“Dreams of Destiny and Omens of Greatness: Exceptionalism in Ottoman Political and Historical Thought” [Accepted for publication in the *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 09/2018]

In the late seventeenth century, the court astrologer Müneccimbaşı Ahmet Dede b. Luṭfullah (d. 1702) began the last section of his Arabic universal history with an excursus on the greatness of the Ottoman dynasty. “Let it be known that the rulers of this dynasty (God by His aid perpetuate them) are the greatest of the world’s rulers in majesty,” he wrote. “Greater in wealth and land, higher in rank, more munificent, more powerful, more martial, richer in coin, men, and arms, wiser and more judicious. . .” The Ottomans excelled all others in quite literally every respect:

> God has blessed them with rule like none since the Prophet Solomon. It is clear to students of royal history that they did not betray any king before them in taking power, as did most of their predecessors. . .but seized the whole of their realm by the sword from infidels and rebels, according to the best model of the righteous forebears who were companions or followers of the Prophet.¹

Due to these virtues, Müneccimbaşı said, God rewarded the Ottomans with an empire that would last until the end of time. He then listed eight specific signs that foretold the line and its rule.

This article uses these signs and others—dreams, portents, prognostications—as an entry

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point into Ottoman political and historical thought. Namely, Müneccimbaşı offers us a glimpse of what some scholars have recently called “Ottoman exceptionalism,” a complex of ideas about the empire’s supposed uniqueness and superiority.\(^2\) Drawing on sources in Turkish and Arabic, I trace how Ottoman ruling élites from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries imagined their empire and its historical meaning, with most arguing that the dynasty stood at the telos of human history and only a minority voicing doubt. I begin with the “seeds” of the topic in the empire’s early centuries and myths of origin, including a number of dream stories, leading to full-scale exceptionalism by the sixteenth century. Looking closer, I then identify an eschatological strand in the lead-up to the Islamic millennium that centered on the dynasty’s role in the end of time. The millennium’s uneventful passing led to the dissolution of this strand but not of ideas about exceptionalism itself, which in later forms turned inward, depicting the empire as “eternal” and projecting its rule to an undetermined future period. What follows, then, is a preliminary sketch. It does not deal with the actual past as much as with how Ottoman élites interpreted the empire in

its origins, character, and mission, and with the signs that they read backward as proof of its exceptional future—Ottoman dreams of destiny and omens of greatness.

Seeds of Exceptionalism

First, what exactly do I mean by “exceptionalism”? I use this term not as an external scholarly valuation but as an internal one that grew and matured among the Ottomans themselves. Empires as a rule have universal pretensions. They claim a privileged mission or special role in history that serves to justify, but also to explain, their existence, expansion, and dominion. They are the exceptions that make the rule. It may even be possible to say that a sense of political or historical exception underwrites the idea of empire itself, from Rome’s undivided imperium sine fine to the cosmological claims of the Chinese Son of Heaven or the Thousand Year Reich. One does not just find naked power in empires. Instead, sophisticated ideologies or narratives may hark back to a mythic past, couple rule with divine favor, and seek to insulate a chosen people from normal temporal patterns. Like the Romans, Byzantines, and ancient Chinese, the Ottomans too had universal pretensions around which they constructed an ideology, a sense of mission and destiny that laid at the core of the empire’s expansive claims. It is this, a mixture of political, theological, and historical beliefs about the empire’s meaning and special role in the world, that I refer to as “Ottoman exceptionalism.”

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3 See Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, eds., *Universal Empire: a Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge, 2012).

4 I use “empire” as an analytical category and with some reservation. As Einar Wigen points out, the Ottomans had no concept of empire of their own—no single concept bridging state,
One way of viewing “exceptionalism” is as a sort of ideology. Ideologies are broad sets of belief that articulate a vision for the world, perhaps in an ideal order or historical telos, in “overlapping spheres of religious belief and ritual, of power negotiations and relations, of self-definition and self-representation, or human understanding of ‘world order.’” They might include foundation myths, for instance—stories of origin that claim to be historical but really act to explain an empire’s existence, rise, and success, often by divine means—but express much more. Nor are ideologies just window dressing to justify a political project. They can also form a stimulus in their own right, informing action, decision-making, and political organization. 

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subjects, and territory—until the 19th century, when it emerged through entanglement with European and especially French discourse: “Ottoman Concepts of Empire,” *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8 (2013): 44-66. However, I assume that the Ottoman polity fits an imperial type, “a heterogeneous aggregate of peoples and kingdoms which came to form a whole only after a dynastic rule brought them under its sceptre,” and is therefore open to comparison. On the latter point, see Marc Aymes, “Many Standards at a Time: the Ottomans’ Leverage with Imperial Studies,” *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8 (2013): 31; and Alan Mikhail and Christine Philliou, “The Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (2012): 721-45.


6 See Rudi Lindner on the question of ideas as motive force or justification for past events in “Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982): esp. 211.
We might equally see exceptionalism as what Imad Mansour calls a “dominant societal narrative.” This is a “coherent and stabilized ideational structure” that fuses various ideas to form a story about a state or group’s place in the world and history, including the group’s ideas about itself, its past, present, and future, and its relations with other groups. Mansour argues that all societies develop such stories. A narrative becomes dominant when it is broadly disseminated, legitimated, and accepted, which then sets parameters for political action. Decision-makers do not simply manipulate the narrative, as they themselves are socialized into it and either adopt or fall under its influence. While such narratives can change and adapt, says Mansour, they usually contain core ideas that cannot easily alter without undermining the coherence of the whole. They thus tend to be stable over long periods. Ottoman exceptionalism fits well with Mansour’s definition of a dominant narrative, if not for Ottoman society at large then at least for the empire’s ruling élite. Whether ideology or narrative, however, I do not think that we can simply dismiss exceptionalist expressions in our sources as rhetoric or bombast. The frequency of these claims, spanning countless works in a period of over three hundred years, indicates that the core ideas remained quite stable and resonated deeply with Ottoman writers and readers.

Ottoman myths of origin can serve as a starting point for this examination. The so-called “dynastic myth” is well-known to historians. As treated by Colin Imber, the Ottomans, who arose in northwest Anatolia in the late thirteenth century, identified by the fifteenth century at least as warriors for the faith (ghāzī) in frontier raids against neighboring Christians. The Ottomans merged their Inner Asian roots, as well as Turco-Mongol notions of world domination, with the

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juristic formulations of jihad in Sunni Islam. Drawing on an older, presumably living tradition, our earliest sources depict a fluid march society with the dynasty and its followers as divinely-favored leaders in the struggle for Islam. Fabricated genealogies typically traced the line to Japheth, son of the prophet Noah, through Oğuz Khan, a mythic Turkic forebear, in order to show the dynasty’s superior descent and unbroken links to monotheism. Some accounts also asserted that the Ottomans inherited their power and lands through a direct *translatio imperii* from the Seljuk sultans of Rûm. The “dynastic myth” thus provided a basis for Ottoman claims against other Anatolian rivals, “marrying” Turkish genealogy to Islamic cosmogony, and Inner Asian notions of empire to the ghāzī ethos.⁸

These foundation myths, of course, are far from coherent. They are often contradictory and reflect a retrospective effort to legitimize Ottoman dynastic claims as well as to make sense

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⁸ Colin Imber, “The Ottoman Dynastic Myth,” *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7-27. Osman Turan’s works are pervaded by nationalism and use the same myths to argue for Turkish exceptionalism: “The Ideal of World Domination Among the Medieval Turks,” *Studia Islamica* 4 (1955): 77-90; and idem, *Türk Cihân Hâkimiyeti Mekfûresi Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1969), 2 vols. Scholars in past decades have challenged Paul Wittek’s influential “ghāzī thesis” of Ottoman origins. Rudi Lindner and Heath Lowry envision a tribal or predatory confederation, respectively, with ghāzī rhetoric as a later projection onto the past. See, for example, Lindner’s *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, 1983) and *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* (Ann Arbor, 2007), and Lowry’s *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY, 2003). Cemal Kafadar’s *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995) seeks to preserve the ghāzī thesis in a more nuanced form.
of the line’s rather surprising success. The empire’s eponymous founder, ‘Osmān, son of Erṭuğrul, had an undistinguished background in the old Byzantine province of Bithynia. The line had neither pedigree nor a firm claim to power. They also emerged during a time of intense political fluidity. As recent scholarship shows, the post-Mongol period was one of transformation, novelty, and heated struggles for political legitimation not only in Anatolia but across the whole of western Eurasia. The Ottoman line was only one of many—Ilkhanid, Timurid, Aqquyunlu, and others—to experiment with new titles, new political forms, and new claims to royal or even sacral authority. It only makes sense for us to place Ottoman myths of origin in this wider Islamic world. The “dynastic myth” helped to supply their deficiencies and legitimate the line in a highly competitive political arena. Yet how did these ideas evolve toward exceptionalism?

Our earliest surviving sources from the fifteenth century already contain seeds of exceptionalism. One key element in the germination of these seeds was the dynasty’s supposed divine favor. Ghāzīs were said to enjoy God’s support; they were tools to work His will on earth. In a narrative from the so-called “Anonymous Chronicles,” for example, a compilation of works redacted quite early, we see God help a “naked dervish” cut his drunken enemies to pieces with a

wooden sword and conquer a district single-handed.\textsuperscript{10} As the chronicler puts it elsewhere,

The ghāzī is the instrument of the true faith,

His lot will no doubt be good.

The ghāzī is God’s servant, who sweeps

This earth of the filth of unbelief.

The ghāzī is God’s sword, surely

The ghāzī is the refuge of believers.

Whoso dies a martyr for God’s sake,

Think him not dead, for that happy one lives!\textsuperscript{11}

Early sources also claim that the Ottoman line by extension, as ghāzī leaders, enjoyed God’s special blessing. The İskendernāme (The Book of Alexander) of Aḥmedī (d. 1412/13), one of the first works to treat the Ottomans, contains praise generally for holy raiders as well as specifically for the dynasty. “Do not ask why the holy raiders are mentioned last,” Aḥmedī says, in the work’s final section. “Do not ask why they appeared at the end. What comes later is better than what comes earlier. Those who think will understand what I say.”\textsuperscript{12} The same work later


\textsuperscript{11} Giese, \textit{Anonymen Chroniken}, 1: 2.

\textsuperscript{12} Aḥmedī, \textit{History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and Their Holy Raids Against the Infidels}, ed. and trans. Kemal Silay (Harvard, 2004), (trans.) 2, (text) 26. Aḥmedī treated the Ottomans in the final section of the İskendernāme, a universal history in verse. The earliest
singles out the Ottomans explicitly as God’s favorites:

By these words have I explained it to you,

The case of the Ottomans is well-known.

Because the House of ‘Osmān was truly sincere,

They found a special status with God.

Wherever they went, they found the way.

They seized realms and prevailed over peoples.

Had there been any defect in their sincerity,

Then harm would have once befallen their affairs.13

To Mehmed Neşrī (d. 1520?), meanwhile, writing in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the Ottomans were the finest warriors since early Islam and second only to the Prophet and his immediate successors. Neşrī dedicated the last section of his universal history, Cihānnūmā (Cosmorama), to the Ottoman line with these words:

This chapter is on the best of ghāzīs and warriors for the faith after the Prophet of God (Peace be upon him!) and the Rightly-Guided caliphs. While they come last in time and place, they are first in rank and power. Last may rank first, just as His Grace the Prophet Muḥammad is the seal of prophets and chief of apostles.14

manuscript dates to AD 1416.

13 Ibid, (trans.) 17, (text) 42. I have slightly amended Silay’s translation.

It is worth noting that these early sources establish a motif that reappeared often in later centuries: namely, that ‘Osmān and his line had won God’s blessings as a reward for their superior sincerity, piety, and faith. This argument—one based on merit—is quite different from claims to universal or sacral kingship in other post-Mongol polities. In the Mongol political tradition, the mandate to rule did not derive from merit but from divine charisma (qut or su) given by Eternal Heaven to Chinggis Khan and passed down through his offspring, along with universal sovereignty.\textsuperscript{15} While not all Ottoman authors took a strictly meritocratic line, some citing descent from Turkic forebears and other reasons for the dynasty’s blessing, many seem to have at least implicitly rejected the Chinggisid idea of charisma from an early stage.

\textit{Dreams of Destiny and Spiritual Favor}

The first three signs of Ottoman greatness that Müneccimbaşı offers in his work are dreams taken from the earliest chronicle traditions. Ottoman chronicles dating back to the fifteenth century contain several dream narratives that, taken together, not only assert the dynasty’s divine favor but also foretell its future greatness. The most famous of these is “‘Osmān’s dream.”

‘Āşıkpaşazāde (d. after 1484) recorded the most widely cited version of this dream in his \textit{Tevārīh-i Āl-i ‘Osmān} (\textit{Annals of the House of ‘Osmān}), written around 1484 and based in part on older material from one Yahşī Faḵīh. As he tells it, ‘Osmān often visited a dervish named Edebālī. One night, while staying at Edebālī’s home, ‘Osmān had a strange dream:

He dreamt that a moon rose from this holy man’s breast and came and entered his, ‘Osmān Ghāzi’s, breast. When this moon entered ‘Osmān’s breast, a tree began to grow...

\textsuperscript{15} Brack, “Sacred Kingship,” esp. 3-4.
from his navel whose shadow covered the whole world. In its shade there were mountains; and streams sprang from the foot of these mountains. People were drinking from these streams, and others watering gardens, and others causing fountains to flow.

‘Osmān awoke. When he spoke to Edebālī, the holy man interpreted his dream: “‘Osmān, my son, congratulations! Rule has been given to you and your line.” Edebālī then gave ‘Osmān his daughter in marriage.\textsuperscript{16}

Müneccimbaşı and other sources relate two lesser-known dreams, as well, both featuring ‘Osmān’s father Erṭuğrul. In one, Erṭuğrul one night entered the house of an unnamed holy man. This holy man warned him to move, for he had turned his back on a venerable book, the Quran. Erṭuğrul then stood in prayer and respect before the Quran all night. When he at last fell asleep, he dreamt that “someone from God” visited him and said, “You have shown great reverence for our words. You did not leave them behind you. We shall now raise you, your offspring, and their children.”\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{16} Friedrich Giese, ed., \textit{Die altosmanische Chronik des ‘Ašikpašazâde} (Leipzig, 1929), 9-10. Cf. Müneccimbaşı, 7. This story appears or is referenced in many other sources, with alterations, such as the Anonymous Chronicles and the work of al-Bayātī (fl. ca. 1481), Neşrī, Oruç (d. after 1503), Ċaraçelebizâde (d. 1658), Şolākzâde (d. 1658), and Ferā’ižizâde (d. 1835). It is also retold in an early seventeenth-century work on the virtues and superiority of the Ottoman dynasty, a sort of compendium of exceptionalism: Mar‘ī b. Yusūf al-Karmī, \textit{Qalā‘id al-‘iqyān fī fadā‘il mulūk āl ‘Uthmān}, Princeton Firestone Library, Islamic MSS Garrett nr. 1338Y, fols. 15b-16b. This manuscript is a Turkish translation completed in 1704 by Şa‘bān Şifā‘ī.

\textsuperscript{17} The original Arabic was not available to me. See Ċaramānī Mehmed Paşa, \textit{Risāla fī tawārīkh
In the third and final dream, Erṭuğrul, who as yet had no children, prayed continually for a son and married a “pious lady.” Then, “one night [he] dreamed a dream.”

In the morning he rode to Konya, and told his dream to a vizier of Sultan ‘Alāeddīn named ‘Abdul’azīz, who was a great astrologer. He said, “In my dream a spring flowed from my hearth and covered the world like a sea.” ‘Abdul‘azīz consulted his astrolabe and his books and said, “God will give you a son, whose descendants will rule the world.”

Erṭuğrul then praised God and returned home, where a son named ‘Osmān was soon born to him.18

These three dream stories share key elements, most obviously in the coupling of divine favor with political rule. They also link the Ottomans to figures with special spiritual or mystical powers. Erṭuğrul and ‘Osmān relied on men with esoteric knowledge—Sheikh Edebālī, ‘Abdul‘azīz, and the unnamed holy man—to interpret their dreams and discover their good fortune. Such spiritual supermen serve to underline God’s partiality for the dynasty. Al-Bayātī, al-salāṭīn al-‘Uthmāniyya, trans. in Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri (Istanbul, 1949), 1: 343-44. Cf. Muneccimbaşi, 7, who adds “with a great dynasty that will last until Judgment Day (bi-dawla jalīla dā’ima ilā yawm al-qiyāma).” The dream is repeated in various forms in the chronicles of Rūḥī (d. 1522), Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (d. 1600), Şolāḳzāde, and al-Karmī (fols. 13a-14b). Mükrimin Halil Yinanç also translates the work in “Millī Tarihimize Dair Eski Bir Vesika,” Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası II/79: 85-94; III/80: 142-55.

for example, who wrote a genealogy of the line for Prince Cem Sultan (d. 1495), in this way writes that Edebali interpreted not one but many dreams for ‘Osmān, the issues of which were favorable and “spread the world over.”

This brings us to three more of Müneccimbaşî’s signs, all of which further stress the Ottomans’ spiritual favor. In many sources, chronicles as well as genealogies and hagiographies, the dynasty not only enjoys proximity to such holy men but also actively receives their blessings. Müneccimbaşî draws on the Hasht-Bahisht (The Eight Paradises) of İdrîs-i Bidlîsî (d. 1520) for one example. He relates how the Prophet Hızir or perhaps another saint visited a righteous man named Kumrâl Abdal, who at times fought against the infidel on the Anatolian frontier with other dervishes, telling him, “Go to ‘Osmān Ghâzî and give him the good news, that God has bestowed on him and his line a great empire that shall last till Judgment Day!” As Kumrâl Abdal did not know ‘Osmān, the holy man provided certain signs by which to recognize him.

We encounter the dynasty in Ottoman-era hagiographies, too, including those of Anatolia’s spiritual giants. Müneccimbaşî linked the dynasty in one of his signs to Jalāl al-Dīn Rûmî (d. 1273), the famed mystic poet and patron of the Mevlevî dervish order. Ertuğrul visited this saint whenever he was in Konya, he writes. Once, Ertuğrul brought his young son ‘Osmān to

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ask for Rūmī’s blessing shortly after the saint had heard that the Seljuk sultan, his own spiritual child, had taken a new master. “If the sultan has found himself a father,” Rūmī said, “then I have found myself a son.” Rūmī then blessed ‘Osmān and told him he would found a great empire, which his line would rule so long as they venerated the saint’s order.  

This story shows a later Ottoman reading of the fourteenth-century hagiography *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn* (*Feats of the Knowers of God*) of Aflākī (d. 1380), where the sultan favored a popular sheikh named Bābā-ye Marandī. Insulted, Rūmī stormed off with the vow, “If the sultan has made him his father, I will take a new son!”

Sources similarly connected the dynasty to Ḥācı Bektāş Velî (d. 1271), the eponymous founder of the Bektāşi dervish order. According to his vita, Erṭuğrul and ‘Osmān both visited the saint and gained his blessings, as well as a vow that they would enjoy worldly power. Ḥācı Bektāş crowned ‘Osmān with the order’s felt cap and girded him with his own belt. “We have turned you loose on the enemies of the faith,” he told ‘Osmān:

> The infidels who see our cap on your head shall be unable to stand against your sword.

> Their swords shall not harm you. You will prevail wherever you go and no one shall get the better of you or your line. I have given you my name Hünkār [i.e. “sovereign”]; may your line be known by that name. . . As for me, I have been reserving you and your line’s souls for seven years for rulership. You have come, you see, and taken your lot. Now go

21 Müneccimbaşı, 8.

to the sultan’s men and tell our son Sultan ‘Alāeddīn to give this one a lofty place.23

Later Ottomans likely read these stories in different ways. The followers of certain holy men or mystical orders could see in them a special link to the dynasty, for instance, and thus a superiority over their spiritual rivals. This may be the case for disciples of the Qādirī dervish Eşrefoğlu Rûmî (d. 1469/70?), whose vita claims that he once healed Meḥmed II’s mother of a tongue ailment. Eşrefoğlu was then forced to rebuff the sultan, who, we are told, wanted to become his devotee and give up the throne.24 Likewise, though, the stories helped to associate the dynasty with the holy aura of particularly venerated sheikhs—and therefore with the divine. Indeed, we read that the spiritual favor of the dynasty was so great that even non-Muslim holy men recognized it. As another sign of Ottoman greatness, Müneccimbaşı reports from the Öğuznâme (Book of the Oğuz) of Yazıcızade ‘Alî (fl. early 15th c.) that Christian monks of Saint John Prodromos (Margarites) in Rumelia, near the town of Serres, predicted the empire’s rise and conquests through astrology. The monks then astutely traveled to Anatolia to give ‘Osmān gifts, exchanging their loyalty for his divinely vouchsafed protection.25

23 Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı, ed., Manakıb-ı Hacı Bektāş-ı Velî: Vilâyet-nâme (Istanbul, 1958), 74-77. Cf. Yılmaz, 142-43. This story perhaps represents a plea for patronage from the Bektāşī order. Still, I think it likely, as in the above case of Aflākī, that Ottoman readers would have also read it as proof of the dynasty’s favor.


These dreams and anecdotes do not quite bring us to exceptionalism, however. God may have blessed the Ottomans, it is true, as seen in the line’s success and the aid of His spiritual deputies. Yet this was not unprecedented; other dynasties had also enjoyed worldly power, spiritual blessings, or both. Rather, I argue that we can only speak of exceptionalism when the dynastic myth extends into claims of superiority—namely, that the Ottoman dynasty excelled other rulers and that their empire was qualitatively different from all others, past and present.26

This view is certainly visible by the mid-sixteenth century. Luṭfī Paşa (d. 1563), for example, the grand vizier of Süleymān I, claimed in his Tevārīh-i Āl-i ‘Osmān (Annals of the House of ‘Osmān) that the Ottomans had surpassed all rulers but the Prophet and Rightly-Guided caliphs in their piety, bravery, support of holy law, and pursuit of ghazā; thus, in their merit. All others were guilty of faults, he writes. Some of the Umayyads rejected the caliph ‘Alī, some of the Abbasids were schismatic, and the Ghaznavids, Khwarazm shāhs, and Salgarids revolted against legitimate masters. Luṭfī also writes that God sent the Ottomans to lead and renew Islam after the Mongol invasions. “God therefore blessed them with life, property, and realms accordingly,” he says. “They are such a blessed dynasty that God shall grant them victory no matter how few men they take to oppose an enemy.” For Luṭfī and other “exceptionalists,” then, God did not merely favor the Ottomans. He also ensured their success and gave them a singular, sources on the Oğuz Turks and Seljuk dynasty. See also Elizabeth Zachariadou, “La chute de Constantinople en 1453 et la mythologie postérieure,” in Ugo Marazzi, ed., Turcica et Islamica: Studi in memoria di Aldo Galotta (Naples, 2003), 1016-17; and Elias Kolovos, “The Saints in the Sultan’s Dream,” Archivum Ottomanicum 23 (2005/6): 216.

26 See also Hagen and Menchinger, 100-01.
unprecedented place in history.\textsuperscript{27}

\textit{Omens of the Last Hour: Eschatological Exceptionalism}

Müneccimbaşı’s last two omens of greatness bring us to eschatology, as both deal in some way with the end of time and the empire’s relationship to it. Why would Ottomans be concerned with such things? It helps to take a wide view of the matter. Any number of events in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have pushed subjects and members of the dynasty to think about the empire’s place in historical terms, including Tīmūr’s crushing defeat of Bāyezīd I, Meḥmed II’s conquest of Istanbul, and Selīm I’s great campaigns in the East. Indeed, the evolution of the “dynastic myth” into an exceptionalist narrative seems closely related to the placement of the Ottomans within larger cycles of sacral time and eschatology. It lies in the recognition of a telos. Following Karl Löwith, Gottfried Hagen argues that we can read a theology of history in our sources and suggests that the purpose of universal history for Ottomans could have been within time (in an end like world domination) or beyond time in eschatology. Other exceptionalisms, the American form included, have similar teleological and theological underpinnings.\textsuperscript{28} At some

\textsuperscript{27} Luṭfi Paşa, \textit{Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān} (Istanbul, 1922), 4-7.

point, Ottomans came to associate the empire with such a telos—that is, with the culmination of worldly time and history.

It is clear that fairly early on some Ottomans took an eschatological view and suggested the dynasty would usher in the final days. Müneccimbaşı writes in one of his signs that the Andalusian mystic Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240) used divination in a work called *al-Shajarat al-nu’māniyya fī al-dawlat al-‘Uthmāniyya* (*The Crimson Tree on the Ottoman Dynasty*) to predict the empire’s rise seventy years before ‘Osmān’s birth and its rule until the end of time. This notoriously enigmatic text is incorrectly ascribed to Ibn ‘Arabī; it was likely written in Egypt at some point after the Ottoman conquest. The work foretells the empire’s rise and role in events to come, particularly in Egypt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading to the appearance of the Mahdī (the “guided one,” often given as “messiah”). Its author and commentators link the Ottomans to the Quranic “righteous (*al-ṣāliḥūn*),” calling them “the most laudable rulers (*aḥmad al-mulūk*)” and “best of dynasties in the tenth century [and] unto the end of ages (*wa dawlatuhu ašlāḥ al-duwal fī al-qarn al-‘āshir hattā tatumu al-qurūn*)” They are ciphered in various ways in the Quran. The work also predicts that Egypt will remain prosperous and in Ottoman hands until a great astrological event: the opposition of Mars and Saturn in the final degree of

29 Müneccimbaşı, 7-8.

30 See Pseudo-al-Qunawī’s commentary on Pseudo-Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Shajarat al-nu’māniyya fī al-dawlat al-‘Uthmāniyya*, ed. Mamdūḥ al-Zūbī (Beirut, 2001), 58, 73, 84. The “righteous” refers to Quran 21:105-06 (Arberry translation): “For We have written in the Psalms, after the Remembrance, ‘The earth shall be the inheritance of my righteous servants.’ Surely in this is a Message delivered unto a people who serve.”
Libra, which will signal the advent of the Mahdī and the last days. However, warns one commentator, “the Ottoman dynasty will not fall until after [these events] are complete!”

While *al-Shajarat al-nu’māniyya* is wrongly credited to Ibn ‘Arabi, belief in both his authorship of the tract and reported prognostications remained popular throughout the early modern era. The work also drew on eschatological traditions that the sheikh did in fact treat elsewhere. In his *Muḥādarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhyār* (*Lectures of the Pious and Lucubrations of the Virtuous*), Ibn ‘Arabī relates certain “terrifying events” that will occur at the end of time—namely, that a great king will come from the east. He will seize Egypt and Sudan and will defeat the so-called “Blond Peoples (*banū asfār*)” three times before another, the “Master of the West,” arises to retake Egypt. This “Master of the West” will then fight and lose a final battle to a third king, a lord of great armies including Turks. Ottomans were very aware of these traditions, to be sure. They cited as well as read themselves into the narratives for, quite literally, hundreds of years.

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The conquest of Istanbul in 1453 also likely fed eschatological expectation in the empire. Long-standing prophecies in both Islam and Byzantium tied the city’s fall to the events of the Last Hour. Resembling in some ways the traditions in Ibn ‘Arabī, these included the idea that a first conquest of the imperial city would lead to a second at the hands of the “Blond Peoples,” usually associated with European Christians, and that the Mahdī would then descend to lead Muslim armies to a final, decisive reconquest. Contemporary Ottomans were aware of these prophecies, too. Authors repeated popular but uncanonical Prophetic sayings (ḥadīth) about the conquest. Meḥmed II’s tutor, the Bayramī sheikh Aḵšemseddīn (d. 1459), told the sultan during the siege of the city that the Quranic phrase “baldatun ṭayyibatun (‘a fair land’)” was a divine sign of Ottoman conquest with the same numerical value as the year (AH 857). He also used divination to “discover” the tomb of Abū Ayyub al-Anṣārī, a companion of the Prophet, outside the city walls.  

33 See Kaya Şahin, “Constantinople and the End of Time: the Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour,” Journal of Early Modern History 14 (2010): 317-54; and Stéphane Yerasimos, Légendes d’empire: la fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques (Paris, 1990). Perhaps the most cited hadīth is not found in canonical collections and appears to have been fabricated during the Byzantine-Muslim wars in Syria: “Constantinople shall be conquered indeed; what a wonderful leader will that leader be; and what a wonderful
The Dürr-i Meknūn (The Hidden Pearl), a cosmography and work of apocalypse usually credited to one Aḥmed Bīcān, shares these sentiments but with a critical eye toward the Ottoman imperial project. Written around or slightly after 1453, Dürr-i Meknūn presents the fall of Istanbul as a portent of the Last Hour before the rise of the Dajjāl (“the Deceiver,” a figure similar to the Christian Antichrist) and end of time. The work, among other things, claims that a series of minor dajjāls will follow the city’s first fall but precede its final conquest:

Why digress even further? For then the Jurhumī will appear, attacking from all sides and doing much evil. And from a people called Banū Qanṭūrā in Khiṭā (China), an infidel will emerge with the objective of conquering all these lands in the same way as the Banū Aṣfar captured Rūm. In a word, the world will be filled with oppression.

But the author assures readers that God, answering Muslim prayers, will then send a Mahdī to destroy the Blond Peoples, take Istanbul, and usher in the true Dajjāl, the descent of Jesus, and last days. While it is hard to read apocalypses as commentaries on historical events, he also seems to imply that Meḥmed II will be a key actor in the events.34

34 Laban Kaptein, Apocalypse and the Antichrist Dajjal in Islam: Ahmed Bijan’s Eschatology Revisited (Leiden, 2011), 39-45, 82-83, 153-72. I have altered his translation for consistency. Yerasimos argues in Légendes that this text derives from a ghāzī milieu in Edirne and, depicting Istanbul as cursed, voices an anti-imperial agenda. Kaptein does not think we can reliably read historical events and figures into the work. Cf. Şahin, 340 ff., who notes its prediction that the conquering sultan will be a young man named Maḥmūd or Muḥammad; Bīcān’s Müntehā makes this connection explicit. A new dissertation at the University of
We find a less ambiguous historical reference in the chronicle of Oruç b. ‘Ādil (d. after 1503), written in the late fifteenth century reign of Bāyezid II. In a passage on the city of Istanbul, Oruç relates a prophecy based on a popular work of ḥadīth. Istanbul will fall again by sword before the Dajjāl comes, he writes. Judgment Day shall then ensue and the Mahdī, coming from the line of the Banū Ishāq, will descend, attack, and take the city again simply by calling out the takbīr (i.e. Allāhu akbar). Oruç adds in summary, “they say that the one who will take [Istanbul] by sword is the sovereign of our age.”

Speculation about the Last Days—and the Ottoman role therein—grew with the approach of the Islamic millennium in AD 1592. As Cornell Fleischer and Hüseyin Yılmaz have done much to show, some Ottomans in the decades preceding the millennium proposed that the dynasty was directly or indirectly a fulcrum for the end of time, and we can speak of a distinctly eschatological strain of exceptionalism in sixteenth-century figures like Luṭfī Paşa,

Chicago calls into question Bīcān’s long-assumed authorship of Dürr-i Meknūn: oral communication from Cornell Fleischer, April 2017.


Senā‘ī (fl. ca. 1540), Mevlānā ‘İsā (fl. 1529-43), and ‘Alī Dede Bosnevī (d. 1598). Luṭfī, for instance, argues in his Tevārīh-i Āl-ı Osmān that God sent the Ottoman line to renew the faith and that three sultans were “centennial renewers (mujaddid),” who had restored Islam after the Mongol invasions. To his mind, Selīm I (1512-20) was foremost: he was not only a mujaddid but also the “Messiah of the Last Age (mahdī-i āhir-i zamān)” foretold by prophecy.37 Senā‘ī similarly called Süleymān I in his Süleymānnāme (Book of Solomon) the “world emperor and Mahdī of the last age (ṣāḥib-kirān ve mehdi-yi āhirū’l-zamān).”38 In the work Cāmiʿü’l-Meknūnāt (The Compendium of Arcana), meanwhile, Mevlānā ‘İsā argues that Süleymān is the Last World Emperor, a ruler heralded by planetary conjunctions and omens who combines the roles of a millennial conqueror (ṣāḥib-kirān), hidden saint (kuṭb), and centennial renewer (müceddid). For Mevlānā ‘İsā, Süleymān is either the Mahdī or his immediate predecessor and will unite the world under the true faith.39


39 Fleischer, “Lawgiver as Messiah,” 164-68. See also Barbara Flemming, “Der Ğāmiʿü’l-
‘Alī Dede Bosnevī still more clearly joined the Ottomans to eschatology and exceptionalism. A Halvetī dervish, ‘Alī wrote a book of “firsts and lasts” in Arabic called *Muḥādarāt al-awā’il wa musāmarāt al-awā’khīr* (*Lectures of Firsts and Lucubrations of Lasts*) for Murād III (r. 1574-95), a sultan famous for his interest in the occult.⁴⁰ ‘Alī claims in this


⁴⁰ On ‘Alī Dede, see Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (Istanbul, n.d.) 1: 47-48. The title of this work appears to invoke the *Muḥādarāt* of Ibn ‘Arabī. ‘Alī also wrote a treatise for Murād called *al-Risālat al-intiṣāriyya* (*The Victorious Epistle*), which Bursalı Meḥmed owned in manuscript and calls “a useful and concise Arabic treatise that gathers together the reports of important people and scholars concerning the Ottoman line’s virtues and the continuation of its power.” See Yılmaz (272-76, 286) on ‘Alī Dede and this treatise, also called *al-İntiṣār li-qidwat al-akhyār* (*The Book of Victory for the Paragon of the Virtuous*), which he describes as an account of a 1583 campaign but cast as the reenactment of Alexander’s world conquest, and “a verification of prophecies regarding the Ottoman dynasty and a statement of its unique attributes.” A copy survives at the Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa Library in Istanbul (MS 1381, fols. 185a-99b)
work that God had not aided any dynasty after the Abbasids like the Ottomans. “That incomparable dynasty and well-directed, divinely-supported sultanate,” he says, “the Ottoman dynasty, has excelled all other dynasties and their kings, hence their zeal to struggle with the enemies of God and with heretics and innovators. They are under God’s protection from the disorders that have affected past dynasties ruling under the Abbasids.”

How many dynasties have risen and fallen while God sustains this dynasty? God has specially distinguished it with numerous traits, strong statesmen, and well-directed magnates, for they struggle for the faith, revive the Sunna, crush religious innovators, spread their rule to followers of the law, and plant their standards on the straight path. God for this reason protects them from those seditions that have usually afflicted past sultans among the Turks, Seljuks, Daylamids, and Fatimids.41

‘Alī also argues that the Ottomans will be last in time. They are the last of eight dynasties to emerge under the Abbasid caliphate, the others being the Saffarids, Samanids, Ghaznavids, Daylamids, Seljuks, Khwarazm shāhs, and Mongols. “I have heard from some holy men,” he writes, via a work called al-Jafr al-jāmi’ (The Comprehensive Prognostication), “that their line will last till the time of the Mahdī, to whom they will surrender the caliphate and whose partisans and helpers they will be.” This report was current in the reign of Süleymān I.42

41 ‘Alī Dede Bosnevī (also called ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Alī Dede al-Sigetwārī), Muḥādarāt al-awā’il wa musāmarāt al-awā’khir (Cairo, 2003), 208, 381-82.

42 Ibid, 383. Süleymān was told that the Mahdī would come during his reign, ‘Alī says, and was asked if he would step aside without a fight. Süleymān evidently said no, citing his human weakness and love of rulership. The title al-Jafr al-jāmi’ presumably refers to the work
It is of interest here, too, that ‘Alī links the Ottomans to the Banū Qanṭūrā—the supposed descendants of the Prophet Abraham’s concubine Qanṭūrā (Keturah), who were long associated in Islamic eschatology with Turks and as harbingers, usually evil, of the Last Days. The Qanṭūrā appear in early sources. In Ibn Hishām’s (d. 833) Sīrat Rasūl Allah (Vita of the Prophet of God), we find them after the Prophet Ismā‘īl’s death as a clan fighting the Banū Jurhum in Mecca, from which they were supposedly expelled to Turkestan. According to the Sunan (Traditions) of Abū Dawūd (d. 889), moreover, a canonical work of ḥadīth, the Prophet predicted that the Banū Qanṭūrā would return at the end of time to conquer the great city of Basra:

The Banū Qanṭūrā will come at the end of time with broad faces and small eyes and alight on the riverbank. And the city’s people will separate into three groups: one group will take their cattle into the desert and perish; one group will seek security for themselves and perish; but one group will put their children behind their backs and fight the invaders, and they will be the martyrs.

The author of Dürr-i Meknūn invoked the Banū Qanṭūrā in this same ominous guise.

Miftāḥ al-jafṣ al-jāmi‘ (The Key to Comprehensive Prognostication) by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bistāmī (d. 1454). The most famous al-Jafṣ al-jāmi‘ is credited apocryphally to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, purported founder of “the science of letters (‘ilm al-ḫurūf).”

43 A. Guillaume, trans., The Life of Muhammad: a Translation of Isḥāq’s Sīrat Rasūl Allah (Oxford, 1967), 44-46. See also Bosnevī, 71, 382.

Interestingly, though, ‘Alī Dede associates them with the dynasty in his work and as supporters rather than opponents of the Mahdī, quoting a different ḥadīth: “The last ones to rule my community will be the Banū Qanṭūrā (ākhir mā yamluku amr ummatī Banū Qanṭūrā).”

Such predictions surely appealed to ‘Alī Dede’s patron, Murād III, who collected own his dreams in a work called Kitābū ’l-Menāmāt (The Book of Dreams). Murād’s visions suggest that he saw himself as a messianic figure, the last of the dynasty that would usher in the final days. He was a hidden saint who received divine revelation, even reporting a voice that said, “There is no god but God and you are His messenger!” Murād also claimed to be a centennial renewer and savior who would reunite the Sunnis and Shiites before the end of time. In the work, Murād relates one dream that joined these pretensions to his pedigree as twelfth sultan of the Ottoman line, identifying him implicitly with the twelfth imām and thus the Mahdī in Shiite tradition. “I was given a letter,” he says.

It was written, “The Ottoman caliphs are supposed to be twelve. There have been eleven so far. The twelfth is ‘Hāzā Murādu’l-Murād.’ That is, it is you.” It was written: “May God grant goodness to you.”

Empire to the End of the Age: “Renewal-Focused” Exceptionalism

45 Bosnevī, 382.


Not everyone went so far as Murād or ‘Alī Dede. Ottoman élites could still insist on the dynasty’s special status and rule until the end of time without, necessarily, committing to the imminent end of time. Müneccimbaşı’s last sign shows us one such alternative by stressing the line’s exceptionalism and longevity through its lineage, telling of a holy man among the Oğuz Turks. This Čokrut Ata or Dede Čokrut related the “testament” of the legendary Oğuz Khan to his eldest son Kayı Khan, to whom he bequeathed his rule. According to Müneccimbaşi, Oğuz Khan willed that rule should remain in the line of Kayı Khan “until the end of time (ilā ākhir al-dawarān).”\footnote{Müneccimbaşi, \textit{9}.} The chronicler Rūḥī (d. 1522) also harmonizes this Turkic lineage with another exceptional, this time Quranic, pedigree. The Ottomans, he implies, descend from the Banū Ishāq through the Prophet Ishāq (Isaac)’s elder son ‘Ayş (Esau), who was actually Kayı Khan. Rūḥī says that ‘Ayş gave his younger brother Yaʿqūb (Jacob) control of the Arabian peninsula and then migrated to Turkestan, where his offspring ruled for many generations.\footnote{Yaşar Yücel and Halil Cengiz, eds., \textit{Rūhī Tārīhi} (Ankara, 1992), 369-75. See also al-Bayātī, 1: 395.} Until the end of time, the story goes, all great rulers of the world shall descend from ‘Ayş and all prophets from Yaʿqūb. As Celâlzâde Şâliḫ Çelebi (d. 1565) puts it, the Prophet ‘Ayş’ house is “the mine of rulers; that is, all the rulers on earth who come into the world till Judgment Day are from his line.”\footnote{Celâlzâde Şâliḫ Çelebi, \textit{Hadīkatüʾs-Selātīn: İnceleme-Metin}, ed. H. İbrahim Delice and Hasan Yüksel (Ankara, 2013), 15-16. See also Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, \textit{Künhüʾl-Ahbār} (Istanbul, 1861), 5: 18-19.}
Nor did all Ottomans believe that the end was nigh. Muṣṭafā Selānīkī (d. 1600?) writes in his chronicle that the millennium came and went without any major upheavals, in spite of popular anxiety to the contrary.\(^{51}\) Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (d. 1600), Selānīkī’s contemporary, in at least one instance rejected the imminent end of the world, while still others predicted that the empire would last a further 2,000 years or seventy sultans, respectively.\(^{52}\) Kātib Çelebi (d. 1657) also famously mocked doomsayers in the preface to his Falezke-i Tevārīh (Outline of History), showing that AH 1000 was a year like any other in the world’s calendars. “Some dimwits,” he says, “supposed that Judgment Day would come before the millennium or that, if passed, it should not exceed the thirty years’ disparity in the lunar reckoning.”

They in this way asserted certain false or even fraudulent premises, such as the revolution of the moon being complete or the ḥadīth that states, ‘One thousand years shall not tarry on the Prophet’s tomb.’ And a great many people were taken in, even though this judgment went against the principles of the law and reason. They wrote it in their books

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and it was clearly a lie. But God knows best!\(^{53}\)

Muṣṭafâ Nāʿīmā (d. 1716) shared this sentiment and, in fact, added Kātib Çelebi’s passage verbatim to his own eighteenth-century chronicle.\(^{54}\)

Following the millennium, the eschatological motifs discussed above became neutered. In fact, there are few traces at all of eschatological exceptionalism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources. It is striking that Mūneccimbaşi, in making his sweeping statements on Ottoman greatness, makes no indication that he expects an imminent end to time on earth. Instead, Ottoman élites during this period appear to have turned their attention inward to concerns over the empire’s stability, durability, decline, and prospective renewal. A “decline-” or “renewal-focused” strand of exceptionalism seems to have supplanted the old. However, this development did not mean that the dynasty lost any of its supposed special status or that Ottomans no longer felt the empire would last until the end of time. It instead meant a shift to the future, an indeterminate delay.

Consider the example of Aḥmed Vāṣif (d. 1806), a court chronicler who wrote at the turn of the nineteenth century. Vāṣif cites numerous traditions about the fortunes of the Ottoman line in his work *Meḥāsinü'l-Āsār ve Ḥakāıkü'l-Ahbār* (*The Charms and Truths of Relics and Annals*). “Muslim books are replete with allusions to such affairs,” he writes.\(^{55}\) Vāṣif also refers to both

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55 Vāṣif, *Meḥāsinü'l-Āsār ve Ḥakāıkü'l-Ahbār* (Istanbul, 1804), 1: 8. Here he also notes a passage found in the writings of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥa al-Hāshīmī (d. 760) and the “timekeeper (*muwaqqit*)” al-Miṣrī (?): “Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah will conquer al-Ghaydā (yaftuḫu al-
‘Alī Dede Bosnevī and Ibn ‘Arabī to argue that the Ottomans descend from the Banū Qanṭūrā, who, he says, migrated to Iran after their expulsion from Mecca. For Vāṣīf, however, this genealogy has none of its earlier eschatological weight. “It is the most reliable report that the founder of the Ottomans was from that illustrious tribe,” he says.

Hence there is no doubt that [the Ottomans] have been blessed with rule of the community according to the sound ḥadīth, “The last ones to rule my community will be the Banū Qanṭūrā.” Their sovereignty’s radiant moon will be safe from setting or eclipse and remain the ornament of the apogee till the brink of Judgment Day.56

For Vāṣīf, the Ottomans will not immediately usher in the Last Hour. Their pedigree is a sign that the dynasty will last until the end of time, rather than a sign that it is the end of time.

The fizzling of eschatological expectations may also be seen in the idea of an “eternal” empire that increasingly appears after 1592. Sources from the seventeenth century onward refer often to the Ottoman line as “eternal (devlet-i ebed-peyvend),” “everlasting (devlet-i ebed-müddet),” and other variants. While I have traced this usage back to the fifteenth century, early examples refer to the ruler’s personal fortune (devlet) and are couched as prayers or invocations,

Ghaydā Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah).” Vāṣīf claims the phrase refers to the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed b. ‘Abdullah (d. 1774), who put down a rebellion in the Morea (parsed as “al-Ghaydā”) during the 1768-74 Russian-Ottoman war.

56 Vāṣīf (1804), 1: 8-9. Vāṣīf cites ‘Alī Dede’s al-Rīsālat al-intīṣāriyya and Ibn ‘Arabī’s Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār as his sources. In fact, close parallels in phrasing suggest that his actual source was al-Karmī (cf. Qalā’id, fols. 20b-21a).
as in a fifteenth-century treaty and two sixteenth-century chronicles. However, a cursory examination hints that the phrase shifted in key ways later on. First, we begin to see it as a descriptor and adjectival phrase. Second, and importantly, devlet takes on a more abstract and depersonalized meaning than previously, no longer merely denoting the ruler’s “fortune” but the “dynasty” or even “empire” or “state.” This phraseology is well-established in eighteenth-century sources ranging from chronicles and embassy reports to administrative documents. It is


possible that the notion of an “eternal empire” grew up in the wake of the millennium and shows a shift in how some Ottomans saw the empire—that is, that it would last until the end of time, whenever such an event might occur, rather than playing an immediate role in the eschaton. Notably, this idea parallels two other trends: the formation of an abstract concept of “state (devlet)” in seventeenth-century Ottoman thought, and the gradual desacralization of the person of the monarch.  

Instead of looking upward or forward to the future, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources tend to look inward to the realm’s domestic situation. Ottoman élites from the late sixteenth century on often read events in the surrounding world like military defeat, rebellion, and fiscal turmoil as signs of the realm’s growing disorder; exceptionalism as an element of Ottoman political and historical thought existed during this time alongside reformist discourse and anxiety that the empire was, in some way, in “decline.” Cemal Kafadar once suggested that

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anxiety with decline fueled early modern Ottoman reform literature in a dialectical relationship. It seems to me that exceptionalism may have acted as a key part of this motor, as a countervailing force to declinism that drove intellectual debate much in the same way that a piston powers an engine. The tension between the two ideas is undeniable. Whereas exceptionalism served to insulate the empire from usual historical and political patterns, decline hinted at normality, vulnerability, and even the risk of dynastic death. The two are by no means incompatible, though. To an extent, Ottoman fears of decline grew out of their sense of exceptionalism. To an extent, and in circular fashion, exceptionalism could provide answers and assuage those same fears. Indeed, the two ideas may have created a productive tension in élites, instilling at once reassurance, conviction, and vigilance and spurring intellectual debate.

Perhaps the main characteristic of Ottoman political thought in this era was the search for renewal, either through reform efforts or charismatic individuals. While a close study reveals several distinct concepts of reform in our sources, reflected in terms like “amelioration (ıṣlāḥ)” and “renewal (tecdid),” these concepts share a central premise: the perceived dissolution of the divinely-ordained moral, political, and social order that Ottomans felt upheld their society,

usually called the “order of the world (niẓām-ı ʿālem).” The goal of Ottoman reform was not to create new or better institutions. Rather, it aimed to restore world order and, with it, the empire’s past glories. We have seen how some sixteenth-century authors like Luṭfī Paşa and ‘Alī Dede Bosnevî called different rulers “centennial renewers.” This term resurfaced in the eighteenth-century search for political saviors. Supporters proclaimed Selīm III (d. 1807), Maḥmūd II (d. 1839), and even the Grand Vizier Ḥalīl Ḥāmīd Paṣa (d. 1785) as mujaddids, for example. Some even used the title Mahdī, though by this time it had lost its apocalyptic aura. If dimmed eschatological expectations after the millennium left élites to fret about the empire’s trajectory in the here-and-now, then, it was always with the hope of renewal.

Sources express these concerns in different ways. Some thinkers and statesmen, such as the sixteenth-century poet and chronicler Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, focused on the empire’s laws and institutions and their relationship to imperial decline. ‘Ālī was both a declinist and exceptionalist. He claims in one work that the Ottomans had excelled Alexander, Solomon, Tīmūr, and all other dynasties in history, and that they are therefore insulated from foreign and domestic trouble as

others are not. Yet ‘Ālī, at times for self-serving reasons, also stressed the empire’s ancient law (ḳānūn-ı ḱādīm) as the key to its success, deviation from which led to decline. In the work Fuşūl-ı Ḥall u Akd (The Seasons of Sovereignty), he writes that Meḥmed II once asked his Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Paṣa if, following his code of law, the empire might ever decline. Maḥmūd replied that only God’s realm did not decline. However, he noted two ways that the Ottoman realm could weaken—if a sultan ceased to keep the law (and thus ceased to be just) or if outsiders infiltrated the army—and this decline had already begun under Murād III, ‘Ālī writes.

The anonymous seventeenth-century reform treatise Kitāb-ı Müsteṭāb (The Approved Book) contains somewhat similar views. Like ‘Ālī, its author attributes Ottoman greatness to justice and strict adherence to the law and dates the empire’s decline to the reign of Murād III. The realm has now fallen into disorder, he writes, the treasury bankrupt and the army weakened. Apart from a number of reform proposals, the author also adds an anecdote very like ‘Ālī’s but with Selīm I and Grand Vizier Pīrī Paṣa in place of Meḥmed II and Maḥmūd Paṣa. His exact


Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, Fusūl-ı Hall u Akd ve Usūl-ı Harc u Nakd: İslam Devletler Tarihi, 622-1599, ed. Mustafa Demir (Istanbul, 2006), 141-43. See Fleischer, Bureaucrat, 224 ff., for ‘Ālī’s obsession with ḳānūn. Topal (38) defines ḳānūn-ı ḱādīm as “a concept which refers to and idealizes the administrative practices of the bygone sultans. . .”
causes for Ottoman decline differ, too, suggesting the flexibility of ḳānūn as a concept.\footnote{Yaşar Yücel, ed., \textit{Osmanlı Devlet Düzenine Ait Metinler I.: Kitāb-i Müstetāb} (Ankara, 1974), 2, 30-31. His stated reasons for decline are incompetent Grand Viziers, bribery and unqualified officials, and “petticoat” governance.}

Encouraged by a friend, the polymath and historian Hezārfen Ḥüseyin (d. 1691) for his part wrote \textit{Telhīsū’l-Beyān fī Kavānūn-i Āl-i ʿOsmān} (\textit{Précis on the Laws of the House of ʿOsmān}) on the subject of this entire legal and administrative edifice. “Your efforts on the law and customs of past kingdoms and their rule is perfect in all ways,” said his colleague,

But as Ottoman law is based on holy law as well as reason, sagacity, and experience, everyone knows that it is superior to other kingly laws and that, in many respects, their rule towers over contemporary kings in power and stability.\footnote{Hezārfen, \textit{Telhīsū’l-Beyān fī Kavānūn-i Āl-i ʿOsmān}, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Ankara, 1998), 37-38, 45.}

For Hezārfen, the empire’s institutions were a critical part of its special status as well as of its past and future success. They therefore deserved to be recorded in detail.

For others, one of the realm’s most outstanding traits was its recuperative ability. We have seen how Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī and ʿAlī Dede, among others, declared that the dynasty was immune to normal political disorders. ∎oçi Bey (fl. 1630s), author of a classic seventeenth-century reform tract, went so far as to say that the empire could recover from astounding reverses:

\begin{quote}
This state is such a Sublime State that, once it is put to rights, it has by God’s grace absolutely nothing to fear. It is such a state that if the armies of Islam, taking refuge in God, were defeated ten times in battle, by God’s grace neither the Sublime State nor the
faith would suffer any harm whatsoever.\textsuperscript{67}

Koçi Bey claims that there had been no line as pure or successful as the Ottomans since the
Rightly-Guided caliphs. This power even excited the envy of the neighboring Safavid Shāh
‘Abbās, he says, who demanded an explanation for it from his courtiers.\textsuperscript{68}

Aḥmed Vāṣif, who lived through the late eighteenth-century Ottoman-Russian wars,
when the empire teetered on collapse, also continued to voice an unwavering faith in the empire.
Vāṣif calls the Ottomans “after the Rightly-Guided caliphs, the best and most honorable
sovereigns to cast a shade of justice and equity on the face of the earth.” He believed they had a
“pure lineage” through the Banū Qanṭūrā and Noah; they were not “of dubious origin like the
Buyid dynasty, the Fatimids, and others.” These traits allowed the Ottomans to build their realm,
he says, and insulated them from risks faced by normal empires, as when they survived Tīmūr’s
invasion—a fate to which even the Abbasids succumbed.\textsuperscript{69} It is possible that for Vāṣif, as for

\textsuperscript{67} Koçi Bey, \textit{Koçi Bey Risalesi} (Istanbul, 1939), 66.

\textsuperscript{68} Koçi Bey, 33, 37. I have found other examples of authors voicing exceptionalism by
comparing the Ottomans favorably to rival dynasties. For instance, Koça Rāgıb Paşa relates in
\textit{Tahkık ve Tevfık} (66-68), an account of peace talks between the Ottomans and Iranians in
1736, how, during one meeting, the Ottoman representatives declared their realm to be
entirely superior to Iran. “Both right and the caliph of God are on the Sublime State’s side. . .”
they said. “Let us brief you on the Sublime State’s situation and the circumstances of the
Iranian side, following the scripture, ‘And remind, for indeed the reminder benefits the
believers.’” The delegates then gave several alleged signs of Ottoman superiority.

\textsuperscript{69} Vāṣif (1804), 1: 8-9.
Ḳoçi Bey a century and a half before, such sentiments served as a reassurance during times of pronounced political or military crisis. “It is clear to those who study history,” Vāṣif states in another work, “that while our sovereigns are subject to some of the civil turmoil that often affects Islamic dynasties, they have always managed to right the situation directly and have become even more powerful and mighty than before.”

Whatever the case, we can see an important shift in perceptions already by the mid-seventeenth century. Hoca Sādeddīn (d. 1599) spoke of the dynasty’s “unsetting sun” in his well-read work. The chronicler Muṣṭafā Śafī (d. 1616) writes in his Zübdetü’l-Tevārīh (Quintessence of Histories) that the Ottomans are the most just kings and best of ghāzīs since the Rightly-Guided caliphs, and that they will fight the infidel “until the end of time (ilā kıyāmı’s-sā’ati ve sā’ati’l-kiyām).” One final telling piece of evidence comes from the chronicler Meḥmed Hemdemī Şolāḳzāde (d. 1658), author of a popular dynastic history. Şolāḳzāde rehashes much of the traditional material on the early Ottomans, including two of the dream narratives. In both cases, however, when the divine voice addresses Erṭuğrul and when Edebālī interprets ‘Osmān’s dream, Şolāḳzāde adds the same crucial phrase: ilā inḳarāzi’l-deverān. The line of Erṭuğrul and ‘Osmān will rule, he says, leaving no room for doubt, “till the end of the age.”

Conclusion

70 Idem, Mehāsinü’l-Āsār ve Hakāikü’l-Ahbār, ed. Mücteba İlgürel (Istanbul, 1994), 5

71 Hoca Sādeddīn, Tācī’l-Tevārīh (Istanbul, 1863), 1: 8.

72 Muṣṭafā Śafī, Zübdetü’l-Tevārīh, ed. İbrahim Çuhadar (Ankara, 2003), 1: 3.

73 Şolāḳzāde, Tārīh-i Şolāḳzāde (Istanbul, 1880), 7-8.
Taking dreams and omens in Müneccimbaşi and elsewhere as an entry point, I have tried to define “exceptionalism” as a dominant narrative in Ottoman thought and to identify two of its major strains: an “eschatological” variety leading up to the Islamic millennium, and a “renewal-focused” strand in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Authors like ‘Alī Dede Bosnevī read these signs as a signal that the end times were at hand; for them, the dynasty had a pivotal and immediate role to play in those events. For later writers, however, for those like Şolākzāde, Müneccimbaşi, and Ahmed Vāṣīf, Ottoman rule would continue to be blessed by God and would continue into the indefinite future. In their hands, the same signs simply meant that the dynasty would last until the end of time, whenever that should occur, rather than signal that it was the end of time. Their concern instead shifted inward to what they saw as the realm’s unsettled state and its renewal.

Of course, this effort just scratches the surface. We are dealing with a sprawling topic, one that was probably not always consciously expressed by Ottoman élites and filtered beyond the realm of ideas into areas like statecraft, political reform, war, and other decision-making. I have also limited myself to only a few of its many possible varieties. Still, it is clear that exceptionalism was a dominant discourse (or, following Mansour, a “dominant narrative”) in the early modern empire’s political and historical thought. We know that not all Ottomans embraced exceptionalism; at times vocal discontent surfaced. On occasion, we even find figures who went so far as to sharply criticize the dynasty, such as the mystic Niyāzī-i Mīṣrī (d. 1694) or the religious crank Fażlızāde ‘Alī (fl. 1740). Such protests seem to have been quite rare, however.74

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74 Feridun Emecen discusses a number of rumored plots to replace the dynasty with rivals like the Khans of Crimea or powerful families like the Köprülü: “Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif
More commonly, dissenters hedged or implicitly cast doubt. For Kātib Čelebi, for example, misgivings arose from the serious study of history and society, from seeking out patterns, and from models that stressed the empire’s comparability rather than its uniqueness, leading him to apply an Ibn Khaldūnian model to history. The Ibn Khaldūnian view enjoyed popularity in some eighteenth-century circles and implied, through its merciless logic, that the Ottoman dynasty might someday end. Yet even the doubters and dissenters, the most skeptical figures like Kātib Čelebi, all hedged. They would not commit to the idea publicly but continued to claim that it was possible to restore the empire, that the Ottoman dynasty was exempt. “No society must necessarily reach the end of its age of decline,” Kātib Čelebi writes. In truth, it is hard to tell if


See also Marlene Kurz, Ways to Heaven, Gates to Hell: Fažlizāde ‘Alī’s Struggle with the Diversity of Ottoman Islam (Bonn, 2011), esp. 18-55. These instances of discontent appear to have been neither common nor popular. They also raise questions about the very nature of the Ottoman polity. Was the empire “embodied” in the dynasty or did it exist, so to speak, independently of the line? Could the Ottoman Empire have existed without the House of ‘Osmān?


76 Kātib Čelebi, Taḵvīmū l-Tevārīh, University of Michigan, Isl. Ms. nr. 393, fols. 209-11. Like Kātib Čelebi, Nāʾīmā, Aḥmed Resmī (d. 1783), and Dūrrī Meḥmed (d. 1792) all adopted Ibn Khaldūnian models of history but resisted the conclusion that the empire would end. Some figures even suggested that proper reform might somehow “reset” the empire’s place in the
Ottomans could imagine the end of the empire at all. They certainly were not free to say so openly.

A preliminary study such as this one often raises more questions than it can answer. How far did exceptionalist thinking pervade the Ottoman Empire’s organization, politics, and decision-making? How far did it shape individual or collective thought and action? Finally, when did exceptionalism cease to move hearts and minds? The notion proved very durable, as we have seen, outlasting the hopes of the millennium, withstanding early modern fears of decline, and surviving the catastrophes of the late eighteenth century. To all appearances, Ottomans upheld its tenets into the nineteenth century. Did exceptionalism eventually prove pathological, then—that is, did it prevent Ottoman élites from fully appreciating and confronting the problems of the late empire? I do not wish to overstate the importance of exceptionalism in Ottoman worldviews. While it may have conditioned the empire’s diplomacy, views on war and reform, and approach to foreign powers, exceptionalism was by no means the only factor. I only wish to impress that these ideas were not just rhetorical window dressing or empty panegyric. Ottomans drew meaning from them for centuries, used them to interpret the realm and its place in time and history, and looked to them to understand their own duties as subjects and servitors of the dynasty. Exceptionalism was an intellectual lodestar. Like so much else in Ottoman cultural and intellectual history, precisely how it wove together myth and prophecy, how it joined justification to action, and how it merged the political with the theological remain to be discovered.

Ibn Khaldūnian cycle. For a recent treatment of the topic, see Marinos Sariyannis, “Ottoman Ibn Khaldunism Revisited: the Pre-Tanzimat Reception of the Muqaddima, from Kınālızāde to Şānīzāde” (unpublished paper).