

THE CONCEPT OF SATAN IN TURKISH CULTURE

As it is known, “good” and “evil” are the most fundamental dualist or antagonist conceptualizations that we have come across in all cultures since the mythological times and manuscripts. Human being has become conscious of being existence by means of language and ascribed a meaning to the reality which exists beyond his own world. Briefly, the reality at our external world has been transformed from a cosmic chaos into a single named and construed cosmos by means of language and eventual thought. The most significant phase in this process has been thought and discussed as the discovery and building up of the “sacred”. However, it is impossible to discover and build the “sacred” without conceptualization and categorization of the “good” and the “evil”. The existence grounds of the God who is “good” almost in every religions and doctrines, angels whose duty is only to act in welfare and goodness of human being, more generally “good spirits” or “good powers” referred to as supernatural beings” who have been known with their goodness and benevolences are nothing but the “evil” which are opposite of them. Nevertheless, even culture appears before us as the ways to cope with the “evil” and “evilness”.

Eventually, to look closer at the “evil” and “evilness” may be didactic. If the purpose struggle for life is to reach to the “good”, “better”, its reverse reading is only nothing but to run away from the “evil” and “worse”. The evil and evilness is universal and is so much important in terms of existence. Therefore, concepts of “evil” and “evilness” have existed since the ancient times and have come before us both in myths and in sacred texts of all cultures in the form as to have been extremely worked out and symbolized. The name and character in which the evil and evilness have been broadly symbolized is the “Satan”. The “Satan” who is the supernatural being and socio-cultural fact, symbol of evil, has got different names in different times and cultures. In this context, the object of our study is to reveal the concept of “Satan” (Shaitan) in the Turkish Culture.

We have been dealing with the Turkish Culture at the narrowest meaning as the People of Turkey, not as the broadest meaning as the Turkic World. However, culture of Turks of the Republic of Turkey, which is nothing but a cultural ecology and as being a part of Turkic World has been also witnessed that it has incorporated and borne in the Satan Concept continuities rooted from the era before the period of Islam. Particularly, in a cultural ecologic system in which the members accepted in the history and the present day all essential great religions such as Jewish¹, Christianity², Islam, Buddhism and Manichaeism, it is beneficial to point out that they are so much prone to be affected multi-directionally on the issue of the Satan.

Today, common belief on the issue of Satan in the Turkish folk culture is that Satan is an abstract and that Satan enters into everybody and lives there and that hav-

¹ See Jung 1926, Hansen 1884 on Hebrew’s official consideration of “Satan” and sources on this subject

² See Jung 1926, Kelly 1987, Lattimore 1962, Valk 2001 on Christianity’s official consideration of “Satan” and sources on this subject

ing affected decision making processes of every creature incites people to do evil. There is the Islamic discourse at the heart of such a belief. According to such Islamic discourse Satan, whose real name is *İblis Haris*, is an angel and is the member of the group of creatures created from fire and called Jinn³. The God, having created human being from earth, wants all angels to prostrate before this new creature that is capable of choosing between “good” and “evil”. *İblis Haris* asserting that he is created from fire but human being is created from earth, considering it to be a sort of humiliation, protests against the God for his such demand. Thereupon, Satan is cursed by the God. In order to prove his superiority by seducing and deceiving human being to lead them to do evil things the Devil wants permission from the God to work like this until the day of doom (judgment) and the God gives him this permission. According to this saying, Satan has a special name called *İblis Haris* (Greedy Devil) and personality. In other words, we have come across with Satan as the personification of evil. However, Satan is not a single creature. Satan is married and has got children. His children however also try both human beings and supernatural creatures called “Jinn” who eat, drink, married, born and die like human beings and some of them are Muslim and created from fire whom he is also a member to move away from verses of the God (Allah) and orders of Koran to make them as individuals who have been doing evil things. Here, the Satan is an angel who revolts against the God. The Islamic saying as above and its foundations based on verses from Koran are generally known and transmitted by those who received special religious education on Islam. While this concept has been effective on realization and imagination of the Satan by vast majority of people, the Satan appears before us as the organizer for eating of forbidden fruit by Adam and Eva which caused them to be expelled from the Paradise. Therefore, the Satan had been also expelled from the Paradise together with Adam and Eva to the Earth by the God. According to this thought, the Satan has been known as a fallen angel expelled from the Paradise.

According to the prevailing beliefs⁴ in the Turkish folk (popular) culture the Satan is present whenever and wherever his name is called. Therefore, speaking of his name alone and directly is a taboo. Mostly, the Satan is mentioned with such traditional passwords (codes) as “those of three letter” due to the word *cin* (Jinn) or *iyi saatte olsunlar* (evil spirits, djinns). Some people conceive and thought the actual face of the Satan as follows: “*Eyes of the Satan is askew (cross-eyed), without beard, just six-seven beards like horsehair under his chin. His head is as big as an elephant head and his lips are just like lips of a water buffalo. The Satan has 70.000 children. He sends each one of them to different persons.*”⁵ Another informant however describes the Satan as follows: “*I think Satan is married and has got children. He has a huge body, big red eyes and two great horns. He does not have legs, he flies. He holds a long stick in the shape of fork. He wears a black dress. In fact, he lives in flesh and bone of human beings. When he is not inside the people he likes filthy places and lives there.*”⁶

³ See Jung 1926 on the Islam’s official idea of “Satan” and sources on this issue

⁴ See Çobanoğlu 2003 on folk beliefs and memorates in Turkish Folk Culture.

⁵ Oktay 2008.

⁶ Seriner 2008.

We may list all information that we have got from interviews on the Satan carried out together with our students since 1992 so as to cover almost all the regions in Turkey and thus we may reveal the basic characteristics of concept of Satan in the Turkish Folk.

1.) SATAN MOTIF DISGUISED IN HUMAN (ANTHROPOMORPHIC DEVIL)

The motif of “Anthropomorphic Devil” registered with motif no. (G303.3.1) in *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* of Stith Thompson, one of the most significant universal reference sources revealed in the last century by the ethnology, perhaps the first one, is one of the most known and widespread motifs of devil. In other words universally in all cultures we have come across with typology and motifs of the Satan appeared as man and woman. In Turkish Folk Culture the Satan also appeared as human being. Satan can be disguised in both foreign bodies and in non-foreign bodies. In a recently compiled memorate the Satan motif disguised in a foreign human being and the event have been told as following: “*We were living in 1981 at the first floor of an Apartment in Gaziemir/İzmir. That night my husband was on duty as usual. I was alone with my little daughter. Around 23:00 o'clock someone knocked the door. While I was inside my daughter opened the door. When I went to the door there was a big, dark-skinned, tall man. The man didn't say a word and I was very much frightened. I told my daughter that she may run and call her father. My daughter ran into the room. Almost five minutes passed but my daughter did not come back; then I too went to the room to see my daughter. Then the man disappeared. When I went outside to our balcony to see if the man would go out, he did not go out from the door. I have got neighbors to search the home. He disappeared.*”⁷

In Turkish folk culture the Satan may appear as close relatives. This motif is extremely widespread. Therefore even closeness and intimacy of father and son, mother and daughter meeting at night at rural areas, when people call each other there is an established belief and practice that they must be called at least three time in order make sure that the calling person is not the devil. For instance, as it would be seen in the following memorate the Satan could be disguised in somebody's husband and intended to kill the woman deceived by Satan: “*One night, when I was sleeping I heard voices in my sleep towards morning. Someone was calling me; I went outside, he was my husband. I went to him after dressing myself; but he was walking too far before me. I said nothing thinking that we would bring wood from the mountain. When we arrived at the forest there was a tall rock. My husband climbed over the rock before I could. I had difficulty climbing the rock as it was too high. I gave up climbing; my foot slipped and fell down. I said “bismillah” (in the name of God) while I was rising from the ground. At that moment my memory came back (I was conscious of everything). There was nobody at the peak of the rock, neither my husband nor anybody else. I was so much astonished and frightened. Because I understood that the person who I thought my husband had been the Satan. What he wanted however was to push me down from the top of the rock*”⁸

⁷ Çark 1997.

⁸ Gök 1997.

The following memorate may be given as an example for the Satan to be disguised in another close relative of the the same informant. *“One day I was in my home in the evening. There came my brother-in-law and said to be »Your elder brother is calling you, let us go« I prepared myself and started walking behind him. But dogs began howling at the vicinity. It was strange that my brother-in-law did not speak to me. When dogs started howling, then I cited “bismillah”. Then, instantly the person who acted as if my brother-in-law and was walking in front of me disappeared. This event frightened me very much just as the first event.”*⁹ In this memorate the dogs that start howling are also related to the belief that the dogs – to be dealt with in the following – can recognize and detect Satan and similar supernatural creatures.

2.) MOTIF OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC OR ZOOMORPHIC DEVIL AND “THE SATAN WHO IS GRADUALLY GAINING WEIGHT”

The type and motif of Anthropomorphic or Zoomorphic Devil and whose main characteristic is that he gains weight gradually and whose existence is felt like this is widespread in the Turkish folklore. This motif has been registered in Stith Thomson’s masterpiece called *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* in the form of “the Satan who is gradually gaining weight” in no. (G303.3.5.3.). This motif is rather common worldwide. In Turkish Folklore however when a Satan is disguised in any friend or unknown individual met on the road or kid, goat and similar animal got on a cart, horse or donkey that is ridden or pulls the cart cannot go forward and drenched in perspiration. Generally presence of the Satan has been realized from above mentioned hardship or from his disappearance after citing *bismillah* (in the name of God).

3.) THE SATAN CAN BE IDENTIFIED AND RECOGNIZED WITH HIS LEGS, HORNS AND TAIL

Characteristics of the Satan such as to have been provided with horn, tail, animal hoof, excessive hair are stereotypical and universal. In other words, a Satan with such external appearances with the above characteristics can be encountered in almost every culture. In the Turkish folklore the main characteristic which reveals the identity of the Satan who disguised his identification by appearing in many different forms and deceived people in many memorate is that his legs are “reverse”. One of the memorates related with the reverse legs of the Satan and his identification by means of his this feature is told as following: *“In the village I went to the mill for grinding corn. The mill works with power of water. Water comes to the Mill through a canal. I entered the mill, and then the mill stopped instantly. I went out and saw that somebody was cutting off the water. This watermill is called Mahmut’s Mill. The person who was cutting off the water was Mahmut, who was holding an umbrella. I cried to him, but he did not answer back. Seeing that his legs were reverse, I realized that he was a jinn. I immediately came back into the mill. He called to me »Emine, Emine!« When I did not answer, then he called out to me again with his great voice. I prayed, cited Bismillah and went out. I said »I am not afraid of you.« Then I ran home by leaving*

⁹ Gök 1997.

the corn there."¹⁰ In this memorate, the motif that no answer is to be given to the call of Satan for fear, the "do not interfere with Satan" is realized. If anybody repeats the same name or sentence consecutively three times, it was made sure that that person is not Jinn or Satan; as such appears before us as a protective feature.

In memorates and legends (myths) in Turkish folklore the motif of the "tail of Satan" has been seldom encountered. However, as we have also expressed above, when informants were asked how they visualized the Satan, they usually answered that the Satan was bearing horn and tail. In this visualization, it is said that these persons might be affected by Hollywood originated films and Western strip cartoons and caricatures.

4.) SATAN DANCES AT WEDDING CEREMONIES HELD IN BATHS OR AT RURAL AREAS

Dancing Party made with the Satan at night appears as the extremely common issue in Turkish folklore. The midnight wedding ceremonies of the Satan are widespread in Turkish folklore. While mostly such tales are told by shepherds, people who are not shepherds but who live in rural areas tell that they have heard music played by drum and shrill pipe at nights and invited and attended to wedding processions that they saw and after enjoying and having a good time until dawn, they found themselves in a very awful and bad condition or they turned back with pockets full of skins of onion and garlic. However, in certain cases those who see such a wedding procession accompanied with drum and shrill pipe run away and hide, thus they protect themselves against wedding ceremony of the Satan. As an example for such memorates in Turkish folklore, the following is an example compiled from Cyprus: *"There were sheep at our village. My father watched sheep at nights. There was our garden over there; my father cultivated crops and kept an eye on sheep there at nights. He fell asleep at midnight after placing sheep at a safe place. He woke up with some voices at midnight; there was a wedding procession with drums and shrill pipes coming towards the village at the skirt of the mountain. He said »Oh my god, there is a wedding or something like it!« At last he woke up and saw that it was not a real wedding ceremony. It was the wedding ceremony of Jinn and devils. The wedding procession approached to him and then he was frightened and threw himself among the sheep and started to pray, then they passed him by causing no harm.*"¹¹

In this memorate we have come across with another remarkable feature. The Satan may be easily disguised as a goat and according to the common public belief the goat is a Satan. Quite the contrary, however, the sheep represents the angel in Turkish folk culture and Satan cannot disguise as a sheep and cannot enter among them while they are grouped in a flock. Therefore, if you take the above mentioned memorate into consideration, the shepherd who realized that the wedding was a wedding of Satan and eventually those in the wedding procession were Satan, so he threw himself among the sheep and protected himself by saying a prayer; and eventually the group of Satan who came by playing drum and shrill pipe as a wedding procession

¹⁰ Şimşek 1997.

¹¹ Gökdemir 1993.

and the Satan who passed by him could not do anything to him. This situation seems to be a feature and characteristic somewhat specific to Turkish folk culture.

5.) SATAN DECEIVES MEN AND CAUSES THEM TO DIE BY HIS DIFFERENT APPEARANCES

Deception of the people in the form of different appearances and as the result of such deception leading them to death is one of the rather widespread motifs. Moreover, the likelihood of being killed lies behind the transformation and deceptions of people by Satan in different disguise into fearful adventures. One of the memorates containing the motif that the Satan in different disguises has been leading the people deceived by Satan to death which is extremely current in the Turkish folk is as following: *"My grandfather was the village headman 40-45 years ago. One night at late hours they knocked on the door. My grandfather woke up and asked who it is; they said they were coming from the Gendarmerie Station. My grandfather opened the door and saw two gendarmerie soldiers before him. They said that he was summoned by the Gendarmerie Commander. My grandfather immediately got dressed and went out together with the two gendarmerie soldiers to outside the village. My grandfather realized that they were taking him to a place called »Kanlıdere«, not to the Gendarmerie Station, and thought that place was not the road of »Yedibağ« and said »Eüzübesmele« (prayer), and soon after the two gendarmerie soldiers disappeared. And my grandfather turned back home running as much as possible"*¹² In this event, the old man has been rescued from such illusion or hallucination by waking up and saying a prayer. Nevertheless, others experiencing this event, in some cases people have lost their lives.

Nevertheless, in a memorate told on this subject, the death of the character has been expressed as following: *"The episode occurs in Kınıklar Village of Tekirdağ. The narrator is our neighbor Melahat Avcı from the said Village. She heard this episode from her villagers. According to what has been told, the husband of a woman called »Bedriye« died. One night this woman hears a sound in her dream and the sound which was heard is the voice of her husband. This voice calls her to milk the goat. Melahat thinks that this voice is the sound of Satan and she was called by the Satan. The woman goes out after hearing this sound, and walks around hills, mountains, etc. and returns to the village in a wretched and miserable condition. Her mental condition was deteriorated when she returned. And she died forty days after the incident."*¹³

In fact, rather than the event of death, what is much more common, as is the case given in the first memorate, usually at night the people who obey the invitation of friends, neighbors, relatives or similarly to the abovementioned memorate upon calling of the commander of the Gendarmerie Station or similar Authority against which disobedience is impossible. They were just about to die in a dream-like condition, usually at the brim of a cliff, and then turn back to reality and become conscious and thus freed from such dangerous situation. This motive is extremely widespread.

¹² Seskir 1997.

¹³ Avcı 1997.

6.) THE MOTIF OF ZOOMORPHIC DEVIL

In “*Motif Index of Folk Literature*” the motif of zoomorphic devil as referred to under number (G303.3.3.) is universally common and has been encountered almost in every culture. In this context in the beliefs of Turkish Folklore the motif of zoomorphic devil appears quite often along with the anthropomorphic devil. In Turkish Folklore devil, as also referred to above, can be disguised almost in every shape of animal except sheep considered being as angel. However, animals in which devil is disguised mostly are listed mainly as cat, goat, serpent, rabbit, donkey, donkey-foal, horse, dog, fox, pig, deer, partridge, chicken, owl and birds.

For example, in a memorate which has been narrated so as to prove the proverb of “great haste makes great waste” (acele işe şeytan karıştır), similarly, the fact that the devil in the motif of goat tries to stall and delay the woman who is in a haste and that the devil mingles her duties and work have been told as follows: “*My deceased mother had been boiling grape molasses (pekmez) around the time of evening prayer in a haste for the cattle would come soon. While trying to milk also cow and to place it inside, there came a goat. It started to jump here and there and preventing my mother to milk the cow. At the moment the goat overthrew the vessel of milk. The goat got greater and greater in front of my dear mother’s eyes. She became very much frightened, and she wanted to say Fatiha (prayer). As soon as she cited the prayer the goat which was jumping here and there completely disappeared. My mother asked this event to hodja. The hodja said »What you saw was the devil, it is good that you cited Fatiha; it tried to prevent you from doing your work«*”¹⁴

In Turkish folk culture it has been seen that the devil disguised in an animal sometime gets out of its first appearance and then transforms into another motif and then becomes much more frightening object and even it turns to be a mythical animal. A memorate compiled on this subject from Kamil Ağa from Yolaçan village of Taşova District of Amasya province goes as follows: “*My son, I am coming on my way home at night on my horse. There is a fountain under »bükün«; Elekçi Pınarı, I dismounted and drank water from that fountain. I mounted on the horse again and set to my way. I looked behind me and there was a goat. I took it with me. While I was approaching to my village, the goat started speaking and said. »Talk to me. What would you do with me?« I was so frightened that I left the goat and I rode my horse at full gallop. I looked behind me, the goat turned into a dragon with six heads.*”¹⁵ While the dragon with six and sometimes seven heads as seen in this memorate could only be witnessed in ancient mythological manuscripts, however, we can trace them in such memorates and this motif continued to live and survive in Turkish folk culture.

7.) MOTIF OF ORNITHOMORPHIC DEVIL (AS BIRD)

The motif of devil in the form of bird registered with number (G303.3.3.3) in Motif-Index is one of the universally known motifs. In Turkish folk culture it is believed that at least theoretically the devil can take the shape of any bird. However, as it would be seen in the example of the owl which is considered as accursed and ill ome-

¹⁴ Bulut 1997.

¹⁵ Ağa 1997.

ned, another bird exposed to traditional pattern is however wren (çitlik kuşu). In order to be protected and saved from wickedness of wren (çitlik kuşu) which is thought to be much more associated with the devil and as a vampire bird sucking the blood of cattle, just as the same for being protected from evilness of Satan, while entering into the place where such bird may possibly be present, people may ask for permission to enter. It can be well observed in the following compiled memorate: *“My father-in-law went into the cow house at midnight; shortly after than he went back hastily. We asked him what happened. He said »I entered the cow house without permission (destursuz). As soon as I opened the door, something very hot stroke my eyes, and then flied away; it was a çitlik kuşu who sucked the blood of cows.« Thereafter we did not enter the cow house without permission.”*¹⁶

8.) CHILDREN CAN EASILY SEE THE SATAN AND SIMILAR SUPERNATURAL CREATURES

In Turkish folklore it is believed that elders after a certain age cannot easily sense the Satan or such beings as the spirit of a dead person, while the eyes of children until a certain age were open and can easily see such kind of beings. For that reason fortune teller ask children to look at a vessel filled with water as people in Anatolia generally believe that children may easily see and describe Jinn and devils in the vessel. A lot of memorates and myths about them have also been narrated today. For instance, an event related with the finding of a lost calf by looking in the water and the story of a child taking a role in this process have been narrated as follows: *“In Çerkeş, I was about 16-17 years old at that time. One day it was said that the calf of our neighbor had been lost. They applied to a Hodja in order to find the calf. The Hodja looked at the water and said »bring me a child with golden hair and blue eyes.« Ayşe Çırakoğlu, at the age of 7-8 years, daughter of another neighbor was found suitable for the desired features and was brought before the Hodja. A cup of water was placed in front of the child and a large scarf was put all over the child. At the same time the Hodja was praying. The child was asked to tell what she saw in the water. The child instantly said »I see a calf feeding between two trees.« And then the child fainted. She fainted and remained unconscious for a week. They searched the place which had been told by the child and they found the calf.”*¹⁷

Likewise in search of another lost object in which children were involved, our informant tells the event as follows: *“At that time, I was not born yet but my elder sister. There was a theft in our home. Great amount of gold of my mother and money of my father had been stolen. My mother visited a fortune teller to find the thief. The fortune teller gave a cup of water to my mother and told her that her daughter should look into this water at home. My elder sister looked into the water and saw that son of our neighbor jumping from our roof to their own roof. My mother believed that the thief was the son of her neighbor, but she did not tell this to anybody fearing that she might not bear the sin of anybody. After a certain amount of time the son of the neighbor was caught for theft.”*¹⁸

¹⁶ Dođmuşöz 1996.

¹⁷ Üçoluk 1997.

¹⁸ Altıokka 1997.

9.) DOGS CAN EASILY SENSE AND SEE THE SATAN AND SIMILAR SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Also in Turkish folk culture it is believed that dogs have got the power to see devils and similar beings. Particularly, it is also widely believed today that while the *azaans* (call to prayer) call for morning prayer and evening prayer, the rising collective sound of barking dogs were created due to the reason that devils who were disturbed by the sound of *azaan* and thus running and going away had been seen by dogs or that dogs were howling to the Satan running away from the *azaan*. An example of memorate containing also the motif that dogs may sense devils and similar supernatural beings earlier and easily is provided as follows: *“As my husband is a police officer, he was on duty at nights. When he was on duty at nights somebody was coming into our bedroom. A tall and good-sized man with curly hair, whose face was shining always with a light, therefore I could not see his face. One day, as usual my husband was not home. Our neighbor left her dog Dasti with us before going on holiday. Dusti was sleeping by me. Instantly the dog started howling. While Dasti was howling I heard a very soft voice of man in the room; he said »Dasti be quite! Stop howling!« The dog immediately stopped howling. I went out of the bed; I guessed it was one of the children. I looked at their rooms but both of them were sleeping. At that time I could not see him but I was sure the he had come.”*¹⁹ If you take note, in the memorate narrated only the dog can see the Satan and only its sound was heard by people.

10.) THE SATAN CAN ALSO BE DISGUISED IN THE SHAPE OF LIFELESS OBJECTS

The motif of Satan disguised in Lifeless Objects as registered number (G 303.3.4) of Stith Thompson’s Motif-Index is universally widespread. It is commonly believed in Turkish folk culture that the Satan may be disguised in lifeless objects as well as disguise in living beings. In a memorate which has been compiled around Balıkesir a Satan that can be disguised in lifeless objects and its story are narrated as follows: *“Demirkıynak is a supernatural creature who lives at the Mountains of Bigadiç and can be disguised in every shape as tree, animal and even football and who frightens people by instantly emerging and sounding awful voices. Anybody to whom it appears becomes crazy and insane. It appeared to İremiş who was a shepherd in Akyar village of Bigadiç/Balıkesir firstly as a fox, then as a tree, then a horse and finally a plastic football which suddenly burst into laughter; and the shepherd İremiş looked for water to jump over it while he was trying to run away, because »Demirkaynak« could not cross over the water. Demirkaynak found and frightened İremiş wherever he tried to hide. In the morning İremiş told this to his villagers and then several days later he became so crazy that he would set his home on fire and he was sent to hospital with mental problems.”*²⁰

Another appearance of the Satan in Turkish culture is in the form of “Wind” or “Breeze”. The oldest form of the expression of “possession by Jinn” or “Stroke by

¹⁹ Polat 1997.

²⁰ Ayhan 1998.

Satan” appears now as “Wind Stroke”. This belief basically originates from the shamanist world view of Turks.

11.) THE SATAN MAY TAKE THE SHAPE OF REPTILES SUCH AS SNAKE AND FROG

As it would be easily realized from internationally widespread use of variants as listed in number (G303.3.3.7.1) for frog and in number (G303.3.3.6.1) for snake in *Motif-Index*, similar motifs are extremely common in Turkish folk culture. In other words, the belief that the Satan may take the shape of snake and frog in Turkish folk culture is rather widespread.

12.) THE SATAN APPEARED IN THE SHAPE OF AN ANIMAL TRACES THE PASSENGER AND FRIGHTENS AND BORES HIM

In Turkish folklore one of the common activities of the Satan is that the Satan disguised in an animal “imposes himself on” a passenger and follows up him and frightens him by annoying too much. This motif and situation has been narrated in memorate compiled from Turkish folklore as follows: “*My grandpa was coming back from the garden one night in Kırşehir. On his way home a strange creature mixture of goat and rabbit appeared suddenly in front of him. The horse started to rear up. My grandpa tried to escape from there fearfully. But the said creature followed him and appeared suddenly by screaming before him wherever he directed his horse. The eyes of this creature were also flashing horribly. This creature started to chase my grandpa continuously. It never got out of his sight. Then, he thought that a goblin (Jinn) had appeared for him in the shape of such strange creature. Immediately my grandpa began to pray. And then this creature disappeared. My grandpa thereafter arrived home by riding his horse at full gallop.*”²¹ Additionally in Turkish folklore it has also been encountered that the disguised Satan which chases and bothers the traveler has been changing his appearance continuously. A memorate which contains such motifs is as follows: “*Hekmet (Hikmet) Dayın was traveling from Daarmüzü to Gaman (Kaman). A cat appeared on his chest. Dayın walked and the cat walked; Dayın stopped and the cat stopped. And then the cat disappeared. At this time it turned into a donkey. Likewise, Dayın walked and the donkey walked. Dayın stopped and then the donkey stopped too. And then it also disappeared. Dayın continued walking, then at this time a pig appeared. The pig was walking along with Dayın and shortly after the pig also disappeared.*”²²

In Turkish folk culture however, in order to be protected and saved from Jinn and damages that may be caused by them, it is required that places that they could call on, especially at nights should not be visited, such places should not be polluted, and that a prayer and/or “permission” should be said when working at such places that they might be encountered, and even in the course of handling a job and when traveling from one place to another place. Likewise, while placing any article, food, etc. in cellar, cabinet and similar places *bismillah* (in the name of God) should be cited, oth-

²¹ Ölmez 1997.

²² Karaca 1999.

erwise it is believed that food should not be productive, because Jinn might take away some parts of them, and that they would take and use the dress. Those who experienced such believe that they might cope with and might be released from such difficult and depressed situation by citing *Bismillah*, and verses of *Ayet'el Kürs'*, *İhlas*, *Felak* and *Nas* or *azaan* (call to prayer) at that moment or by a cock-crow.

Consequently, while "Concept of Satan" bears universal characteristics in Turkish culture, it can be said that this concept is the composition and combination of elements arising from domestic and Turkish mythology. In formation of the concept of Satan in Turkish culture, pre-Islamic shamanist beliefs have also been effective. Particularly, "Manliness" which is at a position of dominating evil spirits of the underworld and likewise variation of his children and staff who are the symbol of evil, have been frequently encountered mainly in the folk and public beliefs of Turkish people and Turkic World, in folk tales, myths, beliefs, legends, sagas and memorates. As the names of Satan of Turkish folk culture, surviving still in Anatolia since the pre-Islamic period, such names as *Al karısı*, *Demirkiynak* and *Yolazdırın* may be given as an example. It has been observed that such spirits of forest and road pertaining to Turkish mythology were converted into "Jinn" or "Satan" by Islamizing in the course of time.

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