000 akçe	Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 4800 akçe	Atlas 40 zirâ‘ 6800 akçe	Kutnî 2 top 1800 akçe
Atlas 30 zirâ‘ 7805 akçe	Midras astar 3 2600 akçe	Sandık 120 akçe	Boyama 15 aded 2600 akçe	Cedîd alaca destar 1 3550 akçe
Yemeni ve sandal bohça hamam gömleği 20 kese ve yemeni 720 akçe	Abadi kağıt 1 deste 240 akçe	Yaldızlı helalî ulemâ rahtı 2650 akçe	Sim suya kuşak 903 akçe	Elvân atlas 40 zirâ‘ 5200 akçe

Elvân atlas 40 zirâ‘ 9000 akçe	Sade hataî 50 zirâ‘ 3250 akçe	Sade hataî 50 zirâ‘ 3150 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 1200 akçe	Taraklı atlas 40 zirâ‘ 3600 akçe
Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 4500 akçe	Yeşil çuha 870 akçe	Yeşil çuha 2000 akçe	Çakşırlık çuha 720 akçe	Elvân Haleb keremsude 3600 akçe
Şali ve çetari ve keremsud 3 top 3000 akçe	Örenşahi parça 620 akçe	Sakız seccâdesi 1800 akçe	Şali parçası 1320 akçe	Gezi ve çetari 2 top 3250 akçe
Cedîd çakmaklı destar 4 5005 akçe	Cedîd destar 5 5300 akçe	Cedîd destar 4 4000 akçe	Cedîd çakmaklı destar 5 7000 akçe	Cedîd destar 2 2000 akçe
Midras destar 1 1200 akçe	Sırmalı duhan kesesi 1050 akçe	Duhan kesesi 400 akçe	Sandal 17 bohça çuha 2 hurdası çarşaf 1 1005 akçe	Peştamal 3 silecek 1 Mısrî fota 1 1610 akçe
Sandık 60 akçe	Şali çakşır 30 1020 akçe	Çuha çakşır 400 akçe	Köhne anğadi çuha bol yenli naka kürk 4060 akçe	Köhne yeşil çuha naka kabur kürk 1675 akçe
Abayi ve şedidli Haşe yol yeleği 4300 akçe	Sâye yağmurluk başlık ve kesesi 3200 akçe	Çuha çakşır 345 akçe	Bohça 30 akçe	Arf ma‘a arto 330 akçe
Kavuk ma‘a arto 204 akçe	Köhne sincab nimten kürk 729 akçe	Orta kavuk ma‘a destar 205 akçe	Cevzî sof ferace 1200 akçe	Kimyoni sof ferace 1270 akçe
Al sof ferace 1002 akçe	Al saye kabut 4050 akçe	Çiçekli entari 500 akçe	Köhne çetari kaftan ve entari 600 akçe	Köhne beyaz sade 210 akçe
Köhne kemer bend ve palanveş şal 630 akçe	Şalı cebe 210 akçe	Basma kuşak ve hırdavat bohça 480 akçe	Sâye başlık 504 akçe	Beşo 1 çift 1100 akçe
Asma sağîr ayar saat 1200 akçe	Sağîr ayar saat 1100 akçe	Bohça makreme 1 120 akçe	Sim akreb saat 960 akçe	Sim akreb saat 1020 akçe
Sim pandol saat 3000 akçe	Sim pandol saat 3800 akçe	Sim pandol saat 6012 akçe	Minakârî altın saat ma‘a minalı altun köstek 14520 akçe	Sim pandol saat 3700 akçe
Sırmalı saat kesesi 205 akçe	Rub‘ üstuci 1900 akçe	Gezi ve kutnî 2 top 2150 akçe	Çetari 2 top 1700 akçe	Çetari 2 top 3750

Çiçekli 1 top 2480 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 6800 akçe	Hataî 20 zirâ‘ 7600 akçe	Beyaz diba ve göz telli Sakız atlas 20 zirâ‘ 10000 akçe	Telle hataî 20 zira 6300 akçe
Elvân atlas 3 30 zirâ‘ 7200 akçe	Elvan atlas 3 30 zirâ‘ 9160	Elvân çuha 16 zirâ‘ 3700 akçe	Yeşil ve sincabi çuha 2 zirâ‘ 8 1809 akçe	Köhne çuha nimten 1500 akçe
Yeşil ve labaska nebş 2 2150 akçe	Köhne şali nebiş ve çakşır ve kaftan 1250 akçe	Sade hataî yeşil atlas parçası 1 3005 akçe	Kutnî 6 parça 1150 akçe	Köhne yarma destar 2 360 akçe
Sandal parça 16 pençere perdesi 3 sandık 805 akçe	Yeşil çuha bol yenli boğaz deliklü kürk 5000 akçe	Yeşil çuha bol yelekli karsak kürk 6100 akçe	Yeşil çuha bol yenli samur parça kürk 19105	Samur paça üst kürk beyaz kaftan 4450 akçe
Köhne samur ve kakım nimten 5400 akçe	Cevzî şali bol yenli sincab kürk 6700 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 1400 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 1400 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 1400 akçe
Kaliçe seccâde 1700 akçe	Orta keçesi 1400 akçe	Köhne ihram 3 1700 akçe	Yedek örtüsü 320 akçe	Telli hataî 3 parça 6006 akçe
Telli hataî 3 parça 10600 akçe	Telli hataî 3 parçe 10040 akçe	Telli hataî 2 parça 6300 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 1400 akçe	Saçaklı 2000 akçe
Mavi çuha yastık ve minder 730 akçe	İhram 560 akçe	Bohça 30 akçe	Kara gaddâre 305 akçe	Tir ve keman kabur 2 1500 akçe
Duhan çubuğu 5 1320 akçe	Geçme çubuk 405 akçe	Kaval tüfenk 1 1700 akçe	Dürbün 60 akçe	Pirinç rikâb 1 çift 420 akçe
Fener 2 kavuk 1 165 akçe	Küçük tepeli ve destar 120 akçe	Çuha seccâde ve hırdavât 480 akçe	Çekmece derûnunda kalem hırdavat takvim 240 akçe	(…) 400 akçe
Kalemtraş 7 850 akçe	Gözlü çekmece 800 akçe	Gılaflık bez top 9 1440 akçe	Beştahta ve hırdavat 300 akçe	Gözlük 2 30 akçe
Tabla 3 ve helali gülebdan ve buhurdan kase ve tabak 560 akçe	Dolab 2 99 akçe	Tesbih 2 60 akçe	Hırdavat duhan tablaları 300 akçe	Duhan tablası 3, küpe 2, kabur kalem sandal bohça 3 600 akçe
Kutular billur kaseler hırdavat 170 akçe	Nevrûziyeler tatlılar kavanoslar ve kase 11 180 akçe	Nevrûziye 3 billur şişe 2 ve 210 akçe	Tabla ve sağîr çekmece ve çay hırdavat 300 akçe	Tahta sandık ve hokka 36 akçe
Kahve 5 kıyye 1200 akçe	Sağîr hataî yastık 3 300 akçe	Ney 4 adet 30 akçe	Mirât 500 akçe	Mizan-ı hevâ 60 akçe
Tabla billur kase ve buhur suyu 120 akçe	Hammaz ve tatlı ve kavanos 6 600 akçe	Sağîr fağfur kase 340 akçe	Fağfur tabak 100 akçe	Billur kase 1 bardak tabla 11 kaşığı 1 330 akçe

Fağfur fincan 13 1200 akçe	Burun tası 1 matara 1 sağîr tencere 630 akçe	Duhan bohça 2 1510 akçe	El değirmeni 60 akçe	Asma çalar saat 4150 akçe
Hırdavat şişeler 1320 akçe	Mirât 260 akçe	Lüleler kutu 96 akçe	Asa 30 akçe	Ecza ve hırdavat şişe 300 akçe
Kebîr ve vasat şişe 2500 akçe	Köhne ihram 480 akçe	Sedefkari sandalye 250 akçe	Köhne çatma yastık 7 mavi çuha makad 3 minder 3 orta keçesi 1 6300 akçe	Duhan çubuğu asa 1 1005 akçe
Yemeni yorğan 5 1800 akçe	Kıbrisî yorğan bâ-çarşaf 725 akçe	Diba ve atlas yorğan 7 9600 akçe	Yemeni yasdık 14 kadife yasdık 2 yemeni makad 3 minder 3 4800 akçe	Musluk 1 güğüm 360 akçe
Güğüm ve leğen ıbrık ve iskemle 600 akçe	Köhne kaliçe seccâde 400 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 605 akçe	Kaliçe seccâde 720 akçe	Köhne ihram 485 akçe
Sağîr asma çalar saat 2600 akçe	Kahve ve şerbet ıbrığı 10 kara güğüm 1 sahan 1 1200 akçe	Tonbak zarf 5 pirinç zarf 2 kahve ıbrığı 1 tepsi 1 120 akçe	Çatma yastık 9 minder 3 2050 akçe	Kapı perdesi 3 120 akçe
Sağîr tepsi 3 tencere tabak 4 tava 1 sağîr kazan leğen ıbrık mankal 1 güğüm 1 taş 2 sahan ma‘â kapak 10 kara vana 1 3000 akçe	Kilerde revgan-ı sâde ve revgan-ı zeyt, hatab kömür pirinç 13200 akçe	Hırdavat menzil 1800 akçe	Mermer taşlar 600 akçe	Sade kadife yastık 1500 akçe
Sade kadife yastık 10 minder keçe 3 3960 akçe	Bakır mangal 120 akçe	Kırat re’Saferinin 8400 akçe	Köhne beledî yastık 11 minder 3 velence kaliçe 3 1120 akçe	Sade hataî parça 2 1200 akçe
Yeşil çuha parça 8 zirâ‘ 1850 akçe	Mavi ve kahve rengi çuha parça 8 zirâ‘ 2000 akçe	Yekun-ı Eşya 853733 akçe	Merhûm-ı mezbûrun nukûdu 690765	Cem‘an yekun-ı kütüb ve eşyâ ve nakid 1672768 akçe Be-hesab-ı kuruş 13939,5 kuruş 28 akçe

Cem‘an yekûn 1682488 akçe

Be-hesab-ı kuruş 14020, 5 kuruş 28 akçe

Minhâ el-ihrâcât

Mehr-i misl-i müsbet li'z-zevceti'l-mezbûre 30000 akçe

Resm-i ‘âdî 42000 akçe

Dellâliye ve eşyâ ve rüsûmât-ı sâ’ire 25299 akçe

Yekûn 97299 akçe

Be-hesâb-ı kuruş 810, 5 kuruş 39 akçe

Sahhu'l-bâkî

1585189 akçe

Be-hesâb-ı kuruş 13209, 5 kuruş

Akçe 49

Hissetü'z-zevce el-mezbûre 396297 akçe

Be-hesâb-ı kuruş 3302 kuruş 57 akçe

Selâse-i erbâ‘ı olup cânib-i mîrî için kabz olunan

1188892 akçe

Be-hesâb-ı kuruş 9907 kuruş 52 akçe

Hurrire bi-ma‘rifet-i men (…)

Nemekahû el-fakîr-i ileyhi azze şânuhû

Mehmed Esad el-kadı‘asker-i Rumeli -guffire lehu-

Bende Mehmed Esad

APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS OF S*HARI'* SCIENCES AND ISLAMIC MYSTICISM IN HALİL EFENDİ'S PERSONAL LIBRARY

Exegesis

Tefsîr-i Hüseyin Vâ'ız-i Kaşifî 1 & 2 Hüseyin Vâ'ız-i Kaşifî (d.1505)

Garîbü'l-Kur'ân kıt'ası, Muhammed bin Uzeys es-Sicistani (d.941) (1576?)

İtkân fî Ulûmi'l-Kur'ân, Celâleddîn Abdurrahmân b. Ebî Bekr es-Suyûtî (d.1505) copied by several authors Süleyman b. Mehmed Adavi (1720), İbrahim b. Muhammed İbn Sarim (1486), Muhammed b. Ali b. Ahmed ed-Davüdi (1529) Ahmed b. Ali b. Ahmed (1549), Berakat b. Alimennay (1561)

Hadith

Muhtasar-ı (Fethu'l) Bâri', Ibn Hacer el-Askalani (d.1471) (1463) commentary on Buharî's *Sahih-i Buharî*

Makâsıd-ı Hasene, Şemseddin es-Sehavî (d.1497)? Nûh b. Mustafa Konavî (1761)?

Câmi'ü'l-Ehâdîs, Birgivi Muhammed b. Pir Ali (d. 1573) ?, Ebu Abdullah Muhammed el Humeydi ?, Ebu Nasr Abdulaziz b. Ahmed el-Barcilagi (d. 1349) ?, Muhtaçeddin Efendi ?

Künûzü'l-Hakâyik, Abdürrauf el Münavî (d.1622)

Biographies of the Prophet Muhammed

Siyer-i İbn-i Hişâm, İbn Hişâm (d. 1360)

Şifâ-i Şerîf, Kadı Iyaz el-Yahsubi ? (d.1149)

Şevâhidü'n-Nübüvve tercümesi kıt'ası, Nureddin Abdurrahman Molla Camî (1492)

Ravzatü'l-Ahbâb, Ataullah b. Fazlullah, (1592), various copies

Siyer-i Enbiyâ-i İzâm (Tarih-i Nişancı Mehmed Paşa), Ramazanzâde Mehmed Çelebi, (d.1571)

Siyerü Veysî (*Dürretü't-tâc*) Veysî Üveys b. Mehmed Alaşehrî, (d.1628)

Islamic dogmatics and theology

Mişkatü'l-Envâr, Ghazali (d.1111)

Hâşiye ale'l-Mevâkıf, a gloss on Adududdin el İci's work (d.1355)

Şerhü Müsâyere li-ibn-i Hümâm, a commentary on İbnü'l Hümâm's *el Müsâyere* (d.1457)

Fevâidü's-Salavât, Süleyman Fazıl Efendi, preacher and muhaddis at Ayasofya Mosque (1694) (d.1721)

Akâyidü Nesefî, Necmeddîn Ebû Hafs Ömer b. Muhammed en-Nesefî, (d. 1142) (1733)

Şerhü Fıkh-ı Ekber, commentary by Ebûl-Müntehâ Ahmed b. Mehmed Magnîsâvî (d.1592) on Ebu Hanife's *Fıkh-ı Ekber*, (d.767)

Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh)

Câmi'ü's-Sağîr, Muhammed bin Hasan eş-Şeybani (d.805)

An anonymous work by Sadrüşşerîa (d.1346)

Şerhü Menâr, commentary of Ayni, Zeynüddin Abdurrahman b. Ebû Bekir (d.1382) on Muhammed en-Nesefî's Menarü'l Envâr (d. 1310) (1292)

İbn-i Melik Ale'l-Menar, İbn Melek, Abdüllatif b. Abdülaziz, (d.1398) commentary on Muhammed en-Nesefî's Menarü'l Envâr,

Mecmua'ü'l-Bahreyn, İbn üs-Sââtî Muzafferuddin el-Bagdâdî, (d.1295) (1347 and various dates of copy)

Islâh İzâh, Şemseddin Ahmed KemalPaşazade's (d.1534) commentary on Tâcüşşerîa's Vikâyetü'r-rivâye,

Mülteka'l-Ebhur, Ibrahim bin Muhammed el Halebî (d.1549) (1632, 1661)

Muhtârâtü'n-Nevâzil, Burhaneddin Merginanî (d.1197) (1643, 1676)

Cevâhirü'l-Fıkh, Tahir b. Muhammed el-Harezmi (1678)

Şerh-ü Ferâiz, es-Seyyid eş-Şerif Ali b. Muhammed Ali el-Cürcanî, (d.1413)

Şerhü Edebi'l-Kadi, commentary on Hüsâmeddîn Ömer b. Abdülazîz el-Buhârî, (d.1141), by Ahmed b. Cündi (1542)

Fetâvâ-yı Ali Efendi, Şeyhülislam Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, (d.1692) (1730)

Behcetü'l-Fetâvî, Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi, (d.1742) (1739)

Lexicons

Ta'rîfât-ı Seydi, Seyyid Şerif el-Cürcani (d.1413)

Kânûn-ı İlâhî, Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid b. Abdüllatif, (1459-60)

Muhtâr-ı Sıhâh, Ebubekir er-Razi, (d.1268), (1552),

Fevâyih-i Miskiye, Abdurrahmân El Bistâmi (d.1454) (1614?)

Terşîhât, Şeyh Nasûhi Çelebî Belgradî, lexicon (d.1578)

Mirkât fi'l-Luğa, Abdüllâh b. Yûsuf b. Muhammed Kestelî (d.1629) (1684?)

Tertîb-ü Zîbâ, Hafız Mahmud el-Vardari, (d.1635) (1680)

Vankulu, Vankulu Muhammed b.Mustafa el-Vânî, (1729)

Ferhengî cildeyn

Miftâh

Grammar

Molla Câmi ale'l-Kafiye, Nureddin Abdurrahman Molla Camî (1492)

Muğni'l-Lebîb, İbn Hişâm (d. 1360) (1766?)

Şerhü Şüzûr li-ibn-i Hişâm, İbn Hişâm (d.1360) (1701)

Şerhü Elfiye fi'n-Nahv, İbn Akîl Abdullâh b. Abdurahmân en-Nahvî (d.1367), (1656)

İzhâr-ı Şerh-i Adalı (*Izharü'l Esrar*), Kuşadalı Mustafa b. Hamza (d.1674?)

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Muhtasar-ı Me'ânî, ?

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Nakdü'n-Nusûs, Ibn Arabi (d.1111) Persian commentary by Abdullah Molla Camî

Nakş-ı Fusûs, Ibn Arabi, Arabic summary of *Fusûsi'l-Hikem* by Abdullah Molla Camî

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Fütûhü'l-Gayb, Seyyid Abdulkadir Geylani (d.1166) (?)

Şerhü Heyakil-i Nur, commentary on Şihâbeddîn Yahyâ b. Habeş es-Suhreverdî (d.1191) by İsmâ'îl Ankaravî

Şerhü Makâlât-ı Erba'a, Commentary on the *Makalat* attributed to Hacı Bektaş Veli (d.1271?)

Fîhi mâ Fih, Mevlânâ Celaleddin Rumi, (d.1273)

Tezkiyetü'n-Nüfûs, Ibn Receb el-Hanbeli (1393)

Şerhü tuhfetü'l-Ahrâr, commentary on Nureddin Abdurrahman Molla Camî's *Heft Evreng* which comprised of seven *mesnevi*s (d.1492)

İbret-Nümâ-i Lâmi'î, Lami Çelebi, Mahmud b. Osman, (d.1531)

Şerhü Kenz kıt'ası, Mollâ Miskîn Muîneddîn Muhammed İbrâhîm el-Ferâhî el-Herevî, (d.1547) (?)

Şem'î Ali el-Gülistân, Şem'i Şemullah, (1596)

Dürretü'l-Gavvâs, Izniki Ali Çelebi b. Hüsrev (d.1610)

Fâtih-i ebyât, İsmâ'îl Ankaravî (d.1631) (1620)

Futûhât-ı Ayniyye, İsmâ'îl Ankaravî (1657)

Minhâcü'l-Fukarâ, İsmâ'îl Ankaravî

Şerh-i Tâiyye, İsmâ'îl Ankaravî

Zübdetü'l-Kelâm, Ahmed Vecdî, (d.1633) (?)

Resâil-i Mısrî, Niyâzî Mısrî Mehmed b. Alî Malâtî, (d.1694)

Tuhfetü't-Tullâb, Mehmed Emin Tokadi (d.1745) (1752)

Silsile-i Halvetiyye, Sünbül Sinân Yûsuf b. Ya'kûb (d.1581) (?)

Tercüme-i Reşehât, Fahreddin Ali Sâfî (1503) (d. 1532)

Silsile-i Halvetiyye, Sünbül Sinân Yûsuf b. Ya'kûb (d.1581) (?)

Kânûn-ı İlâhî, Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid b. Abdüllatif, (1500)

APPENDIX C

CHIEF COURT ASTROLOGER HALİL EFENDİ'S *AHKÂM-I TÂLI'-I SÂL* FOR THE YEAR 1758, (1171 H.)

Topkapi Palace Museum, Library of Baghdad Pavilion, No. 324

[the first folio]

Elhamdü lillâhi'llezî nazzame cevâhire'l-kevâkib fî eslâki'l-eflâk 'alâ ekmeli uslûb ve ebda' nizâm ve sahharahâ bi'l-harekâti'l-muntazama li-yehtedî bihâ ed-dâll fi'l-emkine ve'l-ezmine ilâ bulûği'l-merâm. Ve's-salâtü 'alâ rasûlihi'l-lezî iktisâ es-seb' ve't-tıbâk li-'urûcihî ilâ meliki'l-hallâk. Hallele'l-hark ve'l-iltiyâm ve alâ 'âlihî ve ashâbihî nücûmü'l-hedy ve mesâbîhi'l-lezî salâten dâ'imeten bilâ-ınkızâin velâ-insırâm ve ba'd fazl-ı Rabbânî ve lutf-ı Yezdânî birle târîh-i hicret-i rasûl-i ekrem ve nebiyy-i muhterem sallallâhu aleyhi ve sellem hazretlerinin bin yüz yetmiş birinci senesi Receb-i şerîfinin on birinci sülüsâ gecesi gurûb-ı şemsden bir sâ'at ve on dokuz dakîka murûrunda neyyir-i ekber ya'nî şems-i ziyâ küster burc-ı Haml evvel-i sâniyesine tahvîl edip ertesi sene şenbih günü Nevrûz-ı Sultânî meserret âsâr ve evvel-i fasl-ı bahar olur Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâ hazretleri kâffe-i mü'minîn ve 'âmme-i muvahhidîne mübârek ve meymûn ve hüceste ve hümâyûn eyleye. Husûsen hazret-i pâdişâh-ı felek bârgâh ve şehenşâh-ı seyyâre sipâh Sultân-ı âsaf vezîr Hâkân-ı cemşîd serîr mâlik-i rikâb e'âzımi's-selâtîn nâşirü'l-adl fî aktâri'l-arzeyn ve muğîsü'd-devleti ve'd-dîn zalle hazret-i Rabbü'l-âlemîn Vârisü Saltanat-ı Ahmedî Hâmî-i Şerî'at-ı Muhammedî Râfi'u i'lâmü'ş-şer'i'l-mübîn. Hâfızü süğûrü'l-müslimîn. El-müeyyidü bi'l-inâyâti'r-Rahmâniyye. El-muzafferü el-mansûr bi'l-eltâfi'r-Rabbâniyye. Mevlâ mülûki'l-Arab ve'l-'Acem. Muhyî merâsimü'l-kerem beyne'l-ümem. Hâdimü Harameynü'ş-şerîfeyn. Sultânü'l-berreyn ve'l-bahreyn. Es-sultân ibnü's-sultân ibnü's-sultân Es-Sultân MUSTAFA Han ibnü's-Sultân Ahmed Han ibnü's-sultan Mehmed Han -halledallâhü hilâfetehû ve sultânehû ve eyyede bi'n-nasri cunûdehû ve a'vânihî be-câh-ı nebiyyihi'l-emîn. Âmîn Yâ Mucîbe's-sâilîn.

Ashâb-ı kemâl ve erbâb-ı ‘irfâna iyândır ki ârifân-ı âsâr-ı sevâbit ve seyyâr ve âlimân-ı esrâr-ı felek devvâr teşekkülât-ı evzâ‘-ı nücûmiyye ve tebeddülât-ı ecrâm-ı felekiyyeden bi'z-zan ve't-tahmin lâ bi'l-‘ilmi ve'l-yakîn ihsâs eyledikleri âsâr-ı garîbeyi kable'l-vukû‘ îrâd ve isbât eylemek âdet-i ehl-i tencîm olmakla bende âsân gerdûn-ı iktidâr Reîsü'l-müneccimîn Halil bî-mikdâr çün tâli‘-i sâl-i sa‘âdet ünvân vakt-i tahvîl-i âfitâb cihânda belde-i dârü'l-emân-ı Kostantınıyye-i firdevs nişân ufuk behcet iyânı üzre burûc-ı münkalibeden Mizan Burcu vâki‘ olmuşdur. Alâ tarîki'l-îcâz ve'l-icmâl dört fasl üzre istihrâc ve istidlâl edip tahrîr-i ma-kâl hayr meâl eyler Hazret-i fa‘âl-i lâ-yezâl hayr ve sa‘âdete dâll olanı sıdk ve savâba makrûn ve sehv ve hatâdan masûn eyleye âmîn Yâ Rabbe'l-âlemîn.

Eş-şürû‘ fi'l-ahkâm ve'l-‘ilmü inda'llâhi'l-meliki'l-‘azîzi'l-allâm. Mâşâallahü kâne ve mâ lem yeşe’ lem yekün

Hâl-i Hazret-i padişâh-ı İslâm -edâmallâhü birrâhû ve ihsânehû ale'l-enâm bi'n-nebiyyi ve âlihi'l-kirâm- Elhamdü li'llâhi te‘âlâ tâli‘-i fasl-ı baharda neyyirü'n-nevbe sâhib-i âşir bulunup beyt-i hâdî aşarda beyt-i Şems'de vukû‘u ve sâhib-i tâli‘-i Sa‘d asğar zühre-i zehrâü beyt-i sâbi‘de neyyir-i a‘zama mukârenetde ve sa‘d-ı ekber kendi beytinde kaviyyü'l-hâl ve Cevz her beyt-i âşirde ve sâ’ir enzâr-ı mes‘ûda delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Şehanşâh-ı cihân ve kutb-ı sipihr duran hazretlerinin âfitâb-ı cihân-tâb-ı vücûd-ı pür cûdları sipihr sıhhat ve âfiyetinde tâli‘ ve ahter Sa‘d es-su‘ûd zât-ı pür sûdları burc-ı şeref ve izzetde lâmi‘ ve mühr-i münîr-i şevket ve ‘azametleri evc-i iclâle sâ‘id ve sâye-i devlet ve saltanatları ânen fe-ânen memdûd ve mütezâyid olup vüzerâ-yı âlişân ve huddâm-ı Harem ve Mukarrebân ve ulemâ ve ümerâ ve ehl-i Dîvân ve ashâb-ı ‘ilm ve kalem ve ‘irfan. mazhar-ı ‘inâyet ve iltifât ve manzûr-ı nazar-ı ihsân ve mekremet olmalarına ve himmet-i bülend nehmet-i ercümendi ta‘mîr-i kılâ‘ ve bilâd ve sedd-i suğûr ve muhâfazat-ı sevâd ve def‘ ve ref‘-i hâinân ve ehl-i inâd ve icrâ-yı adl ü dâd savbına masrûf olup vüzerâ ve ümerâdan sâhib-i temkîn ve ehl-i re’y-i rezîn olanlardan ba‘zıların terfî‘-i rütbe ve menzelet ve nakliye-i câh ve hükûmet eyleye irsâl buyurmalarına ve ahvâl-i re‘âyâ ve berâyâya kemâl-i hürmet ve ‘Adl ü dâd eyleye nâzır olmalarına ve irsâl-i donanma-yı hümâyûn-ı zafer girdâr ve takviyet-i ‘asâkir-i nusret şi‘âr ve zümre-i ashâb-ı silâh ve asâkir-i mazhar-i inâyet ve mekârim ve meâsirleri olmalarına ve ba‘zı etrâf mülûk-ı itâ‘at sülûk tahsîl-i emn ü râhat ve def‘-i nizâ‘ ve husûmet için Âsitâne-i sa‘âdet âsâra nâmdâr elçiler ve envâ‘-ı tuhaf ve hediyyeler ve bergüzârlar irsâl kılmalarına fasl-ı sayfda neyyir-i asğar neyyirü'n-nevbe bulunup beyt-i

tâli‘de sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvele mücâsid ve sehmü'l-harbi's-sânî beyt-i ‘âşirde ve sahîb-i beyt-i ‘âşir beyt-i sâminde Sehmü'l-galebeye mücâsid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Şehriyâr-ı ma‘delet kâr ve Sultân-ı mekremet şi‘âr hazretlerinin sitâre-i devlet ve ‘azametleri vasatü's-semâ-i sa‘âdetde drahşân olmağın mebânî-i saltanata istihkâm ve umûr-ı memlekete intizâm ve cumhûr-ı râ‘iyyete ictimâ‘ ve iltiyâm için envâ‘ tedâbîr-i sâibeleri zâhir olup hânedân-ı kadîm ulularına husûsen tatar-ı sabâ reftârdan

[The second folio]

Umûr dîdelerine ve ümerâ-i kibârın kâr-âmuzdelerine ri‘âyet ve merhamet ve inâyetler olunup âlî mertebeler ile mesrûr kılmalarına ve memâlik-i ma‘mûrenin zabt ve muhâfazatı ve re‘âyâ ve berâyânın himâyet ve hirâseti ve ba‘zı yerlerde hasârete cesâret üzre olan eşkiyânın def‘-i mazarratı için vükelâ ve müdebbirînden emekdâr ve kâr-güzâr olanların ta‘yîn ve irsâl buyurmalarına ve tedbîr-i devletde kusûr üzre olanları zecr ve ukûbetine fermân-ı kazâ ceryânları sâdır olup ba‘zı hâinân-ı devletin harman-ı vücûdları muhterik ve sûzân olmasına ve ahyânen tebdîl-i havâ ve seyr-i gülzâr ve tecesssüs-i ahvâl-i ra‘iyyet ve diyâr için havass ve mukarrebân ile makarr-ı saltanatlarında nakl ve hareket buyurmalarına fasl-ı harîfde neyyirü'n-nevbe şems bulunup beyt-i sânî aşarda sad‘-ı ekbere bi'l-mevedde nâzır ve sâhib-i ‘âşir beyt-i tâsi‘den sa‘d-ı ekbere mukâbil ve sâhib-i tâli‘-i sa‘d-ı asğar bulunup beyt-i hâdî ‘aşarda sehmü'l-fellâha mücâsid ve sâir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Padişâh-ı hurşîd livâ ve şehriyâr-ı iklîm küşâ hazretlerinin eşu‘a-i âfitâb-ı devlet ve iclâlleri yevmen fe-yevmen ziyâ nümâ ve talî‘a-i baht ve ikbâlleri piş ve pes mevkib-i âmâllerinde hüveydâ ve envâr-ı mâhitâb-ı merhamet ve şefkatleri ile âmme-i cihâniyânın dîde-i nâ-bînaları ruşenâ olup serdâr ve serasker ve ümerâ ve ashâb-ı sefer ve nefer envâ‘-ı nevâzeş ve istimâlet ve mertebelerine münâsib in‘âm ve ihsân ve merhametlerinden mesrûr ve mahbûr olmalarına ve ba‘zı memalik ve bilâdda hasârete cesâretleri zuhûr eden a‘dâ ve ezdâd ve eşkıyâ ve ehl-i fesâdın def‘ ve ref‘ine fermân-ı kazâ ceryânları sudûruyla vükelâ ve hukkâm ve ümerâ-i kirâma tenbîh ve te’kîdler ve tevbîh ve tehdîdler buyurup hilâf-ı fermân-ı şehriyârî hareket eden ashâb-ı câh ve rütbenin azl ve ‘ukûbetine el-‘ilmu ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ fasl-ı şitâda neyyir-i a‘zam beyt-i hâmisde sa‘d ekbere mukârin ve Sehmü'l-galebeye mücâsid ve neyyir-i asğar tâli‘de sâhib-i ‘âşire bi'l-mevedde nâzır bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Sultân-ı süreyya mekân hazretlerinin fürû bahâları mâh-ı münîr âsâ

medâric-i a‘lâya irtikâda ve kevkeb-i baht ve ikbâlleri sâ‘at be-sâ‘at âfitâb misâl isti‘lâda olmağın eşu‘a-i envâr-ı adl ve re’fetlerinden umûr-ı ümmet-i münevver ve ulemâ ve sulehâ ve mukarribân-ı behcet eser-i esnâf eltâf-ı mülûkâneleri ile muvakkar ve envâ‘-ı ihsân ve in‘âm-ı şâhânelerine mazhar olmalarına ve ba‘zı a‘dâ ve ezdâdın hareket ve cesâreti ihtimâlinden himmet-i bülend töhmetleri dâimâ ta‘mîr-ı kılâ‘ ve bilâd ve sedd-i suğûr ve muhâfaza-i sevâd ve icrâ-yı adl ü dâd ve terfîye-i ‘ibâd savbına teveccüh üzre olup ahvâl-i re‘âyâ ve berâyâya kemâl-i merhamet ve adl u dâd ile nâzır olmalarına El-‘ilmü inda'llâhi'l-meliki'l-azîzi'l-allâm

Hâl-i Vezîr a‘zam ‘azîmü'ş-şân ve sipehdârân-ı nusret ‘ünvân ve sâ’ir vüzerâ ve müdebbirân a‘la'llâhü te‘âlâ iktidârihim ilâ yevmi'l-mîzân

Tâli‘i fasl-ı baharda sâhib-i beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar burc-ı şerefinde ve sa‘d-ı asğara hadd-i mukârenetde ve beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar neyyirü'n-nevbe ile ârâste ve Müşterî sâ‘adet eser kendi beytinde kaviyyü'l-hâl ve sâhib-i ‘âşirin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve sâ’ir edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Vekîl-i muhtâr ve müşîr-i büzürkvâr hazretlerinin inân-ı irâdet ve ihtiyârları icrâ-yı evâmir-i ‘aliyye-i Sultânîye ma‘tûf ve zimâm-ı itâ‘at ve ınkıyâdları tedbîr-i mühimmât ve müşkilât-ı Devlet-i pâdişâhîye masrûf olmağın mezîd-i takarrub ve ihtisâslarından envâr-ı suver sa‘âdât âyîne-i murâdâtlarında nümâyân ola. Ve tedbîr-i feth ve zafer ve hirâset-i ra‘iyyet ve kişver ile kemâl-i takayyüdlerine ve serdar-ı nusret mu‘tâdın techîz-i ecnâd ve ta‘cîz-i ehl-i bağy ve ‘inâd ve teshîr-i kılâ‘ ve bilâd husûsunda sarf-ı kudretleri zâhir ola. Ve vükelâ-yı devletden ba‘zıları berren ve bahren muhâfazat-ı memleket ve ebrâr ve tahlîs-ı kılâ‘ ve diyâr için nakl ve hareketlerine ve ashâb-ı sadr ve kadrden ba‘zı kâr-güzâr ve emekdârlara taraf-ı şehriyâr-ı cihândârîden iltifât ve i‘tibâr olunup def‘-i mazarrat-ı ehl-i fesâd ve eşrâr ve ref‘-i zulm ve bid‘at-i ra‘iyyet ve ebrâr için istihdâm olunmalarına fasl-ı sayfda sâhib-i beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar beyt-i sâminde Sehmü'l-galebeye mücâsid ve neyyirü'n-nevbenin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve sâhib-i Sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvel bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem.Vezîr-i a‘zam-ı âsaf nazîrin kevkeb-i ‘izz ve iclâlleri burc-ı şeref ve kemâl-i ri‘fatde nümâyân olmağın eltâf ve istimâlet-i şehenşâhî ile irtifâ‘-ı kadr ve ikbâllerine ve sâ’ir vüzerâ-yı devlet ve müdebbirîn-i saltanat tedbîr-i def‘-i mazarrat ve tevfîr-i mühimmât feth ve nusret ve tahsîl-i esbâb-ı gâlibiyet ve sefer ve hareketden hâlî olmayıp ikdâm ve ihtimâmları zuhûruyla lâyık-ı âtıfet ve merhamet-i halîfe-i zamân olmalarına ve ahyânen mahfî müşâvere ve nihânî mükâleme ve a‘mâl-i

mestûre ve efʿâl-i maʿkûle sebebiyle baʿzıları muhassılü'l-merâm olmalarına fasl-ı harîfde saʿd-ı asğar beyt-i hâdî ʿaşarda Sehmü'l-fellâh ve Sehmü'l-ʿuluvve mücâsid ve sâhib-i beyt-i hâdî ʿaşar sâhib-i ʿâşirin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve Müşterî kaviyyü'l-hâl bulunmuşdur. Ve Sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvel ve sânî ve Sehmü'z-zafer sâhib-i beyt-i yâzdehde vukûʿve ihtirâk-ı Utarid ve sâʾir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü teʿâlâ aʿlem. Vezîr-i fıtnat şiʿâr hazretlerinin eyyâm-ı meymenet âsârları muhâfazat-ı mülk ve devlet ve muhârasat-i namus-ı saltana masrûf olup pâdişâh-ı bende perver kıbelinden nâil-i lutf ve ihsân olmalarına ve sâir vüzerâ-yı meymenet âsâr

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Taraf-ı şehriyâr-ı cihândan eltâf ve inayât ve istimâlet ve teşrîfât müşâhedesiyle mesrûrü'l-bâl olmalarına ve baʿzı aʿyân ve meşâhîrde illet ve mezellet ve âfet ve mevt ve miyânlarında husûmet ve töhmet vukûʿuna ve fesâd hâl ve tamʿ-ı mâl ve tedbîr-i umûrda âciz ve bî-mecâl olanların hâlleri azl ve melâl ve ʿukûbet ve zevâllerine ve tedbîr ve feth ve nusret ve hirâset-i mülk ve millet husûsunda sarf-ı kudretleri zuhûruyla vüzerâdan baʿzıları mazhar-ı merhamet-i şehânşâh-ı cihân olmalarına el-ilmu inda'llâhi teʿâla fasl-ı şitâda Cevv-i zehr ve Sehmü'l-melik ve's-sultân beyt-i hâdî ʿaşarda ve sâhib-i beyt-i hâdî ʿaşar tâliʿde ve Müşterî beyt-i hâmisde zaʿîfü'l-hâl bulunmuşdur. Delâlet eder Allâhü teʿâlâ aʿlem. Vezîr-i azîmü'ş-şân hazretlerinin evkât-ı ferhunde sâʿâtleri intizâm-ı ahvâl-i hâs ve âm ve aʿdâ-i dîn ve devletden ahz ü intikâm semtine masrûf olmakla iltifât ve inâyât-ı hüsrevânîden mesrûr ve şâdân olmalarına lâkin vüzerâ-yı emsâr ve müdebbirân-ı reʿâyâ ve ebrârdan baʿzılar tebeddül ve tağayyür misillü ahvâlden müteʾezzî olup baʿzı umûrun terâcüʿ ve taʿvîkinden hayret ve infiʿâllerine ve ʿadâlet ve kiyâset ile meşhûr olanların irtifâʿ-ı câh ve rifʿatlerine

Hâl-i saʿâdet meʾâl-i hazret-i Şeyhü'l-islâm ve sâir ʿulemâ-i izâm ve mevâlî ve müderrisîn-i kirâm aʿlallâhü kadruhum ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâm

Fasl-ı baharda sâhib-i sâlis saʿd-i ekber Müşterî saʿâdet eser kendi beytinde kaviyyü'l-hâl ve neyyirü'n-nevbenin ve sâhib-i ʿâşirin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve sâir şevâhid ve edille delâlet eder Allâhü teʿâlâ aʿlem. Mültecâ-yı efâdıl ve aʿlâmın eyyâm-ı hayr meâlleri mesâil-i ğâmıza-i şerʿ-i metîni tahkîk ve tefhîm ve cumhûr-ı enâmın umûrların tetkîk ve tanzîminde kemâl-i dikkat ve ictihâdları zâhir ve bâhir olmağın nazar-ı âtıfet-i şehriyârî ile izdiyâd-ı kadr ve vakarlarına ve ʿulemâdan baʿzıları iştihâr-ı fazl-ı bî-şümâr ve istizhâr-ı maʿârif bisyârları sebebiyle nazar-ı âtıfet-i cihândârîde mezîd-i

‘izz ve iclâl ile ser-efrâz ve mümtâzü'l-akrân ve'l-emsâl olmalarına ve ba‘zılarında elem ve keder ve ilel-i müzmine ve vec‘-i mefâsıl ve takrîs ve âfet ve mevt ve hak ve adl üzre silsile ve tebeddülâtdan erbâb-ı isti‘dâdın ferah ve meserretlerine fasl-ı sayfda sâhib-i beyt-i tâsi‘ kendi beytinde kaviyyü'l-hâl ve sâhib-i beyt-i sâlise mukâbeleten nâzır ve sâhib-i beyt-i sâlis râci‘ bulunmuşdur. Delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Merci‘-i ashâb-ı istihkâk mecma‘-ı mekârîm-i ahlâk hazretlerinin zât-ı sutûde sıfâtları vikâye-i Rabbâniyye'de mahmî olup esnâf nevazeş ve iltifat-ı padişâhî ile tezâ‘üf ve iftihâr ve tezâyüd-i ‘izz ve iktidârlarına mu‘âvenet-i vüzerâ ve şefâ‘at-i mukarribân ve a‘yân ile ba‘zı mevâlî ve hukkâm-ı câh ve i‘tibâr ile zîşân olmalarına ve a‘yân ve erkân-ı devlet ile miyânelerinde ülfet ve meveddet ve dîn ve devlete lâyık müşâvere ve muhâsahebet ve umûrlarında imdâd ve i‘ânet sebebiyle rif‘at ve sa‘âdetlerine ve ba‘zısında tahayyür ve infi‘âl ve emrâz ve eskâm ve melâl misillü hâlet zuhûruna fasl-ı harîfde sâhib-i beyt-i tâsi‘ neyyirü'n-nevbeye mukârin ve sâhib-i beyt-i sâlis sâhib-i ‘âşire mukâbeleten nâzır bulunmuşdur. Delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Melce-i ashâb-ı fazl ve kemâl hazretlerinin necm-i iktidâr ve i‘tibârları inâyât-ı bî-gâyât-ı şehriyâr-ı âlî tebârdan burc-ı sa‘adet ve iftihârda seyyâr olmağın evkât-ı sa‘âdet me’âlleri ihyâ-yı sünnet-i şer‘-i Muhammedî ve nizâm ve intizâm-ı pâdişâhîye masrûf olup ri‘âyet-i hâtır-ı ehl-i fazl ve ma‘rifet ve te’dîb-i ashâb-ı cehl ve sefâhet ve terbiyet-i erbâb-ı isti‘dâd ve kâbiliyet ve terhîb-i ehl-i şerr ve cesâret ile kemâl-i takayyüd ve ihtimâmlarına fasl-ı şitâda sâhib-i beyt-i tâsi‘ sa‘d-ı asğar beyt-i râbi‘de ve sâhib-i beyt-i sâlis şerefine müteveccih ve Müşterî beyt-i hâmisde ve sâ’ir edille-i mes‘ûde delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Müşkil keşâ-yı sığâr ve kibâr hurşîd-i nazar Müşterî âsâr hazretlerinin zât-ı sütûde sıfâtları me’men-i hıfz-ı ilâhîde selîm ani'l-âfâk olup sitâre-i baht celâlet eserleri evc-i i‘tibâr ve zirve-i iftihârda cilveger olmakla mezîd-i avâtıf-ı pâdişâhî ile tezâ‘üf-i ‘izz ve ikbâllerine ve vüzerâ-yı izâm ve müdebbirîn-i sa‘âdet irtisâm ile te’lîf-i mecmû‘a-i ülfet ve muhabbet ve himâyet-i harîm-i dîn ve devlet ve ahvâl-i erbâb-ı tarîki temşiyet hususunda envâ‘-ı tedâbîr-i sâibeleri zuhûruna ve sâ’ir ulemâ-i kirâm icrâ-yı ahkâm ve temhîd-i nizâm ve intizâm ve ıslâh-ı ahvâl-i enâm ve ibâd ile iştigâllerine el-‘ilmü indallahi te‘âlâ.

Ahvâl-i ümerâ-i kirâm cür’et irtisâm ve sipâh ve silâhdârân-ı zafer encâm -e‘ânehümü'llâhü'l-azîzi'l-allâm-

Tâli‘-i fasl-ı baharda kevkeb-i Merih beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar bulunup beyt-i âşirde ma‘a'r-res ve beyne's-sa‘deyn vukû‘u ve âfitâbın bi'l-mevedde nazarında bulunması delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Mîr-mîrân ve ümerâ-yı nâmdâr ve sipâh ve âsâkir-i zafer şi‘âr muhâfazat-ı memâlik ve emsâr ve sıyânet-i ra‘iyyet ve sedd-i suğûr ve eşrâr ve nehb ü gâret-i memâlik-i a‘dâ ve def‘-i mazarrat-ı eşkiyâ için yerlerinden hareket ve ittifâk ve cem‘iyyet ve ‘acele ve sür‘at ile fermân olunan mahallere ‘azîmet edip harb u darb ve cenk ü cidâlden hâlî olmadıklarından şehriyâr-ı

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Bende perver ve şehenşâh-ı dâd küster hazretleri kıbelinden envâ‘-ı nevâzeş ve ikrâma mazhar olup necm-i iktidârları burc-ı şeref ve ikbâlde dâir ve sâir olmalarına ve bu zümreden pest pâye ve ba‘zı ma‘zûl vufûd mâyeler nazar-ı merhamet kibâr ile akrânından ser-efraz ve uluvv-i rütbe ve menzelet ile emsâlinden mümtâz olmalarına fasl-ı sayfda Merih beyt-i sâminde Sehmü'l-galebeye mücâsid ve sâhib-i Sehmü'l-harbü's-sânî bulunup Zuhal'e hadd-i mukâbeleden nâzır ve Zuhal dahi sâhib-i Sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvel ve râci‘ ve za‘îf bulunmuşdur delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ümerâ ve ehl-i silâh ve müstahfızân-ı kılâ‘ ve bilâd iltifât ve ihsân-ı hüsrevânîden mesrûr ve dilşâd olup kesâm-i sadâkat ve dikkat ve inkıyâd ve istikâmet ile bezl-i makdûr kılmalarına ve merihiyândan ba‘zı erâzil ve eşrârın Şam ve Endülüs ve Kûfe ve Musul semtlerinde fısk ü fücûrları âşikâr ve fitne ve fesâdları iştihâr bulmakla âkıbet mazhar-ı ukûbet olmalarına ve rü’esâ-i askerden ba‘zı cesûr ve ashâb-ı şerr ve şûrun ta‘addî ve tecâvüzleri zuhûr edip mazhar-ı kahr-ı şehriyâr olmalarına fasl-ı harîfde Merih beyt-i tâli‘de kendi beyninde Sehmü'r-ra‘iyyeye mücâsid ve sa‘d-ı asğarın bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar sa‘d-ı asğar ile mes‘ûd bulunmuşdur delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Guzât ve mücâhidînin kemâl-i kuvvet ve rif‘atlerine ve iltifât ve inâyât-ı şehriyârî ile ziyâde mesrûr olmalarına ve ümerâdan ba‘zılara i‘zâz ve ikrâm olunup bâlâ ter mansıblara ve refî‘ derecelere sâ‘id olmalarına ve ba‘zı mevâzi‘-i murûr ve ubûr ve serhad ve süğûrda erbâb-ı esfâr ve tüccâra tecâvüz ve hasâret ve nehb ü gârete cesâretleri meşhûr olan ashâb-ı fitne ve şer ve şûrun def‘i için câ be-câ irsâl kılınmalarına fasl-ı şitâda Merih burc-ı şerefinde ve beyt-i hâmisde sâhib-i ‘âşire mukârin ve beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar re’s ile ve Sehmü'l-melik ile âraste delîldir. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ümerâ-i kirâm ve asâkir-i zafer encâm ve müstahfızân-ı kılâ‘ ve bilâd iltifât ve ihsân-ı şehriyâr-ı bende perver ve vüzerâ ve erkân-ı bülend ahter

hazretleri tarafından mazhar-ı envâ‘-ı mekremet ve âtıfet olmalarına ve hukkâm-ı emsâr ve zâbitân-ı cuyûşdan ba‘zıların azl ve nasb ve tebeddülâtından hayret ve infi‘âllerine

Ahvâl-i Defterdârân ve ehl-i Dîvân ve Erbâb-ı Aklâm ve Muhassılân ve Ashâb-ı Ma‘rifet ve ‘İrfân

Tâli‘-i fasl-ı baharda Utarid za‘îfü'l-hâl lâkin sâhib-i hâdî ‘aşara mukârin ve beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar neyyirü'n-nevbe ile âraste bulunmuşdur delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Bu tâife-i ‘illiyyenin evâil-i faslda hâlleri tahsîl-i emvâl-i emîriyyede bezl-i himmet ve kudret ve sarf-ı cühd ve dikkatleri ile şöhret-i tâm verenler nazar-ı merhamet-i şehriyârî ile vâsıl-ı matlûb ve merâm olmalarına ve ba‘zılarında tereddüd ve fütûr ve ‘acz ve kusûrdan hâlî olmayıp tebeddülât ve tağayyürat misillü ahvâlden mustarib olmalarına fasl-ı sayfda Utarid kendi beytinde kaviyyü'l-hâl ve sâhib-i hâdî ‘aşar neyyirü'n-nevbenin bi'l-mevedde nazarında vukû‘u delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Vükelâ ve umedâya ilticâ ve istinâd ve umûr-ı devlete müte‘allik müşâvere ve ictihâdları ile makbûl-i enâm ve tahsîl-i rütbe ve makâm kılmalarına ve etıbbâ-yı mesîha dem teşhîs-i emrâz ve a‘râz ve ilâc-ı sakm ve elem etmekde izhâr-ı mahâret edip şâyeste-i kerem ve sezâvâr-ı ni‘am olmalarına ve ahkâm-ı müneccimîn isâbete karîn olup mazhar-ı inâyet ve merhamet olunmalarına fasl-ı harîfde Utarid râci‘ ve muhterik lâkin beyt-i hâdî ‘aşr sa‘d-ı asğar ile mes‘ûd bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı ehl-i Dîvân ve erbâb-ı aklâm tekmîl-i a‘mâl ve tahsîl-i emvâlde sû-i tedbîr ve ihmâl sebebiyle mütekedderü'l-ahvâl olmalarına ve ba‘zı mutasarrıfân ve muhassılân-ı emvâl mutâlebe ve istirdâd-ı re‘âyâ sebebiyle münkesirü'l-bâl olmalarına lâkin ba‘zıları mu‘âvenet-i vüzerâ ve muzâheret-i a‘yân ve erkân sebebiyle intizâm bulup tahsîl-i emvâl-i devlet ve tekmîl-i a‘mâl-i saltanatda kemâl-i takayyüd ve ihtimâmlarıyla mazhar-ı iltifât-ı şehriyâr olmağın medâric-i ulyâya su‘ûd ve ‘izzet ve rif‘atlerine fasl-ı şitâda Utarid beyt-i hâmisde neyyirü'n-nevbenin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve Merih'e mukârin ve ma‘a Zenb ve beyt-i hâdî aşar re’s ve Sehmü'l-melik ve's-sultân ile mes‘ûd bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Bu zümre-i celîlü'l-kadrin hesâb ve kitâbları bâ-savâb ve re’y ve tedbîrleri müstetâb olup tahsîl-i emvâl-i devlet ve tekmîl-i a‘mâl-i saltanatda sa‘y-i belîğ ve himmetleri makbûl-ı taraf-ı devlet olmakla ba‘zıları mazhar-ı ihsân ve inâyet-i sultân olmalarına ve ba‘zıları adâvet-i umerâ ve ehl-i silâh ve hukkâm sebebiyle mağzûb ve makhûr ve bed-nâmlarına

Ahvâl-i Mahremân-ı Harem-i Sultân Cihân ve Mukarribân-ı Muhteremân-ı zîşân - e‘azzehumü'llâhü te‘âlâ ilâ yevmi'l-haşr ve'l-mîzan-

Tâli‘-i fasl-ı baharda Zühre-i zehrâ beyt-i sâbi‘de taht-ı şu‘â‘ âfitâb ve neyyiri'n-nevbenin bi'l-mevedde nazarında vukû‘u delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Kurb ve civar-ı şehriyâr-ı bende perverde dâimâ mesrûr ve handân olup ‘izzet ve ihtirâmla mu‘azzez ve mükerrem olmaklarına ve evzâ‘ ve ef‘alleri makbûl-ı sultân-ı cihân olanların husûl-i mâl ve âmâlleri ile ‘izzet ve ikbâllerine ve vifâk ve ittihâd ve ittifâkları sebebiyle irtifâ‘-ı makâm ve tezâyüd-i ihtirâmlarına ve ba‘zılarda ‘illet-i mîzâc ve san‘at ve fütûr ve me‘mur oldukları işlerde acz ve tekâsül ve kusûrlarıyla âmâllerinden

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Dûr ve mehcûrlarına fasl-ı sayfda Zühre kendi beytinde neyyirü'n-nevbenin bi'l-mevedde nazarında ve Zuhal râci‘ bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Kevkeb-i devlet ve sa‘âdet ve şeref menzeletleri iclâlde dâ’ir ve sâ’ir olup sıhhat ve surûr ve râhat ve huzûr ile kemâl-i insibâtlarına ve ba‘zılarında acz ve tereddüd ve kusûr ve ba‘zıları iffet-i hâl ve i‘ânet-i emsâl ile miyânlarından biri sâhib-i menzelet ve ikbâl ve takarrub-i şehriyârî ile mahsûdü'l-emsal olmasına fasl-ı harifde Zühre beyt-i hâdî ‘aşarda hâbit ve Sehmü'l-fellâha mücâsid ve Zuhal'e mukâbil bulunmuştur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Mukarribân ve havâs mezîd-i takarrub ve ihtisâslarından merci‘-i âm ve hâs olmalarına ve ba‘zıları ‘ilel ve eskâm ve gamz-ı gaddâr ve avârız-ı rüzgâr sebebiyle nazar-ı şehriyârîden dûr ve mehcûr olmalarına ve ba‘zıları tahsîl-i mizac ve tebdîl-i havâ için ahyânen nakl ve hareketlerine ve ba‘zıları emrâz-ı bâride ve ‘ilel-i müzmineden mustaribü'l-hâl olup hayrât ve hasenât ve sadâkat ile takayyüdlerine fasl-ı şitâda Zühre-i Zehrâ ve Zuhal beyt-i sa‘d ekberde vukû‘ları ve beyt-i hâdî ‘aşar re’s ile mes‘ûd bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Bu tâife-i âlîşânın sâye-i âtıfet-i şehriyârîde her biri sa‘âdet ve ikbal birle hemvâre hoş-hâl ve mesrûrü'l-bâl olup ba‘zıları mezîd iltifât-ı pâdişâhî ile izdiyâd-ı ‘izzet ve devlet ve irtifâ‘-ı kadr ve menzeletlerine ve ba‘zı ağayân ve Hâce-i sarayân kemâl-i eltâf ve inâyet-i şehenşâh-ı zamân ile mümtâzü'l-akrân olup izdiyâd-ı sa‘âdet ve irtifâ‘-ı kadr u şân olmalarına

Ahvâl-i Avâm Nâs ve Ra‘iyyet ve Ehl-i Sûk ve Ticaret ve Müsâfirîn ve Ashâb-ı Sanâ‘at ve Emrâz ve Sıhhat

Fasl-ı rabî‘de sâhib-i tâli‘ beyt-i sâbi‘de râci‘ ve kamer beyt-i hâdî ‘aşarda Sehmü'r-ra‘iyyeye mücâsid ve sâ’ir karâin ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı avâm-ı nâs ve ehl-i bâzâr ve ashâb-ı ticâret ve erbâb-ı esfârda sefer ve ticâret ve nef‘ ve nakl ve hareket kesîr olup ba‘zıları ıstırârî tağrîb-i evtân kılmalarına ve ba‘zıları hayrât ve hasenât ve ulemâ ve şer‘a itâ‘at ve zîb ve zînet ve sûr ve cem‘iyyet ve nihânî-i işret ve sohbet kılmalarına ve ba‘zı erbâb-ı bizâ‘at ve ticâretin mâl ve metâ‘larına kuttâ‘-ı tarîkden mazarrat ve hasâret erişmesine ve ‘ilel-i safraviyye ve hummiyât misillü emrâzın şuyû‘una fasl-ı sayfda sâhib-i tâli‘ râci‘ ve Merih'e mukâbil ve Kamer beyt-i tâli‘de Sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvele mücâsid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Avâmm-ı nâs ve re‘âyânın şiddet ve şirret ve hukkâm ve kuzâta muhâlefetlerine ve tengi ma‘işet ve tekâlîf ve bid‘atden ra‘iyyetin perîşânlıklarına ve istîlâ-i zaleme ve askerîden re‘âyânın hâlleri diğer gûn olup musâdere-i mâl ve evlâd ve iyâl için ba‘zıları münkesirü'l-bâl olmalarına ve ba‘zıları nazar-ı havâss ve himâye-i kibâr ve müsâ‘ade-i rüzgar ile müreffehü'l-hâl ve mukteziyyü'l-âmâl olmalarına ve ba‘zıları emrâz-ı bâride ve yâbise ve ‘ilel-i müzmine ve nakrîs ve vec‘-i mefâsîl misillü ‘ilelden ıstırâblarına fasl-ı harîfde Sâhib-i tâli‘ beyt-i hâdî ‘aşarda hâbiten Sehmü'l-fellâha mücâsid ve kurbiyyet-i tâsi‘den kendi beytine müteveccih ve Merih tâli‘de ve sâ’ir enzâr-ı sa‘îde delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ashâb-ı cibâl ve sahrâ ve erbâb-ı bâzâr ve ehl-i kurâda havf ve haşyet ve kesret-i tekâlîf ve kıllet-i ma‘îşet ve müsâmaha ve tekâsül-i mustahfızândan ta‘addî-i erbâb-ı hasâret ve zulm ve gadr-ı ashâb-ı silâh ve dalâletden ıstırâb ve dacretlerine ve ashâb-ı sebîleden ba‘zıları kuttâ‘ü't-tarîk ve sârıkdan hasâretlerine ve ba‘zı halâyıkda nezle ve su‘âl ve zükkâm ve emrâz-ı muhtelifenin şuyû‘una ve ba‘zı zenân ve emrâdında ‘illet ve sukût-ı ecinne ve ba‘zılarının irtihâllerine fasl-ı şitâda sâhib-i tâli‘ beyt-i hâmisde Merih'e mukârin ve ma‘a Zenb ve Kamer beyt-i tâli‘de Sehmü's-sultâna mücâsid ve sâ’ir karâin ve şevâhid delâlet eder Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı re‘âyâ ve ashâb-ı kurâ taraf-ı şehriyâr ve vüzerâ ve umerâ ve küberâdan manzûr-ı nazar merhamet ve mazhar-ı ihsân ve mekremet olmalarına ve ba‘zılar miyânında münâza‘a ve husûmet ve ‘asker ve eşkiyâdan mâl ve menâllerine mazarrat ve tezvîr ve şirret ve tekebbür ve nahvet ve ref‘-i ruk‘a ve şikâyet ve fısk şenâ‘at ve fesâd ve dalâlet ve ashâb-ı silâh ve ehl-i şerr ve şekâvete mütâba‘at ve nâ-hemvâr vaz‘ ve hareketlerine ve ba‘zıları bülend ve mürtefi‘ mahallerden sukûtlarına ve ilel-i sevdâviyye ve zükâm ve su‘âl ve nezle ve hanak misillü emrâzın vukû‘una

Ahvâl-i Harâret ve Burûdet-i Hevâ ve ‘Alâmât-ı Cevv-i Semâ ve Mezrû‘ât ve Mahsûlât-ı Re‘âyâ ve Berâyâ ve Erzânî ve Rehâ

Cüz-i ictimâ‘ mukaddem burûc-ı Âbî'den ve tâli‘ ictimâ‘-ı burûc-ı Hâkî'den bulunup ve Utarid burc-ı Hâkî'de Zuhal'e mukârin ve Zühre ve Müşterî burûc-ı hârrade vukû‘ları delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Fasl-ı baharda havalarda i‘tidâl nümâyân olup ahyânen kavî burûdet ve küdûretler ve nâfi‘ yağmurlar olmasına ve ba‘zı emkinede berf ve bârân şiddet-i rüzgar ile nuzûlüne ve ra‘d ve berk ve zararihçe ve alâyim-i semâviyye ve hareket-i cüz’iyyenin ihtimâline ve hubûbât ve luhûm ve me’kûlât mutavassıtü'l-hâl olmalarına fasl-ı sayfda tâli‘-i fasl ve tâli‘-i cüz’ istikbâl mukaddem

[The sixth folio]

Burûc-ı bârideden bulunup ve Zühre ve Kamer burûc-ı Hâkî'de ve Utarid Hevaîde vukû‘ları delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Fasl-ı sayf i‘tidâl üzre olup ahyânen şiddet-i bâd bârânın nüzûlüne ekser ezmânda havâlar latîf ve küşâde ve riyâh-ı latîfenin hubûbuna ve ba‘zı yerlerde yebûset-i âbâr ve enhâr ve keremiyyet ve harâret ve alâmet-i nâr ve ra‘d ve berk ve hubûbât ve luhûm ve semen ve rusûm ve me’kûlât kemâ-kân râyegân olmasına fasl-ı harîfde tâli‘-i cüz-i istikbâl mukaddem burc-ı Âbî ve tâli‘ fasl-ı Utarid burûc-ı Hevâî'de ve sâ’ir edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı mevâzi‘-i müste‘idde ve şedîd rüzgârlar ile yağmurlar ve seller ve dolular ve müsâfirân-ı diyârda zahmet ve meşakkat ve havâlarda harâret ve nâsda sıhhat ve hareket-i cüz’iyyenin ihtimâline fasl-ı şitâdâ tâli‘-i istikbâl cüz-i mukaddem burc-ı Âbî'de ve ekser kevâkib burc-ı Hâkî'de müctemi‘ olmaları delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Gâhî küşâde ve safvet ve gâh i‘tidâl ve kedûret-i havâya ve ahyânen şedîd fırtınalar ve karlar ve yağmurlar ve donlar ve tuğyân-ı enhâr ve tefâvüt-i es‘âr ve alâyim-i nâr ve nezle ve zükâm ve su‘âl misillü ‘illet hudûsüne

Ahvâl-i Âşûb ve İhtilâl ve Harb ü Kıtâl ve Sulh u Salâh ve Emn ü Felâh

Tâli‘-i fasl-ı Rebî‘de Nahseyn birbirlerinden sâkıt lâkin Merih nazar-ı adâvete müteveccih ve Merih beyt-i ‘âşirde Sâhib-i Sehmeyni'l-Harameyn bulunup ve Sehmü'l-harbi'l-evvel beyt-i tâli‘de ve Sehmü'l-harbi's-sânî beyt-i sâbi‘de vukû‘ları delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Miyân-ı mülûk ve uzmâda gazab ve husûmet ve zulm ve sitem-i hükkâmdan re‘âyâda dacret ve hareket kuttâ‘ü't-tarîkden ebnâ-i sebîlde hasâret ve memleket-i a‘dâ ve küffâr ve şarkı ve şimâli olan diyarlarda ve nevâhî-i Şam ve Malatya ve Demirkapu ve Fransa semtlerinde ve büyük vâdiler ve bülend dağlarda câ be-câ

cem‘iyyetler olup harb u kıtâlin vukû‘una fasl-ı sayfda Mukâbele-i tahsîn ve Zuhal râci‘ ve sâhib-i beyt-i ‘âşır Sâhib-i Sehmeyn bulunması delîldir. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı serhadd-i memâlik ve etrâf-ı bilâdda şekâvet-i erâzil ve ecnâd ve harb ve fitne ve fesâd ve rü’esâlarına ta‘addî ve adem-i ınkıyâd ve miyânlarında tefrika ve tezâd vukû‘uyla âkıbet mazhar-ı ukûbet-i şehriyâr olmalarına fasl-ı harîfde Merih tâli‘de kaviyyü'l-hâl ve Nahseyn birbirlerinden sâkıt ve Utarid ve Zuhal râci‘ bulunmuşdur delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Etrâf-ı memalikde ve serhadlerde asâkir-i İslâm nusret encâm hıfz u hirâset ve def‘-i ta‘addî-i a‘dâ-i dîn ve devlet husûsunda bezl-i himmet ve sarf-ı kudret kılmalarına fasl-ı şitâda Neyyirü'n-nevbe tâli‘de ve sâhib-i ‘âşir Merih'e mukârin ve sâ’ir delâil ve karâin delîldir. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı yerlerde zuhûr-ı erâzil ve eşkiyâ ve hasâret-i zu‘efâ ve fukarâ ve zulm-i re‘âyâ ve ehl-i kurâ etmeleriyle mazhar-ı ukûbet ve makhûr olmalarına el-‘ilmü ‘inda'llahi'l-meliki'l-‘azîzi'l-vahhâb. Yemhu'llâhü mâ-yeşâ’ ve yüsebbit ve indehû ümmü'l-kitâb.

Berehmenân-ı Hatâ ve Çin ve Hukemâ-yı Deşt-i Kıpçak Zemîn

Her on iki sâli bir devr i‘tibâr ve her birini bir hayvâna nisbet edip huy ve hisâline müşâbih olmak üzre birkaç kelime ahkâm ta‘yîn eylemişlerdir. Bu sâl-i meymenet me’âl devr-i mezbûrun üçüncü Pars yılı olmağın El-ahkâm ‘alâ rağmihim Miyân-ı mülûkda muhâlefet ve ‘adâvet ve şurût-ı ahd ü peymân ve esâs-ı sulh ü emâna muğâyir bir vaz‘ ve hareket ve ba‘zı emkinede harb ü darb ve nehb ü gâret ve ebnâ-yı sebîl ve ticaretde hasâret ve ta‘addî-i zalemeden re‘âyâda dacret ve haşerât-ı arz ve hevâmda kesret ve mezrû‘at ve esmâr-ı şîrînde âfet ve çâr-pâda mevt ve ba‘zı emkinede zelzeleden mazarrat ve şitâ şedîd ve medîd ola. Bu senenin evvelinde vücûda gelen zor âver kaviyyü'l-himem ve kesîrü'n-ni‘am evâsıtında tevellüd eden azbü'l-lisân ve devâb ve mevâşîden müntefi‘ evâhirinde doğan bâtıl ve âtıl ve mağmûm ve mahzûn ola. El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ.

Kav, Kesku, Sek, Murğ, 3 Sâl-i Pars yani Kaplan, Huk, Mar, Maymun, Harkuş, Nehnek, Esb, Kösfene

Nevrûz-ı Sultânî'den Şa‘bân'ın on ikisine varınca

Vâki‘ olan edille-i nücûmiye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Cemşîd-i serîr-i dîn ve devlet ve Hurşîd-i semâ-i mülk ve millet hazretlerinin erîke ârâ-yı bahtiyârî ve pîrâye-i bahş tahtgâh-ı kâmkârî olan zât-ı hüceste sa‘âdet ve ferhunde simâtları dârü'l-emân hıfz-ı yârîde masûn olup hemvâre sipihr-i adâletden müfârik-i fark-ı enâm üzre ziyâ pâş-ı mekârim ve meâsir olmalarına ve vüzerâ-yı

âlîcâh ve ulemâ-yı bâ-intibâhın hâl-i hayrü'l-meâlleri feyz-yâb reşehât-ı ayn-ı inâyetleri olup muhadderât-ı Harem-i devlet âşiyân ve mukarribân ve nedîmân ve ağayân-ı keşâyiş ezhâr-ı maksûdları ile hurrem ve handân olmalarına ve miyân-ı nâsda sulh ve asayiş vukû‘uyla âmme-i nâssın şâdî ve meserretlerine terbî‘ Utarid be-Müşterî ve istirâk-ı süfliyyîn ve hubût-ı Utarid ve sâir karâin ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve ulemâ ve kuzât miyânında muhâlefet ve dîn ve mezhebe müte‘allik beyne'l-fudalâ nizâ‘ ve cidâl ve miyân-ı ehl-i sûkda hıkd ve hased ve husûmet ve tezvîr ve şirret ve zenân ve emredân ve mutribânda ‘illet ve sekâmet ve vaz‘-ı hamlde ‘usret ve beyne'l-ezvâc husûmet vukû‘una lakin teslîs-i şems ve Utarid bâ-Müşterî delîldir. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve eşrâfda izdiyâd-ı câh ve kudret ve kuzât ve e’immede şâdî ve meserret ve havâlarda harâret ve letâfet vukû‘una ve adl ü dâd ve noksan-ı cevr ve eziyyet

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Şa‘bân'ın on ikisinden Ramazân'ın on ikisine varınca

Vukû‘ bulan emârât-ı semâviye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Nâzır-ı ruhsâr-ı şâhîd-i şehriyârî ve râfi‘ü nikâb-ı urûs-ı cihândârî Sultân-ı âfitâb eser ve ber celîl nazar hazretlerinin rûh-ı cesed nizâm-ı âlem ve nûr-ı basar-ı Âdem olan vücud-ı behbûd-ı sa‘âdet âludları taht nişîn-i erîke-i sıhhat revnakda mesned-i âfiyet olup havâss-ı zâhire ve bâtıne-i dîn ve devlet olan vüzerâ-yı ‘izâm ve ‘ulemâ-yı zevi'l-ihtirâm mazhar-ı eltâf ve a‘tâf-ı pâdişâhî olmalarına ve mukarribân-ı muhteremân ve nedîmân ve ağayan-ı zîşân tavr-ı pesendîde ve vaz‘ sütûde ile manzûr-ı ayn-ı şehenşâhî olmalarına terbî-i şems ve Utarid bâ-Merih ve terbî‘ Utarid bâ-Nahseyn delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Tüccâr ve ehl-i Bâzâr ve ashâb-ı Dîvân ve aklâmda endûh ve melâl ve kuzât ve ehl-i silâh ve uzemâ beyninde nizâ‘ ve cidâl ve miyân-ı ekâbirde adâvet ve taraf-ı uzmâdan zîr-i destâne haşm ve gazab ve re‘âyâda meşakkat ve erâcîfde kesret ve hayvânâtda ‘illet ve cânib-i şimâlde uzmâdan ba‘zılarında âfet ve mevt vukû‘una ammâ tesdîs-i şems-i Zuhal ve teslîs-i Merih be-Müşterî ve tesdîs-i Utarid be-Zühre ve sâir edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Erbâb-ı silâh ve ashâb-ı hânedan taraf-ı mülûk ve kibârdan mazhar-ı inâyet ve miyân-ı zenân ve emredânda ülfet ve halâyıkda sıhhat ve ashâb-ı dîvân ve erbâb-ı bâzârda kuvvet ve havâlarda harâret ve ra‘d ve berk

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Ramazân'ın on ikisinden Şevvâl'in on üçüne varınca

Nümâyân olan edille-i semâviyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Pâdişâh-ı Sikender şiyem ve âfâkgîr şehenşâh-ı hüsrev gulâm ve Süleyman serîr hazretlerinin neyyir-i a‘zam sipihr-i devlet olan zât-ı huceste sıfâtları ziyâ bahş-ı burc-ı şeref ve şevket olup nûr-ı sâtı‘u'z-zuhûr-ı ‘inâyet ve merhametleri âmme-i cihâniyâna şâmil ve vüzerâ-yı izâm ve ‘ulemâ-yı kirâm esnâf-ı ihsân ve in‘âmlarına vâsıl ve ağayân ve nedîmân ve mahremân-ı sa‘âdet nişân ve muhadderât-ı ismet penâh-ı aliyyetü'ş-şân nevâzeş ve iltifât-ı şehriyârî ile mesrûr ve hândân olmalarına mukâbele-i Nahseyn ve terbî‘-i Şems be-Zuhal ve ihtirâk-ı Utarid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Rehzenlerde kesret ve âfet ve re‘âyâ ve ekrâdda endûh ve meşakket ve ashâb-ı sebîlde ‘adem-i emniyet ve sularda kıllet ve mezra‘alarda âfet ve leşkeryânda giriftârî ve mihnet ve vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve a‘yânda endûh ve hayret ve ehl-i kurâ ve ekâbirde müsâdere-i emvâlden renc ve meşakkat ve taraf-ı mülûkdan havf ve haşyet ve narhlarda tefâvüt ve me’kûlâtda kıllet ve ekâbirde maraz ve illet vukû‘una amma teslîs-i sa‘deyn ve tesdîs-i sefeliyyîn ve tesdîs-i Zuhal ve Zühre ve sâir edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve eşrâfda şâdî ve meserret ve kuzâtda revnak ve mülûk ve ‘uzmâda kuvvet ve rif‘at ve bedkârlarda tevbe ve nedâmet ve şer ve şûrda nedret ve bîmârânda sıhhat ve halâyıkda emânet ve diyânet ve havâlarda redâ’et ve ra‘d ve berk

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Şevvâl'in on üçünden Zilka‘de'nin on üçüne varınca

Zâhir olan alâyim-i nucûmiyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Padîşâh-ı bülend ahter-i şehenşâh-ı mühr eser hazretlerinin âfitâb-ı devlet ve ikbâlleri evc-i sa‘âdet ve iclâlde cilveger olup vüzerâ ve ümerâ ve erkan ve ‘ulemâ ve eşrâf ve a‘yân mazhar-ı iltifât ve ihsân ve nâil-i şeref ve şân olmalarına ve Mahremân-ı Harem ve Mukarrebân-ı zevi'l-himem mazhar-ı ‘avâtıf ve esnâf kerem ve mesrûren ve şâdân olmalarına mukâbele-i Sa‘deyn ve terbî‘-i Merih be-Müşterî ve mukâbele-i Utarid be-Müşterî ve Nahseyn Utarid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Emr-i ma‘rûf ve nehy-i ani'l-münkerde kesret ve ezvâc ve şerîkân miyânında husûmet ve fısk ve fücûrda kesret ve ehl-i salâh ve takvâda töhmet ve mizâc-ı ekâbirde istîlâ-i harâret ve eşrârda âfet ve cânib-i şark ve şimâlîde [silik] fitne ve fesâd ve katl-i nihânî ve gâret ve zenân ve emredân ve mutrıbânda maraz ve illet ve miyân-ı halâyıkda zuhûr-ı esrâr ve hıyânet ve de‘âvî-yi nâ-hak fessâkdan ehl-i salâh ve takvâya eziyyet zuhûruna lâkin evc-i şems ve teslîs-i şems be-Zuhal ve tesdîs-i Şems be-Merih

delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Mülûk ve ‘uzamâda kudret ve kuvvet ve adl u dâd ve noksân cevr ve eziyyet ve miyân-ı uzmâ ve küberâda ülfet ve meveddet ve tezayüd-i kuvvet ve sa‘âdet ve erbâb-ı silâh ve ashâb-ı hândân taraf-ı mülûk ve kibârdan mazhar-ı ‘inâyet ve pîran ve meşâyihde sıhhat ve âfiyet ve havâlarda teğayyür gâh safvet ve letâfet ve gâhî ra‘d ve berk ve barâna

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Zilka‘de'nin üçünden Zilhicce'nin on üçüne varınca

Zâhir olan evzâ‘-ı felekiyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Padişâh-ı kâmkâr ve şehriyâr gerdûn vakâr hazretlerinin kevkeb-i münîr-i taht-ı sa‘âdet te’sîrleri zirve-i tedbîr-i celâdetde müstenîr olup nidâ-yı kesret medâyih ve mehâmid ve sadâ-yı sayt-ı eyâdî ve avâyidlerinden samah-ı zümre-i sükkân-ı dâire-i imkân kâh kürre-i zemîn ve zamân pür-âvâze olmakla vüzerâ-yı âlîşân-ı Devlet-i aliyye ve ulemâ-yı sâmî mekan-ı saltanat-ı seniyye ve umerâ-yı zafer şi‘âr ve Mahremân-ı Harem-i hümâyûn-ı âlî mikdâr envâ‘ nevâzeş ve ikrâm ve esnâf ihsân ve in‘âmlarına mazhar olmalarına mukâbele-i Utarid bâ-Zuhal ve hulûl-i Merih be-Mizan ve ihtirâk-ı Utarid ve bâkî mülâyim ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Muhâsebe-i vükelâ ve mutasarrıfân ve zuhûr-ı hutût-ı müzevvire ve esrâr nihânî ve nâsda intikâl ve cilâ-yı evtân ve mesâkin bî-ihtiyârlarının hudûsüne ve ashâb-ı Dîvân ve ehl-i silâh ve etıbbâ ve müneccimânda za‘f-ı hâl ve fudelâ ve mu‘ârefe miyânında nizâ‘ ve cidâl ve narhlarda tefâvüt ve erâcîfde kesret ve miyân-ı zenân ve emredânda nâ-sezâ hâlet vukû‘una lâkin teslîs-i Şems be-Müşterî ve istikâmet-i Müşterî ve evc-i Zühre ve sâ’ir edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Taraf-ı mülûkdan vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve ‘uzemâ ve eşrâf ve kuzâta nevâzeş ve ‘inâyet ve re‘âyâ ve berâyâya adl ü dâd ve merhamet ve Zühreviyân ve ehl-i tarabda kuvvet ve izzet ve halâyıkda îş ü işret ve bedkârlarda tevbe ve nedâmet ve havâlarda harâret ve bâd ve bârâna

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Zilhicce'nin on üçünden Muharrem'in on dördüne varınca

Nümâyân olan teşekkülât-ı ecrâm-ı âliye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Sultân-ı hilâfet penâh padîşâh-ı sa‘âdet destgâh hazretlerinin zât-ı sütûde sıfâtları sarây-ı dilküşâ-yı sıhhat ve âfiyetde şeref-bahş-ı erîke-i şehriyârî olup vüzera-yı âsaf makâm ve vükelâ-yı zevi'l-ihtirâm ve huddâm-ı Harem-i hümâyûn-ı âlî-makâm pâdişâh-ı süreyyâ serîr ve sipihr ihtişâmdan müşâhede-i iltifât ve i‘zâz ve ikrâm ile hurrem ve şâdân olmalarına mukâbele-i şems bâ-Zuhal ve terbî‘-i Şems be-Müşterî ve

hulûl-i Merih be-burc-ı Akreb ve bâkî karîne ve sebeb delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Nevâhî-i şark ve şimâli ve berârî ve bevâdı mahallerde fesâd ve harb u kıtâl ve ba‘zı ümerâ ve küberâ ve a‘yân-ı kurâ miyânlarında ‘adâvet ve ihtilâl ve taraf-ı şehriyârîden ‘itâb ve ‘ikâb ve nikâl ve ma‘ârif-i ricâlde endûh ve melâl ve cevr ve sitemden re‘âyâda za‘f-ı hâl ve kuzât ve e’imme miyânında husûmet ve töhmet ve cidâl ve halâyıkda emrâz-ı müzmine ve demeviyyenin şuyû‘una ammâ teslîs-i sa‘deyn ve tesdîs-i Utarid ve be-Müşterî ve şeref-i Utarid ve bâkî delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı vüzerâ ve ulemâ ve küberâ ve eşrâf miyânında ülfet ve muhabbet ve tezayüd-i kuvvet ve sa‘âdet ve mükâtebe ve mürâsele ve ahbâr-ı meserret ve fudalâ ve debîrân ve mutasarrıfânda ‘izzet ve avâm-ı nasda hayr ve salâh ve kesret-i tezvîc ve nikâh ve etıbbâ ve ehl-i tencîmde ifrâh ve bîmârânda sıhhat ve âfiyet ve halâyıkda emânet ve diyânet ve havâlarda rutûbet ve ra‘d ve berk ve riyâhın hubûbuna

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Muharrem'in on dördünden Safer'in on dördüne kadar varınca

Bulunan evzâ‘-ı nücûmiyye delâlet eder. Allahâ te‘âlâ a‘lem. Pâdişâh-ı gerdûn cenâb ve şehriyâr-ı mîzân-ı rikâb hazretlerinin gevhergân-ı sa‘âdet olan vücûd-ı şerîf-i ferhunde sıfâtları ârayiş-i tahtgâh-ı sıhhat ve âfiyet ve Hurşîd-i cihângîr-i devlet ve saltanatları şeref efzâ-yı burûc-ı kuvvet ve sa‘âdet olup vüzerâ-yı izâm ve ‘ulemâ-yı kirâm ve ‘uzemâ ve ekâbir ve hukkâm envâ‘ nevâzeş-i mülûkânelerine mazhar olmalarına ve Mahremân-ı Harem ve mukarribân-ı zevi'l-himem mazhar-ı avâtıf ve esnâf-ı kerem olmalarına ve erbâb-ı Dîvân ve ashâb-ı aklâm makâm-ı birr ve istikâmetde kıyâmları sebebiyle muhassılü'l-merâm olmalarına ve nâsda diyânet ve emânet ve dîn-i İslâm'da kuvvet ve du‘âlarda isticâbet ve halâyıkda ten-düristî ve sıhhat ve bîmârlarda âfiyet ve mevâlî ve müderrisîn ve kuzâtda meserret ve miyân-ı mülûk ve fermân dehânde musâlaha ve meveddet ve umûm hayr ve bereket ve şu‘arâ ve etıbbâ ve ehl-i nücûm mazhar-ı ihsân-ı mülûk ve kibâr olmalarına ve bi'l-cümle havâss ve avâmm müreffehü'l-hâl ve mutayyebü'l-bâl olmalarına lâkin hubût-ı Zühre ve istirâk-ı Utarid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve müdebbirrân ve eşrâfdan ba‘zılarında hayret ve hâtır-ı kibârda melâlet ve tedbîrlerde hatâ ve çarpâda âfet ve zenân ve mutrıbânda endûh ve adem-i rağbet ve vaz‘-ı Haml'de ‘usret ve geştîlerde fesâd ve havâlarda ihtilâf gâh safvet ve yebûset ve gâhî bad u bârân ve ra‘d ve berk ve hareket-i cüz’iyyenin ihtimâline

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Safer'in on dördünden Rebî‘ü'l-evvel'in on dördüne varınca

Nümûdâr olan evzâ‘-ı ecrâm-ı âlîye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Pâdişâh-ı heft iklim ve şehenşâh-ı sa‘âdet nedîm hazretlerinin tınâb-ı bârgâh-ı devlet ve ikbâlleri evtâd-ı te’yîd ve sâ‘adete peyveste olup filke-i otağ-ı saltanat-ı sermediyyeleri âşiyâne-i hümâ-yı kuvvet ve şevket olmakla sâye-i devlet-i ebed-peyvendlerinde vüzerâ-yı sa‘âdet penâh ve ulemâ-yı âlîcâh-ı mutayyebü'l-bâl ve müreffehü'l-hâl olmalarına terbî‘-i Nahseyn ve tahvîl-i Zühre be-Akreb ve sâ’ir karîne ve sebeb delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı ‘ulemâ ve ümerâ ve ehl-i sahrâ miyânında ‘adâvet ve mekr ve gadr ve muhâlefet ve cânib-i şark ve şimâl semtlerinde ve etrâf-ı Şam ve Diyarbakır ve zemîn-i Hicaz ve Yemen ve Basra ve Musul vâlîlerinde zuhûr-ı ehl-i fesâd ve harb u kıtâl ve kesret-i lusûs ve gâret-i emvâl ve ma‘ârif-i ricâlde âfet ve za‘f-ı hâl ve avâmm-ı nâsda hayret ve melâl ve ümerâ ve ehl-i silâhda endûh ve infi‘âl ve zulm ve sitem ve mu’âheze-i emvâl ve şiddet-i hukkâm ve izzet ta‘âm ve kesret-i erâcîf ve zenân ve emredânda nâ-sezâ ef‘âl ve ilel-i mühlike ve müzminenin zuhûruna ammâ tesdîs-i Sa‘deyn ve teslîs-i Zühre be-Zuhal ve sâ’ir teslîsler delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ulemâ ve eşrâfda şâdî ve meserret ve hukkâmda insâf ve adâlet ve sahra nişînân ve erbâb-ı kılâ‘ ve cibâlde sûr ve surûr ve işlerde keşâyeş ve halâyıkda lehv ve tarb ve seyr ve temâşâya meyl ve rağbet ve i‘tidâl-i havâ ve bâd ve bârân nüzûlüne

El-‘ilmü inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Rebî‘ü'l-evvel'in on dördünden Rebî‘ü'l-âhir'in on beşine varınca

Vâki‘ olan emârât-ı felekiyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Hâk-i Âsitâne-i kehlü'l-cevâhir uyûn-ı âlem olan pâdişâh-ı dârâ gulâm hazretlerinin dürr-i girân-kadr sedef-i devlet ve cevher-i nefîsgân-ı saltanat olan zât-ı huceste sıfât ve vücûd-ı hümâyûn ferhunde simâtları kılâde-i gerden şâhid-i sıhhat ve âfiyet ve harz-ı bâzû-yı emn ü selâmet olup envâr-ı merhamet ve şefkatleri müfârik-i âlemiyân üzre tâbân olmakla re‘âyâ ve berâyâ cevr ve zulumden masûn ve mahfûz ve ayn-ı adâletleri ile manzûr ve melhûz olmalarına ve vüzerâ-yı cemîlü'ş-şiyem ve ulemâ-yı muhterem ve mukarribân-ı zevi'l-himem mazhar-ı ikrâm-ı pâdişâh-ı dârâ haşm ile şâd ve hurre ve mesrûr ve ferah-dem olmalarına terbî‘-i şems be-Zuhal ve istirâr-ı Utarid ve ba‘zı alâyim ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Tüccâr ve ehl-i bâzârda meşakkat ve ummâl ve mutasarrıfânda renc ve melâl ve ashâb-ı

Dîvân ve etıbbâ ve müneccimânda za‘f-ı hâl ve fudelâ ve küberâ ve ehl-i ma‘ârifde nezle ve su‘âle ve riyâh-ı bâride ve nüzul-ı emtâr vukû‘una lakin tesdîs-i Utarid bâ-Zuhal ve sâir şevâhid ve delâil delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ba‘zı ehl-i kılâ‘ ve kurâ ve re‘âyâ ashâb-ı aklâm ve erbâb-ı Dîvân'dan mazhar-ı inâyet ve ihsân olmaları sebebiyle merâmlarına vusûl ve miyân-ı nâsda sûr ve sürûr ve cem‘iyyet ve pîrânda sıhhat ve bâd ve bârân ve ra‘d ve berk ve hareket-i cüz’iyyenin ihtimâline

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Rebî‘ü'l-âhir'in on beşinden Cumâde'l-ûlâ'nın on beşine varınca

Vâki‘ olan imtizâcât-ı eşu‘a-i kevâkibden idrâk olunan ahkâm bu vechledir ki Allâhü te‘âlâ a‘lem. Dürretü't-tâc-ı şehriyârân-ı cihân olan Sultân-ı sipihr âsitân kiti sitân hazretlerinin ilm-i tuba hırâm devlet ve ikbâli beraber fark-ı firâkdan olup eşu‘a-i leme‘ân-ı şevketlerinden sâha-i fesîha-i ekvân-ı pür nûr ve rûşen olmakla ve cevâhir-i zevâhir ihsân ve in‘âmlarından gerden şâhid-i baht-ı vüzerâ ve ulemâ-yı kirâm ve Mahremân ve mukarribân-ı vâcibü'l-ihtirâm muhallâ ve müzeyyen olmağa ve küttâb ve ulemâ ve ‘ummâl ve ümerâdan ba‘zıları müşâhede-i sûret-i gazab ile ma‘zûl ve pür-elem olmalarına ihtirâk-ı Müşterî ve Zühre ve Merih ve Utarid Zenb ile tecâsüdleri ve ric‘at-i Utarid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve a‘yân ve eşrâfdan ba‘zılarda za‘f-i hâl ve kuzât ve hukkâm ağniyâda endûh ve melâl ve ma‘rûflarından birinde fakd ve zevâl ve zemîn-i Faris ve Kûhistân'da fesâd ve ihtilâl ve ‘uzemâsından birinde âfet ve kibârında perişânî ve hayret ve ekâbir ve ümerâ arasında husûmet ve kassabân ve sayyâdanda âfet ve gamz ve teğâfülde kesret ve müfsidân ve bed-kârânda giriftârî ve âfet vukû‘una ammâ Kıran-ı Sa‘deyn ve tesdîs-i şems be-Zuhal ve sâ’ir tesdîsler delîldir Allâhü te‘âla a‘lem. ‘Ulemâ ve fukarâda şâdî ve meserret ve du‘âlarda icâbet ve et‘imede kesret ve bâd ve bârân ve burûdet ve sülûce

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ

Cumâde'l-ûlânın on beşinden Cumâde'l-âhire'nin on altısına varınca

Mir’ât-ı felekde sûret nümâ olan teşekkülât-ı ecrâm-ı semâviyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Pâdişâh-ı mülk hisâl ve şehriyâr-ı felek ikbâl hazretlerinin tekâsür-i ‘azamet ve celâl ve tezâyüd-i kuvvet-i baht-ı hümâyûn ve ikbâllerine ve ‘adl u dâd ve müberrât ve hayrât ve hasenâta meyl ve rağbetlerine ve vüzerâ-yı ‘izâm ve ‘ulemâ-yı kirâm ve mukarribân-ı sadâkat âyîn ve nedîmân-ı istikâmet güzîn mazhar-ı nevâzeş ve ikrâm ve manzûr-ı nazar ihsân ve in‘âmları olmalarına kıran-ı

Zühre be-Merih ve istirâk-ı Utarid ve bâkî delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ehl-i Dîvân ve tüccâr ve ehl-i bâzârda endûh ve melâl ve dizdan ve ehl-i dalâlde kesret ve nikbet ve zevâl ve re‘âyâ ve Ekradda fesâd-ı hâl ve zenân ve emredân miyânında husûmet ve töhmet ve cidâl ve zemîn-i Mağrib'de şiddet ve hiddet ve kıtâl ve Irak-ı Arab ve vilâyet-i Hicaz'da kaht ve gılâ ve fakd-i ta‘âm ve kıllet-i bârân ve şuyû‘-ı kizb ve töhmet ve mekr ve hiyânet ve zenân ve hâdimân ve mutrıbân ve merdüm-i zarîf ve şerîfde bîmârî ve illet ve beyne'l-ezvâc nizâ‘ ve cidâl ve husûmet ve erbâb-ı aklâmda za‘f ve illet ve erâcîfde kesret vukû‘una ammâ tahvîl-i Zühre be-Hut ve istikâmet-i Utarid ve bâkî şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Zenân ve emredân ve sıbyânda sıhhat ve âfiyet ve vüzerâ ve ulemâda şâdî ve meserret ve havâlarda burûdet ve şiddet-i bâd ve barân ve nüzûl-i berf

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi te‘âlâ Cumâde'l-âhire'nin on altısından Nevrûz-ı Sultânîye varınca

Bulunan edille-i felekiyye delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Pâdişâh-ı ferhunde ferr şehriyâr-ı sa‘d Ahter hazretlerinin zât-ı huceste sıfâtları tahtgâh-ı felek iştibâhda sadr nişîn-i izz ve kamurânî olmakla temhîd-i adl u dâd ve tehdîd-i ehl-i zulm ve inâd için vüzerâ-yı izâm ve ümerâ ve hukkâma fermân-ı cihân-mutâ‘ları sâdır olup husûs-ı mezbûre ihtimâm ve ittibâ‘ üzre olanlar mazhar-ı avâtıf-ı celîle-i şehriyârî olmalarına ihtirâk-ı Zuhal ve Merih ve kıran-ı Nahseyn ve hubût-ı Müşterî ve hazîz-i Merih ve Utarid ve sâ’ir delâil ve şevâhid delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Ehl-i kurâ ve sahrâ ve hânedân-ı kadîm ve ekâbirde endûh ve melâl ve emrâz-ı müzmine ve miyân-ı ‘Arab ve ‘Acem'de nizâ‘ ve cidâl ve Babil ve Hicaz ve Harezm ve Erdebil semtlerinde fitne ve ihtilâl ve ma‘rûflarından birinde âfet ve kuzât ve ehl-i şer‘de husûmet ve cidâl ve miyân-ı nâsda töhmet ve hiyânet ve da‘vâ-yı nâ-hak ve erâcîfde kesret ve ehl-i Dîvân ve tüccâr ve erbâb-ı bâzârda endûh ve zahmet ve müzâra‘âtda hasâret ve narhlarda tefâvüt ve çârpâda âfet ve mevt vukû‘una lakin tesdîs-i Sa‘deyn ve tesdîs-i Şems be-Müşterî ve şeref-i Zühre ve bâkî edille delâlet eder. Allâhü te‘alâ a‘lem. Vüzerâ ve ‘ulemâ ve ‘uzemâ ve küberâda sûr ve sürûr ve ‘izzet ve miyânlarında ülfet ve meveddet ve taraf-ı mülûkden nevâzeş ve iltifât ve ‘inâyet ve re‘âyâ ve berâyâda sıhhat ve emniyet ve zulm ve ta‘âddîde kıllet ve bed-kârânda tevbe ve nedâmet ve mesâcid ve me‘âbidlerde imâret ve neşât ashâb-ı işret ve nisvân ve erbâb-ı tarb ve muğanniyânda şâdî ve meserret ve sûr ve sürûr ve cem‘iyyet ve ahbâr-ı meserret ve ashâb-ı silâhda kuvvet ve cerâet ve havâlarda ihtilâf ve ba‘zı emkine bâd ve bârân ve hareket-i cüz’iyyenin ihtimâline

El-‘ilmü ‘inda'llâhi'l-meliki'l-‘azîzi'l-allâm

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