

A CURIOUS MANUSCRIPT FROM THE BEYLIK PERIOD:
RECONTEXTUALIZING FALNAME (NO.5179)

by
RANA DEMİRİZ

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RECONTEXTUALIZING FALNAME (NO.5179)**

Approved by:

Prof. Tülay Artan
(Thesis Supervisor)

Asst. Prof. Ferenc Péter Csirkes

Asst. Prof. Melis Taner

Date of Approval: July 22, 2022

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ABSTRACT

A CURIOUS MANUSCRIPT FROM THE BEYLIK PERIOD: RECONTEXTUALIZING FALNAME (NO.5179)

RANA DEMİRİZ

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Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Tülay Artan

Keywords: Falname, fortunetelling, bibliomantic traditions, illustrated manuscript patronage in Anatolia, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

This thesis examines a fortunetelling manuscript called *Falname (no.5179)* from the National Library of Turkey, which has previously been dated to the 16th century. The study focuses on the question of whether the manuscript was produced earlier than suggested, namely in the *Beylik period*, by analyzing the text and the illustrations. Written in Old Anatolian Turkish, and with each verse illustrated, the manuscript's unique mode of representation contributes to our understanding of the sophistication of bibliomantic traditions during this particular period, as well as the extent of illustrated manuscript patronage, especially in the context of vernacularization. The first chapter briefly surveys the historical background in which the illustrated manuscripts were commissioned and texts in vernacular Turkish were produced, and how the practices of fortunetelling evolved into bibliomantic traditions, after which they became widespread. The second chapter focuses on the characteristics of the *Falname (no.5179)*, in order to discuss the content of the text and how it was utilized. The last chapter of this thesis elaborates on the issue of patronage by analyzing two major components, the text and the illustrations, in order to contribute to redating and recontextualizing *Falname (no.5179)*.

ÖZET

BEYLİKLER DÖNEMİNDEN BİR EL YAZMASI: FALNAME (NO. 5179)'NİN YENİDEN BAĞLAMLANDIRILMASI

RANA DEMİRİZ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Falname, fal, fal kitapları geleneği, Anadolu'da resimli yazma hamiliği, on dördüncü ve on beşinci yüzyıllar

Bu tez, Milli Kütüphane'de bulunan ve daha önce 16. yüzyıla tarihlenen *Falname* (no.5179) adlı bir el yazmasını incelemektedir. Çalışma, metin ve resimleri temel alarak yazmanın önerilenden daha erken, özellikle Beylikler döneminde üretilmiş olma sorusuna odaklanmaktadır. Yazmanın kendine özgü temsil tarzını oluşturan hem Eski Anadolu Türkçesi ile yazılmış olması, hem de her dizinin resimlenmiş olması; o dönemdeki fal geleneklerinin karmaşıklığını göstermesinin yanı sıra, resimli el yazması himayesinin özellikle Türkçeleşme hareketi bağlamında anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Tezin birinci bölümünde, resimli yazmaların ve Türkçeleşme hareketlerinin ortaya çıktığı tarihsel arka plan ve fal uygulamalarının kitap geleneğine nasıl evrilip yaygınlaştığı kısaca ele alınmaktadır. İkinci bölüm, muhtevasını ve metnin fal bakarken nasıl uygulandığını ortaya koymak için *Falnâme* (no.5179)'nin özelliklerine odaklanmaktadır. Tezin son bölümü ise, yazmanın ana bileşenlerinden ikisi olan metin ve resimleri analiz ederek patronaj ve üslup konusunu detaylandırmaktadır. Böylelikle *Falname* (no.5179)'nin yeniden yorumlanmasına ve tarihsel bağlam kazanmasına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Whatever is my bearing, let it be shown.”

There are many idioms in Turkish related to fortunetelling that are currently in use, as the tradition of fortunetelling is still as vibrant as it has ever been; this can be seen from the variety of fortunetelling methods still extant, from Turkish coffee-reading to palm reading. In the course of the emergence of this rich tradition, both the terminology and the rituals of fortunetelling have become diversified throughout the centuries. To begin with, there are several terms that are used for identifying this practice and each of them has coreferential connotations. Among the most frequently used terms, *divination* is defined as follows:

“Divination, the practice of determining the hidden significance or cause of events, sometimes foretelling the future, by various natural, psychological, and other techniques. Found in all civilizations, both ancient and modern, it is encountered most frequently in contemporary mass society in the form of horoscopes, astrology, crystal gazing, tarot cards, and the Ouija board. . .”

¹.

As the explanation above suggests, the term *divination* evokes a formal practice of a certain ritual involving spirituality and perhaps religion or occult sciences and is not specifically used solely for foreseeing. Therefore, *divination* includes another frequently used term – *fortunetelling* – which is defined somewhat vaguely as follows:

“Fortune-telling, the forecasting of future events or the delineation of

¹G. Kerlin Park and Gilbert, Robert Andrew, “Divination,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified February 16, 2001. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/divination>.

character by methods not ordinarily considered to have a rational basis. . . . Predictive methods of fortune-telling include astrology (interpretation of the movements of heavenly bodies as influences on earthly events), numerology, and the utilization of objects such as playing cards, tea leaves, crystal balls, dice, fire, water, and scattered salt.”²

It can be inferred from the two definitions above that both *divination* and *fortunetelling* require rituals with particular methods, whilst the latter exclusively implies prognostication or foretelling as a result of a certain practice. Despite the slight difference between these two abstract concepts, the practices of *fortunetelling* are often subsumed under the term *divination*.

Fortunetelling was a common practice as early as 4000 BCE in China, Egypt and Mesopotamia.³ Over time, the practice spread to various geographical regions in which each civilization created its own terminology for defining such methods and rituals.⁴ The word *fal* (*fe'l*), which is one of the most mentioned terms in this study, is an Arabic word used for *fortunetelling*, while *irk* was the Turkish word used for ‘good fortune and auspiciousness’ in *Kutadgu Bilig*, an 11th century book which is one of the earliest written works in Turkish.⁵ On the other hand, the Greek term *manteia*, which directly corresponds to the word *prophecy*, was transformed overtime into *mancy* in English and *mancie* in French; this constitutes the basis for the terms related to divination.⁶ More relevant to this study is *bibliomancy*, which is the practice of fortunetelling by using books.

In the Milli Kütüphane (National Library of Turkey), I came across a curious manuscript called *Falname* (*No. 5179*), registered as ‘06 Mil Yz A 5179’. It epitomizes a unique mode of representation of the bibliomantic traditions of Anatolia, both in terms of the manuscript’s illustrations and textual content. The author is anonymous since the colophon is missing and the binding is not authentic, yet the surviving eighty-nine illustrations in twenty-five folios hint at remarkable

²Amy Tikkanen, “Fortune-telling,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified June 12, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/fortune-telling>.

³Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 11.

⁴Tikkanen, “Fortune-telling,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

⁵Abdülkerim Gülhan, “Türk Kültüründe Fal ve İsimlerle İlgili Bir Manzum Falname Örneği,” *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2015): 196.

⁶Mehmet Aydın, “Fal,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 12 (İstanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 134-138

peculiarities, such as having each verse illustrated on every page. Moreover, the manuscript has been previously dated to the sixteenth century,⁷ and there is a translation of the full text available only in Turkish.⁸ My suspicion about the dating of the manuscript, which I believe could be older than suggested, led to this present study on the manuscript. As a result of consultations with experts in old Anatolian Turkish, the text can now be dated back to sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries based on particularities of its grammar and vocabulary. Thus, the main objective of this thesis is to redate and recontextualize the manuscript to the Beylik period by studying the two components of the manuscript: the text and illustrations.

In the light of this purpose, in this thesis I have revisited the complete manuscript and have attempted to transcribe into Turkish and explain the verses in English as accurately as possible, with the goal of providing a precise translation. As my second objective, I attempt to reinterpret the provenance of the manuscript and attribute the text to a patronage network by reassessing the historical context of the work to sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Methodologically speaking, discussions on manuscripts are predominantly interdisciplinary since they provide reconsiderations from both an art historical and linguistic perspective. Since it was not possible to submit the physical components of the manuscript such as binding, paper, ink, paints for close examination and dating, this thesis considers the text and the illustrations. In doing so, my methodology not only includes qualitative analysis, but also the interpretation of contextual and circumstantial evidence as part of textual and visual aspects of the manuscript.

In the first place, it is important to discuss some background information regarding fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Medieval Anatolia, as well as the way in which literary production in vernacular Turkish emerged and illustrated manuscripts were commissioned in this particular period. Following this, in addition to a brief survey of the practice of bibliomancy within the context of *falnames*, which provides information that will reinforce the issues discussed thereafter, available studies about this genre will be reviewed before the *Falname (No. 5179)* is analyzed in detail in

⁷Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Thames & Hudson, 2009), 25.

⁸This was published by Esra Gencel as her M.A. thesis, but the number of mistakes in the translation may have led some later scholars to misinterpret some of its content since it contains words that do not exist in any language and was occasionally misread. Esra Gencel, “Ankara Milli Kütüphane’de Yer Alan 5179 Numaralı Falname” (M.A. Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sanat Tarihi Anabilim Dalı -, 2011). Also in Esra Tay, “Geleceğe Kur’a Atmak: Resimli Bir Hurşidname,” III. *Uluslararası Akdeniz Sanat Sempozyumu Kültürel Mirasın Korunması ve Yaşatılması Sempozyumu-Sergisi*, ed. Menekşe Suzan Teker (Antalya: Akdeniz University, 2018), 109-118.

the following chapters.

1.1 Anatolia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

The social and cultural climate in Anatolia in the period during which the *Falname* (No. 5179) was produced was profoundly fragmented and complex due to constant political instabilities. Up until the mid-eleventh century, Anatolia⁹ was populated largely by ‘Greeks and Armenians, and a relatively smaller number of Georgians and Syrian Christians,’ and was entirely a Christian land.¹⁰ Following the conquest of the Seljuks in Anatolia between 1081 and 1307,¹¹ the turning point at that time in history was the Mongol invasion in 1243 in which the Seljuks became vassals of the Ilkhanids,¹² Even though the Mongols were the new leaders of the former Seljuk principalities, their absolute authority was divided among local Mongol governors and Turcoman commanders, who then sought an opportunity to become independent. Upon the collapse of Mongol domination in 1335, the local rulers established autonomy in their districts; some of the prominent *beyliks* during this period were the Germiyans in Kütahya, the Candarids in Kastamonu, the Eretna around Sivas and Kayseri, the Karamanids, the Eşrefids and Hamidis in the central Anatolia, and the Saruhanids and Aydinids in the coasts.¹³

⁹Blessing and Goshgarian discuss the ways in which the term ‘Anatolia’ is dynamic and coexistent within the framework of multilingualism and political instability, in addition to the term’s geographical and political connotations in modern historiography. See Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian, “Introduction: Space and Place: Applications to Medieval Anatolia,” *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100-1500* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 1-7.

¹⁰A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız, “Introduction,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) 1-2.

¹¹The encounter of the pastoral Seljuk culture and Byzantine Christianity in Anatolia is also crucial to understanding the complexity of the culture of this era. Not only because the Seljuk dynasties appropriated already established Byzantine culture, but also, as is mentioned, the cultural change to Islam (the so-called ‘Islamization’ period), was not a gradual process. Therefore, Islam could not achieve dominance in this area until around the fifteenth century; that is, until ‘Anatolian Islam’ fully developed. For more detailed information, see Peacock, De Nicola and Yıldız, “Introduction”; Alexander Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, Ca. 1040-1130* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Sophie Métivier, “Byzantium in Question of 13th century Seljuk Anatolia,” in *Liquid & Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*. ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain, Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 235- 258. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “Liquid Frontiers: A Relational Analysis of Maritime Asia Minor as a Religious Contact Zone in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. ed. A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, Sara Nur Yıldız. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 117-147.

¹²This is a fragmented and culturally complex period of Anatolian history that is necessary to our understanding of Medieval Anatolia because of the establishment of Seljuk institutions, both economic and cultural. For more information on this period see Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2001); and Gary Leiser, “The Turks in Anatolia before the Ottomans,” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam 2*, ed. Maribel Fierro, 299-312. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹³Following a brief review of the historical sources from this period, Rudi Lindner outlines the socio-political conjuncture of Anatolia in 1300-1451 from the Mongol collapse and the establishment of the *beyliks* to the rise of the Ottomans. Though his survey focuses on the Ottomans, he provides a critical overview of the

As the constant geographical dynamism of the *beyliks* suggests, they were predominantly organized as pastoral military groups due to their dependency on territorial expansion, taxation, and control of the trade routes either over land or sea. Their state policy was based on the ‘family enterprises,’ to use the terminology of Sara Nur Yıldız, and their lands were divided among the male members of the household. Thus, the extreme decentralization of the *beyliks* not only brought weakness and diffusion in a generation or two, but also competition in various areas, including patronage.¹⁴

The *beys*, as independent Turcoman governors, ruled over a heterogeneous society, spoke diverse languages such as Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Persian, and Turkish, and practiced different religions. Considering the Turco-Mongolian nomadic *modus vivendi*, the political organization inherited from the Seljuks, and the ‘Perso-Islamic court culture’ from the Ilkhanids, the intensity of the cultural synthesis of the *beyliks* provides a basis for their patronage activities.¹⁵

Due to a lack of sources that mention artisans and workshops and a lack of texts that elaborate on artistic perception and aesthetic values, it is said to be difficult to assess and interpret the material culture of Medieval Anatolia.¹⁶ Yet, in light of the surviving texts, the Aydinids, Germiyanids, and Candarids were the most prominent *beyliks* who patronized literary court culture, even though the Ottomans were the leading political and military figures of fourteenth-century Anatolia. In terms of literary production, the Candarids mostly preferred religious content, the Germiyanids were interested in Turkish poetry, and the Aydinids’ preference of literary production varied from *mesnevi* romances to formal texts including medicine and *adab* literature,¹⁷ which will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

Beylik period, including their economy, culture, patronage, and polity, which also enables the reader to understand why the *beyliks* were short-lived and the Ottomans survived. See Rudi Lindner, “Anatolia, 1300–1451,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey* 1, ed. Kate Fleet, 102–37. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁴Peacock, De Nicola and Yıldız. *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, 25-28.

¹⁵Ibid, 24-25.

¹⁶Blessing and Goshgarian. *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100-1500*, 16.

¹⁷Peacock, De Nicola and Yıldız. *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, 28.

1.2 Literary Production in Vernacular Turkish in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Anatolia

Since *Falname* (No. 5179) is written in vernacular Anatolian Turkish, the trend of writing in vernacular Turkish in Anatolia, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is explored further below. I will refer to this phenomenon in Chapter 3 of this thesis when asserting the date of *Falname* (No. 5179)'s production and correspondingly corroborating the claim through the recontextualization of the manuscript.

The emergence and spread of texts written in Turkish in Anatolia is not only related to the increasing patronage of literati by multiple courts that emerged as an interrelated result of the aforementioned politically fragmented conjuncture of Medieval Anatolia; it is also related to the spread of Islam among the monolingual communities, that is to say in this case, people who only spoke Turkish.¹⁸ Some of the earliest texts in Turkish were written in Kırşehir, which became one of the religious centers of Central Anatolia with the rise of *zawiyas* and the Sufi network. These texts, which included among them Gülşehri's *Mantık'ut Tayr* and Aşık Paşa's *Garibname*, were largely hagiographies and mystical poems, with target audiences outside of the literati. As this socio-religious context suggests, the increasing tendency to write in vernacular Turkish was very much associated with the effective proliferation and cultural dominance of Sufi orders in the region in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, especially in the absence of a court sphere in Kırşehir.¹⁹

Likewise, the Turkish-speaking leaders of the *beyliks* enthusiastically followed the phenomenon of vernacularization by patronizing the scholars and poets who were pursuing commissions. Accordingly, literary production in Anatolian Turkish, in addition to the translations from other languages such as Arabic and Persian, flourished in the courts.²⁰ The most significant of the *beyliks*, based on the intensity of patronage activities, were the Germiyanids, centered in Kütahya,²¹ and the

¹⁸Ibid, 20.

¹⁹Ibid, 32-33.

²⁰Ibid, 30.

²¹For more information on Germiyanid literary production, see Sooyong Kim, "Literary Culture in Fifteenth Century Kütahya: A Preliminary Assessment," in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, ed. Peacock and Yıldız, 383-400; and Emek Üşenmez, "Eski Anadolu

Aydinids,²² on the Aegean Coast, who already developed literature in diverse genres and in various languages.²³

Edited by A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia* illustrates how the texts written in Turkish exemplified the intellectual concerns of the courts due to the content chosen by the patrons, as well as how textual production can shed light on the religious and cultural interests of society away from the literate elites in the courts in those particular centuries. Moreover, since the region called Anatolia today was located between the Persian world, which inherited ‘Central Asian Mongol traditions’ and housed the cultural centers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the Arab lands which culturally flourished under the Mamluks, the Medieval Anatolian intellectuals and patrons were inevitably exposed to influences from both.²⁴ It is also noteworthy that the independence of the *beyliks* from the Ilkhanids induced their interest in literary production as a mode of emphasizing their separation. In light of this socio-political context and the existing multilingual and heterogeneous society, it might not be a coincidence that the *beyliks* aimed to create a disparate identity and therefore displayed a predilection for writing in Turkish, as has been suggested.²⁵

As Peacock and Yıldız highlight in their introductory chapter, the exact relationship between the establishment of Turkish-speaking *beyliks* and literary production in vernacular Turkish still requires extensive study. This is due to the fact that while a text should normally be studied within the framework of the socio-cultural and political context it was written, the literary productions of this era have frequently been studied independently. Consequently, this provides only a limited

Türkçesi Açısından Germiyanlı (Kütahya) Şairlerin Yeri ve Kütahya’daki Yazma Eserler Kütüphanelerinin Önemi,” *International Periodical For The Languages* 8, no. 1 (2013): 2787-2805.

²²As a bureaucrat in the Aydinid court and a bibliophile who had his own book collection, Umur Bey is a fascinating case to discuss. I will discuss Umur Bey’s book collection in the following chapters of this thesis. Related to the tendency to write in Turkish in this period, the vaqf inscription written in Turkish on the mosque commissioned by Umur Bey is another remarkable example. See Mustafa Çağhan Keskin, “Umur Bey Taş Vakfiyesi: Eser ve İçerik üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIII. (2019): 121-151.

²³Peacock and Yıldız. *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, 32-33.

²⁴Ibid, 20.

²⁵Sara Nur Yıldız elaborates on the issue of forming a distinctive identity in her article. Sara Nur Yıldız, “Aydinid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth- Century Western Anatolia,” in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, ed. Peacock and Yıldız, 197-241.

understanding of the Medieval Anatolian literature and the centuries-long process of its emergence and development.²⁶ By the same token, often the texts of this era are studied by Turkish-speaking historians exclusively with a philological interest, since this particular language constitutes a basis for ‘Classical Ottoman Turkish’ from the sixteenth century onwards.²⁷ To sum up, despite the fact that there have not yet been enough studies done to properly depict the sudden burst of literary production in Anatolian Turkish, the phenomena can still be traced back to the Beylik period of the fourteenth century, with the trend gathering momentum in the fifteenth century.²⁸

1.3 Illustrated Manuscript Patronage in Anatolia in the Medieval Period

In Medieval Anatolia, illustrated manuscripts were generally commissioned by patrons. Before elaborating on the tradition of illustrated *falnames*, a brief survey of illustrated manuscript production will help to contextualize not only the genre of *falnames* and the practice of bibliomancy, but also the particular manuscript that will be investigated in the following chapters. Since *Falname* (No. 5179) is an illustrated manuscript that is datable to sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the concise overview below focuses on patronage activities both before the fourteenth century and after the fifteenth century, in order to explore the a priori resemblances discussed in the following chapters.

One of the earliest illustrated manuscripts in Anatolia was produced for the Artuqids sometime in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.²⁹ Due to the burgeoning patronage activities of local notables in Diyarbakır and Mardin, these cities became the centers for illustrated book production. For example, the *Suvar el-Kevâkib el Sâbita*, an illustrated manuscript produced in 1135, depicts the stars, zodiac signs, and cosmos based on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, in a

²⁶Ibid, 20

²⁷Ibid, 22.

²⁸Especially under the patronage of Murad II and Mehmed II. Ibid, 28-30.

²⁹In addition to local traditions, the artistic milieu of this era conveyed traces of Central Asian styles and techniques, which were brought by the Seljuks in Iran. For more information on the Central Asian style and its influence on later centuries’ artistic production, see Esin, Emel Esin, *Türk Sanatında İkonografik Motifler* (Istanbul: Kılbalcı Yayinevi. 2003); Banu Mahir, “Osmanlı Öncesinde Türk Minyatür Geleneği,” in *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı* (Istanbul: Kılbalcı Yayıncılık, 2012): 31-35; Nurhan Atasoy, and Filiz Çağman, “Introduction,” *Turkish Miniature Painting*, RCD Cultural Institute 44 (1974): 14-17.

schematic and colorless manner.³⁰ Some other manuscripts with illustrations that are known to produced under the Artuqid patronage include a copy of *De Materia Medica* that contains hundreds of images of animals and plants, *Kitab el-Hiyel el-Hendesiye*, the book on the mechanic devices of el-Cezeri (d. 1206), a copy of Beydeba's *Kalila wa Dimna*,³¹ and a copy of Hariri's (d. 1122) *Maqamat*.³²

As the capital city of the Seljuks, Konya was another center for book production in the thirteenth century. A significant work, entitled *Varqa and Gülşah*, depicts an eleventh-century love story through its 71 illustrations.³³ Furthermore, in *Menakbü'l-Arifin* by Ahmed Eflaki (d. 1360), it is stated that Rumi and his companions were interested in commissioning pictorial arts and artists. Two examples of artists are Kaluyan, who is said to be unmatched in the art of depiction, and Aynüddevele, who was commissioned by Gürcü Hatun (d. 1286), a notable from a Seljuk household, to depict Rumi in twenty different illustrations.³⁴ It is said that these two Greek artists came to Konya from Constantinople, where they studied Christian icon painting in the monasteries.³⁵

As this case exemplifies, there was fluidity in terms of the identities of the artists in Medieval Anatolia. For example, there are similarities in terms of the iconography in Cappadocian murals from the thirteenth century and *Daqa'iq al-Haqa-iq*, a manuscript commissioned by Seljuk ruler Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev III (d. 1284) that was produced by a Greek or Christian workshop attached to the Seljuk court.³⁶ As scholars suggest, parts of the manuscript were produced in Aksaray in 1272 and in Kayseri in 1273, which together reflected the 'Christian-Islamic artistic milieu' of

³⁰Zeren Tanındı, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1996): 3.

³¹Bernard O'Kane's extensive study on the manuscripts of *Kalila and Dimna* demonstrates the similarities and differences between previous and contemporary copies of the illustrated story in terms of its artistic style. For more information, see - Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

³²Ibid, 4-5. For more detailed information on the *Maqamat*, see David J Roxburgh, "In Pursuit of Shadows: Al-Hariri's *Maqamat*," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 171-212.

³³Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, and Tanındı suggest that the images were in line with the Kubadabad tiles and minai ceramics, which together reflect the prevalent aesthetic manner of the era. See Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2006), 14-15.

³⁴Ibid, 15.

³⁵Tolga Uyar explains how Aflaki's *Manaqib-al 'Arifin* narrates Rumi's patronage of Kaluyan and Aynüddevele. B. Tolga Uyar, "Thirteenth Century 'Byzantine' Art in Cappadocia and the Question of Greek Painters at the Seljuk Court," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*. ed. Peacock, De Nicola, Yıldız,. 218.

³⁶Ibid, 222-231.

thirteenth-century Anatolia.³⁷

In addition to Greek artists, it should also be mentioned that there were several illustrated manuscripts produced by Armenian artists, especially during the medieval era from the ninth century onwards. Within the extensive geography of the Armenian world, which stretched from Yerevan to Cilicia, the most popular genre were the books of the Gospel, which included lavishly depicted saints, holy figures of the church, scenes from the Bible, and even the portraits of the donors in certain cases.³⁸ The lifelike figures in these books were depicted in colorful scenes with golden halos around their heads; these not only resembled church murals, but also influenced manuscript production in later centuries.

In the Ottoman realm, the patronage of illustrated book production began in the early fifteenth century. When he was a prince at the court of Amasya, Murad II commissioned a copy of *İskendername* in 1416,³⁹ which is said to be evidence of an already sophisticated artistic milieu in Amasya.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Mehmed II commissioned Şerafettin Sabuncuoğlu, a physician in an Amasya hospital, to produce a medical text called *Cerrahhiye-i- İlhaniyye* in 1466. Since the author states that the book was written as a manual for physicians across Anatolia who could only read in Turkish, the depictions were intended to be utilized for practical purposes. Thus, the manuscript exemplifies how styles and depictions diversified in fifteenth-century Anatolia.⁴¹

Not only in Amasya, but also in Edirne, there were a handful of illustrated books commissioned and produced for the Ottoman court in the fifteenth century. Among them was *Dilsuzname* by Bediüddin Tebrizi, produced around 1455, and its contemporary text *Külliyat-ı Kâtibi*, a corpus by Şemseddin Muhammed b.

³⁷Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, Tanındı. *Ottoman Painting*, 15. For more information on the manuscript, see *Court and Cosmos: the Great Age of the Seljuqs*. eds. Sheila Canby, Deniz Beyazit, Martina Rugiadi and A.C.S. Peacock (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 213.

³⁸For more information on Armenian art, see Christina Maranci, *The Art of Armenia: An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

³⁹Bağcı elaborates on the styles of various images depicted in *İskendername* and its later copy in her Ph.D. thesis. Serpil Bağcı, “Minyatürlü Ahmedi İskendernameleri: İkonografik Bir Deneme,” (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1989). Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, and Tanındı also compare Mehmed II’s copy of *İskendername* to those of the contemporary illustrated books created in Edirne. See Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, and Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting*. 27-32.

⁴⁰Bağcı, Çağman, Renda and Tanındı. *Ottoman Painting*, 21-22.

⁴¹*Ibid*, 23-24.

Abdullah Nişâburi.⁴² Upon the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II invited artists to his court in the new capital city. Therefore, with the establishment of the palace *nakkaşhane*, the new phase of Ottoman painting evolved.⁴³

In short, illustrated manuscripts commissioned in Anatolia were both produced in various parts of the region and were quite diverse in terms of their content. The artist's stylistic mode of representation was usually determined by the artists' dialogue with their contemporary context, as they blended certain artistic conventions, creating a diversity of genres and subject matter. In conjunction with this phenomenon, this brief survey argues that the variation of artistic themes that were supported by patrons, and the aesthetic concerns of the patrons and their artists, was due in large part to the region's socio-political fragmentation, which eventually contributed the development of established genres, but also engendered new genres.

1.4 Fortunetelling and Bibliomancy in Medieval Anatolia

Before elaborating on the *Falname* (No. 5179), it is useful to briefly look at the tradition of bibliomancy and what has already been studied—most specifically in terms of *falnames* in the Islamic context—by explaining how and when the genre emerged, and how it developed until the time that the *Falname* (No. 5179) was produced.

A recent study on the subject is entitled *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook* by Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers, and Hans-Christian Lehner, and consists of a two-volume guide introducing all of the types of prognostication that were practiced during the Middle Ages by people of almost all religions and cultures, including Islam. Organized as a series of essays written by prominent scholars in the field, the first volume includes brief surveys of how prognostication emerged in each culture, how it was perceived by society and scholars, and a list of rituals and methods used for diverse purposes from weather forecasting to dream interpretation.⁴⁴

⁴²Ibid, 24-26. For more information on Külliyyat-ı Kâtibi, see Filiz Çağman, "Sultan II. Mehmet Dönemine Ait Bir Minyatürlü Yazma: Külliyyat-ı Kâtibi," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 6 (1974): 333-346.

⁴³Mahir, *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*, 46.

⁴⁴Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers, and Hans-Christian Lehner, *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

As the particular study suggests, it is not necessarily within Islamic culture that the tradition of bibliomancy first emerged and expanded; rather, earlier religions and cultures were crucial in the establishment of bibliomancy as a body of knowledge and practice. Seeking guidance from the Hebrew Bible by throwing dice was a common practice in Judaism, in addition to seeking guidance from several manuscripts written specifically for the purpose of foretelling. For instance, an article by Ortal-Paz Saar contained in the volume demonstrates how documents from the Cairo Genizah, manuscripts from between the ninth and nineteenth centuries found in the Ben Ezra Synagogue, exemplified divination practices such as lot divination and dice divination. These manuscripts were part of everyday life for Jews from Late Antiquity up to the Medieval period.⁴⁵

Moreover, Matthias Heiduk's article about the relationship between prognostication and games in the second volume brings to light another aspect of this practice: that people also perceived fortunetelling as a form of entertainment. This was likely because the process involves drawing lots or sticks, throwing bones or dice, or counting rhymes. Heiduk's article highlights the links between vernacular terms used for defining such practices in various languages. This link was strong enough that some fortunetelling books in the Medieval period explicitly write that the reader should not take the ritual seriously, but rather perform it to seek amusement and enjoy art.⁴⁶ Interestingly, the same intention would be emphasized centuries later in the *falnama* produced for Cem Sultan, most probably due to restrictions in Islam which will be discussed in Chapter 3.⁴⁷

During my research, I did not encounter any particular book written specifically about fortunetelling in the Byzantine-Armenian-Greek context. Rather, what I found is that, in addition to traditional methods such as consulting the Bible, astrology, celestial signs, and so on, they also used Gospel books for divination. In his book *Divining Gospel: Oracles of Interpretation in a Syriac Manuscript of John*, Jeff W. Childers explores the usage of the Gospel of John as a divinatory text; indeed, it had been consulted by Christians alongside the Bible as early as

⁴⁵Ortal Paz Saar, "Divination and Prognostication in the Cairo Genizah," in *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*. eds. Heiduk, Herbers, and Lehner, 746-752.

⁴⁶Matthias Heiduk, "Games and Prognostication: The Examples of *Libro de los Juegos* and *De vetula*," in *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, eds. eds. Heiduk, , Herbers, and Lehner, 777-785.

⁴⁷Ömer Faruk Yiğiterol, "Fal-name-i Cem Sultan," in *Cem Sultan ve Dönemi* (Bursa: Bursa Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2018), 198.

the sixth century, even for everyday issues. In addition to explaining the process of fortunetelling through the use of these books, Childers also provides four versions of the text translated from Greek, Coptic, Latin, and Armenian, and compares them to reveal that they are almost identical.⁴⁸

In the Islamic context, fortunetelling is strictly prohibited in the Qur'an by condemning those whose practice it, as seen in Surah Maidah [3]⁴⁹ and [90]⁵⁰. For this reason, *tafa'ul* and *istikhara* which broadly mean 'to interpret favorably,' are regarded as a form of fortunetelling. It is further reinforced by the Islamification of the process, for instance reading some pages from Qur'an, performing *namaz* before divination, and so on.⁵¹ Consequently, Arabic letters, numbers, God's names, stars, poems, and so on were frequently used in the Islamic world for divination, evidently confirming that the practice of fortunetelling was indeed legitimized by the religion itself.⁵²

During the Middle Ages, one of the most common fortunetelling practices was called *fal-i Qur'an*. As the name suggests, it was performed with the use of a Qur'an.⁵³ This particular type of *fa'l* or *tafa'ul* required user manuals for rules and interpretations, which were called *falnames*, and were either attached to the Qur'an or composed as a freestanding text.⁵⁴ *Irk Bitig*, the famous "Book of Omens" of the Uighur Turks that was written in the medieval period, is an example of the rich context for Islamic traditions of *istikhara* from books.⁵⁵ Other notable examples of this kind of divination include Muhiyiddin-i Arabi's and Cafer-i Sadık's books, which were among the most common sources used for fortunetelling, and Hafız's

⁴⁸For more information, see Jeff W Childers, *Divining Gospel: Oracles of Interpretation in a Syriac Manuscript of John* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

⁴⁹"... You are forbidden to settle disputes by consulting the Arrows. That is a pernicious practice..." translated with notes by N.J. Dawood, *The Koran*. (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

⁵⁰"Believers, wine and games of chance, idols and divining arrows, are abominations devised by Satan. Avoid them, so that you may prosper..." *The Koran*, trans. Dawood.

⁵¹For more information on the divination in Islam, see Abdülkerim Gülhan, "Türk Kültüründe Fal ve İsimlerle İlgili Bir Manzum Falname Örneği," *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2015): 196-202.

⁵²Christiane Gruber, "Divination," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* 1, ed. Josef W. Meri. (London: Routledge, -2006), 209-211; İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Falname* (İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1951), 1-20.

⁵³Gülhan, "Türk Kültüründe Fal ve İsimlerle İlgili Bir Manzum Falname Örneği," 196-202.

⁵⁴Christiane Gruber, "The 'Restored Shi'i Mushaf as Divine Guide? The Practice of Fal-ı Quran in the Safavid Period," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 13, no. 2, (2011): 33.

⁵⁵Written around 930 CE in Mani, *Irk Bitig* consist of sixty-five chapters, each of them corresponding to a particular divination. For more information on this manuscript, see Marcel Erdal, "Further Notes on the *Irk Bitig*," *Turkic Languages* 1 (1997): 63-100.

(d. 1390) *Divan*, the use of which expanded from Iran and circulated in Ottoman regions later in the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Thus, the common practice of searching for guidance from the aforementioned books enabled the development of the genre of illustrated *falnames*.⁵⁷

The first extensive study on *falnames* was İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan's 1951 *Falname*, which was a pioneer in the field due to its complete enumeration of surviving *falnames*. For the first time, Ertaylan classified *falnama* types for the benefit of future researchers, and provided brief information on each *falnama* extant in the libraries of Istanbul and other provinces, making it clear that the *falnames* were produced in significant numbers. Since this book was published before the acquisition of *Falname* (no.5179) by the National Library, Ertaylan did not cover this particular manuscript. Yet his work remains relevant to this study for demonstrating the variety of *falnames* produced across the centuries. It also has a facsimile of a fortunetelling book that was commissioned by Mehmed II, which is one of the *comparanda* in this study for *Falname* (no.5179).⁵⁸ Along with Ertaylan's book, Ayşe Duvarcı's study entitled *Türkiye'de Falcılık Geleneği İle Bu Konuda İki Eser: "Risale-i Falname Li Cafer-i Sadık" ve "Tefe'ülname"* represents another prominent secondary source, since it discusses the origin of the word 'fortunetelling,' fortunetelling rituals, and how the traditions emerged.⁵⁹ Similar to Ertaylan's work, she ends the text with her studies on the *Risale-i Falname Li Cafer-i Sadık* and *Tefe'ülname* texts. These studies are perhaps the most cited sources by researchers who analyze individual *falnames*, either for linguistic, artistic, or historical purposes.

Thus far, the most lengthy and in-depth studies dedicated to the close examination of particular *falnames* have mostly been done with the aim of revealing either the semantic or lingual characteristics of the texts. For this reason, *falnames* have mainly been studied independently of their historical context. For instance, in his M.A. thesis "Falnâme-i Ca'fer-i Sâdık", which is based upon his analysis of the aforementioned text's language and grammar, Umut Kadiroğulları indicates that the text carried the characteristics of Old Anatolian Turkish and was translated from one of the fortunetelling books by Ca'fer-i Sadık (d. 765), the sixth Imam

⁵⁶Gruber, "The 'Restored Shi'i Mushaf as Divine Guide?," 31-32.

⁵⁷Ibid, 29-30.

⁵⁸Ertaylan, *Falname*, 1-20.

⁵⁹Ayşe Duvarcı, *Türkiye'de Falcılık Geleneği İle Bu Konuda İki Eser: "Risale-i Falname Li Cafer-i Sadık" ve "Tefe'ülname"* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1993).

of the Shi'ites.⁶⁰ The text consists of 54 folios, including a guide for the process of fortunetelling. In the first part, there are charts of the seasons and directions that guide the reader towards their omens. After this, there are tables of horoscopes and planets, with each of these directing the reader to the section of a particular caliph. The last section contains verses of fortunetelling from thirty caliphs, which allow the fortuneteller to eventually learn about the person's future.⁶¹

Likewise, Vedat Kartalcık's M.A. thesis on the Turkish translation of a *falnama* that he found in Konya from the time of the reign of Murad II. Though the study also aims to contribute to the field of linguistics, Kartalcık provides significant information about the context of the text. As he notes, the manuscript was first written in Arabic for the Abbasid Caliph Harun Reşid (d.809), translated into Persian, and then translated into Turkish upon the request of Murad II, as the inscribed dates suggest. The manuscript is unique because the author of the manuscript explains how he studied books on astrology and fortunetelling from India to Rumelia and then lays out his own complex method of fortunetelling that he elaborates in detail throughout the text.⁶²

By the same token, a recent article by Samet Onur on a *falnama* written in Khwarezm-Turkish and now located in the Topkapı Palace Library (Koğuşlar, no. 1057) argues that this particular *falnama* is one of the earliest in Anatolia, dated back to the fourteenth century and presumably used in Edirne Palace. The unillustrated manuscript consists of fifty-nine folios and the process of fortunetelling is mostly based on numerical calculations involving Arabic letters, horoscopes, and surahs from the Qur'an. Onur also mentions the marginal notes of the author which explain the results of the fortunes of famous fifteenth-century figures such as the poet Şeyhi and Anadolu Beylerbeyi Hamza Bey who were at Edirne at that time, a feature which contributes to the dating of the manuscript.⁶³

⁶⁰This copy is now located in Bursa's İnebey Manuscript Library (no. 5489), and other copies of this *falnama* can be found in the National Library (no. A2146) and Süleymaniye Library (no. 0000153). Umut Kadiroğulları, "Falnâme-i Ca'fer Sâdik (Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük)" (M.A. Thesis, Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili Ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, 2016).

⁶¹Ibid, 18-19.

⁶²Vedat Kartalcık, "*Falname: Giriş- İnceleme- Metin- Söz Dizini- Tıpkıbasım*" (M.A. Thesis, Süleyman Demirel üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü 2000).

⁶³I will discuss this particular manuscript in the following chapters of this thesis. Samet Onur, "Harezmi TürkÇesiyle Yazılmış Bir Fal Kitabı," *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 17, no. 1. (March 2020): 96-119.

Even though they pursued different methodologies and had a different purpose than this thesis, the preceding dissertations and the latter article are highlighted in this brief review because of the fact that they are related in terms of demonstrating the characteristics of *falnames* in this particular era, and exemplifying the enthusiasm of scholars from the period for this genre. These studies also illustrate the ways in which each manuscript was produced, particularly during the period in which Old Anatolian Turkish was still in use.

Perhaps the most comprehensive study that analyzes illustrated *falnama* books in terms of their iconography is Zühal Akar's M.A. Thesis, in which she analyzes two monumental *falnama* manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Library. The *falnama* copy called H.1703, also studied by Bağcı and Farhad for a 2009 exhibition (described further below), is the famous Falname produced by Kalender Paşa for Ahmed I. It was composed in Ottoman Turkish verse and has thirty-five illustrations of various religious scenes, from the miracles of the prophets to depictions of heaven and hell. On the other hand, it is thought that H.1702 was produced after Kalender Paşa produced a Falname for Ahmed I (H.1703). Written in Persian, it has sixty monumental illustrations of religious scenes that are said to be reminiscent of Tahmasb's dispersed *Falnama*, which was produced in the 1550s in Tabriz or Qazvin. It is also reminiscent of a copy of the *Falnama* now in Dresden, which was also produced in the 1600s, most likely in Isfahan, and thought to be taken by the Ottomans in 1718 or earlier.

In her work, Akar not only compares the text's iconography with contemporaneous manuscripts of its kind, but also analyzes the relationship between the text and each illustration, though the content and iconography have similar tendencies in terms of their mode of representation. She brings forth further sixteenth-century manuscripts that contain illustrated stories of the prophets such as *Kısas-ı Enbiya*, *Zübtetü't Tevarih*, and *Hadıkatü's Süeda*, in order to scrutinize the artist's approach and interpretation of each scene. She concludes that the artists of the *falnama* manuscripts apparently applied regularized but simplified iconography. In this way, they aimed to grab the attention of the reader and direct it to the text rather than the image by maintaining the focus towards the *falnama* text itself, instead of the actual story of the prophets.⁶⁴

⁶⁴Zühal Akar, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'nde Bulunan İki Falname ve Resimleri* (M.A. Thesis, Hacettepe University, 2002).

The most recent and comprehensive publication dedicated solely to illustrated *falnamas* is Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı's catalogue of the exhibition "*Falnama: The Book of Omens*" held in Washington between October 24, 2009 and January 24, 2010.⁶⁵ As their research demonstrates, before the full development of illustrated *falnamas* as a separate genre, single page illustrations that depicted divinatory features were widely available. The way in which the scenes were illustrated in those separate images served as models for later *falnama* books. The most exemplary depictions for *falnamas* were from *Acaibü'l Mahlukat* by Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud (d. 1283),⁶⁶ and *Acaib* by Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Tusi, written in 1160 or 1170. Both *falnamas* are about the lives of prophets and kings, the interpretation of dreams and wonders of the world. Thus, these books became significant sources and modeled for later depictions of the same scenes.⁶⁷ In parallel with these novelties, the first example of a detached *falnama* with illustrations and corresponding omens is Muhammad ibn Badrettin Jajarmi's *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar*, written in 1341. This is one of the first examples of divinatory poems with illustrations and one of the earliest visual representations of the zodiac found in an Islamic manuscript.⁶⁸

Bağcı and Farhad prefer to focus their extensive research on *falnamas* produced over the course of the seventeenth century on a comparison between the Ottomans and the Safavids. They highlight in their preliminary chapter that the origins of the illustrated *falnama* tradition in Anatolia could be traced back to a book called *Daqa'iq al-Haqa-iq*, dedicated to the last ruler of the Seljuks, Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev III (d. 1284). Even though the book was not specifically produced for fortunetelling, it was used for divination since it combines magic and astrology.⁶⁹ Hence, before analyzing the monumental illustrations of the Safavid's dispersed *falnama* and the *falnama* of Kalender Paşa commissioned for Ahmed I, they stress

⁶⁵Farhad and Bağcı *Book of Omens*.

⁶⁶Pancaroglu examines images incorporated into cosmography that the writer Tusi aimed to posit within the conceptual boundaries of the religious permissibility of figural representation in medieval Islam, particularly in the late twelfth century. See Oya Pancaroglu, "Signs in the Horizons: Concepts of Image and Boundary in a Medieval Persian Cosmography," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 31-41. Karin Rührdanz's study on the sixteenth-century copies of this particular manuscript demonstrates the significance of the manuscript, which continued to be commissioned with further additions and increased aesthetic sophistication. See Karin Rührdanz, "Between Astrology and Anatomy," *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 56-66.

⁶⁷Farhad and Bağcı, *Book of Omens*. 24.

⁶⁸Ibid, 24.

⁶⁹Farhad and Bağcı explain that even though the book was not specifically produced for auguring, it was indeed used for fortunetelling. See *The Book of Omens*, 23-24. See also A.C.S. Peacock, "A Seljuk Occult Manuscript and its World: MS Paris Persan 174," *The Seljuks and Their Successors: Art, Culture and History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Studies in Islamic Art, 2020), 163-179.

that the genre gained momentum in the second half of the sixteenth century under Sultan Murad III, who was curious about dream interpretation, mysterious stories and events, and exotic lands. In line with the demand and inclination of the patron, copies and translations of *Tarih-i Hindi Gharbi* (Story of the West Indies) and stories from the *Thousand and One Nights* and *Acaibü'l Mahlukat* were produced. There is also an illustrated *Siyer-i Nebi* about the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants' lives, which ultimately became one of the most depicted scenes of contemporaneous *falnames* .

In that era, especially in court circles, many people were influential in the development of interest in the *falnama* genre: Nurbanu Sultan as a queen and mother, the chief white eunuch Gazanfer Ağa, the mistress housekeeper Canfeda Hatun, and even Sufi sheiks that served as dream interpreters for the palace.⁷⁰ As a result, various books about talismans, zodiacs, and dreams, and also separate *falnames* *Matali'ü's- Sa'ade* and *Yenabi'u's-Siyade* were prepared for the daughters of Murad III.⁷¹

It should be mentioned that both Mehmed II and Cem Sultan were interested in commissioning fortunetelling books even before the genre evolved and diversified in the seventeenth century. The Persian poet Hâmidi translated a *falnama* from Arabic to Persian called *Câm-ı Suhanguy* for Mehmed II. He also commissioned another Turkish *falnama*, which was published by Ertaylan and is located in the İstanbul University Library, as mentioned above.⁷² On the other hand, Cem Sultan's *falnames* were added to his Divan, and are available as two copies that are both in the İstanbul University Library.⁷³ Neither of the copies bears any images depicting scenes or figures.

Moreover, the commissions of Turkish translations of Persian *falnames* during the

⁷⁰Farhad and Bağcı, *Book of Omens*. 73.

⁷¹See Bağcı, Çağman, Renda, and Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting*, 189-191 also discuss this period in terms of their contribution to the art patronage of this era.

⁷²Ertaylan, *Falname*, 31.

⁷³For more information on the *falnames* produced for Mehmed II, see Ertaylan, *Falname*; Duvarcı, Ayşe. *Türkiye'de Falculuk Geleneği*. For more about Cem Sultan's patronage, see Halil Ersoylu, "Fal-Falname ve Fal-i Reyhan-ı Cem Sultan, ". *İslam Medeniyeti Dergisi* 10, no. 2 (1981): 69-81. Ömer Faruk Yiğiterol, "Fal-name-i Cem Sultan," *Cem Sultan ve Dönemi*. (Bursa: Bursa Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2018): 197-207.

reign of Murad II⁷⁴ and Bayezid II,⁷⁵ in addition to Mehmed II's and Cem Sultan's⁷⁶ ambitious patronage of *falnames*⁷⁷, demonstrate how the already-established genre continued in the expanding Ottoman state. During the sixteenth century, before the aforementioned immense production of these texts began in the seventeenth century, there were several types of books used for auguring. For instance, *Hurşidname* (Book of the Sun) aims to allow one to prophesize through the letters of the word *hurşid*, which means sun;⁷⁸ this will be elaborated on in the following chapters. Additionally, *Yıldızname* and *Taliname*, which are the same as *falname* in terms of content and purpose, but are different in terms of scheme, organization, mathematical calculations, and the tone of the writer, are two other examples of books used for auguring.⁷⁹ It is also noteworthy that seeking guidance through the use of the Qur'an was also a common practice in the Sunni Ottoman Empire. The Safavid *fal-i Qur'ans* that were imported into Ottoman lands in the sixteenth century were 'Ottomanized' before use by appropriating their 'Shi'i characteristics.'⁸⁰

Last but not least, Matthew Melvin-Koushki is another notable contributor to the field, whose work is related to the Safavid notions of fortunetelling, occult sciences and magic in the Islamic context. As he demonstrates, fortunetelling attained further connotations in the Islamic context when the Ilkhanid theoretician Shams al-Din Amuli (d. 1352) classified all occult sciences (such as alchemy, letter magic, oneiromancy, physiognomy, and astrology) as natural sciences and Sufism as 'the supreme Islamic science;' a model that was subsequently adopted throughout the Persianate world.⁸¹ Furthermore, in relation to the increasing sophistication of the

⁷⁴Discussed in Vural Kartalcık's aforementioned study. See Kartalcık, *Falname: Giriş- İnceleme- Metin- Söz Dizini- Tıpkıbasım*.

⁷⁵Ahmet Tunç Şen studies Bayezid II's personal interest in the science of the stars by analyzing his patronage of books and *münnecims* (astronomers, astrologers) in light of archival documents and manuscripts. For more information, see Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bayezid II and His Celestial Interests," *Arabica* 64, no. 3/4 (2017): 557-608.

⁷⁶Gruber, "The 'Restored Shi'i Mushaf as Divine Guide? The Practice of Fal-ı Quran in the Safavid Period," 45.

⁷⁷For more information on the enthusiasm for astrology and prognostication practices in the Ottoman Court in this period, see Ahmet Tunç Şen. *Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s-1550s*. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2016).

⁷⁸Farhad and Bağcı, *Book of Omens*, 25.

⁷⁹Nagihan Gür, "Osmanlı Fal Geleneği Bağlamında Yıldızname, Falname Ve Taliname Metinleri," *Millî Folklor* 24, no. 96 (2012): 211.

⁸⁰Christiane Gruber explains that the endowment notes were added to the end of Qur'ans. Thus, once the ending folios of the books were removed, they lost their Persian or Shi'ite character. See Gruber, "The 'Restored Shi'i Mushaf as Divine Guide? The Practice of Fal-ı Quran in the Safavid Period," 45.

⁸¹Matthew Melvin Koushki, "Astrology, Lettrism, Geomancy: The Occult-Scientific Methods of Post- Mongol Islamicate Imperialism," *The Medieval History Journal* 19, no. 1 (2016): 144.

process of prognostication and occult sciences, he argues that another aspect which led to the production and spread of *falnamas* was the increasing anxiety about the Messianic legitimization of political authority. The Islamic Millennium (1592 CE) and the apocalyptic concerns people had related to this event led to a rise in alternative ways of accumulating power, including Sufism, occultism, and Shi'ism. For this reason, the interest in occult sciences and literary production of this kind (including *falnamas*) rose significantly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, especially in the Persian world.⁸²

This section has attempted to provide a brief overview of the historical context based on the available literature, varying from broader texts on magic, prognostication, and occult sciences related to *falnamas* in the Islamic context, to specific studies dedicated to the *falnamas* as an individual genre. It can be concluded that there was a dynamic fortunetelling tradition both long before and during the reign of the Ottomans. Furthermore, certain transformations took place in the interests of patrons in Anatolia, although in some cases examples of these texts have not been precisely attributed to any particular commission network or the artistic milieu of any particular principality. Consequently, there are many anonymous or unattributed *falnama* manuscripts written in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish and located in various library collections in Turkey and in other countries which remain unstudied and unpublished.⁸³

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis endeavors to present a complete transliteration of this authentic text, as accurately as possible, in order to contribute an improved translation to future research in this area; it also aims to bring forth the issue of patronage within the framework of the manuscript's historical context. In this regard, one chapter is dedicated to each of the text's two major aspects: the first focuses on the main body of the text, and the second argues for the reassessment of its content and illustrations as a means of determining the period of its production.

In the chapter following this introductory chapter, I begin with the main charac-

⁸²Ibid, 142.

⁸³Ertaylan provides a brief list of the manuscripts and their locations. Ertaylan, *Falname*, 29-38.

teristics of the text of *Falname* (No.5179) and how it is organized. I then provide explanations as to how the practice of fortunetelling occurred with the selected samples from the text. By providing these examples, I intend to establish a coherent narrative of how the text once functioned, as well as to strengthen further interpretations.

In the final chapter, I approach the issue of analyzing the text in two ways. The first part focuses on the recontextualization of the text to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia by reconsidering the various patronage activities that may have possibly composed this particular manuscript, and manuscripts of this kind more generally. In the second part, my aim is to transcend a formal analysis of the illustrations by bringing in a comparative approach, that juxtaposes the artist's mode of representation with contemporary stylistic modes.

2. FALNAME (NO. 5179)

2.1 Description and Characteristics of the Text

The fortune-telling book that is registered as ‘06 Mil Yz A 5179’ in the National Library, and that is the subject of this study, is an anonymous work.⁸⁴ It does not have its own original cover. The surviving manuscript consists of twenty-five folios and eighty-nine illustrations. with dimensions of approximately 205 by 150 millimeters to 162 by 105 millimeters. However, after examining the catchwords (*reddâde*), it is possible to say that some pages are missing from the beginning, middle, and end of the folio. In addition, almost half of some of the pages have been damaged or destroyed.

The language of the text, which is written in verse and in the *naksh* script, is in vernacular Turkish based on the prosody of *fe i lâ tün/fe i lâ tün/fe i lün*. Though there is always a possibility that this manuscript could be a copy of a previous work, and further analyses of its physical components, such as its paper and ink, are required for the most accurate dating, it has nevertheless been determined after a linguistic analysis by experts in Old Anatolian Turkish that the text was written sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, it is also rather unique among other contemporaneous fortunetelling books because of the illustrations present on every page. The fact that it is an illustrated manuscript inevitably brings forth the presumption that it was a product of elite patronage; this particular issue will be discussed in the following chapter.

Additionally, it can be inferred that the text was likely considered to be a *hurşid-name*, a subgenre of fortunetelling books that were created through the drawing of

⁸⁴It is noted on the manuscript that it became a part of the library after it was bought from İşıksal Baltacı on June 15, 1983. It is unknown how the previous owner acquired the manuscript.

lots. At the most basic level, books that are classified as *hurşidname* are love stories written in *mesnevi* style. The most prominent example of this genre, *Hurşid-u Ferahşad* by *Şeyhoğlu* Mustafa, was written in 1387 for Süleyman, the Governor of Germiyanids, and presented to Süleyman Çelebi, the son of Yıldırım Bayezid upon the governor's death.⁸⁵ Another *mesnevi* work of this genre is the *Cemşid-ü Hurşid* of Cem Sultan, translated from the namesake title by Persian poet Selman-ı Saveci.⁸⁶ However, the aforementioned books were not written with the intention of being used for fortunetelling. Thus, though the names are identical, both the content and the purposes of the books are irrelevant.

A *hurşidname* which is known to be written specifically for the purpose of fortunetelling is the *hurşidname* kept in Bursa's Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, which was written by Sıdkı in the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Though the text was prepared without illustrations, the process of fortunetelling and how to foresee an omen by using this specific book are explained in detail. According to the instructions, a sheet or lot including the Arabic letters of *hurşid* (ha, re, şın, yâ, dal) is necessary for fortunetelling. The lot is drawn, or a finger is put randomly on a letter. Afterwards, the text across from the relevant letter is read out loud. After the lot is drawn again, the related planet or star, which is connected to a type of plant or fruit, is found in the book. Once the referenced text is read out loud again, the reader is directed to the section of wild birds and then to that of wild animals. Through this section, the reader is finally directed to the prophets, which marks the final part of the divination session. There, the omen of the person seeking their fortune is concluded when the final omen is read out loud.⁸⁸

Further, in another printed *hurşidname* entitled *Kitab-ı Fal* (Istanbul 1273), it is explained that a dice is used that contains the letters comprising the word *hurşid*. As written, it is necessary to read the couplets of the star that correspond to the letter on the top of the dice. Following this, the reader is instructed to find the couplets of the birds related to the letter selected in the second lot, followed by the section of animals, and finally that of the prophets. Finally, the ultimate

⁸⁵Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*. (İstanbul: 2003), p. 46 and 216.

⁸⁶For more information on this book, see Meriç, Münevver Okur. *Cem Sultan Cemşid ü Hurşid İnceleme-Metin*. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları. (Ankara: 1997).

⁸⁷Eğri, Sadettin. "Meyvelerin Dilinden Fal ve İşaretler". *Turkish Studies*, 2008(fall), 3/5, pp. 626-660.

⁸⁸Ibid, p. 629.

fortune of the person is told by each prophet.⁸⁹ In the same manner, Bağcı and Farhad state that this method and other related methods rely on tables devised for prognostication rituals with the Qur'an or Hafız's *Divan*, somewhat similar to the process described in great detail by an unillustrated eighteenth-century copy of the text.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, though the organization and flow of the texts are similar in form, neither the two manuscripts nor the other copies of *falnames* resemble each other in terms of content. Therefore, Bağcı and Farhad conclude their comments on *Falname (No. 5179)* by noting that this illustrated manuscript, similar to any other divination text, was not modeled on a single source.⁹¹

To sum up, the copy in Bursa, the printed *hurşidname* entitled *Kitab-ı Fal*, and the manuscript analyzed in this study *Falname (No. 5179)*, which are all generically categorized as *hurşidnames* prepared for fortunetelling, have some essential similarities. In terms of organization and how to conduct the process, for example, they have couplets with references to chapters that have almost the same titles and are arranged in almost the same order.

2.2 The Organization Of The Text

Since there are no other surviving letters from *Falname (No. 5179)*, other than the letters of the word *hurşid*, this manuscript has also been understood as a *hurşidname*. It starts with the letters of the word *hurşid* and continues with couplets about the planets. As no dedicated guide for this particular manuscript has survived, in what follows I presume that the process of fortunetelling from this text was similar to that found in guides for similar manuscripts.

First of all, because only two of the planets, namely Mercury and Mars, have survived intact in the text (see appendix folios (24a) and (25a)), their role in the process of fortunetelling is not clear based on the surviving evidence. They do not refer to any other section, and no section refers to the planets; rather, the planets directly speak to the seeker like the prophets. Yet, the verses of both mention 'lots,'

⁸⁹Uzun, Mustafa İsmet. "Falname". TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi. < <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/falname> > and Bağcı, Farhad. *Book of Omens*. p. 25.

⁹⁰The copy is located in the İnebey Kütüphanesi in Bursa. Ibid, p. 25.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 25

from which we may infer that the section of the planets may mark the first part of the fortunetelling process, when the seeker must draw lots. Then, as the explanatory table below (Table 1) demonstrates, the process of seeking a fortune proceeded as follows: the verses of the letters (the verse numbers are written in the parenthesis; please see the appendix for further information) refer firstly to the verses of the birds.

Table 2.1 The References of the Letters to the Birds

The Letters	→	The Birds
Şim (173)		Atmaca
Ya (174)		Riş
Dal (175)		Devekuşu
Ha (178)		Ördek
Vav (179)		Kaz
Ra (180)		Turna
Şim (181)		Leylek
Ya (182)		Tavus
Dal (183)		Tebnus
Ha (186)		Dürrac
Vav (187)		Tuti
Ra (188)		Kelağ

Following this, the couplets of each bird which accompany the illustrations, refer themselves to a respective section of a quadruped, as seen in the Table 2 below (please see the appendix for the transcribed verses).

Table 2.2 The references of the Birds to the Quadrupeds

The Birds	→	The Quadrupeds
Ukab (1)		At
Hümay (2)		Ester
Kerkes (3)		Eşek
Baz (4)		Deve
Şahin (5)		Kakum
Çakır (6)		Yaban
Atmaca (7)		Geyik
Riş (8)		Keçi
Devekuşu (9)		Şir
Ördek (10)		Şir
Kaz (11)		Kaplan
Külenk (12)		Karakulak
Karga (13)		Kurt
Kumru (14)		Sırtlan
Kelağ-ı siyah (15)		Ayı
Dürrac (16)		Tilki
Keklik (17)		Tavşan
Devlingeç (18)		Çakal
Saksağan (19)		Semmur
Semane (20)		Kakum
Sığırcık (21)		Sincap
Bülbül (22)		Sansar
Hüdhüd (23)		Kedi
Turum (24)		Sıçan
Çegavek (25)		Rasu
Piristu (26)		Maymun
Güncüşk (27)		Ejdeha

Finally, the verses of the animals refer to the longer divinatory texts in the chapter of the prophets, which is where the reader can finally learn about his or her fortune, as Table 3 below demonstrates:

Table 2.3 The references of the Quadrupeds to the Prophets

The Quadrupeds	→	The Prophets
Fil (28)		Adem
Pars (29)		Şit
Pelenk (30)		Habil
Seg (31)		İdris
Hük (32)		Nuh
Üğtur (33)		Lut
Gav (34)		İlyas
Gusfend (35)		Danyal
Kulan (36)		Hud
Geyik (37)		Yunus
Keçi (38)		Üzeyr
Semmur (39)		Eyüb
Kakum (40)		İbrahim
Sincap (41)		İsmail
Sansar (42)		İshak
Kedi (43)		Yakub
Sıçan (44)		Yusuf
Gergedan (45)		Cercis
Feres (46)		Musa
Zürafa (47)		Suayb
Ester (48)		Harun
Hımar (49)		Davud
Kurt (50)		Süleyman
Sırtlan (51)		Zekeriya
Hırs (52)		Yahya
Tilki (53)		İsa
Çakal (54)		Hızır
Tavşan (55)		Salih
Ahu (56)		Mustafa
Gav-ı kühi (57)		Lokman
Şir (58)		Ebubekir
Bebr (59)		Ömer
Karakulak (60)		Osman
... (61)		Ali
Maymun (62)		Hasan
Ejderha (63)		Hüseyin

It should be noted that eleven prophets and religious figures are referenced by sections on their respective quadrupeds, but the text is missing in the manuscript: these are Cercis, Suayb, Hızır and the ones from Prophet Mustafa (Muhammed) onwards. However, the remaining sections can still provide clues about how the seeker heard their fortune from a prophet.

Table 2.4 An example of the fortunetelling process from *Falname* (No.5179)



To provide an example the process of fortunetelling, Table 4 illustrates a case from *Falname* (No.5179). As explained above, the first step before using the text can be accomplished in one of three ways: one may draw a lot, or may throw a dice containing the letters of *hurşid*, or may place a finger randomly on a chart that has the letters of *hurşid* written upon it. It is clear that these particular letters were referred to multiple times in the manuscript, which means that a letter *şm*, for example, has not one but two different verses, as the surviving pages suggest. Assuming that the fortuneteller lands upon the first verse of *şm* (see appendix (173)), this verse will then refer him or her to the section of the *atmaca* (see appendix (7)). The verses of the *atmaca* then appear to direct the seeker toward the section of the *geyik* (see appendix (37)), and finally the *geyik* refers to the section of Prophet Yunus (see appendix (101-104)). Afterwards, the seeker may learn his or her fortune through the words of Prophet Yunus.

Table 2.5 Another example of the fortunetelling process from *Falname* (No.5179)



Another example from *Falname* (No. 5179) is illustrated in Table 5. As explained in the previous case, in the first place one of the methods for randomly selecting a letter is chosen: either drawing lots, throwing a dice, or randomly placing a finger upon a prepared chart. Assuming that one of the verses of the letter of *ya* (see appendix (174)) drawn from the lot, this will then direct the reader towards the section of the feather (*rīš*) (see appendix (8)). As may be seen in the table, and can also be understood from the verses, the couplets of the feather (*rīš*) seem to then direct the seeker toward the section of the goat (*keçi*) (see appendix (38)), and finally the goat refers to the section of Prophet Ezra (*Üzeyir*) (see appendix (104-107)). After this, the seeker could then learn his or her fortune through the words of Prophet Ezra.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter is dedicated to the description and organization of the text, in order to bring forth certain characteristics of the manuscript and its genre. As was discussed, *Falname* (No. 5179) is thought to be a *hurşidname*, because of the fact that only the letters of the word *hurşid* are present in the chapter which references letters. Since no manual or explanation regarding the process of fortunetelling has survived

that directly references *Falname* (No. 5179), similar books, in addition to the content of the text, have been utilized to understand how the text was actually used in the process of fortunetelling. Though the role of the planets in the process of fortunetelling has not yet been fully understood due to a lack of evidence, the sections of the birds, animals and prophets are considerably more straightforward in terms of directing the readers towards their final omen, as examples above demonstrate.

3. A RECONSIDERATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The previous chapter focused on the complete text in terms of its organization and content; this chapter, by contrast, aims to reevaluate the issue of the manuscript's origin and in this regard takes into consideration two aspects of the manuscript: namely, the text and the illustrations. The manuscript was previously dated to the 16th century by Bağcı and Farhad, though they do not explain their reasons for this attribution.⁹² However, in a recent article, Esra Tay supports their dating of the manuscript to this time period.⁹³ Based on the floral decoration, which was said to be extant in the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century onwards, as well as the frequent use of “-gıl” suffix in the text, which was likewise in use until the 16th century in Anatolia, she argues that the previous dating was correct. In terms of the illustrations, there is always the possibility of that these were later additions. The text, however, is undoubtedly an earlier work. For this reason, in this chapter, I first discuss the patronage activities in Anatolia in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, in order to reconsider the possible patronage networks that this manuscript could have been produced by, and to speculate on the potential attributions or origin of the manuscript. Secondly, I question the dating and style of the illustrations within the scope of the this newly attributed time period, and propose to reinterpret the artist's mode of representation.

⁹²Bağcı and Farhad, *Book of Omens*, 25. However, Esra Gencel supports this dating based on the Hatayi motifs in the floral decoration. See Gencel, *Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi'nde Yer Alan 5179 Numaralı Falname*, 131.

⁹³“Hürşidname'nin ne zaman hazırlandığı konusunda yazılı herhangi bir belge yoktur. Eserin cildi olmadığı için bir zahriye sayfası da bulunmamaktadır. Bu sebeple eserin hazırlanış tarihi hakkında elimizde tam bir bilgi yoktur. Ancak bazı kaynaklar eseri 16. yüzyıla tarihlemektedir. (Massumeh ve Bağcı: 2009, 25) Araştırmacıların bu tarihlendirmeyi neye göre yaptıkları hakkında bir açıklama bulunmamakla birlikte tasvirlerin işlendiği zeminin çevresinde hatai ve şakayık gibi çeşitli bitkisel motifler yer almaktadır. Bu motifler eserin tarihlenmesine yardımcı olabilecek niteliktedir. Hatayi ve şakayık motifleri Osmanlı süsleme sanatlarında 16. yüzyıldan itibaren görülmeye başlanmıştır. (Keskiner:2000) Ayrıca eserin dil özellikleri incelendiğinde “-gıl” ekinin fazlaca kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Bu ek eski Anadolu Türkçesi'nde 16. yüzyıla kadar sıklıkla kullanılmış olup bu tarihten sonra yavaş yavaş terk edilmiştir. Bütün bunlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda eseri 16. yüzyıla tarihlemek yerinde olacaktır. Tay, “Geleceğe Kur'a Atmak: Resimli Bir Hürşidname,” 111.

3.1 The Text

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the text is dated to sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, based on its linguistic characteristics. In this way, the content and the tone of the text may provide clues as to the target audience of the manuscript. These can also provide information about the tastes of the patrons and contribute to an assessment of the patronage network; I will attempt to make some deductions about these in the discussion below.

This dating gives rise to two main questions: Why was the text produced? And for whom? Since it is an anonymous work and neither the author nor the illustrator can be recognized, here I mostly offer my speculations on the issue of patronage. Since each verse is illustrated, which must have greatly increased the cost of production, it is important to consider a broader network of patronage rather than a single patron. Thus, I will first analyze the text and discuss some clues about how it was produced, and then I will focus on the patronage circles of the particular era, elaborating on the patrons' interests in vernacular Turkish texts and divinatory texts in order to enable a recontextualization of the manuscript.

First and foremost, it should be mentioned that finding an answer to the first question—understanding the purpose of the illustrated text and the author's aim—inevitably contributes some possible responses to the second question. When taking a closer look at the text, the choice of the birds, the animals, and the prophets do not seem to be meaningfully associated to one another. As far as can be seen, there was no attempt to create a coherent symbolic system and intertextual message for the audience. Since there are no meaningful or logical connections between the sections, as of now there has been no any pattern identified in terms of the organization of the text. Moreover, although the prophets are depicted in chronological order, the incorporation of holy figures such as Lokman, Khidr, and the Ahl al-Bayt (People of the House) in the section of the prophets (*Bab-ı Peygamberan*) demonstrates that the author did not make a clear division between different types of religious figures.

From the same point of view, the text neither has the explicit characteristics of a mystical work, nor any religious connotations other than bearing the names of the Prophets and including two surahs from the *Qur'an*. Though it has since been

torn out, the section of the gazelle referred to the section of Prophet Mohammad, which demonstrates when the text was first produced the Islamic prophet himself could have been depicted providing omens. Yet, in addition to the absence of his section, the faces of the other prophets had been damaged at some point in history. Since the manuscript has not been destroyed completely, this action may indicate possible religious appropriation by a patron at some point after it was produced.

We might then ask further questions about the textual content: why, for example, did the author use birds to direct the reader toward the other sections? The brief literature survey in the previous chapter demonstrates that texts of this genre often adopted a variety of objects as a thematic structure, such as flowers, grains, fruits, and so forth. Why did the author decide on birds? Does this have a special connotation, or may it be considered as a choice inspired from other popular sources of that era, such as *Mantik'ut Tayr*? Or was it produced for a patron who enjoyed taking care of birds or hunting? Furthermore, what is the role of the planets in the process of seeking omens? Only two of them survived in this manuscript, though from the verses describing Mercury it can be inferred that there were seven heavens originally indicated in the text (see appx. (184)). It is also remarkable that in the text the planets speak directly to the reader, just as the prophets do, rather than directing the readers towards other sections.

Returning back to the perspective and tone of the author, which was most probably shaped by the demands of the patron of the text, the content gives little attention to religious sensitivities as indicated above. Rather, it seems to prioritize the omens, most probably for satisfying the expectations of the fortune-seeker. In parallel with this aim, the author predominantly showcases auspicious omens throughout the text, rather than bringing bad news. Yet while the latter occurs rarely in the text, the author nevertheless ensures that the seeker is provided with advice that always transmits the theme of 'patience'. For instance, the omen of the Prophet Harun (see appx. folio (20b)) is not auspicious, so the author advises the seeker to pray and perform *dhikr* while being patient and waiting for the right time to come. The excessive emphasis on the theme of 'patience' may give hints about the sociological context. Still, why did the author stress the theme of patience for each and every unfavorable omen? Likewise, the verses of the camel (see appx. (33)), which direct the reader to the section of the Prophet Lot (Lūt), advise the reader to abstain from any degeneracy and corruption (*Lūtiler işleri*) by referring to the story of

Prophet Lot.⁹⁴ Why was there a preference for auspicious omens, and why were inauspicious ones used primarily to give advice? Was the reason for this political and related to the commission? Or was it done in order to satisfy the patron or conform to trends seen in advice-giving literature?

By taking into consideration our earlier speculations, it can be understood that the manuscript carries the traces of courtly production, and thus was produced among a high-ranking network of patronage. Hence, in respect to the time period that the text is dated to, it might also be beneficial to elaborate on the patronage activities of this genre in the Anatolian principalities in order to reinforce the recontextualization of *Falname* (No. 5179). Since the literary production of this era is varied in terms of content and language, and this manuscript is produced in vernacular Turkish, one of the fundamental reference points of this discussion must be the trend and tendency of writing in vernacular Turkish.⁹⁵ Because of their interest in aesthetic refinement, luxury manuscript production, and intense vernacularization in literature, this chapter focuses on the courts of the Germiyanids, the Aydinids and the Ottomans in Edirne.

As one of the leading centers of literary production in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Anatolia, Kütahya became a place where many literati were sponsored by the Germiyanids. As highlighted by the scholars, the Germiyanids enthusiastically involved themselves in the commissioning of Turkish translations of various texts in Persian and Arabic,⁹⁶ as well as in promoting literary production in Turkish.⁹⁷ The possible reason for this tendency is perhaps explained most thoroughly explained by Sooyong Kim as follows:

“... Whether the promotion of Turkish as a literary language was a conscious effort on the part of the Germiyan court to distinguish themselves culturally from other political rivals, including the Ottomans, is difficult to determine, due to the lack of contemporary sources. What is appar-

⁹⁴See M. Kamil Yaşaroğlu, “Livâta,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 28 (Ankara: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 198-200. < <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/livata> >

⁹⁵See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

⁹⁶For more detailed information, see Emek Üşenmez, “Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Açısından Germiyanlı (Kütahya) Şairlerinin Yeri ve Kütahya’daki Yazma Eserler Kütüphanelerinin Önemi,” *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 2787-2805.

⁹⁷Kim, “Literary Culture in Fifteenth Century Kütahya: A Preliminary Assessment,” in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, ed. Peacock and Yıldız. 383.

ent, however, is that when the Ottomans took control of Kütahya, the city was an established centre for Turkish literary production, in prose and verse, and of a secular variety, from mirrors for princes to panegyrics, in addition to translations and adaptations of Persian collections of moralizing fables and romances. . . "98

As Sooyong Kim describes, the cultural climate of Kütahya before the 1450s was elevated by the remarkable literary patronage of the Germiyanids. In addition to this, it was also one of the main centers of education since the city contained several madrasas, Sufi lodges, and Mevlevihanes with libraries, which served as institutions of learning.⁹⁹ Although the extent of Mevlevi literary production is unknown due to a lack of evidence, it is clear that the process of education in the madrasas included training in poetry.¹⁰⁰ Kim also notes that patronage activities were centralized in Istanbul upon the conquest of the city “with a bias toward emphasizing the efflorescence of Turkish poetry.”¹⁰¹ Thus, from the 1450s onwards, including the princely residences of Suleiman’s two sons, Kütahya no longer possessed the significant literary production it had in the Germiyanids’ era.¹⁰²

Likewise, the Aydinids not only commissioned an impressive amount of literary production in Persian and Arabic, but also patronized some of the earliest works of written Anatolian Turkish.¹⁰³ Based on the verses of the poets they sponsored, the Aydinids aimed to represent themselves as ‘world-dominating potentates’¹⁰⁴ within the scope of the Perso-Islamic monarchic tradition, rather than local warlords, regardless of the actual limits of their power and realm.¹⁰⁵ Parallel to this desire to build a specific image, various types of visual and written works were produced under their auspices, from literature to architecture. All of this was largely aimed at portraying the Aydinid rulers as the *padişahs* of what was in reality a largely

⁹⁸Ibid, 384.

⁹⁹Ibid,385.

¹⁰⁰Ibid, 397.

¹⁰¹Ibid, 398.

¹⁰²Ibid, 384.

¹⁰³Sara Nur Yıldız, “Aydinid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth- Century Western Anatolia,” in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth and Fifteenth- Century Anatolia*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016), 197-198.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, 199.

¹⁰⁵Ibid,199.

fragmented territory and society.¹⁰⁶ Related to this, it should be noted that in terms of assessing the patronage circle surrounding *Falname* (No. 5179), the amount of effort that they put into the patronage of *adab* literature is significant. This genre is defined rather concisely by Sara Nur Yıldız as follows:

“... In addition to its reference of any kind of pleasing speech and agreeable act, the term *adab* encompasses a wide variety of literary activity and texts primarily emanating from a ruler’s court, including philological, medical, astrological, and divinatory works often with edification in mind—in fact, *adab* may be seen as encapsulating all forms of court-sponsored literature. *Adab* is best understood not as a genre but rather as a discursive tradition aimed at creating political and social elites through the transmission of canons of knowledge and ways of thinking that inculcate aesthetic, ethical and religious values. Most importantly, *adab* literature defined the norms and expectations that rulers were held to by both the political elite and commoner alike and thus facilitated the creation of a political culture which bound elites and common subjects to a ruler based on notions of equity and the divine sanction of rule.”¹⁰⁷

As stated, *adab* literature is comprised of a diverse range of literary genres, including written works produced for divination. Furthermore, based on the surviving data, patronage by literati as sponsors seemed to be limited to the ruler and a limited number of notables only.¹⁰⁸ Within the framework of court patronage and the motive of using *adab* literature to build one’s reputation, the extent of the tendency to write in vernacular Turkish in this court should be underlined since *Falname* (No. 5179) was also written in Old Anatolian Turkish.

In addition to the numerous Turkish translations of scholastic manuscripts, including medical handbooks that were supposedly produced for practical uses by more general audiences throughout the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁹ there were also a significant number of translations to Turkish sponsored by the Aydinids. It is far beyond the scope of this chapter to acknowledge all of them here, however in order to contribute to the recontextualization of *Falname* (No. 5179), it is worthwhile to mention a few of them. For instance, in the 1330s, the Aydinid Prince Umur Bey

¹⁰⁶Ibid,199.

¹⁰⁷Ibid,198-199.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, 200.

¹⁰⁹For more detailed information, see Ibid, 207-231.

commissioned the poet Kul Mesud to translate a famous collection of entertaining Persian fables entitled, the *Kalila wa Dimna* cycle, which stress the importance of morality in governance.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, in 1367, Aydınoğlu İsa Bey commissioned the poet Fahri to translate Nizami's *Khusraw u Shirin* to be used for a performance in his *meclis*, which constitutes the oldest Anatolian Turkish version of this text.¹¹¹ Prior to this, the text had been translated to Khwarazmian Turkish in 1341 for the prince Tini Beg and his wife, Cemile Han Melek Hatun,¹¹² further demonstrating the trend in Turcophone societies of writing in vernacular language from the fourteenth century onwards.

Because the starting point of this discussion for evaluating the patronage of *Falname* (No. 5179) primarily considers literary production in vernacular Turkish, it is also useful here to bring forth certain trends and developments that took place after the creation of *Falname* (No. 5179). Even though classifications of this kind are often problematic because they proceed from generalizations, broad tendencies are still worthy of consideration.¹¹³ Namely, the emergence of the so-called 'classic' style in literature from the end of the fifteenth century onwards marked a new trend, especially in literature.¹¹⁴ Indeed, there was a linguistic transformation which constituted a 'new literary language' parallel to the changing identity of the court, predominantly shaped by the increasing centralization around Constantinople soon after the conquest of the city. The trend continued throughout the sixteenth century, and it grew even stronger among the elites.¹¹⁵ These elite literati were interested in establishing a hybrid language rather than adopting Arabic, Persian, or Turkish individually, as can be observed in the case of Mustafa Ali.¹¹⁶ Thus, considering this specific phenomenon as a crosscheck to the speculations noted above, the attribution of *Falname* (No. 5179) to the sixteenth century can be disputed.

Regarding interest in the patronage of *falnames* as a particular genre, there are

¹¹⁰Ibid, 203-204.

¹¹¹Ibid, 205.

¹¹²Ibid, 204.

¹¹³Selim S. Kuru, "Anadolu'da Türkçe Edebiyatın Büyük Dönüşümü," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 42. (2014): 140.

¹¹⁴Ibid, 554.

¹¹⁵Ibid, 553-554.

¹¹⁶Ibid, 559-560.

significant manuscripts that may point to where *Falname* (No. 5179) stood within this network of patronage. As an example, one remarkable bibliophile from the Aydinid court, Umur Bey (d. 1461), was also known for his enthusiastic patronage of Turkish translations of Arabic and Persian books, in addition to his interest in collecting books more generally.¹¹⁷ It is known that Umur Bey had close relations with the Germiyanid court and introduced the court to some of the famous poets of his era. He was almost certainly influenced by the intense literary production and patronage of the Germiyanids, which, as Tim Stanley suggests, induced him to expand his interest in patronizing literati.¹¹⁸ Stanley categorizes Umur Bey's books into two inventories: Inventory A is based on records of his donation to his father's *imaret*,¹¹⁹ and Inventory B is constituted by the waqf deeds for his donations to his mosque in Bursa.¹²⁰ What is interesting is that there is a book on divination recorded as '*fal kitabı*' as the number [122] in the latter inventory.¹²¹

In addition to this, there is the aforementioned lengthy *falnama* located in the Topkapı Palace Library (No. 1057) which is written in Khwarazmian Turkish. Claimed to be used in Edirne Palace for fortunetelling in the first half of the fifteenth century,¹²² the book is based on mathematical calculations using Arabic letters, the zodiac signs and their characteristics, stories about *jinn*, and information about how each *jinn* should be treated. It also contains a chart that refers to certain parts of the Qu'ran and explains that the process of divination had previously been done by throwing a bone that had Arabic letters on each side.¹²³ Alongside this, it is noteworthy that this book is identified as the first individual fortunetelling book written in Turkish in the Islamic context.¹²⁴ These manuscripts likewise show that there was an interest in vernacular Turkish writing at the Edirne Palace, exemplified by the illustrated manuscripts of *Dilsuzname* and *Külliyat-ı Katibi*, , though the content of these texts is different from that of a *falnama*.

¹¹⁷Tim Stanley, "The Books of Umur Bey," *Muqarnas* XXI (2004): 323.

¹¹⁸Ibid, 324.

¹¹⁹Ibid, 325.

¹²⁰Ibid, 326-327.

¹²¹Ibid, 330.

¹²²Samet Onur, "Harezmi Türkçesiyle Yazılmış Bir Fal Kitabı," *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 17, no. 1 (March 2020): 101.

¹²³Ibid, 100.

¹²⁴Ibid, 99.

As was mentioned earlier, over the course of the fifteenth century Mehmed II also commissioned the translation of a *falnama* from Persian to Turkish, as well as another Turkish *falnama* manuscript which was dedicated to him.¹²⁵ Cem Sultan also had a *falnama* which structured around a catalogue of flowers. As explained in the preface to this manuscript, the reader was meant to choose one flower according to his or her desire, and then the fortuneteller would read the verses of that flower, which would constitute the omen. At the end of the manuscript, the writer states that only God can know the unknown, and thus the aim of this *falnama* was fundamentally artistic in character.¹²⁶

In addition to this, Bayezid II's interest in astrology and his patronage of books of this kind, including divinatory books, is also notable. Nevertheless, it should be noted that he seems to have had a preference for works on astronomy and divination based on stars and zodiac signs inspired by Ptolemy's studies;¹²⁷ indeed, he possessed an anonymous fortunetelling book entitled *Fal-al-kawakib*, which made predictions about the future by examining the stars.¹²⁸ This thesis does not dwell on the fortunetelling genre based on astronomy and astrology due to the fact that *Falname* (No. 5179) focuses on the animals and prophets and does not contain zodiac signs; therefore, its relation to astronomy remains limited to solely the depiction of the planets. However, the case of Bayezid II, and also Mehmed II and Cem Sultan, shows that there was a demand for patronage and in terms of the Sultan's preoccupation with divinatory books. It also shows how the genre evolved and became more varied thanks to the support of Bayezid II in the second half of the fifteenth century.

3.1.1 *Falname* (No. 5179) for Leisure at the Court

As mentioned above, understanding the purpose of the text contribute considerably to the assessment of *Falname* (No. 5179)'s patron. However, there is also the question of how the text was used. Based on Matthias Heiduk's studies on *Libro de los Juegos*, which is a codex presumably completed in 1284 at the royal scriptorium for King Alfonso X of Castile, it can be deduced that in the medieval period more

¹²⁵See Ertaylan, *Falname*, 31. Also, the facsimile of the latter manuscript is provided.

¹²⁶Yığiterol, 199-200.

¹²⁷Almagest for astronomy, and *Tetrabiblos* for 'prognastication through astronomy'. Ahmet Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer, "Books on Astrology, Astronomical Tables and Almanacs in the Library Inventory of Bayezid II," *Treasury of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3- 1503/4)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 777.

¹²⁸Identified as no [253] in Bayezid II's inventory. *Ibid.*, 798.

broadly there was no clear division between games and prognostication. As he notes, the codex contains a number of games, from backgammon to astrological-cosmological board games,¹²⁹ for comforting and entertaining people who were “unable to ride out or go hunting and must stay at home.”¹³⁰ There are other examples of this kind of manuscript that Heiduk mentions, such as books with cards from Mainz (late fifteenth century), the book of Konrad Bollstater (second half of the fifteenth century), and *De Vetula* (thirteenth century).¹³¹

Moreover, Heiduk demonstrates that the blurred line between games and practices of fortunetelling prevailed for centuries. He does this by explaining the etymological and metaphorical relationship between games and divination, based on the meanings of terms used for prediction, games, and risk. These terms include ‘chance’ (evolved from the Latin word *cadere* (to fall down) [of a dice], ‘venture’ (evolved from the Latin word *ventura* (good luck, lucky cards or luck in the dice), and ‘hazard’ (evolved from the Arabic word *al-zahr* [to die]). Apparently, this kind of perception of using fortunetelling for amusement not only existed in the spoken culture, but was also adopted by medieval authors and consumers; as Heiduk states,

“The late medieval books of fate, for example, explicitly requested the users to avoid taking the consultation of oracles too serious and to regard it instead as a kind of amusement. Such request served also the strategy of pre-empting the moralistic caveats against all kind of divination in the Christian context.”¹³²

As demonstrated, games and prognostication practices were intertwined as part of the practice and display of courtly leisure. The readers of such books not only benefited from consulting the charts, dice, lots, and verses for learning about their future, but also spent their time enjoying a game. In addition to this, the charts sometimes had didactic purposes; for example, in the case of *Libro de los Juegos*, as the games can also be used for educational purposes.¹³³ As a final point, it should also be noted that describing these manuscripts as ‘games’, ‘amusement’,

¹²⁹For more information on how the games were played, see Heiduk, 779-780.

¹³⁰Heiduk, 779.

¹³¹Heiduk mentions the names of the books, but his study does not cover how these books were used in the context of games. See Heiduk, 780-783.

¹³²Heiduk, 777.

¹³³Ibid, 777-778.

‘leisure’, ‘education’ and so forth was also beneficial for justifying fortunetelling in a Christian context, as highlighted by Heiduk above.

Likewise, in his article on Cem Sultan’s *Falname*, Ömer Faruk Yiğiterol states that the author of the manuscript cautiously indicates in the very last verses of the manuscript that the purpose of these kinds of books on divination is purely and simply “performing arts” since “only God can know the unknown.”¹³⁴ Interestingly, for the *falnama* produced for Cem Sultan, the author goes further and states explicitly that it was produced for artistic purposes, that is to say, for leisure.

Based on the parallels between Heiduk’s example and Cem Sultan’s *Falname*, it can be concluded that *Falname* (No. 5179) was also likely produced for entertainment, as the perception of games, education, art, and fortunetelling were intermingled in one way or another. Beyond this, the omens detailed in *Falname* (No. 5179) are in large part optimistic, which may have served to make the process less serious. It should also be noted here that texts of this kind, which are composed in verse, were frequently recited with music as part of courtly entertainments in *meclis* gatherings with the involvement of multiple participants. Was this manuscript produced simply for leisure, games, and seeking omens, or was the manuscript produced within the scope of vernacular *adab* literature – that is, both encompassing and transcending the realm of leisure? It is likely, I argue, that it served both purposes.

To explore this latter aspect further, I return to the *beys* of this era, who involved themselves in patronage activities in competition with other *beys*. Although it is not known for whom *Falname* (No. 5179) was specifically produced, I suggest that it is possible to evaluate this manuscript in light of the practices of courtly artistic production, since there are clues in this regard. As previously indicated, the chapter *Bab-ı Peygamberan*, which should be solely dedicated to the prophets, contains political figures such as Omar, Abu Bakr, Hasan, and Huseyin, Uthman and Ali, which also enables the readers to follow the chronology of the Islamic bloodline. Moreover, the book also has the prophets directly address the reader; there is thus an emphasis on the direct communication between the omen-seeker and the prophets of the Islamic tradition. It is not animals, nor birds, but only the prophets and the planets communicate directly to the reader. This not only enhances the experience but boosts the exclusivity of the fortune seeker being able to apprehend his destiny and guidance by the prophets themselves. Accordingly,

¹³⁴“Sanat yapmak” and “Gaybı yalnızca Allah bilir,” as quoted by Yiğiterol, 197-198.

performing *Falname* (No. 5179) in a *meclis* would have inevitably contributed to a patron's desire to see himself portrayed as a leader of a continuous Islamic heritage.

3.1.2 Conclusion

As a result of these discussions, it can be deduced from the remaining evidence that *Falname* (No. 5179) was likely a courtly production that bears remarkable traces of royal involvement. Furthermore, it is clear that there was an interest among the patrons of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia in books of divination in various languages, including vernacular Turkish; *Falname* (No. 5179) may be understood within this context. It should likewise be noted how refined the tradition of *falnama*-writing had already become in medieval Anatolia, including the production of texts in vernacular Turkish. Thus, there was not a single source for *Falname* (No. 5179), but rather many. Due to this diversity and sophistication in both the illustrated manuscripts and the tastes of the patrons, further evidence, such as similar manuscripts from the period, is required to trace the particular patterns associated with any specific patron. Thus, although certain inferences can be made by examining the circumstantial evidence discussed extensively above, further evidence is required to attribute *Falname* (No. 5179) to an exact patron or patronage network.

3.2 The Illustrations

Not only does the text of *Falname* (No. 5179) hint at the demands and tastes of the patron, but its illustrations also convey a great deal about stylistic tendencies and the artist's particular mode of representation within the scope of the patron's expectations. Although dedicated to this particular discussion, this chapter also proves that *Falname* (No. 5179) can be dated back to before the sixteenth century. There is, of course, always the possibility that the illustrations were painted later than the text; nevertheless, it is also plausible that they might have been produced contemporaneously. For this reason, I will consider the notable aspects that emerge from the text's new temporal context, which inevitably brings forth particular questions regarding the artistic style and tendencies, composition, and patronage. As has been mentioned, the monumental manuscript of *Falname* (No. 5179) contains eighty-nine illustrations that have survived; roughly sixty-three of them are animals and various kinds of birds, twenty-four of them are prophets or holy people, and two of them are the planets. Each of the groups will be elaborated on below.

3.2.1 The Animals

The intentional choice of including animals in the process of divination in this particular manuscript is addressed in the previous section. As has already been demonstrated, there are various objects that are used for seeking omens. In *Falname* (No. 5179), these are not flowers, grain varieties, zodiac signs, or other objects, but rather birds and animals that were preferred to direct the readers towards the section of the prophets. Each bird makes a reference to a specific animal to commence the process of divination.

Figure 3.1 Dog from folio (6a)

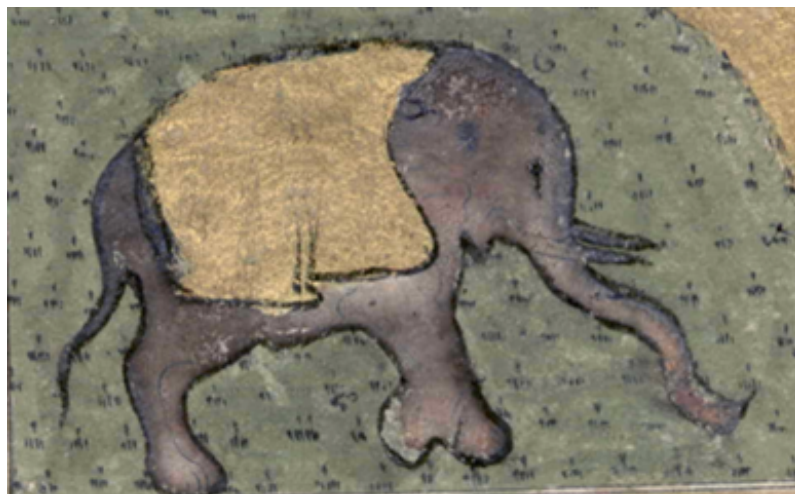


The reason why birds and quadrupeds were depicted but not marine species or reptiles must have been simply due to what was available as sources. The animals are not meticulously depicted, and are almost sketchy in some cases, giving the impression of shorthand. Another possibility is that the artist or artists might have had sources that were used as models, and that they used their imagination in the absence of any other reference. For example, the dog (Fig. 1) and the camel (Fig.2) were likely illustrated without recourse to reference, whereas the elephant (Fig. 3) seems to be executed carefully.

Figure 3.2 Camel from folio (6a)



Figure 3.3 Elephant from folio (5b)



More intriguingly, the artist or artists made a remarkable effort to represent some details of the birds in order to demarcate each kind of bird from the other (Fig. 4). For example, the attention paid to depict the morphology of the francolin or *Tetrao francolinus* (*dürrāc* or *turaç*) in folio (3b) is striking, since the feathers on

the wings, the length of the tail, and the scale of the comb, all come together to produce an almost realistic portrayal of the bird (Fig. 5).

Figure 3.4 The birds in folio (2a)



Figure 3.5 Francolin from folio (3b)



Figure 3.6 Animals and Birds from *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar*¹³⁵



These illustrations may indicate a possible influence from the popular stories and poems of the era such as *Kalila wa Dimna*, *Mantik'ut Tayr* or *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar* (Fig.6) that were dominated by animals and birds. The latter of these is a significant illustrated poetry book from the Ilkhanid period, completed in 1341 by Bedrettin Jajarmi. Surviving folios from the manuscript demonstrates that the artists paid close attention to the depiction of the birds, animals, trees and plants on a red background. Figure 7 from the book illustrates the artist's mode of representation of figures, tents, drums, birds and animals. Though there is an apparent difference in terms of style between this manuscript and *Falname* (No.

¹³⁵From the Cleveland Art Museum. (<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1945.385.b0>) For more information see: Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), Cat. No. 3 e-h, 32-33.

5179), it exemplifies how diverse the models and inspirations were for the artists of the era.

Figure 3.7 Folio from *Munis al-ahrar fi daqa'iq al-ash'ar*¹³⁶



Since special attention and knowledge is required to include and depict such a large variety of birds, we can understand that it is likely considerable expense was paid for this commission. The deliberate exclusion of well-known animals also gives hints about the patron's particular desires. When we consider our claim that *Falname* (No. 5179) was a courtly production, it can also be deduced that the book was likely designed for a patron who was enthusiastically interested in hunting, especially of birds.

¹³⁶Sourced from Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller. (<https://harvardartmuseums.org/art/215387>) For more information see Swietochowski and Carboni, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images*, 28-29.

3.2.2 The Prophets and the Planets

The section of the manuscript which discusses the prophets also brings out further areas of interest. In addition to the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an, the artist/author also includes the Prophets Daniel, Seth, Abel, Lokman, Khidr, and mentions people from Ahl al-Bayt, such as Abu Bakr, Omar, Uthman, Ali, Hasan, and Hüseyin, with each of them presented in chronological order. It is known from the section of the animals that these names are given in order to finalize the omen. Interestingly, the illustrations from the Prophet Salih onwards, including that of Mohammed, were ripped out at some point in history, which may have happened simultaneously with the destruction of the faces of the remaining prophets; further evidence, however, is required to make such a deduction.

Figure 3.8 Noah with the ship from folio (13b)



Moreover, each prophet is depicted individually, either seated or standing alone. None of them are engaged in an action nor with reference to the background; rather the artist or artists seem to have depicted them as portraits. The prophets are usually represented in a scene from their life,¹³⁷ but *Falname* (No. 5179) is the opposite. Some prophets indeed have attributes related to their stories, such as Moses having his staff, or Noah being shown with a ship (Fig. 8), but many prophets

¹³⁷For more detailed information, see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslam Mitolojyası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015).

are standing alone without any object that refers to their stories, including well-known prophets like Abraham (Fig. 9).

Figure 3.9 Abraham from folio (17b)



Furthermore, some are represented with unidentified objects or objects unlinked to their stories; for example, Ezra is shown with a fish (Fig. 10), which might have been caused by a mistake in the preliminary sketches, since in folio (16a), Jonah is represented with a whale, as a reference to his story (Fig. 11).

Figure 3.10 Ezra is composed with a fish (?) from folio (16b)



Figure 3.11 Jonah with a whale from folio (16a)



Related to the representation of the figures, the surviving illustrations of the two

planets Mercury and Mars display the artistic conventions for depicting planets in a personified manner.¹³⁸ Mercury is depicted as seated, holding a pen and paper,¹³⁹ and Mars carries a sword in one hand and a severed head in the other (Fig. 12);¹⁴⁰ these images demonstrate that the artist or artists were exposed to the artistic canon for such imagery and applied its conventions accordingly.

Figure 3.12 Mars from folio (24b)



Likewise, the halos around the figures' heads are another interesting feature which demands further elaboration. Remaining within artistic conventions, the illustrations of the personified planets do not bear halos. The prophets, on the other hand, including people from the House of the Prophet, are represented with golden halos that catch the attention of the reader. Bağcı and Farhad state that the halos in these illustrations are an indication of possible Christian influence,¹⁴¹ which is reasonable considering the fluidity of the identities of the artists in the artistic milieu of the era, and the sources that the artist or artists might have encountered. For example, in *Miaphysite Lectionary*, a thirteenth-century manuscript that contains illustrations of Christian saints, holy figures, and people to whom the church paid homage, the illustration of Constantine and his mother Helena (Fig. 13) shows how

¹³⁸ And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı- İslâm Mitologyası*, 353-354 and 359. See similar examples from Canby, Beyazit, Rugiadi, and Peacock, *Court and Cosmos: the Great Age of the Seljuqs*, cat. 123 on page 206 “Bowl with Courtly and Astrological Motifs” and cat. 125 on page 209 “Basin with Signs of the Zodiac”.

¹³⁹ For more detailed information on the history of this convention, see Ahmet Çaycı, *Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatı'nda Gezegen ve Burç Tasvirleri* (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), 93-94. Also see a similar depiction of Mercury from cat. 130 “Daqa’iq-al-Haqa’iq (Degrees of Truths) of al-Nasiri in *Court and Cosmos: the Great Age of the Seljuqs*, 213.

¹⁴⁰ For more detailed information on the history of this particular depiction, see *Ibid*, 83-85.

¹⁴¹ Bağcı and Farhad, *Book of Omens*. 25.

similar visual canons were applied to enhance the portraits of important people.¹⁴² As Peacock states, the emperor and his mother were depicted with halos in order to boost their royal and religious position.¹⁴³

Figure 3.13 Constantine and Helena from *Miaphysite Lectionary*¹⁴⁴



It is not only in Greek manuscripts, but also in Armenian gospel books, that there are portraits of holy people depicted with similar iconography. For example, we can look at the work of Sargis Pitsak, who was one of the most prominent painters of fourteenth-century Armenian manuscripts, and who worked in the scriptorium in Sis. Figure 14 demonstrates the way in which the artist absorbed and applied

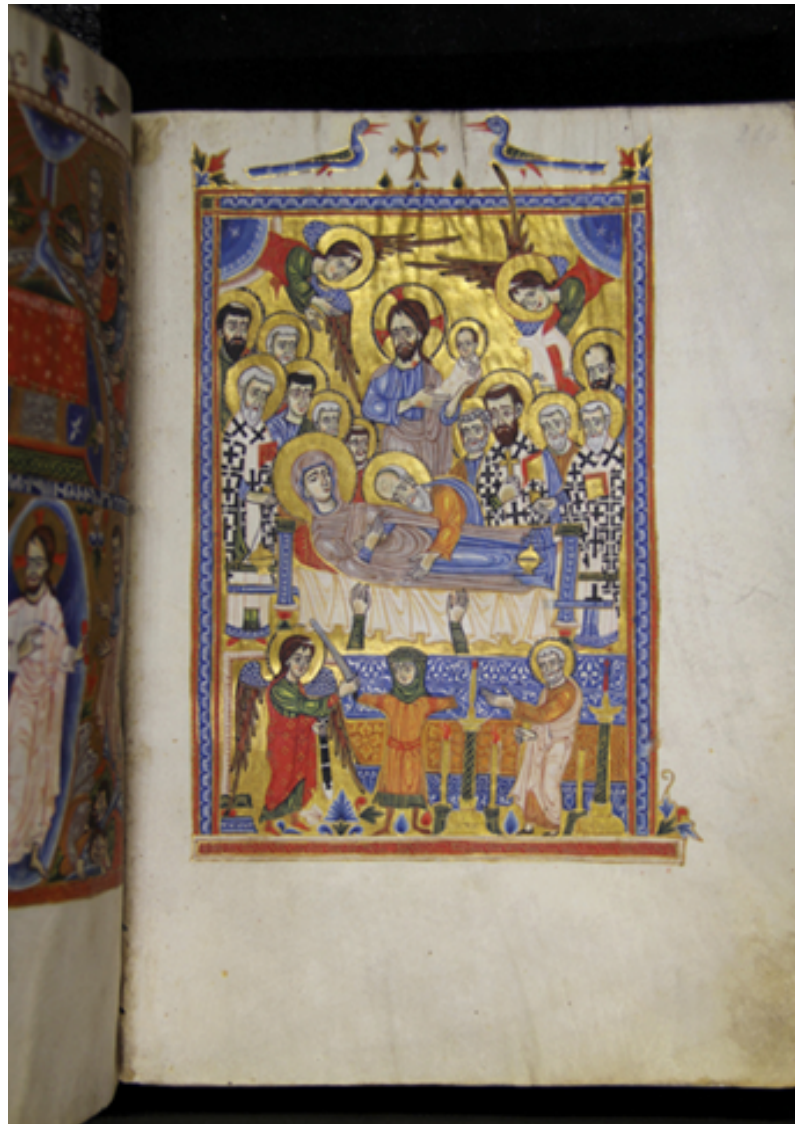
¹⁴²Depiction from cat. 171 "Constantine and Helena" Folio from the Miaphysite Lectionary". The manuscript was produced for the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of Mar Mattai in Mosul sometime between 1220 and 1260 AD. It is now located in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Syr. 559; fol. 223v). See Canby, Beyazit, Rugiadi, and Peacock, *Court and Cosmos: the Great Age of the Seljuqs*, 270

¹⁴³Ibid, 270.

¹⁴⁴Photo credit: cat. 171 "Constantine and Helena" Folio from the Miaphysite Lectionary". From Canby, Beyazit, Rugiadi, and Peacock, *Court and Cosmos: the Great Age of the Seljuqs*, 270.

Byzantine iconography through his use of bright and rich colors, crowded scenes, the elongated bodies of the holy figures, and a focus on individual facial expressions which give a sense of realism to the scene. Since these paintings also resemble the murals of the Byzantine churches of Cappadocia, this case also illustrates how the artists' identity and culture mixed with artistic canons and what they encountered around them, which was all eventually exposed and reflected in their artwork. In this scene, the halos around the holy figures are illuminated gracefully, except for the Jew Jephonias at the bottom of the page, who according to the story had attempted to attack the funerary couch of the Virgin.¹⁴⁵ To distinguish the holy figures from the others, a nimbus is applied to enhance their visual presence. Alongside this, the birds at the top of the scene also somehow evoke the francolin (Fig. 5) of *Falname* (No. 5179).

Figure 3.14 Dormition of the Virgin by Sargis Pitsak, 1336.¹⁴⁶



¹⁴⁵Maranci, *The Art of Armenia: An Introduction*, 120

Although has been noted that later Muslim painters also adopted the tradition of illuminating discs around the heads of the figures to create halos in order to distinguish the figures from the background,¹⁴⁷ the artist or artists of *Falname* (No. 5179) seem to have adopted this canon largely to reinforce the religious identity and sacredness of the figures, since the personified planets are represented without halos.

Yet, it is equally significant that the halos also provide clues about the dating of the manuscript. As Michael Barry explains, the nimbus first appeared in Buddhist figurative art in China and India around the third century AD, almost simultaneously with when the Sasanian Persian royal halo or *farr* appeared. The *farr* was adopted by the Roman Emperors from the fourth century onwards and by the Byzantines for glorifying the emperors and the saints with the spread of Christianity.¹⁴⁸ The nimbus was also applied to the figural representations of Islamic rulers until the fourteenth century. It should be emphasized that the disc form was transformed into ‘pointed tongues of flame that flicker around the depictions of saintly characters’ from the fifteenth century onwards with the ‘artistic influence of the Chinese Buddhist.’¹⁴⁹ Therefore, this particular phenomenon can also be considered for the claim that *Falname* (No. 5179) is produced before the sixteenth century.

Regarding the stylistic features specified above, a major question thus emerges: who decided upon the iconographic program of the manuscript? What sources did the artist or artists use? It seems that the artist or artists preferred to include attributes of the prophets related to their stories for identification when the stories were known, other depictions remained plain portraits in which the respective prophet can only be recognized from the title. On the other hand, the artist or artists attempted to conform to the artistic conventions when personifying the planets. It seems that this stylistic mode of representation was either related to the artist’s or artists’ own interests, experience, or knowledge, or that there were other reasons such as the direct involvement of the patron, or the types of available models.

It also important to note that there is an obvious inconsistency in the artistic style

¹⁴⁶Photo credit: Christina Maranci, "Dormition of the Virgin by Sargis Pitsak, 1336, Yerevan: Matenadaran 5786 fol.266." From Maranci, *The Art of Armenia: An Introduction*, 120.

¹⁴⁷Michael Barry. "The Formation of Islamic Figurative Art: From the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries". *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam* (Paris: Editions Flammarion. 2004), 59.

¹⁴⁸Ibid, 59.

¹⁴⁹Ibid, 59.

and the overall manner of the artist or artists. It can be deduced that the artist or artists gave great attention to the birds in order to satisfy the patron's likely enthusiasm towards them. It can also be deduced that the artist/s deliberately modified some conventions by interplaying with the portrayal of the prophets, in order to reinforce the unique power of seeking omens directly from the prophets. It seems that the presence of the prophets and planets were stressed more than conveying their story or representing them in a realistic manner with the most attention to detail and accuracy. The illustrations of the prophets which were less finely articulated or left sketchy seem to imply that the point of portraying prophets, had more to do with conveying their story. Though the artist or artists followed an almost repetitive model to coherently depict each prophet according to their attributes, scale, postures, and likewise followed the visual canons for representing planets, he did not convey the prophets' relation with their surroundings. All of the prophets and planets are depicted against a plain background, which looks like a model copied in every illustration since the artist or artists used nearly the same trees and the same sense of depth. If there was a template for this manuscript's illustration, it gives rise to the question of whether there was more than one artist who produced it, or a workshop rather than an individual artist; something that seems more likely considering the contrast between sketchy portrayals and realistic attempts of representations.

3.2.3 The Floral Decoration

Figure 3.15 Floral Decoration from folio (25a)



Along with the illustrations, there are also sophisticated recurring floral motifs that decorate the blank spaces in the manuscript. These also demand a closer look, since it is apparent that the artists or artists spent a considerable amount of time and attention on these ornaments (Fig. 15). Even though the section of the prophets does not have such adornments, most likely due to the deliberate simplicity preferred in this portion of the text, the sections related to the animals, birds, planets, and letters has fine examples of floral patterns. Usually in spiral compositions, the variety of stylized plants applied to each folio range from peonies, roses, and carnations to wildflowers in blue, red, and black, and constitute a valuable record of floral ornamentation during this period. One can infer that the artist or artists aimed to fill every blank frame left around the representations. Even the combination of volutes with elegantly executed flowers and leaves flourishes the sense of harmony by ensuring a picturesque visual experience.

Figure 3.16 Floral Decoration from folio (4b)



Considering the deliberate choice of birds and animals in the context of hunting, and the way in which the artist or artists depicted the prophets against a simplified naturalistic background, these meticulously decorated floral motifs demonstrate a strong emphasis and focus upon natural forms. These thoughtfully designed *Hatâyî* patterns not only demonstrate the accumulation of traditions and rich artistic heritage to which the artist or artists were exposed, but also their attention to detail, and the efforts they exerted in order to aesthetically please the patron and increase the artistic value of the finished product. This attention to detail is to be expected, considering that the manuscript was most probably commissioned by a royal court.

Figure 3.17 Floral Decoration from folio (8b)



Lastly, it should be remembered that these types of embellishments were referenced previously in the process of dating the manuscript. In addition to the recent article cited earlier in this chapter, Esra Tay also states in her M.A. Thesis as follows:

“Tasvirlerin işlendiği zeminin çevresinde hataî ve şakayık gibi çeşitli bitkisel motifler yer almaktadır. Bu motifler eserin tarihlendirilmesine yardımcı olabilecek niteliktedir. Hataî ve şakayık motifleri Osmanlı süsleme sanatlarında 16. yüzyıldan itibaren görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bu da bize Serpil BAĞCI'nın yaptığı tarihlendirmenin, eserin süsleme özellikleriyle de örtüştüğünü göstermektedir.”¹⁵⁰

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She writes that due to the use of peony and Hatâyî patterns, the manuscript can be

¹⁵⁰Gencil, *Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi'nde Yer Alan 5179 Numaralı Falname*, 131.

dated to the sixteenth century, since these motifs are seen in the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards. However, variations of these particular motifs composed in spiral forms that very much resemble the ones in *Falname* (No. 5179) can also be seen on Seljukid tiles and objects.¹⁵¹ In fact, it is explained quite clearly by Nursel Karaca that these motifs first emerged in China and came to Anatolia through Iran.¹⁵² Even though peony and Hatâyî ornaments gained momentum in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, especially on tiles, they were in fact widespread in the earlier Seljuk and Beylik periods.¹⁵³ Based on this information, dating the manuscript solely by considering the floral motifs is not sufficient, because there are many possible origins as indicated above.

3.2.4 Conclusion

This manuscript provides solid evidence as to how the artists of medieval Anatolia were in dialogue with a diverse artistic sphere and a wide canons of representations, although they necessarily customized and transformed these influences according to the ideological interest and demands of the patron. Based on the evidence that we see in these illustrations, it is apparent that the artists were already aware of the artistic conventions for representing planets and prophets. Yet, they also chose to depict them with their own unique interest in the setting and with an eye towards a more naturalistic mode of representation, as if the available styles and canon were not sufficient for their aims and artistic goals. Thus, shaped by the multi-referential vision of the artist and the expectations of the patron, the artist or artists created a link between the artistic conventions of the time and the patron's demands, as can be observed in each and every section of *Falname* (No. 5179).

As a result, these thoughtful choices of representation coherently transmit ideologies in a twofold manner. On one hand, the simplified figural representations give rise to the impression that the emphasis is on the presence of the prophets in the text; it is almost as if both the patron and the artist or artists deliberately wanted to prevent

¹⁵¹See İsmail Yardımcı, "The Glazed Tile Techniques of the Seljuk and Beylik Periods," *Journal of Literature and Art Studies* 13, no. 1 (January 2013): 42-51; Melahat Altundağ, "Sıtkı Olçar'ın Yorumuyla Selçuklu Çini ve Seramikleri," *Kalemîşi* 6, no.13 (2018): 363-379; Leyla Yılmaz, "Some Seljukid Tiles Uncovered From the Archaeological Excavations at Alâiyye Castle, Southern Turkey," *SOMA 2011 Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, ed. Pietro Maria Militello and Hakan Öniz. Vol.1, BAR International Series 2695 (I) (2015), 925-928.

¹⁵²See the full history and evolution of these patterns in Nursel Karaca, "Türk Çini Sanatında 'Hatayî' ve 'Şakayık' Motifi Örneğinde Çizim Özellikleri," *Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi* 18, no. 43 (November 2021): 7082-7105.

¹⁵³Ibid, 7086.

any distraction from the prophets and thus did not provide anything related to the identity of the prophets or anything other than modest objects for identification. This tendency thus ensured the exclusivity of hearing a fortune directly from the prophet, as if the prophet came alive just to state the seeker's omen. Secondly, the attention paid to the theological and dynastic chronology, and the incorporation of political figures and their representations into the illustrations, reemphasizes the theme of continuity by constructing a privileged identity for the patron and propagating his political persona in the Islamic context; this is in parallel with the discussion of the text of the manuscript.

4. CONCLUSION

The starting point of this thesis was my suspicion that the text of *Falname* (No. 5179) was produced earlier than the sixteenth century, as has been previously suggested. Due to the fact that the manuscript does not bear any signature of an artist or workshop, nor is there any mark of a particular author, insignia, or location, and because I was unable to conduct further analyses on the physical components of the manuscript such as the binding, illustration, paper, and ink, I was forced to rely on the text to confirm or deny my suspicions. Upon consultation with experts of Old Anatolian Turkish, the text has been dated to sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Though there is always the possibility of a copyist, or later additions such as illustrations, an accurate redating of the text bring forth a new context for the manuscript. For this reason, this thesis reconsiders *Falname* (No. 5179) as belonging to the Beylik period, as the earliest-surviving illustrated fortunetelling book written in vernacular Turkish.

In the course of my revision of the transcription and as I wrote the English explanations of the text, many errors made in the previous thesis on the subject have been corrected. Those inaccuracies in the former translation not only mislead the reader and cause confusion about the content, but also prevent the establishment of a coherent narrative that contributes to understanding the overall organization of the text. Consequently, I have decided to centralize my study on presenting the most up-to-date translation, which will provide a solid basis for further studies and further interpretations of *Falname* (No. 5179). For this reason, Chapter 2 of this thesis has aimed to introduce the manuscript by describing its characteristics. It also intends to illustrate how the text functioned in the process of fortunetelling by putting forward selected cases from the surviving text.

In Chapter 3, in which I aim to recontextualize the text as belonging to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia by speculating about the issues of its origin, patron,

network, and provenance, I build my discussion on two major aspects of the manuscript: the text and its illustrations. Since this manuscript enables a dual experience for the reader—both verbal and visual—it is essential to scrutinize both.

Due to the anonymity of the manuscript and the lack of evidence referring to any patronage network, circumstantial evidence and the historical context of the era in which the text was produced are necessary in order to establish a new perspective on *Falname* (No. 5179). In light of certain aspects of the text, such as the language being vernacular Turkish, the text has been recontextualized into the Beylik period, when the trend of producing manuscripts in vernacular Turkish gained momentum. Based on the indications and evidence that have already been elaborated on in the text, it is likely that *Falname* (No. 5179) was produced for a patron of high status. Furthermore, the intense interest in this genre by the patrons of *literati* led to many diverse versions of *falnames* being produced contemporaneously to *Falname* (No. 5179); this led to there being a variety of sources for the authors and/or artists, which complicates any exact attribution. For this reason, the lack of direct evidence which prevents us from tracing the text back to any exact patron or attribute the manuscript to any particular network has led to various interpretations and speculations, which I have discussed throughout Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Because the text is straightforward - in other words, there is no pattern in terms of the organization of the text, including the absence of any reason behind the association of a certain animal with a prophet - it seems likely that the text did not have a more hermeneutic reading, such as from a Sufi context. This particular lack of cohesion may also indicate a sensitivity to religious issues, and represent an attempt to prevent *Falname* (No. 5179) from being taken too seriously as a divinatory text. As a contribution to this hypothesis, this thesis has also discussed the way in which the fortunetelling books were perceived to be a form of leisure and art. The lines between seeking omens and playing games were blurred, and they were often intermingled as part of courtly entertainments.

Moreover, the prophets are not depicted within a systematic iconography that refers to their life stories, as was commonly preferred, but rather are depicted either standing or seated with a plain background. Further narratives or any biographical association might have been seen as a distraction to the reader in the process of divination, since these individual portraits of the prophets not only enhance the legitimization of the omens, but also underline the exclusivity of hearing the

omens directly from the prophets themselves. Portraying them in a plain manner shows that they are there only for auguring, and it also enables a two-way direct communication with the reader, both verbally and visually. Therefore, it seems likely that both the patron and the authors and artists of *Falname* (No. 5179) aimed to create a balance between the heavy presence of the prophets in an illustrated fortunetelling manuscript, and a book produced for apparent leisurely consumption.

Last but not least, the floral decoration in each folio, namely the *Hatâyî* motifs, had earlier been used to help date the manuscript to the sixteenth century. However, this thesis also notes that such motifs were available long before the sixteenth century, which means that the question of whether the illustrations and/or the floral decorations were produced earlier still remains.

In the process of doing research for and writing this thesis, I have come to the conclusion that my earlier suspicion regarding the dating of the *Falname* (No. 5179) has been validated, and that an attribution to the Beylik period seems increasingly plausible. Though there are many questions regarding *Falname* (No. 5179) that require further research with *comparanda* of its kind, the revised transcription with brief explanations, in addition to the reassessment of the content and the illustrations in light of the new historical context, may hopefully lead to further research in the field; after all, there are many *falnames* in libraries and archives waiting to be studied.

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APPENDIX

The Birds

The chapter of the birds consists of five folios. It starts from *'ukab* and ends with *güncüşk*. As the catchwords suggest, there are no missing pages in this section.

(1a)

(1) *'Ukab*

At ne kim dir-ise anı kılğıl
Ne buyurursa kulağuna koyğıl

The first folio begins with the eagle (*'ukab*), which then directs the reader to the section of the horse. The author advises that the reader should do whatever the horse says and should keep his instructions in mind.

(2) *Hümāy*

Felegün ħālūni eyā mihter
Şorariseñ diyüvire ester

The second section in the first folio is the lines of the mythical bird Huma or Homa (*hümāy*), whose shadow falls on future kings according to Persian legend. Therefore, the title used to describe the royal households called *homayun* or *hümāyun* means ‘the fortunate’. The author leads the reader to the section of the mule (ester) in order to reveal his or her fate (*felek*). *Felek* is a celestial term

used to identify destiny that is characteristically related to the ancient science of astrology because of the long-rooted belief that the worldly life is interdependently the ultimate reflection of the celestial sphere. The horoscope (*çark-ı felek*) is a wheel that is perpetually on the move so that each moment is different than before. As the intertextual reference suggests, Huma is the bird that could inform the reader about his or her destiny (*felek*).

(3) Kerkes

Fālunıñ rāzını kişi bilmesün
Meger eşük diyüvire saña pes

The verses of the vulture (*kerkes* or *akbaba*) point to the section of the donkey (*eşük*) if the reader has not been informed yet about his or her destiny. Thus, for the sake of ascertaining the mysteries of his or her omen, the reader should visit the section of the donkey.

(1b)

(4) Bāz

Eger ister-iseñ bu derde devā
Saña bir çāre idivere deve

The second page of the first folio begins with the falcon (*bāz* or *doğan*). The author directs the reader towards the section of the camel (*deve*) if he or she wishes to find a cure (*devā*) for his or her inconvenience. As the lines promise, the camel has the remedy.

(5) Şāhīn

Ķāķumıñ çoķ durur begüm hüneri
Ķabül itdi vire saña selamı

The verses of the hawk (*ṣāhīn*) speak to the reader directly referring to him or her as sir or madam (*beyim* or *begüm*). The author then points to the section of the ermine (*kāķum*), which has many talents. It is one of the rare animals in whose fur was reserved solely for the use of royal families throughout history. Thus, it may not be a coincidence that the author not only highlights the skills of the ermine but also heralds that it agrees to salute the reader.

(6) Çakır

Ḳulağuzun saña yabanda ḳolan
Yol bulur her kiři yabanda kalan

The first folio ends with the lines of the goshawk (*çakır*), as the author directs the reader to the section of the Equus onager (*kolan*), also known as wild donkey. It is stated that the onager guides the one who strays through wilderness, thereupon allowing her or her to find his or her way.

(2a) ¹⁵⁴

(7) Atmaca

Giyige var su'āl eyle iy yār
Saña eydivire nedür aḥvāl

The couplet of the second folio by the hawk (*atmaca*) appeals to the reader as his friend (*iy yār*) and advises him or her to visit the section of the deer (*geyik*). The reader would be informed about his or her circumstances (*aḥvāl*) upon asking the deer.

(8) Rīṣ

Eyleme kimseye küsi vü yeci
Saña eydivire Fāluḳı keři

¹⁵⁴There are no missing pages between (1b) and (2a) as the catchword 'atmaca' suggests.

The title of this section, *Rīš*, means feather or wing, yet in this context contingently implies a bird. It signifies that the section of the goat (*keçi*) will reveal the fortune of the reader. The author also admonishes the reader to avoid being offended (*küsi vü yeci*) by someone.

(9) Devekuşı

Fāluḡı ol kişiyе şor suğuna
Eydivirse ş'irini hem oğuna

The ostrich (*devekuşı*) guides the reader to the section of the lion (*ş'ir*)¹⁵⁵ in order to reveal the omen of the reader who has a desire to hear it.

(2b)

(10) Ördek

Şirdür cümle cānavār hānı,
Şoyunur aḡa virenün cānı

While the verses of the duck (*ördek*) refer to the lion (*şir*), they also alert the reader with a warning. Due to the fact that the lion is the king of all predators (*cānavār*)¹⁵⁶, it could take the lives of the ones who would dare to come nearby.

(11) az

Şorar-isen saḡa diye aplan
Ne ki dirse sen aḡa var atlan

¹⁵⁵The Persian word for lion, *şir*, is misspelled.

¹⁵⁶The word *cānavār* comes from *cān-aver* which means the one who could take life.

The goose (*kaz*) forwards the reader to the section of the tiger (*kaplan*), which will answer questions if the reader asks. The author further recommends the reader to endure whatever the tiger expresses.

(12) Külenk

Ḳaraḳulağa eyle ḥālünjî 'arż,
Ol saña diyüvire vācib ü farz

The couplet of the crane or *Grus cinercus* (*külenk*) leads the reader to the section of the caracal (*ḳaraḳulak*). Cranes are messenger birds in Turkish mythology; further, the term *ḳaraḳulak* was used to refer to the messengers waiting at doors in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the correlated contextuality, the author also states that the crane will inform the reader about necessary actions (*vācib*) and obligations (*farz*).

(3a) ¹⁵⁷

(13) ḳarğa

Ḳurda var şor ḥālünjî iy emīr
N'olacağın saña diye bir bir

The third folio begins with a reference to the section of the wolf (*kurd*) by the crow (*ḳarğa*). The author addresses the reader as amir (*iy emīr*) and clarifies that the wolf will tell the reader what is going to happen if the reader visits him and explain his or her situation.

(14) ḳumrı

Şırtlandur senünj ḥālünjî bilen
Dilegünjî aña di vü dinlen

¹⁵⁷There is a missing folio or folios between (2b) and (3a).

While the verses of the dove or *Streptopelia decaocto* (*ķumrı*) steer the reader toward the section of the hyena (*ķirtlan*), the author encourages the reader to express his or her wishes to the hyena since it has comprehensive knowledge of the circumstances of the reader. Also, the author advises that after the reader transmits his or her wishes, he or she should become relaxed since the hyena is now aware of the reader's situations.

(15) Kelāġ-ı siyah

Ayuya sor fāluġı sen iy yār
Ol kime kim buyursa sen aġa var

The couplet by the raven or *Corvus corax* (*kelāġ-ı siyah*) speaks directly to the reader as his or her friend (*iy yār*), as he does occasionally throughout the text, and advises the reader to visit the section of the bear (*ayu*). If the reader asks the bear, he or she will be informed about his or her fortune. Additionally, the author instructs the reader to go to whomever the bear indicates.

(3b)

(16) Dürrāc

Dilküden sorġıl sen esrārı
Zıra oldur bularda 'ayyārı

In the verses of the francolin or *Tetrao francolinus* (*dürrāc* or *turaç*), the author admonishes the reader to ask the fox (*dilkü*) for its secrets (*esrār*) by directing the reader to its section. The author also makes a cohesive comment about the fox by stating that it is the master of deceit (*'ayyār*), and therefore is able to know the secrets.

(17) Keklik

Ṭavşana şor ki fāluġı bilesin

Başuḡa geleceğini göresin

The partridge (*keklik*) forwards the reader to the section of the rabbit (*tavşan*), which is able to demonstrate the omen if the reader asks. Therefore, the reader would be able to foresee what is going to happen to him or her.

(18) Devlingec

Çakala var daḡı su'āl eyle
Ne ki dirse saḡa ḡelāl eyle

The third folio ends with the section of the kite (*devlingec* or *devlengec*) by suggesting that the reader should ask his or her questions to the jackal (*çakal*). The author not only points the reader to the jackal's section, but also suggests that the reader should give his or her blessings (*ḡelāl eyle*) to whatever the jackal says to them.

(4a) ¹⁵⁸

(19) Şakşagan

Kişi kim fāl ura semmūra vara
Kayḡudan kırtula sürūra vara

The fourth folio starts with the magpie (*şakşagan*) and directs the reader to the section of the sable (*semmūr* or *samur*). The author states that the reader will feel relieved and achieve happiness (*sürūr*) upon his or her visit to the sable.

(20) Semāne

Kākuma var ki ol bilür rāzı
Hūblarıḡ çün eyü gelür nāzı

¹⁵⁸There are no missing pages between (3b) and (4a), as the catchword 'Şakşagan' suggests.

The verses of the quail or *Colurnix communis* (*semāne*, *sumane*, or *bıldarcın*) advise the reader to visit the section of the ermine (*kākum*) since it knows the secrets (*rāz*). Besides, as indicated in the second line, the coyness of the beauties (*hüb*) delights people.

(21) Şıgırcık

Fālunı eydiyor çün sincāb
Zīra oldur senünle hem-dem-i hāb

The starling or *Sturnus vulgaris* (*şıgırcık*) guides the reader to the section of the squirrel (*sincāb*) in order to learn all of his or her fortunes. The author further describes the squirrel as the sleeping mate of the reader (*hem-dem-i hāb*).

(4b)

(22) Bülbül

‘Arz eyle hālünı saşsara
Olmağıl hānumāndan āvāre

The verses of the nightingale (*bülbül*) point to the section of the marten (*saşsar*) in order to enable the reader to present his or her circumstances to it. Furthermore, the author warns the reader that once he or she brings his or her matter forward to the marten, he or she should stay home and avoid going out.

(23) Hüdhdüd

Kediden şor rāz u esrārı
Zīra oldur dün [ü] gün ’ayyārı

The hoopoe (*hüdhdüd*) leads the reader to the section of the cat (*kedi*) that will tell secrets (*rāz u esrār*) to the reader. Likewise, the author identifies the fox (*dilkü*)

as the master of deceit (*'ayyār*) in the previous verses about the francolin. The author further describes the cat as a thief and a trickster (*'ayyār*) of day and night. Therefore, as the inter-correlation suggests, both the cat and fox are able to know secrets.

(24) Tūrūm

Şıçana şormağ isteseñ rāzı
Eylemişdür bu yolda cānbāzı

In the last section of the fourth folio, the camel calf (*tūrūm*) advises the section of the rat (*şıçan*) if the reader wishes to ask for his or her omen. It is stated in the second line that the camel calf does not hesitate to give its life along the way (*cānbāz*)¹⁵⁹.

(5a) ¹⁶⁰

(25) Çegavek

Rāsūyi koma rāzuñı o bilür
Ne ki yavu kılursañ o bilür

The fifth folio begins with the verses of the lark or *Otocoris pencillatus* (*çegavek* or *toygar kuşu*) that directs the reader to the section of the weasel or *Mustela vulgaris* (*rāsū*). The author warns the reader not to underestimate the weasel since it has already been aware of the unpleasant actions that the reader would take.

(26) Piristū ¹⁶¹

Maymuna var ki yüzi meymündür

¹⁵⁹The word *cānbāz* comes from *cān-baz*, which means the one who plays with his or her life.

¹⁶⁰There are no missing pages between (4b) and (5a) as the catchword 'Çegavek' suggests.

¹⁶¹The word 'kırlağuş' is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

Zīra fālun̄ senün̄ hümāyūndur

The swallow or martin (*piristū*, *kırlanğıç*, or *kırlaguç*) navigates the reader to the section of the monkey (*maymun*) because of the fact that its face is auspicious. In the subsequent line, the author asserts to the reader that his or her fortune is blessed (*hümāyūn*).

(27) Güncüşk

Ejdehādan şorar iseñ ḥālī
Ḥālün̄ eyde senün̄ o fi'l-hālī

The lines of the sparrow (*güncüşk* or *serçe*) point the reader to the section of the dragon (*ejdehā*). They also promise that the dragon will immediately mention the reader's circumstances if he or she inquires.

The Quadrupeds

The chapter of the quadrupeds starts with the elephant (5b) and ends with the dragon (11a). As the catchwords suggest, there are no missing pages in this section. Yet, the last page of this chapter is torn in half.

(5b)

(28) Fīl

Saṅa yol gösterici Ādemdür
Zīra enbiyād'aşl-ı 'ālemdür

The verses of the elephant (*fīl*) initiate a new pattern to direct the reader to the sections of the prophets rather than to that of other animals. The author explains to the reader that Prophet Adam (*Ādem*) is the reader's guide since Adam is the one who originated life on earth and therefore is the ultimate foundation.

(29) Parş

Şīte var hālūñi bulisarsın
Saña n'olacağın bilisersin

The black leopard (*parş*) guides the reader to the section of Prophet Seth (*Şīt*) so that the reader can ask him about his or her situations. Consequently, he or she will figure out what will happen to him or her in the future.

(30) Pelenk

Hābile var ki fāl kābildür
Zīra Kābil ziyāde kābildür

The author ends the fifth folio with the section of the tiger (*pelenk*) and advises the reader to visit the section of Prophet Abel (*Hābil*) since the omen will reveal itself there only. In the following verse, the author praises Prophet Cain (*Kābil*) because of his talents. Besides, the choice of correlating the tiger with the story of Abel and Cain seems to be a deliberate one due to the fact that the tiger is famous for being vindictive, so much so that there is a specific phrase for defining its malevolence (*kīne-i pelenk*).

(6a) ¹⁶²

(31) Seg ¹⁶³

Fālūñı arz eyle İdrīs'e
Dürişür düni gün ol derse

The sixth folio starts with the dog (*seg*), which directs reader to the section of

¹⁶²There are no missing pages between (5b) and (6a) as the catchword 'Seg' suggests.

¹⁶³The word 'it' is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

Prophet Idris (*İdrīs*). The author indicates that the reader should ask Prophet Idris for his or her fortune due to the fact that he or she studies day and night. Apparently, the author also makes a reference to the story of Prophet Idris, who was the first person to use a pen and paper on earth.

(32) *Hūk* ¹⁶⁴

Fālunı eydivire saña Nūḥ
Andan olur saña ey dost fütūḥ

The pig (*hūk*) forwards the reader to the section of Prophet Noah (*Nūḥ*), who will tell the reader his or her fortune. In the second line, the author addresses the reader as his friend (*ey dost*) and clarifies that Noah will open many doors or conquests (*fütūḥ*) for the reader. Yet, it should be explained that the word *fütūḥ* also has an esoteric connotation since it also signifies ‘openings’ in a spiritual sense.

(33) *Üştür* ¹⁶⁵

Lūt ne dirse sen anı tütğil
Lütiler işlerini unutğil

While the verses of the camel (*üştür*) refer to the section of Prophet Lot (*Lūt*), they also alert the reader with a warning. The author suggests that the reader should abstain from homosexuality (*Lütiler işleri*) by making a straightforward reference to the story of Prophet Lot.

(6b)

(34) *Gāv* ¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴The word ‘domuz’ is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

¹⁶⁵The word ‘deve’ is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

¹⁶⁶The word ‘sığır’ is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

Fāluḡı Őor ęoma İlyās'ı
Aḡa varsaḡ gider gōḡül paŝı

The verses of the ox (*gāv*) lead to the section of Prophet Elijah (*İlyās*) and advise the reader not to underestimate him while asking for his or her omen. Furthermore, the author expounds that once the reader consults him, his or her sorrow (*gōḡül paŝı*) will disappear.

(35) *Gusfend*¹⁶⁷

Danyal'a su'al ęıl fālı,
Zıra oldur zamāne remmāli

The couplet by the sheep (*gusfend*) directs the reader to the section of Prophet Daniel (*Danyal*). If the reader asks the bear, he or she will be informed about his or her omen. Additionally, the author defines Prophet Daniel as the geomancer (*remmāl*) of his time.

(36) *Kulan*

Her kiŝinüḡ ki fālını bile Hūd
Ṭāli'i olısar anuḡ mes'ūd

In the last section of the sixth folio, the *kulan*¹⁶⁸ points to the section of Prophet Hud (*Hūd*). Moreover, the author promises that the reader's fortune will be felicitous due to the fact that it will be told by Prophet Hud.

(7a)¹⁶⁹

(37) *Geyik*

¹⁶⁷The word 'koyun' is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

¹⁶⁸It is a subspecies of the onager native to Central Asia (*Equus hemionus kulan*).

¹⁶⁹There is not any missing page between (6b) and (7a) as the catchword suggests as 'Geyik'.

Yūnus'a mūnis olmayan bilmez
Yavu kılduğunu henüz bulmaz

The seventh folio begins with the deer (*geyik*) referring the reader to the section of Prophet Jonah (*Yūnus*). The author states that if the reader will not become friends (*mūnis*) with Prophet Jonah, the reader will not be able to acknowledge his or her misbehavior (*yavu kılduğunu*).

(38) Keçi

Faluḡı eydivire saḡa 'Üzeyr
Ki anuḡ yanına iderseḡ seyr

The lines of the goat (*keçi*) point the reader to the section of Prophet Ezra (*'üzeyr*). It also promises that he will tell the fortune of the reader immediately if the reader pays a visit to him.

(39) Semmūr

Var su'al eyle şabrı Eyyūb'a
Sireti gökçek şireti hūba

The weasel (*semmūr*) refers the reader to the section of Prophet Job (*Eyyūb*) who has a beautiful face (*şireti hūb*) and a delicate soul (*sireti gökçek*). The author advises the reader to ask the value of patience to him by making a reference to his life story.

(7b)

(40) kākum

Rāzuḡı eydevire İbrāhīm

Fālunı eyleye saña ta'līm

The second page of the seventh folio begins with ermine (*kākum*) and points to the section of Prophet Abraham (*Ībrāhīm*). As the author indicates, Prophet Abraham will both reveal and teach the reader's fortune.

(41) Sincāb

Fālına her kim ister-ise delīl
Aña delīl yiter Īsmā'īl

While the verses of the squirrel (*sincāb*) navigate the reader to the section of Prophet Samuel (*Īsmā'īl*), the author suggests that he himself is going to be a testimony for the reader who requires evidence for his or her omen.

(42) Saṅsār

Ger göresin yüzini Īshāk'ıñ
Bulasın sen rızāsını ḥaḳḳ'ıñ

The author ends this folio with the section of the marten (*saṅsār*) by advising the reader to visit the section of Prophet Isaac (*Īshāk*). As the lines promise, the reader will attain God's mercy if he or she sees the face of Prophet Isaac.

(8a) ¹⁷⁰

(43) Kedi

Ger varasın ḳatına Ya'kūb'ıñ
ḥāşıl ola muḥibb ü maḥbūbuñ

This folio begins with the verses of the cat, which forward the reader to the section of Prophet Jacob (*Ya'kūb*). As it is attested, the reader's friends and the ones who

¹⁷⁰There are no missing pages between (7b) and (8a) as the catchword 'kedi' suggests.

love him or her (*muḥibb ü maḥbūbuḡ*) will be elicited once he or she arrives at Prophet Jacob's side.

(44) Sıçan

Ger göresin Yūsufi şiddik
Eyde saña n'olacađın taḥkik

The verses of the rat (*sıçan*) guide the reader to the section of Prophet Joseph (*Yūsuf*) by advising the reader to be close friends (*şiddik*) with him. Therefore, Prophet Joseph would be able to explicitly transmit what is going to happen to the reader.

(45) Gergedan

Çün işitdün naşihat-ı Cercis
Katuña gelmeye senün İblis

In the lines of the rhinoceros (*gergedan*), the author admonishes the reader to follow the advice of Prophet Georges (*Cercis*) by directing the reader to his section. The devil will remain away from the reader if he or she listens to Prophet Georges.

(8b)

(46) Feres

Fāluḡı Mūsa'dan işit iy kelīm
Zīra oldur bu fāl içinde 'alīm

The second page of this folio begins with the horse (*feres*) by pointing to the section of Prophet Moses (*Mūsa*), who is identified as omniscient (*'alīm*) in terms of fortunetelling. The author speaks directly to the reader as a 'talker' (*iy kelīm*) even though the term *kelīm* is one of the epithets of Prophet Moses since he had communicated with God on Mount Sinai.

(47) Zürāfa

Var Şu'aybuñ katına iy 'ākīl
Ol saña ne dir-ise anı kıl

The verses of the giraffe (*zürāfa*) address the reader directly as 'intellect' (*iy 'ākīl*), as the author directs the reader to the section of Prophet Shuaib (*Şu'ayb*). The author admonishes that the reader shall do whatever Prophet Shuaib utters.

(48) Ester

Çün dutasın naşihat-i Hārūn
'İzz ü devlet saña ola maḡrūn

This folio ends with the lines of the mule (*ester*), which lead the reader to the section of Prophet Aaron (*Hārūn*). The author promises that the reader will approach auspiciousness and glory (*'İzz ü devlet*) if he or she follows the advice of Prophet Aaron (*naşihat-i Hārūn*). It is noteworthy that the author makes a reference to the story of Aaron with the choice of the word *naşihat* since Prophet Moses deputized him as his advisor in his journey to Mount Sinai.

(9a) ¹⁷¹

(49) ḡimār

Fālunu 'arz eyle Dāvūd'a
İrgüre seni tiz maḡşūda

This folio begins with a section about the donkey (*ḡimār*) that directs the reader to the section of Prophet David (*Dāvūd*). It is indicated that Prophet David can transport (*irgüre*) the reader wherever he or she wishes to go (*maḡşūd*) once the

¹⁷¹There are no missing pages between (8b) and (9a) as the catchword 'ḡimar' suggests.

reader presents his or her omen to him.

(50) *ḳurt*

Fāluḳı şorasın Süleymān'a
Ol seni diyüvire sultāna

The verses of the wolf (*ḳurt*) forward the reader to the section of Prophet Solomon (*Süleymān*). The author remarks that the reader should ask the prophet for his or her fortune. In addition, there is a contextual reference to the epithets of Prophet Solomon since the author promises the reader that the prophet will drop the names of the reader to the sultan of his or her era, once he or she asks him for the omen.

(51) *Sırtlan*

Zekeriyyā'ya var su'ālün şor
Ne cevāb eydür-ise anı gör

The couplet by the hyena (*sırtlan*) advises the reader to visit the section of Prophet Zachary (*Zekeriyyā*). The reader will find the answers to his or her questions if he or she asks them to the prophet. Furthermore, the author instructs the reader to implement whatever Prophet Zachary prescribes.

(9b)

(52) *Hırs*

Çünkü Yaḥyā saḳa nazār eyler
Saḳa n'olacaḳın 'ayān eyler

The lines of the bear (*hırs*) point the reader to the section of Prophet John (*Yaḥyā*). They promise that the upcoming incidents will be revealed (*'ayān eyler*) to the reader immediately since Prophet John beholds them (*nazār eyler*).

(53) Dilki

'İsa peygamber durur ulaġuz
Andan ayru saa kimi bulavuz

The fox (*dilki*) guides the reader to the section of Prophet Jesus (*'İsa*) by identifying him as the ultimate guide (*ulaguz*). The author draws attention to his or her importance by directly asking the reader who else could be found as a guide other than him or her.

(54) aal

Hızra var kim ün ol durur āzır
Dükeli yirde āzır u nāzır

This folio ends with the lines of the jackal (*akal*), which refer to the section of Prophet Khidr (*Hızır*). As the author states, he or she is ready for everything everywhere (*āzır u nāzır*). It is remarkable that the author makes a reference to one of the major particularities of Prophet Khidr, which is ubiquity.

(10a) ¹⁷²

(55) Tavan

Saa ne dirse iit ol ālīh
Zira kim alka oldurur nāsīh

The author starts the tenth folio with a reference to the section of Prophet Saleh (*ālīh*) by the rabbit (*tavan*). The author further implies that the reader should listen to the advice of the prophet because of the fact that he is the admonisher (*nāsīh*) of the people.

(56) Āhū

¹⁷²There are no missing pages between (9b) and (10a) as the catchword 'tavan' suggests.

Mustafā'dan şorar iseñ falı
Dükelinden yeg bilür hāli

The couplet of the gazelle directs the reader to the section of Prophet Muhammad (*Mustafā*) and instructs the reader to ask for his or her fortune. As the second line suggests, the author asserts that he or she knows the events better than anybody and any other prophets.

(57) *Gāv-ı Kūhī*

Fāl hālin bilici Loḡmān'dur
Hikmet aña hemīşe fermāndur

This folio ends with the section of the wild ox (*gāv-ı kūhī*), which forwards the reader to the section of Luqman (*Loḡmān*). By making a reference to the esoteric context, the author elucidates that he or she knows the omen due to the fact that he or she possesses the mysteries of the creation and ethereal realm (*hikmet*).

(10b)

(58) *Şır*

Şor fālunı sen Ebübekr'e
Düşme zinhār hīle vü mekre

While the verses of the lion (*şır*) make a reference to the section of Abubakr (*Ebübekr*), the author also provides the reader with a warning. As the author advises, the reader should refrain from cheating and deceit (*hīle vü mekr*).

(59) *Bebr*

Ŧut etegin ḡoma sen ol 'Ömer'ün

Zīra üstādı ol durur hünerün

The author navigates the reader towards the section of Omar ('Ömer) in the verses of dassie or *Hyrax syriensis* (*bebr*). The author states that the reader should hold on to Omar's skirt and never let go of it by virtue of him or her being the master of talents.

(60) *ḳaraḳulaḳ*

Ne ki gelür saḳa iy yār ziyān
Saḳa iydivire anı 'Osmān

The couplet by the caracal (*ḳaraḳulaḳ*) speaks directly to the reader as his friend (*iy yār*), which the author does occasionally as observed in the verses thus far. Moreover, the author advises the reader to visit the section of Utman ('Osmān). There, the reader will be informed about whomever or whatever will cause damage or evil to him or her.

(11a)

(61) ¹⁷³

Fāluḳı eydivire saḳa 'Alī
Aḳa ḥoḣnūddur nebī ü velī

This folio begins by directing the reader to the section of Ali ('Alī) by advising the reader to ask Ali for his or her fortune. Also, the author indicates that both Prophet Mohammad and the saints (*nebi ü velī*) are content with him.

(62) *Maymun*

Ger dilersenḳ olasın saḳ u esen

¹⁷³The word is not legible and cannot be deciphered, but there are no missing pages between (10b) and (11a) as the catchword corresponds with the first title in (11a).

Fāluḡı sor eydivire ḡasan

The couplet by the monkey (*maymun*) forwards the reader to the section of Hasan (*ḡasan*). The reader will be healthy and happy (*saġ u esen*) if he or she asks for his or her fortune from Hasan, who will answer immediately.

(63) Ejderha

Çün ḡüseyn'den su'āl kıl fālı,

...

Even though the second line cannot be read due to the page being torn, the lines of the dragon (*ejderha*) point the reader to the section of Husain (*ḡüseyn*) by commending him or her to ask Husain for his or her omen.

The Prophets

The chapter of the prophets begins with Prophet Adam (11a) and includes all the prophets until Jesus (24a). After examination, it appears that there are some missing and torn pages. Yet, it can still be deduced that the author follows the chronological order of the prophets.

(11b)

Bāb-ı Peyġamberān-ı 'aleyhi's-selām

The Chapter of the Prophets

يُرْزَقُونَ فَرَجِينَ بِمَا آتَيْهِمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ 174

¹⁷⁴“Allah'm, lutuf ve kereminden kendilerine verdikleriyle sevinçli bir halde rableri yanında rızıklara mazhar olmaktadır.” (Al-i İmran Suresi 169–170)

Ḳāle Ādem 'aleyhi's-selām ¹⁷⁵

Prophet Adam said

(12a) ¹⁷⁶

(64)
Şimdiden girü sen emān bulasın
Ḳayğudan girü şādumān olasın

The author heralds that the reader will feel safe (*emān*) and release his or her anxiety from this day forward. Therefore, he or she will be happy (*şādumān*) as promised.

(65)

Düşmenünj ola renc ü zahmetde
Çün göre seni nāz u ni'metde

This couplet prophesizes that the enemies of the reader will feel distressed and agonized (*renc ü zahmet*) when they see that the reader is prosperous and spoiled (*nāz u ni'met*).

Ḳāle Şīt 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Seth said

(66)

Devletünj dem-be-dem ziyāde olur
Anı gördükçe müdde'iler ölür

¹⁷⁵Since this folio is torn, the remaining part cannot be read.

¹⁷⁶The catchword of the previous page cannot be read because the bottom part is torn.

It is indicated that the auspiciousness of the reader is incremented day by day. The claimants who witness the crescendo will de cease.

(67)

Elüñi ne yire şunarsaŋ şun
Çün olur devletüñ senüñ efzün

The author tells the reader that he or she wishes that the reader's auspiciousness will exceed whatever he or she sets his or her hands to.

(68)

Devletüñ 'izzetüñ eyā 'āķil
Dükelinden artuķ ola bil

The author addresses the reader as an intellect (*eyā 'āķil*) and announces that the auspiciousness and greatness of the reader will be more than that of anyone.

(12b)

Ḳāle Hābil 'aleyhi's-selām

177 وَأَحْذَرُ هُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ

Prophet Abel said

(69)

Saŋa çünkim bu fāl geldi iy yār
Kimse ile savaşımağıl zinhar

¹⁷⁷“Allah'ın sana indirdiği hükümlerin bir kısmından seni saptırmamaları için onlardan sakın (diye onu indirdik)” (Maide, 49)

The author calls the reader his friend (*iy yār*) and advises him or her not to fight anybody because of the fact that the reader has this particular fortune. It is noteworthy that there is a textual reference to the story of Abel and Cain since this particular fortune is in reference to war and conflict.

(70)

Kimsenüñ hātırını yıķma şaķın
Yıme ھاķsuzın kimesne ھاķın

It is exhorted to the reader that he or she should avoid hurting feelings and being unfair towards people.

(71)

Hātırınđan gider begüm hevesi
Bu hevesden kimesne ķılmaz aşı

The reader is addressed as sir or madam (*beyim* or *begüm*) while he or she is advised to dismiss futile enthusiasm from his or her mind. Moreover, nobody can benefit from this enthusiasm.

(13a)

(72)

Şādilik ķapusını bađlamađıl
Olmađıl sen melül ađlamađıl

It is instructed that the reader shall not close the doors of happiness (*şādilik ķapusu*) in order not to be sad (*melül*) and cry later.

(73)

Bir nice gün saña şabr görünür
Düşmenünün olur begüm gözi kör

The author addresses the reader as sir or madam (*beyim* or *begüm*) and foresees that there will be patience for a while. After the period of patience, the enemy will go blind.

ḳāle İdrīs 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Idris said

(74)

İdris eydür ki ṭālib olduñ sen
Düşmen üstine gālib olduñ sen

As the couplet states, Prophet Idris says that the reader became a claimant and was defeated by his or her enemy.

(13b)

(75)

Pādişehlar saña nazar şalısar
'Adular hep ğazabdan öliser

It is expressed that whilst the rulers take a look at the reader, his or her enemies will be green with envy.

(76)

Dirilürsin gönül murādınca
Dünyede zehr ü qahr dadınca

It is indicated that once the reader suffers from distress and sorrow (*zehr ü qahr*) in the world, he or she will overcome it and recover in his or her own sweet way (*gönül muradınca*).
(77)

Devletün gemisini yil götürür
Sāhiline selāmetün yitürür

In these metaphorical verses, it is presaged that the reader's ship of auspiciousness will be moved by the wind. After, the wind will carry the ship to the coast of peace (*sāhiline selāmetün*).

ḳāle Nūḥ 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Noah said

(78)

Eyü fāl geldi saḡa iy server
Şād ol zinhār ey dilber

The author calls the reader a leader (*server*) and announces that this is a lucky omen. Therefore, he or she shall be happy (*şād ol zinhar*).
(14a)¹⁷⁸

(79)

Ḥayr işle ne iş işlerisen
Ḥayr işle hemīşe işlerisen

¹⁷⁸This folio is recorded as (15a), though it is actually (14a) because the catchword in (13b) is 'hayr'.

In the first couplet of this folio, the author advises the reader to stay frequently busy with charity. He also states that whatever the reader does, it should be salutary.

(80)

Dilegün her ne kim ola hāşıldur
Düşmenünün işi cümle bātıldur

The author states that whatever the reader wishes will come true. Moreover, he puts out that any actions of the reader's enemy will amount to nothing.

(81)

Dilersen düşmenünle dād eyle
Dilerisen dostlarla şād eyle

It is indicated that the reader will either do a favor for his or her enemy or be happy with his or her friends; the circumstances will not change.

(82)

Cümle 'ālem senün elüne baқа
Devlet ırmağı gökden aқа

In the last verses of this section, it is highlighted that the reader is the source of goodness for everybody in that people can depend on the reader. Furthermore, the reader's auspiciousness is metaphorically identified as a river (*devlet ırmağı*) in the second verse. As it is explained, the river will be flow from the sky; most probably, this is a reference to a divine resource.

ḳāle Lūṭ 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Lot said

(14b)

(83)

Hile eyler tapuğa düşmenler
Şonra olur işine peşmānlar

The author predicates that the reader's enemies are doing evil to him or her, though they will bitterly regret it afterwards.

(84)

Sefer itmek saña eyü olmaz
Eger eyler-iseñ eyü gelmez

In these lines, the author warns the reader that it will not be beneficial and propitious for him or her to embark on a journey. If he or she begins a journey in spite of this warning, it will have a bad effect on him or her.

(85)

Saņa şabr eylemek gerek niçe gün
Ta igirmi bire degin gice gün

Related to the previous couplet, the reader is encouraged to be patient for twenty-one days.

(86)

Çünkü igirmi gün saņa geçiser
Raħmeti kapusın saņa açısar

The author continues explaining that the door of the benediction (*raħmeti kapusın*) will be open for the reader following the specified period.

ḳāle İlyās 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Elijah said

(87)

Fāluᅇ eyü gelüp durur iy yār
Gizle ḫālünjı bilmesün aᅇyār

The author addresses the reader as his friend (*iy yār*) and announces that his or her omen is auspicious. He recommends that this shall be kept secret and that no one other than the reader (*aᅇyār*) shall know.

(15a) ¹⁷⁹

(88)

Ne murāduᅇ ki var-ise dilegil
Taᅇrıdan sen dileᅇünjı dilegil

This folio begins with the suggestions of the author by saying that the reader should make a wish for whatever he or she desires and trust in God.

(89)

Böyle eyü olur senün ḫālün
Zıra eyü gelüp durur fāluᅇ

Following the previous verses, the author affirms that the reader's circumstances will be better due to the fact that his or her omen is auspicious.

¹⁷⁹This folio is recorded as (14a), though it is actually (15a) because the catchword in (14b) is 'ne'.

(90)

Dilegün toħmını eküpdurusın
Niçe gün zaħmetin çeküpdurusın

As the author indicates in the first verses, the reader should wish for whatever he or she desires immediately. In these verses, the wish is associated with a seed, and the reader should plant it. Therefore, once he or she puts in the labor, it will grow after a while.

ḳāle Danyāl 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Daniel said

(91)

Fāluᅇ eyü gelipdür ey selīm
Raħmet ide saᅇa Kerīm ü Raħīm

The author addresses the reader as benign (*ey selim*) and declares that this omen is auspicious. Moreover, the author wishes that God, who is compassionate and gracious, will have mercy on the reader.

(92)

Rencüñi rāħata mübeddel ider
Ne ki rencüñ var-ise cümle gider

As it is remarked, distress of any kind will be relieved. Moreover, it will be reversed to contentment.

(15b)

(93)

Devletün dün ü gün ziyāde olur
Eylügün bilige vü yāde olur

In these verses, it is predicted that the auspiciousness of the reader will be ascending day by day. Thus, the reader will be eminent and remembered with respect.

(94)

Düşmenün ni'metin saña vireler
Alalar zahmetün aña vireler

It is supplicated that blessings from the reader's enemies will be redirected towards the reader. In return, the afflictions of the reader will be transmitted to his or her enemy.

(95)

Elüñe toprağı eger alasm
Toprak altun olur anı bilesin

The author predicates that if the reader has soil in his or her hands, it will transform into gold.

ḳāle Hūd 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Hud said

(96)

Eydivirem saña nedür fālun
Bir zamān işe urma sen elün

Since the author reveals the fortune of the reader immediately, he or she shall not

commence a new business for a while.

(97)

Rüzgāruñ senüñ perīşāndur

Niçe gün tali'üne noķşāndur

Following the previous verses, the author asserts that the reader is going through bad times and his or her misfortune will be maintained for a longer time.

(16a) ¹⁸⁰

(98)

Saņa şabr eylemek gerek nice gün

Tā 'adular ola ķatunĊa zebūn

This folio begins with the advice of the author, which is to be patient for a while. He delimits the period of patience by stating that the reader shall endure until his or her enemies will be delignated (*zebūn*) and the reader will be dominant.

(99)

Sen eger öġüdüm işidürsen

Pendüm-ile eger iş idersen

In these lines, the author alerts the reader that he or she must follow the author's advice and act in light of the particular exhortation mentioned in the preceding couplet.

(100)

'Āķıbet āħirün sa'īd ola

Ĥātırun ġuşşadan ba'īd ola

¹⁸⁰There are no missing page between (15b) and (16a) as the catchword 'sana' suggests.

This couplet prophesizes that the reader will elude affliction and free his or her worries from the mind. Therefore, [if he or she is patient] his or her fate (*'ākıbet*) will be good (*sa'ıd*).

ķāle Yūnus 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Jonah said

(101)

Bu fālunda saıa beşāret var
Olıardur saıa sa'ādet var

The author claims that this omen consists of good news (*beşāret*). In addition to that, the reader will be met with happiness (*sa'ādet*).

(102)

Olıardur başuıa devlet tāc
Pādişāhlar ola saıa muıhtāc

Following the previous verses, the author foresees that auspiciousness and felicitousness will become a crown on the reader's head. As these metaphoric lines suggest, even the sultans will rely on the reader.

(16b)

(103)

Zahmetūı āıirinde raımet olur
Diılenūr cānuı uı rāıat olur

In this couplet, the author states that if a person experiences suffering or trouble, he or she will have blessings and feel a glow of peacefulness in the end.

(104)

Şimdiden giru olasın dilşād
Hātırıuŋ ola ğuşşadan āzād

The author wishes that the reader shall be happy and relieved (*dilşād*) from now on. Moreover, his or her heart or soul (*hātırıuŋ*) shall be distant from sorrow (*ġuşşa*).

ḳāle 'üzeyr 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Ezra said

(105)

Saŋa bu fāl ḳutludur yavlaḳ
Naḳar eyleyiser saŋa ğün ḥaḳḳ

It is proclaimed that this omen is extremely auspicious since God is protecting the reader.

(106)

Eyü yüri seni eyi diyeler
Dükeli ḥaḳ ni'metüni yiyeler

The author preaches that the reader shall do good in order to have a high profile in society. Thus, people will be able to benefit from the reader because of his or her benevolence.

(107)

Olduğunda eyü sa'ādetlü
Yılduzuŋ olısar sa'ādetlü

As it is stated in this couplet, once the reader is well and happy, his or her star rises and is also happy. It is noteworthy that the astrologic convention of being

happy if the person's star is radiant is reversed in this case.

(17a) ¹⁸¹

(108)

Ulu kiçi senüñ atuna gele
Dükeli halk seni ulu bile

In the first couplet of this folio, the author wishes that people of young and old age (*ulu kiçi*) shall come knocking on the reader's door. Furthermore, everybody will know the reader as eminence (*ulu*).

älē Eyyüb 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Ayyub said

(109)

ün fāluna senüñ şabır görünür
Şabr eyle düşmenün ölür görünür

It is foreseen that this particular omen refers to patience by making a contextual reference to Prophet Ayyub's story. Additionally, the author states that if the reader becomes patient, his or her enemy will be dead eventually.

(110)

Şabr başdan başa belāyı savar
Tanrınun ulları belāyı sever

As the author asserts, patience emancipates people from trouble, yet the [beloved] servants of God enjoy trouble.

¹⁸¹There are no missing pages between (16b) and (17a) as the catchword 'ulu' suggests.

(111)

Şabr iden kişi rāḥata irişür
Şabrsuz kişi miḥnete girişür

Following the intertextual references that the author makes in order to establish a cohesive meaning, he or she continues to sermonize by implying that a patient person will reach a state of comfort and harmony whilst an impatient one will have troubles.

(17b)

(112)

Şabr eyle benüm sözümi işit
Ne iş eyle dir-isem amı it

In this couplet, the author admonishes to follow his advice and be patient. In addition to that, the reader shall do whatever the author declares.

(113)

Tā olasın cihānda ber-h^vordār
Hem sa'ādet ola senünile yār

It is advised in these lines that, once the reader is patient, he or she shall be happy in the world (*ber-h^vordār*). Therefore, felicity (*sa'ādet*) will become his or her friend and stand by his or her side.

ḳāle İbrāhīm 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Abraham said

(114)

Bu faluḡda nedür diyem maḡşūd
Yılduzuḡ sa'd ü ḡāli'ün mes'ūd

As the author makes clear, the purpose of this particular omen is to demonstrate that the reader's star is auspicious (*sa'd*) and his or her destiny is fortunate (*mes'ūd*).

(115)

Baḡt ü devlet saḡa olupdur yār
Bāz-ı 'izzet elünḡde eyle ḡikār

Following the previous verses, the author heralds that good fortune and auspiciousness (*baḡt ü devlet*) will become friends of the reader. Moreover, he advises that the reader seize this opportunity and go hunting (*ḡikâr*).

(116)

Sefer eyler iseḡ mübārekdür
Zīra kim ḡāli'ün ḡübrekdür

The author concludes this folio by clarifying that if the reader would like to embark on a journey, it will be blessed due to the fact that his or her fortune is better now than before.

(18a) ¹⁸²

(117)

Sefer eylememen ḡaḡı yigdür
Diler-iseḡ yüri dilersen otur

This folio begins by warning the reader that he or she shall avoid going on a journey

¹⁸²There are no missing pages between (17b) and (18a) as the catchword 'sefer' suggests.

even though the author leaves the final decision to the reader by stating to either take the trip or stay in place.

(118)

Devletünj atına süvār olasın
Bu cihān durduğınca var olasın

The author metaphorically wishes that the reader shall become the rider (*süvār*) of the horse of his or her auspiciousness. Moreover, he or she shall exist forever and ever.

ḳāle İsmā'īl 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Ismail said

(119)

Bu fālunḳa saḳa beṣāret var
Olısardur saḳa sa'adet yār

It is proclaimed that this omen is full of good news. Therefore, felicity will be a friend of the reader.

(120)

Devletünj uyḳudan olur bīdār
Olısarsın cihānda ber-ḥ^vordār

As the author highlights, his or her auspiciousness will awake from sleep. Consequently, he or she will be happy in this world.

(18b)

(121)

Kendüñi dilesen ki şâd idesin
Viresin daḥi 'adl ü dād idesin

As stated in this couplet, if the reader would like to make himself or herself happy, he or she shall be fair and benevolent.

(122)

Düşmen ayruḡ saña zafer bulmaz
Devletün tāze olur u şolmaz

It is proclaimed that no enemy will be victorious against the reader. Moreover, the author metaphorically states that his or her auspiciousness will be fresh and will not wither.

(123)

Devletün olısar senün manşūr
Düşmenün olısar senün maḡhūr

Following the previous verses, the author heralds that the auspiciousness of the reader will gain the victory (*manşūr*). Therefore, his or her enemies will be destroyed (*maḡhūr*).

ḡāle İshāḡ 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Isaac said

(124)

Saña bu fāl yol gösterdi

Ṭāli'ün buldı ne kim isterdi

The author explains in the couplets that this omen guides the reader towards his or her fortune. Thus, he or she ascertains the way in which his or her fortune occurs.

(125)

Şabr eyle ki bulasın maqşūd
Şabr eyleyeni sever Ma'būd

This folio ends by advising the reader to be patient since God, who is worshipped (*Ma'būd*), loves the one who endures. In addition to that, the reader will obtain his or her goal (*maqşūd*).

(19a) ¹⁸³

(126)

Sabr eyle...

Be patient...

(127)

Şabrsuz ādemün sa'ādeti yok
Şabr-ıla devlete iren kişi çok

It is declared that an impatient person will not achieve happiness. On the other hand, there are many people who find happiness by enduring.

ḳāle Ya'ḳūb 'aleyhi's-selām

¹⁸³The top of (19a) cannot be read because it is torn. It is possible that there are no missing pages between (18b) and (19a) because the main theme of 'patience' continues in the following verses. Also, the chronology of the prophets is correct as Jacob is subsequent to Isaac.

Prophet Jacob said

(128)

Bu fāluḡ devlete delīl durur
Düşmenüḡ ḡor u hem zelīl durur

The author vaticinates that this particular omen is evidence of auspiciousness. Further, the enemies of the reader are both despicable and reptile (*ḡor u hem zelīl*).

(129)

'İzzetüḡ atna süvār olḡıl
Devlet-ile hemīşe yār olḡıl

It is instructed metaphorically that the reader shall become the rider of the horse of greatness (*'izzetüḡ atı*). Moreover, he or she shall always be a friend of auspiciousness.

(19b)

(130)

.... dan āzād ol

....elude

ḡāle Yūsuf 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Joseph said

(131)

Fālunuñ ħālını baña digil
Tūṭilik eylegil şeker yigil

The author declares that the circumstances of the reader's omen shall be explained like a parrot. Therefore, once the omen is told, sugar will be given.

(132)

Dostlaruñ ola nāz ü ni'metde
Düşmenüñ ola renc ü miḥnetde

It is wished that the friends of the reader shall experience abundance (*nāz ü ni'met*). His or her enemies, on the other hand, shall experience affliction and suffering (*renc ü miḥnet*).

(20a) ¹⁸⁴

(133)

Şād olasın cihānda sen dāyim
Karşuña devletüñ olur k̄āyim

This folio begins with the author's good wishes that the reader shall always be happy in the world. Furthermore, his or her auspiciousness shall exist eternally.

(134)

Dün ü gün 'izzetüñ ziyāde ola
Düşmenüñ dā'imā piyāde ola

Following the previous verses, it is expressed that the greatness of the reader shall expand day by day. Moreover, it is wished that his or her enemy shall always be

¹⁸⁴There is a missing page between (19b) and (20a) as the catchword suggests a different word which cannot be read.

infantry.

(135)

'Ākıbetün olur senün maḥmūd
Saḗa ḥāsıl durur hep maḗşūd

The author continues his good wishes and omen by stating that at the end, the reader shall be praised (*maḥmūd*) and accomplished. That is to say, the reader shall always attain his or her purposes (*maḗşūd*).

ḗāle Mūsā 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Moses said

(136)

Her kimün ḗāli'inde ola bu fāl
Olmaya görmeye melül ü melal

In these verses, it is wished that the person who receives this omen shall never suffer and experience distress.

(137)

Dükeli halk aḗa itā'at ide
Şāzilik gile ḡuşşası gide

As the preceding couplets in this folio supplicate, it is stated that people shall obey the reader. Therefore, felicitousness (*şāzilik*) shall come while suffering (*ḡuşşā*) shall be gone.

(20b)

(138)

Devleti dūn ü gūn mezīd ola
Düşmenlerūñ gūr u yezīd ola

The author ends his good wishes by attesting that the auspiciousness of the reader shall increase (*mezīd*) day by day during the time his or her enemies will be disgraced.

(139)

Ḥaḳḳ te'ālā seni emīr eyler
Düşmenjüñi saña esīr eyler

It is proclaimed that God will make the reader a leader (*emīr*). Moreover, He will make the enemies of the reader his or her prisoner (*esīr*). Therefore, felicity will be friend of the reader.

(140)

Düşmenüñ cümlesi olur maḳhūr
Dostlaruñ cümlesi olur manşūr

The author heralds that all the enemies of the reader shall be destroyed (*maḳhūr*), whereas all of his or her friends will achieve their goals with the help of God (*manşūr*).

(141)

Saña devlet hemīşe yār olur
Sevmeyen seni hor u zār olur

As the author states, the auspiciousness of the reader will be with him or her eternally (*hemīşe yār*). Besides, the ones who do not like the reader will be dishonest and unfortunate (*hor u zār*).

ḳāle Hārūn 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Aaron said

(142)

İy fal issi hemîşe şâbir ol
Arı tut kendüzünjî t̄ahir ol

The author addresses the reader as the owner of the omen (*iy fal issi*) and advises him or her to be patient always. Likewise, he or she shall keep himself or herself clean constantly; [by this way] he or she will be pure (*t̄ahir*).

(143)

Kılduğun niyyetün senün yaramaz
Şadağa eyle dahı eyle niyaz

This folio ends with a warning that the intention of the reader is not wholesome. Therefore, the reader shall give alms and pray.

(21a)¹⁸⁵

(144)

Sefer eyler isen eyü gelmez
Bu sefere varan girü gelmez

The author continues to warn the reader by stating that if the reader would like to embark on a journey, it will not be fortunate since the one who goes on this particular journey will not be able to come back.

(145)

Dün ü gün sen du'āya meşgûl ol
Ta vire saña rızkuñ Allāh bol

It is propounded that the reader shall be busy with praying day and night until God provides abundance.

¹⁸⁵There are no missing pages between (20b) and (21a) as the catchword 'sefer' suggests.

(146)

Zākir olup belāya şābir ol
Taḥrī ne kim virürse şābir ol

Following the implications above, it is advised that the reader shall be the one who recites the names of the God (*zākir*) and be patient in the face of troubles. Moreover, he or she shall accept whatever God sends.

Dāvūd 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet David said

(147)

Fālunḡ eyü gelüp durur iy yār
Gizle ḡālünḡi bilmesün aḡyār

In the couplets above, the author addresses the reader as his friend (*iy yār*) and heralds that this omen is auspicious, but also that the reader shall keep the good news to himself or herself and not tell the others.

(148)

Eyi yavuz ne kim işlersenḡ
Ṭamşup işle iş işlersenḡ

It is advised that the reader shall consult others before taking any actions, whether they are good or bad.

(149)

Ta ol işden saḡa nasīb ola
Hem senünḡ derdüḡe tabīb ola

Following the previous lines, the advice continues and states that the reader shall consult others until he or she achieves his or her goal or finds the cure for suffering.
(21b)

(150)

Rūzigāruŋ senüŋ ola hürrem
Yöreŋe uğramaya ğussa vü ğam

The author wishes that the reader's lifetime shall be prosperous. Additionally, the reader wishes that the distress and sorrow shall stay away from the reader.

(151)

Şimdiden girü olmaya zaħmet
Gele apua devlet ü ni'met

The good wishes in the previous couplet continue and it is stated that the reader shall encounter no suffering. In contrast, auspiciousness and blessings shall come knocking at the reader's door.

āle Süleymān 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Solomon said

(152)

Geldi fāluŋ senüŋ be-ġāyet hūb
aleb eyle ele girür maħbūb

The author foretells that this particular omen is auspicious. Further, the reader will win his or her lover if he or she claims the lover.

(153)

Gitdi senden dükeli ğussa vü ğam
Rāḥata döndi cümle renc ü elem

It is presaged that all the sufferings and torment are now gone, and that they will transform into comfort from now on.

(154)

Ne niyet kim sen eyledüñ bilesin
Korkduğundan hemişe kurtulasın

The author envisions that the reader will be at ease and free from his or her fears and whatever he or she contemplates.

(22a) ¹⁸⁶

(155)

Dünyaya olmağıl iñeñ mağrūr
Tā ola düşmenüñ hep mağhūr

In the first couplet of this folio, the reader is exhorted to avoid being haughty (*mağrūr*) against his or her enemies since they will be destroyed eventually (*mağhūr*).

(156)

Ne murāduñ ki var ḥāşıldur
Düşmenüñ ne kılsa bātıldur

¹⁸⁶There are no missing pages between (21b) and (22a) as the catchword ‘dünyaya’ suggests.

The author continues his or her good omen by stating that all desires of the reader will become true. Moreover, no matter what they do, his or her enemies will achieve nothing.

ḳāle Zekeriyā 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Zachary said

(157)

Bu fālunḳa senün melāmet var
Hem melāmetlġa delālet var

As it is vaticinated in these lines, this omen is full of reproach (*melamet*) and also includes evidence of reproach.

(158)

Eyüceklik begüm saña yaramaz
Düşmenün gözleri seni görmez

The author speaks directly to the reader, calling the reader sir or madam (*beyim* or *begüm*) and announces that being a good person in front of others is not beneficial for the reader. Furthermore, the reader's enemies do not perceive the reader as good.

(159)

Şabr-ıla işle iş kim işler isen
Şabr-ıla başla ne ki başlar isen

Following the previous verse, the author recommends that the reader should commence all work with patience and be patient throughout the work.

(22b)

(160)

Zīra düşmen saña vefā kılmaz
Nice kim eylük eylesen bilmez

The author continues to warn the reader by foreseeing that the enemies of the reader do not pledge royalty to the reader. Therefore, no matter how many favors the reader does for them, they will still ignore the reader.

(161)

Bir niçe gün saña şabr görünür
'Ākıbet düşmenün olur gözi kör

In this verse, the author is again instructing the reader to be patient by expressing that if the reader becomes patient for a while, his or her enemies will become blind. In other words, they will not realize what the reader is doing.

ḳāle Yaḥyā 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet John said

(162)

Bu falün devlete ḳarın durur
Nuşretün yâr u hem-nişm durur

It is claimed that this omen is close to auspiciousness. Further, victory (*nuşret*) will become a friend of the reader with the help of God.

(163)

Saḡa bu fāl utlu fāl oldu
Māl u ni'met saḡa elāl oldu

As it is declared in the previous lines, it is indicated once more that this particular omen is blessed since both assets and abundance are permissible (*elāl*) to the reader.

(164)

Ol aḡaç kim urumuş-idi zamān
Girü yaşıardı yapra oldu hemān

The author ends this folio by stating metaphorically that the tree of the reader has been dead for a while, but nevertheless, it becomes green again and full of leaves.

(23a) ¹⁸⁷

(165)

... rlı eyle kim emīr olasın
Dükeli uşşadan emīn olasın

The author remarks that if the reader does something, he or she will be free from suffering. It is unclear what 'something' refers to, as the page cannot be read because it is torn.

āle 'Īsā 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Jesus said

(166)

Bu fāluna senünj mübāreklik

¹⁸⁷The top of (23a) cannot be read because it is torn. It is possible that there are no missing pages between (22bb) and (23a) since the chronology of the prophets is correct as Jesus is subsequent to John.

Var durur dahı bir ulu beglik

It is declared to the reader that this omen is blessed with good news that the reader will be awarded a high-status empery.

(167)

Gerçi kim ul iseñ vezİR olasın
Ger vezİRiseñ yine emİR olasın

Following the couplet above, the author continues his auspicious omen by further emphasizing the theme of sovereignty. According to the fortune, the author who is now obedient shall become a vizier (ruler). If he already is a ruler, he will achieve an even higher status than the one he currently holds.

(168)

Gey başua sa'ādetüñ tācın
Doyura gör bu dÜnyānın acın

Moreover, the author presages that becoming the highest-ranking person will not be enough for the reader; he will also crown himself with felicity. Moreover, since he will have both power and wealth, the author exhorts the reader to feed the poor.

(23b)

(169)

Şimdiden girü hiç egilmegil
Müdde'iler sözini dinlemegil

The author advises the reader to not bow before anyone from now on. In addition to that, the reader shall not listen the words of any claimants.

āle Şālih 'aleyhi's-selām

Prophet Saleh said

(170)

Eyü gelmedi fālün ey 'ākīl
Sefer eyleme olmağıl gāfil

The author addresses the reader as intellect (*ey 'ākīl*) and announces that this omen is not blessed. Therefore, the reader shall avoid embarking on a journey in order to not be blindsided. It is noteworthy that after the section of Jesus, Mohammad's section should follow based on the chronological order that the author used. Yet, his section has been eliminated intentionally.

(171)

Elüñi hiçbir işe şınma şakın
Gerek-ise irak gerekse yakın

The author's warnings and advice continues in this couplet by stating that the reader shall not begin any new work. He or she shall abstain from any work even if it is distant or nearby.

(172)

Bir nice gün hele sen katlangıl
Sen kanā'at atına atlangıl

This folio ends with the author's ultimate advice, which is to be patient for a while in this particular situation. Moreover, as the author metaphorically suggests, the reader shall mount the horse of satisfaction (*kanā'at atı*).

The Letters and Planets

The letters of the word *hurşid* are included twice to direct the readers toward the following chapters. In terms of the planets, the surviving pages only cover Mars and Mercury. When comparing the available manuscripts of this genre to this particular one, it can be deduced that there are some missing pages from this section, especially the planets. This can also be deduced because what remains is inadequate for directing the reader to the subsequent chapters.

(24a)¹⁸⁸

Hurūfū'ş-şın

The Letter of Şın

(173)

Tīz varğıl atına atmacanū
Haberinden fera bula cānū

The author directs the reader towards the section of the hawk (*atmaca*) and explains that the reader shall be relieved when hearing the good news that the hawk will tell him or her.

Hurūfū'l- ya

The Letter of Ya

(174)

Rīşe varğıl ayrı unuıl
Ol saa ne ki dirse sen utuıl

¹⁸⁸There is a missing page or pages between (23b) and (24a) as the catchword suggests a different word which cannot be read.

The letter of ya forwards the reader to the section of the feather (*rīṣ*), which probably refers to a bird. The author recommends that the reader obey whatever is expressed to the reader there in addition to forgetting everything else but the *rīṣ*.

Hurūfū'd-dāl

The Letter of Dal

(175)

Deve kuşından iste sen nazarı
Ol saḡa ḥoş diyüvire ḥaberi

The lines of the dal point the reader to the section of the ostrich (*deve kuşu*) in order for the reader to consult his opinion. As the author remarks, he will deliver good news to the reader immediately.

Nücūm-ı Merrīḥ

Mars [Planet]

(176)

Baḡa dirler felekde Merrīḥ nām
Bir adumdur benüm Gīr u Behrām

In this section, Mars speaks directly to the reader and introduces his name first by indicating that his other names are Gīr and Behrām.

(177)

Ḳur'a'[y]ı sen benüm ḡatumda getir
Saḡa rāzım diyüvirem sen otur

He orders the reader to bring lots to his side, which indicates the fifth of the seven heavens. Once the reader abides, he promises he will tell the secret of the reader's omen.

(24b)

Hürufü'l-hā'

The Letter of Ha

(178)

Tiz vargıl sen ördegün katına
Kılaguzlaya devletün atına

The verses of the letter of Ha point to the section of the duck (*ördek*) and urge the reader to go there immediately. Therefore, the duck will guide the reader to the right path towards the horse of auspiciousness.

Hurufü'l-vav

The Letter of Vav

(179)

Ne ki buyura kaz sen anı tut
Sözün işitsen ayruğı unut

The lines of the letter Vav direct the reader to the section of the goose (*kaz*) by admonishing the reader to do whatever the goose says. Moreover, the reader shall forget everything else apart from the goose's words.

Hurufü'r-ra

The Letter of Ra

(180)

Ne ki ʔurna diye saʒa oldur
Zıra anuʒ keremleri boldur

The author guides the reader to the section of the crane (*ʔurna*) and advises the reader that he or she shall do whatever the crane says since his favors are abundant.

Hurufü'ş-şım

The Letter of Şım ¹⁸⁹

(25a)

(181)

Tız var leylege su'āl eyle
Ne kim dirse saʒa 'amel eyle

The author navigates the reader towards the section of the stork (*leylek*) by instructing the reader to ask for his or her omen from him immediately. Further, the reader shall do whatever the stork says.

Huruf'ül ya

The Letter of Ya

(182)

Ve ger Cemşid ü ger Keykāvus

¹⁸⁹The bottom part is torn, so the verses in this section and the catchword for the next folio cannot be read.

Saḡa ḡāsıl kılıvere ṡāvūs

The couplet of the letter Ya advises the reader to visit the section of the peacock (*ṡāvūs*). The reader will be given information about sultans like Cemṡīd and Keykāvus from the peacock. Additionally, the author instructs the reader to go to whomever the peacock indicates.

ḡurūfū'd-dāl

The Letter of Dal

(183)

Ger varursan ḡatına tebnūsūḡ¹⁹⁰
Çalınısar nakāre¹⁹¹ vü küsūḡ¹⁹²

The section of the letter of Dal conducts the reader towards the section of cock (*tebnūs*). Once the reader arrives at this section, his or her drums (*nakāre* and *kūs*¹⁹³) will be played as promised.

Nūcum-ı 'Uṡārid

Mercury [Planet]

(184)

Ben direm kim 'Uṡārid Ādemdür
Yedi ḡat gök baḡa bir adımdur

Similar to the section of Mars, Mercury also speaks directly to the reader and introduces himself as Adam. Further, he expresses that the seven heavens are one step away for him, which is probably a reference to his ability to move quickly.

¹⁹⁰The word 'yani horoz' is noted under the title in Ottoman handwriting.

¹⁹¹Davul.

¹⁹²Davul.

¹⁹³Nakkare: a small kettledrum, and küs: a big drum. They were both used in mehter music.

(185)

Kur'ayı sen benüm atumda getir
Deyüvirem saa bile ki nedür

He continues by revealing that if the reader brings lots to his level, which means the second layer of the seven heavens, he will tell the reader about his or her circumstances once the reader reaches his section.

(25b)

Huruf'ul-ha

The Letter of Ha

(186)

Dükeli halk ola mutācu
Ger varursan atına dürrācu

The author states that if the reader visits the section of the francolin or *Tetrao francolinus* (*dürrāc*), all people will rely on the reader.

Hurüfü'l-vāv

The Letter of Vav

(187)

ūinü sözine ula tutıl
Andan ayru sözi sen unutıl

The author advises the reader to follow the advice of the parrot (*ūi*) by directing the reader to his section. Moreover, the reader shall forget any remaining words

said by the others.

Hurūfī'r-ra

The Letter of Ra

(188)

Dilemezsen ey yār gönlünje dağ
Qabul eyle saña ne dirse kelāğ

The last verses of the manuscript speak to the reader as a friend (*ey yār*) once more and advise the reader to visit the section of the raven or *Corvus corax* (*kelāğ*) if the reader would like to be free from burdens in his or her hearth.