EFD / JFL
Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi / Journal of Faculty of Letters
Cilt/Volume 29 Sayı/Number 1 (Haziran/June 2012)

Apocalyptic Eschatology, Astrology, Prophecy, and the Image of the Turks in Seventeenth-Century England*

On Yedinci Yüzyıl İngilteresinde Apokaliptik Eskatoloji, Astroloji, Kehanet ve Türk İmgesi

Sinan AKILLI**

Abstract

The study of the revelations about the end of the world, namely apocalyptic eschatology based on the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament and the Book of Revelations in the New Testament, had strong ties with astrology and political prophecy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Even though England had a less distinct tradition of astrology in the late Medieval and early Tudor ages when compared to the Continental one, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the practice of astrological prognostications, which was significantly imbued in the language of apocalyptic eschatology, began to emerge. In the seventeenth century, especially during the Civil War, there was a wide circulation and popularization of astrological and prophetic texts, mainly in the form of almanacs, in England due to socio-political context and technological developments in printing. From the beginnings of the interpretation of the apocalyptic prophecies in the Holy Scriptures together with astrological predictions in Europe, the Turks were one of the main concerns. As a result of the geographical proximity of the threat of Ottoman expansion to continental countries like Germany and due to the mainstream discourse of Reformation politics, in astrological and prophetic texts produced in Germany there was a highly-visible preoccupation with the Turks, whose image was constructed in terms of apocalyptic eschatology. Even though England was at a safe distance from the perceived Ottoman threat, European, especially German, texts found their way into the English market through translations as they provided useful propaganda material for various parties. Moreover, later in the seventeenth century, some English astrologers also wrote astrological accounts of the European encounter with the Ottomans. Accordingly, after giving a brief overview on the development of astrology and prophecy in England from the mid-sixteenth century onwards and on the uses of the language of apocalyptic eschatology for the construction of the image

---

* Some of the primary texts studied in this article were commented upon in a different argumentative frame in a paper presented by the author at the 4th International IDEA "Studies in English" Conference at Celal Bayar University, Manisa, Turkey, on April 16, 2009.

** Assist.Prof.Dr., Hacettepe University, Faculty of Letters, Department of English Language and Literature, sakilli@hacettepe.edu.tr

© 2012, Hacettepe University Faculty of Letters, All Rights Reserved

of the Turks, this article offers a reading of some prophetic and astrological texts that were available to seventeenth-century English reader with respect to the representation of the Turks in terms of apocalyptic eschatology, more specifically, as Antichristian, if not the Antichrist. The manuscripts that are studied for the illustration represent the thematic categories roughly divided as 'natural phenomena,' 'miraculous happenings,' and 'astrological prognostications and prophecies.' In the study of the texts, it is observed that, embodying a large portion of the popular literature of their time, almost all of these texts employ sensationalism to capture and maintain reader's attention. It is concluded that, due to their popularity, these texts contributed to the construction and dissemination of a diabolic image of the Turks in seventeenth-century English public imagination.

Keywords: Astrology, prophecy, apocalyptic eschatology, Turks, England, seventeenth century.

Öz

On altıncı ve on yedinci yüzyıl Avrupasında dünyanın sonuna ilişkin vahiylerin yorumlanması, tam adıyla Eski Ahit'in Danyal Kitabı ve Yani Ahit'in Vahiyler Kitabı'na dayanan apokaliptik eskatoloji, astroloji ve politik kehanetler ile güçlü bir ilişki içerisinde olmuştur. Her ne kadar kıta Avrupası ile kıyaslandığında ortaçağ sonu ve erken Tudor döneminde İngiltere'de dikkate değer bir astroloji geleneği olmasa da, on altıncı yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren apokaliptik eskatolji dilini yoğun olarak kullanan bir astrolojik kehanet geleneği ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. On yedinci yüzyılda, bilhassa da İç Savaş döneminde, sosyo-politik arkaplana ve baskı teknolojilerindeki ilerlemelere paralel olarak, almanaklar içerisinde sunulan astroloji ve kehanet metinleri İngiltere'de oldukça yaygınlaşmış ve popülerleşmiştir. Avrupa'da Kutsal Kitaplar'daki kıyamet gününe ilişkin kehanetlerin yorumlanmasında ve astrolojik kehanetlerde Türkler her zaman önemli bir yere sahip omuştur. Osmanlı genişlemesinin yarattığı tehdidin Almanya gibi ülkelere coğrafi yakınlığından ve Reformasyon hareketinin anaakım söylemlerinin etkisiyle, Almanya'da yazılan astroloji ve kehanet metinlerinde Türkler gözle görünür bir öneme sahip olmuş ve Türklerin imajı apokaliptik eskatoloji terimleri kullanılarak yapılandırılmıştır. Her ne kadar İngiltere Osmanlı tehdidinden güvenli bir mesafede bulunsa da, birçok Avrupa, özellikle de Almanya kaynaklı metinler tercümeler vasıtasıyla İngiltere okuyucu pazarına ulaşmış ve farklı kesimler için faydalı propaganda araçları olarak kullanılmışlardır. Dahası, on yedinci yüzyılda İngiliz astrologlar da Avrupa'nın Osmanlı ile olan mücadelesine ilişkin astrolojik metinler üretmişlerdir. Tüm bunlara uygun olarak, bu makalede astroloji ve kehanet geleneğinin İngiltere'de on altıncı yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren gelişimine ve bu geleneğe ait metinlerde Türk imgesinin yapılandırılmasında apokaliptik eskatoloji dilinin kullanılışına ilişkin özlü bir açıklamanın ardından, on yedinci yüzyıl İngiliz okuyucusu için erişilebilir olan bazı astroloji ve kehanet metinlerinin bir okuması sunularak, bu metinlerde Türk imgesinin, bilhassa da Deccal gibi, apokaliptik eskatoloji terimleri kullanılarak nasıl yapılandırılmış olduğu gösterilmektedir. Örneklendirme için kullanılan metinler 'doğal olaylar,' 'mucizevi olaylar,' ve 'astrolojik tahminler ve kehanetler' olarak üç tematik başlık altında ele alınmıştır. Metinlerin incelenmesi esnasında, dönemin popüler edebiyatının önemli bir kısmını teşkil eden bu metinlerin neredeyse tamamının okuyucuyu etkilemek için çarpıcı anlatılara ve tasvirlere yer verdiği gözlemlenmiştir. Popülerlikleri de dikkate alındığında, bu metinlerin on yedinci yüzyıl İngiliz toplumunda şeytani bir Türk imgesinin ouşturulmasına ve yayılmasına katkıda bulunduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Astroloji, kehanet, apokaliptik eskatoloji, Türkler, İngiltere, onyedinci yüzyıl.

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, a distinct tradition of astrological prognostications emerged in England and this tradition became established in the seventeenth century, especially during the Civil War, through the wide circulation of astrological and prophetic texts. A significant number of these texts were either influenced by or the translations of astrological and prophetic texts originating in continental Europe, especially Germany. Therefore, images and depictions – constructed mostly in diabolical terms and in association with the events of the end of the world– of 'the Turks,' who were among the main concerns of the continental astrologers and prophets in the centuries in question, found their way into the English tradition. Moreover, in England of the same period there was a visible interest in the Ottoman Turks and their empire and the diabolic imagery associated with the Turks became tools of propaganda at the hands of various parties that used and exploited texts of astrology and prophecy for their political interests. The wider impact of such exploitation of the images of the Turks by individual parties was the discursive construction of a negative image of the Turks in the seventeenth-century English public imagination. This article offers a contextualized study of some such texts and contributes to the larger scholarly attempts to better understand the literary and cultural encounters and interactions taking place between England and the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period.

Emanating from the simple principle that everything that has a beginning must also have an end, the notion of finality as it relates to the existence of the world and of the cosmos, has intrigued human minds since antiquity. In the Judeo-Christian culture, such eschatological[1] beliefs have been based on the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament and the Book of Revelation in the New Testament (McGinn, 1998, p.1). In this context, apocalypticism,[2] deriving mainly from the Book of Revelation and interpreting the revelations about the imminence of and events preceding the End, has emerged as a type of early Christian eschatology. Apocalyptic eschatology as such has three characteristic convictions: the first one involves a teleological and deterministic view of history and of all existence and accepts that the world will end at a time predetermined by God; the second belief is that the predetermined End is, in fact, the goal for the fulfillment of the divine plan in a process of "crisis-judgment-vindication"; and thirdly, the belief that the End is imminent and the process is already under way (McGinn, 1994, pp. 10-11). Such a view of the End inherently contains a sense of duality as it implies both a pessimistic and an optimistic vision, which is essentially related to the cosmic struggle between Good and Evil. In other words, to herald the coming of Good, Evil has to dominate first.

In the Christian context, apocalyptic eschatology also had an "intimate relation" (McGinn, 1998, p. 4) to prophecy and to astrology,[3] that is, to fields of knowledge which had significant roles in shaping the beliefs, assumptions, expectations and anticipations of European societies and their literary and cultural productions until the early eighteenth century, by which time the scientific revolution in Europe had rendered these fields of knowledge obsolete. Indeed, before the Age of Reason, world history itself had at times been changed by people whose achievements had been motivated more often than less by the influence of apocalyptic prophecy and astrological prognostication on their personal spirituality, Christopher Columbus' "Enterprise of the Indies" being perhaps the most striking example of such influence on individual motivation.[4] At other times, the knowledge generated by prophecy and astrology, whether apocalyptic or not, had always been associated with political power. Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor from 1493 to 1519, for instance, believed that "astrology provided practical knowledge for rulers, giving them insight into the nature and motivations of their subjects and enemies" (Hayton, 2007, p. 62). A striking example from England was Queen Elizabeth, who "[i]n 1555, even before she became queen, […] was suspected of having engaged [Dr. John] Dee [the most eminent English astrologer and mathematician of the sixteenth century] to cast the horoscopes of Mary, Philip of Spain, and herself," and who listened to Dee's recommendations as to when and how to prepare the fleet to encounter the Spanish Armada (Dobin, 1990, pp. 1-3). There is also evidence of Dee's being asked by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to determine Elizabeth's coronation day by using astrological calculations (Dunn, 2006, p. 92).

---

[1] The term "eschatology," derived from the Greek word *eschatos*, meaning "last" refers to a branch of theology preoccupied with the study of final things like death, afterlife and the end of the world or of time (Arnold, 2008, p. 24).

[2] Coming from two Greek words, *apo*, meaning "from," and *kalypsis*, which means "covering," *apocalypse* conveys the idea of uncovering or a revelation (Walls, 2008, p. 10).

In Christian apocalyptic eschatology, which had strong ties with prophecy and astrology, the above-mentioned duality of Good/Evil has been conceived in relatively more tangible terms by the duality of Christ and Antichrist, the latter being the main target of interpretation for it has remained but a concept and a metaphor that could be used from different points of view to mean different things in different contexts. The essentially antagonistic nature of the term Antichrist, which is immediately visible in the prefix 'anti-,' has in many cases allowed for the use of the name to refer to the 'other' or the 'enemy.' In Elizabethan England, for instance, terminology of apocalyptic eschatology was a common and legitimate part of political discourse. As is also noted by Hill (1971, p. 14), when Richard Hakluyt wrote *Discourse on Western Planting* in 1584 to persuade Queen Elizabeth to support and sponsor the expedition plans of Sir Walter Raleigh for the colonization of the West Indies, he argued that English presence and naval activity in the region would be a blow to Spanish monopoly and "abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome" (Hakluyt, 1584, p. 155). Such commonness of the eschatological language was a consequence of the Reformation which had made the Scriptures accessible for the larger public and had led to an increased popular interest in the prophetic parts of the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation, which were, in

---

[3] For instance, thirteenth-century English mathematician Roger Bacon was influenced by the Islamic doctrine of conjunctionism, and he presented a Christian interpretation of the doctrine as well as using mathematics to forecast the coming of the Antichrist based on the conjunctions of the planets, thereby combining astrology with the apocalyptic tradition (Geneva, 1995, p. 130)

[4] Several modern scholars have established the fact that Columbus's main reason for his expeditions was his belief that he had been predestined, as his signature "Christoferens" meaning "Christ-bearer" suggested, to play a role in the coming of the Antichrist, which would be followed by the Apocalypse. According to Christian eschatology, all nations of the world were to be converted into Christianity before the coming of the Antichrist, and Columbus's self-assumed mission was to convert the peoples of the Indies (Watts, 1985, pp. 73-74; McGinn, 1998, p. 284; Smoller, 1994, p. 3).

turn, quite literally interpreted by the intellectuals of Elizabethan England as suggesting that the End was near (Thomas, 1978, p. 167). Having achieved such prevalence and popularity in the sixteenth century, apocalyptic terminology had become an ideal tool for propaganda by the time Civil War began and was used frequently during and long after the war. Accordingly, in seventeenth-century England the term Antichrist came to be associated with the Pope, the Catholic bishops, the Protestants, the Spanish, the Jews, the Royalists, the Parliament, the Irish, and last but not least, the Turks (Hill, 1971, pp. 178-182) depending on who was using the term, when and against whom.

With reference to the political uses of the language of apocalyptic eschatology, and to the historical role of prophecy and astrological prognostication in politics of power briefly explained above, this article aims to offer a comment on some prophetic and astrological texts, which were available to seventeenth-century English readership and which contained elements of or references to apocalyptic eschatology at varying degrees, as exemplifying the conception and representation of the Turks[5] as the agents of the Antichristian, if not the Antichrist himself. The relevance of a study from this perspective, which seems to have received inadequate attention in mainstream scholarship, is twofold. Firstly, by the study of selected texts of prophetic and astrological literature, exemplifying what Chapman aptly calls "textual barometers for early modern assumptions and reading practices" (2007, p. 1259), this article reveals and explicates one of the ways by which popular beliefs and assumptions held by the English people of the Turks in the seventeenth century were formed. Secondly, by showing how the concept of the Antichrist or implications of Antichristian qualities were deliberately associated with the Turks for political propaganda in seventeenth century England, the article aims to contribute to the findings resulting from recent scholarly interest in the nature and context of the direct and indirect cultural exchanges and encounters taking place in the Renaissance and the early modern period between the English and the Turks, in particular, and between the Christian West and the Muslim East, in general.[6]

---

[5] One must keep in mind here that the term "Turks" poses a problem in this context. From the time of the early Crusades until about the mid-fifteenth century, the main term which denoted the Muslim 'other' was "Saracens." In support of this view, Leona F. Cordery's work on 36 literary texts written in Middle English between the early thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries offers a convincing discussion of how the "Saracens" were constructed as "the chosen enemy of Christendom" in the period (2002, p. 89). However, as Gerald MacLean explains, "[a]fter the loss of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman forces […] Muslims generally became known as 'Turks' regardless of their racial or ethnic origins [….] and the 'Turk' became synonymous with Islam" (2007, p. 1). Walter Klaassen also points to the year 1453 as the time after which "Muslim and Turk were synonymous in European imagination" (1992, p. 60). In the texts under study in this article, terms like 'Turks,' 'Muslims,' and 'Mahometans' are generally used interchangeably, and to refer only to the Ottoman Turks. Even in those texts in which the distinction is made between, say, Turks and Arabs, such distinction is not stable and clear.

[6] Among the scholarly works that typically represent this interest are: Gerald Maclean, (Ed). *Reorienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005; Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture*. The Johns Hopkins UP, 2008; Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes (Eds), *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*. Bucknell University Press, 2008; and Nabil Matar and Gerald Maclean. *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Since this article concentrates mostly on the seventeenth century, the histories of eschatological literature, prophecy and astrology in England prior to late sixteenth century will not be dealt with. Indeed, as Bernard Capp[7] states, the extent of astrological practice in late Medieval and early Tudor England was uncertain and most probably very limited and England was an "astrological backwater" in this period (1979, pp. 18-19). Thus, the present focus on the general context of the early modern period requires one to start off by establishing the modes of reception regarding astrology and prophecy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

Even though prophecy and astrology gradually retreated from being the top-ranking disciplines of inquiry until early Renaissance to being an "intellectually bankrupt" (Chapman, 2007, p. 1258) pseudo-scientific and even occult order in contemporary popular culture, the belief in the influence of celestial bodies on terrestrial life was almost ever-present and had "remarkable currency and credibility" (Chapman, 2007, p. 1258) in early modern England. The most popular form in which knowledge from astrological inquiry was communicated to the reading public, which was expanding due to the progress made in print technology, was the almanac. A typical almanac was made up of three parts: "a calendar […]; information on the year's astronomical phenomena […]; and astrological prognostications" (Curry, 1989, p. 21). While the nature and contents of the practical information calendars offered at the time is easy to imagine, as they were not very different from our modern calendars; understanding the nature of early modern astrological prognostication in its entirety and variety seems to be an arduous engagement. Therefore, the brief explanation presented by Capp would be an efficient map to find one's way around the rather complex system of early modern astrology:

> The science of astrology was divided into two parts, natural and judicial. Natural astrology was concerned with the general character of planetary influences in such fields as agriculture and medicine. Judicial astrology was the attempt to interpret these influences in order to make predictions and give advice. […] The destiny of an individual could be predicted by drawing up the client's 'nativity', a calculation of the state of the heavens at his birth. 'Elections' denoted the process of choosing the most propitious moment, when the influence of the planets would be more favourable, for undertaking any action, ranging from matters of state to the waning of an infant. Finally there were 'horary' questions, when the astrologer resolved personal problems (medical, moral, and very often matrimonial) according to the state of the heavens when the question was posed. (1979, p. 16)

Again, all of these came to the early modern English reader in the form of almanacs which were "arguably the most popular books of the early modern period: for example, well over one million copies were printed in England just between 1664 and 1666" (Chapman, 2007, pp. 1258-9). In like manner, both Dobin (1990, pp. 123-124) and Curry (1989, p. 21) agree that the astrological almanacs were, with or after the Bible, the best-sellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The almanac's commonness was such that "the character Weatherwise in [Jacobean playwright] Thomas Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's* (1611) proclaims that he will not spend money toward getting a wife until 'wives are like almanacs, we may have every year a new one'"(qtd. in Chapman, 2007, p. 1271).

---

[7] Capp's *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (1979), which is complete with a bibliography of English almanacs to 1700, remains to be the most comprehensive study of the place of astrological prognostications and almanacs in the English popular culture and literature of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

Nevertheless, astrology's ordinariness and currency had not been achieved easily. There were two major hindrances in the sixteenth century, the first one being the question of astrology's compatibility with religion, and the second one, its compatibility with dominant political forces. Chapman explains that the rise of Calvinism, which insisted on "God's total providential control" (2007, pp. 1260-61), in the mid-sixteenth century precipitated anti-astrological writings. Accordingly, "sixteenth-century English writers such as Miles Coverdale (ca. 1488–1568), John Hooper (ca. 1495–1555), Roger Hutchinson (d. 1555), and William Perkins (1558–1602) all argued that astrology was antithetical to Protestant doctrine" (Chapman, 2007, p. 1261). However, in Germany, the original homeland of Protestantism, there was a different approach to the question of astrology's compatibility with religion. Martin Luther himself wrote a preface to the 1527 edition of the prognostications of Johannes Lichtenberger (Dixon, 1999, p. 405), who was the court astrologer to Frederick III (1440-1493), himself an amateur astrologer and the father of Maximilian I. More importantly, a group of early-sixteenth century Protestant scholars at the University of Wittenberg, which was the heart of sixteenth-century German astrology, had achieved a marriage between Divine Providence and astrology (Brosseder, 2005, p. 575). Evidently, this reconciliatory approach found its way into England soon enough, because the mainstream reaction in England to the anti-astrological attitude was that "the fissure between astrology and English Protestantism was […] in practice […] often ignored or even argued away" (Chapman, 2007, p. 1261). The argument which was used both by almanac makers and their readers in England to reconcile astrology and religion was reminiscent of the views of Wittenberg scholars:

> [a]strology explained one of the ways in which God's divine will was enacted on earth […] [and that astrology] explored the cosmic harmonies God had established between different levels of his creation. So when early modern readers purchased almanacs, read prognostications, and even consulted professional astrologers, they were arguably not turning to some form of the occult so much as seeking to understand God's providence. (Chapman, 2007, p. 1262)

On the other hand, in the turbulent political atmosphere of mid-sixteenth century England, the political aspect of the contents of knowledge derived from the study of celestial bodies was not as easy to be argued away. At this point, Ann Geneva's use of a similitude between astrology and economics in describing the tightrope astrologers were walking on and how they managed to stay on it is helpful in understanding the status of the practice:

> Initial access may be gained to the function and position of early modern astrology by thinking of modern economics. Like economists, astrologers rarely made correct predictions; yet universities granted degrees in the subject and few heads of state made a move without them. When proven wrong […] they simply claimed like economists that their methods were not yet perfected and that certain crucial factors had been withheld from them. (1995, pp. xv-xvi)

Similarly, Dobin states that "[p]olitical prophecy was a hazardous game to play in sixteenth-century England. The polysemy of prophetic discourse could cost would-be prophets their incorporeal souls or their corporeal heads" (1990, p. 61). Indeed, some astrologers who had foretold the 'wrong' future did lose their "corporeal heads" in the sixteenth century. For example, "[d]uring Henry VIII's reign, Elizabeth Barton was hanged for predicting Henry's death, and the sorcerer Nicholas Hopkins was executed for encouraging the treasonous intent of the Duke of Buckingham by prophesying Henry's death without an heir" (Dobin, 1990, p. 1). John Dee was arrested during the reign of Queen Mary for calculating the birth charts of the royal family (Dunn, 2006, p. 92). In the Elizabethan era, the discourse of political conflict between Catholic and Protestant parties increasingly employed vocabulary from apocalyptic eschatology too, which was not without consequences:

> In 1586 Ralph Durden was imprisoned for predicting the downfall of the monarchy in 1589. He had identified the kingdom of England with the Beast of Revelation. When Henry Barrow said the government of the English church was the yoke of Antichrist, the Attorney-General treated this as an attack on the Queen's government. (Hill, 1971, p. 55)

On the other hand, when in the service of and compatible with dominant political forces and as long as they proved politically useful, astrologers and prophets could become the chief consultants of sixteenth-century English monarchs, as in other European kingdoms. The most famous of such figures in Continental Europe was French doctor Michel de Notredame, better known as Nostradamus, whose cryptic prophetic verses and astrological prognostications were known in England (Dobin, 1990, p. 124), even though his prophecies were published in English as late as 1672 (Roberts, 1994, p. xi).

It is also worth noting that the last years of the sixteenth century made possible a period of significant growth for prophecy and astrology in England. Due to "Elizabeth's impending death and uncertain succession, combined with the threat from Spain as well as domestic recusant plots" (Dobin, 1990, p. 105), there was a huge demand to 'know' things, and know them before they happened, if possible. Demanded thus, astrological writings steadily flourished until about the mid-seventeenth century, when a major transformation related to publishing business, namely the abolishing of censorship, gave astrological works a huge momentum that would carry them, though not as powerfully, well into the early Age of Reason. With the collapse of official censorship in 1641, hundreds of new publications in the form of newspapers, pamphlets and books on myriad subjects appeared in England, and as Curry reports, "[one] George Thomason, trying to collect every book or pamphlet published, purchased 1,966 titles in 1642; in 1640, he had managed to find only twenty-two" (1989, p. 19). With publishing business on the rise, and religion and astrology having been already largely reconciled, at least in practice, political forces dominating the Civil War era did not hesitate to benefit from the possible advantage foreknowledge of things to happen would give them. For example, "[t]he leading generals of the New Model Army consulted astrological predictions for the most propitious times for their attacks, and there is ample evidence for a widespread Puritan interest in astrology during the Civil War" (Chapman, 2007, p. 1260). Therefore, the Interregnum period is considered to be "a high-water mark [at which point] [a]strologers and their almanacs flourished as never before" (Curry, 1989, p. 7). Parallel to this development, apocalyptic eschatology also gained new breeding-ground in the form of millennialism[8] during the Civil War as "the Puritans understood their quarrel with the king in prophetic terms: they were God's army fighting the army of the papal Antichrist and his ally, the English king" (Weber, 2008, p. 374). Millennialism was so widespread in this period that "roughly 70 per cent of the leading clergy supporting parliament during the Revolution, many of them moderate Presbyterians, had millenarian ideas" (Capp, 1972, p. 157). As well as leading to a boom in the number of books on apocalyptic expectations in England, which could boast about eighty books by 1649, the millenarian view also impacted battle strategies (Thomas, 1978, p. 168).

Yet, the period following the Restoration of monarchy, which reinstituted the state church and censorship (Hill, 1971, p. 146), gradually introduced new elements into the everyday experience such as empirical science, technological innovations, and "a new ideology of 'self-help'" (Curry, 1989, p. 7), all of which introduced a new worldview that could not accommodate divine prophecy and astrology as valid sources of knowledge. In other words, even though they did not completely vanish from the English cultural and literary scene, by the early eighteenth century neither astrology nor prophecy was considered among 'serious' sciences any longer. As early as 1692, Jonathan Dove, the author of Dove almanacs which had appeared from 1627 onwards, in an effort to adapt into the new *zeitgeist*, declared his past prognostications as lies and vanities (Stark, 2006, p. 61). Similarly, in 1704, John Harris, the author of *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* would define astrology as "a ridiculous piece of foolery" (quoted in Thomas, 1978, p. 772).

Nonetheless, perhaps one of the long lasting impacts of the astrological and prophetic traditions in England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was related to the construction of a very negative image of the Turks among the wider English public. It is true that the English had had face to face encounters with the Seljuk Turks, the people who were rapidly gaining control of Asia Minor during what Norman Housley calls the period of "'classical' crusading (1095-1291)" (2007, p. 190). However, in this period the term used in Europe to refer to the Muslim 'enemy' was not the 'Turks', but the 'Saracens,' obviously a misleading term confusing religious belief with ethnic stock (Housley, 2007, p. 196). From the late thirteenth century onwards and as the Ottoman state steadily expanded in Europe, the Turks gradually replaced the Saracens as the ultimate Muslim 'enemy' and, as has been explained earlier, with the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 the term 'Turk' was firmly established, though carrying over from the term 'Saracen' the same confusion between religion and ethnic origin. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend the various aspects of the construction of the image of 'the Turks' in apocalyptic eschatological terms in the seventeenth-century English public imagination through astrological and prophetic texts circulating in England at the time, one must start off with an account of the appearance of the Turks in general European astrology and prophecy as a significant figure, which dates back not surprisingly to the mid- to late fifteenth century, that is, to the conquest of Constantinople and the decades that followed.

---

[8] Millennialism refers to the conviction in the eschatological tradition that there will be a thousand year of peace on earth associated with the Second Coming of Christ (Weber, 2008, p.365) Modern scholarship has identified two types of millenialism: premillenialism, which advocates the idea that signs of the End like wars, disasters, global preaching of the gospel, the rise of the Antichrist will happen before the Second Coming of Christ, who will, after defeating his enemies, start his Kingdom to last a thousand years; and postmillenialism, as a more optimistic view, holds that Christ will come back after the millennium during which the conversion to Christianity will be almost complete (Weber, 2008, pp. 367-68).

After 1453, the shock waves caused by the fall of the most important Christian stronghold in Eastern Europe spread deeper into Western Europe as, shortly afterwards, eastern European countries like Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania also became Ottoman territories. It seemed that next in line were Austria, Hungary, Germany, and even Italy. All this was happening at a time when Europe was already polarized within itself because of sectarian wars. It was in this time of crisis, when the need for knowing things before they happened became crucial, that Johannes Lichtenberger wrote his prognostications in "*Pronosticatio in latino* (1488) where he discussed the Pope and the Church, and the Turks and the Jews. [The work aroused so much interest in Europe that] [f]rom 1488 to 1499 fourteen Latin, German and Italian editions were published" (Kurze, 1958, p. 63). More significantly, Lichtenberger combined astrology and apocalyptic prognostication when, interpreting the meaning of the Turkish advance in Europe, he predicted that the end of days was near (McGinn, 1998, pp. 270-271). In other words, from the beginnings of the interpretation of the apocalyptic prophecies in the Holy Scriptures together with astrological predictions in Europe, the Turks were one of the main concerns.

Especially the Germans were growingly restless about the possibility of an Ottoman invasion of their kingdom, and when "[a]round noon on 7 November 1492 the thunderous crash of a meteorite terrified the inhabitants of southern Germany, Alsace and Switzerland"(Soergel, 2007, p. 303), the first response was to try and come up with an interpretation of this extraordinary phenomenon. As Soergel states:

> After examining the circumstances surrounding the event, as well as the historical record of similar incidents, the king's dignitaries concluded that the stone pointed, not to coming military catastrophes, floods or earthquakes—all events frequently associated with comets and other celestial phenomena—but that it revealed impending imperial victories against […] the Turks. (2007, p. 306)

As is clear from the examples given above, the presence of the Turks in sixteenth-century European astrological and prophetic works was observed, for the most part, in the ones produced in Germany, due primarily to the proximity of the perceived threat to this country. As Jennifer Forster notes, for centuries, prophecies with political content had a dual function of both articulating and molding public opinion especially in times of brewing crisis (2001, p. 611); and in the sixteenth century it was primarily the Germans who needed an effective propaganda in the face of Turkish advance in Europe. Another reason which can explain the German astrological and prophetic preoccupation with the Turks was the role the concept of 'the Turks' played in Reformation discourse. Even though Martin Luther had suggested the diabolic alliance and similarity between the Catholic pope and bishops and the Turks in his earlier writings,[9] it was his 1529 book, *On War against the Turk* – written in the same year as Süleyman the Magnificent began his march to Vienna – which authoritatively established for all of Protestant Europe, but especially for the Germans, the conceptual link between the Turks and the eschatological language. Luther wrote that "just as the pope is the Antichrist, so the Turk is the very devil incarnate. The prayer of Christendom against both is that they shall go down to hell, even though it may take the Last Day to send them there; and I hope that day will not be far off" (1529, p.29). Established so strongly, German prophetic preoccupation with the Turks continued in the latter part of the sixteenth century, especially during the long period of war (1593-1606) between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire when prognostications containing eschatological scenarios like the conquest of the Holy Roman Empire by the Turks[10] or the conversion of the Turks to Christianity to initiate the Second Coming were widespread (Mout, 1994, p. 96). More importantly, the German prophecies and predictions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also seem to be the main sources through the influence of which similar texts began to be printed in the rest of continental Europe,[11] and in England,[12] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

---

[9] For example, in "Treatise on Good Works," Luther wrote "these are the real Turks whom the kings, princes, and nobles ought to attack first" (1520, p.172) when he referred to Catholic bishops, whom he had also associated with the Pope who was the greatest enemy of Christ's, in other words, the Antichrist according to him.

[10] These prophecies were mostly based on the fifteenth-century prediction by the German Franciscan Johannes Hilten, who had given the year 1600 or 1606 for this conquest (Mout, 1994, p. 96). However, Hilten's predictions apparently were interpretations of the Book of Daniel, one of the primary sources of Judeo-Christian apocalyptic eschatology. As Darin Hayton deals with another late fifteenth century German interpretation of the Book of Daniel, he reports that in the original biblical source, Daniel dreamt of four animals, a winged lion, representing the transfer of rule from Babylon to Persia; a bear, symbolizing the taking over of imperial power from Persia by Alexander the Great's Greek Empire; a four-headed leopard, giving the authority to the Roman Empire; and a ten-horned beast, interpreted as the transfer of imperium from the Holy Roman Empire, with possible implication to the Ottoman Empire (2007, pp. 64-66).

[11] For example, Spain too had a solid tradition of astrological prognostication which was evidently, though less frequently, preoccupied with the Turks in the early modern period (Lanuza-Navarro, 2009, pp. 128-129).

[12] In fact, as Capp explains, from the Medieval period on, astrological prognostication in England had evolved mainly from Flemish texts that were translated into English and it was only with the early Elizabethan period that English astrologers emerged as predominant figures, with lesser influence from Continental sources (1979, p. 270). The emphasis in this article on German sources is justified by its focus on the image of the Turks, which was most frequently constructed in German texts due to historical reasons mentioned above.

A Most Strange and Wonderfull Prophesie upon this Troublesome World, that was published in London in December 1595, for example, was based on the 1569 predictions of two German astrologers, Dr. John Cypriano and Tarquatus Vandersmers, but the title page also stated that their work was translated from Italian into English by Anthony Hallowey (Forster, 2001, p. 601). The depiction of the Turks in this text typically uses the language of apocalyptic eschatology. In the section where Cypriano's predictions about the future events in the four corners of the world were reported, there was an account of how in the East, a black dog would enter Germany, but after losing one of his legs he would forsake his old master and become loyal to a new one, which was also explained to the reader as the conversion of the Turks to Christianity, which, in turn, was a sign of the End (Forster, 2001, p. 605). Similarly, in the part where Vandermers's prophecies were given, the Turks were conceived of as partaking in the apocalyptic scenario as an Antichristian entity, as under the title of "misbelieving nations" they were grouped together with the "papal Antichrist," and the King of Spain (quotated in Forster, 2001, p. 605).

Obviously, such views as expressed in texts like *A Most Strange and Wonderfull Prophesie upon this Troublesome World* were being written into an English context in which the dominant discourse on the subject was not very different. To illustrate this point, one may mention John Aylmer – who was the third Lord Bishop of London from 1577 to his death in 1594 in the reign of Elizabeth I, and whose diocese included the Court, the Westminster Hall and the City of London – as he conceived of the Turk as an ally of the Devil or Lucifer, namely the King of France who was oppressing the Protestants in his realm:

> King or a Devil, a Christian or a Lucifer, that by his cursed confederacy so encourageth the Turk, that he now dares be bold to venture upon Polonia, a Christian realm, which hath received the Gospel, and that way to come into Germany. Oh! wicked caitiff, and firebrand of hell, [...] which, for the increasing of the pomp and vain-glory which he shall not long enjoy, [...] will betray Christ and his cross to his mortal enemy. (quotated in Strype, 1821, p. 183-184)

One may argue that such a comment coming from an authority like the Lord Bishop of London must have had a major influence in constructing the diabolic image of the Turks in Elizabethan England. The sense of immediacy of the perceived threat for Germany, rather than for England, is also noticeable in Aylmer's statement, which is yet another example for the German- and Germany-originated nature of the preoccupation with the Turks.

Another figure who contributed to the depiction of the Turks in terms of apocalyptic eschatology, more specifically, as the Antichrist, in England was John Foxe, a late sixteenth-century historian. In Book VI of his *Acts and Monuments of Christian Martyrs*, after giving a lengthy history of the Ottoman monarchs, and the Turkish advance in Europe, he wrote a section about the Biblical prophecies and his self-stated purpose was "to cōsider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophesyes the holy spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned vs before, of these heauy persecutions to come vpon his people by thys horrible Antichrist" (Foxe, 1583, p. 786). After a prolonged account of the several interpretations of the apocalyptic prophecies in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation, which was followed by a prayer for protection from the Turk, Foxe concluded his argument by addressing his readers:

> In this long digression, wherin sufficiently hath bene described the grieuous and tedious persecution of the Saracens, & Turkes[13] against the Christians, thou hast to vnderstand (good reader) and beholde the image of a terrible Antichrist euidently appearing both by his own doings, & also by the scriptures, prophecied & declared to vs before. A question whether is the greater Antichrist the turke or the Pope. Now in comparing the Turke with the pope, if a question be asked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easy to see and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manfiest enemye agaynst Christe and hys Church. (Foxe, 1583, p. 797)

John Burrow explains Foxe's intellectual impact in England by referring to his work as "the greatest single influence on English Protestant thinking of the late Tudor and early Stuart period" after the Bible (2008, p. 296) and in view of such influence, it would not be wrong to argue that there prevailed a strong identification of the Turk with the Antichrist in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, which would definitely find voice in literary productions of various sorts. One such example from the early seventeenth century was from travel literature. In the 1609 manuscript 'Mr Stamp's Observations in his Voyage to Constantinople,' the capital city of the Turks was described as follows: "Constantinople [is] in the forme of a Triangle in circule 15 myles, seated upon seaven hils, and therefore some would have it the seate of the Anti-christe" (quoted in Maclean, 2007, p.1). Presumably, the author of this early text of travel literature wished to fascinate his possible readers with sensational descriptions, and he knew, most probably from prior exposure to the texts like that of Foxe, that employing the image of the Turk as Antichrist would match with the contemporary constructions of the Turks in English public imagination.

As has been explained above, the production and dissemination of astrological and prophetic works in England reached historic high levels and with the influence of Puritan millennialism, the terminology of apocalyptic eschatology became dominant in these works. The representation of the Turk as the Antichrist was no exception in this flooding of apocalyptic literature and preoccupation with the End. In his *The Resurrection Revealed* (1654), Nathanael Homes, a Puritan theologian and a millenarian, presented an interpretation of the fourth beast mentioned in the Book of Daniel, and claimed that the Pope and the Turk together embodied the Antichrist:

---

[13] Evidently Foxe, as a historian, had a clear understanding of the distinction between the Saracen and the Turk. In the 1576 edition of his work, he gives a table of the history of the Turks, in which he explains how "the turkes after they had expulsed the saracens out of Asia, beganne to reigne in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia, & there reigned without interruption, till the comming of the Tartarians, the space of 192 years" (p. 771), which is a reference to the Mongolian invasion of Asia Minor.

> The ten horns are explained by St. John to be the character of the Roman empire, and to signify the ten kingdoms into which at last it was divided; and the breaking off *three* of these ten by the *one horn* that grew up among them doth further notably describe the body of Antichrist arising out of the Roman empire, with its two sides: the Turk having one eye, leg, and arm, and the Pope the other: one both making up one antichristian body, to keep the world from embracing Christ and his pure Gospel. […] I would propose this expedient to the learned: viz. to consider the Turk and the Pope to be the main integrals of Antichrist. (Homes, 1654, p. 148)

Homes, like John Foxe before him, made sure to depict the non-Christian other as the worse evil by arguing that if one must tell which is 'the Antichrist' it would definitely be the Turk, as the Pope opposed the Christ "more covertly, pretending in some things to be *for* Christ" and went on to provide further evidence for his argument:

> Their names, Antichrist, is doubtless applicable to both; […] But the Turk most decidedly merits the name anti-Christ (i.e. *against*-Christ,) since he opposes him *openly* […] His NUMBER is applicable to both Turk and Pope, viz. 666. For as the numeral letters of [the Greek and Hebrew] names of the Pope who is a Latin and Roman; make up that number; so do the numeral letters of Mahomet, written in Greek [….] (Homes, 1654, p. 150)

Occasionally giving sermons before the House of Commons, Homes too was an influential figure, and in a 1641 sermon he had talked about the urgency of throwing down the Antichrist "in fifty years hence", because according to his calculations it was "the promised time" (Hill, 1971, p. 82). As such, he was also a key figure in the establishment of the mental association of the Turks with the Antichrist or Antichristian concepts prior to the Restoration. Especially in the few years leading up to 1666, the so-called *annus mirabilis*, the issue of the Antichrist was brought even more to the center of discussion, as some believed that 'the number of the beast' would initiate the events of the prophesied Apocalypse. Hence, astrologer Thomas Nunnes predicted the downfall of the Antichrist, namely the Turk and the Pope, in that year, while John Tanner added the return of the ten lost tribes of Israel to the former scenario,[14] and in the face of the apparent falsity of these prophecies, after 1666 figures like John Napier and Johannes Alsted pointed to the 1680s and 1890s for the fulfillment of these prophecies (Capp, 1979, pp. 174-175). After the Restoration, there was a rapid decline in the use of the symbolism of the Antichrist, a name "less and less frequently mentioned, in print at all events" (Hill, 1971, pp. 147-148), for political propaganda and criticism related to the matters of England. However, as the descriptions in the texts selected for this study will show, the construction of the Turks as

---

[14] Especially in early seventeenth-century England, the lost tribes of Israel was the subject of an ongoing debate and the Turks, though under the name of Tartars – a term which referred to the Turks too in the Tudor and Stuart England –, were central to this debate as by some they were believed to be the lost tribes whose return to Jerusalem would inaugurate the millennium in Jerusalem (Cogley, 2005, pp. 782-783). The re-emergence of the debate in the post-Restoration period was due mainly to the 1677 publication of Giles Fletcher the Elder's 1610 manuscript entitled *The Tartars Or, Ten Tribes*, by a Puritan minister (Cogley, 2005, p. 782).

Antichristian continued well into the final decades of the seventeenth and would decrease in number significantly only after the defeat of the Ottoman army in Vienna in 1683,[15] and the gradual dismissal of prophecy and astrology from the mainstream cultural and literary scene into the realm of nonsense.

In the light of the brief historical background and contextual information provided so far, in the remaining part of this article, the construction of the image of the Turks in terms of apocalyptic eschatology and by the use of Antichristian imagery in seventeenth-century England will be further illustrated with reference to some manuscripts available to the seventeenth-century English reader. The texts selected for study contain reports, prophecies and predictions about the Turks and the Ottoman Empire, and in their arrangement here the themes of the manuscripts was taken as a basis, instead of a chronological order. Such an arrangement makes possible the illustration of the argument by referring to at least one example from each group of manuscripts roughly categorized as 'natural phenomena,' 'miraculous happenings,' and 'astrological prognostications and prophecies.'

The first group of texts consists of those relating a narrative of 'natural' phenomena, in this case, comets and earthquakes. It must be pointed out at the outset that most of these texts typically treat these 'natural' phenomena as 'unnatural' or 'supernatural,' or infuse a 'supernatural' element into the narrative. This can be explained by referring to Capp's contention that even though the Reformation had erased the magical and the supernatural from the center of faith, the masses still demanded to read and know about supernatural phenomena, and astrological and prophetic texts functioned as the suppliers of this popular demand (1979, 279.) The first manuscript in this category is entitled *Extraordinary Nevves from Conſtantinople,* dated November 27, 1641, which is a translation from French by one W.C. Claiming to report the contents of a letter, sent from a person whose name is undisclosed, to Lord Dominico, Mugliano, Florantoni on September 6, 1641, the text relates a story which is interpreted as confirming the prophecies about the "Ruine of the Turkiſh Empire" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 1). After giving the reader an interpretive frame at the very beginning, the author starts his account of the story in the following, which is dominated by an eerie and sensational tone:

> From the tenth of Auguſtaſ, to the 13. of the ſame Moneth there was ſo ſurious a winde in the plaines neere unto *Conſtantinople*, that it did diſroote and blow up many Trees, and ruinated a great number of ſtately Edifices, and amongſt thoſe perſons who received great loſſe, it is perticularly obſerved, that four of the Turkes grand Couriers, and a Captaine of his Troopes, were by the violence of this Tempeſt, throwne into deep precipices, and were never ſince ſeene... (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 2)

The sensationalism in this opening seems to be the strategy of the author to impress the reader from the very beginning. Indeed, it may be argued that sensationalism was a staple of this kind of text as its target audience was not the educated elite but the masses. Bernard Capp, too, places importance on the role of the sensational by stating that the contents of the almanacs were also an escapist literature and that "[m]onstrous births, the fall of kings and seas red with blood were an important element in the public's appetite for entertainment and excitement" (1979, p. 285). In other words, the more sensational an almanac was, the better it sold. However, the representational aspect of this opening, seems to be the more interesting one. Even in this very first paragraph the majestic image of 'the Turk' is constructed mostly in militaristic terms such as "Captaine" and "Troopes" and would easily appeal to the readers' mental association of the Turks with the Antichrist and his army at the apocalyptic battlefield of Armageddon. Another point is that, by such imagery, the reader is to understand that the might of the Turks comes from their military strength only. Nonetheless, even from the beginning it is established that the Ottoman troops are vulnerable to Nature's fury. Since God meant the same thing as Nature after the reconciliation of astrology and religion as explained in the beginning of this article, the mid-seventeenth century English reader of this text would immediately remember the Biblical prophecies about the eventual downfall of Antichristian forces.

---

[15] Capp notes that the advance of the Turks further into Europe and their eventual siege of Vienna were among the major reasons behind a new period of anticipation from the late 1670s onwards, though less pervasive than the one in the 1640s; and that an equal combination of astrological and prophetic interpretations were more characteristic of this period, as opposed to the dominance of biblical prophecy in the prognostications of the earlier period (1979, pp. 175-176).

After the introduction, the author includes more sensational descriptions to increase the tension and to build up suspense:

> all this was made the more fearefull and deſtroyable by the Aſpect of two Commetts or blaſing ſtarres with double tailes, or forked poſteriums. The one of which appeared from two of the clocke in the morning until midnight, juſt over againſt the great Turkes *Seraglio*, and the other over the Church or Moſque of *Santa Sophia*, from three of the clocke in the afternoone till five a clocke the next morning… (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 2)

One of the two points which must be considered here is the deliberate emphasis on specificity and exactness. The comets stay hovering over the city "from three of the clocke in the afternoone till five a clocke the next morning" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p.2). Such deliberate expressions of attempted realism that are repeated throughout, of course, only have the purpose of making the story look more credible. The second point is the binary opposition created by the comets' being positioned above the Muslim Sultan's palace on the one side and above a structure which had been the symbol of Christendom for centuries on the other. It is noteworthy that the phrase "Church or Moſque of *Santa Sophia*" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p.2) signifies not only the dualistic character of Santa Sophia, but also an unsettled dispute. The implication here is that Constantinople has not been lost forever and might as well be reclaimed soon, an idea which will prove to be in accord with the resolution of this narrative. On a second interpretive level, the unsettled dispute here implies the final battle between Christian and Antichristian forces before the End, in which the Antichrist will be utterly defeated, and accordingly in this interpretation the Turks are immediately constructed as the Antichristian forces.

The text also tells of how on the twelfth day of the same month at about three o'clock in morning "the great Turke," whose name is not given but who must be Sultan İbrahim I as he reigned in 1641, dreamt that he was being attacked by "many Lyons, the greatest of which having bitten him upon the breast" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, pp. 2-3) and woke up in terror. Shortly after going back to sleep, the Sultan "had a second vision of many *Centaures*" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 3) who fiercely battled against each other until a great army of "*Griffens*" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 3) came from the East and began slaughtering the Centaurs. The Sultan "with a flaming ſword in his hand" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 3) tries to help the Centaurs, "but as he lift up his ſword againſt the *Griffens*, the Eagle conducting them, diſarmed him, upon which the great *Turke* being ſurprised, awakens with ſo great confuſion and trouble" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 3). After waking up, the Sultan immediately summons the diviners and the astrologers in his realm to interpret the appearance of the comets and his dreams within three days and give a report without hiding any truth. The most senior member of the group, named "*Moſſa Egypſiano*" (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 4), presenting the interpretation tells the Sultan that "all our Anceſtours have believed, as we alſo believe our ſelves, that thy raigne ſhall be the laſt of the *Turkes*." (*Extraordinary Nevves*, p. 5) Upon this, the Sultan gives a severe physical punishment to all of the diviners and astrologers, who were, miraculously, not hurt in the least, which made some of the inhabitants of Constantinople to go and be baptized into the Christian religion (*Extraordinary Nevves*, pp. 8-9). Apart from displaying, to the relief of the reader, the vulnerability of the most powerful man of the time, the Ottoman Sultan, the Grand Signor of Europe, the use of the self-confessed testimony of the enemy diviner is meant to convince the English reader of the eventual defeat of the threat against Christendom. The immediate message here is that, the Turks' story in Europe will end in such a way that it will bring joy to Christendom. But more importantly, the conversion of some Turks into Christianity is very meaningful, as according to apocalyptic eschatology it was one of the signs of the imminent end, before which Christianity would prevail all over the world. So, this text without doubt depicted the Turks in Antichristian terms by alluding to some common knowledge originating from apocalyptic eschatology, and contributed to conception of the Turks in these terms by the mid-seventeenth century English reader.

The next manuscript is, as its title makes clear, *A Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake in Germany, Hungary and Turky…* (1673). Being a translation by Richard Alcock from a Dutch original, this text claimed to be the report of an earthquake which took place in March 1673. Allegedly, in that month a tectonic fault line stretching from the city of Hodenstein in Germany through Budapest in Hungary to the cities of Adrianople (Edirne) and Constantinople (İstanbul) collapsed, causing almost no damage in Germany and Hungary, but a disaster in Turkey. The immediate implication of the event, which is claimed to be true, is again the eventual downfall of the Muslim Turk with the help of divine providence. However, when placed under scrutiny by comparison with real scientific data, the credibility of this story becomes seriously challenged. No report of seismic activity for the year 1673 in Germany, Hungary or Turkey exists in the list of "Historic Worldwide Earthquakes" prepared by the United States Geological Survey (USGS). The nearest event was on August 17, 1668 in Anatolia, which in fact does not include Thrace region where Edirne is, with a magnitude of 8.0 resulting in 8,000 fatalities (Historic Worldwide Earthquakes, 2009). In the historic earthquakes database made available by the Turkish National Earthquake Monitoring Centre (NEMC) at Boğaziçi University, the specific location of the 1668 earthquake is given as Amasya-Tokat region and its magnitude as 9.0. Between September 14, 1509 and July 29, 1752, there is no record of an earthquake in the Edirne-İstanbul area (Tarihsel Depremler, 2009). The fact that an earthquake with such disastrous consequences as described in the text would have been of a higher magnitude than the 1668 earthquake, but nonetheless is not listed in historical records, is solid ground for suspicion. Therefore, the balance between fact and fiction seems to be weighing heavier on the fiction side in this narrative too. In the absence of further historical evidence, one can claim that the text was propagandist in nature and the whole story was made up to improve the morale of the inhabitants of Hungary and Germany, who were at the frontiers of Ottoman expansion.

The exposition of this narrative again is governed by sensationalism. The scene is set and much attention is given to material details such as the exactness of time:

> In *Hodenſstein* in *Germany* […] the winds had been exceeding high, and the weather tempſtuous [….] but on the 10 of March, about eleven o'clock, the winds were laid on a ſudden, and there was a wonderful calm: but notwithſtanding this sudden calm, the Sun appeared not all day. About 12 at night we all perceiv'd the Earth to move, tremble, and ſhake […] until 10 of the clock the next morning, and then it ceas'd. (*Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake*, pp. 3-4)

Not having caused any damage in Germany, "this *Earthquake* went by degrees and ſuccessively as far as *Buda* in *Hungary*, where on *March 15*. 'twas ſomthing more violent than with us, but ſtill without any conſiderable miſchief to the inhabitants" (*Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake*, p. 4). Yet, when the earthquake arrives near the heart of the Ottoman Empire, as if seismic activity is a gigantic serpent traveling on subterranean roads, its impact becomes destructive:

> about ſix miles on this side Adrianople, there was a Village on the ſide of a hill, call'd by the *Turk Imreſt*, which was wholly abſorpt and ſwallow'd in the dreadful *hiatus* or opening of the earth […] there ſtill comes forth great quantity of ſmoak, and in the night flames, to the great terror and aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants round about. (*Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake*, p. 4)

Certainly, geologists would be better able to estimate the magnitude of an earthquake with such consequences, but its absence from the records is legitimate grounds for suspicion about the factuality of this text. The choice of Edirne and not İstanbul for the incident might also be considered as part of the author's strategy of getting away with false information. After all, the news of such a disaster in the capital of the Ottoman Empire would immediately be heard all over Europe, but if it is in Edirne, that is not very likely to be the case. The author's following interpretation of the incident further supports the claim to the account's fictitiousness:

> It began, I ſsay, in *Germany*, and in a matter of 14 or 15 days ran through the blind caverns and paſſages of the earth even to the very heart of the Turkish Empire: the Subterranean ſpirit forbearing to break forth or vent its malice upon Chriſtians, but reſerving its moſt prodigious fury for the wretched *Mahometans*. […] it does evidently and manifeſtly appear

> that this Luciferan Emperor of the Turks is ſuddenly to be humbled and brought down. He that has hitherto been invincible, and proudly inſulted over Chriſtian Kings and Princes, now the very earth (the loweſt, baſeſt and vileſt of all Creatures) ſcorns to bear him, and begins to ſhake him off. […] why do Chriſtian Princes ſit ſtill, and not conjoin their forces in this very nick of time? (*Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake*, p. 8)

The sheer simplicity of the argument that God's fury will spare Christians and destroy Muslims seems to be designed for the expectations of the intended readers or listeners of this story. The juxtaposition of Good versus Evil renders the narrative almost into an apocalyptic allegory so that the message can be understood by all classes of people, and the phrase "this Luciferan Emperor of the Turks" (*Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake*, p. 8) is clearly a reference to the mental construction of the image of the Turks as Antichristian. The suggestion to Christian princes to unite against the Turks, on the other hand, may be interpreted as propagation of a political decision which still needs popular support for implementation.

The second group of texts is accounts of miraculous happenings and only one representative text from this category will be dealt with. The anonymous author of the text entitled *Strange and Miraculous Newes from Tvrkie* (June 13. 1642), claims to relate the account of a miraculous vision which appeared in Medina, which was reported to the English Ambassador in Constantinople. Just like in the expositions of the previous texts, the author of this manuscript uses the same strategy of giving specific time and place and, to further enhance credibility, employs the authority of an ambassador. The typical sensational exposition is seen in this text too. On the 20th of September of 1641 there was a severe thunderstorm in Medina. After the storm "the vapours being diſperſt, and the Elements cleert, the People might read in Arabian Characters, theſe words in the Firmament, *O why will you believe in Lies*." (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 2).

At first, the author creates only enough anticipation to prepare the reader to the main incident, the climax of the narrative:

> a woman in white […] having a cheerfull countenance, holding in her hand a Book, coming from the Northeaſt, opposite againſt her were Armies of *Turkes*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and other *Mahometans*, ranged in order of Battaile, and ready to charge her, but ſhee kept her ſtanding, and onely opened the Booke, at the ſight whereof the Armies fled, and preſently all the Lamps about Mahomets Tombe went out, for as ſoone as ever the Viſion vaniſhed […] a murmuring Wind was heard…. (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 2)

Once again, the central event reported by the text is imbued in allusions to the battle of Armageddon and the identification of the Turks as the army of the Antichrist, the eventual defeat of which is central to apocalyptic eschatological scenario is obvious. The witnesses of this episode cannot conceive the meaning of the vision, but "only one of the *Dervices*, which is a ſtrict religious Order among the *Turkes* […] and live in contemplation, ſtepped up very boldly and made a Speech…" (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 2) interpreting the vision. The "*Dervice*" first gives a summary of the beginnings of the Jewish and Christian religions respectively and tells people how God, being weary of the vanities of these people, in time "diſpoſſeſ[ed] them of their chiefeſst Cities, Jeruſalem and Conſtantinople" (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 3). Towards the end of the narrative, the dervish goes on to tell how God sent Prophet Muhammet as a new hope for his people, who shall be happy forever if they serve his religion right. At this point, the dervish states that he believes they have not been very successful in this, and declares:

> *I tremble to ſpeake it, we have erred in every point, and willfully broken our firſt Inſtitutions, ſo as God hath manifeſted his wrath by evident ſignes and tokens* [...] *this ſtrange and fearefull viſion is a prediction of ſome great troubles and alterations* [...] *I feare our Religion will be corrupt, an our Prophet an impoſter, and then thiſ Christ, whom they talke of ſhall ſhine like the Sunne, and ſet up his name everlaſtingly.* (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 4)

Upon these statements, his audience condemns the Dervice and after suffering through unspeakable torture he dies, with this as his last gaspe: "*O thou VVoman with the Booke ſave me*" (*Strange and Miraculous Newes,* p. 5). Once again, the message to the reader is that Islam will be corrupt and eventually dissolve and Christianity will "shine like the Sunne." There reference is obviously to the conversion of the Turks and the universal domination of Christianity before the end of days, so this text too can be regarded as drawing a picture of the Turks by employing the language of apocalyptic eschatology.

The last, but not the least, group of texts that will be studied consists of those that contain astrological prognostications and prophecies. The two texts selected in this group were published into the immediate aftermath of the second siege of Vienna by the Ottoman army, and thus the image of the Turks is central to narrative. As such, they are probably the most convincing evidence for the argument that there prevailed a particular image of the Turks in the astrological texts circulating in England in the seventeenth century, which also molded that image as being inseparable from the terminology and discourse of apocalyptic eschatology. Accordingly, the anonymous author of the text, *Chriſtian Valor Encouraged: Or the Turk's Downfall* ... (1684), published after the successful defense of Vienna in 1683, by way of referring to and quoting from various prophecies by well-known prophets, develops his argument that Louis XIV, the King of France, will defeat the Ottomans and save Christendom. As far as apocalyptic allusions are concerned, there is significant reference in this text to the interpretation of the four beasts mentioned in the Book of Daniel (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 5) in order to establish France as the fifth kingdom in line with the principle of *translatio imperii*.[16] However, the author's main argument depends on Nostradamus' predictions: "*The* Turks *themſelves have a Prophecy from among themſelves, their Monarchy ſhall be ſubverted by a King of* France" (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 8). The author then quotes from another prophet, Bartholomeus Georgenitz, who had written about "a *Turkiſh* Prophecy concerning the taking of *Conſtantinople*; which is ſtiled, *Rubrum Pomum*, the *Red Apple* [which had] hint[ed] That […] after the Twelfth Year ſhall appear the Sword of the *Chriſtians*, which ſhall every where put the *Turk* to Flight" (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 8). The author's interpretation of this prophecy is a fine example of the kind of calculation used in such prophetic texts:

---

[16] The Latin term originating in the Middle Ages denotes "the transfer of rule" or the "the transfer of empire" from the East to the West and to the East again and is derived from an Early Christian interpretation of the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, where the history of the world was explained as the succession of four world empires, namely Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome ("translation imperii," 2011). The association of these empires with the four beasts in Daniel's dream has already been explained in this article by referring to Hayton's work (Hayton 2007, pp. 64-66). Recent scholarly usages of the term *translatio imperii* are mostly in the literal sense and without the biblical connotations. Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes, for instance, use the term to denote "a principle of change and ultimate loss [of imperial power]" (2008, p. 8).

> Now, for my part, my Opinion is: It is not meant of Twelve ſimple or ſingular Years, but of Twelve certain Numbers of Years; as Twenty Years is a compleat Number in a Man's Age, […] when the Corporal Strength, and Mental Intellect come to a Perfection. Now Twelve times Twenty is Two hundred and forty. *Conſtantinople* was taken One thouſand four hundred fifty and two; take that from One thouſand ſix hundred eighty and four, and there remains Two hundred thirty and two; which wants Eight Years of Two hundred and forty. Suppoſe then Great *Louis* ſhould now ſet Hand to Sword; probably, in ſo many Years, he might do the Work… (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 8)

Of course, the relativity regarding the age a man supposedly achieves physical and mental perfection as defined by modern science is unknown to the author and his readers. Therefore, his readers were not about to question his choice of 20 years, instead of, say, 30 in making his calculation. Having the advantage of using one-way communication, the author also quotes from an authoritative text, Nostradamus's *Centuries*[17], in which Nostradamus had prophesied that:

> *Danubius and Rhine ſhall Drink afford*
> *To the Grand Camel, who ſhall them aboard:*
> *To Rhone and Loire great Terror ſhall annoy;*
> *But near the Alpes the Cock ſhall him deſtroy.*
> (quoted in *Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 9)

As the author also explains, *Danubius* and *Rhine* means Germany, *Rhone* and *Loire* stand for France, and "The Great Turk is meant by the Great *Camel*; an Animal abounding in his Dominions, and which he makes great uſe of in his Armies for Carriage. […] By the *Cock* is meant the *French* King […] [he] is the Prince ordain'd by *God*, for the Deſtruction of the *Turk*" (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* pp. 9-10). Feeling the necessity of ensuring credibility, the author further reinforces the credibility of this prediction by referring again to Nostradamus, who had predicted the Great Fire of London in 1666, already a fulfilled prophecy at that time: "If *Notredamus* be but as effectual in theſe

---

[17] The first English edition of Nostradamus's prophecies, which had been translated from French by Theophilus de Garencieres and published in 1672 with the title of *The True Prophecies or Prognostications of Michael Nostradamus* (Roberts, 1994, p. xi), was obviously know by the anonymous author of *Chriſtian Valor Encouraged: Or the Turk's Downfall.*

Fore-tellings, as he was in the Firing of *London* […] they will aſſuredly come to paſs" (*Chriſtian Valor Encouraged,* p. 11). Even though as a post-Restoration text this narrative glorifies a French king[18] as the leader of the eventual victory of Christendom against the Antichristian forces, when read within its own context, *Chriſtian Valor Encouraged: Or the Turk's Downfall* fits into the main argument of this article as it alludes to the prophesied events of the Apocalypse and associates the Turks with the Antichristian forces.

The last text which will be dealt with here clearly illustrates how common the image of the Turks was in astrological prognostications employing apocalyptic vocabulary, written by English astrologers and printed in England as late as the final decades of the seventeenth century. John Merrifield's *Catastasis Mundi: Or the True State, Vigor, and Growing Greatneſs of Christendom* (1684) begins as a criticism of John Holwell's *Catastrophe Mundi, or, Europe's many mutations until the year 1701*, which was published in 1682, and of his 1683 Appendix to the book, in which he had predicted a speedy establishment of Turkish domination in Christendom. As the Ottoman army was approaching the gates of Vienna, Holwell had predicted that the catastrophe of the world was at hand. Merrifield's account, on the other hand, takes the reader to the stage of catastasis, which is the stage preceding the catastrophe in classical tragedy. So the reader is to understand that the catastrophe did not occur yet, and there is still time and hope to reverse the course of things. Merrifield defines Holwell's work as a "bold and *fallacious* dealing, under the pretence of explaining the meaning of the *triple Conjunction* of *Saturn*, and *Jupiter* in *Leo* [which had occurred in 1682], wherewith he hath encouraged *Mahomet*, and crucified our *Saviour* afreſh" (Merrifield, 1684, p. A2), and states the aim of his own work as "the promotion of *Chriſtian* Courage, and imbaſing of *Turkiſh* Power, in expounding the *ſame Conjunction*" (Merrifield, 1684, p. A2). He then expresses that he "*thought whether this* Holwel *might be a Prophet of* Mahomet*, to encourage the* Turks*, and to diſhearten the* Chriſtians" (Merrifield, 1684, p. A3). Of course, one needs to keep in mind that Merrifield was writing after the successful defense of Vienna by the Christian armies in 1683, which had proved Holwell wrong.

After his accusations directed toward Holwell, Merrifield begins to make his own point by first giving an astrological interpretation of the history of the Turks, and then by presenting "*the true Nativities* [of The Sultan and Prophet Muhammet]*, with an Aſtrological Diſcourſe thereon ſhewing you how that the* Turks *ſhall not over-run Chriſtendom*" (Merrifield, 1684, p. A4). Merrifield's astrological findings about the Ottoman monarchy are as follows:

> If we take the Original, or Beginning of the *Turks* Empire, to be from the *Ottoman* Family, as I ſuppoſe we juſtly may (although they had many Riſings and Fallings, after [the Turks] left their Native Countrey, *Anno Dom*. 844. and were then called *Scythians*) for Ottoman taking upon him the Government of the *Turks*, he firſt founded this great Empire, in the year of Chriſt, 1289. at which time, *Saturn* was in *Piſces*; and Authors tell us, that *Turky*, or the greateſt part of it, lies under *Capricorn*, and

---

[18] Another example of such glorification of the King of France in the post-Reformation context was John Gadbury's *Past and Present Opinion of the Ottoman or Turkish Power: Together with what he hath wrote concerning the Great and Puissant French-King* (1683).

> therefore governed by *Saturn*. And according to the rules of Aſtrology, *Saturns* great years are 465. which added to 1289. will make 1754. therefore this Monarchy ſeemeth to ſtand firm and ſtable no longer then unto the year of Chriſt, 1754. (Merrifield, 1684, p. 1)

In other words, the reader is invited to anticipate the fall of the Ottoman monarchy within seventy years from the date of publication. Following his calculation of the time of the downfall of the Turks, Merrifield presents his own version of the nativity charts of Sultan Mehmet IV and of Prophet Muhammet, which can again be considered as parts adding to the sensationalism of the text.

Merrifield argues that the nativity chart of Sultan Mehmet IV shows that "The Sun, *Jupiter* and the Moon, in the Aſcendent, are ſure Teſtimonies of Honour […] it makes him extreamly proud, ſo that he will eſteem none ſo good as himself, but will be apt to quarrel with thoſe of his neighbouring Nations…" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 3). Moreover,

> The Lord of the Eleventh, is in ſquare to the Lord of the Aſcendent, which will cause the Friends of the Native to prove deceitful to him. *Saturn*, Lord of the Aſcendent, poſited in the Second, ſhews the Native to uſe induſtry to increaſe his Subſtance, and to inlarge his Territories; but *Saturn* is an Infortunate by Nature, and by being poſited in the Aſcendent, will rather deſtroy the Natives Subſtance, and diminish his Empire. (Merrifield, 1684, p. 4)

One can assume that Merrifield must have had enough knowledge of Ottoman history[19] to predict that after the unsuccessful campaign in Vienna, the Sultan would encounter growing opposition in his court, which indeed happened. He could have predicted this much by commonsense. Yet, one must admit that Merrifield makes a lucky hit about the year of the Sultan's death when he writes: "About the year, 1687., he hath the Sun, Moon and Aſcendent, directed to the Body of *Saturn*; I cannot poſitively ſay that he will loſe his Life then about; but I am certain he will undergo Afflictions of body, and all his Affairs go unſucceſsful for some conſiderable time…" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 6). Sultan Mehmet IV died in 1687.

The nativity of Prophet Muhammet in Merrifield's text is given as the "Scheme of the Nativity of *Mahomet*, the Author of the *Turks* Faith or Religion" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 7). The choice of the word 'author' instead of 'prophet,' of course, is in line with the Christian belief that the prophet of Islam was an impostor. Accordingly, Merrifield first gives a brief biography of Prophet Muhammet, explaining how being a merchant and a "curious reſearcher into both the Jews and Chriſtian Religion" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 7), he saw many countries and accumulated wealth, and how at the age of thirty eight "Pride enflamed his heart, and wrought in him a deſire to be taken for a Prophet; and to make men believe that he was a real Prophet" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 7). He then explains the Turks' conversion to Islam as follows:

---

[19] Richard Knolles's *General Historie of the Turkes* (1603) and Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1665), several editions of both of which appeared after their first publications, were probably the main sources of reference for anyone writing about the Turks in seventeenth-century England.

> no wonder that the *Turks*, which were the Seed of *Ham*, that wicked son of *Noah*, whom his Father curſed, ſhould eſteem ſuch a lying Impoſtor as *Mahomet* was, for a God or Saviour; for Hiſtory plainly ſaith, that after the Death of *Noah*, *Ham* went into *Africa*, and there ſetled his Abode, and from his Poſterity ſprang the *Turks*, a ſort of People, much of his own nature…. (Merrifield, 1684, p. 8)

After establishing the wickedness of the Turks and their faith, Merrifield refers to the Bible to make his point more authoritative and to realize his explicitly-stated aim of promoting Christian courage: "God hath ſaid in the Holy Scriptures, that all Nations ſhall be converted to the Chriſtian Faith, before the Day of Judgement, therefore […] about the year, *Anno Chriſti* 1759. we may expect the the Diſſolution of the *Turks* Faith…" (Merrifield, 1684, p. 9). The conclusion part of Merriefield's work is clearly one more example of how, even as late as 1684, the image of the Turks was constructed in the minds of English readers based on the language of the prophecies about the End, which was integrated into the astrological discourse.

As has been illustrated by the prophetic and astrological texts studied here, which were available to seventeenth-century English reading audience, the image of the Turks was constructed with references, though at varying degrees, to apocalyptic eschatology and led to the conception and representation of the Turks as the agents of the Antichristian, if not the Antichrist himself. Even though the authors or translators of the texts are different individuals, it is observed that the narrative and discursive strategies of the texts, such as sensational openings, elements of suspense, attempted-realism displayed by exactness and detail in description to create an effect of credibility, are very similar to each other in many ways, which provokes suspicion of deliberation and systematization. Although this deliberate association was done for purposes of political propaganda most of the time, there is enough evidence to argue that such an identification must have influenced and shaped the popular beliefs and assumptions held by the English people of the Turks in the seventeenth century. In relation to this last remark, one final question needs to be answered: How does one know that these texts were really influential in the construction of an image of the Turks, a diabolic one at that, in early modern English public imagination? For an informed answer, one needs to refer again to the views of Bernard Capp who, in explaining the popularity of these texts, has pointed out that

> [i]n assessing the role of the almanac [and its content of astrological and prophetic prognostications] in Tudor and Stuart England, we must recall that astrology in this earlier period was far more than a subculture. It formed a part of the dominant pattern of beliefs, though one which slowly declined and which coexisted very uneasily with other hostile elements. With sales that passed a third of a million copies a year, almanacs clearly did belong to the popular culture of the age. (1979, p. 283)

Elsewhere in his book, Capp argues that the sales figures of the almanacs in early modern period are proof that they constituted a strong element in both shaping and reflecting the beliefs and practices of the period (1979, p. 292). Therefore, one may conclude that one of the ways in which the image of the Turks was constructed in seventeenth-century English public imagination was typically characterized by the use of apocalyptic eschatological terms, and thus, the issues discussed in this article may contribute to the efforts stemming from the recent scholarly interest in the various aspects of the early modern cultural and literary encounters between Christian Europe and the Muslim world in general, and between the English and the Turks, in particular. Of course, similar research must be done in the reverse direction, that is, through a study of the beliefs and assumptions about the Europeans in general and the English in particular as they may have been discursively expressed in similar Ottoman and other Islamic astrological and prophetic manuscripts, so that the other half of this general scholarly inquiry can be completed.

References

Arnold, B.T., (2008). Old Testament Eschatology and the rise of Apocalypticism. In Jerry L. Walls (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (pp. 23-39). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brosseder, C. (2005). Writing in the Wittenberg Sky: Astrology in Sixteenth-Century Germany. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 66 (4), 557-576. Retrieved: January 12, 2012, JSTOR.

Burrow, J. (2008). *A history of histories*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Capp, B. (1979). *Astrology and the popular press: English almanacs 1500-1800*. Reprint, (2008). London: Faber and Faber.

---. (1972). The Millennium and Eschatology in England. *Past and Present*, 57, 156-162. Retrieved: January 27, 2009, JSTOR.

Chapman, A. A. (2007). Marking time: Astrology, almanacs, and English Protestantism. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60, 1257-90. Retrieved: December 4, 2007, Project Muse.

Chatterjee K. and Hawes C. (2008). Introduction. In K. Chatterjee and C. Hawes (Eds). *Europe observed: Multiple gazes in early modern encounters* (pp. 1-43). Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.

Chriſtian Valor Encouraged: Or the Turk's Downfal: And, Probably, (Out of many Prophecies) By Whom. Turca cadat, Gallus Lenaria Cornua rumpat, Ac Orientalem (Divina dote) Coronam Conſtantinopoli (Sacratus rite) reſumat. Down Turk! May Great French Lewis break thy Horn; And let Conſtantine's Crown his Head adorn. (1684). London, Printed by John Leake; and are to be ſold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall. Retrieved: May 16, 2007, Early English Books Online.

Cogley, R. W. (2005). "The most vile and Barbarous Nation of all the World": Giles Fletcher the Elder's *The Tartars Or, Ten Tribes* (ca. 1610). *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58, 781–814. Retrieved: March 07, 2009, Project Muse.

Cordery, L. F. (2002). The Saracens in Middle English literature: A definition of otherness. *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 14 (2), 87-99. Retrieved: January 12, 2012, Carfax Publishing-Routledge.

Curry, P. (1989). *Prophecy and power: Astrology in Early Modern England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dixon, C.S. (1999). Popular astrology and Lutheran propaganda in Reformation Germany. *History*, 84, 408-418. Retrieved: January 12, 2012, Wiley Online Library.

Dobin, H. (1990). *Merlin's disciples: Prophecy, poetry, and power in Renaissance England*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dunn, R. (2006). John Dee and astrology in Elizabethan England. S. Clucas (Ed.) *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Renaissance Thought* (pp. 85-94). Dordrecht: Springer.

Extraordinary Nevves from Conſtantinople, November the 27, 1641. Being a Letter ſent from thence to the Lord Dominicco, Mugliano, Florantino, dated the ſecond of September. 1641. Contayning a most certaine and true Relation of the late and ſtrange viſions, with the aſpects of two Commetts or blazing Starres with forked Tayles. Appearing to the Great Turke, and perpendicularly hanging over his Seraglio in Conſtantinople, as also his incredible dreames, together with their Interpretation by the wiſeſt of his Divines, Aſtrologers, and Magicians. Written in French and faithfully Tranſlated by W.C. (1641). London: Printed for Francis Constable, and John Thomas. Retrieved: May 17, 2007, Early English Books Online.

Forster, J. (2001). Anticipating the Apocalypse: An Elizabethan prophecy. *Historian*, 63 (3), 601-617. Retrieved: February 03, 2012, Wiley Online Library.

Foxe, J. (1583). *Actes and Monumentes of Christian martyrs, and matters Ecclesiasticall, passed in the Church of Christ from the Primitive beginning, to these our dayes, as well in other Countreys, as namely, in this Realme of England, and also of Scotland, discoursed at large*. Retrieved: February 08, 2012, John Foxes's The Acts and Monuments Online: http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&edition=1583&gototype=modern.

A Full Account Of the Great and Terrible Earthquake in Germany, Hungary and Turky. Which was one of the greateſt and moſt dreadful Earthquakes that ever was in the World. With A moſt exact and particular Account of the Terrible Eruptions of Fire, Conflagrations of Mountains, Devaſtation of whole Towns and Villages. As Also A Learned Diſcourse of the Nature, Cauſes and Kinds of Earthquakes: With a View of all the ſeveral Opinions of the moſt Eminent Philoſophers in the World, as well Ancient as Modern. To which is annexed, Some Reflections and Probable Concejtures of the Conſequents and Significations of this Calamious Accident. Written in Dutch by the excellent Pen of Leopold Wetterſteint de Hodenſtein: And Translated into English by Rich. Alcock Gent." (1673). London, Printed for R. C. in Little Britain. Retrieved: May 16, 2007, Early English Books Online.

Geneva, A. (1995). *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century mind: William Lilly and the language of the stars*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hakluyt, R. (1584). *A discourse on western planting*. Retrieved: February 08, 2012, Internet Archive: http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_07386#page/n7/mode/2up.

Hayton, D. (2007). Astrology as political propaganda: Humanist responses to the Turkish threat in Early-Sixteenth-Century Vienna. *Austrian History Yearbook*, 38, 61-91. Retrieved: April 29, 2011, Cambridge Journals Online.

Hill, C. (1971). *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Oxford University Press.

Historic Worldwide Earthquakes. (2009). Retrieved: March 14, 2009, United States Geological Survey: http://earthquake.usgs.gov/regional/world/historical_country.php#turkey.

Homes, N. (1654). *The resurrection revealed, or the dawning of the day-star*. London: Simpkin and Marshali. Retrieved: February 08, 2012, Google Books: http://books.google.com.tr/ ebooks?id=ggMPAAAAIAAJ&hl=tr.

Housley, N. (2007). The Crusades and Islam. *Medieval Encounters*, 13, 189-208. Retrieved: April 25, 2012, Brill: http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/ncaputo/euh4930-08/articles/hously.pdf.

Klaassen, W. (1992). *Living at the end of the ages: Apocalyptic expectation in the radical reformation*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Kurze, D. (1958). Prophecy and history: Lichtenberger's forecasts of events to come (from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century); their reception and diffusion. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1/2), 63-85. Retrieved: January 26, 2009, JSTOR.

Lanuza-Navarro, T. (2009). Astrological literature in Seventeenth-Century Spain. *The Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies*, 7, 119-136. Retrieved: January 12, 2012, Ebscohost.

Luther, M. (1529). "On war against the Turk." In T. G. Tappert (Ed.). (2007). *Selected writings of Martin Luther: 1529-1546* (pp. 9-53). Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

---. (1520). "Treatise on Good works." In T. G. Tappert (Ed.). (2007). *Selected writings of Martin Luther: 1517-1520* (pp. 103-196). Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

MacLean, G. (2007). *Looking east: English writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

McGinn, B. (1994). *Apocalypticism in the western tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

---. (1998). *Visions of the end: Apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Merrifield, J. (1684). *Catastasis Mundi: Or the True State, Vigor, and Growing Greatneſs of Christendom, Under the Influences of the Laſt triple Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Leo, the late Comet, &c. Together with the true Genitures of, Mahomet the Impostor, The Grand Seignior, The German Emperour. The French Monarch. Proving thence, That the Turks will be defeated in all their Attempts againſt Christendom, &c. notwithſtanding Mr. Holwel's Menaces to the contrary in his Cataſtrophe Mundi, and his Appendix thereunto. Alſo the ſaid Holwel's monſtrous Falſhoods and Errours diſcovered, retorted and confuted, and himſelf remitted to the Turks, to comfort them now after their Loſſes before Vienna. By John Merrifield, Student in Aſtrology, Phyſick, and the Heavenly and Sublime Sciences. London,* *Printed for Rowland Reynolds near Salisbury-Exchange in the Strand*. Retrieved: May 17, 2007, Early English Books Online.

Mout, N. (1994). Chiliastic prophecy and revolt in the Habsburg monarchy. In M. Wilks (Ed.) *Prophecy and eschatology* (pp. 93-109). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Roberts, H. C. (1994). Introduction. In Henry C. Roberts (Ed.) *The complete prophecies of Nostradamus* (pp. xi-xii). New York: Crown Publishers.

Smoller, L.A. (1994). *History, prophecy, and the stars*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Soergel, P. M. (2007). Portents, disaster, and adaptation in Sixteenth Century Germany. *The Medieval History Journal*, 10 (1&2), 303-326. Retrieved: January 26, 2009, SAGE.

Stark, R.J. (2006). The decline of astrology in the Jonathan Dove Almanac Series. *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 30.2, 43-66. Retrieved: January 12, 2012, Ebscohost.

Strange and Miraculous Newes from Tvrkie. Sent to our Engliſh Ambaſſadour reſident at Conſtantinople. Of a Woman which was ſeene in the Firmament with a Book in her hand at Medina Talnabi where Mahomets Tombe is. Alſo ſeverall Viſions of Armed men appearing in the Ayre for one and twenty dayes together. With a Propheticall interpretation made by a Mahumotan Prieſt, who loſt his life in the maintenance thereof. (1642). London, Printed for Hugh Perrey neere Ivy-Bridge in the Strand. Retrieved: May 17, 2007, Early English Books Online.

Strype, J. (1821). *Historical Collections of the Life and Acts of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Aylmer, Lord Bp. of London in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Wherein are Explained Many Transactions of the Church of England; and What Methods Were Then Taken to Preserve It, With Respect Both to the Papist and Puritan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Retrieved: February 08, 2012, Internet Archive: http://www.archive.org/details/ historicalcolle00strygoog.

Tarihsel Depremler. (2009). Retrieved: March 14, 2009, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi ve Deprem Araştırma Enstitüsü Ulusal Deprem İzleme Merkezi: http://www.koeri. boun.edu.tr/sismo/default.htm.

Thomas, K. (1978). *Religion and the decline of magic: Studies in popular beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Penguin Books.

Translation imperii. (2011). *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved: April 29, 2011. Encyclopædia Britannica Online: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/602859/translation-imperii.

Walls, J.L. (2008). Introduction. In Jerry L. Walls (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (pp. 3-18). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Watts, P. M. (1985). Prophecy and discovery: On the spiritual origins of Christopher Columbus's "Enterprise of the Indies." *The American Historical Review*. 90 (1), 73-102. Retrieved: December 18, 2011, JSTOR.

Weber, T.P. (2008). Millennialism. In Jerry L. Walls (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (pp. 365-383). Oxford: Oxford University Press.