CONCEPTIONS OF MADNESS AND MELANCHOLY IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Conceptions of Madness and Melancholy in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

This thesis examines the conceptions of madness and mental conditions such as *mal-i hülya* or melancholy in the 17th- and 18th-century Ottoman world from the perspective of two bodies of knowledge: medicine and Sufism. The primary aim of this study is to provide a detailed analysis of medical and Sufi sources regarding madness in the early modern Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the thesis also draws attention to the complex relationships between Sufis and physicians as actors, stresses the interconnected nature of Sufism and medicine as bodies of knowledge, and highlights the similarities (and differences) in their approaches to mental illnesses in the early modern Ottoman world. A third and final contribution of the thesis is to complement the study of medical and Sufi sources with a foray into Ottoman dictionaries to uncover the rich terminology that early modern Ottomans used to define mental conditions.

ÖZET

Erken Modern Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Delilik ve Melankoli Kavrayışları

Bu tez, 17. ve 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı dünyasında delilik ile *mal-i hülya* ya da melankoli olarak nitelendirilen marazlara dair tasavvurları, tıbbi ve tasavvufi anlayış çerçevesinde incelemektedir. Bu tezin temel amacı, erken modern dönem özelinde deliliğe dair tıbbi ve tasavvufi kaynakların detaylı bir analizini yapmaktır. Aynı zamanda bu tez, sufiler ve hekimler gibi tarihsel aktörler arasındaki çeşitli ilişki dinamiklerine dikkat çekmekte ve deliliğin kavranışı bakımından tasavvuf ile tıbbın birçok noktada birbiriyle bağlantılı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu bağlamda çalışma, bu iki bilgi alanının karşılıklı etkileşimini ve deliliğe yaklaşımlarındaki benzerlikleri (ve farklılıkları) göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın üçüncü ve son katkısı ise, Osmanlı sözlüklerini tıbbi ve tasavvufi kaynakları tamamlayıcı bir unsur olarak kullanmak suretiyle, erken modern Osmanlıların deliliği tanımlamak için başvurdukları zengin terminolojiyi gözler önüne sermektir.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 Two bodies of knowledge: medicine 4

1.3 Two bodies of knowledge: Sufism 6

1.4 Primary sources 9

1.5 Literature review 13

1.6 The outline of the thesis 18

CHAPTER 2: THE MEDICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MENTAL CONDITIONS 20

2.1 Galenic medicine and humoral theory 20

2.2 Physicians 21

2.3 Aetiology 23

2.4 Categorization of mental illnesses 25

2.5 Phases of mental illnesses 29

2.6 Identifying the patients 31

2.7 Symptoms 32

2.8 Terminology in *Lisanü'l-Etibba* and *Vankulu Lügati* 33

2.9 Medical explanation based on gender and sexuality 36

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MADNESS IN SUFISM 42

3.1 Background information related to Sufism 42

3.2 The concept of "holy folly" and its implications 46

3.3 A panorama of holy fools 48

3.4 Sufis as healers of the mad 68

3.5 Sufi explanations in medical texts 71
3.6 Medical explanations in Sufi texts and Niyazi-i Mısri as a case study 75
3.7 Conclusion 85
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION 88
APPENDIX A: LIST OF TERMS AND THEIR DEFINITIONS IN *VANKULU LÜGATİ* 92
APPENDIX B: LIST OF TERMS AND THEIR DEFINITIONS IN *LİSANÜ'L-ETİBBA* 94
APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION OF ABBAS VESİM'S EXPLANATION OF MELANCHOLY IN HIS *DÜSTUR* 95
REFERENCES 97

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In 1653, a Nakshbandi sheikh named Açıkbaş Mahmud Efendi (d. 1666), made some controversial claims about the current state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire. He argued that the Ottoman state had begun to fall into ruin and the reasons for this were that people did not abide by the Sharia (*şer'-i şerif*) and power had fallen into the hands of women. He appears to have been particularly disturbed by the political influence enjoyed by the Queen Mother Turhan Sultan (d. 1683) despite her relatively young age. As a solution, he proposed what he claimed to be a divinely ordained command, that is to marry her away and thus remove her from the palace. When Açıkbaş made these claims, he was declared "mad" (*divane*) and put in the Süleymaniye Hospital, a prominent medical institution in the early modern Ottoman Empire. According to Naima (d. 1716), following this incident, many people started to visit him in the hospital and defended him with expressions such as: "This is what happens to those who speak the truth. The sheikh has preached us God's command, what happens if the Valide Sultan would be married?" Following public rumors, the sheikh was released from the hospital.[1]

This anecdote is informative in many ways, shedding light on the social, medical, political, and legal aspects of madness in the early modern Ottoman world. Socially, it demonstrates that public opinion was an important dimension of the perception of madness. In terms of its medical aspect, it reveals that those who were deemed mad could be forced to receive treatment in *darüşşifa*s and in fact, this is

[1] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Na'ima,* vol. 3, 1469-1470.

also closely related to the political aspect of madness. With regard to this, a possible question might be whether the authorities were trying to diminish the impact of Açıkbaş Mahmud's comments by declaring him mad. At the same time, this could also be seen as a strategy employed by the authorities to pressure him to take his words back. Here, a relevant connection to Açıkbaş Mahmud's case can be the prominent 17th-century Halveti sheikh Niyazi-i Mısri (d. 1694), who was exiled multiple times, first to Rhodes and then to Lemnos, due to controversial claims he made.[2] In fact, some of his contemporaries also considered Mısri to be suffering from madness.[3] Mısri's exiles were definitely political, as were his religio-political claims, including his self-portrayal as Messiah, his expressed wish to see the Ottoman throne replaced by the Crimean royal house of the Girays, and the prophetic status he attributed to the grandsons of the Prophet, Hasan and Hüseyin. These claims caused distress for the authorities, especially during the peak of the Kadızadeli influence under the imperial preacher Vani Efendi (d. 1685).[4] Indeed, in contextualizing such cases, the hardships of the 17th-century, especially within the Sufi milieu, should be considered.

[2] See Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-94)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999); Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618-94)," 139-165; Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Niyâzî-i Mısrî and the Sufi Theory of Sainthood in the Early Modern Ottoman World," 171-194; Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 650; Kamil Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî" (MA Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1997); Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat-Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-İhvan,* 488.

[3] For example, see Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan*, 488.

[4] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 433-435; 452-453; 500-501; Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 150; Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 173-175; Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat-Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-İhvan,* 488; Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 20-21; Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları,* 115; Ambrosio, "İsmāʿīl Rusūhī Anḳaravī: An early Mevlevi intervention into the emerging Kadizadeli-Sufi conflict," 183-197; Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," 251-269.

The Kadızadeli controversy marked this century and had a significant impact on the religio-political life of the Ottoman Empire. Through their strong opposition to key Sufi practices such as *zikr, sema, raks, devran* etc. as "illegitimate innovations" (*bid'at*) that did not exist in Prophet Muhammad's time, the Kadızadelis challenged not only the legitimacy of these practices but also targeted major Sufi groups like Halvetis and Mevlevis.[5] Kadızadelis also gained a growing influence among the palace circles, especially with the impact of the above-mentioned Vani Efendi, who led the movement during its last phases.[6] These heated debates are one of the reasons why this thesis chose to focus on the 17th-century in particular.

With these cases and context in mind, this thesis questions the implications of madness in the Ottoman Empire during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Although madness had multiple implications in the early modern Ottoman world, as even the single case of Açıkbaş Mahmud Efendi reveals, the present study focuses on madness and mental illnesses through the lens of medicine and Sufism. Especially in this tense religio-political atmosphere of the 17th century, the Sufi conception of madness can provide insights into how Sufis responded to these conflicts, and in fact, madness appears to have been part of their discursive framework. Therefore, this thesis examines the perception of mental illnesses in these centuries through medical and Sufi texts. For that purpose, Sufism and medicine are treated as two entangled bodies of knowledge, which could be brought into dialogue by early modern Muslim practitioners. Another reason why the 17th and to a certain extent, the 18th centuries were chosen for analysis is that medical and Sufi sources from this era are extremely

[5] Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis," 251-269; Ambrosio, "İsmāʿīl Rusūhī Anḳaravī," 183-197.
[6] Ambrosio, "İsmāʿīl Rusūhī Anḳaravī," 193.

rich in both quantity and content. In addition, analyzing these specific centuries allows us to trace continuities and ruptures with earlier periods (e.g., the 16th-century Ottoman Empire), thus providing a more comprehensive picture of the conceptions of mental conditions in the early modern Ottoman world.

Terms such as "mental illness," "mental disease," "mental condition," and "mental health" are not found in early modern Ottoman texts, but are used here for analytical purposes. In early modern Ottoman medical sources, mental conditions were typically classified under the category of "head diseases" (*emraz-ı re's*).[7] There is a practical rationale behind using terms like "mental conditions" instead of "head diseases": Many of the conditions listed under "head diseases" would not be considered "mental diseases" today. For example, conditions like *devar* (dizziness), *lakve* (facial paralysis), *suda'* (headache), *sekte* (apoplexy), *ra'şe* (tremor) and so on were recorded alongside conditions such as *mal-i hülya*, *manya* and *kutrub*, which are the primary focus of this study.[8] Today, the former group would typically fall under "neurological disorders." Therefore, for the sake of conceptual clarity, this thesis pragmatically adopts the term "mental conditions" to emphasize its focus, as it excludes conditions such as headaches and paralysis, the inclusion of which would have expanded the scope to an unmanageable degree.

1.2 Two bodies of knowledge: medicine

The reasons behind the choice of "medicine" as the first body of knowledge should be more apparent than those behind the choice of "Sufism," since mental illnesses are medical conditions that were widely explained by the humoral pathological

[7] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 21-24; Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* Istanbul University Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, IUNEK Türkçe Yazma, 07043/61, 262a.
[8] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-112; Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 21-24.

framework of Galenic medicine in the Ottoman world. Early modern Ottoman medical texts, particularly those from the 17th and 18th centuries, provide quite detailed explanations of these conditions, including their causes (aetiology), symptoms, and treatments.

According to humoral theory, the imbalance between the four humors (phlegm, blood, black bile, and yellow bile) was the cause of most diseases.[9] In the case of mental illnesses, *sevda* or "excessive" black bile was considered the primary cause of most of these conditions.[10] Therefore, it would not be wrong to conceptualize medicine as a knowledge system that provided, more than any other knowledge system, a systematic description of various mental states and conditions according to the humoral understanding of diseases.

However, as a body of knowledge, medicine did not only comprise the "learned"[11] Galenic medical understanding, which the prominent physicians of the time relied on. Rather, early modern Ottoman medicine consisted of diverse healing practices, including "popular" and "religious" healing methods as well.[12] Therefore, this thesis will not conceptualize medicine as a body of knowledge monopolized by physicians and their works; but rather, as a body of knowledge which was "inclusive" enough to enter into conversation with other knowledge systems such as Sufism, and its practitioners. Indeed, the conception of early modern Ottoman medicine can be expanded to include diverse practitioners such as Sufi sheikhs, preachers, holy fools, and practitioners of occult or magical arts; diverse practices

[9] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 29-30.
[10] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik*, 29-30; Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World, 1500-1800*, 93; Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?," 100.
[11] I chose the term "learned" as an adjective to Galenic medicine to avoid the use of terms like "scientific" or "secular" which are anachronistic and carry baggage.
[12] For a classification of the "Ottoman medical system" under three categories, namely "folkloristic popular medicine," "Prophetic or religious medicine," and "humoralism," see Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, 22-26.

such as visiting the tombs of saints for healing, seeking remedies from holy relics, and engaging in ritual acts and prayer; as well as diverse locations such as Sufi lodges (*tekke*s), mosques, and graveyards.[13]

1.3 Two bodies of knowledge: Sufism

Taking the above conceptualization of medicine as an "inclusive" knowledge system as its starting point, this thesis will treat Sufism as its second body of knowledge. There are a couple of reasons behind this choice. First of all, the medical conceptualization of mental illnesses was not monopolized by medical practitioners; it also infiltrated into "non-medical" bodies of knowledge, and was accessible to non-medical authorities as well. One of these non-medical bodies of knowledge was Sufism. Thus, some Sufi texts were also informed by the medical framework and this is the first justification for the choice of Sufism as a second body of knowledge to uncover the mutual relationship between medical and Sufi approaches to mental illness in the early modern Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, some medical texts written by prominent 17th and 18th century physicians such as Emir Çelebi and Abbas Vesim also included Sufi explanations. Evidently, figures connected to both bodies of knowledge were influenced by one another. Indeed, several early modern Ottoman physicians were closely affiliated with Sufi orders.[14]

The most important reason why Sufism is needed in this discussion is that holy folly (*meczubluk*) and holy fools (*meczub* or *mecazib* in plural) are closely

[13] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 87-100; Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan: Preachers and the Rise of a Political Public Sphere in Early Modern Istanbul (1600-1675)," 246-266.
[14] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa: Sufism, Alchemy, Iatrochemistry in Turkey, 1500-1750," 227-257.

related to both madness and Sufism. The word *meczub* comes from the root *cezb* in Arabic, which means "to attract." This, in general, refers to the state of ecstasy, or "divine attraction"; and holy fools or *meczub* were understood to be people who fell under the influence of "divine attraction" or *cezbe*.[15] *Cezbe* was understood to be a state of (usually temporary) madness that could not be explained solely through medical terms but must also be interpreted in Sufi terms, revealing the need to consult both systems of knowledge. Therefore, just as medicine had proposed a framework to conceptualize madness and mental conditions, Sufism too developed a discourse on madness, a crucial part of which was the discussion around *cezbe* and *meczub*s. Sufi teaching engenders in itself a vibrant debate on the spiritual paths that one had to go through and the mystical states encountered along the way. Within this framework, Sufis sought to find a place for the state of *cezbe* and for *meczub*s, building also upon theories of sainthood.[16] For example, questions such as the following were widely debated among Sufis: Since *meczub*s were not initiated into the Sufi path but rather received divine attraction unexpectedly at some point in their lives, was it permissible for them to become sheikhs and guide others on the Sufi path? If so, what qualities were they expected to possess in order to properly guide their disciples? Or did they still have to familiarize themselves with the Sufi path and its stages to a certain degree?[17]

In addition, the fact that *meczub*s were seen as saintly figures (*veli*) prompts one to question the boundary between *velilik* (sainthood) and *delilik* (madness), again

[15] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World*, 105.
[16] For example, on Ibn Arabi's theoretical model of sainthood and its adoption by those who defended saintly figures like *meczub*s against their opponents like Kadızadelis, see Allen, "Vernacular Ottoman Islam in the Unsettling Company of the Majdhūb," (paper presented at the IISS Graduate Symposium: Topics in Vernacular Islam, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 4, 2016).
[17] Salamah-Qudsi, "The Concept of *Jadhb* and the Image of *Majdhūb* in Sufi Teachings and Life in the Period between the Fourth/Tenth and the Tenth/Sixteenth Centuries," 255-271.

connecting madness with Sufi notions. As a result, this thesis will also devote considerable attention to *meczub*s in order to demonstrate the conceptual intersections between madness and Sufism, and to justify the need to complement the medical framework with other bodies of knowledge.

A fourth reason behind this choice is that several Sufis were attributed with the power to cure specific conditions. Attributing miraculous healing powers to Sufi sheikhs was a common theme in hagiographies. For instance, the Celveti master Üftade was depicted in hagiographical accounts as miraculously healing epilepsy.[18] In this regard, the belief that Sufi sheikhs could also cure mental conditions was an important point of connection between medicine and Sufism in their approaches to madness and is worth investigating further.

Finally, it can be said that the blurred boundary between sainthood and madness was deeply embedded in Sufism. In this regard, the prominent 17th-century Sufi sheikh Niyazi-i Mısri serves as a great case study, since he was both highly revered and criticized by his contemporaries, and was even exiled multiple times due to his controversial claims that disturbed the political authorities.[19] He was also thought to have been afflicted with madness (*cünun*). The remarks made by various people who knew him personally (or knew those who knew him personally) suggest that some of his contemporaries conceptualized him as someone suffering from *mal-i hülya*, a mental condition that was highly discussed in contemporary and earlier medical sources, and was believed to be caused by the excess of black bile.[20] Just to

[18] Felek, "Epilepsy as a "Contagious" Disease in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Ottoman World," 153-154.
[19] See Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-94)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999).
[20] See Kamil Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî" (MA Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1997); Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan*, ed. Osman Türer (Istanbul: İnsan, 2005); Halil Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016).

give some brief introductory remarks on *mal-i hülya,* even though a direct translation might be misleading, the secondary literature tends to translate or conceptualize it as "melancholia"[21] and it was apparently a broader category which comprised several other mental conditions.

Overall, Sufism appears as a comprehensive system of knowledge that complemented medicine in its approach to madness and was, in turn, complemented by it, showing their entangled nature. Of course, there are several other bodies of knowledge and sources, such as ethics literature, jurisprudential literature, especially applied jurisprudence in the form of fatwas, and court records, containing summaries of actual court cases, that also offer relevant material.[22] However, in their conception of madness, none of these surpasses the insights offered by the Sufi approach to this phenomenon. This is because madness, holiness, saintliness, and the ambiguous boundaries between these states of being are entrenched in Sufism, a fact made even more tangible through the discussion of holy folly.

1.4 Primary sources

The main sources of this thesis are medical and Sufi texts written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the medical conceptualization of mental conditions, the present study consults the following sources: the sections on separate mental illnesses from *Enmuzecü't-tıbb* written by Emir Çelebi (d. 1638)[23] and *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan* by Ibn Sellum or Salih b. Nasrullah (d. 1669),[24]

[21] Not only the secondary literature, but also Meninski's dictionary from the 17th century defines *"mâl-i hülyâ"* as "melancholia": see Francisci à Mesgnien Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* (Viennæ Austriæ: M. DC. LXXX -M. DC. LXXXVII [1680-1687].
[22] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 46-69; 135-159.
[23] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, Istanbul University Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, IUNEK Türkçe Yazma, 07043/61.
[24] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, Köprülü Library, Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa, 975.

Sevda-yı Merakiyye and *İllet-i Merakiyye* treatises by Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi (d. 1692),[25] medical dictionary *Lisanü'l-Etibba* by Hezarfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstanköyi (d. 1691),[26] and *Düsturu'l-Vesim fi't-Tıbbi'l-Cedid ve'l-Kadim* by Abbas Vesim (d. 1761-62).[27] Except for Hezarfen Hüseyin, all of the authors listed above were prominent physicians. Hezarfen Hüseyin, on the other hand, was a polymath who had a wide range of scholarly interests, including medicine.[28] In addition, since medicine was a learned tradition with centuries of history behind it, the thesis will also be referring to medical sources predating the Ottoman era. As is evident from Ottoman physicians' frequent references to figures like Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and al-Razi (d. 925) in their works, Ottoman medical understanding was significantly influenced by classical books of medicine.

In addition to these sources, I will also make use of Tokadi Mustafa Efendi's 18th-century translation of Ibn Sina's *El-Kanun fi't-Tıb* under the title *Tahbizu'l-Mathun*.[29] Tokadi (d. 1782) was also a renowned court physician, and his translation of the *Canon*, with some editions on his part, will enable us to examine continuities and changes in medical understanding and practice since the time of Ibn Sina.

Texts written by Sufis or Sufi affiliated writers hold an important place in this study. The main sources utilized are all examples of life writings, including Niyazi-i Mısri's exile diary *Mecmu'a-i kelimat-ı kudsiyye,* Mehmed Nazmi Efendi's (d. 1701) *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan*, a hagiobiography of Halveti sheikhs, in which he mentions

[25] For *Sevda-yı Merakiyye,* see Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi, *Resâilü'l-müşfiye fi'l-emrâzi'l-müşkile (Hamse-i Hayatizade),* Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 1025, 23b-39a; for *İllet-i Merakiyye,* see Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi, *Resâilü'l-müşfiye fi'l-emrâzi'l-müşkile (Hamse-i Hayatizade),* Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 1025, 1b-32a.
[26] Hezarfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî, *Lisânü'l-Etibbâ fî Lûgati'l-Edviye,* Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa 2086/1.
[27] Abbas Vesim, *Düstûru'l-Vesim fi't-Tıbbi'l-Cedid ve'l-Kadim,* Beyazıt State Library, 4097.
[28] İlgürel, "Hüseyin Efendi, Hezarfen," 544-546.
[29] Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, *El-Kânûn fi't-Tıb Tercümesi: Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn,* Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds., 6 vols., (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2018).

Mısri's condition, and İbrahim Rakım Efendi's (d. 1749) *Vakıat-ı Niyazi-i Mısri,* which is a hagiographical account about Niyazi-i Mısri.[30] These three sources will give us insight into both how Niyazi-i Mısri himself conceptualized his own condition, and how other figures from Sufi circles conceptualized the condition of such a prominent Sufi sheikh.

Moreover, since the discussion over *meczub*s will constitute an important part of this thesis, serving as another point of connection between madness and Sufism, Enfi Hasan Hulus Halveti's (d. 1724) *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirin* will be consulted. This source includes a large number of biographical entries on *meczub*s and even a female holy fool (*meczube*); and therefore, it will help us understand the ways in which Sufi circles perceived these people.[31] Apparently, Enfi Hasan also greatly benefited from Mehmed Nazmi's *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan* in conveying information about some of these figures.[32] It seems that he had already begun to compose his *Tezkire* before Mehmed Nazmi finished writing *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan,* which was in 1108/1696-7.[33] We know this because in his entry on a certain holy fool known as "Kalıcı Seyyid Mehmed el-Meczub," or "Kalıcı Delisi," Enfi states that he wrote this entry between the years of 1105/1693-4 and 1106/1694-5 and read it aloud in 1114/1702-3 in the majlis of Arif Efendi.[34] Moreover, because Enfi included in his work various people who had died

[30] Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan*, ed. Osman Türer (Istanbul: İnsan, 2005); Halil Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016); Kamil Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî" (MA Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1997).
[31] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halveti, *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler: Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* Musa Yıldız and Mustafa Tatcı eds. (İstanbul: H Yayınları, 2014); Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* National Library of Turkey, 3481/3.
[32] See Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 53a-58b.
[33] Aksoy, "Nazmi Efendi, Mehmed," 460.
[34] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 42b.

in the early 1720s, we can assume that he continued adding to it until his death in 1724.[35]

Evliya Çelebi's (d. ca. 1684) *Seyahatname* is also extremely rich in its representation of holy fools, and Evliya's narratives about these figures will contribute to this discussion.[36] To see whether there were similar accounts in earlier periods, Muhyi-i Gülşeni's (d. 1604) *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni* from the 16th century will also be used in the discussion of holy folly and Sufism.[37] As a final source within this category, the *vefeyatname* genre, particularly İsmail Beliğ's (d. 1730) *Güldeste-i Riyaz-ı İrfan,* in which he narrated the life stories of prominent Sufi sheikhs, poets, and intellectuals who were born in or at least died in Bursa, will be used. This source also contains lively narratives on those afflicted with *cezbe.*[38]

In addition, contemporary dictionaries such as Vankulu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 1592) *Vankulu Lügati,* which was a translation originally from İsmail b. Hammad el-Cevheri's 10th-century dictionary titled *es-Sıhah,*[39] and Francisci à Mesgnien

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[35] In the entry on another holy fool known as "Kâdı Süleymân Efendi el-Meczub," Enfî writes: "This entry was in the year of 1122/1710-1. Its date of register (*tahrir*) is 1136/1723-4.": see Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 48b: *"Bu madde 1122 senesindeydi. Vakt-i tahrir ki 1136'dır."*
Considering the dates in these entries on first Kalıcı Delisi (1693-1694 as the composition date of this specific entry) and then Kâdı Süleymân (1723 as the date of register), it can be said that Enfî Hasan probably started composing this work in the very late 17th century and continued to work on it until very close to his death, as he died in 1724. Indeed, once the other entries are checked, it can be seen that there were many people whose date of death Enfî Hasan recorded as the 1720s: See for example Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 80; 118.
Therefore, *Tezkire* can even be considered as a lifetime project for Enfî Hasan because as is visible from these dates, he must have spent almost 30 years of his life composing this work; and as he was probably born after 1660 and died in 1724, this work occupied almost half of his life.

[36] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu - Dizini,* Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı eds. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006).

[37] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds. (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014).

[38] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* ed. Suat Donuk (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2017).

[39] Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* 2 vols., (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014).

Meninski's (d. 1698) *Thesaurus*[40] will be consulted to uncover the concepts with which the early modern Ottoman world referred to mental illnesses.

1.5 Literature review

One of the first scholarly figures who comes to mind in discussions of madness is Michel Foucault, particularly for his well-known work *Madness and Civilization.* In this work, Foucault coined the term "Great Confinement" to conceptualize a watershed in early modern European history, roughly corresponding to the 17th and 18th centuries, when hospital and asylums began to serve as mechanisms of "social control," and instruments of marginalization and isolation of individuals and groups diagnosed as "mad."[41] Even though the issue of hospitals and the institutional history of madness are out of the scope of the present study, Foucauldian understanding is still worth mentioning as Foucault's works continue to be referred to in the studies of mental illness and especially his perception of mental disease as a culturally constructed phenomenon is relevant also for the historical context studied here.[42]

A seminal study on the subject of madness in the context of premodern Muslim societies is Michael W. Dols' *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society.*[43] In this work, Dols analyzes multiple aspects of madness, ranging from its medical conceptualization (i.e. aetiology, symptoms, treatment, etc.) to its legal implications, the reception of *mecnun*s, the care provided for the mentally ill in

[40] Francisci à Mesgnien Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* (Viennæ Austriæ: M. DC. LXXX -M. DC. LXXXVII [1680-1687].
[41] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967).
[42] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967); For an exploration of the Ottoman context, see Şeyma Afacan, "From Traditionalism to Modernism: Mental Health in the Ottoman Empire" (MA Thesis, Sabancı University, 2010), 1.
[43] Michael W. Dols, *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society*, ed. Diana E. Immisch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

medieval hospitals and by families, the state's attitude toward the mad, various healing traditions such as prophetic healing and magic, and holy folly. The findings of this book have been crucial for the present thesis because early modern Ottoman medical understandings were considerably fed by the classical books of medicine, and Ottoman authors made frequent references to figures such as Ibn Sina and al-Razi. Consequently, there was also considerable continuity in the perception of *mecnun*s from earlier Islamic societies to the early modern Ottoman world.

Important studies have also been conducted on the conceptualization of mental illnesses in the early modern Ottoman era. Some of the early contributions to the topic were done by Nil Sarı. Her habilitation thesis, completed in 1982, analyzes *mal-i hülya* and its treatment through Ottoman medical manuscripts.[44] Several of her subsequent articles also deal with the conceptualization and classification of mental diseases through kadi court records and medical texts.[45]

Sara Scalenghe's book chapter "Impairments of the Mind" in her *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World, 1500-1800* is also worth mentioning, especially within the context of the diversity of the conditions and the ambiguity of the terms with which these conditions were referred to.[46] Especially noteworthy is her attempt to understand melancholia and madness in relation to one another, which is also crucial for the present study, as the terms *mal-i hülya* and *cünun* are among the most frequently appearing terms in the examined sources.

[44] Nil Sarı, "Osmanlıca Tıp Yazmalarında Mâl-i Hülyâ ve Tedavisi," (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi, Tıp Tarihi ve Deontoloji Bilim Dalı, Doçentlik Tezi, 1982); Sarı, "Cerrahiyetü'l Haniye'de Dağlama Yoluyla Mâl-i Hülya Tedavisi ve Akupunktur Yöntemi ile Karşılaştırılması," 85-91.
[45] Sarı, "A review of Ottoman court records on mental diseases," 58-67; Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-112.
[46] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 88-123.

In her book *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700,* Miri Shefer-Mossensohn briefly touches upon madness, some cures to deal with madness, and the place of mad people in the early modern society in passing.[47] Since this book is a general overview of early modern Ottoman medicine, there are no chapters or sub-chapters on madness. However, even her brief remarks bring together a significant amount of information.

In relation to the earlier mentioned issues of terminology, conceptualization, and classification, the article written by Meriç Kurtuluş is also worth mentioning: Kurtuluş studies how Evliya Çelebi defined madness in his *Seyahatname* with reference to both *mecnun*s and *meczub*s based on the parts where Evliya narrated the hospitals in Edirne and Egypt.[48] This is the first study to deal with the issue of madness in Evliya's *Seyahatname* as well as one of a handful of works that make a conceptual and terminological discussion of madness in the Ottoman world.

There have also been a few studies on the concept of holy folly in the early modern Ottoman context. In this context, Enfi Hasan's *Tezkire* which includes multiple accounts on holy fools has attracted some attention from scholars recently. In this regard, a few paper presentations on this source can be named such as Alexandre Papas' "A seventeenth-century Ottoman Sufi addendum (*zeyl*) and the world around it"[49] and Gülşen Yakar's "Saints, Holy Madmen and a Court Songster-Dervish: Enfi/Burnaz Hasan Hulus (d. 1724) and *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirin*."[50] In her above

[47] For example, see Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700,* 44-45; 72-83; 105-106; 139-147; 169-170.
[48] Kurtuluş, "Osmanlının Meczûbları ve Mecnûnları: Erken Modern Dönemde Hastaneler ve Deliliğe Bakış," 100-113.
[49] Alexandre Papas, "A seventeenth-century Ottoman Sufi addendum *(zeyl)* and the world around it," (paper presented at Sufi Manuscript Cultures Workshop, Boğaziçi University Nafi Baba Tasavvuf, Tarih ve Kültürel Miras Araştırma Merkezi in collaboration with Centre for Anatolian and East Mediterranean Studies, University of St Andrews and the Institute of Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences, June 5-6, 2023).
[50] Gülşen Yakar, "Erenler, Hak Yolunda Meczûplar ve Bir Hânende-Dervîş: Enfî/Burnaz Hasan Hulûs (ö.1724) ve *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn/* Saints, Holy Madmen and a Court Songster-Dervish:

mentioned article, Meriç Kurtuluş also devotes a place to Enfi Hasan's *Tezkire* in relation to Evliya's *Seyahatname* since Evliya narrated the stories of several *meczub*s as well, some of whom were also mentioned by Enfi Hasan.[51]

Another recent study on *meczub*s in the Ottoman world is Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh's article "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo." This study is especially valuable for the distinctions that she makes between *meczub*s and deviant (mostly Kalenderi) dervishes.[52] These distinctions are very helpful in conceptualizing *meczub*s and the question of holy folly in general. Finally, although Anurag Advani's article on holy fools in the early modern Mughal India deals with another part of the Islamic world, the insights it offers into holy folly are nevertheless relevant also to the Ottomanists dealing with the issue of holy madness.[53]

Most recently, Rüya Kılıç published a book titled *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik* (*Madness and the Mad in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*), which is the most comprehensive study of madness in the early modern Ottoman world to date. This study examines madness in the early modern Ottoman world from multiple perspectives, including the medical framework, moral conceptions, societal reception of the mad, and the care provided for them. To do this, Kılıç draws on a wide range of primary sources including medical texts, moral literature, court records (*kadı sicilleri*), literary sources, and contemporary histories over several centuries. Of course, a study of this breadth cannot possibly exhaust the potential of

Enfî/Burnaz Hasan Hulûs (d.1724) and *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,*" (paper presented at Osmanlı Literatüründe Ben-Anlatıları Sempozyumu/Ottoman Ego-Documents Symposium, Skopje, May 24-26, 2024).

[51] Kurtuluş, "Osmanlının Meczûbları ve Mecnûnları," 109-113.

[52] Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo," 535-565.

[53] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẓūbs: Three Sufi Hagiographies in Sixteenth-Century Mughal India," 27-73.

its rich source base but rather provides future researchers with plenty of new avenues of inquiry to explore.[54]

There are more studies on the history of madness in the context of the late Ottoman period with the institutionalization of health care. Fatih Artvinli's studies on Toptaşı Bimarhanesi, which was later moved to Bakırköy and is today known as *Bakırköy Prof. Dr. Mazhar Osman Ruh Sağlığı ve Sinir Hastalıkları Hastanesi,* can be counted as one of the most important works among them.[55] Cihangir Gündoğdu's PhD dissertation on the 19th-century mental asylum reform, and his articles on Luigi Mongeri (d. 1882), who was one of the most important reformist figures of the time, are crucial from the perspective of institutional history.[56] In addition, we might mention Betül Yalçıner and Lütfü Hanioğlu's book *İç Bahçe: Toptaşı'ndan Bakırköy'e Akıl Hastanesi.*[57] The institutionalization of healthcare for the mentally challenged can probably be counted as one of the defining features of the late Ottoman era. Similarly, Şeyma Afacan's Master's thesis also approaches the issue of mental health from the perspective of Ottoman medical modernization.[58] Finally, Burcu Belli analyzes the perception of madness during the process of modernization in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire, particularly during Abdülhamid II's reign, from social, institutional, and state perspectives.[59]

[54] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 22-24.
[55] Fatih Artvinli, "Toptaşı Bimarhanesi (1873-1927): Delilik, Siyaset ve Toplum" (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011).
[56] Cihangir Gündoğdu, " 'Are There No Asylums?' The Ottoman State and the Insane, 1856-1908" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2014); Gündoğdu, "Luigi Mongeri: A reformist and expert on "Oriental Insanity" in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," 418-437.
[57] Betül Yalçıner, Lütfü Hanioğlu, *İç Bahçe: Toptaşı'ndan Bakırköy'e Akıl Hastanesi* (İstanbul: Okyanus Yayın, 2001).
[58] Afacan, "From Traditionalism to Modernism: Mental Health in the Ottoman Empire," 41-59.
[59] Burcu Belli, "Insanity in the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2014); Burcu Belli, *Geç Dönem Osmanlı'da Delilik: Akıl Hastalığı ve Delilik* (Ankara: Fol Kitap, 2024).

As this brief survey has shown, there are several important works in the field of the history of madness, particularly in the context of the 19th century. However, this is still a relatively underexplored area of research in Ottoman studies, especially with regard to the early modern period. It is easier to find sources on the 19th century, as this was an era of modernization and institutionalization; and medicine, hospitals, and thus the treatment of mad people were intricate parts of that process. However, early modern Ottoman sources on mental illnesses are also abundant and this is also visible from the fact that there are many editions of such sources available to the readers. Nevertheless, most of these studies do not provide a detailed discussion of these sources and merely provide a brief introduction followed by a transcription of single texts.[60] Therefore, an in-depth and focused analysis of mental illnesses and how they were approached in the early modern Ottoman world is missing in the literature and it is this gap that this thesis endeavors to help fill.

1.6 The outline of the thesis

Besides this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will be devoted to the medical conceptualization of mental conditions through the above-mentioned physicians' texts. As the early modern Ottoman physicians mostly based their explanations on Galenic medicine, it is essential to understand the logic behind this medical conceptualization. Thus, the first part of Chapter 2 will provide a general framework for understanding how Galenic medicine and humoral theory explained illnesses, and

[60] See for example Kültüral and Koç, "Ruhsal Hastalıklara Dair Bir Risale: Sevda-yı Merakiyye," 217-244; Zekiye Gül Elbir, "Salih bin Nasrullah (Ibn Sellum el-Halebi) / Gayetü'l-beyan fi tedbiri bedeni'l-insan; Giriş-inceleme-metin-dizin" (PhD diss., Fırat Üniversitesi, 2000); Hüsamettin Halit Atlı, "XVII. Yüzyıl Hekimbaşısı Emir Çelebi ve Eseri Enmûzecü't-Tıbb" (PhD diss., Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, 2021); İsmail Dönmez, "Hayatîzâde Mustafa Feyzî'nin Risâle-i İllet-i Merâkiyye adlı eseri (vr. 1b-32a) (İnceleme-metin-dizin-tıpkıbasım)" (MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2020); Ekrem Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük" (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011); Shaymaa İmad, "Düstûru'l-Vesîm fî't-Tıbbi'l-Cedîd ve'l-Kadîm" (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2019).

in particular mental illnesses, before examining the topic in greater detail. A subchapter here will address the gender and sexuality dimension of mental illnesses, as the above-mentioned sources reveal that the medical conceptualization also entailed gender and sexuality-related explanations. These include differences in the manifestation of certain mental conditions between men and women, as well as sexual recommendations made by physicians to overcome some of these illnesses.

Chapter 3, on the other hand, will examine Sufi approaches to mental conditions based on the aforementioned Sufi sources, and will regard Niyazi-i Mısri's condition, both as perceived by himself and other Sufi-affiliated people, as a case study. This chapter will also address the complementary nature of medicine and Sufism through examples of mutual influence between these two systems of knowledge. A subchapter here will be on the question of holy folly and thus on *meczub*s. As mentioned earlier, these figures were closely connected to Sufi circles, and both *meczub*s and the question of holy folly will serve as a bridge between madness and Sufism, or between sainthood and madness. Finally, this chapter will explore healing practices in Sufi milieus, once again emphasizing the permeability between these two bodies of knowledge. Overall, the organization of this thesis evolves from the general to the specific, with each subsequent chapter examining the particularities of medical and Sufi conceptions of mental illnesses as two interconnected bodies of knowledge.

CHAPTER 2

THE MEDICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MENTAL CONDITIONS

2.1 Galenic medicine and humoral theory

Before going into the details of how mental conditions were medically conceptualized, it is necessary to introduce the general explanatory framework, which is Galenic medicine and its humoral understanding. As discussed earlier, when we think of medicine in the early modern Ottoman realm, we should mention a wide array of practices and perspectives as the early modern Ottoman medical understanding did not only consist of Galenic medicine. However, Galenic medicine was the established medical tradition in the "learned" medical sphere, and for the scope of this thesis, this chapter will mostly focus on this side of Ottoman medicine.

In their discussion of mental illnesses and madness, early modern Ottoman physicians have built most of their explanation on Galenic medicine and its humoral theory. According to humoral theory, there were four bodily fluids responsible for health and disease: phlegm, blood, black bile, and yellow bile. These four fluids corresponded to the four elements (water, air, earth, fire), and were also associated with four qualities: hot, cold, wet, and dry. Additionally, each humor was linked to one of four temperaments: choleric, melancholic, sanguine, and phlegmatic.[61]

The imbalance among these four humors was considered to be the causes of most diseases, both mental and physical. When there was balance among these bodily fluids, by contrast, mental and bodily health was ensured. In order to restore this balance, physicians treated diseases with "the cures of opposites" for their

[61] Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 87-106.

neutralizing effect. Or, they could also extract the excess of certain bodily fluids to restore the balance, such as through bloodletting in a patient with too much blood.[62]

Here, it is important to stress that humoralism did not generate separate medical explanations for mental and physical illnesses, but rather, explained the aetiology of mental conditions in the same way as physical illnesses. In that sense, mental illnesses were conceptualized just like physical illnesses. For instance, "melancholic" temperament was related to "black bile" *(sevda),* and the "excessive", "corrupted" and "burned" black bile was considered to be the main cause of *mal-i hülya*, or "melancholia."[63] In the following sections, I will elaborate on the specific ways in which early modern Ottoman medical figures perceived mental conditions, first starting with the more specific causations and then the categorizations they made.

2.2 Physicians

Prior to the discussion on the aetiology of mental conditions, it is necessary to introduce the figures whose works will be used as primary sources in this chapter. Firstly, Ibn Sellum, or Salih b. Nasrullah, whose *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan* will be used, was a prominent physician of the 17th-century, who also served as the chief physician in the Ottoman court for a long time period.[64] He was also among the first Ottoman physicians to be influenced by a new medical tradition, namely *Tıbb-ı Cedid*, as it was known in the Ottoman context.[65] Emir Çelebi, whose

[62] For a more detailed explanation of the principles of Galenic humoral understanding, see Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 87-106.
[63] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 29-30; Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 93; Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 100.
[64] Kırbıyık, "Sâlih b. Nasrullah," 41-43.
[65] For Paracelsian medicine within the Ottoman context, see Bachour, "Iatrochemistry and Paracelsism in the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 82-116; Akif

Enmuzecü't-tıbb will also be consulted in this chapter, was another well-known physician of the 17th-century and served as the chief physician at the Ottoman royal court for many years. He allegedly used opium (*afyon*) and as the story goes, once this information reached Sultan Murad IV, the sultan forced him to consume an excessive amount of opium during their chess game, and thus caused him to die.[66] A third physician whose *Sevda-yı Merakiyye* and *İllet-i Merakiyye* treatises will be consulted was, Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi. Hayatizade came from a family of Jewish physicians. His original name before converting to Islam through Turhan Sultan's initiative was Moche Ben Raphael Abravanel. Hayatizade also held the position of chief physician; however, he was removed from this post after falling out of favor. There were different claims regarding the reasons for his dismissal. One was that he was blamed for applying a wrong treatment to Sultan Süleyman II following Süleyman II's death, while the other was related to his alleged "Crypto-Judaism" and the accompanying rumors that he was not properly observing Islamic rituals but instead continuing to practice Jewish rituals. Nevertheless, Hayatizade's dismissal, and ultimately imprisonment in Yedikule, did not hinder his descendants' careers, as they continued to hold important positions as physicians.[67]

Among the 18th-century physicians whose sources are utilized in this thesis, Abbas Vesim was the author of *Düsturu'l-Vesim fi't-Tıbbi'l-Cedid ve'l-Kadim* and one of the leading representatives of *Tıbb-ı Cedid* in the Ottoman medical arena of his time.[68] He had received his education from Ömer Şifai and Ali Münşi, prominent

Ercihan Yerlioğlu, "Paracelsus Goes East: Ottoman 'New Medicine' and Its Afterlife" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2020); Yerlioğlu, "Who "Banned" New Medicine in the Ottoman Empire?," 195-225; For Ibn Sellum's position in *Tıbb-ı Cedid,* see Shefer-Mossensohn, "An Ottoman Physician and His Social and Intellectual Milieu: The Case of Salih Bin Nasrallah Ibn Sallum," 102-123.

[66] Demirhan Erdemir, "Emîr Çelebi," 129-130.

[67] Yıldırım, "Hayâtîzâde Mustafa Feyzî," 16-17; Yıldız, "A Strange Affliction from Abroad: The Ottoman Chief Imperial Physician Hayatizade's Treatise on the Polish Plait (*Plica Polonica*)," 233.

[68] Baltacı, "Abbas Vesim Efendi," 29-30.

physicians of that century who were also under the influence of *Tıbb-ı Cedid*.[69] The final physician to be mentioned was Tokadi Mustafa Efendi. He made a translation of Ibn Sina's *Canon,* which he titled as *Tahbizu'l-Mathun* and this is the last source produced by a physician for the scope of this thesis. Tokadi was also one of the palace physicians (*etibba-i hassa*), and it is said that one of the physicians that he raised was Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi (d. 1801), who was a well-known physician of the late 18th-century.[70] The last medical source that will be consulted is a medical dictionary titled *Lisanü'l-Etibba,* prepared by Hezarfen Hüseyin. Hezarfen Hüseyin was not a physician but a polymath, whose works ranged from history, literature, and translations to politics, morality, Sufism, and medicine.[71]

2.3 Aetiology

This section will discuss the more specific explanations that physicians made regarding the causes of mental illnesses, besides the aforementioned basics of aetiology of diseases according to Galenic humoralism. In the case of *mal-i hülya,* for instance, the excessive or corrupted blood was among the causes of this condition according to Ibn Sellum.[72] Moreover, not only the aetiology of *mal-i hülya*, but also its treatment could be based on this fact according to him. In order to balance the excessive blood in the body, Ibn Sellum recommended bloodletting and quite strikingly, he provided the readers with detailed information about which bodily part one must take the blood from depending on the type of *mal-i hülya*, and how one

[69] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 252.
[70] Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, *El-Kânûn fi't-Tıb Tercümesi: Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn,* vol. 1, 36; on Gevrekzade Hasan Efendi, see Uslu, "Hasan Efendi, Gevrekzâde," 316-318.
[71] İlgürel, "Hüseyin Efendi, Hezarfen," 544-546.
[72] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b: *"Eğer kanda galebe veya fesad var ise kan almak gerek."*

should proceed if the blood was red or black and so on.[73] Almost the same information regarding from where to draw blood, what it meant when the blood was red or black etc. with very similar wording is also present in Emir Çelebi's work in the section about *mal-i hülya*.[74]

It seems that this discussion goes way back. Rüya Kılıç states that in his *Kitabu'l-Müntehab fi't-Tıb* from the 15th century, Abdülvehhab b. Yusuf el-Mardani also emphasized the importance of looking at the color of the blood to decide the kind of treatment to apply in the case of *mal-i hülya*. According to him, if the color of the blood was black, a certain amount of it should be drained and then one should let it rest for a few days.[75]

The reason why there was such an emphasis on the blood both in terms of causation and treatment can be explained by the conceptualization of blood in the medical discourse: As Emilie Savage-Smith points out, this substance flowing in human veins was thought to be "a mixture of pure blood, yellow bile and black bile."[76] Thus, once the blood was removed from the body, other humors were also thought to be removed, the most important of which in this context was black bile as black bile was directly associated with *mal-i hülya*.[77] Therefore, physicians might have considered bloodletting as a way to extract the excess of black bile to treat *mal-i hülya*.

Savage-Smith further suggests that physicians might have associated the black color in blood with black bile: "Black bile has no obvious equivalent in modern terms, though the darkest part of coagulated blood is black."[78] In line with

[73] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 135b-136a.
[74] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 116b.
[75] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 30-31.
[76] Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 98.
[77] Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 100.
[78] Savage-Smith, "Were the Four Humours Fundamental to Medieval Islamic Medical Practice?", 91.

Savage-Smith's remarks that connect black blood to black bile, Ibn Sellum recommended not to drain the blood, if it was red, but to drain a certain amount of blood, if it was black.[79]

Other factors could also cause mental conditions according to physicians. In his *Risale-i İllet-i Merakiyye*, Hayatizade counted seven reasons for this condition. Among them, there were physiological causes such as problems related to stomach, digestive problems, consumption of certain foods which caused imbalances in the humors, the inability of the body to evacuate the bodily fluids which got stuck in the body, and the lack or excess of physical activity alongside mental and emotional causes such as sorrow, grief, fear, and anger.[80] Therefore, according to early modern Ottoman physicians, there were various reasons behind specific conditions, and they proposed diverse explanations for the causes of diseases.

2.4 Categorization of mental illnesses

In early modern Ottoman medical sources, mental conditions were classified under "head diseases," which included diseases that we would call "physical" today rather than "mental" such as *devar* (dizziness), *lakve* (facial paralysis), *suda'* (headache), *sekte* (apoplexy), *ra'şe* (tremor) and so on.[81]

The fact that mental conditions were not discussed under a special category of their own but rather under "head diseases" is important in the sense that it signals the ambiguous boundaries between mental and physical illnesses. Actually, this categorization was not unique to the 17th and 18th century, but was rooted in a

[79] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b-136a.
[80] Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi, *Risâle-i İllet-i Merâkiyye,* in *Resâilü'l-müşfiye fi'l-emrâzi'l-müşkile (Hamse-i Hayatizade)*, 6b-10a.
[81] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-112; Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 21-24.

tradition that long predated the Ottoman era. Mental conditions were also classified under "head diseases" in medieval Islamic medicine, as can be seen from classical medical texts like Ibn Sina's *el-Kanun fi't-Tıbb.* Early modern Ottoman physicians like Emir Çelebi and Ibn Sellum frequently quoted from Ibn Sina in their discussion of mental conditions.[82] This testifies to a significant degree of continuity of the medieval Islamic medical understanding, which was also based on Galenic medicine. As Rüya Kılıç and Nil Sarı demonstrate, the imprint of medieval Islamic medical texts was also evident in 15th-century medical sources, and even in earlier sources from the 14th century, like that of Hacı Paşa's *Müntehab-ı Şifa,* and Mukbilzade Mü'min's *Zahire-i Muradiye,* Tabib İbn-i Şerif's *Yadigar,* and Abdüllvehhab b. Yusuf el-Mardani's *Kitabu'l-Müntehab fi't-Tıb* from the 15th century.[83] In each of these sources, mental conditions like *mal-i hülya* were listed alongside the above-mentioned conditions under the category of "head diseases."

Even though there was not a separate category of "mental diseases" in the classification of diseases, specific mental conditions were categorized amongst themselves according to certain premises. *Mal-i hülya,* for example, seems to have been a broader category under which many other mental illnesses were listed as sub-categories. The famous Ottoman physician Emir Çelebi, for instance, described conditions like *meraki, kutrub, manya,* and *'aşk* as sub-branches of *mal-i hülya* with expressions like "a type of melancholia" (*"mal-i hülyadan bir nev'dür"*) in his well-known work *Enmuzecü't-tıbb.*[84]

[82] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 25; also see See Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, *El-Kânûn fi't-Tıb Tercümesi: Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn,* Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds., 6 vols., (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2018).
[83] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-112; Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 22-23.
[84] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 117a-119b.

Similarly, though not a physician himself, in his *Lisanü'l-Etibba,* Hezarfen Hüseyin also discussed *meraki* and *kutrub* in almost the same terms as Emir Çelebi.[85] In a similar vein, Ibn Sellum also mentioned a sub-category of *mal-i hülya* as *mal-i hülya-yı merakiyye,* which again identifies *merakiyye* as a sub-type of *mal-i hülya.*[86] Moreover, Ibn Sellum also prescribed the same treatments for both *mal-i hülya* and *'aşk.*[87] Considering the fact that *'aşk* could be seen as a sub-branch of *mal-i hülya* just as in Emir Çelebi's explanation, the application of the same treatment for these conditions should not come as a surprise.

Furthermore, considering that *merakiyye* was regarded as a sub-category of *mal-i hülya,* the conditions known as *illet-i merakiyye* and *sevda-yı merakiyye,* about which Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi penned two treatises and which took their name from a membrane within the stomach called *merak,* were also considered other sub-types of *mal-i hülya.*[88] Therefore, it appears from this picture that there were different branches of mental conditions, classified under *mal-i hülya*.

This conceptualization of *mal-i hülya* as a broader category which included other mental diseases in itself has also been pointed out by other scholars. In her analysis of Sabuncuoğlu's *Cerrahiyetü'l-Haniye* in terms of the treatment of *mal-i hülya*, Nil Sarı explains *mal-i hülya* as "a group of illnesses" which included *meraki* and *kutrub*.[89] Similarly, in her discussion of mental conditions in the context of the early modern Ottoman-Arab world, Sara Scalenghe demonstrates that physicians

[85] For *merâkî*, see Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 332; for *katrab*, see Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metinsözlük," 291.
[86] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 135b.
[87] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 138b.
[88] Dönmez, "Hayatîzâde Mustafa Feyzî'nin Risâle-i İllet-i Merâkiyye adlı eseri (vr. 1b-32a) (İnceleme-metindizin-tıpkıbasım)," 11; Kültüral and Koç, "Ruhsal Hastalıklara Dair Bir Risale: Sevda-yı Merakiyye," 218.
[89] Sarı, "Cerrahiyetü'l-Haniye'de Dağlama Yoluyla Mâl-i Hülya Tedavisi ve Akupunktur Yöntemi ile Karşılaştırılması," 87.

conceptualized melancholia (i.e. *mal-i hülya*) as a condition "comprising a group of illnesses."[90] Again, almost certainly, this group of illnesses would include conditions like *meraki* and *kutrub.* Thus, the general category of *mal-i hülya* included several sub-types of mental diseases.

Here, Ibn Sellum's tripartite division of *mal-i hülya* can give us further clues about the conceptualization of this condition. He suggested that *mal-i hülya* can be classified according to three constituents, namely body (*beden*), mind (*dimağ*), and the membrane called *merak* within the stomach, making *mal-i hülya-yı merakiyye* that was mentioned earlier.[91] A similar division can also be found in Emir Çelebi. Although he did not state directly that *mal-i hülya* consisted of three parts, he too mentioned the first two constituents (i.e. body and mind) in detail in his explanation of the aetiology of disease, suggesting that it was *sevda* (black bile) being the predominant humor in the "body" and "mind" which caused this condition: In his words, the cause of it was "the dominance of black bile over mind and body."[92] Moreover, akin to the third constituent that Ibn Sellum identified as *merak,* Emir Çelebi also discussed *mal-i hülya-yı merakiyye* as another sub-category of *mal-i hülya.*[93]

The classification that Ibn Sellum and Emir Çelebi made under *mal-i hülya* is also remarkable in the sense that it reminds us of the inseparable nature of body and mind in the discussion of mental conditions, as both body and mind were treated side by side in their explanation. By combining these and similar approaches of physicians regarding *mal-i hülya* being an overarching category with its three main

[90] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World*, 92.
[91] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b.
[92] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 116b: *"Sebebi nefs-i dimâğda ya cemî'-i bedende sevdâ gâlib olmakdır."*
[93] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 116b-117a.

constituents (i.e. *beden, dimağ, merak*), it becomes clear that there was a consensus among seventeenth-century Ottoman physicians over the categorization of mental conditions.

Regarding this division of *mal-i hülya* into three constituents, Nil Sarı's remarks on the classification of *sar'a* (epilepsy) is worth discussing as the division of *sar'a* in medical sources seems quite similar to these three constituents of *mal-i hülya*. Sarı suggests that the sources identified different categories of *sar'a* and the two of these categories were particularly similar to the discussion of *mal-i hülya*, namely *sar'a-i dimağ* and *sar'a-i midevi*, again highlighting mind and stomach.[94] These two types of *sar'a* are reminiscent of two of the three constituents of *mal-i hülya* that Ibn Sellum and Emir Çelebi identified, namely *dimağ* and *merak*, the latter of which was a membrane in the stomach. This correlation that physicians established among mental conditions and stomach is striking as it demonstrates the physiological explanations behind these conditions. In this conceptualization, stomach was apparently considered as a leading organ from which mental conditions like *mal-i hülya* and *sar'a* emerged.

2.5 Phases of mental illnesses

For the categorization of mental illnesses, it is important to identify the steps in which these conditions appeared within this scheme. Evidently, in the minds of Ottoman-era physicians, mental illness did not automatically lead to madness, but madness could be the ultimate stage of certain conditions. In this regard, physicians like Emir Çelebi, Ibn Sellum, and Hayatizade highlighted certain phases of mental illnesses and set certain limits for these illnesses as if talking about a chain reaction

[94] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 109.

in which one particular condition led to another, eventually reaching the stage of madness. The following quote from Ibn Sellum's discussion of *'aşk* can support this view: "*'Aşk* is an illness which afflicts the heart. It emerges from gazing at beautiful faces and contemplating on their beauty. Step by step, this *'aşk* causes madness (*cünun*), anxiety (*vesvese*), mania (*manya*) and diseases as such."[95] As it can be understood from Ibn Sellum's words, *cünun* and *manya* were conceptualized as the next more severe steps of *'aşk* and suffering from *'aşk* did not necessarily mean madness during the earlier stages. Apparently, however, *'aşk* could evolve into madness and mania over time.

A similar picture emerges from Hayatizade's discussion of *sevda-yı merakiyye* as well. He suggests that if the burning of humors reaches to a high degree, *sevda-yı merakiyye* can revert to *cünun.*[96] Madness also appears as the next stage of *mal-i hülya* in Emir Çelebi's discussion. In his *Enmuzecü't-tıbb,* he quotes the advice of a certain İskender Hekim for the treatment of *mal-i hülya* and records that this condition should not be treated by heated laxatives, which would eventually cause *cünun.*[97] Here, *cünun* appears as the possible negative outcome of a wrong treatment for *mal-i hülya*. In all these physicians' accounts, *cünun* or madness was considered as the next, more severe step of *mal-i hülya* and its sub-types, such as *'aşk* and *sevda-yı merakiyye*. Scalenghe also makes the same point by noting that

[95] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 138a-138b: *"'Aşk bir marazdır ki kalbe 'arız olur bazı güzel suretlere bakub anın güzelliğini tahsin eyleyüb çok zaman fikr eylemekden peyda olur ve bu 'aşk giderek cününa ve vesveseye manya ve marazına mü'eddi olur."*
[96] Kültüral and Koç, "Ruhsal Hastalıklara Dair Bir Risale: Sevda-yı Merakiyye," 223: *"ve eğer ihtirak ziyade şedid olursa sevda-yı merâkiyye-i maniyyeye yani cününa intikal etmesinde mütekaddimîn ve müteahhirînün ittifakları isbat-ı müddeaya delil-i kavidür, didiler."*
[97] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, 118b: *"İskender Hekim eydür; ashâb-ı mâlihulyâda harâreti kavî devâlar ile hârr eyâricler ishâl itdirme ki, demin harâretini ziyâdece eyler. Cününa müeddî olur."*

"*cünun* was classified as one of the more violent forms of melancholia (i.e. *mal-i hülya*)."[98]

Scalenghe's words are also important in the sense that they make us question where *mal-i hülya* ended and madness (*cünun*) began. This question becomes complicated once we consider the identity of patients. For example, in his chapter on *mal-i hülya,* Ibn Sellum narrated some patient stories (although not his own patients) in which he referred to them as *mecnun,*[99] a term which shares the same root with the word *cünun* and was used to denote those who suffered from *cünun*.[100] Thus, on the one hand, it seems that a connection between *cünun* and *mal-i hülya* was established such that *cünun* was regarded as *mal-i hülya*'s next stage; on the other hand, this classification ironically makes things much more complex as in the case of the melancholic patient who is referred to as *mecnun,* demonstrating in the words of Scalenghe "the ambiguous boundaries between melancholia and madness."[101] Overall, early modern Ottoman physicians like Emir Çelebi, Ibn Sellum, and Hayatizade identified the stages or the various degrees of mental conditions, the ultimate degree of which was apparently *cünun.*

2.6 Identifying the patients

How did the early modern Ottoman physicians define the patients? The description of those who suffered from these conditions can also give insights into the perception of these diseases. For instance, in the case story that he narrated in the section on *mal-i hülya,* Ibn Sellum used the word *mecnun* for that particular patient.[102] On the

[98] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 93.
[99] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 134b-135a.
[100] See Dönmez, "Cünûn," 8: 125-129; Sarı and Akgün, "Mecnun Kavramına Bir Bakış," 119-125; also see Dols' seminal work, Dols, *Majnun: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society.*
[101] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 97.
[102] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 134b.

other hand, Emir Çelebi and Hayatizade did not only refer to the patients as such: In the case of *manya,* Emir Çelebi identified the patients as *sahib-i manya*[103] and in *mal-i hülya* as *ashab-ı mal-i hülya.*[104] Hayatizade, however, mostly used the words *mariz* and *alil* to define the patients just as they were suffering from a physical ailment.[105]

The importance of these references to patients lies in the fact that mental conditions were conceptualized as more or less "physiological" conditions, which is also evident from the physicians' explanations of their causes. The fact that these conditions were listed under the category of "head diseases" is also revealing in this regard.[106] There was apparently no special heading for mental conditions where only conditions like *mal-i hülya, kutrub, manya* and *'aşk* were discussed. This shows us that early modern Ottoman medicine did not distinguish them from physical illnesses.

2.7 Symptoms

The symptoms of the conditions that physicians defined are just as important as the issue of classification and aetiology with regard to their conceptualization. Besides, the symptoms that physicians listed once again reveal that there was no clear-cut division between mental and physical conditions as the body and mind were treated together in the discussion of symptoms. As discussed earlier, in the case of *mal-i hülya,* Ibn Sellum divided this condition into body (*beden*), mind (*dimağ*), and the membrane called *merak* within the stomach: Under this first "bodily" category, he

[103] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 118a.
[104] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 118b.
[105] Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi, *Risâle-i İllet-i Merâkiyye,* 9a; 12a; Kültüral and Koç, "Ruhsal Hastalıklara Dair Bir Risale: Sevda-yı Merakiyye," 221; 225.
[106] See Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-112; also see Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 21-24.

mostly mentioned physical symptoms which affect the body such as the pulse being unstable, the increase in the body hair, and the color of the body being darkish.[107] In the second category of *mal-i hülya* which is linked to the mind, he listed bodily symptoms alongside the ones related to the mind: Here, one could find symptoms such as weakness of the pulse, overthinking and anxiety (*vesvese*) together.[108] Similarly, under the third constituent that was related to *merak* (i.e. *mal-i hülya-yı merakiyye*), one finds physical symptoms like burping (*ekşi ekşi geyirmek*) or having sour stomach after eating, along with the symptoms that are related to one's mood such as feeling heavy-hearted (*gönlü sıkılmak*).[109] In short, body and mind did not exclude one another in this medical understanding.

2.8 Terminology in *Lisanü'l-Etibba* and *Vankulu Lügati*

Early modern Ottomans used a wide range of terms to define mental conditions. Interestingly, a perusal of Ottoman-era dictionaries reveals many more terms than the standard terms used in the medical sources of the time such as *mal-i hülya, meraki, manya, cünun, mecnun, 'aşk* and *kutrub*. For instance, Hezarfen Hüseyin's medical dictionary *Lisanü'l-Etibba* from the 17th century contains such terms as *evlak, aşufte, mednec, şeyda, bersam, el-'aten, el-tif*, and *el-belibile* (Appendix B).[110] The definitions that Hezarfen provides for these terms are also enlightening. He explains the meaning of *el-evlak* and *el-tif* with the word "madness" (*cünun*).[111] Similarly, he describes *bersam* as "a kind of madness (*cünun*)."[112] A final term to mention in this

[107] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b.
[108] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b.
[109] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 135b.
[110] See the index in Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin *"Lisânü'l-Etibbâ"* adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 371-942.
[111] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin *"Lisânü'l-Etibbâ"* adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 115; 247.
[112] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin *"Lisânü'l-Etibbâ"* adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 134: *"Cünundan bir nev'dür."*

light is *el-'aten* for which Hezarfen uses the word *mecnunlık,* the state of being afflicted by *cünun.*[113] Overall, all these definitions indicate that there was a wide range of terms for the concept of *cünun.*

Apart from these terms, there is another term that needs to be discussed separately as it is hard to define it, namely *kabus,* to which both Ibn Sellum and Emir Çelebi allocated a specific chapter. A proper translation of this term is hard to find and translating *kabus* simply as "nightmare" would be an injustice to this term, as it appears that it was more than a simple nightmare. For this reason, I will abide by the definitions that early modern Ottoman physicians made in their own words. Both Ibn Sellum and Emir Çelebi defined *kabus* as an "overwhelming dream" that falls upon a person during sleep, pressing down on him or her and making it harder for him or her to breathe.[114] It is worth underlining that Ibn Sellum understood *kabus* to be not only an "overwhelming dream" but also to be an ailment (*maraz*), indicating that the term at the time meant more than its present-day meaning of "nightmare."[115]

Kabus was also considered to be the earlier stage of more serious conditions such as *sekte* (apoplexy), *sar'a* (epilepsy), *manya* (mania) and *mal-i hülya.* While Emir Çelebi considered *kabus* to be a prelude to *sekte, sar'a,* and *mal-i hülya,* Ibn Sellum used much the same list but replaced *mal-i hülya* with *manya.*[116] However, this was a "minor" difference because these physicians also considered *manya* to be a sub-type of *mal-i hülya.*[117] In a similar way, in her overview of mental conditions

[113] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin *"Lisânü'l-Etibbâ"* adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 250.
[114] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b: *"Kâbûs oldur ki nâim tahayyül eyleye uykuda hayâl-i sakil ki üzerine düşer ve sıkar ve nefesini dar ider."*; Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 140a: *"Bu bir marazdur ki insan ibtida uykuya vardukda 'ârız olur bir sakil hayâl üstüne gelüb çökmüş his eyler sıkılur nefesi kesilüb boğulmak mertebesine varur."*
[115] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 140a.
[116] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 140a; Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b-120a.
[117] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 117b.

from the 15th to the 18th centuries, Nil Sarı also observes that *kabus* was regarded as "the beginning of three serious illnesses: *sar'a* (epilepsy), *sekte* (apoplexy) and the insanity called mania."[118] Therefore, it is evident that *kabus* meant more than mere nightmare in the understanding of early modern Ottoman physicians; rather, it was an illness (*maraz*) of its own, which could also cause other illnesses.

Although it is not a medical dictionary, Vankulu Mehmed Efendi's dictionary, *Vankulu Lügati,* is also quite rich in terms of words signifying mental illnesses and madness. Actually, *Vankulu Lügati* was a translation from another dictionary known as *es-Sıhah,* written by el-Cevheri during the 10th century. The fact that all dictionaries produced by early modern Ottomans were translations from other languages makes it more difficult to draw conclusions through dictionaries, limiting our understanding of the terminology and its evolution over time. Nevertheless, *Vankulu Lügati* brings lots of concepts to light, which were mentioned neither in the secondary literature nor in the other primary sources that are used in this thesis. The following is a list of these new terms that appear in this dictionary: *sabet, mutet, su'ur, sufret, 'urret, memsus, hubat, me'luk, huyam, mahnun, mehru', luset, lemem/melmum* (Appendix A).[119] Despite the abundance of new terms in *Vankulu Lügati,* the absence of some of the most basic terms such as *meczub, kutrub, manya,* and *mal-i hülya* is striking. Particularly the absence of such a frequent term like *mal-i hülya* from such a well-known dictionary of the time is quite interesting and even though a definite answer cannot be given for now as to why this was the case, it is still worth mentioning. After all, as discussed earlier, *mal-i hülya* was like a broader category which comprised other mental illnesses and this term was used not only in

[118] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 109.
[119] For these terms, see Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* 2 vols., (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014); also see Appendix A at the end of this thesis to see the definitions of these terms in *Vankulu Lügati.*

medical texts written by physicians, but also in texts produced by Sufis.[120] Overall, even a brief overview of dictionaries can complement our knowledge of the terminology that the early modern Ottomans relied on to refer to madness.

2.9 Medical explanation based on gender and sexuality

Medical texts reveal interesting connotations of mental conditions in terms of gender and sexuality and this could add more to the medical conceptualization of madness by early modern Ottoman physicians. Here, the reason why the gender and sexuality dimension of madness is particularly selected is that the medical sources directly lead one in that direction with their differing representations of the female and male body; and without highlighting these, one cannot fully understand the medical conceptualization.

Apparently, physicians made some sexual recommendations to treat some of these conditions and they saw differences in the manifestation of certain mental conditions when they afflicted men and women. In terms of sexuality, in her discussion of mental illnesses and their classification in Ottoman medical manuscripts from the 15th through the 18th centuries, Nil Sarı observes that "sexual diseases due to mental disorders are mentioned amongst the group of related physical diseases."[121] Namely, mental conditions were understood to trigger sexual disorders. However, the relationship between sexuality and madness was not a one-way relationship: Not only did mental disorders affect sexuality, but also sexuality had a direct impact on mental conditions according to the understanding of some

[120] Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan,* ed. Osman Türer (Istanbul: İnsan, 2005); Halil Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2016); Kamil Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî" (MA Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1997).
[121] Sarı, "The Classification of Mental Diseases in the Ottoman Medical Manuscripts," 105-106.

physicians. For instance, in his section on *'aşk,* Emir Çelebi wrote that this condition would disappear with sexual intercourse and he found frequent sexual intercourse beneficial for this condition.[122] This interesting suggestion does not only exist in Emir Çelebi's account. In Tokadi Mustafa Efendi's translation of Ibn Sina's *El-Kanun fi't-Tıb,* too, frequent sexual intercourse (*iksar-ı cima'*) with female slaves (*cariye*s) and the frequent renewal of *cariye*s were recommended for *'aşk*.[123]

Not only sexual recommendations, but also sexual symptoms in some of these conditions were mentioned by physicians. This time Ibn Sellum, again in the case of *'aşk,* divided this condition into two parts: He stated that while some of those suffering from it found it sufficient to have a conversation with their beloveds and satisfied themselves with that, others were more lustful (*şehvani*).[124] Therefore, according to him, in this second type of *'aşk,* the symptom that characterized the mentally afflicted was his or her sexual appetite.

Ottoman physicians frequently distinguished between how madness affected men and women. In his section on *ru'unet* and *humk*, terms related to "idiocy", Emir Çelebi quotes Hippocrates (*Bukrat* in the text) as arguing that if someone engages in sexual intercourse with a mad woman (*mecnune*), this would cause madness (*cünun*) in the other party as well; however, in the opposite case, that is, if the mad one would be the man, this would not cause madness in the woman.[125] This is a striking example of the important implications of madness in terms of gender and sexuality. According to this anecdote that Emir Çelebi conveyed from Hippocrates, why were

[122] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b: *"Sekr-i dâim ve cima'-ı müfrit ve iştigâl yani nefsi bir âhar yere meşgul kılalar."*
[123] Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, *El-Kânûn fî't-Tıb Tercümesi: Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn,* vol. 3, 199.
[124] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan,* 138b: *"bu dahi iki kısımdır: bir kısmı ma'şûkıyla ancak musâhabet ve mükâleme itmeğe kâni'dür ve bir kısmı şehvânidür."*
[125] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119a: *"Bukrat eydür; imree mecnune ile mücâma'at cünun îrâs ider. Amma aks olsa yani er mecnun olsa mer'eye cünun îrâs eylemez."*

women not afflicted with madness while men were? Can it be suggested that men were seen as being more prone to mental conditions while women were considered to be more resistant to them? Of course, one example is not enough to make such a claim. However, other examples from these sources can give more clues.

Again, Emir Çelebi, for example, makes interesting claims regarding the treatment of *manya* and *mal-i hülya* and their manifestation in men and women. In his section on *manya*, Emir Çelebi recommended a striking therapeutic method for those who suffer from this condition. He suggested that milking a woman's milk who was breastfeeding a baby girl onto the patient's head would be beneficial.[126] This is a seemingly unique therapeutic approach that I was unable to find in any other sources. Why did he specifically prefer the milk of a woman who was breastfeeding a *girl*? In other words, why not the milk of a woman who was breastfeeding a baby *boy*? Or, why breast milk in the first place?

The following discussion might give important clues on the questions listed above about the different manifestations of mental conditions among men and women. Referring to this interesting treatment with a woman's milk, Emir Çelebi claimed that with this and similar kinds of treatments, *mal-i hülya* would appear less among women.[127] Again specifically referring to women, he continued to suggest that if women were afflicted with this condition, it would be hard to deal with.[128] With regard to what he meant by that, some educated guesses might be that he either implied the difficulty of its treatment in female patients or its severity in women compared to men once they were afflicted. Besides, here, Emir Çelebi is clear about

[126] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, 118a: *"Ve dahi başına kız emzirir avret südünü sağalar."*
[127] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, 118b: *"Sabıka zikr olunan edhân-ı bâride ve ratbe ile ve başına ılıcak su dökmek ile ve avret südü se'ût itmekle bunun emsâli tedbirlerle hatunlara mâlihulyâ az vâki' olur."*
[128] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, 118b: *"Eğer bunlara (hatunlara) ârız olsa müşkildir."*

the appearance of *mal-i hülya* being less among women, however, he is not clear about compared to whom it appears less among women. The immediate assumption is that *mal-i hülya* appears less frequently among women *compared to* men. For this, though, one again needs to check for other examples.

In Tokadi's translation of Ibn Sina's *Canon,* for instance, it is suggested that the calamity of *mal-i hülya* occurs more commonly among men.[129] Here, the fact that *mal-i hülya* is called a "calamity" (*afet*) is also striking as it highlights the severity of this condition in the conceptualization of physicians. These examples together clearly demonstrate the decisive role that gender identities played in the medical conceptualization of madness. This is not only evident from the medical texts, but also from contemporary dictionaries: In *Vankulu Lügati,* the term *el-mahnun,* for example, is defined as a "madman" (*mecnun*), and more particularly as an adult man who was afflicted with madness (*cünun*).[130] Most probably, this term was not used for adult women who were afflicted with *cünun.* Therefore, the fact that early modern Ottomans had a specific term in their vocabulary to refer to adult male *mecnun*s once again makes the "gendered" perception of mental conditions visible.

Finally, it is worth noting that the physicians definitely conceived a causal link between mental conditions and menstruation. According to Hayatizade, for example, one of the causes of *illet-i merakiyye* was a situation called *ihtibas-ı hayz,* which simply means the retention of menstrual blood in the body.[131] This can refer to irregularities in the menstrual cycle or even the period of menopause in women. In a similar vein, in his section on *manya,* Emir Çelebi conceptualized *ihtibas-ı hayz* as a

[129] Tokadî Mustafa Efendi, *El-Kânûn fî't-Tıb Tercümesi: Tahbîzü'l-Mathûn,* vol. 3, 185: *"ve mâl-i hülyâ afeti ricalde çok olur."*
[130] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 2234: *"Şol recüldür ki onun cünunu vardır, mecnun manasına."*
[131] Hayatizade Mustafa Feyzi, *Risâle-i İllet-i Merâkiyye*, 8b.

major cause of *mal-i hülya* in women and recommended the same treatment that he mentioned for *ihtibas-ı hayz* for *mal-i hülya*.[132] The connection that was established between menstruation and certain mental conditions demonstrates the role that the conceptualization of the female body played in shaping physicians' understanding of mental conditions. Evidently, the "gendered" perception of madness had an anatomical dimension in the minds of physicians as well, highlighting the differences between female and male body according to their conceptualization.[133]

How was the female body conceptualized vis-à-vis the male body in this medical understanding? Were they in total antagonism to one another? In fact, they were not. Rather, the female body was theorized based on the male body: For instance, in terms of their sexual organs, female sexual organs were conceptualized as being quite similar to male sexual organs, but as the lesser, or, as Dror Ze'evi puts it "an inherently flawed version" of those of men.[134] In this way of thinking, the uterus and vagina were considered "an undeveloped version of the male penis and scrotum."[135] Quite interestingly, the female body was also thought to produce semen just like the male body; however, women's semen was "inferior" to male semen according to this idea.[136] What is more striking is that the semen of both parties could have an impact on the baby's sex: In the case of a newborn girl, for example, female sex was seen as the result of the dominance of female semen over male semen, as a result of which a female child was considered to be a "deficient version of the

[132] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb*, 118b: *"Ekser hayz kanı muhtebes olmakdan olur. İlâcı ihtibâs-ı hayz ilâcıdır."*
[133] For the differences between male and female body according to Galenic medicine and their impacts on health, see Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*, 27-30.
[134] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 23.
[135] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 39.
[136] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 31.

male."[137] Ze'evi characterizes this conception of female body as the "woman as imperfect man" model.[138]

Now, we can better understand how the conceptualization of the female body, in comparison to the male body, influenced the differing conceptualizations of madness in men and women. If the uterus, for example, was considered to be a deficient version of penis, then, this can provide an explanation for the connection that the physicians established between menstruation (i.e. *ihtibas-ı hayz*) and *mal-i hülya.* Perhaps, even Emir Çelebi's claim that although *mal-i hülya* appears less frequently among women, it is more difficult to cope with when it surfaces in women could be related to this "women as imperfect man" model: Since women were medically seen inferior to men, their "bodily inferiority" could perhaps make their treatment process harder. Therefore, in such a medical system where there is no clear division between mental and physical, the general understanding of male and female bodies should be carefully scrutinized to evaluate the gendered perceptions of madness.

[137] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire,* 37.
[138] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire,* 23.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MADNESS IN SUFISM

3.1 Background information related to Sufism

This chapter examines both the notions of medical madness and holy madness from the perspective of Sufism. Sufism can be broadly defined as a path of Islamic knowledge that encompasses multiple opinions, practices, rituals, and spaces. However, what distinguishes Sufism from fiqh, kalam, hadith studies, or any other branch of Islamic knowledge is that it aims to cultivate knowledge of God on a more inner and experiential level, and it expects those who immerse themselves in this path to undergo personal transformation.

Sufi identity was not homogenous and certainly, Sufism did not operate solely within the confines of the lodges of particular orders. It was deeply entrenched in the social lives of Ottoman Muslims, finding a place for itself in public spaces such as mosques. One could easily come across a wandering dervish on the street, and Sufis certainly left an imprint on the urban landscape, making themselves an integral part of the city's social fabric. Thus, Sufism can be characterized by its inherent diversity, and one encounters conflicting arguments expressed by different groups within this religio-political sphere. Even within a particular order, disagreements could be found as none of these orders were monolithic entities with fixed identities. In the 17th century, such disagreements became especially vocal in the context of the Kadızadeli controversy. Some scholars argue that during this period, groups like Kadızadelis wanted to initiate a reform in Sunni Islam in an attempt to "rationalize" or "disenchant" the faith, thus characterizing the early

modern period as a time of "disenchantment."[139] According to this view, while Sufi orders established a hierarchical system where only a privileged few had access to the Truth, Kadızadelis proposed a more "rational" and "egalitarian" interpretation of Islam. They believed that anyone could reach the Truth simply by following the example of the Prophet and abiding by the Qur'an, which resonated widely among the general public.[140]

In contradistinction, this thesis does not approach the early modern era through the framework of "disenchantment." The framework of "enchantment" versus "disenchantment" can be problematic in many ways, as it operates on the premise that Sufism was "enchanted." This has the potential to create a dichotomy between certain Sufi orders and groups like the Kadızadelis; however, not everything was so clear-cut in the early modern world, and there were also significant grey areas. Even though Baki Tezcan does not dichotomize the Sufis and the Kadızadelis, but rather adopts a nuanced approach by considering the dialogue between these groups, his subsequent discussion nevertheless tends to present a black-and-white picture: "While the Halvetis represent the vertical social alliances created in medieval and more compartmentalized and guild-based urban settings, one could think of the Kadızadelis as their early modern competitors who aimed to build a larger collective."[141] I would argue that the inherent diversity of Halvetis was overlooked here, and they were instead represented as a single, unified whole. Although concepts like the "enchantment of Sufism" and the "disenchantment of Kadızadelis" can help in understanding the dynamics of these groups and the early

[139] Tezcan, "The Disenchantment of Sufism, the Rationalization of Sunni Islam, and Early Modernity," 67-68; Tezcan, "The Portrait of the Preacher as a Young Man: Two Autobiographical Letters by Kadızade Mehmed from the Early Seventeenth Century," 238-240.
[140] Tezcan, "The Portrait of the Preacher as a Young Man," 239-240.
[141] Tezcan, "The Portrait of the Preacher as a Young Man," 241.

modern period in general, this conceptual framework is not applicable to each and every case. With regard to this, the case study of Niyazi-i Mısri in this chapter serves as a useful example, as some of his Halveti contemporaries believed that he was suffering from *mal-i hülya* but they did not explain this phenomenon solely in an "enchanted" way by connecting it to the divine.

It is also worth stressing that Sufism is approached here as a system of knowledge and practice that was open to the discourses of other intellectual traditions, including medicine. In fact, Sufism and medicine shared a lot in their understanding of the cosmos, which is evident from the Sufi and medical conceptualization of body as a "microcosm," a miniature version of the universe (macrocosm).[142]

Within the discussion on the formation of a human being, just as in the Galenic medical framework, the Sufi tradition also understood human generation as the result of equal participation by men and women.[143] As discussed in the previous chapter, although medical understanding saw the female body as an "inferior" version of the male body, the process of generating a human being included both male and female semen, since women were also believed to produce semen according to this view.[144] It is crucial to see that even the principles of human conception were quite similar in both medical and Sufi understandings, demonstrating that they shared a similar point of view in their conception of body.

Moreover, the Sufi understanding did not have a body-mind dichotomy, just as in medicine. In Sufi practices like *zikr,* for instance, mind and body should work in coordination to be able to come closer to God, and in order to ensure bodily

[142] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 43.
[143] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 30.
[144] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire,* 31.

control, one must also concentrate the mind.[145] The Sufi way of conceiving the world as having both "exterior" (*zahir*) and "interior/hidden" (*batin*) aspects is also crucial for this discussion. From this perspective, Shahzad Bashir argues that Sufis conceptualized the body as "a critical doorway between the interior and exterior realms."[146] This view can be better understood from the Sufi conception of "spirit" (*ruh*): Similar to the relationship between mind and body, Sufi thought, like the classical medical view, does not impose a body-spirit dichotomy; rather, body and spirit were seen as interconnected, with the spirit residing within the body.[147] In fact, there were different views of the relationship between spirit and body. Even though his examples mostly come from the Persianate world, Bashir suggests that while some Sufis argued the spirit was all over the body without residing in a specific bodily part, there were also others who argued that body was a "prison" to the spirit and "spiritual maturation" is needed so that one could go beyond this prison and the "hidden" (*batin*) would be revealed.[148] Once this cannot be achieved, one can speak of a "diseased spirit" and here, Bashir's conceptualization of figures like saints or "God's friends" (*veli*) and Sufi masters as "religious doctors" who were healing "spiritual illnesses" can be useful, as one of the goals of this chapter is to bring the saintly figures of holy fools (*meczub*s) into the picture, some of whom were indeed believed to possess healing properties.[149]

[145] There are different forms of *zikr* such as its silent or vocal versions, whether it entailed bodily movement or not. Even in the cases where the body remains still, it is necessary to channel this energy from the mind to the body: See Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 69-74; For the medical understanding which did not propose a division between mind and body, or between mental and physical, see Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 25-26.
[146] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 37.
[147] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 34.
[148] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 34-35.
[149] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 36; For an examplary holy fool possessing healing qualities, see Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.

Overall, just like medicine, Sufism also built a discourse on mind, body, and spirit, which can be extended into the discussion of mental conditions. The basic precepts of medical knowledge, specifically the theory of the four humors (*ahlat-ı erbaa*), were accessible to literate circles, and Sufis were also part of this intellectual domain, as is evident from their conception of the body. Of course, there was also diversity within Sufism and among the wide range of its practitioners, from full-fledged Sufi masters to pseudo-sheikhs, and from practitioners who were polymaths to those who were illiterate. That said, Sufism did not only contribute to the discourse on madness through its use of medical framework, but also through developing a new discursive framework which is based on losing yourself in God through *cezbe* (divine ecstasy), which is why, bringing figures of holy fools into the picture becomes essential. Not only in terms of discourse but also in practice, figures like saints, Sufis, and holy fools made important contributions, especially in the sphere of healing. Thus, this chapter focuses on Sufi explanations and practices related to madness in the context of the early modern Ottoman world through medical and Sufi texts, and figures such as holy fools and Sufis, some of whom were believed to engage in healing activities.

3.2 The concept of "holy folly" and its implications

The figure of the *meczub* or holy fool and the concept of holy folly are highly related to Sufism. The word *meczub* comes from the root *cezb* or *cezbe* in Arabic, which refers to the state of ecstasy, or "divine attraction"; and therefore, the people who were referred to as holy fool or *meczub* were the ones who fell under the influence of "divine attraction" or *cezbe.*[150] Thus, *meczub*s were not the ordinary "mad" that

[150] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World*, 105.

physicians defined, but they were directly linked to divine forces and the will of God; and they did not have to go through all the steps of initiation that were required on the Sufi path.

There were complex views on holy folly and holy fools within Sufism, especially when it comes to the ranks of *meczub*s among Sufis. As Arin Salamah-Qudsi's study on the state of *cezbe* and *meczub*s has shown, Sufi attitudes towards these matters were complicated. From the medieval era onwards, there was a heated debate over whether a holy fool could hold the rank of sheikh and act as a guiding Sufi master. It seems that a theoretical framework for the state of *cezbe* began to be established from the 12th century onwards, which sought to integrate *cezbe* with the spiritual path (*süluk*) in order to preserve the possibility for holy fools to hold the sheikh status and offer spiritual guidance.[151] Apparently, attaining the state of *cezbe* was not considered sufficient to act as a master. Alongside *cezbe*, initiation into the Sufi path or *süluk* was regarded as a necessity for those *meczub*s who wished to hold the rank of sheikh and serve as a spiritual guide. Indeed, those who began their journey through divine attraction but later also went through the stages of the mystical path were considered to possess the superior qualities to become a sheikh.[152] Eşrefoğlu Abdullah Rumi's (d. 1469-70) remarks can further enlighten us regarding this issue. According to Eşrefoğlu, a *meczub* who did not undergo the Sufi path (*meczub-ı ebter*) could not be a master (*mürşid*), as a true master should not be someone stuck in the state of *cezbe;* however, a holy fool who then traversed the Sufi path (*meczub-ı salik*) could.[153]

[151] Salamah-Qudsi, "The Concept of *Jadhb* and the Image of *Majdhūb*," 255-257.
[152] Salamah-Qudsi, "The Concept of *Jadhb* and the Image of *Majdhūb*," 262.
[153] Cited in Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 185.

Another striking conceptualization of *meczub*s comes from İsmail Beliğ's *Güldeste-i Riyaz-ı İrfan,* which presents biographical accounts of notable figures from Sufi, scholarly, and artistic circles who were born in or died in Bursa, including *meczub*s. In this source, Beliğ classifies *meczub*s in the same section as antinomian dervishes known as *abdal*s, and *melami*s.[154] More precisely, he combines *meczub*s with *melami*s and uses the expression of "*meczub*s with *melami* tendencies."[155] Here, the reference is most likely not to the Bayrami-Melamis, but to antinomian dervish groups such as the Kalenderi dervishes.[156] This connection that Beliğ established, and the fact that he placed these three groups of people side by side, is significant when one considers that *abdal*s and *melami*s were figures who lived on the margins of the society, whereas *meczub*s were generally revered by members of society and by Sufis.[157]

3.3 A panorama of holy fools

In order to understand *meczub*s, their lives, and Ottoman society's and Sufi circles' perception of them during the 17th and 18th centuries, Enfi Hasan Hulus Halveti's *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirin* (*Tezkire* from now on) appears as a great source. Enfi Hasan lived during the late 17th and early 18th centuries (born after 1660 and died in 1724)[158] and had multiple occupations, as is evident from the following marginal note in the *Tezkire*:

> Dervish Hasan Hulus is one of the dervishes of Üsküdari Nasuhi Efendi, who was the "pole of the gnostics" (*kutbü'l-arifin*) and the "head of those who

[154] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* 429.
[155] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* 429: *"Meczuban-ı melamet-şi'ar."*
[156] On antinomian dervish groups, see Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends: dervish groups in the Islamic later middle period, 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).
[157] See Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends*, 66-74; Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo," 535-565.
[158] Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 1-41.

> have attained the truth" (*gavsü'l-vasılin*). He (Hasan Hulus) is a master of the science of music and a composer, who is from Enderun-ı Hümayun and whom they call Burnaz Hasan Ağa.[159]

From this marginal note, we learn that Enfi Hasan was a Sufi from the Halveti order and more specifically, one of the dervishes of the Halveti-Şabani sheikh Üsküdarlı Nasuhi Efendi; and apart from his Sufi identity, he was also a very prominent composer (*bestekar*) and singer (*hanende*), who had been trained in the Palace School known as Enderun-ı Hümayun.[160]

In this source, Enfi Hasan provides the reader with lively accounts about the saints (*veli* or *evliya*) and *meczub*s. *Tezkire* includes many entries on holy fools and even one female holy fool (*meczube*), most of whom lived in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, Enfi does not only write about holy fools, but he also gives biographical information on some Sufi sheikhs and dervishes who were mostly from the Halveti order.[161] Not only Halvetis, but also Sufis with other tariqa affiliations are present in the text such as Mevlevi *dede*s, and Bayrami-Melamis like İdris-i Muhtefi (d. 1615) and Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi (d. 1655).[162]

When collecting information on holy fool and Sufi figures, it is apparent that Enfi Hasan drew on his own experiences with these people.[163] Apart from that, he also relied on eyewitness accounts and conveyed information about these people from the words of others who knew them. However, when he could not collect data about these people with these methods, as there were also some Sufis and holy fools

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[159] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 33a: *"Derviş Hasan Hulûs Kutbü'l-ârifîn, gavsü'l-vâsılîn, Üsküdârî Nasûhî Efendi Hazretlerinin dervişlerindendir. Fenn-i mûsîkî üstâdı ve sâhib-i beste-i Enderûn-i Hümâyûn'dan mahrec Burnâz Hasan Ağa dedikleri zâtdır."*
[160] Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 17-21; 33-41; on Enfî Hasan, see also Özcan, "Hasan Ağa, Enfî," 285-286.
[161] Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 46.
[162] For the account on Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrâhim Efendi, see Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler*, 126-129; for the account on İdris-i Muhtefî, see Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 134-138.
[163] Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 46.

who lived before his lifetime, he consulted other sources and one of the most important among them was Mehmed Nazmi Efendi's *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan*.[164] Starting on folio 53a, Enfi Hasan transmitted information about the persons whom he did not personally know from *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan*.[165]

Another important source of information for Enfi Hasan was Hulvizade Mahmud Efendi's *Kitabü'l-Lemezat*; however, in terms of content, while Enfi Hasan gathered two groups of people (i.e. holy fools and Sufis) under one single work, Hulvizade only included saints (*erenler*).[166] Enfi Hasan's inclusion of holy fools into the picture raises several questions: For instance, were these holy fools also Sufis at the same time or did all have a Sufi background? Or, were all of them affiliated with a Sufi order? Actually not. As Sara Scalenghe too pointed out, one can see many holy fools from different socioeconomic backgrounds who had no Sufi affiliations; and they could come from both lower and higher echelons of society, whether a high official or a grocer, slave, and so on.[167] Similarly, most of the holy fools whose life stories were narrated in *Tezkire* had no attachments to any Sufi order or sheikh; but who unexpectedly attained the state of *cezbe* at a certain point of their lives.

One example from *Tezkire* was "Kadı Delisi Mehmed Efendi el-Meczub," who was originally a seller of buns (*çörekci*) and who was overcome by divine attraction while he was being reprimanded by a market inspector for selling buns (*çörek*) that weighed less than they were supposed to.[168] Another fool like him was "Dalkavuk Osman el-Meczub" who was a sailor and who reached to the state of

[164] See Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan,* ed. Osman Türer (Istanbul: İnsan, 2005).
[165] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 53a-58b.
[166] Tatcı and Yıldız eds., *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler,* 46.
[167] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 110-111.
[168] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 43b-44a.

ecstasy while he was working on a ship as a sailmaker.[169] Evidently, both Kadı Delisi and Dalkavuk Osman came from modest socioeconomic backgrounds and were not known to have belonged to a Sufi order.

However, the text also features some *meczub*s with tariqa affiliation. "Kadı Süleyman Efendi el-Meczub," for example, was a disciple of the Halveti sheikh Ümmi Sinanzade Hasan Efendi. This *meczub* had a much higher educational background than the above-mentioned *meczub*s as he had received his education in Sahn-ı Seman madrasas, founded by Sultan Mehmed II.[170] Sometimes, too, it was the experience of being seized by divine ecstasy (*cezbeye tutulmak*)[171] that encouraged a person to attach him or herself to a Sufi sheikh. For example, *cezbe* was the reason for Bosnalı Mehmed Fevzi Efendi's (d. 1674) attachment (*intisap*) to Selami Ali Efendi (d. 1691); following his affliction with divine ecstasy, he abandoned all his material possessions and became a disciple of this Halveti sheikh.[172]

Moreover, some holy fools could receive this divine attraction in Sufi environments, just as they could come under its sway in the course of everyday life, in the middle of their daily activities. For example, in his *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* Muhyi-i Gülşeni mentions the state of ecstasy following the Sufi practice of *zikr*.[173] This should not come as a surprise as this state of *vecd* where one loses oneself is a well-known consequence of *zikr* practice. What is more interesting however is that this process where one receives divine attraction could also be initiated by a Sufi sheikh.[174] With regard to this, Muhyi-i Gülşeni uses an interesting

[169] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 45a.
[170] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 47a.
[171] Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 575.
[172] Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 575.
[173] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* 199.
[174] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam,* 74-75.

expression, *cezbe vermek*, which literally means "giving divine attraction."[175] According to the story that Muhyi conveys, Sultan Süleyman I (d. 1566) was impressed by Sheikh İbrahim-i Gülşeni (d. 1534) and praised him with the following words: "I have never seen a sheikh who gives *cezbe* and whose words touch the heart like Sheikh İbrahim-i Gülşeni, and he said to me, 'See God Almighty as present at all times.'"[176] The Sultan continued to narrate that following their encounter with the sheikh, such a state (*hal*) manifested in him that even if he were given the entire world, it would not be worth giving up on that state; and whenever he envisions the sheikh, a trace of that state manifests itself in him.[177] Even though the Sultan could not directly describe this state, most probably he referred to *cezbe* since the issue was the praised qualities of Sheikh İbrahim-i Gülşeni in giving *cezbe.*

Apparently, the instances of this process of giving *cezbe* can also be found in the context of *meczub*s in the early modern Mughal context. The case of holy fool known as Baba Shah Mansur of Mandu from the 16th century that Advani narrates is quite telling in this regard: According to the narrative, the journey of Baba Shah Mansur began with the gaze of another holy fool and following this incident, he quit all his material wealth and devoted himself to God to such a degree that his madness increased day by day.[178] There, Shah Mansur became a holy fool through the gaze of another holy fool. This encounter can be likened to Sultan Süleyman's encounter with Sheikh İbrahim-i Gülşeni: Even though there is no mention of a gaze in this case but rather it was the words of Gülşeni that impressed the Sultan, both instances

[175] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* 338.
[176] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* 338: *"Mısr'dan gelen Şeyh İbrahim-i Gülşeni'den cezbe virür ve kelimatı kalbe girür şeyh görmedüm ki bana eyitdi her halde Allah ta'âlâyı hazır gör."*
[177] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* 338: *"Ol halde bana bir hâl hâsıl oldı ki eğer götüri 'âlemi virseler ol hâle bedel olmazdı. Ve şimdi dahi her kaçan ol şeyhi tasavvur itsem ol halden bir eser zâhir olur."*
[178] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs: Three Sufi Hagiographies in Sixteenth-Century Mughal India," 40.

could be held under this expression of "giving ecstasy" but of course Sultan Süleyman did not become a *meczub.*

Apparently, there were also some sheikhs who were known to be *meczub*s and Muhyi identified some of them. In fact, he had a category of *meczub* sheikhs (*mecazib-i meşayih*) and identified Divane Şüca' as one such sheikh.[179] Considering all this discussion on *cezbe* and *meczub*s in this *menakıbname,* it can be said that holy fools must have occupied an important place among the Sufi circles and indeed, some Sufi figures, even sheikhs, were *meczub*s themselves.

Another sign of this can also be found in Enfi's quotations from Mehmed Nazmi's *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan*. Mehmed Nazmi Efendi, who himself belonged to the Halveti order, provided detailed narratives about seven prominent sheikhs of the Halveti *silsile*, respectively Mevlana Yusuf Mahdum, Muhammed Rukıyye, Şahkubad-ı Şirvani, Abdülmecid Şirvani, Şemseddin Sivasi, Abdülmecid Sivasi, and Abdülahad Nuri.[180] As a Sufi himself, Mehmed Nazmi also wrote about *meczub*s in his work where he treated holy folly under four categories, and Enfi Hasan directly quoted this passage from *Hediyyetü'l-İhvan.* Mehmed Nazmi identified different types of *meczub*s as serving four archangels: the first category was comprised of *meczub*s who were the servants of Azrael (*Azrail*), the second were followers of Raphael (*İsrafil*), the third were followers of Michael (*Mikail*), and lastly the fourth were followers of the archangel Gabriel (*Cebrail*).[181]

According to Mehmed Nazmi, *meczub*s who were servants of the archangel Gabriel were among the most exalted holy fools as they helped people with their miraculous deeds.[182] Therefore, Mehmed Nazmi revered holy fools under this

[179] Muhyi-i Gülşeni, *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşeni,* 199.
[180] Aksoy, "Nazmi Efendi, Mehmed," 460.
[181] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 58b.
[182] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 58b.

category and indeed, in Enfi Hasan's *Tezkire,* there were such figures of holy fools. "Dalkavuk Osman el-Meczub" was one of these *meczub*s who acted for the benefit of people. He acted as an intermediary between the inhabitants of Tophane and God to prevent these people from coming to harm. He pleaded with God not to bring any incident or calamity to the people of Tophane since they could not endure it.[183] Kadı Delisi can also be counted among such "revered" *meczub*s. As Enfi Hasan narrates, one day he helped a man who was trying to find a midwife with his neighbor for his wife who was giving birth to their baby, but since the gates of the fortress (*kal'a kapıları*) was closed, they did not know how to reach the midwife.[184] Then, Kadı Delisi appeared before them and told them to follow him; and the man agreed because he thought that Kadı Delisi was a *meczub* who must have had some deeper knowledge or wisdom.[185] Indeed, as the story goes, when he touched the gate, it was opened and they could bring the midwife with them.[186] As is clear from this example, Kadı Delisi performed a miraculous deed*;* and more importantly, it was probably an act that the pregnant woman's husband anticipated, as he clearly expected some kind of wisdom from Kadı Delisi when he agreed to follow him.

In his *Seyahatname,* Evliya Çelebi also mentions *meczub*s and their miraculous deeds. For instance, he provides a lively description about a *meczub* called "Boynuzlu Divane Ahmed Dede": The fact that almost every holy fool had a nickname by which they were known in society is interesting. Apparently, Divane Ahmed Dede was called *Boynuzlu* ("horned") because his chest and arms were filled with the "horns" (*boynuz*) of various animals such as lambs, goats, cattle, and deer.[187]

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[183] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 45a-b.
[184] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 44a.
[185] The man whose wife was pregnant said here the following words: Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 44a:*"Bir garip meczubdur, bunda bir iş olmak gerek."*
[186] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 44a.
[187] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 185.

One of the miraculous deeds for which he was known was that if he told someone "I hope you go to Kaaba" three times in a row, that person would be able to go to the Kaaba following his prayer.[188] There was also a *meczub* called "Elekçi Divanesi" in *Seyahatname.* His name came through the fact that he was eating nothing but a sieve (*elek*).[189] He was walking around naked all the time, saying nothing to anyone, and nobody had ever seen him urinate or defecate.[190] The day before his death, he expressed his wishes to be buried properly and invited people suffering from palpitation/anxiety (*yürek oynaması*)[191] to come and visit his grave to be healed by drinking some water with his soil.[192] There are two miracles here: First, Elekçi Divanesi predicted his death, as he died the next day following these words. Second, he miraculously healed people even after he died, since Evliya Çelebi states that those suffering from *hafakan* were healed following their visit to his grave.[193]

Another humorous figure mentioned by Evliya was "Sümüklü Dede" who took his name from his habit of throwing snot (*sümük*) at people but this act had a meaning: Evliya narrates that if he threw snot at a man on his way to the Imperial Council, this man would certainly not miss out on any benefit that day in the Council.[194] If, however, he spat on a man, this man would be scolded in the Council.[195] This can also be counted as a miraculous deed performed by a *meczub*

[188] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[189] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[190] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[191] In her PhD dissertation, Aslıhan Gürbüzel suggests that palpitation probably referred to anxiety: See Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan: Preachers and the Rise of a Political Public Sphere in Early Modern Istanbul (1600-1675)," 248.
[192] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[193] Evliya Çelebi uses the words *yürek oynaması* and *hafakan* interchangeably: See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[194] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[195] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.

because his acts apparently had a deeper meaning and predicted the fate of those going to the Imperial Council that day.[196]

On the opposite side, there were *meczub*s who acted as servants of the angel of death, Azrael, according to Mehmed Nazmi's classification, from which many calamities occurred such as the plague.[197] Thus, the wrath of these holy fools had detrimental effects on humans. Sometimes, even those *meczub*s who can be seen as harmless and helpful could turn into harmful figures as servants of Azrael. For example, the same Kadı Delisi who helped a husband find a midwife for his wife also threatened him to "remove" his child if he does not "remove" the name "Kasım" he gave to his newborn child, after Kadı Delisi had ordered him to name his child as "Mehmed" in return for his help. When the man did not pay heed to the *meczub*'s words, the threat of Kadı Delisi was realized and the baby died.[198] Evidently, the same holy fools who performed miraculous deeds to help people could also harm them according to changing circumstances. In fact, this can be likened to God's possession of both the epithets *cemal* and *celal,* indicating God's grace and wrath. In other words, just as God could show both these positive and negative sides, holy fools too could show their beneficence as well as rage in some instances.

"Bayrakdar Mehmed Dede el-Meczub" was a figure whose attributes were reminiscent of those holy fools discussed above. Similar to Dalkavuk Osman, Enfi

[196] It is also worth commenting on these *meczub*s' nicknames. As can be seen from these examples, all these nicknames referred to the most striking qualities by which people identified these holy fools. For instance, Divane Ahmed Dede came to be known by the nickname *Boynuzlu* as he was carrying the horns of various animals all the time. As a result, he was labeled with this nickname which made reference to both the specific object (i.e. *boynuz*) that he was carrying and to the act of carrying itself. Similarly, the nickname of "Elekçi" also referred to both this holy fool's act of eating *elek* and to this tool itself. Finally, the title *Sümüklü* ("snotty") entailed both Sümüklü Dede's act of throwing snot and to the particular bodily fluid that he threw. Therefore, these nicknames seem to be practical labels for the city inhabitants to identify some of these *meczub*s.

[197] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 58b.

[198] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 44a: *"Ben sana demedim mi ki kaldır Kâsım'ı Mehmed ko diye. Ya kaldır Kâsım'ı yâhûd kaldırırım."*

Hasan recorded that Bayrakdar too was pleading with God to prevent calamities from striking Istanbul. While he was trying to communicate with God, three drunk "dissolute" (*sefih*) men appeared.[199] One of them came near Bayrakdar and started to pull his headgear (*külah*) from his head by ripping his skirt off at the same time. This made Bayrakdar furious; he immediately departed and the drunk man's friend rebuked him, saying "you offended the fool (*budala*)."[200] While they were about to leave, a gigantic piece of rock from the fortress gate (*kal'a kapısı*) fell on the man's head.[201] Thus, the man was stricken by the wrath of Bayrakdar Mehmed Dede, who was normally quite helpful and caring to the inhabitants of Istanbul.

Examples of this more harmful category of *meczub*s can also be found in Evliya. A good example would be Divane Burnaz Mehmed Çelebi, whom Evliya calls "the sultan of *Melami*s."[202] The nickname of this figure was "Morning Morning Maniac" (*Sabah Sabah Delisi*). According to Evliya, one day the man became angry at his father and uttered a malediction to the effect that his father would be dead by the next morning. Sure enough, at dawn the next day, his father passed away. From that moment on, whenever someone said "morning" (*sabah*) to him twice, he would remorsefully smash his head against whatever was nearby, and each knock would make his head thud like an Adana pumpkin.[203] In the lively narrative of Evliya, even this dramatic event turns out to be entertaining for the reader. However, this does not negate the fact that "Morning Morning Maniac" might be counted among those holy fools who could harm people surrounding them.

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[199] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 52a.
[200] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 52a: *"…budalayı darıltdın."*
[201] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 52a: *"Haydi gidelim deyip bir de kal'a kapısından içeri girerken, iç kapının üstünden yastık kadar bir taş düştüğü gibi ma'hûd oğlanın başını pastırma gibi yamyassı eder."*
[202] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.
[203] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi / I. Kitap,* 186.

The same *meczub*s who hurt people could also help them just as in the case of Kadı Delisi and Bayrakdar Mehmed Dede discussed by Enfi. Another exemplary figure to *meczub*s who possessed these dual qualities, both positive and negative, is Kadı Süleyman Efendi from *Tezkire* since at the first sight, he also seems to belong to a positive category of holy fools on the list of Mehmed Nazmi, namely those who were servants of the archangel Michael. According to Mehmed Nazmi, *meczub*s belonging to this category supplied food to living creatures. For instance, he mentions a *meczub* called İsmail who broke cherry stones to feed ants.[204] In a similar fashion, according to Enfi Hasan, Kadı Süleyman too stored a lot of food in his room ranging from *köfter* and *sucuk*, Cretan olive, pastrami, grapes to different types of cheeses; and he shared them with anybody who asked.[205] However, while narrating these positive acts of Kadı Süleyman, Enfi Hasan also notes that when Kadı demanded something from someone and this person refused to give him what he demanded, great harm would fall upon this person; that is why, no one could dare to refuse Kadı's requests.[206] Therefore, the same *meczub* could possess both the power of harming and helping at the same time and the categories that Mehmed Nazmi listed were permeable.

Another anecdote that Enfi Hasan relates about the same Kadı Süleyman illuminates both the powers that *meczub*s possessed and their perception in Sufi circles. Apparently, Enfi Hasan knew Kadı Süleyman personally and devoted the longest entry to him. One day, Enfi Hasan's sheikh Nasuhi Efendi sent Enfi two *sucuk*s and asked him to make Kadı Süleyman eat them and then record his words when he returned.[207] However, one of Enfi Hasan's friends, Neyzen Mustafa stayed

[204] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 58b.
[205] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 47b-48a.
[206] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 48a.
[207] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 48b.

with him that night and accidentally ate one of these *sucuk*s.[208] Even though he had committed this misbehavior unintentionally, Neyzen Mustafa died saying: "Those who betray without permission what comes from one man of God (*ehlullah*) to another man of God die like Neyzen Mustafa."[209]

Kadı Süleyman's case also provides insight into the treatment of *meczub*s within Sufi circles. The word *ehlullah* that Enfi Hasan's friend Neyzen Mustafa used to refer to a *meczub* is a clear indication that these people were seen as saints in the text. In addition, clues about the close relationship between Enfi's sheikh Nasuhi Efendi and Kadı Süleyman as related in this anecdote show us the environment and the social circle in which Enfi Hasan's views were shaped. Apparently, both his friend and his sheikh highly revered *meczub*s, and we can safely assume that Enfi Hasan shared similar views as he was part of this environment as a Sufi himself. Thus, his perception can be seen as a microcosm of the more general Sufi understanding of holy fools.

Enfi's attitude towards *meczub*s is also evident from his representation of these figures in hagiographical fashion. He related many anecdotes about the miraculous deeds of these saintly figures as in the case of the above-mentioned Kadı Delisi who helped the pregnant woman's husband to find a midwife by miraculously opening the gate of the fortress. Here, another good exemplary figure might be a *meczube* (female holy fool), Elfi Kadın. Even though this is a short entry and she is the only female holy fool who appears in the text, Enfi's inclusion of her is still remarkable. According to Enfi, Elfi Kadın was wandering in the streets with her face unveiled and as she was from Edirne, the inhabitants of Edirne narrated many

[208] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 48b.
[209] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 49a: *"Ehlullahdan ehlullaha gelen şeye destûrsuz hıyânet böyle Neyzen Mustafâ gibi ölür."*

miraculous deeds of her.[210] As an example of the miracles that she performed, Enfi Hasan narrated in the words of one of his acquaintances that Elfi Kadın foretold a future event. Edirnevi Seyyid Cemaleddin Çelebi, with whom Enfi Hasan was acquainted, stated that Elfi Kadın had told his mother that their house would burn down that night and that they should move their belongings to somewhere else.[211] Apparently, however, his mother did not believe Elfi Kadın's words; their house really burned down that night and they could not save any of their belongings.[212] What is interesting in this account is that despite such acts of Elfi Kadın like walking in the streets with her face unveiled, which can be thought of as transgressing the social norms, Enfi did not pass any judgements on her, nor did he show any signs of suspicion towards the authenticity of Elfi Kadın's claims. Rather, what she predicted turned out to be right and the house really got burned. Therefore, even though this female holy fool's account was one single entry among many others on male holy fools, it is nevertheless very valuable especially on the representational level.

Here, it is also worth mentioning Scalenghe's remarks on female holy fools. She argues that women could claim by and for themselves "the status of holy fools"[213]; however, they could not legitimate and authenticate their claims unless they were associated with a male *meczub*.[214] In the context of early modern Mughal India, Advani also makes a similar claim: In the remainder of the story of above-mentioned Baba Shah Mansur, his wife also follows him, probably becoming a *meczube* herself; and Advani claims that just like in the Ottoman case, in Mughal case too, female holy fools "were rare and mostly derived their legitimacy from male

[210] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 43b.
[211] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 43b.
[212] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn*, 43b.
[213] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World*, 112.
[214] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World*, 112.

*meczub*s."[215] However, Elfi Kadın's depiction does not fit into this pattern since in this entry, there is no reference to any male holy fool and there is no sign of her legitimacy being questioned. Therefore, Elfi Kadın seems to be an exceptional account.

Furthermore, as can be seen from the passages that Enfi quoted from Mehmed Nazmi, Nazmi Efendi too treated holy fools similarly to him as an important Sufi figure. Mehmed Nazmi too narrated stories from these people's lives in a quite hagiographic manner and put an emphasis on their miraculous deeds just like Enfi Hasan. For example, he relates how a certain Deli Ahmed Çelebi foretold his own death and asked Nazmi Efendi to lead the funeral prayer for him; and the following morning, they really found him dead.[216] However, despite Deli Ahmed's request, Mehmed Nazmi did not find it appropriate to lead his funeral prayer since this was the duty of Mustafa Paşa Şeyhi Efendi as the head of the zawiya.[217] Upon this, Deli Ahmed performed a posthumous miracle by sending Mustafa Paşa Şeyhi Efendi to act as imam at someone else's funeral prayer, leaving Mehmed Nazmi as the only remaining eligible person to lead Deli Ahmed's funeral prayer.[218] Overall, based on Enfi Hasan's and Mehmed Nazmi's accounts, it can be said that *meczub*s were mostly treated positively in the Sufi circles and they were even considered as saints in some cases.

To avoid generalizations, however, it is crucial to look beyond these two sources. Even though these two accounts depict a positive picture regarding the reception of *meczub*s within the Sufi circles, one should add more nuance to this issue. The example of Osman Fazli (d. 1691) can be illuminating in this regard.

[215] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 40-41.
[216] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 56a.
[217] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 56a.
[218] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 56a.

According to Kara, Fazli first desired to be a disciple (*mürid*) of Sheikh Mesud, who was the son of Aziz Mahmud Hüdai's daughter; however, because of Sheikh Mesud's holy madness (*meczubiyyet*), he rather chose Sheikh Zakirzade Abdullah Efendi (d. 1658) as his master (*mürşid*).[219] Apparently, Sheikh Mesud's holy folly became a negative factor in determining Fazli's decision. In general, though, this instance cannot be thought of as a negative reception of holy fools as the fact that Fazli first wished to be Sheikh Mesud's disciple may indicate his respected status even though he was a *meczub*. However, Sheikh Mesud was clearly in a disadvantageous position as a master in the eyes of his potential disciples and the reception of a master who was not mentally sane was clearly not that positive. Indeed, this instance is lively narrated in İsmail Hakkı Bursevi's (d. 1725) *Tamamü'l-Feyz Fi Babi'r-Rical*, which was a hagiographical account of his sheikh Atpazari Osman Fazli: According to Bursevi, when one day Fazli came to Aziz Mahmud Hüdai's zawiya, he encountered an older Sufi who had previously served Hüdai. When he saw that Fazli was looking upset, he asked what bothered him. When Fazli responded him that he wishes to be a disciple of Sheikh Mesud, this older Sufi answered him as follows: "My dear son, he is a *meczub*, and a *meczub* is not capable of spiritually guiding (*irşad*) you."[220] He then offered Fazli to introduce him to another sheikh, Sheikh Abdullah who was known as "Zakirzade," and Fazli accepted this.[221] Therefore, this old Sufi's words about Sheikh Mesud's identity as a holy fool guided Fazli in his initiation to a new sheikh.

Here, one may question the nature of the relationship between a master and disciple in such an instance of holy madness. For example, does this diminish the

[219] Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 548-549.
[220] İsmail Hakkı Bursevî, *Tamâmü'l-Feyz Fî Bâbi'r-Ricâl: Atpazarî Kutup Osman Efendi Menâkıbı,* 171: *"Ey oğulcuğum, o meczuplardandır. Meczup da irşada muktedir değildir."*
[221] Bursevî, *Tamâmü'l-Feyz Fî Bâbi'r-Ricâl,* 171.

authority of a sheikh in the eyes of his pupils? Though it is hard to give a definite answer to this question, it is certain that there were some qualities that *mürşid*s were expected to possess. According to Eşrefoğlu, writing in the fifteenth century, for a *meczub* to become a true master, he should transcend his state of *cezbe* and fully immerse himself in the Sufi path.[222] Therefore, the prolonged state of *cezbe* was not always considered positively and putting effort in the spiritual journey was like a prerequisite to become a master according to him.

To have a better sense of *meczub*s and their presence in society as well as in Sufi circles, analyzing Enfi Hasan's depiction of holy fools' behaviors and acts is also crucial. Indeed, what is outstanding in the *Tezkire* is the fact that the so-called strange behaviors of holy fools such as walking in the streets naked, or wearing strange garments, shouting, and saying strange things to people were accepted by members of society. The *meczub*s called Kalıcı Delisi and Kadı Süleyman Efendi can once again be mentioned as illustrative examples. Apparently, Kalıcı Delisi was walking around warning people to sweep their streets so that the streets would not be set on fire.[223] Kadı Süleyman was one of the most interesting figures in the text. As Enfi wrote, he had some strange habits such as wearing a *ferace* that he dipped in olive oil, tying a rope around his waist with a huge ulama *kavuk* without turban (*sarık*) in his head, walking around totally naked, and traversing the streets on a horse that he mounted upside down and shouting "get out of the way you infidels!"[224]

Even the way holy fools died was unusual. According to Enfi Hasan, Kalıcı Delisi had died at the age of 224; to support his claim, Enfi reported that everyone

[222] Cited in Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 185.
[223] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 42b: *"Sokaklarınızı süpürün ihrâk olmasın."*
[224] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 47b: *"Savulun kâfirler, münâfıklar!"*

with whom he had talked and even very old people had stated that they had never seen Kalıcı Delisi with a black beard.[225] A certain Mahmud Efendi claimed that he had known Kalıcı Delisi for 40 years during which time the madman had always had a white beard.[226] Our author Enfi also conveyed Kalıcı's own words in which he claimed that he was over 220 years old and that he even saw Süleyman the Magnificent's accession to the throne; and interestingly, in case of any doubts regarding Kalıcı's age, Enfi encouraged the readers to check the official records from which they could see the dates of his duty, as Kalıcı Delisi was the chief pencil sharpener (*kalemtıraşcı*) at the royal court.[227]

An important question to ask here with regard to the above discussion is whether holy fools acquired an elevated status as a result of these strange acts and behaviors. In other words, was their mostly positive reception by the Sufi circles related to these acts? In his study of *meczub*s through three hagiographies from the early modern Mughal India, Anurag Advani argues that thanks to their madness, holy fools acquired "an exalted status"[228] among Sufis and he even goes on to assert that these behaviors of *meczub*s ranging from states of ecstasy to exhibitions of wisdom, and miraculous deeds were all "a performance of holy madness born from *cezbe*."[229] However, the word "performance" may imply an intentional act but what if some of these eccentric behaviors were involuntary? Attributing an intention to *meczub*s as if they were trying to hold an enhanced status through these acts might be problematic. This is the reason why this thesis refrains from seeing the discussed holy fools' behaviors as "performative acts" since it is not possible to differentiate between fake

[225] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 42b.
[226] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 42b.
[227] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 42b-43a.
[228] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 33.
[229] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 35.

and genuine, or voluntary and involuntary acts of these people in the sources that are discussed here. Alongside this notion of "performance," Advani also uses the word "strategy" to conceptualize the strange behaviors of holy fools and argues that the way they act was a strategy that they adopted to be differentiated from the rest of the Sufis.[230] Again, "strategy" implies an intentional act and it may not be the best word to define the acts of holy fools in the early modern Ottoman context. On the other hand, whether these acts were involuntary or not, it was through these acts that *meczub*s became known, and the wisdom that was expected to underlie their behaviors must have played a role in their mostly positive reception in both Sufi circles and the wider society.

As mentioned above, these acts and behaviors of holy fools, which could be both beneficial and harmful according to changing circumstances, are reminiscent of the representation of *evliya* in hagiographies. The deeds that *veli*s are depicted as performing in hagiographies were quite similar to the acts of holy fools. This resemblance is of course related to the identity of *meczub*s since they were also viewed as *veli*s as the above-mentioned examples from *Tezkire* demonstrate. Indeed, Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh defines *meczub*s as "a category of Muslim saints, or *veli*s (friends of God)."[231] Once the motifs that appear in hagiographies are considered, the picture seems completely fitting to holy fools. To name a few of these motifs, predicting something before it happened or foretelling the future, performing miraculous deeds, bringing harm or calamities to people, punishing their enemies with death (e.g. the case of Kadı Delisi in which he punished the man with the death of his newborn child once he did not name his son "Mehmed"), traveling

[230] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 53.
[231] Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes: Space, Gender, and the Construction of Antinomian Piety in Ottoman Aleppo," 535.

long distances in a very short time etc. are among the motifs that Ahmet Yaşar Ocak listed.[232] In fact, all these motifs have at least one example within *Tezkire* as can be seen from the examples above. For the motif of "traveling long distances in a short period of time," the case of Kadı Süleyman Efendi might again be a good example since according to Enfi, Kadı Süleyman came from the battlefield where they fought with Muscovites to Istanbul in only two hours.[233] Overall, these kinds of incidences which anyone would consider impossible apparently occurred in the accounts of *meczub*s within *Tezkire*, just as they occurred within the hagiographies of saintly figures.

Enfi's anecdotes about the behaviors and miraculous deeds of *meczub*s raise the question of their similarity to antinomian dervishes especially in terms of their uncostumary, even antisocial behaviors such as their wearing strange costumes, wandering around naked in the streets, saying strange things and shouting.[234] However, *meczub*s actually had important differences from these dervish groups. The most important difference lies in their process of initiation: In the case of *meczub*s, the process of receiving "divine attraction" (*cezbe*) was out of the will of the person who received it; rather, it was God's will and therefore, they "involuntarily" became holy fools.[235] Therefore, this was not a conscious choice as in the case of antinomian dervishes. However, it should also be remembered that sometimes a Sufi sheikh could apparently act as an intermediary between people and God, allowing them to receive divine attraction, as in the case of the narrative above, which describes the interaction between Sultan Süleyman and Sheikh İbrahim-i Gülşeni.

[232] Ocak, "Türk Edebiyatında Evliya Menakıbnameleri," 70-82.
[233] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halvetî, *Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn,* 50b.
[234] See Karamustafa, *God's unruly friends,* 66-74; also see Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes," 535-565.
[235] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 110.

Moreover, not every holy fool went through the stages that dervishes on the Sufi path passed through and some of them almost arbitrarily communicated with God and reached the "truth" (*hakikat*).[236] Therefore, the way these two groups of people became who they are highly differed from one another. In addition, the fact that one could find many *meczub*s who had no connections with any of these Sufi orders should not be forgotten, as is evident from *Tezkire* as well.[237] A final difference might be about the reception of these different groups of people by the established Sufi orders. As discussed, *Tezkire* gives a benign picture of holy fools' reception as saintly figures and shows signs of reverence for these people. However, the same picture cannot be seen in the case of dervishes who did not follow the established order. As Watenpaugh argues, while the established Sufis humiliated and persecuted these "deviant" dervishes as he calls them, they showed great respect and tolerance towards holy fools.[238] An important addition to this discussion would be whether the acts of these *meczub*s were considered "deviant" or not. Although it is certain that some *meczub*s transgressed social norms through their unexpected behaviors (e.g. walking naked in the streets), they were nevertheless represented as an integral part of everyday life, interacting with people in the streets, sometimes playing important roles in their lives, by helping them and also causing harm to them in certain instances. This can mean that holy fools were granted a special status within society, clearly in a positive sense. There were also no Sufi figures who criticized their acts and in fact, it was the opposite. Similarly, Advani also warns not to "categorize *meczub*s as antinomian, deviant, or abnormal;"[239] because on the contrary, he believes that their insanity provided them with respect among Sufis,

[236] Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes," 539.
[237] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 110.
[238] Watenpaugh, "Deviant Dervishes," 540.
[239] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 31-32.

pointing out their positive relations with the Sufi circles in Mughal India.[240] As a result, it is best to suggest that along with their obvious similarities, holy fools and antinomian dervishes also greatly differed from one another in many aspects and equating these two groups of people would be misleading.

3.4 Sufis as healers of the mad

Healing was one of the most important qualities that was attributed to Sufi sheikhs and Sufi lodges appear to have been among the most popular venues where healing, and more specifically healing of the mad took place. Karaca Ahmet Tekkesi was the most famous one among these where many *mecnun*s were brought for treatment.[241] Apparently, there was also a hymn (*ilahi*) about this which included the following words: "Karacaahmet, the noble saint / Those who come mad regain their sanity."[242] This clearly shows the popular perception of these *tekke*s regarding the treatment of the mad. Apparently, the treatment considered to be very effective in the popular perception.

There are also other *tekke*s that specialized in curing the mad as is evident from a few documents from the state archives. According to one of these documents dating approximately to 1734, there was a *tekke* in a village called *Zorvans* (*Toprak*) in Pasinler, Erzurum, that sheltered and disciplined (*delileri muhafaza ve terbiye eder yer*) the mad; and since there was no other place reserved for that purpose near

[240] Advani, "The Madness of the Majẕūbs," 32-33.
[241] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 88-90; also see Baki, *Tıbbi Folklor Araştırmaları: Eski Bir Türk Halk Hekimi: Karacaahmet ve delileri tedavi yurdu,* 1-15; Bayar, "Arşiv Vesikalarına Göre Ünlü Halk Hekimi Karaca Ahmet Sultan ve Halk Tebabeti," 113-125; Bayat, "Anadolu'da Akıl Hastalıklarının Tedavisi ve Karaca Ahmet Tekkeler," 11-14; Tosun, "Karaca Ahmet Tekkeleri ve Bu Tekkelerdeki Psikiyatrik Tedavi," 53-142.
[242] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 88: *"Karacaahmet ulu veli / Akıllanır gelen deli."*; Baki, *Tıbbi Folklor Araştırmaları: Eski Bir Türk Halk Hekimi: Karacaahmet ve delileri tedavi yurdu,* 9.

Edirne, this *tekke* was in the status of a *darüşşifa* (hospital[243] in the pre-modern world).[244] In another document concerning this *tekke*, it is stated that since there was no other lunatic asylum (*tımarhane*) in Erzurum, *mecnun*s were treated at this *tekke*, known as "Toprak Tekkesi," located in Pasin sanjak, reaffirming its status as a *darüşşifa*.[245] The most striking issue about these documents is not the fact that this *tekke* was specifically reserved for the purposes of healing the mad; but rather the fact that it was officially recognized as a "healing institution" by equating it with a *darüşşifa* or *tımarhane.* Once again, this demonstrates the need to envision pre-modern medicine as broadly as possible as it clearly encompassed multiple locations, practices, and actors.

In her study on preachers in the 17th-century Ottoman Empire, Aslıhan Gürbüzel suggests that Sufi sheikhs and preachers were not only "spiritual authorities," but also "pragmatic authorities" because as a result of their direct access to knowledge resources, they held an "intermediary position between the learned and the unlearned populations."[246] According to Gürbüzel, they did not only give spiritual or religious advice, but also medical advice to the general public, which could even include prescribing and preparing medications, recommending treatments and so on.[247] Even though the examples that Gürbüzel shared were not madness-related healing processes in particular, her analysis of the "pragmatic" activities of Sufi sheikhs and preachers is important to see this role of healing attributed to these figures and according to her, their roles as "healers" can be summarized as follows:

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[243] By hospital, I do not mean that pre-modern *darüşşifa*s were like hospitals in the modern sense. The use of the term "hospital" is just to clarify *darüşşifa*'s functions as a healing institution for the readers.
[244] Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Cevdet Evkaf, 434-21977 (30 Muh. 1147 / 2 Temmuz 1734).
[245] Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Cevdet Sıhhiye, 21-1037, (29 Zilh. 1147 / 22 Mayıs 1735).
[246] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan: Preachers and the Rise of a Political Public Sphere in Early Modern Istanbul (1600-1675)," 225-226.
[247] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 229; 246.

> Healing was an important component of the "pragmatic authority" of Sufi sheikhs and mosque preachers. Their key role as "healers" took two forms. First, there was the practice of healing by ritual or prayer often associated with Sufi preachers, but in fact reached beyond Sufi orders…The second type of medical practice was by providing medical advice. Acting as medical advisors was widespread even among preachers who were opposed to ritual-healing.[248]

This demonstrates that in the early modern Ottoman world, medical advice and healing was not in the monopoly of physicians for any kind of ailments, including mental ailments. There were multiple actors and multiple venues, as can be understood from the above-discussed archival documents, where there was not a clear-cut boundary between a *tekke* and *darüşşifa*, as *tekke*s could apparently substitute for *darüşşifa*s under certain conditions. Alongside *tekke*s, another venue where healing took place was mosques. Gürbüzel mentions a mosque preacher who was engaging in healing practices for the Friday congregation following the Friday prayer at the mosque.[249] One day, three women, one of whom was suffering from epilepsy, came to be healed by this preacher and they recovered from their conditions thanks to him.[250] It is a well-known phenomenon that epilepsy (*sar'a*) patients were miraculously healed following the intervention of Sufi sheikhs and saintly figures. One of these figures was Sheikh Üftade (d. 1580) and people were specifically resorting to him to be cured from epilepsy.[251]

Not only *tekke*s and mosques, but also tombs and shrines (*türbe*) of well-known saintly figures, sheikhs, and *meczub*s were frequently visited for healing purposes. As examples of places that *mecnun*s visited, Ahmed Dede Türbesi in Ayvalı village, Tavşanlı, as well as Haydar Dede Türbesi near Ankara can be

[248] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 227.
[249] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 248.
[250] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 248.
[251] Hüsameddin Bursevi, *Menakıb-ı Üftade,* 29-32; also see Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 247.

mentioned.[252] Emir Sultan and Somuncu Baba in Bursa were also important locations, where the patients' shirt would be taken off and put on top of the saint's tomb on a Friday night, two days after which the patient would be dressed in the same shirt.[253] This practice was believed to cure the *mecnun*s. As another striking healing method, the earlier mentioned *meczub* known as Elekçi Divanesi can be a good example as visiting his tomb was a solution for curing *hafakan* according to Evliya. İsmail Beliğ's *Güldeste* also contains accounts of miraculous healing following visits to the tombs of saintly figures. One of these figures was "Zerde Dede" and according to Beliğ, once they rotate children who cannot walk over his tomb, with the permission of God Almighty, he or she walks.[254] Interestingly enough, Beliğ also notes that this is an "experienced" (*mücerreb*) phenomenon.[255] This may imply that this miraculous healing method was tested and proven. Even though this example is not related to madness or the healing of the mad, it is nevertheless enlightening in terms of the miraculous healing roles attributed to saintly figures and Sufis. Overall, not only Sufi sheikhs, saints, and *meczub*s who were alive were expected to have healing qualities, but people also sought their intercession to be healed following their death.[256]

3.5 Sufi explanations in medical texts

When medical texts are observed, it becomes obvious that many Sufi concepts had also infiltrated into medical analyses. In his section on *'aşk,* for example, 17th-

[252] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 88.
[253] Kılıç, *Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Deliler ve Delilik,* 88.
[254] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* 434: *"Yürimekden 'aciz olan sıbyanı mezarı üzere devr itdürürler. Bi-izni'llâhi te'âlâ yürür. Mücerrebdür."*
[255] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* 434.
[256] For this issue, also see Gürbüzel's discussion on the holy relics that were believed to possess healing qualities: Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 247-248.

century physician Emir Çelebi states that some scholars (*hukema*) called this condition *cünun-ı ilahi* (divine madness);[257] and he argued that *'aşk* would become more serious with *sema* and *rü'yet* while it lessens and eventually disappears with sexual intercourse and lust, as mentioned in the previous section.[258] The appearance of *rü'yet* in a medical text, which means, seeing God and his manifestation in this world as well as in the otherworld,[259] is worth discussing since it demonstrates that there were no clear-cut boundaries between the medically mad and the holy fool (*meczub*). Emir Çelebi also discusses *'aşk* in a medical sense by suggesting that it is a type of *mal-i hülya.*[260] The coexistence of Sufi and medical frameworks in the conceptualization of *'aşk,* and the fact that *'aşk* is discussed as a condition with divine origins as in *cünun-ı ilahi* might be seen as a reflection of the porous boundaries between medical and spiritual explanations.

Another example can be found in Abbas Vesim's section on *mal-i hülya* in his *Düstur,* which is worth sharing in full (Appendix C). Here, Abbas Vesim suggests that certain ailments (*maraz*) can cause weakness in the imaginative faculty (*kuvvet-i mütehayyile*), which he considers as an instrument and servant of the nafs (self). Once the imaginative faculty is weakened, the nafs would be free from worldly distractions and reaches its purest and highest state. According to Abbas Vesim, this is the logic behind the ability of *mecnun*s to give information from the realm of the unseen, for which he uses the expression *ahbarü'l-mecanin ʿani'l-mugayyebat.*[261] This expression, and Abbas Vesim's explanation in general, make the boundaries between *mecnun*s and *meczub*s even more blurry. In addition, it might

[257] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b.
[258] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b: *"Semâ'la ve ru'yetle ziyade olur…Cimâ' ve şehvetle nâkıs ve zâil olur."*
[259] Süleyman Uludağ, "Rü'yet," 310.
[260] Emir Çelebi, *Enmûzecü't-tıbb,* 119b: *"Bu dahi mâl-i hülyadan bir nev'dir."*
[261] İmad, "Düstûru'l-Vesîm fî't-Tıbbi'l-Cedîd ve'l-Kadîm," 294-295.

demonstrate that Sufism and medicine shared a discursive framework in their conceptualization of madness, and that knowledge on this issue was not monopolized by either knowledge system.

Moreover, most of the discussed physicians were also personally involved in Sufism. Indeed, the pre-modern world was characterized by multiple affiliations and fluid identities; and pre-modern physicians bore little resemblance to our contemporary conceptualization of medical practitioners. Many of these physicians had strong tariqa affiliations and Feza Günergun's study, in which she traces these affiliations, is enlightening in this respect. She calls the physicians of Bursa circle "dervish physicians," among whom she counts Ömer Şifai (d. 1742), Ali Münşi (d. 1733), and Abbas Vesim.[262] Even though the works of Ömer Şifai and Ali Münşi are not covered in this thesis, it is still worth mentioning them as Abbas Vesim was their student.[263] In fact, Ali Münşi was also a student of Ömer Şifai.[264] Therefore, as in the case of Sufi orders, here too, one can speak of a *silsile* (chain), where the successors of earlier physicians followed their masters' path.

Regarding the tariqa affiliations of these names, it appears that while Ömer Şifai was a Mevlevi physician, his student Ali Münşi belonged to the Bayrami order.[265] Even though Abbas Vesim's tariqa affiliation is not clear, he must also have been connected with Sufi circles as the student of these two Sufi physicians, Ömer Şifai and Ali Münşi.

Another point of connection between these physicians was that they were all prominent figures in a new medical tradition, known as *Tıbb-ı Cedid* ("New

[262] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 230-252.
[263] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 252; on Abbas Vesim, see Baltacı, "Abbas Vesim Efendi," 29-30.
[264] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 251; on Ali Münşi, see Terzioğlu, "Ali Münşî," 421-422.
[265] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 242; 251.

Medicine"), which started to influence the Ottoman medical sphere during the 17th century and gradually expanded its reach during the 18th century.[266] One of the most significant aspect of this new medical tradition was "iatrochemistry," which entailed the use of chemical substances in medical remedies and preparation of these drugs by using chemical/alchemical methods.[267] Even though *Tıbb-ı Cedid* is out of the scope of this thesis, this instance of iatrochemistry and alchemy may provide additional insights on the connections between Sufism and medicine that one can see in the madness-related sections of medical texts. This is an important issue to emphasize because there was a clear connection between Sufism and alchemy, as Günergun also mentioned "the analogy between the alchemical processes and the stages of spiritual development;"[268] and Sufi physicians conceptualized alchemy as a branch of "the physician's craft (*tabib zanaatı*)" as in the case of Ömer Şifai.[269] Therefore, in order to better understand the Sufi explanations on madness in these medical texts, one should also have a sense of these physicians' backgrounds. One of the earliest representative of *Tıbb-ı Cedid* in the 17th century was Ibn Sellum. Although his affiliation with a specific Sufi order is not evident, Günergun argues that it is

[266] Theophrastus von Hohenheim, or Paracelsus, with whose name Paracelsian medicine was associated, was a Swiss physician and alchemist from the Renaissance period. He objected to the humoral theory of Galenic medicine and replaced its four humors (i.e. black bile, yellow bile, blood, phlegm) with three principles, namely salt, sulphur, and mercury. Another essential feature of Galenic medicine, that is "curing with the opposites," was again tried to be refuted by Paracelsian medical ideology, which instead suggested "curing with the same." However, the emergence of a new medical understanding did not put an end to the existence of Galenic medicine; rather, Ottoman physicians adopted a combination of both Galenic and Paracelsian approaches and these two traditions coexisted. For a more detailed discussion on these, see Debus, "The Philosophical and Medical Paracelsus: Paracelsianism and the Diffusion of the Chemical Philosophy in Early Modern Europe," 228; Debus, "The Paracelsians and the Chemists: The Chemical Dilemma in Renaissance Medicine," 187-190; Bachour, "Iatrochemistry and Paracelsism in the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 82-116; Yerlioğlu, "May those who understand what I wrote remember this humble one," 35-51; Harun Küçük, *Science without Leisure: Practical Naturalism in Istanbul, 1660-1732* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020); Küçük, "New Medicine and the *Hikmet-i Tabî'iyye* Problematic in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," 222-242.

[267] On iatrochemistry in the Ottoman Empire, see Bachour, "Iatrochemistry and Paracelsism in the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 82-116.

[268] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 242.

[269] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 242.

plausible to imagine Ibn Sellum as a member of the Sufi community, based on a reference to dervishes in the Damascene scholar Muhammad al-Muhibbi's (d. 1699) recitation of a *medhiye* (eulogy) to Ibn Sellum.[270] Finally, this particular example of alchemy as a system of knowledge and practice, which influenced both medicine and Sufism, demonstrates the compatibility of Sufism and medicine in the minds of these pre-modern physicians, which is strengthened by their personal Sufi affiliations.

3.6 Medical explanations in Sufi texts and Niyazi-i Mısri as a case study

The well-known Halveti sheikh Niyazi-i Mısri is a great case study to display the Sufi circles' knowledge of medical explanations, in a sense showing the communication between medicine and Sufism, as well as the Sufi circles' perception of madness, since he was believed to suffer from madness. However, to better understand what he and his contemporaries wrote about him, it is crucial to first look into the context in which these comments were made. Niyazi-i Mısri was one of the most controversial Sufis of the 17th century and this was because the time period in which he lived was marked by intense debates. The most significant one among these was the controversies between the Sufis and Kadızadeli preachers: As part of their agenda to denounce any acts they viewed as unacceptable innovations (*bid'at*) that emerged after the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the Kadızadeli movement targeted various Sufi rituals and practices such as *zikr, sema, raks* and so on.[271] Halvetis were among the main Sufi groups who clashed with Kadızadelis.[272] Therefore, 17th-century Ottoman Empire can be envisioned as a world of "crises" or

[270] Günergun, "Convergences in and around Bursa," 244.
[271] Ambrosio, "İsmāʿīl Rusūhī Anḳaravī," 183-186; Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis," 251-269; Terzioğlu, "*Bid'at,* Custom and the Mutability of Legal Judgments: The Debate on the Congregational Performance of Supererogatory Prayers in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," 323-366.
[272] Ambrosio, "İsmāʿīl Rusūhī Anḳaravī," 185.

"controversies" for the Sufi circles, as they had to face serious oppositions from Kadızadelis. However, one should not impose a dichotomy as Sufis vs. Kadızadelis. As the works of several scholars have shown, a more nuanced approach should be adopted as Kadızadelis were not totally rejecting Sufism or were not totally "anti-Sufi," and there were also some Sufi groups who were closer to the Kadızadelis' "sharia-minded" stance.[273] Therefore, totally antagonizing these two groups would be misleading.

On the other hand, it is true that as Kadızadelis started to gain influence among the palace circles, the lives of Sufis who clashed with them became more difficult and one of these Sufis was Niyazi-i Mısri: Mısri became a target of the state, especially during Köprülüzade Ahmed Paşa's (d. 1676) grand vizierate and once his claims became more and more controversial, he was first exiled to Rhodes and then to Lemnos.[274] This was also when the imperial preacher Vani Efendi became extremely powerful within the court, who led the movement during this period.[275] In fact, Mısri's diary includes several instances in which he attacked Vani Efendi in a quite harsh tone, reflecting this tense context.[276]

Mısri had several radical claims which made him vulnerable in the government's eye. Probably one of the most controversial one among them was when he claimed to be a Messiah, which his contemporary Mehmed Nazmi Efendi also mentioned and tried to refute.[277] He also argued that Hasan and Hüseyin were not only the Prophet's grandsons, but also prophets, and that this information came to

[273] Sheikh, "The Qadizadelis and Sufism," 418-432; Tezcan, "The Portrait of the Preacher as a Young Man," 187-249; Le Gall, "Kadizadelis, Nakşbendis, and Intra-Sufi Diatribe in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," 1-28; Terzioğlu, "*Bid'at,* Custom and the Mutability of Legal Judgments," 323-366.
[274] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 150.
[275] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 150.
[276] See for example, Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları,* 42-43; 93; 105.
[277] Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan*, 488.

him through "revelation" (*vahy*), which was considered to be a blasphemy (*küfür*) by some Sufis.[278] One of the strongest attacks to this statement came from the Celveti sheikh İsmail Hakkı Bursevi, who called Mısri a "heretic" (*mülhid*) who deserves to be put to death.[279] Perhaps one of his most threatening claims from the state's perspective was his idea that the Ottoman throne should be replaced by the Tatars of the Crimean Khanate, as he explicitly wrote in his diary.[280] Under these circumstances, it is no surprise that Mısri became a target of the palace circles, who were also supported by the Kadızadeli movement under Vani Efendi's leadership. In sum, Mısri's mental condition and his statements in his diary, which will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs, should be understood in light of the background of exiles and constant conflicts.

Having briefly discussed the context of the 17th century and Mısri's life, one can now begin to situate Mısri's condition within 17th-century Sufi circles. The above-mentioned controversial claims of Mısri can also be traced through his diary, *Mecmu'a-i kelimat-ı kudsiyye,* that he kept in Lemnos Island while in exile.[281] One of these claims – specifically Mısri's portrayal of himself as a Mahdi, or in fact more as a Christic figure, closer to the figure of the Messiah – is also discussed in Mehmed Nazmi's work, where he draws a connection between this claim and Mısri's mental condition.[282] According to Mehmed Nazmi, the reason why Mısri made such claims, which also included his comments on the prophetic status of Hasan and Hüseyin, was

[278] Cited in Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 650; Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 435-436; Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Niyâzî-i Mısrî and the Sufi Theory of Sainthood in the Early Modern Ottoman World," 174-175.
[279] Cited in Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 192; on İsmail Hakkı Bursevi and his ideas, also see Merve Tabur, "İsmail Hakkı Bursevi and the Politics of Balance" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011).
[280] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları,* 115; cited in Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 637.
[281] See Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, Dergah Yayınları.
[282] See Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan,* 488.

that he was suffering from *cünun* and *mal-i hülya*.[283] It seems that Nazmi Efendi tried to curb such controversial claims by using Mısri's condition as a pretext. Indeed, this was a good strategy to dismiss Mısri's claims. Furthermore, as Derin Terzioğlu suggests, it is noteworthy to stress that in his account, Mehmed Nazmi did not only explain Mısri's mental state on a spiritual basis, but also on a medical basis, with the excess of black bile, based on the Galenic medical framework.[284] The medical explanation provided by Mehmed Nazmi for Mısri's condition is a good example of how medical knowledge on the humoral theory was accessible to "non-medical" people and was part of their lives. Indeed, Mehmed Nazmi's familiarity with the humoral understanding in contemporary medicine is not surprising in this context. In fact, in her study, Gürbüzel argues that Sufis were important actors who transmitted the medical knowledge to the general public;[285] and as she suggests, "…reference to basic humoral theory in speaking about human nature was a common literary trope in Sufi circles."[286] Therefore, as a member of this literate Sufi circle, Mehmed Nazmi's acquaintance with humoral theory is understandable. What is interesting, however, is that Nazmi Efendi used the word *mal-i hülya* in his work, because according to Scalenghe, it was generally the physicians who were adopting this term in their explanations, and it was very rare to see this word in non-medical texts.[287] She argues that while expressions such as "black bile overpowered/afflicted him," or "a melancholic condition happened to him" were common in non-medical sources, *mal-*

[283] Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan,* 488.
[284] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 453; Mehmed Nazmi, *Hediyyetü'l-ihvan,* 488.
[285] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 246.
[286] Gürbüzel, "Teachers of the Public, Advisors to the Sultan," 229.
[287] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 94.

i hülya appeared to be a "technical term."[288] This can be considered as another instance demonstrating Sufis' access to medical knowledge.

The employment of the term *mal-i hülya* is also visible in Mısri's own *mecmua* and his *mecmua* contained recipes for this condition.[289] To clarify, Mısri did not mention the reason why he recorded these recipes; nor did he suggest that he had *mal-i hülya.* Still, however, the fact that he chose to include them in his personal *mecmua* might be indicative of his condition which is commented on by his contemporaries. Mısri even provided quite detailed information on where to find a specific herb called *pesvayiç*, which was believed to cure the excess of black bile (*sevda*), stating that it could be found in a shop near the Sultan Bayezid Mosque in Istanbul.[290] Why did Mısri possess such knowledge? This could possibly be a method of self-help. In a supporting manner, Mısri's biographer İbrahim Rakım Efendi also stated in *Vakıat-ı Niyazi-i Mısri* that Mısri's wife was preparing a compound (*macun*) for his condition which soothed him. However, once she died, since there was no one who could prepare this drug, his condition became much more severe, causing him to make some statements that disturbed the authorities, as a result of which he was exiled to Rhodes island.[291] Even though Rakım Efendi did not directly use the word *mal-i hülya* but rather *arıza-i şu'uriyye* (malfunctioning of mind or conscious), what he implied is almost certainly melancholia.

However, there were also alternative ways to interpret, or even defend Mısri's controversial claims that disturbed the authorities, as Rakım Efendi also suggests: According to Rakım Efendi, Mısri's claims should be considered as *şathiyye*, that is,

[288] Scalenghe, *Disability in the Ottoman Arab World,* 94.
[289] Terzioğlu, "Mecmua-i Şeyh Mısri: On yedinci yüzyıl ortalarında Anadolu'da bir derviş sülukunu tamamlarken neler okuyup yazdı?", 317.
[290] Terzioğlu, "Mecmua-i Şeyh Mısri," 316.
[291] Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 20-21.

words uttered under ecstatic circumstances.[292] Therefore, Mısri did not only have opponents like Mehmed Nazmi or İsmail Hakkı Bursevi, but also defenders, and besides Rakım Efendi, one of these defenders was ʻAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731): Following Mısri's controversial claims on the prophetic status of Hasan and Hüseyin, al-Nabulusi wrote a treatise in defense of Mısri.[293] Interestingly, just like Mısri, al-Nabulusi was also thought to have been suffering from a condition related to black bile (*sevda*) according to one biographer.[294] Basing his argument on Ibn Arabi's theory of sainthood, al-Nabulusi argued that Mısri's claims were legitimate since he did not contradict Muhammad's status as the "seal of the prophets."[295] Rather, he only extended the term "prophecy" to Hasan and Hüseyin, which was acceptable as long as he distinguished between "legislative" and "non-legislative prophecy," the former of which refers to the fact that Muhammad was the last prophet, while the latter "continues after him through his 'heirs.'"[296] Al-Nabulusi also suggests that Mısri's public statement on Hasan and Hüseyin could be deemed permissible on another ground, namely, that it was "a God-given task."[297] Therefore, according to him, Mısri did what was right by revealing the truth with the inspiration of God. Finally, similar to Rakım Efendi's stance, İsmail Beliğ also claims that Mısri uttered the words that led to his exile to Rhodes as a result of a "manifestation of an unusual state" (*halet-i garibe arızası*) in him.[298]

Moreover, as Derin Terzioğlu suggests, Mısri was not exiled on the grounds of "heresy," and her coinage of the term "dissident" for him is the most accurate way

[292] Cited in Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler,* 656.
[293] Pagani, "ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's Treatise in Defence of Niyâzî-i Mısrî," 317-324.
[294] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 178.
[295] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 178.
[296] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 178.
[297] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 191.
[298] İsmail Beliğ, *Türk Edebiyatında Vefeyâtnâme ve İsmail Belîğ'in Güldeste-i Riyâz-ı İrfân'ı,* 403.

to describe Mısri's condition as he was not considered a "heretic" and continued to receive support from members of the state and elite.[299] How could this be possible? Actually, this can be linked to his affliction with *cezbe* according to some. Indeed, there were arguments which implied that Mısri uttered these controversial words in this state of "rapture" (*cezbe*).[300] This also makes Rakım Efendi's justification of Mısri's claims as *şathiyye*s even more meaningful. It is also worth recalling the theoretical framework through which al-Nabulusi defended Mısri's claims, highlighting Mısri's elevated spiritual station which granted him the privilege to access the truth. Of course, there were some people who considered Mısri's words as "heresy" just like the aforementioned comments of İsmail Hakkı Bursevi. In general, however, Mısri's statements must not have been judged by the standards applied to common people, which could explain why his exile was not on the grounds of heresy.

Overall, these remarks demonstrate that Mısri's condition was seen as a state between "medical madness" and "holy madness," or between "madness" and "sainthood." It was explained both through a medical framework and possibly tried to be treated by special remedies like the above-mentioned *macun*, and through a saintly perspective, which interpreted his claims as ecstatic reflections.

An important question here would be how did Niyazi-i Mısri conceptualize his own condition? It appears that Mısri tried to refute the claims of those who called him *mecnun* by questioning the reason why they did not put him in an asylum (*tımarhane*) so far and by pointing out that he was able to calculate the days of the week, the months, and the years of his life etc. better than anyone else. He continued

[299] Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 500-501.
[300] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 190; Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 448; 456.

to support his claims with his remark that they keep the mad in the asylum until they are able to count the days of the week, and then they would release them.[301] It is hard to know whether testing the patients' ability to count the days of the week was a common practice in *tımarhane*s or not. If it is, Mısri's remarks can provide important insights on the standards that were followed to conceptualize a person as *mecnun* or the qualities and abilities according to which mental "sanity" and "insanity" were determined. Even if this was not a common procedure, it is still useful to have a sense of Mısri's understanding of being mentally sane or being insane. Apparently, being able to calculate the days of the week, the months, and the years were important criteria to decide on one's mental condition according to Mısri.

Although there are anecdotes about Mısri's inclusion of recipes for melancholia in his *mecmua,* and about a drug that his wife prepared for him with his permission (*kendü izinleriyle*), as related by Rakım Efendi, Mısri did not explicitly state that he was suffering from *mal-i hülya*.[302] In light of the available evidence, all we can suggest about Mısri's own view of his condition is that he did not approve the claims made by his contemporaries in an effort to refute Mısri's controversial claims.

How did Mısri reflect on his own state of being in his own words? For example, how did he express some of his fears in his diary? One of the greatest fears he mentioned throughout the diary was the possibility that his *mecmua* will be stolen and his writings will be read by his enemies.[303] This particular fear of Mısri seems to have emerged after his exile. For instance, according to an anecdote that Rakım

[301] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 102: *"Rabi'an eğer mecnunsın dirsenüz tımarhaneye niçün komazsız bilürsiz ki tımarhaneye gireni hafta günlerini bilinceye dek korlar sonra çıkarurlar sizün içünüzde ne kadar kimse vardur ömrünün günlerini haftalarını aylarını yıllarını tamam hisab ider Mısri kadr-ı tevarih-i esma istihrac ider bunlarda acizlersiz."*
[302] Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 21.
[303] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 152-153; Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları,* 43, 91.

Efendi shared, which took place in Pınarbaşı, Bursa, suggesting that it was before Mısri's exile, Mısri's *mecmua* was lost and when it was found in another person's hand and when Mısri learned this, he humbly offered this person to keep the *mecmua*.[304] If the *mecmua* that Rakım Efendi mentioned is the same as the *mecmua* that Mısri mentioned in his personal diary, it can be said that the persona that Rakım Efendi drew for Mısri before his exile is in sharp contrast with Mısri's most eminent fear regarding his *mecmua* after his exile. However, even if the *mecmua* in question is the same, this instance that Rakım Efendi told should not be taken at face value as he might have tried to portray a different image of Mısri to protect his legacy.

Mısri also repeatedly expressed his suspicion that his enemies might and did attempt to poison him.[305] Enfi Hasan, whose work was mentioned earlier, was a contemporary of Mısri and apparently a great admirer of his; however, interestingly, Enfi Hasan's sheikh was Nasuhi Efendi and Nasuhi Efendi's sheikh was Karabaş-ı Veli, who was apparently one of the greatest rivals of Mısri.[306] Mısri makes constant references to Karabaş-ı Veli as *"Karabaş şeyh"* and there are even instances in which Mısri accused him of trying to poisoning him: For example, in a specific case, Mısri addressed to Karabaş by saying that he could not die and this was Karabaş's fault because he used *sıçan otu* (ratsbane) as poison and instead, it would have been better to use a poison called *sülümen* (mercury chloride) which he could obtain from herbalists (*'attar*).[307] Thus, Mısri believed that his enemies was trying to poison him and this threat that he felt was quite tangible in his diary.

[304] Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 64.
[305] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 43, 55, 110, 111, 147, 148.
[306] Enfî Hasan Hulûs Halveti, *XVI. ve XVIII. Asırlarda Yaşayan Velîler ve Deliler: Tezkiretü'l-Müteahhirîn*, 22-23.
[307] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 43.

Furthermore, Mısri constantly makes references to "snake" with interesting expressions like *yılan akıtmak, içine yılan salmak* etc.[308] A translation for these expressions could be "pouring snakes into him" which would nevertheless be a poor translation. At first sight, these expressions and "snake" seem to be metaphors used by Mısri to describe his fears. However, once tracing the symptoms of *mal-i hülya* in the contemporary medical sources, a striking picture arises. For instance, 17th-century physician Ibn Sellum states that some patients had delusions about the existence of a snake in their stomach, which, according to them, could eat their liver and kill them.[309] One of Mısri's wills was that if he were found dead, he requested those who found him to cut open his belly and remove the snakes inside him.[310] As is visible, Mısri's words may correspond to Ibn Sellum's words and therefore, this image of a snake residing in the belly is common both in Ibn Sellum's description of the general symptoms of *mal-i hülya* and in Mısri's description of his own condition.

Another issue which is worth discussing is Niyazi-i Mısri's engagement in and even obsession with *cifir*, an exegetical method of making predictions by interpreting the Qur'an numerologically.[311] In his diary, almost in every entry, there is a *cifir* calculation which shows the important place that *cifir* occupied in Mısri's everyday life and in his efforts to make sense of the chaotic environment surrounding him.[312] Mehmed Nazmi also touches upon Mısri's engagement in *cifir* along with the issue of his *cünun* and polemical claims; and in order to refute Mısri's claims to be Messiah, Nazmi simply says to Mısri that he miscalculated.[313]

[308] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 93, 100, 108, 111.
[309] Salih b. Nasrullah, *Gayetü'l-Beyan fi Tedbiri Bedeni'l-İnsan*, 133b.
[310] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 66-67.
[311] Pagani, "Timeless Typologies and New Individualities," 176.
[312] Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 34-38.
[313] Mehmed Nazmi, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat- Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-ihvan*, 488; Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire," 453.

Mısri also expressed some of his sexual fears and one of his most frequent statements revolved around being raped or sodomized by the people from the palace circle.[314] Here, it might be worth considering how Rakım Efendi reflected these issues. Rakım Efendi represented Mısri's claims about rape as if they were related to Mısri's aim at disclosing Lemnos governor's sexually abusive behaviors to his young servants.[315] However, perhaps Rakım's words should not be taken at face value. Rakım's explanation might also be a way of depicting a portrait of Mısri within the limits of what was considered to be safer and situating Mısri's claims within a more "agreeable" ground in order to protect his legacy, as Terzioğlu also points out.[316]

Overall, treating Niyazi-i Mısri's mental condition as a case study reveals that both medical and mystical knowledge occupied an important place within the main explanatory framework through which Mısri's alleged *cünun* and *mal-i hülya* were conceptualized. Therefore, Mısri's condition can be seen as an embodiment of the blurred boundaries between *velilik* and *delilik*, or between medical and holy madness, demonstrating the entanglement of medicine and Sufism in their notions of madness.

3.7 Conclusion

Mısri's condition can be considered as a useful case study to demonstrate the permeability between medicine and Sufism, as his mental state was explained both through a medical framework by his contemporaries, who were also members of Sufi circles, and through the conceptual framework of *cezbe*, placing him somewhere between sainthood or holy madness and medical madness. Indeed, this is not striking

[314] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 154; Çeçen, ed., *Niyazi-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları*, 97-98.
[315] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 155; Beki, "İbrahim Râkım Efendi ve Vâkıât-ı Niyazî-i Mısrî," 14-15.
[316] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 155.

in the pre-modern context where even the general conception of the cosmos, and of the human body as a "microcosm" of the universe, was shared by both medical and Sufi understandings. Moreover, once medicine is broadly defined in the context of the early modern world, it becomes clear that Sufism as a knowledge system, and Sufis themselves, contributed to the medical sphere on both a discursive and practical level. Through the concepts of holy folly and its related state *cezbe*, Sufism also built a discourse on madness, much like medicine. Figures such as Sufis and holy fools within this framework also engaged in healing, extending this discourse into the practical realm. Therefore, medicine and Sufism were not two isolated intellectual domains; rather, they were entangled in their conceptualizations of madness.

In addition to showing the entangled nature of medicine and Sufism, Mısri's case may also reveal some pitfalls of envisioning the Sufi worldview as an "enchanted" one. As was seen in Mehmed Nazmi's comments on Mısri, he regarded Mısri as a Sufi sheikh suffering from *cünun* and *mal-i hülya*. However, he also drew on medical discourse as a complement to the spiritual explanations about Mısri's state of being, discussing it through Galenic medicine's humoralism as a condition caused by an excess of black bile. From this perspective, Mehmed Nazmi's interpretation could be seen as reflecting a "disenchanted" stance instead of the "enchantment" of Sufism. Thus, Sufis did not explain certain mental states solely as divinely inspired or supernatural phenomena.

However, if we were to adopt this framework of "enchantment" versus "disenchantment," we could also identify more "enchanted" stances. As we have seen, some controversial claims of Mısri like the prophetic status of Hasan and Hüseyin were understood within the framework of ecstatic utterances (*şathiyye*) under the influence of the divine, as Mısri himself also stated that he acquired this

information through revelation (*vahy*). As a prominent Sufi sheikh holding a privileged status in his access to the divine knowledge, Mısri was not accused of committing blasphemy and his words were not judged by the standards of ordinary mortals. Again, if read from the perspective of enchantment and disenchantment, Mısri can be regarded as a Sufi sheikh among the privileged few in an "enchanted" Sufi world, as opposed to the egalitarianism of the "disenchanted" Kadızadelis. Thus, even the single case of Niyazi-i Mısri demonstrates that one can hardly characterize the early modern world and its various actors like the Sufis and the Kadızadelis as simply "enchanted" or "disenchanted." This highlights the need for a more nuanced framework, one that also takes these grey areas into account without falling into dichotomies.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the conceptions of madness in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period through two bodies of knowledge: medicine and Sufism. What kind of medical framework did the early modern Ottoman physicians use to explain mental conditions? What kind of terminology did they use to refer to particular mental conditions? How did they categorize these conditions? Can we see any connections between medical and Sufi texts in their approach to madness?

The second and the third chapters have addressed these questions. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Ottoman physicians reflected on madness by using a rich vocabulary. In fact, not only physicians, but also other intellectual figures who were not medical practitioners themselves used a rich and diversified terminology, as was shown through Hezarfen Hüseyin's *Lisanü'l-Etibba.* However, this was still a medical dictionary. What is more striking is that this diversity was visible even in a non-medical dictionary like *Vankulu Lügati,* as was demonstrated by various terms used only for *cünun.* An analysis of the terminology of madness and its evolution over time based on contemporary dictionaries should be a topic in its own right for a separate study, and it still awaits scholarly interest for future research.

Furthermore, the way these physicians defined particular conditions clearly demonstrates the hierarchy that existed among these conditions in their minds. According to this, *mal-i hülya* or melancholia stood at the top of this hierarchy and other conditions like *manya, kutrub, merakiyye, 'aşk* etc. were placed under this general category of *mal-i hülya.* What is more crucial is that in their definition, physicians did not make a distinction between "mental" and "physical," and treated

the above-mentioned conditions just like physical illnesses. This is also evident from their classification of these conditions under "head diseases." However, these were not unique features of early modern Ottoman medicine; rather, they reflected an ongoing tradition from the pre-Ottoman period. Similar categorizations were also made in medieval Islamic medical texts, such as Ibn Sina's *Canon.*

This thesis has also revealed the "gendered" character of some of the conceptions of mental conditions in medicine. The conceptualization of female and male bodies entailed different manifestations of mental conditions in men and women. According to this understanding, the frequency and severity of conditions like *mal-i hülya* differed among men and women. On the therapeutic side too, some fluids emerging from the female body, such as women's milk, were attributed healing qualities. Other than medical sources, dictionaries, and specifically *Vankulu Lügati* also demonstrates this "gendered" perception at the linguistic level as well, since early modern Ottoman vocabulary on madness also includes gender-specific terms for those suffering from madness, as is evident from the term *el-mahnun*, which was used to specifically refer to adult male *mecnun*s.

Sexuality was also an important dimension of this discussion as it played a role in both the therapeutic approaches and the conceived symptoms of these conditions. For example, frequent sexual activity was considered as beneficial for patients suffering from *'aşk*, or some patients suffering from this condition were characterized by their lust. However, not only sexuality shaped the manifestation of mental conditions, but mental conditions could also pave the way for sexual diseases. Therefore, without gender and sexuality-based conceptions of mental conditions in the medical sources, this discussion would be incomplete and merely repeat the basics of Galenic medicine and its humoral understanding of diseases.

Besides medicine, this thesis has also shed light on the Sufi conceptions of madness, the most important of which were the debates over the state of *cezbe* (divine ecstasy) and those who were attracted by this state, namely *meczub*s. Sufis approached *cezbe* and holy folly in a complex manner: While holy fools were revered within Sufi circles and some even became sheikhs, Sufis were nevertheless cautious about the prolonged state of *cezbe* and those who became permanently stuck in this state. For most Sufis, *cezbe* in itself was not sufficient to qualify a *meczub* as a master capable of guiding others on their spiritual journeys, unless he himself had completed his own journey on the Sufi path (*süluk*). In addition, although *meczub*s were accorded a special status within society and generally received positively, some sources – such as Beliğ's *Güldeste* – nevertheless discuss them alongside marginalized groups like *abdal*s and *melami*s.

This analysis also reveals the entanglement between medicine and Sufism. As shown, physicians such as Emir Çelebi and Abbas Vesim incorporated certain Sufi explanatory methods into their accounts. On the other hand, medical conceptualization was also accessible to Sufi figures and formed part of their repertoire for explaining madness, as is evident from Mehmed Nazmi's commentary on Niyazi-i Mısri's *cünun* through the humoral theory of Galenic medicine. The fact that Mısri also commented on his own condition through his explanations on *tımarhane,* added recipes for *mal-i hülya* in his *mecmua*, and personally used a *macun* that his wife prepared for his condition demonstrates that Sufi conceptions of madness did not only have a spiritual basis, but also a medical basis. When viewed in the 17th-century context – a period conceptualized by some scholars as a time of "disenchantment," marked by heated debates against groups like the Kadızadelis within Sufism – Mısri's case stands as a useful case study to critique the

dichotomizing tendency of the "enchantment" versus "disenchantment" framework, which presents a black-and-white picture of Sufism as an "enchanted" worldview as opposed to the "disenchanted" vision of Kadızadelis. Therefore, a major aim of the present study was to trace how madness was addressed in the early modern Sufi context.

Finally, the pre-modern era was not a world with clear-cut divisions between different areas of knowledge. In fact, the pre-modern medical world was far more inclusive than one might expect today. Besides the "learned" physicians of the early modern Ottoman medical arena, many other actors – such as Sufis – were involved in healing practices. For instance, as Evliya Çelebi's account on "Elekçi Divanesi" demonstrates, even *meczub*s could possess healing qualities as part of their miraculous deeds. According to the narrative, those suffering from *hafakan* were visiting Elekçi's tomb to overcome this condition, and these examples can be multiplied. Therefore, an important aim of this thesis was to conceptualize pre-modern medicine as broadly as possible in order not to exclude other actors and related bodies of knowledge. This was an entangled world in which both Sufis and physicians employed diverse explanatory methods to conceptualize madness and mental conditions.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF TERMS

AND THEIR DEFINITIONS IN *VANKULU LÜGATİ*

TERMS	DEFINITIONS
es-sabet[317]	"Cünun."
el-mutet[318]	"Cünundan ve sar'adan bir nev'dir ki insana 'arız olur, kaçan ifakat bulsa aklı tamam yerine gelir, uykuya varmış yahud mest olmuş gibi."
su'ur[319]	"Kezalik cününa dahi derler."
sufret[320]	"Gah olur ki cününa dahi derler. Kaçan aklı gidecek günlerde olsa, zira o günde onu za'feranla mesh ederler."
el-'urret[321]	"Cünun."
el-memsus[322]	"Şol kimsedir ki onda eser-i cünun ola."
el-hubat[323]	"Cününa şebih bir halettir. Cünun değildir."
el-me'luk[324]	"Divane olan kimse, mecnun manasına."
huyam[325]	"Cünun gibi bir halettir ki 'ışktan hasıl olur."
el-mahnun[326]	"Şol recüldür ki onun cününu vardır, mecnun manasına."[327]
el-mehru'[328]	"Şol mecnundur ki masru' ola."

[317] Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2014), 176.
[318] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 294.
[319] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 784.
[320] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 813.
[321] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 840.
[322] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 1082.
[323] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 1233.
[324] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 1587.
[325] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 2193.
[326] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 2234.
[327] As I mentioned in the gender and sexuality part, this is an interesting term as it specifically refers to adult men *("recül")* and probably is not used to refer to mad women, showing us the gender division in the terminology/on the level of language.
[328] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 1437.

luset[329]	"Kezalik divanelik tutmaktır. Ve hamakate ve sür'ate dahi derler."
-lemem[330] -el-melmum[331]	-"Kezalik cünundan bir halettir." -"Şol kimsedir ki onda halet-i cünun ola."

[329] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 1, 328.
[330] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 2162.
[331] Koç and Tanrıverdi eds., *Vankulu Lügati,* vol. 2, 2162.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF TERMS

AND THEIR DEFINITIONS IN *LİSANÜ'L-ETİBBA*

TERMS	DEFINITIONS
el-evlak[332]	"delülik cünun gibi."
aşufte[333]	"delü ve serasime ve 'aklı zayi' olmış kişi"
mednec[334]	"aklı gitmiş divane ve şeyda"
şeyda[335]	"divane olan şahıs ve serasime ma'nasına"
bersam[336]	"cünundan bir nev'dür ve hastelik ağırlığı ve göğüs zahmeti ki zatü'l-cenb dirler"
el-'aten[337]	"bi-fethateyni sefihlik ve mecnunlık ve dahi ihtilal-i akla dirler"
el-tif[338]	"bi'l-kesri hayal ve cünun"
el-belibile[339]	"bi'l-fethi vesvese eylemek ve gam-gin eylemek"

[332] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 115.
[333] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 118.
[334] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 339.
[335] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 231.
[336] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 134.
[337] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 250.
[338] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 247.
[339] Demir, "Hezârfen Hüseyin b. Ca'fer İstânköyî'nin "Lisânü'l-Etibbâ" adlı tıp lügati üzerinde dil incelemesi: İnceleme-metin-sözlük," 129.

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTION OF ABBAS VESİM'S EXPLANATION OF MELANCHOLY IN HIS *DÜSTUR*

El-faslu'l-hamis 'aşar fi'l-mal-i hülya

Zira kuvvet-i mütehayyile nefsin aleti ve hadimi menzilesinde olmağla daʾima nefs bi-vasıtatü'l-havasẓuhur eden varid-i ati istihdam-ı mütehayyile ile tefekkür ve tertib-i mukaddimat tasavvurdan hali ve münfek olmaz. Çünkü bu maraz sebebiyle kuvvet-i mütehayyileye vehn ve fütur-ı ʿarız olup nefsin hadimine kesel ve aletine ʿatal küllühu nefs dahi bi-ihtiyar-ı ʿavayık ile iştigaldan müberra ve ʿalayık ile infiʿaldan mukarrer olup kendüden kudurat-ı beşeriyye na-peyda ve safvet-i melekiyye hüveyda olup pes nefs bu mertebeye vasıl ola. Kendüne kabul-ı feyza istiʿdad hasıl olup suver-i mevcudat mürtesim ve müntakış olan ʿavalim-i ʿaliye-i kudsiyyeye sühuletle muttasıl olur. Mirʾateyn beyninde hicab-ı mürtefiʿoldukda ihdahümada olan suver ve nukuş uhra inʿikası gibi bila-kasd ol ʿalemde olan suver-i garibe ve nukuş-ı mütenasibe ve ol sanih-i gaybı münʿakis olup bi't-tabʿ kuvvet-i mütehayyile dahi ümur-ı garibeden seriʿü't-tenebbüh olmağla fi'l-hal mütenebbih ve defʿ-i kelal edüp ol emr-i garib ve şey-i ʿacib canibine taharrük ve istikbal ve telakki bi'l-kabul etmekledir yahud bu maraz sebebiyle nefsin hadimi olan kuvvet-i mütehayyileye zaʿf ve fütur tariyyan etmekle nefs dahi tasarrufat-ı lazımesinden bi'z-zaruri ferağ ve sükun ve kayd-ı şugldan halas ve birun olmağla kendüden kudurat-ı ünsi zaʾil ve sıfat-ı ervah mücerrede hasıl olup mukteza-yı vakt ve hale göre suver-i mütenasibe ile mürtesim ve müntakiş olup ol nakş-ı garib ʿibre temaʾül evvelen mütehayyileye saniyen levh-i hiss-i müştereke intikal etmekle nice umur-ı gaybiyye

müşahed ve mesmuʿ gibi revşen ve münceli olmağladır. Ahbarü'l-mecanin ʿani'l-mugayyebat bu mezkurata müntemi ve bu mukaddimata mütebenni olduğı kütüb-i hikemiyyede mestur ve müberhendir.[340]

[340] İmad, "Düstûru'l-Vesîm fî't-Tıbbi'l-Cedîd ve'l-Kadîm," 294-295.

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